

THE LITHOGRAPHED *KALĪLAH WA DIMNAH*
ILLUSTRATIONS TO TALES FROM
THE *KALĪLAH WA DIMNAH* AND *ANWĀR-I SUHAYLĪ* TRADITION
IN LITHOGRAPHED EDITIONS OF THE QĀJĀR PERIOD

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Introduction

Illustrations in lithographed books of the Qājār 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 1960,¹ when *imagerie populaire* was, to a certain extent, *en vogue*, a thorough investigation of Persian lithographic illustration has only recently been attempted.² Its ultimate goal is the preparation of an exhaustive corpus study, the *Thesaurus universalis libri lithographici illustrati Persorum* (TULLIP).³

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,⁴ 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: Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmah*,⁵ Nizāmī's *Khamsah*,⁶ and, most recently, the manuscripts of the *Kalilah wa Dimnah* tradition.⁷

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 Qājār art history, B. W. Robinson,⁸ the illustrated lithographed book in the Islamic world has received little attention. Such books were predominantly published in 19th-century Iran⁹ and, to a minor extent, in India.¹⁰ Produced in a new technique only recently invented in the West,¹¹ 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,¹² illustration in Persian lithographed books reached its first peak, never again surpassed, in the works of Mīrzā ‘Alī-Qulī Khu‘ī, who illustrated some thirty books in the period between 1847 and 1856.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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 Suhaylī* 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 Qājār 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 Qājār 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 Suhaylī

The most popular version of the *Kalilah wa Dimnah* tradition in 19th-century Persian production is Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī Wā‘iz Kāshifī’s elaborate 9th/15th-century version entitled *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. 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.¹⁶ Up to its first Iranian edition of 1261/1845,¹⁷ such volumes were rarely, if ever, illustrated. In general, Indian lithographic productions of Persian literature, with the exception of Firdawsī’s *Shāh-nāmāh*,¹⁸ were often published in plain text editions rather than illustrated ones, a fact that also applies to the later Indian copies of *Anwār-i Suhaylī*.¹⁹ 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 Suhaylī* 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, 1261.²⁰ Moreover, of the six additional Iranian lithographed editions mentioned for the Qājār period, only two are of a comparatively early date :

Tehran, 1263 q[amari]/1846: *sangī, wazīri*, 236 *şafha*
 Tehran, 1282 q/1865
 Tehran, 1310 q/1892
 Tehran, 1314 q/1896, *bi-ihitimām-i Sayyid Jaʿfar va Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khwānsārī, wazīri*, 433 *ş*
 Tehran, 1320 q/1902: *sangī*
 Tehran, 1329 q/1911: *sangī, wazīri*, 404 *ş*

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 *Anwār-i Suhaylī*:²¹

- Tehran 1261/1845: Kārkhānah-i Muʿtamid al-Dawla; published by Ākhund Mullā ʿAbbās-ʿAlī and Muḥammad-Bāqir al-Khwānsārī ibn Ākhund Mullā Muḥammad-Ḥasan “Khwushnawīs”; 168 leaves; 30 cm; 56 illustrations²²
- Tehran 1263/1847: Kārkhānah-i Muʿtamid al-Dawla; published by Ākhund Mullā ʿAbbās-ʿAlī; calligraphy by Naṣr-Allāh Tafrishī; 56 illustrations; 235 leaves; 25.5 cm²³
- Tehran 1267/1851: calligraphy by ʿAlī-Aṣghar [Tafrishī]; 56 illustrations; 191 leaves; 25 cm²⁴
- Tehran 1274/1857: 10 illustrations, one signed by Mīrzā Ḥasan ibn Āqā Sayyid Mīrzā Eṣfahānī (Fig. 2.5); 171 leaves; 25.5 cm²⁵
- Tehran 1277/1860: Kārkhānah-i Āqā Karbalāʿī Muḥammad-Ḥusayn Ṭahrānī; calligraphy by Muḥammad-Bāqir al-Gulpāyigānī; 7 illustrations; 171 leaves; 25 cm²⁶
- Tehran 1281/1864: 7 illustrations; signed fol. 2a below ornamental header: “*ʿamal-i solālah al-sādāt Mīrzā Ḥasan-i naqqāsh*”; 168 leaves; 27.5 cm²⁷
- Tehran 1298/1880: Kārkhānah-i Āqā Karbalāʿī Muḥammad-Ḥusayn; published by Muḥammad-Taqī Khwānsārī; calligraphy by Sayyid ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī Gulpāyigānī; 13 illustrations; signed inside the ornamental decoration on the right margin of fol. 1b: “*ʿamal-i ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Khw[ā]nsārī*”; 436 pp.; 27 cm²⁸

