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, Ketabxane-ye Melli, Ketabxane-ye Majles, Ketabxane-ye Motahhari (former Sepahsalar), Ketabxane-ye Farhangestan-e zabun va adabiyat, Ketabxane-ye Markazi-ye Dânešgâh-e Tehran; Qom, Ketabxane-ye Mar‘āsi; Tabriz, Ketabxane-ye Melli; Mashhad, Ketabxane-ye Markazi-ye Astan-e Qods-e Rezavi; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek; Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Schloß Friedenstein; Halle, Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek; 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, Javād Šafī-Nežād 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 Režā ‘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 Šafāvid 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 English\(^4\) 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 Nizāmī 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 Nezāmī’s \textit{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

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\(^1\) See for instance the different degree of reliability of the information found in Karimzâde 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 \textit{ahl-e beyt}, present above all in the Qajar \textit{ta’ziye} literature such as Jowhari’s \textit{Ṭufān al-bokā’} or Mollā Barnun-‘Ali’s \textit{Hamlé-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 \textit{Romuz-e Hamze, Eshkandar-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). 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, 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; 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. 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 Mirzā ‘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-

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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 (1994b, 1994c).

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 Axbār-nāmeh; see Ščeglova 1975: no. 1920), the embarrassing mistranslation of the caption (sahrhā-ye gowm-e Lut 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 Nezâmi), 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 Nâšeroddin-Šâh’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); in the 1270-74/1853-57 edition of Rowžat al-ṣafâ he signs as ‘professor (xâdem) of the Academy (dâr al-fonun)’ [in Tehran] and also qualifies himself as naqqâš (below, items 43-45). Apparently, one of his sons continued to practice the same profession: the 1286/1869 illustrated copy of the Mātam-kade by Qorbân b. Ramażân ‘Bidel’ contains the signature of a certain ‘Mirzâ Esmâ’îl valad-e Mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’i’ (see ‘Anâsori 1374/1995). ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’i prepared several works together with the famous calligraphers ‘Ali Aṣgâr Tafреši11 and Moštafâ-Qoli b. Moḥammad Ḥādi Solṭān Kojuri (Kojvari).12

The entry in Moḥammad ‘Ali Karimzâde Tabrizi’s recent biographical dictionary of Persian painters describes ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’i as a naive (sâde-kâr) but charming (xvos-dast) artist (naqqâš) of the period of Nâšeroddin-Šâh’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

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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 (ebteyyâ’ ſod) in the town (sahr, dâr al-saltane) of Tabriz.

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

11 Nuš-Āfarin-e Gowhartâj (1263/1847); Xamse (1264/1848); Xamse (1269-70/1852-53); Rowžat al-ṣafâ (1270-74/1853-57). ‘Ali-Aṣgâr Tafreshape is mentioned by Bayânî (1363/1984) as calligrapher of the manuscript Šarḥ-e Maṣnavi-ye Sabzavârî dated 1285/1868 and the lithographed Kolliyât-e Sa’di whose date is not mentioned. ‘Ali-Aṣgâr Tafreshape 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-Aṣgâr Tafreshape was active between 1263/1847 and 1286/1869. In this period he prepared at least some 25 books for lithograph printing. See also Šeglova (1979: 124).

12 Šâh-nâme 1265-67/1849-51; Xamse 1270/1854. See Šeglova (1979: 115). Neither Moštafâ-Qoli nor his father Moḥammad Ḥādi are mentioned in Bayânî (1363/1984). Moštafâ-Qoli was apparently active between 1265/1849 (Nârâqi, Me’raj al-sa’āde) and 1276/1849 (Astarâbâdî, Tohfat al-majâles).
the Šāh-nāme bearing the rasm ‘raqm-e Mirzā ‘Ali [sic] Xu‘i’ (Karimzâde Tabrizi 1985: 397, no. 683). The particular Šāh-nāme 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 Qâzî (1262/1846): ‘9 small illustrations, possibly by ‘Ali Quli Khoyi’.
7) Xosrov-e Divzâd13 (1270/1854): ‘27 small (about ½ page) probably by ‘Ali Qoli Xu‘i’.

