THE LITHOGRAPHED KALİLAH WA DIMNAH

ILLUSTRATIONS TO TALES FROM
THE KALİLAH WA DIMNAH AND ANWAR-I SUHAYLĪ TRADITION
IN LITHOGRAPHED EDITIONS OF THE QÂJÂR PERIOD

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Introduction

Illustrations in lithographed books of the Qâjâr period constitute one of the highly fascinating, yet largely unexplored fields of Islamic art. While they have a naive charm, lithographic illustrations also represent an important prolongation of the art of manuscript illustration. Moreover, they were produced in hundreds, rather than in single exquisite copies. Because of their potential for popularizing visual content, they deserve attention; representing narratives in the nutshell of an image capable of a wide distribution, they may have contributed decisively to stabilizing and invigorating narrative traditions. Though this field of iconographical research had already been focused upon by the French scholar Henri Massé in 1960, when imagerie populaire was, to a certain extent, en vogue, a thorough investigation of Persian lithographic illustration has only recently been attempted. Its ultimate goal is the preparation of an exhaustive corpus study, the Thesaurus universalis libri lithographici illustrati Persorum (TULLIP).

In art history, as in other fields of the humanities, corpus studies constitute one of the most tedious tasks of comparative research. Large bodies of data must be collected, often involving great expense. Next, the data have to be surveyed, sifted, and sorted before researchers come anywhere near beginning their interpretation. Yet when the first phase of research has been achieved, use of the data is highly rewarding, and from then on, interpretation may follow the data’s lead. The resulting corpus studies eventually lead to a more adequate understanding of the strands of tradition and their interdependencies, continuities, modifications and innovations, as well as the popularity of the subjects treated. While Western art history, by way of the ICONCLASS system, has developed a working instrument to facilitate the identification and classification of iconographical items, for Islamic art the subject in many respects still poses basic problems. Considering the enormous effort corpus studies require, it is not surprising to see that, so far, only three of the major traditions of illustrated books in the Islamic world have been subjected to large-scale surveys: Firdawsi’s Shâh-nâmeh, Nizâmi’s Khamsah, and, most recently, the manuscripts of the Kalilah wa Dimnah tradition.

Moreover, even though the above-mentioned corpus studies explore large amounts of comparative data otherwise inaccessible to the individual researcher, they are restricted exclusively to illustrations in manuscripts. In accordance with the general notion of the so-called “Islamic book,” they adhere to the practice common in Islamic art history, of dealing with topics regarded as original, genuine, and authentic. This means a focus on work qualifying as “great art” and usually implies their production before the massive impact of Western influence in the Islamic world was felt. Thus, apart from a
pioneering study by the doyen of Qajar art history, B. W. Robinson, the illustrated lithographed book in the Islamic world has received little attention. Such books were predominantly published in 19th-century Iran and, to a minor extent, in India. Produced in a new technique only recently invented in the West, they are nonetheless heavily indebted to traditional modes of book production in the Islamic world both in the styles of illustration and in the topics selected. From elementary attempts to combine calligraphy and illustration in the early 1840s, illustration in Persian lithographed books reached its first peak, never again surpassed, in the works of Mirzá ‘Ali-Quli Khu’i, who illustrated some thirty books in the period between 1847 and 1856. Lithographic illustration continued to be practiced well into the first half of the 20th century; even after the introduction of printing from movable type, lithographic illustrations culled from 19th-century books continued to be reproduced in items of popular literature. Given their intermediate role between the traditional modes and modern ways of book production prevalent from the latter half of the 20th century, illustrated lithographed books constitute a prime area for the study of both continuity and changes of tradition from the middle of the 19th century. It is against this background that this essay proposes to supplement Ernst Grube’s “Prolegomena” by presenting illustrations to the Kalilah wa Dimnah and Anwār-i Suhayli tradition included in Iranian lithographed editions.

Before discussing the actual illustrations in some more detail, a few general remarks concerning the field of lithographic illustration may be offered. Lithography was the prevalent mode of book production in Iran from the time of its introduction to the end of the Qajar period. As for the illustrations in lithographed books, the early period is of particular relevance. In the first two decades of lithographic illustration, techniques and styles were developed by Iranian artists; subsequently, topics as well as modes of representation, once chosen, remained more or less fixed. The later period, even though it shows some originality and a few genuine innovations, is to a large extent characterized by the fact that modes of illustration previously fixed were copied in an increasingly simplified manner. Considering that lithography may have made reading-matter (often illustrated) accessible to a much larger audience than were the manuscripts previously produced for wealthy individuals, it appears an unjust simplification to denigrate Qajar lithographed books. To the contrary, given the social consequences of popularizing literature, lithographic book production must be regarded as having achieved great progress. The available material nonetheless appears to show that although minor artists practiced in all periods, later artists in general tended to be less original in illustrating new topics and often were much less detailed in exercising their craft. Hence, particular attention must be paid to the early period. The editions listed above therefore form the basis of the present survey, while no serious attempt has been made to locate or take into consideration editions published any later than the year 1300/1882.

Illustrated Lithographed Editions of Anwār-i Suhayli

The most popular version of the Kalilah wa Dimnah tradition in 19th-century Persian production is Ḥusayn ibn ‘Ali Wāriz Kāshīfī’s elaborate 9th/15th-century version entitled Anwār-i Suhayli. The text had been published frequently from the early 19th century, above all in India, in editions printed both from movable type and by way of lithography. Up to its first Iranian edition of 1261/1845, such volumes were rarely, if ever, illustrated. In general, Indian lithographic productions of Persian literature, with the exception of Firdawṣi’s Šāh-nāmah, were often published in plain text editions rather than illustrated ones, a fact that also applies to the later Indian copies of Anwār-i Suhayli. Since the information concerning Persian books in the 19th century is still quite rudimentary, it remains unclear how many Iranian lithographed editions of Anwār-i Suhayli were produced, let alone how many of them contained illustrations. The Catalogue of Persian Printed Books does not list the date of the first Iranian edition, 1261. Moreover, of the six additional Iranian lithographed editions mentioned for the Qajar period, only two are of a comparatively early date:

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Tehran, 1263 q/amaril/1846: sangî, wazîri, 236 šaḥa
Tehran, 1282 q/1865
Tehran, 1310 q/1892
Tehran, 1314 q/1896, bi-iḥtīmān-i Sayyid Ja'far va Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khwānsârî, wazîri, 433 ș
Tehran, 1320 q/1902: sangî
Tehran, 1329 q/1911: sangî, wazîri, 404 ș

