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Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i
Master of Persian Lithograph Illustration*

Dedicated to Basil W. Robinson

In traditional Persian painting, as in other areas of Oriental art, the individual artist is usually less identifiable than the object created. It is one of the inevitable facts of human existence that people fade away into obscurity. Their production may last, if not forever, at least long enough as to keep them alive in memory for a certain amount of time or, if they are forgotten, to puzzle the imagination of their successors. As a consequence, the task of assessing the overall production of a given artist of times gone by often remains a highly speculative one. In art history it is common practice to identify the period or school to which a piece of art belongs by analysing stylistic criteria. In contrast, the attribution of paintings to an individual artist can be regarded as relatively certain only if the painting bears the artist's actual signature. Yet Persian paintings in their vast majority are not signed, neither those of the masters nor those of minor artists. To complicate matters even more, signatures may

* The author thanks the following libraries for kindly granting access to their holdings of Persian lithograph books: Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli, Ketâbxâne-ye Majles, Ketâbxâne-ye Mo-tahhari (former Sepahsâlâr), Ketâbxâne-ye Farhangestân-e zabân va adabiyât, Ketâbxâne-ye Markazi-ye Dânešgâh-e Tehrân; Qom, Ketâbxâne-ye Mar'aši; Tabriz, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli; Mašhad, Ketâbxâne-ye Markazi-ye Âstân-e Qods-e Režavi; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek; Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Schloß Friedenstein; Halle, Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliothek; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes (Langues'O); London, British Library; St Petersburg, Library of the St Petersburg Branch of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; Naples, Library of the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Istituto Universitario Orientale. I also express my sincere gratitude to several owners of private collections, some of whom prefer to remain anonymous. In particular, Javâd Šafi-Nežâd has been extremely helpful and encouraging with generous assistance over the years.

be erased, faked or added later in an attempt to authenticate another artist's production. Here again, a diligent analysis of stylistic criteria is mandatory in order to arrive anywhere near an adequate perception. Paintings bearing the artist's signature may serve as a starting point, but they often account for little more than ascertaining a given individual's existence.¹ Difficulties such as these are responsible for the fact that very few attempts at discussing the production of specific Persian artists have been published (see e.g. Robinson 1988).² Even the comprehensive assessment of the work of Behzād or Reżā 'Abbāsi, the unanimously praised 'masters of Persian painting', was only ventured quite recently (Bahari 1996; Canby 1996). And while the major areas of study, such as Timurid or Šafavid painting, are comparatively well explored, other periods and areas literally remain to be discovered. One of these neglected areas is the field of Persian lithograph illustration. Although the published material is plentiful, illustrations in Persian lithographed books have been so far almost completely ignored in Western research.³

The first publication on Persian lithograph illustration in English⁴ is due to Basil Robinson, to whom the present essay is dedicated in sincere appreciation of his kind assistance and inspiring encouragement. When Robinson in the late 1970s prepared his concise presentation of the 'Tehran Niẓāmi of 1848' (Robinson 1979), he could not foresee that political developments in Iran would soon relegate to near oblivion his sensible attempt to create a promising public for a new field of studies in Persian art. Robinson, profiting from a copy in his private possession, adequately presented the 1264/1848 edition of Neẓāmi's *Xamse* as the most lavishly decorated Persian book ever produced in lithograph print. He evaluated the illustrator, Mirzā 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i, as a prolific artist, and praised the publication as 'the most individual and endearing of all Persian lithographed books' (ibid.: 64). Robinson took care to supplement his publication by drawing up a preliminary 'Hand-List of Persian

¹ See for instance the different degree of reliability of the information found in Karimzāde Tabrizi (1985-91).

² A bibliographical survey of Persian publications has been compiled by Golbon (1363/1984). For Western publications, Rohani (1982) is still useful.

³ With the rare exception of Ansari (1986: 235-40), virtually none of the recently published thematic studies in Persian art mentions lithograph illustration. For the iconography of the *ahl-e beyt*, present above all in the Qajar *ta'ziye* literature such as Jowhari's *Ṭufān al-bokā'* or Mollā Bamun-'Ali's *Ḥamle-ye Heydari*, cf. Fontana (1994). For fantastic creatures cf. Titley (1981), Curatola (1989), von Folsach (1991), Gierlichs (1993); dragons and other fantastic creatures are found in lithographic editions of most of the popular romances, such as the *Rumuz-e Hamze*, *Eskandar-nāme*, *Hoseyn-e Kord* etc.; for this kind of literature see Mahjub (1341/1962); Hanaway (1971); Marzolph (1994a) contains a choice of originally lithographed illustrations as reproduced in mid-twentieth century chapbook literature.

⁴ As for early basic publications in other languages, see Vinchon (1925); Bertel's (1934); Nafisi (1324-25/1945-46; 1337/1958); Massé (1960).

Illustrated Books in the British Library', comprising some 64 items dated between 1262/1846 and 1306/1889 (ibid.: 68-74).⁵ He thus enabled interested scholars to become aware of a considerably large collection of precious items of Persian art. However, whether due to the political developments which brought cultural communication with Iran to a virtual standstill for many years,⁶ or because of the prevalence of scholarly interest in Persian miniatures – the response to Robinson's effort was close to nil.

Recalling the further research on Persian lithograph illustration risks turning into a self-complacent lament. Though several magnificent exhibitions in the past years (Adamova 1996; Diba and Ekhtiyar 1998) might indicate a decisive change in attitude, the field until quite recently suffered from a number of circumstances and judgements which, taken together, constitute a severe verdict. The following are some of the arguments implicitly or explicitly applied to Qajar art: Qajar art is recent, probably too recent to be considered as deserving serious study;⁷ the major collections of Qajar art are preserved in Iran, making their access difficult to international research; Qajar art shows a strong European influence, and therefore tends to be regarded as of little original value, and even degenerate.⁸ Most surveys of what the West has labelled 'the Islamic book' do not even mention Qajar book production (see e.g. Porter 1992; Atiyeh 1995). The major studies on Persian lithograph printing by the Russian Iranist Olimpiada Pavlovna Ščeglova (1975; 1979; 1989; 1995) so far have passed largely unnoticed in the West. They are not mentioned even in recent authoritative surveys (Floor 1990; 1991).

The present essay is a contribution to this field of research while a comprehensive assessment of narrative illustration in Qajar lithograph books is being prepared (Marzolph in press *b*; cf. also id. in press *a*). It takes as a starting point Robinson's initiative and aims at identifying the production of Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i, adequately praised by Robinson as the single most prolific illustrator and 'pioneer among artists who devoted their talents to the printed book' (Robinson 1979: 62) in the Qajar period. The pieces which are pre-

⁵ The list is far from being complete. Additional material can be identified from Edwards (1922) and Arberry (1937).

⁶ As for the impact of the Iranian revolution on the fields of education and folklore, see Marzolph (1994*b*, 1994*c*).

⁷ Though L.S. Diba (Diba and Ekhtiyar 1998: 256) with a certain naive excitement notes the affinities between an exhibited pair of spandrels and the 'lithographed illustrations of a copy of *Tales of the Prophets*' (the reference is to fol. 8b of the 1267/1850 *Axbâr-nâme*; see Ščeglova 1975: no. 1920), the embarrassing mistranslation of the caption (*šahrhâ-ye qowm-e Luṭ* is rendered as 'Lot's city of Qum, Iran' instead of 'the cities of Lot's people') is quite revealing of the disrespect normally shown for lithographed illustrations.