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 Šćeglova’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.
logues\textsuperscript{14} 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-ṣafā (1270-74/1853-57; no. 4; below, item XIII);
Nežâmi, 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-tuti (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:\textsuperscript{15}

Ferdousi, Šâh-nâme (1265-67/1848-50; no. 1013: mentions the illustrator Mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli; below, item X);
Montaxab al-Hamle (1268/1852; no. 1580: the illustrator’s name due to the intricate calligraphic execution of the signature is misinterpreted as ‘Ali-Qoli Râjawei; 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 Nežâmi’s Xamse (below, item XIX) and the 1271/1855 edition of Narâqi’s Ṭâqdis (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 Barağâni’s Majâles 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 (Ṭâqdis). The present author’s search for illustrated

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

\textsuperscript{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 Mosâyâyab-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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of publication</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number of signatures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) date unknown</td>
<td>Jowhari, ʿTufān al-bokāʾ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) date unknown</td>
<td>Jowhari, ʿTufān al-bokāʾ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) 1263/1847</td>
<td>Nush-āfarin-e Gowhartāj</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) 1263/1847</td>
<td>Baxtyār-nāme</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) 1264/1848</td>
<td>Qazvini, ‘Ajāʾeb al-maxlugāt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) 1264/1848</td>
<td>Xosrow-e divzdād</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) 1264/1848</td>
<td>Nezāmī, Xamse</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) 1265/1848</td>
<td>al-Baragānī, Majāles al-mortaqaīn</td>
<td>[not seen]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) 1265/1848</td>
<td>Mosayyab-nāme</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) 1265-67/1848-50</td>
<td>Ferdowsi, Shāhnāme</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) 1267-68/1850-51</td>
<td>Saʾdi, Kolliyāt</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) 1268/1851</td>
<td>Sarbāz, Asrār al-şahāde</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) 1268/1851</td>
<td>Čehel Ṭuti</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) 1268/1851</td>
<td>Montaxab al-Ḥamle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15) 1268-70/1851-53</td>
<td>Saʾdi, Kolliyāt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16) 1268-91/1851-74</td>
<td>Saʾdi, Kolliyāt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17) 1269/1853</td>
<td>Ḥāfeẓ, Divān</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18) 1269/1853</td>
<td>Hamle-ye Ḥeydariye</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19) 1269-70/1853-54</td>
<td>Nezāmī, Xamse</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20) 1269/1853</td>
<td>Jowhari, ʿTufān al-bokāʾ</td>
<td>5 [in 4 ill.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21) 1270/1854</td>
<td>Hedāyat, Golestān-e Eram</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22) 1270/1854</td>
<td>Nezāmī, Xamse</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23) 1270-74/1853-57</td>
<td>Mirxvānd, Rowzat al-safā</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24) 1271/1855</td>
<td>Jowhari, ʿTufān al-bokāʾ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25) 1271/1855</td>
<td>Jowhari, ʿTufān al-bokāʾ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26) 1271/1855</td>
<td>Narāqī, Ṭāqdis</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27) 1272/1856</td>
<td>Alf leyla</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28) 1272/1856</td>
<td>Jowhari, ʿTufān al-bokāʾ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The images (illustrations or complete pages) containing Mirzā ‘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.\(^\text{16}\) There are hardly two signatures resembling each other.

\(^{16}\) 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 \textit{nasx} (notably items 13, 26, 27, 31, 39) or a carefully executed \textit{nasta 'lig}. 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 \textit{rasm} of Mirzà '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 Mirzà (31 items) or by his \textit{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 \textit{raqm(-e)} (19 items) or \textit{`amal(-e)} (23 items).