In contrast, the available catalogues of Persian lithographed books, and research in accessible collections worldwide, have so far yielded the following list (by no means comprehensive) of early illustrated Iranian editions of Anwâr-i Suhaylī:21

Tehran 1261/1845: Kârkhnânah-i Mu'tamid al-Dawla; published by Ākhund Mullâ 'Abbâs-'Ali and Muḥammad-Baqîr al-Khwânsârî ibn Ākhund Mullâ Muḥammad-Ḥasan “Khwushnawīs”; 168 leaves; 30 cm; 56 illustrations22
Tehran 1263/1847: Kârkhnânah-i Mu'tamid al-Dawla; published by Ākhund Mullâ 'Abbâs-'Ali; calligraphy by Naṣr-Allâh Tafrishi; 56 illustrations; 235 leaves; 25.5 cm
Tehran 1267/1851: calligraphy by 'Ali-Āṣghar [Tafrishi]; 56 illustrations; 191 leaves; 25 cm
Tehran 1274/1857: 10 illustrations, one signed by Mirzâ Ḥasan ibn Āqâ Sayyid Mirzâ Eşfahânî (Fig. 2.5); 171 leaves; 25.5 cm25
Tehran 1277/1860: Kârkhnânah-i Āqâ Karbalâ'i Muḥammad-Ḥusayn Ţahrâni; calligraphy by Muḥammad-Baqîr al-Gulpâyîgâni; 7 illustrations; 171 leaves; 25 cm26
Tehran 1281/1864: 7 illustrations; signed fol. 2a below ornamental header: “amâl-i solâlah al-sâdât Mirzâ Ḥasan-i naqqâsh”; 168 leaves; 27.5 cm27

The edition of 1270/1853, contrary to the details supplied in the catalogue of the Istanbul University Library, was not produced in Tehran but in Bombay; it does not contain illustrations.29 The listing of a 1282 edition of Anwâr-i Suhaylī in the Catalogue of Persian Printed Books is most probably an erroneous reference to the first Iranian lithographed edition of Abu'l-Mâ'âli Naṣr-Allâh Munshi's translation of Kalilah wa Dimnah, of which the Tehran National Library holds several copies; it will be mentioned again below.

The respective number of illustrations of Anwâr-i Suhaylī suggests a division of lithographed editions into two distinct groups.30 The first comprises the editions of 1261, 1263, and 1267, containing 56 illustrations each. In the two latter editions they are clearly modelled on those in the first, since they illustrate identical topics in an almost identical manner. There is only one exception: in the edition of 1267, the penultimate illustration, and the last one in the story of The king's son and his companions, shows The king's son in prison (B.27.10),31 whereas both the two previous editions of 1261 and 1263 illustrate
the scene On the road, the king’s son encounters three young men (B.27.2) (Concordance, 69 and 70; Figs. 6.9, 6.10). Another minor difference applies to the climax of the story of The Sultan of Baghdad who, for the public good, killed his beloved mistress (K.Add.C.35). Whereas the final illustration to this story in both the editions of 1261 and 1263 pictures the sultan and his mistress next to the river, indicating that he is about to throw her into the water, the relevant illustration in the edition of 1267 shows the fait accompli, with the mistress about to drown in the river (Concordance, 55 and 56; Figs. 5.7, 5.8).

The second group consists of the later editions, which contain seven (1277, 1281), ten (1274), and thirteen (1298) illustrations respectively. As for the edition of 1274, it is interesting to note that five out of ten of its illustrations are related to stories not considered for illustration in any earlier edition. These are 1: The lion, the wolf, the jackal, and the camel (C.10.5), 2: The three envious travellers (K.Add.C.17), 3: The camel rider saves a snake and in return is menaced (K.Add.C.19.3), 4: The pious man and the mouse who remained true to its nature (C.25.2), and 9: The pious man and his guest who wanted to learn Hebrew (B.25.2).

In addition, it is worth mentioning that three of these illustrations (3, 4, and 9) do not appear in any of the subsequent editions. Of the remaining five, all of which are present in all of the previous editions, three—7: The old woman and the “angel of death” (C.29), 8: The Arab and the baker (K.Add.C.33), and 10: Sulayman at court (K.Add.C.38)—belong to the standard set of illustrations in all surveyed editions, while one—6: The rat offering to free the cat (B.20.2)—occurs in all editions but that of 1298; the remaining one—5: The king of the monkeys riding on the tortoise’s back (B.18.6)—does not appear in any of the later editions of Anwār-i Suhaylī surveyed, being present only in the 1282 edition of Kalīlah wa Dimnah.