⁸ Cf. the oversimplified statement in Swietochowski (1995: 546): 'During the 19th century Qajar patrons preferred oil painting and portraiture, but artists of the 19th and 20th centuries continued to draw subjects evolved in the 15-17th centuries'.

sented here are modest, and many more details could be considered, let alone be clarified. The discussion mentions issues of general interest for the history of lithograph illustration only if relevant for the present topic. The amount of illustrations is limited as well, as only the actually signed illustrations out of the artist's enormous production are reproduced.

As long as the archives of the early Qajar period are inaccessible, the only available source on Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli's life is his work. It can be guessed that in his early days he worked in Tabriz (1264/1848 *Xamse* of Neẓâmi),⁹ where the first lithograph printing presses had been established. Given the extremely delicate and refined style already evident in the 1264/1848 *Xamse*, he must have had considerable experience at that time. Soon after the beginning of Nâşeroddin-Şâh's reign, he appears to have followed the court to Tehran. In the 1268/1851 edition of Sa'di's *Kolliyât* he calls himself *bande-ye dargâh* (item 18);¹⁰ in the 1270-74/1853-57 edition of *Rowzât al-şafâ* he signs as 'professor (*xâdem*) of the Academy (*dâr al-fonun*)' [in Tehran] and also qualifies himself as *naqqâş* (below, items 43-45). Apparently, one of his sons continued to practice the same profession: the 1286/1869 illustrated copy of the *Mâtam-kade* by Qorbân b. Ramaẓân 'Bidel' contains the signature of a certain 'Mirzâ Esmâ'il valad-e Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i' (see 'Anâşori 1374/1995). 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i prepared several works together with the famous calligraphers 'Ali Aşğar Tafreşi¹¹ and Moştafâ-Qoli b. Moḥammad Hâdi Soltân Kojuri (Kojvari).¹²

The entry in Moḥammad 'Ali Karimzâde Tabrizi's recent biographical dictionary of Persian painters describes 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i as a naïve (*sâde-kâr*) but charming (*x'oş-dast*) artist (*naqqâş*) of the period of Nâşeroddin-Şâh's reign (1848-1896). His illustrations are said to be reproduced in 'most of the printed books of that period', while actual evidence is cited only for a copy of

⁹ None of the copies consulted by me in public libraries includes a printed indication of the place of publication. Only one of the copies in a private collection contains handwritten additions near to the colophon of *Leyli va Majnun* and *Haft peykar* respectively, mentioning that the book was bought (*ebteyâ' şod*) in the town (*şahr, dâr al-saltane*) of Tabriz.

¹⁰ Henceforth, all mention of items, unless otherwise stated, refers to the classified catalogue of images.

¹¹ *Nuṣ-Āfarin-e Gowhartâj* (1263/1847); *Xamse* (1264/1848); *Xamse* (1269-70/1852-53); *Rowzât al-şafâ* (1270-74/1853-57). 'Ali-Aşğar Tafreşi is mentioned by Bayâni (1363/1984) as calligrapher of the manuscript *Şarḥ-e Maşnavi-ye Sabzavâri* dated 1285/1868 and the lithographed *Kolliyât-e Sa'di* whose date is not mentioned. 'Ali-Aşğar Tafreşi participated in lithograph editions of the *Kolliyât-e Sa'di* more than once; evidence is available for editions published in 1267/1851 and 1283/1867. Additional data available to the present author show, moreover, that 'Ali-Aşğar Tafreşi was active between 1263/1847 and 1286/1869. In this period he prepared at least some 25 books for lithograph printing. See also Ščeglova (1979: 124).

¹² *Şâh-nâme* 1265-67/1849-51; *Xamse* 1270/1854. See Ščeglova (1979: 115). Neither Moştafâ-Qoli nor his father Moḥammad Hâdi are mentioned in Bayâni (1363/1984). Moştafâ-Qoli was apparently active between 1265/1849 (Narâqi, *Me'râj al-sa'âde*) and 1276/1849 (Astarâbâdi, *Tohfât al-majâles*).

the *Šâh-nâme* bearing the *rasm* 'raqm-e Mirzâ 'Ali [sic] Xu'i' (Karimzâde Tabrizi 1985: 397, no. 683). The particular *Šâh-nâme* referred to without specification of details can be identified as the first illustrated Iranian edition of the Persian national epic (see Afšâr 1347/1968; 2535/1976; Šafi-Nežâd 1374/1996). It had already been listed as a work of Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli by Robinson, who had also catalogued nine books altogether in the British Library which were certainly or probably illustrated by this artist (Robinson 1979: 68). As a first step in identifying 'Ali-Qoli's repertoire, Robinson's list deserves some discussion:

- 1) *Dozd o Qâzi* (1262/1846): '9 small illustrations, possibly by 'Ali Quli Khoyi'.
- 2) *Nuš Âfarin Gowhar Tâj* (1263/1847): 'Numerous small illustrations, probably by 'Ali Quli Khoyi'.
- 3) Wahshi: *Širin-o Farhâd* (1263/1847): '25 half-page illustrations, probably by 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i'.
- 4) Qazwini: *'Ajâ'eb al-Maxluqât* (1264/1848): 'Numerous illustrations by 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (signed on f. 197a)'.
- 5) Firdawsî: *Šâhnâme* (1265-67/1849-50): '57 illustrations by 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (two signed)'.
- 6) Režâ Qoli-Xân Hedâyat: *Golestân-e Eram* (1270/1854): '18 illustrations by 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (full page; two signed)'.
- 7) *Xosrov-e Divzâd*¹³ (1270/1854): '27 small (about ½ page) probably by 'Ali Qoli Xu'i'.
- 8) Maktabi: *Layla va Majnun* (1270/1854): '25 small (¼ page) illustrations probably by 'Ali Qoli Xu'i'.
- 9) Ahmad b. Muhammd Mahdi: *Ṭaqdis* (1271/1855): '11 illustrations by 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (one signed)'.

Items nos. 4, 5, 6 and 9 in Robinson's list are attributed to 'Ali-Qoli on behalf of his signature (see the list below, items V; X; XXI; XXVI). Items no. 2 and 7 represent editions of works that have been illustrated by 'Ali-Qoli (see below, items III; VI) in different editions. As for the specific editions listed from the holdings of the British Library, there is no reason to believe that they were also illustrated by 'Ali-Qoli. This is also true for the remaining books (items 1, 3, and 8 in the above list), which so far have not been traced in any edition bearing Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli's signature.

Additional material on Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli can be traced in Ščeglova's cata-

¹³ The alleged author 'Muzaffar Shah', quoted by Robinson following Edwards (1922: col. 577), is the grandfather of the main character of the anonymous romance.

logues¹⁴ and study of Persian lithograph books (Ščeglova 1979: 139, 149, 150, 206), all of which are based on the extensive library holdings in St Petersburg. In the index of the catalogue of the Persian lithographed books in the St Petersburg (former Leningrad) Branch of the Oriental Institute of the Russian (former Soviet) Academy of Sciences, Ščeglova mentions the following books illustrated by Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli:

Rowżat al-şafâ (1270-74/1853-57; no. 4; below, item XIII);

Nezâmi, Xamse (1264/1848; no. 1083; below, item VII);

Baxtiyâr-nâme (1263/1847; no. 1637: states the illustrator's *nesbe* not to be present; below, item IV);

Čehel-ţuţi (1268/1851; no. 1666; below, item XXIII).