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 *Anwār-i Suhaylī* in the *Catalogue of Persian Printed Books* is most probably an erroneous reference to the first Iranian lithographed edition of Abuʿl-Māʿālī Naṣr-Allāh Munshī’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 *Anwār-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 Suhayli* surveyed, being present only in the 1282 edition of *Kalilah 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 *angusht-i tahayyur* (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*.³² 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

on its horns; in addition, the encounter between the old woman and the cow appears to take place in a doorway leading to the outside rather than in the seclusion of an indoor room.

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 Suhaylī* 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 Suhaylī*, 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.³³ 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 Suhaylī*; and since *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, after all is a Persian adaptation of the originally Arabic *Kalīlah 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 *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* tradition might also occur in other texts only vaguely related to the original work, or any of its later adaptations.³⁴ Considering the great impact of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* on Persian learned, as well as popular, literature,³⁵ 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 Kalīlah wa Dimnah

The title *Kalīlah 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'ālī Naṣr-Allāh Munshī.³⁶ Contrary to *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, whose first editions were prepared by Western orientalist at Fort William College in Bengal, Abū'l-Ma'ālī's version appears to have been printed first in Iran. Victor Chauvin mentions an edition of 1304,³⁷ 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-Muṭallib, Muḥammad-Bāqir Khān; 281 pp.; 27 cm³⁸

Tehran 1304/1886: calligraphy by Muḥammad-Bāqir al-Jarbādqānī; final calligraphy by Muḥammad-Ṣādiq al-Gulpāyigānī; 25 illustrations, two signed by Nabī [Khān] Qājār, one signed by Naṣr-Allāh; 243 pp.; 28 cm³⁹

Tabrīz [?] 1314-15/1896-97: 23 illustrations, one signed by Naṣr-Allāh; calligraphy by Dā'ūd al-Gulpāyigānī; 245 pp.; 24.5 cm⁴⁰

Iran 1317/1899: calligraphy by Zayn al-Ābidīn Malik al-Khaṭṭāṭīn ibn Mirzā Sharīf al-Qazwīnī; 317 pp.; 25.5 cm⁴¹

Tabriz 1318/1900: published by Dabīr-Niẓām Ṣāliḥ Kasmā'i; 375 pp.; 26 cm⁴²

The first three of these editions were examined for the present survey. Other editions, such as one of 1300/1882, were not available.⁴³ 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 Muṭallib (Iṣfahānī)/^cAbd al-Muṭallib (4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23); and Muḥammad-Bāqir Khān (5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 18).⁴⁴ 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 Kalilah 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-^cAlī Hablarūdī's early 17th-century compilation of proverbs.⁴⁵ This book, praised as the most frequently printed book in the Persian language,⁴⁶ was first published in a lithographed edition in 1269/1852;⁴⁷ 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 *Jāmi' al-tamsil* (Fig. 10.6), is also rendered in the anonymous *Chihil Ṭūṭi*, a popular “offspring” of the *Ṭūṭi-Nāmah*⁴⁹ (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 *Riyāz al-muḥibbīn*,⁵⁰ a 19th-century compilation of edifying and moralizing tales by Riḏā-Qulī ibn Muḥammad-Qulī 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 *Maṣnawī-i ma'navī* 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 *Maṣnawī* 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 *Maṣnawī-i atfāl*, compiled in the Qājār period by a certain Miṭṭāḥ al-Mulk Maḥmūd 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 Muḥammad-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.