As for the editions of 1277 and 1281, the seven illustrations contained in both treat identical subjects in a closely related manner, albeit with a considerable degree of variation in details. Six of the subjects (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7; Concordance, 17, 23, 44, 50, 53, 61) have been illustrated before, either in all of the previous editions (3, 5, 6, and 7; Figs. 4.8, 5.2, 5.5, 6.1) or only in the edition of 1274 (1 and 2; Figs. 2.5, 2.11). The only exception in the overall similarity of the two editions is constituted by the fourth subject, The prince making advances to the farmer’s young wife whose old husband is dozing in her lap (K.Add.C.26.2; Concordance, 46; Fig. 4.10). Moreover, the edition of 1281 at least partly appears to follow a tradition set by that of 1274. Though as a whole, the pictures in the editions of 1277 and 1281 illustrate the same set of scenes, the first two illustrations in the latter, rather than following the version in the former, follow the respective illustrations in the earlier edition of 1274. In both those of 1274 and 1281 the camel, in the scene The lion, the wolf, the jackal, and the camel (C.10.5; Concordance, 17; Fig. 2.5), is shown as seated together with the other animals discussing their fate; in the edition of 1277, the camel is innocently stepping towards the lion who is pictured with his tail upright, in an aggressive state of agitation. Similarly, in the scene The three envious travellers (K.Add.C.17; Concordance, 23; Fig. 2.11) in both the editions of 1274 and 1281, the king on horseback meets the three envious travellers out in the open, either standing upright (1274) or seated (1281); the corresponding illustration in the edition of 1277 pictures the king together with the three travellers seated inside a covered room, the amazed king holding the index finger of his left hand to his lips in the typical gesture of ḥansūsht-i tahāyūr (literally “finger of bewilderment”). The other illustrations in the editions of 1277 and 1281 show little variation, with two exceptions. In the edition of 1281, the first, the work’s final illustration (Concordance, 61; Fig. 6.1), portrays King Solomon in a manner different from the prevailing iconographical formula. Usually, Solomon is surrounded by an array of creatures including mammals, birds, and insects, as well as angels and dīws. Here, Solomon rests on a carpet in the foreground, and the angel holding the vessel that contains the water of life stands next to him on the right. A typical array of animals—including, among others, the owl, the hoopoe, and the simurgh—occupies the picture’s upper half. The second illustration in the edition of 1281, whose variation deserves mention, concerns the scene The old woman and the angel of death (C.29; Concordance, 50; Fig. 5.2). The old woman’s bedridden daughter, represented in virtually all other renderings of this scene, is missing in the edition of 1281 where, contrary to all other illustrations of this scene, the cow’s head is still quite visible beneath the pot caught
The latest edition included in the present survey, that of 1298, again differs considerably from the previous editions in the episodes it illustrates. Of its thirteen pictures, seven (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; Concordance, 1, 16, 25, 32, 37, 41, 45) are without precedent in the editions of Anwār-i Suhayli discussed so far. Of these, two may be regarded as closely linked to the other representations of the same story. They are numbers 7: The king of Kashmir’s trained monkey (K.Add.C.24.3; Concordance, 37; Fig. 4.1), and 9: The old farmer and his young wife (K.Add.C.26.1; Concordance, 45; Fig. 4.9), both of which picture the relevant tale’s general setting with no reference to details of the later action: In 7, the king of Kashmir’s trained monkey simply keeps watch next to the king’s bed, and in 9, the old farmer and his young wife are peacefully talking to each other in an indoor setting. The remaining five illustrations, without parallel in any previous edition of Anwār-i Suhayli, appear to introduce new topics to the illustrated lithographed editions of the text. While the validity of this statement can only be confirmed by examining still other editions of the period prior to 1298, it is interesting to note that there are only two illustrations for which no earlier model in lithographic illustration appears to exist. They are 3: (Fig. 2.4) The hunter, in haste and ignorance, tries to capture the leopard he believes to be the trapped fox (K.Add.C.11.2; Concordance, 16; Fig. 2.4), and 6: The pious man, his sheep, and the thieves (C.21; Concordance, 32; Fig. 3.8), a well-known tale still current in 20th-century Persian oral tradition. As for the remaining three illustrations (1, 5, 8; Figs. 1.1, 3.1, 4.5), paintings in manuscripts might, of course, have served as a source of inspiration. Yet, since a comparison of lithographic illustration with manuscript illustration is beyond the scope of the present essay, it is also rewarding to note that two of these illustrations correspond to pictures in lithographed editions of books other than Anwār-i Suhayli; and since Anwār-i Suhayli, after all is a Persian adaptation of the originally Arabic Kalilah wa Dimnah, a comparison with illustrated editions of the latter work immediately suggests itself. In addition, Grube has already pointed out that illustrations to tales from the Kalilah wa Dimnah tradition might also occur in other texts only vaguely related to the original work, or any of its later adaptations. Considering the great impact of Kalilah wa Dimnah on Persian learned, as well as popular, literature, it is not surprising to see that illustrations to tales from that tradition are also encountered in other Persian works printed by way of lithography. While none of the texts mentioned by Grube have yet come to light in illustrated lithographed editions, other works that have not been considered so far do exist, as may now be seen.

Illustrated Lithographed Editions of Kalilah wa Dimnah

The title Kalilah wa Dimnah usually denotes the Persian version of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s original Arabic text as translated in the 6th/12th century by Abū’l-Ma‘alī Naṣr-Allāh Munshi. Contrary to Anwār-i Suhayli, whose first editions were prepared by Western orientalists at Fort William College in Bengal, Abū’l-Ma‘alī’s version appears to have been printed first in Iran. Victor Chauvin mentions an edition of 1304, while the Catalogue of Persian Printed Books, and other sources, list a number of illustrated 19th-century editions following the editio princeps of 1282/1865.

Tehran 1282/1865: 26 illustrations signed by one of three artists, Mīrzā Ja‘far, ‘Abd al-Mutallib, Muhammad-Bāqir Khān; 281 pp.; 27 cm

Tehran 1304/1886: calligraphy by Muhammad-Bāqir al-Jarbāqānī; final calligraphy by Muhammad-Sadiq al-Gulpakāyīgān; 25 illustrations, two signed by Nābī [Khān] Qājār, one signed by Naṣr-Allāh; 243 pp.; 28 cm

Tabriz (?) 1314-15/1896-97: 23 illustrations, one signed by Naṣr-Allāh; calligraphy by Dā‘ūd al-Gulpāyīgān; 245 pp.; 24.5 cm
The first three of these editions were examined for the present survey. Other editions, such as one of 1300/1882, were not available. Within the surveyed Kalilah wa Dimnah material, it is still clearer than in the case of Anwār-i Suhaylī that the first was the operative model for all later editions. The first edition of 1282 is adorned with 26 full-page illustrations, all signed by one of three artists: Mirzā Ja'far (1, 2, 3, 24, 25, 26); Mir Muṭṭallib (Iṣfahānī)/Abd al-Muṭallib (4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23); and Muḥammad-Ībīrī (5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 18). The illustrations contained in the subsequent editions are detailed copies with little variation and a high degree of perfection in imitating the original, even to minute details such as the design of a carpet or bedcover. The only major variation concerns illustration 18: The fox persuades the donkey to return to the lion (C.27.9). While this is the only illustration in horizontal format in the original edition of 1282, in both later editions it has a vertical format, with the lion lying in ambush in the picture’s foreground. As for the number of illustrations in the various editions, the tendency is that they diminish. Illustration 5: The Lion, Shanzabah, and Kalīlah and Dimnah (B.15) is missing in both the editions of 1304 and 1315, while illustration 6: The shoemaker cuts off the nose of the barber’s wife (C.5.6.3) and 13: When the tortoise is captured, the crow, the gazelle, and the rat manage to free her (B.16.16) are both absent in the edition of 1315 alone. The result is a total of 23 illustrations in the edition of 1315, as against 25 illustrations in the edition of 1304 and 26 illustrations in the edition of 1282.

In terms of repertoire, the most striking feature of the illustrations in the lithographed editions of Kalilah wa Dimnah is that their majority does not correspond to the program seen in any edition of Anwār-i Suhaylī. Of the total of 26 illustrations, only eight correspond to previously illustrated subjects (Concordance, 12, 19, 31, 33, 39, 44, 50, 51; Figs. 7.7, 8.2, 8.5, 8.6, 8.8, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4). Another two represent scenes from tales of which different scenes have been illustrated previously, as in 9: The lion devours the camel (C.10.8; Fig. 7.9, and compare the Concordance, 17), and 25: A pilgrim rescues a tiger, a monkey, a snake, and a goldsmith from the pit into which they had fallen (B.26.1; Fig. 9.7, and compare the Concordance, 68). On the other hand, the 1282 edition of Kalilah wa Dimnah is linked to Anwār-i Suhaylī, insofar as it renders lithographically for the first time two scenes only reproduced later, in the 1298 edition of Anwār-i Suhaylī: they are 4: The monkey and the carpenter (C.3; Fig. 7.4; and compare the Concordance, 1; Fig. 1.1), and 19: The wife of the pious man (B.19.1; Fig. 9.1; see also Concordance, 41; Fig. 4.5).