Other books illustrated by Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli, not included in the index, are listed in Ščeglova's catalogue description:¹⁵

Ferdousi, *Šâh-nâme* (1265-67/1848-50; no. 1013: mentions the illustrator Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli; below, item X);

Montaxab al-Ĥamle (1268/1852; no. 1580: the illustrator's name due to the intricate calligraphic execution of the signature is misinterpreted as 'Ali-Qoli Râjawi; below, item XIV);

Qazvini, *'Ajâ'eb al-maxluqât* (1264/1848; no. 107: illustrator not mentioned; below, item V).

In her monograph on the development of Persian lithograph printing, Ščeglova also takes into consideration other holdings. In a short passage devoted to Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli, she additionally attributes to him the 1269-70 edition of Nezâmi's *Xamse* (below, item XIX) and the 1271/1855 edition of Narâqi's *Ťâqdis* (below, item XXVI) already mentioned by Robinson, both belonging to the library of the Oriental Division in the St Petersburg University (ibid.: 149, and notes p. 206). Furthermore, in her catalogue of the latter collection, Ščeglova (1989: no. 225) lists a 1265/1849 edition of Baragâni's *Majāles al-mottaqin* as illustrated by Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i.

Up to this point, the available data allow the conclusion that Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i was active for about a decade, roughly between 1263/1847 (*Baxtiyâr-nâme*) and 1271/1855 (*Ťâqdis*). The present author's search for illustrated

¹⁴ See the index of names in Ščeglova (1975) under '(Mirzâ) 'Ali-Qulî Xu'î, xudošnik', with reference to nos. 4, 1083, 1637, 1666 of the catalogue; see also Ščeglova (1989: nos. 225, 331).

¹⁵ Two other books in the St Petersburg holdings for which Ščeglova does not mention any illustrator's name have been identified by the present author as belonging to 'Ali-Qoli's production. They are *Mosayyab-nâme* (1265/1849), for which see Ščeglova (1975: no. 1630); Sarbâz, *Asrâr al-šahâde* (1268/1851), for which see ibid., no. 206.

Persian lithograph books in major libraries worldwide has brought the number of books containing 'Ali-Qoli's signature to 28. They contain altogether 51 signatures within 50 illustrations or ornamental settings (pls. I-II).

Year of publication	Item	Number of signatures
1) date unknown	Jowhari, <i>Ṭufân al-bokâ'</i>	1
2) date unknown	Jowhari, <i>Ṭufân al-bokâ'</i>	1
3) 1263/1847	<i>Nush-âfarin-e Gowhartâj</i>	2
4) 1263/1847	<i>Baxtiyâr-nâme</i>	1
5) 1264/1848	Qazvini, <i>'Ajâ'eb al-maxluqât</i>	1
6) 1264/1848	<i>Xosrow-e divzâd</i>	3
7) 1264/1848	Neẓâmi, <i>Xamse</i>	4
8) 1265/1848	al-Baragâni, <i>Majâles al-mottaqin</i>	? [not seen]
9) 1265/1848	<i>Mosayyab-nâme</i>	1
10) 1265-67/1848-50	Ferdowsi, <i>Shâhnâme</i>	2
11) 1267-68/1850-51	Sa'di, <i>Kolliyât</i>	3
12) 1268/1851	Sarbâz, <i>Asrâr al-šahâde</i>	2
13) 1268/1851	<i>Čehel Ṭuṭi</i>	1
14) 1268/1851	<i>Montaxab al-Ḥamle</i>	1
15) 1268-70/1851-53	Sa'di, <i>Kolliyât</i>	1
16) 1268-91/1851-74	Sa'di, <i>Kolliyât</i>	1
17) 1269/1853	Ḥâfeẓ, <i>Divân</i>	2
18) 1269/1853	<i>Ḥamle-ye Heydariye</i>	3
19) 1269-70/1853-54	Neẓâmi, <i>Xamse</i>	2
20) 1269/1853	Jowhari, <i>Ṭufân al-bokâ'</i>	5 [in 4 ill.]
21) 1270/1854	Hedâyat, <i>Golestân-e Eram</i>	2
22) 1270/1854	Neẓâmi, <i>Xamse</i>	3
23) 1270-74/1853-57	Mirxvând, <i>Rowżat al-şafâ</i>	3
24) 1271/1855	Jowhari, <i>Ṭufân al-bokâ'</i>	1
25) 1271/1855	Jowhari, <i>Ṭufân al-bokâ'</i>	1
26) 1271/1855	Narâqi, <i>Ṭâqdis</i>	1
27) 1272/1856	<i>Alf leyli</i>	2
28) 1272/1856	Jowhari, <i>Ṭufân al-bokâ'</i>	1

The images (illustrations or complete pages) containing Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli's signature are reproduced at the end of this article. Probably their most striking feature is the graphic variation in the execution of the signature. To show this clearly, the signatures have been isolated from their original context and placed together in a survey.¹⁶ There are hardly two signatures resembling each

¹⁶ The survey follows the same chronological arrangement as that of the complete images. The signatures have been isolated from scanned PCX-files of the relevant images. Some of the less

other (below, items 27 and 31; 33 and 37), and some (notably items 7, 8, 9, 20) bear a distinctly playful mark. While the early signatures (items 3-7, 9) and some of the later ones (items 20, 21, 28, 40-42, 49) represent natural handwriting, the majority of them are stylised either in a somewhat stiff *nasx* (notably items 13, 26, 27, 31, 39) or a carefully executed *nasta'liq*. Several of the later signatures are executed in a rather fancy style, some in miniature hatchings (items 30, 32, 36, 51), and one as part of the intricate pattern illuminating a chapter heading (item 50). In addition to the graphic variation, the constituents as well as the *rasm* of Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli's signature also vary enormously. His personal name, whose two constituents 'Ali and Qoli are either written separately ('Ali Qoli: 27 items) or joined together ('Aliqoli), is supplemented either by his honorific title Mirzâ (31 items) or by his *nesbe* Xu'i (35 items); about half of the items mention them both. 9 items mention only his name, mostly in its basic form. In the other cases, the term employed for 'illustration/illustrated by' is a variant form of either *raqm(-e)* (19 items) or *'amal(-e)* (23 items).

'Ali Qoli (8, 11, 26)

'Aliqoli (10, 20, 25)

'Aliqoli Xu'i (7)

Mirzâ 'Ali Qoli (34; 45 + xâdem-e madrese-ye Dâr al-fonun)

'amal-e 'Ali Qoli (39)

'amal-e 'Aliqoli (36)

'amal-e 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (1, 13, 14)

'amal-e 'Aliqoli Xu'i (29, 32)

'amal-e Mirzâ 'Ali Qoli (49)

'amal-e Mirzâ 'Aliqoli (28; 43 and 44 + xâdem-e madrese-ye Dâr al-fonun)

'amal-e Mirzâ 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (2, 17, 18 [+ bande-ye dar-gâh], 27, 31, 47, 50)

'amal-e Mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i (16, 22, 30, 46, 51)

raqm-e 'Ali Qoli (6)

raqm-e 'Aliqoli (38)

raqm-e 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (3)

raqm-e 'Aliqoli Xu'i (9)

raqm-e Mirzâ 'Ali Qoli (48)

raqm-e Mirzâ 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (4, 15, 19, 33, 37)

raqm-e Mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i (5, 12, 23, 35, 40, 41, 42)

râqem-e taşv[ir] Mirzâ 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (24)

râqeme-ye 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (21)

legible signatures have been slightly reconstructed. The reproduction focuses on the graphic representation and is not to scale. It gives neither true nor proportional size. The size of the signatures can be deduced from that of the images in the classified catalogue.