Mirzā Ḥasan ibn Āqā Sayyid Mirzā,⁵⁵ the illustrator of the 1274/1857 and 1281/1864 editions of *Anwār-i Suhayli*, was probably a student of Mirzā ‘Alī-Qulī Khū‘ī, together with whom (and also with Mirzā Riḏā Tabrīzī) he participated in the illustration of the 1272/1855 edition of the first Persian translation of *Alf laylah wa laylah*.⁵⁶ Mirzā 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), *Rumūz-i Ḥamzah* (1274/1858), and another *Alf laylah* (1275/1859). Besides the 1281/1864 edition of *Anwār-i Suhayli*, the latest work by Mirzā Ḥasan containing his signature is an edition of Jawharī’s *Ṭufān al-bukā’* published in 1281/1864.⁵⁷ Mirzā Ḥasan was the son of Sayyid Mirzā, a well-known court-painter of the early Qājār period. Sayyid Mirzā’s dated production (according to Muḥammad-‘Alī Karīmzādah Tabrīzī) ranges between the years 1240/1824 and 1285/1868.⁵⁸ In contrast, Adel T. Adamova establishes the period of Sayyid Mirzā’s active work roughly two decades earlier between the years 1803-04 and 1842.⁵⁹ Both dates would suit the hypothesis that Mirzā Ḥasan might have been Mirzā ‘Alī-Qulī Khū‘ī’s apprentice and student in the early 1270s.

‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Khwānsāri,⁶⁰ the illustrator of the 1298/1880 edition of *Anwār-i Suhayli*, was apparently active at least a decade earlier when, together with Mirzā 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).⁶¹ Robinson also mentions his 1291/1874 edition of the booklet *Laṭā’if wa zarā’if*.⁶² Whether or not he is identical with a certain ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn who signed a lacquer box dated 1271/1854⁶³ remains to be verified.

Mirzā Naṣr-Allāh,⁶⁴ 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*.⁶⁵ In the earlier period, he also had a share in the preparation of the 1299-1300/1881-82 edition of Niẓāmī’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, Mirzā Ja‘far is known to have been a student of Ṣanī‘ al-Mulk and was later professor at the Dār al-funūn.⁶⁶ ‘Abd al-Muṭallib (who also signed as Mīr Muṭallib)⁶⁷ was the son of Mirzā Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī and a member of the group of students sent to France by order of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1275/1858. ‘Abd al-Muṭallib also illustrated the first volume of the famous *Nāmah-i Khusrawān* (1285/1868).⁶⁸ He died in Jumādā I 21, 1321 (August 15, 1903).⁶⁹

The signature of Nabī Qājār can be found in two illustrations of the 1304 edition of *Kalilah wa Dimnah*. He is also known as Nabī-Khān Qājār, bearing the honorific title of Manṣūr al-Mamālik. His signed pieces cover the period between 1285 and 1304.⁷⁰

As for illustrations from related works, the only signed pictures are those included in the 1309 edition of the *Maṣnawī-i atfāl*. Its illustrations are the work of Muṣṭafā, an original artist of the second half of the Qājār period primarily known for his lacquered decoration of penboxes.⁷¹ His datable contributions to lithographic illustration range from the 1299-1300/1881-82 edition of Niẓāmī’s *Khamsah* to the 1311/1893 edition of the popular romance *Kitāb-i Falak-nāz wa Khwushīd-Āfarin*.⁷² Muṣṭafā’s most impressive work is the 1307/1889 edition of Firdawsī’s *Shāh-nāmah*, while his illustrations in the 1307/1889 edition of Mirzā ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf Mustawfī Āshtiyānī’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 Mīrzā ʿAlī-Qulī Khūʿī, the most prolific practitioner of early lithographic illustration both in terms of quality and output.⁷³ 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 ʿAlī-Aṣghar Tafrishī, with whom Mīrzā ʿAlī-Qulī Khūʿī is known to have co-produced several books of the period.⁷⁴ On stylistic grounds, both the 1269 edition of *Jāmiʿ al-tamsīl* and the 1270 edition of *Riyāz al-muḥibbin* might also be judged as Mīrzā ʿAlī-Qulī’s work, even though the former contains in one place the signature of a certain Maḥmud Khwānsārī.⁷⁵