Illustrations in Lithographed Editions of Related Works

As for illustrations to tales from the Kalilah wa Dimnah tradition in related works, a short, and random survey in various illustrated lithographed books must suffice for now. A full survey of editions could not be done, but every attempt has been made to consult and reproduce illustrations from the earliest known illustrated editions of the works referred to.

The largest number of illustrations to tales from the Kalilah wa Dimnah tradition is found in lithographed editions of Muḥammad-Ībīrī’s early 17th-century compilation of proverbs. This book, praised as the most frequently printed book in the Persian language, was first published in a lithographed edition in 1269/1852, it contained 33 illustrations, representing the work’s most profusely illustrated edition ever. Six derive from the Kalilah wa Dimnah tradition (Figs. 10.2-10.7). While four belong to the standard repertoire of the early editions of Anwār-i Suhaylī, The falconer presents the two parrots he has trained to calumniate the merchant’s chaste wife and is blinded by his own falcon (C.18.4; Fig.
10.5) corresponds to an illustration included only in the 1298 edition of Anwār-i Suhaylī (Concordance, 25; Fig. 3.1); the scene The lark takes revenge on the elephant (B.1; Fig. 10.2) had not before been rendered lithographically.

The popular tale of The king who killed the faithful falcon (K.Add.C.25.2),48 illustrated in both Anwār-i Suhaylī (Concordance, 43; Fig. 4.7) and Jāmī fi al-tamsil (Fig. 10.6), is also rendered in the anonymous Chihīl Ṭūṭī, a popular “offspring” of the Ṭūṭī-Nāmah49 (Fig. 10.1). The work was probably compiled only shortly before its first lithographed edition in 1263/1847, from which the reproduced illustration is taken.

The Riyāż al-muhībbin,50 a 19th-century compilation of edifying and moralizing tales by Rizā-Quli ibn Muhammad-Quli Nūrī, contains (among a number of fables deriving from the Aesopic tradition) the tale of the friendship between the frog and the mouse (K.Add.C.27) which, in the work’s first edition, of 1270/1853—contrasting with the same tale’s illustration in Anwār-i Suhaylī (Fig. 5.1)—is rendered in two separate illustrations. The first (Fig. 10.8) pictures the beginning of the friendship in a landscape between hills dotted by mouse-holes and the lake, the natural habitat for frogs, fishes, ducks, and tortoises. The tale’s second illustration (Fig. 10.9) pictures the scene in which the frog is tied to the mouse and both are carried off by the crow. While the story’s climax is illustrated similarly to its prior renderings (in Anwār-i Suhaylī; Concordance, 49), the illustrator has added appeal by contrasting the tragic end of the unnatural friendship with the peaceful tranquility of the stupid frog’s natural habitat, and by framing the scene with two human on-lookers.

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī’s Maḥnawi-i māʿnawi represents one of the most fecund adaptations of tales taken from Kalilah wa Dimnah in Persian literature, a debt the author acknowledges in the introductory passage to his version of the tale of The three fishes with different intelligence (verse 4, 2203).51 Though the Maḥnawi has often been printed in lithographed editions, none has ever been illustrated.52 Only later, less voluminous, extracts of the original work appear to have offered an opportunity for the inclusion of illustrations, such as the popular abridgement called Maḥnawi-i ʿafāl, compiled in the Qājār period by a certain Miṣṭāḥ al-Mulk Māḥmūd ibn Yūsuf.53 Of the 45 illustrations in this book’s only known lithographed edition, of 1309/1891, three refer to tales also found in Kalilah wa Dimnah or Anwār-i Suhaylī, respectively (Figs. 10.10-10.12). The realistic style of these illustrations contrasts sharply with the formal representation practiced in early lithographic illustration, as well as Qājār art in general, even though some of the traditional elements, such as the vertical split of the well (Fig. 10.10), have been retained.

As a final item, the 1329/1911 edition of an abridged version of Kalilah wa Dimnah compiled by a certain Shaykh Muhammad-ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan Katūzīyān, entitled Akhlāq-i asāsī,54 remains to be mentioned. The book contains altogether 58 small illustrations, the largest repertoire in all editions surveyed. Most of the pictures illustrate traditional topics in a comparatively modern style, as will be evident from the choice reproduced here (Fig. 11.1-12). As for the mode of representation, only a few traditional elements occur, such as the vertical split of the well in the tale of The hare and the lion. Besides depictions of contemporary Persian clothing and some rudimentary sketches of traditional tools or instruments, these illustrations are quite modern and appear to be indebted to European models of book illustration.

Artists who Practiced Lithographic Illustration

While the main purpose of the present study is to supply new data for comparative iconographic research, a few remarks concerning the artists responsible for these new pictures, as well as a brief evaluation of lithographic illustration in general, may also be of interest. Most lithographic illustrators, as in fact a large number of the artists of the Qājār period in general, remain anonymous. Artists rarely
signed their work by name and, even when they did, there is often not much more information available about the specific person beyond the name alone. As for the illustrations here surveyed, a few of their makers can be identified. While their signatures also appear in lithographic illustrations of other books, additional evidence shows that virtually all artists who produced significant numbers of lithographic illustrations also painted portraits and landscape, as well as executing lacquer-work.

Mīrzā Ḥasan ibn ʿĀqā Sayyid Mīrzā, the illustrator of the 1274/1857 and 1281/1864 editions of Anwār-i Suhaylī, was probably a student of Mīrzā ʿAlī-Quli Khūʾī, together with whom (and also with Mīrzā Rīżā Tabrizi) he participated in the illustration of the 1272/1855 edition of the first Persian translation of Alf laylah wa laylah. Mīrzā Ḥasan remained a highly productive artist in the 1270s, a period when he illustrated (or participated in the illustration of) some two dozen different books, including such voluminous works as Iskandar-nāmah (1273/1857), Rumīz-i Ḥamzah (1274/1858), and another Alf laylah (1275/1859). Besides the 1281/1864 edition of Anwār-i Suhaylī, the latest work by Mīrzā Ḥasan containing his signature is an edition of Jawhari’s ʿṬūfān al-bukāʾ published in 1281/1864. Mīrzā Ḥasan was the son of Sayyid Mīrzā, a well-known court-painter of the early Qājār period. Sayyid Mīrzā’s dated production (according to Muḥammad-ʿAlī Karimzādah Tabrizi) ranges between the years 1240/1824 and 1285/1868.