\begin{itemize}
\item ['Ali Qoli (8, 11, 26)
\item 'Aliqoli (10, 20, 25)
\item 'Aliqoli Xu'i (7)
\item Mirzà 'Ali Qoli (34; 45 + xâdem-e madrese-ye Dâr al-fonun)
\item 'amal-e 'Ali Qoli (39)
\item 'amal-e 'Aliqoli (36)
\item 'amal-e 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (1, 13, 14)
\item 'amal-e 'Aliqoli Xu'i (29, 32)
\item 'amal-e Mirzà 'Ali Qoli (49)
\item 'amal-e Mirzà 'Aliqoli (28; 43 and 44 + xâdem-e madrese-ye Dâr al-fonun)
\item 'amal-e Mirzà 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (2, 17, 18 [+ bande-ye dar-gâh], 27, 31, 47, 50)
\item 'amal-e Mirzà 'Aliqoli Xu'i (16, 22, 30, 46, 51)
\item râqem-e 'Ali Qoli (6)
\item râqem-e 'Aliqoli (38)
\item râqem-e 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (3)
\item râqem-e 'Aliqoli Xu'i (9)
\item râqem-e Mirzà 'Ali Qoli (48)
\item râqem-e Mirzà 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (4, 15, 19, 33, 37)
\item râqem-e Mirzà 'Aliqoli Xu'i (5, 12, 23, 35, 40, 41, 42)
\item râqem-e tašv[ir] Mirzà 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (24)
\item râqeme-ye 'Ali Qoli Xu'i (21)
\end{itemize}

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-safā 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 leyla, which he produced together with Mirzā Reżā b. Moḥammad ʿAli-Xān Āštīyānī and Mirzā Ḥasan. No further evidence is available for the art work of Mirzā Reżā. Mirzā 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-nāme (1273/1857), the Romuz-e Ḥamze (1274/1958), and another Alf leyla (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 Divān of Ḥāfez, and the 1269-70/1853-54 Kolliyat 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. Illustrated books remained an exceptional phenomenon up to 1262/1846. 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 Aṣḡar Tafreši. On the other hand, a 1263/1847 edition of Nuš-ʿAfarin-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-

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

18 The following illustrated lithograph books up to 1262/1846 have been identified so far: 1261/1845: Anvâr-e Soheylî; Yusofîyyâ; 1262/1846: Tarassol; Dozd va qâżî-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: Golšân-e huš; no. 842: Ḥâdi al-nâzerin; no. 892: Kolšum-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 Ketābxâne-ye Melli, contains a signature clearly reading “amal-e Mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’i’. 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 Ketābxâne-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
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. 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, Ketabxâne-ye Melli)
1266/1849 Qeşeye Haζrat-e Soleymân (Tehran, Ketabxâne-ye Melli)
1266/1849 Bidel, Mâta mkade (Tehran, Ketabxâne-ye Melli)
1267/1850 Kâšefi, Anvár-e Soheylî (private collection)
1267/1850 Axbâr-nâme (St Petersburg, Oriental Institute; Ščeglova 1975: no. 1920)
1268/1851 Žarir-e Xozâ'i (St Petersburg, Oriental Institute; ibid.: no. 1573)
1269/1852 Hablerudi, Jame' al-tamsîl (Paris, École des langues orientales)
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 Rezavi 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 orientalists 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 Timurid princes. They offer the charming naivety of an art that, given the hundreds of copies in

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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 Mirzā 'Ali-Qoli Xu’i


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).


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 mirzā ‘Ali-Qoli (pl. IIIb).


3) 1263af01 fol. 71b (7.7 × 6.2 cm): Soltān Ebrāhim ascends the throne in Čin, 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): Xān-Mohammad rides on a lion while fighting the divs; signed (upper middle) raqm-e mirzā ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’i (pl. IIId).


The author apologizes 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 filename 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).

Calligraphy by Nasrallah Tafreši; 326 illustrations.
Holdings: London, British Museum 14759.c.2 (Edwards 1922: col. 739); St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps 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 beije 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.
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 Mozaffar Şâh 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. Nezâmi, Xamse, final date 1264, Šavvâl 7 = 1848, September 6.
Calligraphy by ‘Ali-Aşgar 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): Nuširvân and the owls (Dodxudoeva 1985: 108-10, no. 24); signed (right of upper middle) ‘Aligoli (pl. Vb).
11) 1264nz02 fol. 28a (ca 17.5 × 13.4 cm): Battle between Bahrám 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 ‘Ailgoli 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. Mohammad-Taqi b. Mohammad al-Baragâni, Majâles al-mottaqin, dated 1265 = 1849 [copy not available].
Calligraphy by Aḩmad b. Mohammad Ja‘far al-Musavi al-Kâşâni; 14 illustrations.
Holdings: St Petersburg, Gorki University O IV 49 (Śęglova 1989: 111, no. 225).