The majority of 'Ali-Qoli's signatures are found within the illustrations' frame. Only in some cases (items 17, 19, 22-27) the signature is given at the beginning or end of the book or of a specific chapter, implying the artist's responsibility for the whole set of illustrations. The 1270-73/1854-57 edition of the *Rowzat al-ṣafâ* is an exception in that the book does not contain any illustration at all; out of the ten illuminated chapter headings, three contain signatures (items 43-45).

There is no indication that 'Ali-Qoli worked in close co-operation with other artists, except for the 1272/1856 *Alf leyli*, which he produced together with Mirzâ Reżâ b. Moḥammad 'Ali-Xân Âštiyâni and Mirzâ Ḥasan. No further evidence is available for the art work of Mirzâ Reżâ. Mirzâ Ḥasan apparently was a successor to 'Ali-Qoli. He was active in the 1270s, when he illustrated or participated in the illustration of the *Eskandar-nâme* (1273/1857), the *Rumuz-e Ḥamze* (1274/1958), and another *Alf leyli* (1275/1859).

The overall amount of 'Ali-Qoli's production is extremely difficult to assess. The books identified so far contain a total of about 1,200 illustrations, varying in size up to a full quarto page. To this already large production we must add dozens of intricately illuminated chapter headings and probably more than two thousand miniature decorative and ornamental drawings, notably in the 1264/1848 *Xamse*, the 1269/1853 *Divân* of Ḥâfeẓ, and the 1269-70/1853-54 *Kolliyât* of Sa'di. Other books of the decade 1263/1847 and 1272/1856 were certainly illustrated by 'Ali-Qoli. One should probably refrain, however, from regarding – optimistically – most illustrated books of that period as his work. In this context, it must be pointed out that, according to the pioneer studies by Sa'id Nafisi (1324-25/1945-46; 1337/1958), the first ever illustrated Persian lithograph book is the 1259/1843 edition of Maktabi's *Leyli va Majnun*.¹⁷ Illustrated books remained an exceptional phenomenon up to 1262/1846.¹⁸ Only since 1263/1847 does the publication of illustrated lithograph books increase, at first mostly comprising popular romances. It is tempting to attribute to 'Ali-Qoli such illustrations as those found in an untitled, charmingly naive booklet of 1263/1847 containing legends about Moḥammad and 'Ali respectively, whose calligraphy was executed by 'Ali Aşğar Tafreşi. On the other hand, a 1263/1847 edition of *Nuṣ-Âfarin-e Gowhartâj*, different in style from the one illustrated by 'Ali-Qoli, demonstrates that other artists were also active in the early period, and that 'Ali-Qoli him-

¹⁷ For reproductions of some of the four [!] illustrations of this book, see Afşâr (1344/ 1965) and Golpâygâni (1372/1993).

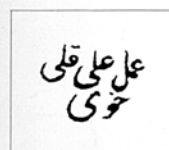
¹⁸ The following illustrated lithograph books up to 1262/1846 have been identified so far: 1261/1845: *Anvâr-e Soheyli*; *Yusofiyye*; 1262/1846: *Tarassol*; *Dozd va qâzi-ye Bağdâd*. The sales catalogue of the library of Charles Schefer mentions three more illustrated lithograph books published in 1262/1846 (Schefer 1899): no. 836: *Golšan-e huş*; no. 842: *Hâdi al-nâzerin*; no. 892: *Kolşum-nane*.

self might still have been an apprentice, at least as far as lithograph illustration is concerned.

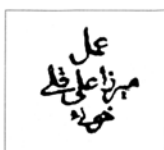
The means of ascertaining the attribution of a specific illustration to 'Ali-Qoli are limited. The identification which we propose here is made on the assumption that every illustration bearing 'Ali-Qoli's signature was executed by him. However, even such an apparently self-evident assumption has several faults. Two examples may serve to clarify the point. For instance, the picture illustrating the scene of the shepherd punishing his faithless dog (Dodxudoeva 1985: 231-33, no. 206) in the copy of the 1269-70/1853-54 *Xamse* in the Tehran Ketâbxâne-ye Melli, contains a signature clearly reading "amal-e Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'î". The signature is placed in the free space on the right side of the tree and is executed in small dots, in a calligraphic style roughly comparable to other known signatures. However, a comparison with the copies of the same edition in New York and Gotha shows that in neither of them the corresponding illustration contains any trace of a signature, even though the illustrations and the page layout are exactly the same. Thus it must be concluded that the signature in the Tehran copy is a fake added by a different hand. In this case, the consequence of the forgery is a minor one. It only increases the number of signed illustrations in a book which in any case belongs to 'Ali-Qoli's production. Yet, a similar falsification in a different case might result in attributing to 'Ali-Qoli items which were not produced by him.

On the other hand, the first part of the copy of the 1264/1848 *Xamse* in the Tehran Ketâbxâne-ye Melli, the *Maxzan al-asrâr*, differs from all other copies consulted. Starting with *Xosrow va Širin*, it is again identical to all the others, except for one of the illustrations in the *Haft peykar*. The latter variant probably derives from a broken lithographic stone which had to be replaced. But the reasons for the complete duplicate production of the whole initial chapter remain mysterious. Moreover, there is no indication as for which of the two existing versions of the *Maxzan al-asrâr* was produced first. Although the calligraphers would sometimes mention the date of completion in the colophon, this is not the case in either of the two prints. The result, not considering the variants of two large and numerous ornamental illustrations, is an unsigned variant of the picture with the vizier explaining the owl's conversation to Anuširvân (ibid.: 108-10, no. 24), a picture that in all other copies consulted contains 'Ali-Qoli's signature.

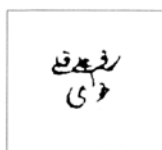
However, one should not rely on 'Ali-Qoli's signature as the only means of identification. As mentioned above, the analysis of stylistic criteria may help to identify an artist's work. In this respect, a study of 'Ali-Qoli's known work results in isolating several features that are typical of 'Ali-Qoli, and of no other artist but him. Robinson has defined 'Ali-Qoli's style in the 1264/1848 *Xamse* as stiff and naive, yet at the same time effective and sometimes striking (Robinson 1979: 62). While this holds true as a general characteristic, the survey of the books illustrated by 'Ali-Qoli reveals a number of typical