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 Abūʿl-Ḥasan Khān Ghaffārī—“Ṣanīʿ 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 *Tuḥfat al-zākirīn*, illustrated by Bahrām Kirmānshāhānī,⁷⁶ the 1322 edition of the *Shāh-nāmāh-i “Bahāduri,”* illustrated by Muḥammad-Kāzīm al-Hamadānī, Ḥusayn-ʿAlī and ʿAlī-Khān,⁷⁷ or the 1324 edition of the *Kulliyāt-i Riyāzī*, illustrated by Sayyid al-Shuʿarāʾ.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
- Diba (1998) *Royal Persian Paintings, The Qajar Epoch, 1785-1925*, edited by Layla S. Diba, with Maryam Ekhtiar, Catalogue of an exhibition originally presented at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, London, New York, 1998
- Edwards (1922) Edward Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, London, 1922
- Grube (1990-1991) Ernst J. Grube, "Prolegomena for a Corpus Publication of illustrated Kalīlah wa Dimnah manuscripts," *Islamic Art*, IV, 1990-1991, pp. 301-481
- Karatay (1949) Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Basmalar Kataloğu*, Istanbul, 1949
- Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991) Muḥammad ʿAli Karīmzādah Tabrīzī, *Aḥwāl va āsār-i naqqāshān-i qadīm-i Īrān, va barkhī az mashāhīr-i nigārgar-i Hind va ʿUṣmāni*, Vol. I-III, London, 1985-1991
- Marzolph (1984) Ulrich Marzolph, *Typologie des persischen Volksmärchens*, Beirut, 1984
- Marzolph (1994) Ulrich Marzolph, *Dāstānhā-ye šīrīn, Fünfzig persische Volksbüchlein aus der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1994 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, L, iv)
- Marzolph (1997) Ulrich Marzolph, "Mirzā ʿAli-Qoli Xuʿi: Master of Persian lithograph illustration," *Annali (Istituto Orientale di Napoli)*, LVII, i-ii, 1997, pp. 183-202, figures I-XV
- Marzolph (1999) Ulrich Marzolph, "Illustrated exemplary tales: A nineteenth-century edition of the classical Persian proverb collection Jāmeʿ al-tamṣīl," *Proverbium*, XVI, 1999, pp. 167-191
- Marzolph (2001) Ulrich Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, Leiden, 2001 (Handbook of Oriental Studies, I, 60)
- Melville (2006) *Shahnama Studies I*, Charles Melville, ed., Cambridge, 2006 (Pembroke Papers 5)
- Robinson (1979) B. W. Robinson, "The Tehran Nizami of 1848 & other Qajar lithographed books," in *Islam in the Balkans/Persian Art and Culture in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Jennifer M. Scarce, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 61-74
- Scheglova (1999) O. P. Scheglova, "Lithograph versions of Persian manuscripts of Indian manufacture in the nineteenth century," *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V, i, 1999, pp. 12-22
- Shcheglova (1975) Olimpiada P. Shcheglova, *Katalog litografirovannykh knig na persidskom jazyke v sobranii Leningradskogo otdeleniya Instituta*