IX. Mosayyab-nâme, dated 1265, Dūl-Ḥijja 30 = 1849, November 16.
Calligraphy by Naṣrallâh Tafreši; 40 illustrations.
Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps II 212 (Śęglova 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 Moştâfâ-Qoli b. Mohammad 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 (Śęglova 1975: no. 1013); private collection.
15) 1265sh01 fol. 193a (ca 14.9 × 22.3 cm): Rostam lassoes the Xân of Chin; signed (inside beyţe on the far right) ṭaţâq-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i (pl. VIc).
16) 1265sh02 fol. 527a (ca 14.8 × 20.3 cm): Sa'd-e Vaqqâqâs kills Rostam; signed (upper middle) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i (pl. VId).

XI. Sa’di, Kolliyat, final date 1267-68, Šábân = 1850-52, May/June.
Calligraphy by Moştâfâ-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 Khû’i (pl. VIIa).
18) 1267sa02 end of Bustân (ca 7.1 × 13.2 cm): portrait of Naşeroddin 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: taşwîr-e Moştâfâ-Qoli ‘Aţṭâr moḩarrer-e in ketâb;
text to the left: be-tārīx-e 1268 [1...2...6.8]; signed (large caption below the illustration) raqm-e mīrzā ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’ī (pl. VIIc).

Calligraphy by ‘Abd al-Hoseyn b. Ḥājjī Ebrāḥīm; 71 illustrations.
Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps III 131 (Ščeglova 1975: no. 206); Tehran, Ketābxsāne-ye Melli; private collection.
20) 1268as01 fol. 72b (12.2 × 14.9 cm): Ḥārēṣ is about to kill the children of Moslem b. Ḵāqrāl, Ebrāḥīm and his brother Moḥammad; signed (upper right) ‘Ali-Qoli (mirrored) (pl. VIId).
21) 1268as02 fol. 139b (15.2 × 25.2 cm): Šemr [b. Ūṣl-Jowšān] is about to kill Qāsem b. al-Ḥasan; signed (lower right) rāqem-e ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’ī (pl. VIIIa).

XIII. Čehel Ṭūṭī, dated 1268 = 1851 (no further specification).
Calligraphy by ‘Ali Moḥammad al-Širāzī; 43 illustrations.
Holdings: St Petersburg, Oriental Institute Ps II 110, Ps II 202 (ibid.: no. 1666); Tehran, Ketābxsāne-ye Melli.
22) 1268ct01 final page; signed (inside two separate beyže on lower outer ends) ‘amal-e mīrzā ‘Aliqoli Xu’ī (pl. VIIIb).

XIV. Montaxab al-Hamle [...] (Jang-nāme-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 beyže on the right margin) raqm-e mīrzā ‘Aliqoli Xu’ī (pl. VIIIc).

XV. Sa’di, Kolliyāt, dated 1268-70 = 1851-53.
Calligraphy by Moṣṭafā-Qoli Kojuri, Mīrzā Ḵāqa Kamrē’ī; 80 large + 17 small illustrations.
Holdings: Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Fondo Leone Caetani); Tehran, Ketābxsāne-ye Melli.
24) 1268sa01 fol. 55a (lower right corner, last page of Golestān); signed rāqem-e tāṣw[ir] mīrzā ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’ī (pl. VIIIId).