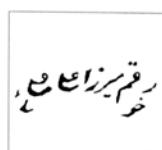
1200tb01



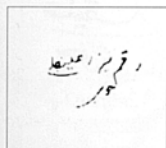
1200tb02



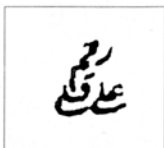
1263af01



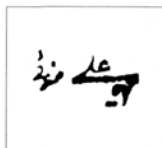
1263af02



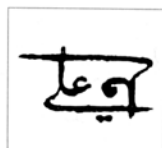
1263bn01



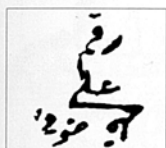
1264aj01



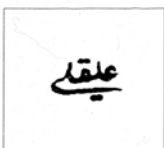
1264hd01



1264hd02



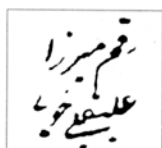
1264hd03



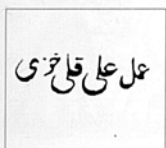
1264nz01



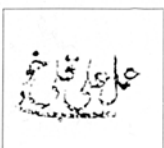
1264nz02



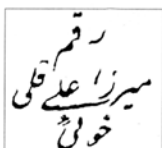
1264nz03



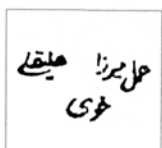
1264nz04



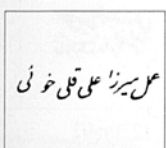
1265my01



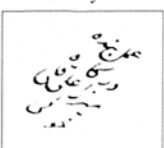
1265sh01



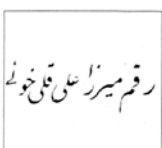
1265sh02



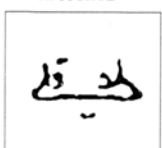
1267sa01



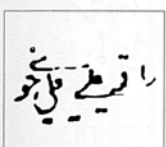
1267sa02



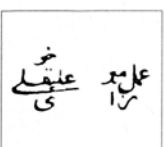
1267sa03



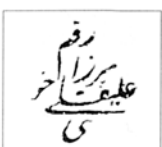
1268as01



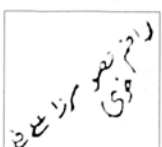
1268as02



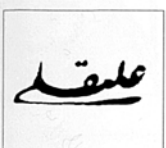
1268ct01



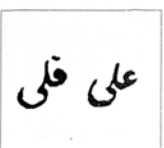
1268mh01



1268sa01



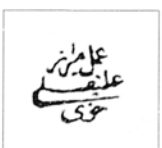
1268sa02



1269dh01



1269dh02



1269hh01

Types of *Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i*'s signature

1269hh02

1269hh03

1269nz01

1269nz02

1269tb01

1269tb02

1269tb03

1269tb04

1269tb05

1270ge01

1270ge02

1270nz01

1270nz02

1270nz03

1270rs01

1270rs02

1270rs03

1271tb01

1271tb02

1271tq01

1272al01

1272al02

1272tb01

Types of 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i's signature



a) Vahb's mother assists her son's party by attacking the enemies with a tent-pole (1200tb01)



b) 'Ali-Akbar attacks the second row of warriors (1200tb02)



c) Soltân Ebrâhim ascends the throne in Chin, while his viziers are standing in front of him in a row (1263af01)



d) Xân-Mohammad rides on a lion while fighting the divs (1263af02)



a) The king welcomes the bride and
Abu Tammâm (1263bn01)



b) Salomon enthroned (1264aj01)



c) Illuminated frontispiece showing three children
forming a camel on which a fourth child,
dressed up as a king, is seated
(1264hd01)



d) The vazir pledges Mozaffar Šâh not to kill his
son Malek Bahman who had disobeyed his
order to kill the king's newborn daughter
(1264hd02)



a) Malek Bahman prepares kebâb, while his sister and the div are passionately embracing each other (1264hd03)



b) Nuširvân and the owls (1264nz01)



c) Battle between Bahrâm and Xosrow (1264nz02)



d) Alexander fights the Zengi (1264nz03)



a) Alexander lassoes the Russian div (1264nz04)



b) 'Emrân has thrown 'Alqame to the ground and is about to kill him (1265my01)



c) Rostam lassoes the Xân of Chin (1265sh01)



d) Sa'd-e Vaqqâs kills Rostam (1265sh02)



a) Portrait of Sa'di (1267sa01)



b) Portrait of Nâseroddin Šâh (1267sa02)



c) Portrait of the calligrapher (1267sa03)



d) Hâreş is about to kill the children of Moslem b. 'Aqil, Ebrâhim and his brother Moḥammad (1268as01)



a) Šemr is about to kill Qâsem b. al-Ḥasan
(1268as02)



b) Final page of a Čehl Tuṭi
(1268ct01)



c) Final page of Montaxab
al-Ḥamle (1268mh01)



d) Final page last page of Golestân
(1268sa01)



a) Portrait of Sa'di entertaining a guest
(1268sa02)



b) Final page of the *diḥāce*, *Divân* of Hâfez (1269dh01)



c) Final page, *Divân* of Hâfez
(1269dh02)



d) 'Ali fights 'Amr b. 'Abdud (1269hh01)



a) The leaders of the Christian community come to Moḥammad (1269hh02)



b) 'Ali from within his shrine kills Morra b. Qeys (1269hh03)



c) Xosrow and Šakar (1269nz01)



d) Alexander fights the Zengi (1269nz02)



a) 'Ali fights Marḥab-e Xcibari (1269tb01)



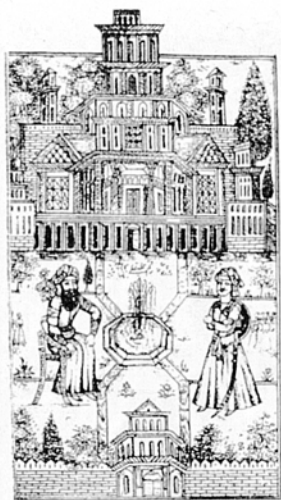
b) Ḥasan fights the army of the infidels (1269tb02)



c) Qāsem fights the sons of Azraq-e Šāmi (1269tb03)



d) 'Ali fights 'Amr b. 'Abdud (1269tb04)



a) The castle in the garden (1270gc01)



b) Rābi'a asleep (1270gc02)



c) Fereydun and the gazelle (1270nz01)



d) Šāpur tells Xosrow about Širin (1270nz02)



a) Xosrow watches Širin at the spring
(1270nz03)



b) Frontispiece (1270rs01)



c) Frontispiece (1270rs02)



d) Frontispiece (1270rs03)



a) Fāṭima in bridal attire (1271tb01)



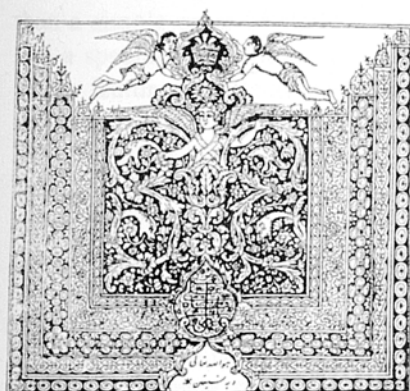
b) The execution of Hāreṣ by order of Ziyād (1271tb02)



c) The Shah and the vizier watch the love-stricken darvish (1271tq01)



d) Vardān the butcher kills the woman who had intercourse with the bear. (1272al01)



a) Initial illumination (1272al02)



b) 'Ali fights 'Amr b. 'Abdud
(1272tb01)

features. 'Ali-Qoli takes great care in the highly stylised, minute representation of faces, especially the hair and beard. Exposed teeth and stuck-out tongues are often executed in extreme detail to illustrate torment as well as imminent or actual death. The background in 'Ali-Qoli's landscape illustrations is sometimes filled with silhouettes of tiny flying birds, often no more than a simple cross of slightly bent lines. Moreover, 'Ali-Qoli seems to have had a special inclination for a specific, simple kind of meandered framing.¹⁹ These features are tantamount to a signature, and when occurring together they may serve as reliable evidence for identifying other books illustrated by 'Ali-Qoli. The following selection is but a small one, made from a survey of dozens of illustrated books, most of which had to be discarded for various reasons. Only the following ones come close enough to the above-mentioned criteria to be considered the product of 'Ali-Qoli.