In contrast, Adel T. Adamova establishes the period of Sayyid Mīrzā’s active work roughly two decades earlier between the years 1803-04 and 1842. Both dates would suit the hypothesis that Mīrzā Ḥasan might have been Mīrzā ʿAlī-Quli Khūʾī’s apprentice and student in the early 1270s.

ʿAbd al-Husayn Khwānsārī, the illustrator of the 1298/1880 edition of Anwār-i Suhaylī, was apparently active at least a decade earlier when, together with Mīrzā Naṣr-Allāh, he participated in the illustration of another edition of Alf laylah wa laylah, published between 1289-93/1872-76 (signatures in illustrations 2 and 6). Robinson also mentions his 1291/1874 edition of the booklet Latāʾif wa zarāʾif. Whether or not he is identical with a certain ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn who signed a lacquer box dated 1271/1854 remains to be verified.

Mīrzā Naṣr-Allāh, whose signature is contained in both the 1304/1886 and the 1314-15/1896-97 editions of Kalilah wa Dimnah, was active for more than two decades, starting in the early 1290s. His latest work so far identified is the 1316/1898 edition of the Iskandar-nāmah. In the earlier period, he also had a share in the preparation of the 1299-1300/1881-82 edition of Nūḥāmī’s Khamsah, the majority of whose illustrations are signed by Muṣṭafā.

Of the three artists who participated in the illustration of the 1282 edition of Kalilah wa Dimnah, only two can be identified. While no additional information is available for Muḥammad-Bāqir Khān, Mīrzā Jaʿfar is known to have been a student of Ṣanʿī al-Mulk and was later professor at the Dār al-funūn. ʿAbd al-Muṭallib (who also signed as Mir Muṭallib) was the son of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī and a member of the group of students sent to France by order of Nāṣīr al-Dīn Shāh in 1275/1858. ʿAbd al-Muṭallib also illustrated the first volume of the famous Nāmah-i Khusravān (1285/1868). He died in Jumādā I 1231 (August 15, 1903).

The signature of Nābi Qājār can be found in two illustrations of the 1304 edition of Kalilah wa Dimnah. He is also known as Nabi-Khān Qājār, bearing the honorific title of Manṣūr al-Mamālik. His signed pieces cover the period between 1285 and 1304.

As for illustrations from related works, the only signed pictures are those included in the 1309 edition of the ʿAlī ibn Yusuf Mustawfī ʿAshṭīyānī’s Chahār faṣl-i Maykade comprise some of the most daring of contemporary pictures in terms of explicit sexual practices.
It is difficult to ascertain whether anything discussed above may be the work of Mirzā ‘Ali-Quli Khū’i, the most prolific practitioner of early lithographic illustration both in terms of quality and output. Of the editions of Anwār-i Suhaylī surveyed for this study, the first three fall into his active period, and the edition of 1267/1850, given the minute execution of details, might be considered to represent his work. Additional evidence for this assumption is supplied by the fact that the text of this edition is executed by the famous scribe ‘Ali-Aṣghar Tafrishi, with whom Mirzā ‘Ali-Quli Khū’i is known to have co-produced several books of the period. On stylistic grounds, both the 1269 edition of Jāmi‘ al-tamsīl and the 1270 edition of Riyāz al-muḥibbin might also be judged as Mirzā ‘Ali-Quli’s work, even though the former contains in one place the signature of a certain Maḥmud Khwānsārī.

Conclusion

The illustrations in Persian books produced by the process of lithography are modest, both in terms of their originality and refinement of execution. Lithographic illustration on the whole is much less detailed than manuscript illustration, and the pictures are most often quite small. Moreover, lithographic illustration never matured into an art form practiced by major artists, though the brilliant and life-like portraits prepared by Abū‘l-Ḥasan Khān Ghaffārī—“Ṣanī al-Mulk”—were widely published in newspapers and journals of the period. There are also a few masterpieces of lithographic illustration in books: the 1280/1863 edition of the Tuhfat al-zākīrīn, illustrated by Bahrām Kirmānshāhī, the 1322 edition of the Shāh-nāma-i ‘Bahādurī,’ illustrated by Muḥammad-Kāẓīm al-Hamādānī, Ḥusayn-‘Ali and ‘Ali-Khān,77 or the 1324 edition of the Kulliyāt-i Riyāzī, illustrated by Sayyid al-Shu’arā’/78 In general, however, soon after its introduction the illustration of lithographed books had become the field of minor artists, who took their inspiration from models set by earlier painters without ever reaching their standards, and whose style, over the years, became extremely crude. Even though it is important to keep this development in mind, it should again be pointed out that to call it a “decline” overlooks the radical social consequences offered by lithographic illustration, in terms of bringing visual art closer to a larger number of people. In addition, Qājār lithographed books constitute both an important descendent of manuscript illustration and a precursor of the modern style of book illustration. In this respect, lithographic illustration deserves to be studied as an authentic and highly individual form of artistic expression in 19th-century Iran.
Notes

The following abbreviations are used:

Chauvin (1897) Victor Chauvin, Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l’Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885, Vol. II, Liège and Leipzig, 1897


Shcheglova (1975) Olimpiada P. Shcheglova, Katalog litografirovannykh knig na persidskom jazyke v sobranii Leningradskogo otdeleniya Institutu


5. Jill Norgren and Edward Davis, *Preliminary Index of Shah-Namahe Illustrations*, Ann Arbor, 1969 (The University of Michigan Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies). I would like to thank the late B. W. Robinson for his kindness in making available to me his personal copy of this publication. See also Sh. M. Shukurov, *‘Shakh-name’ Firdousi i ranneya illustrativnaya tradiciya*, Moscow, 1983. An index of illustrations in manuscript copies of the *Shāh-nāmah* has been prepared within the frame of a research project conducted by Charles Melville (Cambridge) and Robert Hillenbrand (Edinburgh). It is now available online at http://shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk/shahnama/faces/user/index (July 17, 2007); see also Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings, Robert Hillenbrand, ed., Aldershot, 2004; and Melville (2006). For a corpus study of lithographed illustrations to the *Shāh-nāmah* see now Ulrich Marzolph, and Muhammad Hādi Muh:mmaddi, *Ālbūm-i Shāh-nāmah*, Tehran, 1385/2006.