XVI. Sa’di, Kolliyāt, dated 1268-91 = 1851-74.
Calligraphy by Ibn Moḥammad Ja’far ‘Abdarrahmān al-Širāzī and Mīrzā Ḵāqa Kamrē’ī; 45 illustrations.
Holdings: Tehran, Ketābxsāne-ye Markazi-ye Dānešgāh-e Tehrān 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 yā’ has been pasted over) (pl. IXa).
XVII. Ḥāfeẓ, Divān, dated 1269, Jumādā II 18 = 1853, February 27. 
Calligraphy by Moṣtafa-Qoli Solṭān Kojurī; 14 illustrations. 
Holdings: Tehran, Ketābxāne-ye Melli.
26) 1269dh01 fol. 5a, at the end of the dibāče; signed (inside two separate illuminated beyže on the lower outer ends) Ṭamal-e Ṭāli-Qoli (pl. IXb).
27) 1269dh02 final page; signed (inside beyže below framed text) Ṭamal-e mirzā Ṭali-Qoli Xu’i (pl. IXc).

XVIII. Hamle ye Heidariye, dated 1269 = 1853 (no further specification). 
Calligraphy by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Mollā Moḥammad Rezā Xorasānī; 39 illustrations. 
Holdings: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz 4° Zv 1235; Tehran, Ketābxāne-ye Melli.
28) 1269hh01 fol. 86a (15.6 × 16 cm): Ṭali fights Ṭamūr b. Ṭabdūd; signed (inside beyže on far upper right) Ṭamal-e Ṭāli-Qoli 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 Ṭali; signed (below centre, in free spaces of carpet design) Ṭamal-e Ṭāli-Qoli Xu’i (executed in dots) (pl. Xa).
30) 1269hh03 fol. 199a (16.2 cm × 28.7 cm): Ṭali from within his shrine kills Morra b. Qeys; signed (below center, between hatchings to indicate floor in front of the entrance to mosque) Ṭamal-e mirzā Ṭali-Qoli Xu’i (executed in hatching) (pl. Xb).

XIX. Neẓāmī, Xamse, dated 1269-70 = 1853-54. 
Calligraphy by ‘Alī-‘Aṣghar Tafrešī; 37 illustrations. 
Holdings: New York Public Library; Tehran, Ketābxāne-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 beyže close to upper right corner) Ṭamal-e mirzā Ṭali-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) Ṭamal-e Ṭāli-Qoli Xu’i (executed in hatching) (pl. Xd).

XX. Jowhari, Ṭufān al-bokā’, 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): Ṭali fights Ṭarḥab-e Xeibari; signed (inside beyže, lower left corner) Ṯaqm-e mirzā Ṭali-Qoli Xu’i (pl. XIa).
34) 1269tb02 fol. 66a (16.6 × 27.5 cm): Hasan fights the army of the infidels; signed (inside beyţe, center page) mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli (pl. XIb).
35) 1269tb03 fol. 80a (15.8 × 26.8 cm): Qâsem fights the sons of Azraq-e Ģâmi; signed (inside beyţe, 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 beyţe) raqm-e mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli Xu‘i.

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 text) ’amal-e ‘Ali-Qoli (pl. XIIb).

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 Šîrîn (ibid.: 124-25, no. 46); signed (inside beyţe on upper right) raqm-e mirzâ ‘Ali-qoli Xu‘i (pl. XIId).
42) 1270nz03 (ca 14.4 × 20.5 cm): Xosrow watches Šîrîn at the spring (ibid.: 127-33, no. 50); signed (inside beyţe on upper left) raqm-e mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli Xu‘i (pl. XIIIa).


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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 Peters burg, Oriental Institute Ps IV 49 (Šćeglova 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. XIIIId).

XXIV. Jowhari, TUREN al-boka', dated 1272 = 1855 (further specification unavailable).
Printed in moveable type; 9 full page illustrations (item 3 signed 'amal-e mirzâ Hâdi).
Holdings: Mashad, Ketâbxâne-ye Markazi-ye Âstân-e Qods-e Režavi.
46) 1271tb01 (15.2 × 25.8 cm): Fâtima in bridal attire; signed (bottom, outside frame) 'amal-e mirzâ 'Aliqoli Xu’i (pl. XIVa).