- Shcheglova (1979) Olimpiada P. Shcheglova, *Iranskaya litografirovannaya kniga*, Moscow, 1979
- Shcheglova (1989) Olimpiada P. Shcheglova, *Katalog litografirovannykh nig na persidskom yazyke v sobranii vostochnogo otdela nauchnoj biblioteki im. A. M. Gor'kogo Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, Moscow, 1989
- Yārshāṭir (1973) *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i chāp-i fārsī az āghāz tā ākhar-i sāl-i 1345*, ed. Ḥsān Yārshāṭir, Vol. I, Tehran, 1352/1973, pp. 386-389
1. Henri Massé, "L'imagerie populaire de l'Iran," *Arts asiatiques*, VII, 1960, pp. 163-178.
 2. Marzolph (2001).
 3. Ulrich Marzolph, "TULLIP: A Projected Thesaurus Universalis Libri Lithographici Illustrati Persorum," *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, ed. P. Sadgrove, Oxford, 2005, 25-34.
 4. R. van Straten, *Iconography - Indexing - Iconclass*, Leiden, 1994; <http://www.iconclass.nl> (July 17, 2007).
 5. Jill Norgren and Edward Davis, *Preliminary Index of Shah-Nameh 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 rannyyaya illyustrativnaya tradiciya, Moscow, 1983. An index of illustrations in manuscript copies of the *Shāh-nāmāh* 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-nāmāh* see now Ulrich Marzolph, and Muḥammad Hādī Muḥammadī, *Ālbūm-i Shāh-nāmāh*, Tehran, 1385/2006.
 6. L. N. Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami v srednevekovoy miniatjurnoy zhivopisi*, Moscow, 1985.
 7. Grube (1990-1991), pp. 301-481; see also *A Mirror for Princes from India, Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah wa Dimnah*, Anvar-i Suhayli, Iyar-i Danish, and Humayun Nameh, edited by Ernst J. Grube (*Marg*), 1991.
 8. Robinson (1979); also in *id.*, *Studies in Persian Art*, Vol. I, London, 1993, pp. 328-341.
 9. Shcheglova (1975); *ead.* (1979); *ead.* (1989); *ead.*, *Litografskoe knigoizdanie na persidskom yazyke XIX v. v Irane i Indii (na osnove Sankt Peterburgskikh kolekcij)*, Dissertacija, Saint Petersburg, 1995; *ead.*, *Katalog litografirovannykh knig na persidskom yazyke iz sobraniya Rossiyskoy Natsional'noy Biblioteki*, Moscow, 2002; "Cāp" (Willem Floor), *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IV, 1990, pp. 760-764; "Maṭba'a, 3: In Persia" (*id.*), *Encyclopædia of Islam*², VI, 1991, pp. 803 f.; for Arabic lithographed books see the catalogue by Adam Gacek, *Arabic Lithographed Books*, Montreal, 1996.
 10. Scheglova (1999); *ead.*, *Persoyazychnaya litografirovannaya kniga indiysskogo proizvodstva (XIX v.)*, St. Petersburg, 2001.
 11. Alois Senefelder, *The Invention of Lithography*, translated from the original German by J. W. Muller, reprint of the 1911 edition, Pittsburgh, 1998; Wilhelm Weber, *A History of Lithography*, New York, Toronto, London, 1966; *Lithography, 200 Years of Art, History & Technique*, ed. Domenico Porzio, translated from the Italian by Geoffrey Culverwell, Secaucus [NJ], 1983.
 12. Sā'īd Nafīsī, "Ṣan'at-i chāp-i muṣawwar dar Īrān," *Payām-i naw*, II, v, 1324-25/1945-46, pp. 22-35; *id.*, "Nakhustīn chāphā-i muṣawwar dar Īrān," *Rāhnāmāh-i kitāb*, I, iii, 1337/1958, pp. 232-240.
 13. Marzolph (1997).
 14. Marzolph (1994).
 15. Marzolph (1999), pp. 167-191; *id.*, "Bahrām