17. Chauvin (1897), p. 30, no. 52 S.


29. Karatay (1949), p. 26 (shelfmark 76416). Copies were examined both in Istanbul and the Cambridge University Library (shelfmark Moh. 668 a 4). The latter originates from the library of the eminent British scholar E. G. Browne; its calligraphy is by the famous calligrapher known as Awliyā’ Samī’.

30. For the following discussion see the “Concordance of Illustrations” and the reproductions, Figs. 1-11.


37. Chauvin (1897), p. 25, no. 2.


41. Ibid., p. 538, no. 1450.

42. Ibid., p. 539, no. 1451.
56. Robinson (1979), p. 73.
68. Marzolph (2001), pp. 31-34.
75. While the available library catalogues do not mention the book at all, Yârshâ’î (1973), Vol. I, col. 135, mentions an edition of 1331-1333 in two volumes. The edition of 1329 was consulted in the Central Library of the Astân-i Quds in Mashhad.
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<td>64. C.30.</td>
<td>The pigeon who killed his mate</td>
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<td>65. B.25.2.</td>
<td>The pious man and his guest (who wanted to learn Hebrew)</td>
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<td>66. K.Add.C.45.12</td>
<td>The prince dressed as a servant is presented to the king of Fārs</td>
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<td>67. K.Add.B.26.4</td>
<td>The princess in conversation with the merchant’s daughter</td>
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<td>68. K.Add.B.26.4</td>
<td>The monkey, the snake, the tiger, and the goldsmith</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>69. B.27.2.</td>
<td>On the road, the king’s son encounters three young men</td>
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<td>70. B.26.10.</td>
<td>The king’s son in prison</td>
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<td>71. C.33.3.</td>
<td>The two freed doves lead the old man to a treasure</td>
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A note on the illustrations

Instead of supplying exact references to pages or folios, the following listings give the relevant sequential position of the illustration in the respective volumes. All of the books contain relatively few pages, so in most cases it will be fairly easy to identify the proper place of the illustrations. The list numbers correspond to the numbers in the Concordance, where details for the position of the relevant illustrations in the various editions are given. The reproductions show only the first instances of respective illustrations.

All illustrations have been reproduced from scanned digitized format. The cryptic denomination “reads” as follows: the first two digits denote the sequential number, as also given in the list below; positions three and four contain a two-letter abbreviation, positions five and six contain the last two numbers of the year of publication (hijri qamari), and positions seven and eight refer to the place of the relevant illustration within the specific edition. Abbreviations employed are as follows:

AA = Akhlāq-i asāsī
AS = Anwār-i Suhaylī
CT = Chihil Tūṭi
JT = Jāmi‘ al-tamgīl
KD = Kalīlah wa Dimnah
MA = Magnawi-ye atfāl
RM = Riyāz al-muḥibbin

Scenes Illustrated in the Surveyed Editions of Anwār-i Suhaylī

(Figs. 1-6)