- 1265/1848 *Hoseyn-e Kord* (Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli)
 1266/1849 *Qeşse-ye Hazrat-e Soleymân* (Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli)
 1266/1849 *Bidel, Mâtamkade* (Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli)
 1267/1850 *Kâşefi, Anvâr-e Soheyli* (private collection)
 1267/1850 *Axbâr-nâme* (St Petersburg, Oriental Institute; Ščeglova 1975: no. 1920) ·
 1268/1851 *Žarir-e Xozâ'î* (St Petersburg, Oriental Institute; *ibid.*: no. 1573)
 1269/1852 *Hablerudi, Jâme' al-tamṣīl* (Paris, École des langues orientales)²⁰
 1271/1854 *Širuye* (Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek)

Research in the field of Persian lithograph illustration is just beginning, and it is too early to come up with definite attributions and final evaluations. First attempts such as the one presented here must consist in sorting and presenting the material. In many cases, even awareness has to be created. Only in recent years have Iranian libraries begun to sort their collections of lithograph books and to stack them in special departments. A first, specialised catalogue of illustrated lithograph books is currently being prepared at the library of the Âstân-e Qods-e Reżavi in Meshed. Others may follow. Yet, some of the best specimens of this kind of books are preserved in Western libraries. This implies a special responsibility for Western art historians and orientalist alike, who, with their background of learning and analytical tools, are well equipped to counter the challenge of dealing with the large amount of lithograph illustrations. These illustrations are certainly not intricate pieces of great art like, for instance, the manuscript illuminations prepared for Tīmūrid princes. They offer the charming naivety of an art that, given the hundreds of copies in

¹⁹ As in item 7 (middle framing), 18 (outer frame of the portrait), 19 (frame of the signature at the bottom), 20 (left and right sides), 31 (right and upper left sides).

²⁰ This specific copy is presented in Marzolph (in press c).

which it was reproduced, was a little closer to the people. This popular aspect might contribute, in the long run, to an adequate understanding of the Persian art of the book in the Qajar period.

Classified Catalogue of Images Bearing the Signature of
Mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i²¹

I. Jowhari, *Ṭufân al-bokâ'*, date and further specification unknown.

Printed in moveable type; one side of a single leaf pasted inside the front book cover of a copy of the *Javâher al-'oqul* (1303 = 1885).

Holdings: Mašhad, Ketâbxâne-ye Markazi-ye Âstân-e Qods-e Režavi.

1) 1200tb01 (14.4 × 15.4 cm): Wahb's mother assists her son's party by attacking the enemies with a tent-pole; signed (inside *beyže* on mid-left) '*amal-e 'Ali Qoli Xu'i*' (pl. IIIa).

II. Jowhari, *Ṭufân al-bokâ'*, date unknown.

Calligrapher not specified; 18 illustrations.

Holdings: private collection (imperfect copy, first and last pages missing).

2) 1200tb02 fol. 119b (ca 11.3 × 13.6 cm): 'Ali-Akbar attacks the second row of warriors; signed (inside *beyže* on the far right) '*amal-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli*' (pl. IIIb).

III. *Nuṣ-âfarin-e Gowhartâj*, dated 1263, Ša'bân 10 = 1847, July 24.

Calligraphy by 'Ali Ašğar Tafreši; 53 illustrations.

Holdings: Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Fondo Leone Caetani); private collection.

3) 1263af01 fol. 71b (7.7 × 6.2 cm): Solṭân Ebrâhim ascends the throne in Čîn, while his viziers are standing in front of him in a row; signed (upper middle) *raqm-e 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (pl. IIIc).

4) 1263af02 fol. 76a (ca 7.5 × 7.1 cm): Xân-Moḥammad rides on a lion while fighting the divs; signed (upper middle) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (pl. IIId).

IV. *Baxtiyâr-nâme*, dated 1263, Ramažân 10 = 1847, August 22.

Calligraphy by 'Enâyatalloh; 56 illustrations.

Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps II 210 (Ščeglova 1975: no. 1637).

²¹ The author apologises for the cryptic denomination of the illustrations in the list. It was adopted to enable the computer to sort the illustrations chronologically. The first four digits of the file-name denote the year of publication (*hejri qamari*), letters five and six are a mnemonic abbreviation; the remaining two digits indicate the sequence within a book.

5) 1263bn01 fol. 31b (10.6 × 7.0 cm): the King welcomes the bride and Abu Tammâm; signed (upper middle) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i* (pl. IVa).

V. Qazvini, *'Ajâ'eb al-maxluqât*, dated 1264, Šafar 4 = 1848, January 11.

Calligraphy by Naşrallâh Tafreši; 326 illustrations.

Holdings: London, British Museum 14759.c.2 (Edwards 1922: col. 739); St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Pm 88, Ps III 67 (Ščeglova 1975: no. 107); Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Majles; Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Schloß Friedenstein Math 2° 110/8; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz 2° Pq 2359; private collection.

6) 1264aj01 fol. 197a (12.5 × 13.5 cm): Salomon enthroned; signed (inside *beize* on the far left) *raqm-e 'Ali-Qoli* (pl. IVb).

VI. *Xosrow-e divzâd*, dated 1264 = 1848 (no further specification).

Calligrapher not specified; 33 illustrations.

Holdings: Paris, École des langues orientales Mél. 4° 128.²²

7) 1264hd01 fol. 1b (10 × 6.8 cm): illuminated frontispiece showing three children forming a camel on which a fourth child, dressed up as a king, is seated; signed (centre) *'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (partly mirrored). Published in Massé (1960) (pl. IVc).

8) 1264hd02 fol. 3a (10 × 6.8 cm): the vizier pledges Moẓaffar Šâh not to kill his son Malek Bahman who had disobeyed his order to kill the king's newborn daughter; signed (right of upper middle) *'Ali-Qoli* (mirrored) (pl. IVd).

9) 1264hd03 fol. 7b (10 × 6.8 cm): Malek Bahman prepares *kebâb*, while his sister and the div are passionately embracing each other; signed (centre) *raqm-e 'Aliqoli Xu'i* (partly mirrored) (pl. Va).

VII. Neẓâmi, *Xamse*, final date 1264, Šavvâl 7 = 1848, September 6.

Calligraphy by 'Ali-Aşğar Tafreši; 38 illustrations.

Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps IV 82 (ibid.: no. 1083); Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli (in this copy, the first part, *Maxzan al-asrâr*, is different); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 4° Zv 1605, 4° Zv 1606; private collection.

10) 1264nz01 fol. 7a (ca 12.1 × 8.4 cm): Nušîrvân and the owls (Dodxudoeva 1985: 108-10, no. 24); signed (right of upper middle) *'Aliqoli* (pl. Vb).

11) 1264nz02 fol. 28a (ca 17.5 × 13.4 cm): Battle between Bahrâm and Xosrow (ibid.: 141-43, no. 66); signed (upper left of centre, on the neck of Xosrow's horse) *'Ali-Qoli* (pl. Vc).

12) 1264nz03 fol. 115b (17.3 × 14.2 cm): Alexander fights the Zengi (ibid.: 236-40, no. 218); signed (left of upper middle) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i* (pl. Vd).

²² An edition dated Tehran 1270/1854 is in London, British Museum 14783.c.1; see Edwards (1922: col. 577); Robinson (1979).

13) 1264nz04 fol. 280b (12.0 × 14.7 cm): Alexander lassoes the Russian div (ibid.: 267-68, no. 291); signed (upper right corner) '*amal-e 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i*' (pl. VIa).

VIII. Moḥammad-Taḡi b. Moḥammad al-Barāḡāni, *Majâles al-mottaqin*, dated 1265 = 1849 [copy not available].

Calligraphy by Aḥmad b. Moḥammad Ja'far al-Musavi al-Kâšâni; 14 illustrations.