- Gūr's spectacular marksmanship and the art of illustration in Qājār lithographed books," *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth: The Sultan's Turret: Studies in Persian and Turkish Culture*, ed. Carole Hillenbrand, Leiden, Boston, and Köln, 2000, Vol. II, pp. 331-347.
16. Chauvin (1897), pp. 26-30; Yārshāṭir (1973), pp. 386-389.
 17. Chauvin (1897), p. 30, no. 52 S.
 18. Īraj Afshār, "Shāh-nāmah, az khaṭṭī tā chāpī," *Hunar wa mardum*, XIV, clxii, 2535/1976, pp. 17-45; Jawād Ṣafī-Nizhād, "Shāh-nāmahā-i chāp-i sangī," *Mirās-i farhangī*, XIV, 1374/1996, pp. 24-30; Ulrich Marzolph, "Illustrated Persian lithographic editions of the Shāhnāma," *Edebiyāt*, XIII, ii, 2003, pp. 177-198.
 19. Shcheglova (1975), Vol. II, pp. 545 f., nos. 1474, 1477-1481; *ead.* (1989), pp. 209-212, nos. 532-534, 537-541; Edwards (1922), pp. 274f.
 20. See Yārshāṭir (1973) col. 388: "Tīhrān, bi-ihitimām-i Muḥammad-Bāqir Khwānsārī, sangī, 168 ṣ[afḥe]".
 21. Complete bibliographical information for the editions quoted here and later is supplied in Marzolph (2001).
 22. Shcheglova (1975), Vol. II, p. 545, no. 1475; Edwards (1922), p. 247; Karatay (1949), p. 26. The same edition has also been located in the library of the École des langues orientales, Paris (shelfmark QR II 12), in the National Library in Tabriz, and in the Central Library of the Āstān-i Quds in Mashhad.
 23. Shcheglova (1989), p. 210, no. 535; *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque orientale de feu M. Charles Schefer, [...] vente [...]*, Paris, 1899, p. 51, no. 870; private collection, Jawād Ṣafī-Nizhād, Tehran.
 24. Shcheglova (1975), Vol. II, p. 545, no. 1476; private collection, Jawād Ṣafī-Nizhād, Tehran.
 25. Brill Sales Catalogue, no. 535, *Iranica*, Vol. II, Leiden, 1984, no. 137.
 26. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rome (Fondazione Caetani); Brill Sales Catalogue, no. 532, *Iranica*, Vol. I, Leiden, 1983, no. 1322.
 27. Edwards (1922), p. 275; University Library, Cambridge (shelfmark Moh. 660 b 14).
 28. Shcheglova (1989), p. 211, no. 536; Karatay (1949); *Iranica* (as in Note 25), Vol. I, no. 1323.
 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.
 31. Classification of the scenes follows Grube (1990-1991), pp. 428-453.
 32. See also Marzolph (1994), 89 and 108, no. 32; Serpil Bağcı, "A New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece Miniatures: The *Divān* of Solomon," *Muqarnas*, XXII, 1995, pp. 101-111; Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets, Illustrated Manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Costa Mesa, Cal., 1999, pp. 144f.
 33. Marzolph (1984), p. 224, type 1539 I.
 34. Grube (1990-91), pp. 367f.
 35. Hermann Ethé, "Neupersische Litteratur," in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Wilhelm Geiger and Ernst Kuhn, Strassburg, 1896-1904, pp. 212-368, at 326-329; Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, written in collaboration with Otokar Klíma, Věra Kubíčková, Felix Tauer, Jiří Bečka, Jiří Cejpek, Jan Marek, I. Hrbek, and J. T. P. de Bruijn, edited by Karl Jahn, Dordrecht, 1968, pp. 222f., 600f.; see also "Kalila und Dimna," Heinz and Sophia Grotzfeld, Ulrich Marzolph, *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, VII, Berlin, New York, 1993, cols. 888-895.
 36. Standard text edition prepared by Mujtabā Minuwī, Tehran, 1343/1964.
 37. Chauvin (1897), p. 25, no. 2.
 38. Shcheglova (1989), p. 203, no. 510.
 39. Edwards (1922), p. 164; copy examined at the Central Library of the Āstān-i Quds in Mashhad (donated by Z̤iyā' al-Dīn Amīr Ṣaddūqī Hamadānī).
 40. Shcheglova (1975), vol. II, p. 538, no. 1449.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 538, no. 1450.
 42. *Ibid.*, p. 539, no. 1451.