1. 01AS9801 (Fig. 1.1) The monkey and the carpenter (C.3) (also in Kalīlah wa Dimnah, Fig. 7.4; Akhlāq-i asāsī, Fig. 11.1)
2. 02AS6101 (Fig. 1.2) The fox and the drum (C.4) (also in Akhlāq-i asāsī, Fig. 11.2)
3. 03AS6102 (Fig. 1.3) Dimnah complains to Kalīlah about the bull (B.15.12)
4. 04AS6103 (Fig. 1.4) The sparrows and the falcon (K.Add.C.5)
5. 05AS6104 (Fig. 1.5) The king observes a sequence of retribution for bad deeds (K.Add.C.6)
6. 06AS6105 (Fig. 1.6) The crow and the serpent (C.6)
7. 07AS6106 (Fig. 1.7) The crane and the crab (D.1)
8. 08AS6107 (Fig. 1.8) The crow takes the jackal’s advice (C.6.2) (also in Akhlāq-i asāsī, Fig. 11.3)
9. 09AS6108 (Fig. 1.9) The hare who tries to ensnare the fox (K.Add.C.7)
10. 10AS6109 (Fig. 1.10) The wolf kills the hare (K.Add.C.7.3)
11. 11AS6110 (Fig. 1.11) The hare and the lion (C.7)
12. 12AS6111 (Fig. 1.12) The lion about to jump into the well (C.7.5) (also in Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 7.7; Akhlaq-i asäsi, Fig. 11.4)
13. 13AS6112 (Fig. 2.1) The three fishes: the third fish is caught (C.8.3)
14. 14AS6113 (Fig. 2.2) The scorpion and the tortoise (K.C.9)
15. 15AS6114 (Fig. 2.3) The falcon and the domestic fowl (K.Add.C.9)
16. 16AS9803 (Fig. 2.4) The hunter, in haste and ignorance, tries to capture the leopard he believes to be he trapped fox (K.Add.C.11.2)
17. 17AS7401 (Fig. 2.5) The lion, the wolf, the jackal, the crow, and the camel (C.10.5) (cf. also Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 7.9)
18. 18AS6115 (Fig. 2.6) The gardener and the bear (K.Add.C.12)
19. 19AS6116 (Fig. 2.7) The lion’s mother taking counsel with her son about Dimnah’s intrigue (B.15.28) (also in Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 8.2)
20. 20AS6117 (Fig. 2.8) The solitary darwish goes to see his friend (K.Add.C.15.4)
21. 21AS6118 (Fig. 2.9) The blind man who mistook a snake for a whip (K.Add.D.2.2)
22. 22AS6119 (Fig. 2.10) The woman who mistook the slave for her lover (C.15)
23. 23AS7402 (Fig. 2.11) The three envious travellers (K.Add.C.17)
24. 24AS6120 (Fig. 2.12) The falconer trains two parrots (C.18.2)
25. 25AS9805 (Fig. 3.1) The falconer presents the two parrots he has trained to calumniate the merchant’s chaste wife; he is blinded by his falcon (C.18.4) (also in Jami‘ al-tamsil, Fig. 10.5; Akhlaq-i asäsi, Fig. 11.7)
26. 26AS6121 (Fig. 3.2) The partridge and the hawk (K.Add.C.18)
27. 27AS7403 (Fig. 3.3) The camel rider saves a snake and in return is menaced by the snake (K.Add. C.19.3) (also in Jami‘ al-tamsil, Fig. 10.4)
28. 28AS6122 (Fig. 3.4) The greedy cat hanging from the dove-cote (K.Add.C.20)
29. 29AS6123 (Fig. 3.5) The king of Kashmir’s favourite (K.Add.C.21)
30. 30AS6124 (Fig. 3.6) The lover of the king of Kashmir’s favourite (K.Add.C.21)
31. 31AS6125 (Fig. 3.7) The partridge, the quail, and the “pious cat” (D.6) (also in Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 8.5)
32. 32AS9806 (Fig. 3.8) The pious man, his sheep, and the thieves (C.21)
33. 33AS6126 (Fig. 3.9) The thief drives the old merchant’s reluctant wife into his arms (C.22) (also in Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 8.6)
34. 34AS6127 (Fig. 3.10) The monkey leading the bears into the desert (K.Add.C.22.5)
35. 35AS7404 (Fig. 3.11) The pious man and the mouse who remained true to its nature (C.25.2)
36. 36AS6128 (Fig. 3.12) The frog riding on the snake’s back (C.26.4)
37. 37AS9807 (Fig. 4.1) The king of Kashmir’s trained monkey who protects him while asleep (K.Add. C.24.3)
38. 38AS6129 (Fig. 4.2) The thief preventing the monkey from killing his master (K.Add.C.24.5) (also in Jāmi‘ al-tamsīl, Fig. 10.3)
39. 39AS6130 (Fig. 4.3) The king of the monkeys riding on the tortoise’s back (B.18.6) (also in Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 8.8; Akhlāq-i asāsī, Fig. 11.9)
40. 40AS6131 (Fig. 4.4) The lion kills the donkey whom the fox has persuaded to return (C.27.10)
41. 41AS9808 (Fig. 4.5) The wife of the pious man (B.19.1) (also in kd128219, Fig. 9.1)
42. 42AS6132 (Fig. 4.6) The man finds the snake after having killed the faithful weasel (B.19.6) (similar also in Jāmi‘ al-tamsīl, Fig. 10.7; Akhlāq-i asāsī, Fig. 11.11)
43. 43AS6133 (Fig. 4.7) The king who killed the falcon who had saved him (K.Add.C.25.2) (also in Jāmi‘ al-tamsīl, Fig. 10.5; and Chihil Tuti, Fig. 10.1)
44. 44AS6134 (Fig. 4.8) The rat offering to free the cat (B.20.2) (also in Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 9.2)
45. 45AS9809 (Fig. 4.9) The old farmer and his young wife (K.Add.C.26.1)
46. 46AS7704 (Fig. 4.10) The prince makes advances to the old farmer’s young wife (K.Add.C.26.2)
47. 47AS6135 (Fig. 4.11) The farmer’s unfaithful wife is abandoned to a lion (K.Add.C.26.4)
48. 48AS6136 (Fig. 4.12) The rat starts to free the cat (B.20.4)
49. 49AS6137 (Fig. 5.1) The frog tied to the mouse is carried off by the crow (K.Add.C.27) (also in Riyāţ al-muhābbin, Fig. 10.9)
50. 50AS6138 (Fig. 5.2) The old woman and the “angel of death” (C.29) (also in Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 9.4)
51. 51AS6139 (Fig. 5.3) The king’s son blinded by the lark (B.21) (also in Kalilah wa Dimnah, Fig. 9.3)
52. 52AS6140 (Fig. 5.4) The advice of the darvish to the wolf (K.Add.C.32)
53. 53AS6141 (Fig. 5.5) The Arab and the baker (K.Add.C.33)
54. 54AS6142 (Fig. 5.6) The Sultan of Baghdad receives a Chinese maiden as a gift (K.Add.C.35.1)
55. 55AS6143 (Fig. 5.7) The Sultan about to throw his mistress into the Tigris (K.Add.C.35.5)
56. 56AS6743 (Fig. 5.8) The Sultan having thrown his mistress into the Tigris (K.Add.C.35.5)
57. 57AS6144 (Fig. 5.9) The lion and the pious jackal who refused to eat meat (B.22.5)
58. 58AS6145 (Fig. 5.10) The lion witnessing the chain of retribution (K.Add.B.24.1.2)
59. 59AS6146 (Fig. 5.11) The boar that seized the monkey’s fruit (K.Add.B.24.1.2)
60. 60AS6147 (Fig. 5.12) The crow that imitated the partridge (C.32)
61. 61AS6148 (Fig. 6.1) Sulayman at court (K.Add.C.38)
62. 62AS6149 (Fig. 6.2) King Hilār and his favourite Irāndukht (B.23)
63. 63AS6150 (Fig. 6.3) Irāndukht and Dilfurūz (B.23.7)
64. 64AS6151 (Fig. 6.4) The pigeon who killed his mate (C.30)
65. 65AS7409 (Fig. 6.5) The pious man and his guest (who wants to learn Hebrew) (B.25.2)
66. 66AS6152 (Fig. 6.6) The prince dressed as a servant is presented to the king of Fārs (K.Add.C.45.12)
67. 67AS6153 (Fig. 6.7) The princess in conversation with the merchant’s daughter (K.Add.B.26.3)
Scenes Illustrated in the 1282 Edition of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*

(Figs. 7-9)