Holdings: St Petersburg, Gorki University O IV 49 (Ščeglova 1989: 111, no. 225).

IX. *Mosayyab-nâme*, dated 1265, Dū l-Ḥijja 30 = 1849, November 16.

Calligraphy by Naṣrallâh Tafreši; 40 illustrations.

Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps II 212 (Ščeglova 1975: no. 1630).

14) 1265my01 fol. 35b (10 × 6.3 cm): 'Emrân has thrown 'Alqame to the ground and is about to kill him; signed (upper left corner) '*amal-e 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i*' (pl. VIb).

X. Ferdowsi, *Šâh-nâme*, dated 1265-67 = 1848-50.

Calligraphy by Moṣṭafâ-Qoli b. Moḥammad Hâdi Solṭân Kojuri; 57 illustrations.

Holdings: London, British Museum 757.1.4 (Edwards 1922: col. 249); Munich, Staatsbibliothek A. Or. Folio 249 (Exlibris Steph. Quatremère); New York Public Library; Paris, École des langues orientales UU I 79; St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps IV 85 (Ščeglova 1975: no. 1013); private collection.

15) 1265sh01 fol. 193a (ca 14.9 × 22.3 cm): Rostam lassoes the Xân of Chin; signed (inside *beyze* on the far right) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (pl. VIc).

16) 1265sh02 fol. 527a (ca 14.8 × 20.3 cm): Sa'd-e Vaqqâš kills Rostam; signed (upper middle) '*amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i*' (pl. VIId).

XI. Sa'di, *Kolliyât*, final date 1267-68, Ša'bân = 1850-52, May/June.

Calligraphy by Moṣṭafâ-Qoli; 77 large illustrations + 7 small illustrations (on the margin).

Holdings: London, British Museum 14787.i.5 (Edwards 1922: col. 545); two copies in private collections (both imperfect).

17) 1267sa01 fol. 1a (ca 12.1 × 23.7 cm): portrait of Sa'di; signed (lower margin, caption inside the ornamental frame) '*amal-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Khu'i*' (pl. VIIa).

18) 1267sa02 end of *Bustân* (ca 7.1 × 13.2 cm): portrait of Nâṣeroddin Šâh; signed (margin of lower right corner) '*amal-e bande-ye dargâh-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i*' (pl. VIIb).

19) 1267sa03 last page (ca 9.0 × 18.3 cm): portrait of the calligrapher; text to the right of sitting person: *taṣwir-e Moṣṭafâ-Qoli 'Atṭâr moḥarrer-e in ketâb*;

text to the left: *be-târix-e 1268* [1...2...6.8]; signed (large caption below the illustration) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (pl. VIIc).

XII. Sarbâz, *Asrâr al-šahâda*, dated 1268, 'id al-adhâ (Du l-Hijja 10) = 1851, September 25.

Calligraphy by 'Abd al-Hoseyn b. Hâjji Ebrâhim; 71 illustrations.

Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps III 131 (Ščeglova 1975: no. 206); Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli; private collection.

20) 1268as01 fol. 72b (12.2 × 14.9 cm): Hâreš is about to kill the children of Moslem b. 'Aqil, Ebrâhim and his brother Moḥammad; signed (upper right) '*Ali-Qoli* (mirrored) (pl. VIIId).

21) 1268as02 fol. 139b (15.2 × 25.2 cm): Šemr [b. Zi l-Jowšan] is about to kill Qâsem b. al-Ḥasan; signed (lower right) *raqeme-ye 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (pl. VIIla).

XIII. *Čehel Tuṭi*, dated 1268 = 1851 (no further specification).

Calligraphy by 'Ali Moḥammad al-Širâzi; 43 illustrations.

Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps II 110, Ps II 202 (ibid.: no. 1666); Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli.

22) 1268ct01 final page; signed (inside two separate *beyze* on lower outer ends) '*amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i* (pl. VIIlb).

XIV. *Montaxab al-Ḥamle* [...] (*Jang-nâme-ye Moḥammad-e Ḥanafiye*), dated 1268, Dū l-Hijja 8 = 1852, September 23.

Calligrapher not specified; 53 illustrations.

Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps II 219 (ibid.: no. 1580).

23) 1268mh01 final page; signed (inside illuminated *beyze* on the right margin) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i* (pl. VIIlc).

XV. Sa'di, *Kolliyât*, dated 1268-70 = 1851-53.

Calligraphy by Mošţafâ-Qoli Kojuri, Mirzâ Âqâ Kamre'i; 80 large + 17 small illustrations.

Holdings: Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Fondo Leone Caetani); Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli.

24) 1268sa01 fol. 55a (lower right corner, last page of *Golestân*); signed *raqem-e taşw[ir] mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (pl. VIIId).

XVI. Sa'di, *Kolliyât*, dated 1268-91 = 1851-74.

Calligraphy by Ibn Moḥammad Ja'far 'Abdarrahmân al-Širâzi and Mirzâ Âqâ Kamre'i; 45 illustrations.

Holdings: Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Markazi-ye Dânešgâh-e Tehrân A 1098.

25) 1268sa02 fol. 1a (14.2 × 24.7 cm): portrait of Sa'di entertaining a guest; signed (lower margin, inside ornamental frame) '*Aliqoli* (bottom part of the final yâ' has been pasted over) (pl. IXa).

XVII. Hâfez, *Divân*, dated 1269, Jumâdâ II 18 = 1853, February 27.

Calligraphy by Moştafâ-Qoli Soltân Kojuri; 14 illustrations.

Holdings: Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli.

26) 1269dh01 fol. 5a, at the end of the *dibâçe*; signed (inside two separate illuminated *beyze* on the lower outer ends) 'Ali-Qoli (pl. IXb).

27) 1269dh02 final page; signed (inside *beyze* below framed text) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i (pl. IXc).

XVIII. *Hamle-ye Heidariye*, dated 1269 = 1853 (no further specification).

Calligraphy by 'Abd al-Şamad b. Mollâ Moḥammad Reżâ Xorâsâni; 39 illustrations.

Holdings: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz 4° Zv 1235; Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli.

28) 1269hh01 fol. 86a (15.6 × 16 cm): 'Ali fights 'Amr b. 'Abdud; signed (inside *beyze* on far upper right) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i (pl. IXd).

29) 1269hh02 fol. 148a (15.8 × 14.2 cm): the leaders of the Christian community come to Moḥammad (who holds his two grandchildren on his lap) and 'Ali; signed (below centre, in free spaces of carpet design) 'amal-e 'Aliqoli Xu'i (executed in dots) (pl. Xa).

30) 1269hh03 fol. 199a (16.2 cm × 28.7 cm): 'Ali from within his shrine kills Morra b. Qeys; signed (below center, between hatchings to indicate floor in front of the entrance to mosque) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i (executed in hatching) (pl. Xb).

XIX. Neẓâmi, *Xamse*, dated 1269-70 = 1853-54.

Calligraphy by 'Ali-Aşğar Tafreşi; 37 illustrations.

Holdings: New York Public Library; Tehran, Ketâbxâne-ye Melli; St Petersburg, University Library (Ščeglova 1979: 149, 206; Ead. 1989: no. 331); Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Schloß Friedenstein Poes. F.137/1; Halle, Bibliothek der DMG 4° Ec 2158 (two copies).

31) 1269nz01 fol. 48a (12.2 × 10.0 cm): Xosrow and Šakar (Dodxudoeva 1985: 156, no. 90); signed (inside *beyze* close to upper right corner) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i (pl. Xc).