XXV. Jowhari, TUREN al-boka', dated 1271 = 1855 (further specification unavailable).
Calligraphy by Mohammad b. Mohammad-Naqi al-Xânsâri; 28 illustrations.
Holdings: Mashad, 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 'Aliqoli Xu’i (pl. XIVb).

XXVI. Mollâ Aḩmad b. Moḩammad-Mahdi Narâqi, Tâqdis, dated 1271 = 1855 (no further specification).
Calligraphy by 'Abd al-Ḥoseyn [al-Eṣfahâni]; 11 illustrations.
Holdings: London, British Museum 14787.c.11 (ibid.: col. 94); St Peters burg, University Library (Šćeglova 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 beyţe on upper right) raqm-e mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli (pl. XIVc).

XXVII. Alfleyla, dated 1272 = 1856 (further specification unavailable).
Calligraphy by Mohammad ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allâh-Beg Tehrâni; 70 illustrations, of which 10 signed by Mirzâ Režâ b. Moḩammad ‘Ali-Xân Āştiyânî, 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 mirzā 'Ali-Qoli (pl. XIVd).

50) 1272al02 (ca 16.7 × 15.8 cm): initial illumination of part 2: signed (intertwoven signature inside beyże below center, forming part of the initial illumination) 'amal-e mirzā 'Ali-Qoli Xu'i (pl. XVa).

XXVIII. Jowhari, Ṭufān al-bokā‘, dated 1272 = 1856 (further specification unavailable).
Printed in moveable type; 8 full page illustrations.
Holdings: two (imperfect) copies in private collections.
51) 1272tb01 (16.6 × 26.9 cm): ‘Ali fights ‘Amr b. ‘Abdud; signed (lower left corner, inside hatchings indicating ground) 'amal-e mirzā ‘Aliqoli Xu'i (executed in hatching) (pl. XVb).

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Types of Mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’i’s signature
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) Soltan Ebrahim ascends the throne in Chin, while his viziers are standing in front of him in a row (1263af01)

d) Xan-Mohammad rides on a lion while fighting the divs (1263af02)
a) The king welcomes the bride and 
Abu Tammân (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 Moẓaffar 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 kebāb, while his sister and the div are passionately embracing each other (1264hd03)

b) Nuširvān and the owls (1264nz01)

c) Battle between Bahrām and Xosrow (1264nz02)

d) Alexander fights the Zengi (1264nz03)
a) Alexander lassoes the Russian div (1264nz04)

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

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

d) Sa'd-e Vaqqās kills Rostam (1265sh02)
a) Portrait of Ša'di (1267sa01)

b) Portrait of Naşcroddin Šah (1267sa02)

c) Portrait of the calligrapher (1267sa03)

d) Hâres is about to kill the children of Moslem b. 'Aqil, Ebrāhim and his brother Muḥammad (1268as01)
a) Šemr is about to kill Qāsem b. al-Ḥasan (1268as02)

b) Final page of Čehel Ṭuṭi (1268ct01)

c) Final page of Montaxab al-Ḥamle (1268nh01)

d) Final page last page of Golestān (1268sa01)
a) Portrait of Sa'di entertaining a guest
(1268sa02)

b) Final page of the Divân of Hâfez
(1269dh01)

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

d) 'Ali fights 'Amr b. 'Abd (1269hh01)
a) The leaders of the Christian community come to Mohammad (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 Marhab-e Xeibari (1269tb01)

b) Hasan 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 (1270ge01)

b) Rābi‘a asleep (1270ge02)

c) Fereydun and the gazelle (1270nz01)

d) Šāpur tells Xosrow about Širin (1270nz02)
a) Xosrow watches Sirin at the spring (1270nz03)

b) Frontispiece (1270rs01)

c) Frontispiece (1270ns02)

d) Frontispiece (1270rs03)
a) Fāṭima in bridal attire (1271/tb01)

b) The execution of Háres by order of Ziyād (1271/tb02)

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

d) Vardān the butcher kills the woman who had intercourse with the bear. (1272/a01)
a) Initial illumination (1272a02)

b) 'Ali fights 'Amr b. 'Abdud (1272b01)