1. 01KD8201 (Fig. 7.1) Burzūyah presents the book to Anūshirvān (A.2.7)
2. 02KD8202 (Fig. 7.2) The thief tries to slide down the rays of moonlight but falls (B.9.2)
3. 03KD8203 (Fig. 7.3) The perils of life
4. 04KD8204 (Fig. 7.4) The monkey and the carpenter (C.3) (see also Concordance, 1; Fig. 1.1; *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, Fig. 11.1)
5. 05KD8205 (Fig. 7.5) The lion, Shanzabah, and Kalīlah and Dimnah (B.15)
6. 06KD8206 (Fig. 7.6) The shoemaker cuts off the nose of the barber’s wife (C.5.6.3)
7. 07KD8207 (Fig. 7.7) The lion about to jump into the well (C.7.5) (see also Concordance, 12; Fig. 1.12; *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, Fig. 11.4)
8. 08KD8208 (Fig. 7.8) The battle between the lion and the elephant (C.10.3)
9. 09KD8209 (Fig. 7.9) The lion devours the camel (C.10.8)
10. 10KD8210 (Fig. 8.1) The ducks take off with the tortoise firmly biting the stick (D.2.2) (also in *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, Fig. 11.5)
11. 11KD8211 (Fig. 8.2) The lion’s mother taking counsel with her son about Dimnah’s intrigue (B.15.28) (see also Concordance, 19; Fig. 2.7)
12. 12KD8212 (Fig. 8.3) The doves escape being captured by flying up, all together, inside the net (B.16.3)
13. 13KD8213 (Fig. 8.4) When the tortoise is captured, the crow, the gazelle, and the rat manage to free her (B.16.16)
14. 14KD8214 (Fig. 8.5) The partridge, the quail, and the “pious cat” (D.6) (see also Concordance, 31; Fig. 3.7)
15. 15KD8215 (Fig. 8.6) The thief drives the old merchant’s reluctant wife into his arms (C.22) (see also Concordance, 33; Fig. 3.9)
16. 16KD8216 (Fig. 8.7) The wife and her lover and the husband under the bed (C.24)
17. 17KD8217 (Fig. 8.8) The king of the monkeys and the tortoise (B.18.6) (see also Concordance, 39; Fig. 4.3; *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, Fig. 11.9)
18. 18KD8218 (Fig. 8.9) The fox persuades the donkey to return to the lion (C.27.9)
19. 19KD8219 (Fig. 9.1) The wife of the pious man (B.19.1) (see also Concordance, 41; Fig. 4.5)
20. 20KD8220 (Fig. 9.2) The rat offering to free the cat (B.20.2) (see also Concordance, 44; Fig. 4.8)
21. 21KD8221 (Fig. 9.3) The king’s son blinded by the lark (B.21) (see also Concordance, 51; Fig. 5.3)
22. 22KD8222 (Fig. 9.4) The old woman and the angel of death (C.29) (see also Concordance, 50; Fig. 5.2)
23. 23KD8223 (Fig. 9.5) The king, Irândukht, his vazir and his advisor (B.23)
24. 24KD8224 (Fig. 9.6) On finding the cubs killed by the hunter, the lioness laments her fate (B.24.3)
25. 25KD8225 (Fig. 9.7) A pilgrim rescues a tiger, a monkey, a snake, and a goldsmith from they pit they had fallen into (B.26.1) (also in Akhlâq-i asâsi, Fig. 11.12)
26. 26KD8226 (Fig. 9.8) The new king is paraded around town on a white elephant (B.27.12)

**Scenes Illustrating Tales from the Kalîlah wa Dimnah Tradition in Related Texts**

(Figs. 10-11)

*Chîhil tüfî (edition of 1263)*

1. 01CT6304 (Fig. 10.1) The king who killed the falcon who had saved him (K.Add.C.25.2) (see also Concordance, 43; Fig. 4.7, 10.6)

*jâmî al-tamsîl (edition of 1269)*

1. 02JT6903 (Fig. 10.2) The lark takes revenge on the elephant (B.1)
2. 03JT6913 (Fig. 10.3) The thief preventing the monkey from killing his master (K.Add.C.24.5) (see also Concordance, 38; Fig. 4.2)
3. 04JT6914 (Fig. 10.4) The camel-rider saves a snake and in return is menaced by the snake (K.Add. C.19.3) (see also Concordance, 27; Fig. 3.3)
4. 05JT6918 (Fig. 10.5) The falconer presents the two parrots he has trained to calumniate the merchant’s chaste wife; he is blinded by his falcon (C.18.4; see also Concordance, 25; Fig. 3.1; Akhlâq-i asâsi, Fig. 11.7)
5. 06JT6931 (Fig. 10.6) The king who killed the falcon who had saved him (K.Add.C.25.2) (see also Concordance, 43; Fig. 4.7, 10.1)
6. 07JT6932 (Fig. 10.7) The monkey kills the snake threatening to kill the baby in the cradle (B.19.4) (see also Concordance, 42; Fig. 4.6; Akhlâq-i asâsi, Fig. 11.11)

*Riyâż al-muhâbbîn (edition of 1270)*

1. 08RM7002 (Fig. 10.8) The frog makes friends with a mouse (K.Add.C.27)
2. 09RM7003 (Fig. 10.9) The frog tied to the mouse is carried off by the crow (K.Add.C.27) (see also the Concordance, 49; Fig. 5.1)
**Masnavi-i atfāl** (edition of 1309)

1. 10MA0906 (Fig. 10.10) The lion about to jump into the well (C.7.5) (see also the Concordance, 12; Fig. 1.12)

2. 11MA0915 (Fig. 10.11) The gardener and the bear (K.Add.C.12) (see also the Concordance, 18; Fig. 2.6)

3. 12MA0935 (Fig. 10.12) The donkey manages to escape the lion (C.27.7) (see also the Concordance, 40; Fig. 4.4, Fig. 8.9)

**Akhlāq-i asāsī** (edition of 1329)

1. 01AA2903 (Fig. 11.1) The monkey and the carpenter (C.3) (see also Concordance, 1; Fig.1.1; *Kalila wa Dimnah*, Fig. 7.4)

2. 02AA2004 (Fig. 11.2) The fox and the drum (C.4) (see also Concordance, 2; Fig.1.2)

3. 03AA2906 (Fig. 11.3) The crow takes the jackal’s advice (C.6.2) (see also Concordance, 8; Fig. 1.8)

4. 04AA2909 (Fig. 11.4) The lion about to jump into the well (C.7.5) (see also Concordance, 12; Fig.1.12; *Kalila wa Dimnah*, Fig. 7.7)

5. 05AA2914 (Fig. 11.5) The ducks take off with the tortoise firmly biting the stick (D.2.2) (also in *Kalila wa Dimna*, Fig. 8.1)

6. 06AA2919 (Fig. 11.6) The judge sets fire to the tree, making the old man come forward (C.13.7)

7. 07AA2930 (Fig. 11.7) The falconer presents the two parrots he has trained to calumniate the merchant’s chaste wife; he is blinded by his falcon (C.18.4) (see also Concordance, 25; Fig.3.1; *Jāmiʿ al-tamsīl*, Fig. 10.4)

8. 08AA2940 (Fig. 11.8) The hare Firūz accosts the elephants at the Lake of the Moon (D.5.5)

9. 09AA2944 (Fig. 11.9) The king of the monkeys riding on the tortoise’s back (B.18.6) (see also Concordance, 39; Fig. 4.3; *Kalila wa Dimnah*, Fig. 8.8)

10. 10AA2946 (Fig. 11.10) The pious man about the smash his storage jar (C.28)

11. 11AA2947 (Fig. 11.11) The man finds the snake after having killed the faithful weasel (B.19.6) (see also Concordance, 42; Fig. 4.6; *Jāmiʿ al-tamsīl*, Fig. 10.6)

12. 12AA2956 (Fig. 11.12) A pilgrim rescues a tiger, a monkey, a snake, and a goldsmith from the pit into which they had fallen (B.26.1) (see also Concordance, 68; Fig. 6.8; *Kalila wa Dimnah*, Fig. 9.7)