32) 1269nz02 fol. 147b (15.9 × 14.1 cm): Alexander fights the Zengi (ibid.: 236-40, no. 218); signed (upper middle, between hatchings indicating air) 'amal-e 'Aliqoli Xu'i (executed in hatching) (pl. Xd).

XX. Jowhari, *Tufân al-bokâ*, dated 1269 = 1853 (further specification unavailable).

Printed in moveable type; 11 full page illustrations.

Holdings: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Zv 2214.

33) 1269tb01 fol. 32a (17.2 × 27.2 cm): 'Ali fights Marḥab-e Xeibari; signed (inside *beyze*, lower left corner) *raqm-e mirzâ* 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i (pl. XIa).

- 34) 1269tb02 fol. 66a (16.6 × 27.5 cm): Ḥasan fights the army of the infidels; signed (inside *beyže*, center page) *mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli* (pl. XIb).
 35) 1269tb03 fol. 80a (15.8 × 26.8 cm): Qâsem fights the sons of Azraq-e Šâmi; signed (inside *beyže*, far right) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i* (pl. XIc).
 36) 1269tb04 fol. 167b (15.9 × 26.7 cm): 'Ali fights 'Amr b. 'Abdud; signed (lower left of center; inside hatchings indicating ground) *'amal-e 'Aliqoli* (executed in hatching) (pl. XIId).
 37) 1269tb05 same illustration; signed (lower left corner, inside *beyže*) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i*.

XXI. Reżâ-Qoli Xân Hedâyat, *Golestân-e Eram* (= *Bektâš-nâme*), dated 1270 Šavvâl = 1854 June/July.

Calligraphy by 'Abd al-Ḥamid "Šafâ"; 18 illustrations.

Holdings: London, British Museum 14807.a.3 (4) (Edwards 1922: col. 631); Paris, École des langues orientales K VI 25.

- 38) 1270ge01 fol. 16a (9.5 × 17.5 cm): The castle in the garden; signed (center) *raqm-e 'Aliqoli* (pl. XIIa).
 39) 1270ge02 fol. 84a (9.2 × 13.7): Râbi'a asleep (with a servant sleeping on the mattress in front); signed (right of center, interwoven with ornaments of step to *taxt*) *'amal-e 'Ali-Qoli* (pl. XIIb).

XXII. Neżâmi, *Xamse*, dated 1270 = 1854 (specification unavailable).²³

Calligraphy by Moştafâ-Qoli b. Moḥammad Hâdi Solţân Kojuri; 44 illustrations.

Holdings: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 4 Ya 111; Tehran, Farhangestân-e zabân va adabiyât; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek 10 B 808.

- 40) 1270nz01 (ca 14.3 × 17.3 cm): Fereydun and the gazelle (Dodxudoeva 1985: 114-15, no. 28); signed (far right) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i* (pl. XIIc).
 41) 1270nz02 (ca 14.3 × 13.3 cm): Šâpur tells Xosrow about Širin (ibid.: 124-25, no. 46); signed (inside *beyže* on upper right) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Ali-qoli Xu'i* (pl. XIIId).
 42) 1270nz03 (ca 14.4 × 20.5 cm): Xosrow watches Širin at the spring (ibid.: 127-33, no. 50); signed (inside *beyže* on upper left) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (pl. XIIIa).

XXIII. Mirx'ând, *Rowżat al-şafâ*, dated 1270-74, Rabi' I = 1853-57, October/November.

Calligraphy by 'Ali-Aşğar Tafreši, 'Abd al-Raḥim b. Moḥammed Ja'far Širâzi; no illustrations; contains exquisitely illuminated headings for each of the ten books.

²³ This edition is described by 'Anâşori (1372/1993). The illustrations reproduced by him without further information are taken from the 1316/1898 edition illustrated by a certain Javâd.

Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps IV 49 (Ščeglova 1975: no. 4); London, British Museum 14773.k.5 (Edwards 1922: col. 416); private collection.

43) 1270rs01 (ca 19.0 × 31 cm): frontispiece to vol. 1; signed (capture centre bottom) '*amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli xâdem-e madrese-ye Dâr al-fonun* (pl. XIIIb).

44) 1270rs02 (ca 18.8 × 31.1 cm): frontispiece to vol. 9; signed (capture centre bottom) '*amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli xâdem-e madrese-ye Dâr al-fonun* (pl. XIIIc).

45) 1270rs03 (ca 18.8 × 31.7 cm): frontispiece to vol. 10; signed (capture centre bottom) *xâdem-e madrese-ye Dâr al-fonun mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli naqqâš* (pl. XIIId).

XXIV. Jowhari, *Ṭufân al-bokâ'*, dated 1272 = 1855 (further specification unavailable).

Printed in moveable type; 9 full page illustrations (item 3 signed '*amal-e mirzâ Hâdi*).

Holdings: Mašhad, Ketâbxâne-ye Markazi-ye Âstân-e Qods-e Režavi.

46) 1271tb01 (15.2 × 25.8 cm): Fâtîma in bridal attire; signed (bottom, outside frame) '*amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'i* (pl. XIVa).

XXV. Jowhari, *Ṭufân al-bokâ'*, dated 1271 = 1855 (further specification unavailable).

Calligraphy by Moḥammad b. Moḥammad-Naqi al-Xvânsârî; 28 illustrations.

Holdings: Mašhad, Ketâbxâne-ye Markazi-ye Âstân-e Qods-e Režavi.

47) 1271tb02 (15.5 × 6.5 cm): the execution of Hâreş by order of Ziyâd; signed (center) '*amal-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i* (pl. XIVb).

XXVI. Mollâ Aḥmad b. Moḥammad-Mahdi Narâqi, *Ṭâqdis*, dated 1271 = 1855 (no further specification).

Calligraphy by 'Abd al-Ḥoseyn [al-Eşfahâni]; 11 illustrations.

Holdings: London, British Museum 14787.c.11 (ibid.: col. 94); St Petersburg, University Library (Ščeglova 1979: 149, 206; ead. 1989: no. 426).

48) 1271tq01 fol. 136b (8.9 × 7.2 cm): The Shah and the viziers watch the love-stricken darvish; signed (inside *beyze* on upper right) *raqm-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli* (pl. XIVc).

XXVII. *Alf leyli*, dated 1272 = 1856 (further specification unavailable).

Calligraphy by Moḥammad 'Ali b. 'Abd Allâh-Beg Ṭehrâni; 70 illustrations, of which 10 signed by Mirzâ Režâ b. Moḥammad 'Ali-Xân Âştiyâni, 8 signed by Mirzâ Ḥasan; 5 illustrations are not signed and remain without certain attribution.

Holdings: Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei A.IV.f.2 (Fondo Leone Caetani); private collection.

49) 1272al01 (ca 16.8 × 21.8 cm): Vardân the butcher kills the woman who

had intercourse with the bear; signed (on lid of chest on right side) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli (pl. XIVd).

50) 1272al02 (ca 16.7 × 15.8 cm): initial illumination of part 2: signed (interwoven signature inside *beyze* below center, forming part of the initial illumination) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'î (pl. XVa).

XXVIII. Jowhari, *Ṭufân al-bokâ'*, dated 1272 = 1856 (further specification unavailable).

Printed in moveable type; 8 full page illustrations.

Holdings: two (imperfect) copies in private collections.

51) 1272b01 (16.6 × 26.9 cm): 'Ali fights 'Amr b. 'Abdud; signed (lower left corner, inside hatchings indicating ground) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu'î (executed in hatching) (pl. XVb).

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