43. Yārshāṭir (1973), vol. I, col. 2675; Shcheglova (1979), p. 109.
44. A *caveat* must be expressed concerning the superficial and faulty presentation of this edition by Jābir ʿAnāṣurī, “Muʿarrifi-i chāp-i sangī, xxii : Kalilah wa Dimnah,” *Ṣanʿat-i chāp*, CXXXVI, Urdibihisht 1373/April 1994, pp. 56f.
45. In the following, see Marzolph (1999).
46. Muḥammad-ʿAlī Hablarūdī, *Majmaʿ al-amṣāl*, edited by Ṣādiq Kiyā, Tehran, 1344/1965, p. 1.
47. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung (shelfmark Zv 1675/120).
48. As for folklore versions of this tale, see Marzolph (1984), p. 55, type *178 C. The tale is also included in Muḥammad al-ʿAwfī’s monumental *Jawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, compiled at the beginning of the 13th century; see Muḥammad Nizāmu’d-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmiʿ u’l-ḥikāyāt wa lawāmiʿ u’r-riwāyāt of Sadīdu’d-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAwfī*, London, 1929, p. 229, no. 1733.
49. Ulrich Marzolph, *Die Vierzig Papageien, Das persische Volksbuch Čehel Tuṭi, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papageienbuches*, Walldorf, 1979 (*Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, XXIX); *id.*, “Papageienbuch,” *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, X, 2001, cols. 526-531.
50. Shcheglova (1989), p. 119, no. 246.
51. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975, 317; Ulrich Marzolph, “Popular Narratives in Ġalāloddin Rumi’s *Maṣnavi*,” *The Arabist*, XIII-XIV, 1995, pp. 275-287 (*Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Budapest 1988); Badīʿ al-zamān Furūzānfar, *Maʾākhiz-i qīṣaṣ va taṃṣilāt-i Maṣnavī*, Tehran², 1347/1958, pp. 142 f., no. 160.
52. Shcheglova (1975), vol. II, pp. 437-441, nos 1123-1133; *ead.* 1989, pp. 345f., nos. 344-346.
53. Shcheglova (1975), Vol. II, pp. 441 f., no. 1134.
54. While the available library catalogues do not mention the book at all, Yārshāṭir (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 Āstān-i Quds in Mashhad.
55. Marzolph (2001), pp. 36f.
56. Marzolph (1997), p. 191.
57. Shcheglova (1975), Vol. I, p. 112, no. 185.
58. Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. I, pp. 233 f., no. 448.
59. Adel T. Adamova, “Art and diplomacy: Qajar paintings at the State Hermitage Museum,” Diba (1998), pp. 66-75, at 72; and page 196, fig. XVI.
60. Marzolph (2001), pp. 41f.
61. Shcheglova (1989), p. 241, no. 644.
62. Robinson (1979), p. 73.
63. Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. I, p. 319, no. 558.
64. Marzolph (2001), pp. 40f.
65. Shcheglova (1975), Vol. II, p. 588, no. 1620.
66. Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. I, p. 130, no. 226; Marzolph (2001), p. 40.
67. Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. I, pp. 344f., no. 599.
68. Shcheglova (1989), p. 32, no. 20.
69. Marzolph (2001), pp. 39f.
70. Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. III, p. 1368, no. 1388.
71. Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. III, p. 1153 f., no. 1219; Marzolph (2001), p. 42.
72. Shcheglova (1989), p. 198, no. 497.
73. Marzolph (2001), pp. 31-34.
74. See Marzolph (1997), p. 186; Maḥdī Bayānī, *Aḥwāl va āṣār-i khush-nawisān*, Vol. I-II in four parts, 2nd edition, Tehran, 1363/1984, Vol. I, p. 435, no. 614.
75. Marzolph (1999), p. 173; Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. III, p. 1133, no. 1185; Robinson (1979), p. 68.
76. Robinson (1979), p. 73; Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. I, p. 105 f., no. 182; Diba (1998), pp. 244ff., no. 75, and 247ff., no. 77.
77. Shcheglova (1975), Vol. II, p. 408, no. 1020, Ulrich Marzolph, “The Last Qājār *Shāhnāme*: The *Shāhnāme-yi Bahādorī* (1312-26/1901-8),” in Melville (2006), pp. 259-276.
78. Karīmzādah Tabrīzī (1985-1991), Vol. I, pp. 230ff., no. 440.

**CONCORDANCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE LITHOGRAPHED EDITIONS OF ANWĀR-I SUHAYLĪ
(1261, 1263, 1267, 1274, 1277, 1281, AND 1298)
INCLUDING REFERENCE TO KALĪLAH WA DIMNAH (1282)**

	Classification	Title of episode or story	1261	1263	1267	1274	1277	1281	1282	1298
1.	C.3.	The monkey and the carpenter							4	1
2.	C.4.	The fox and the drum	1	1	1					
3.	B.15.12.	Dimnah complains to Kalilah about the bull	2	2	2					
4.	K.Add.C.5.	The sparrows and the falcon	3	3	3					
5.	K.Add.C.6.	The king observes a sequence of retribution for bad deeds	4	4	4					
6.	C.6.	The crow and the serpent	5	5	5					
7.	D.1.	The crane and the crab	6	6	6					
8.	C.6.2.	The crow takes the jackal's advice	7	7	7					
9.	K.Add.C.7.	The hare who tries to ensnare the fox	8	8	8					
10.	K.Add.C.7.3.	The wolf kills the hare	9	9	9					
11.	C.7.	The hare and the lion	10	10	10					
12.	C.7.5.	The lion about the jump into the well	11	11	11				7	
13.	C.8.3.	The three fishes : the third fish is caught	12	12	12					
14.	K.C.9.	The scorpion and the tortoise	13	13	13					
15.	K.Add.C.9.	The falcon and the domestic fowl	14	14	14					2
16.	K.Add.C.11.2.	The hunter tries to capture the leopard he believes to be a fox								3
17.	C.10.5	The lion, the wolf, the jackal, and the camel				1	1	1		
18.	K.Add.C.12.	The gardener and the bear	15	15	15					4
19.	B.15.28.	The lion's mother taking counsel with her son about Dimnah	16	16	16				11	
20.	K.Add.C.15.4.	The solitary <i>darvish</i> goes to see his friend	17	17	17					
21.	K.Add.D.2.2.	The blind man who mistook a snake for a whip	18	18	19					
22.	C.15.	The woman who mistook the slave for her lover	19	19	19					
23.	K.Add.C.17.	The three envious travellers				2	2	2		
24.	C.18.2.	The falconer trains two parrots	20	20	20					
25.	C.18.4.	The falconer blinded by his falcon								5
26.	K.Add.C.18.	The partridge and the hawk	21	21	21					
27.	K.Add.C.19.3.	The camel rider saves a snake and in return is menaced				3				
28.	K.Add.C.20.	The greedy cat hanging from the dove-cote	22	22	22					
29.	K.Add.C.21.	The king of Kashmir's favourite	23	23	23					
30.	K.Add.C.21.	The lover of the king of Kashmir's favourite	24	24	24					
31.	D.6.	The partridge, the quail, and the "pious cat"	25	25	25				14	
32.	C.21.	The pious man, his sheep, and the thieves								6
33.	C.22.	The thief drives the old merchant's reluctant wife into his arms	26	26	26				15	
34.	K.Add.C.22.5.	The monkey leading the bears into the desert	27	27	27					
35.	C.25.2	The pious man and the mouse who remained true to its nature				4				
36.	C.26.4.	The frog riding on the snake's back	28	28	28					
37.	K.Add.C.24.3.	The king of Kashmir's trained monkey								7
38.	K.Add.C.24.5.	The thief preventing the monkey from killing his master	29	29	29					
39.	B.18.6.	The king of the monkeys riding on the tortoise's back	30	30	30	5			17	

	Classification	Title of episode or story	1261	1263	1267	1274	1277	1281	1282	1298
40.	C.27.10.	The lion kills the donkey whom the fox has persuaded to return	31	31	31					
41.	B.19.1.	The wife of the pious man							19	8
42.	B.19.6.	The man finds the snake after having killed the faithful weasel	32	32	32					
43.	K.Add.C.25.2.	The king who killed the falcon who had saved him	33	33	33					
44.	B.20.2.	The rat offering to free the cat	34	34	34	6	3	3	20	
45.	K.Add.C.26.1.	The old farmer and his young wife								9
46.	K.Add.C.26.2.	The prince makes advances to the old farmer's young wife					4	4		10
47.	K.Add.C.26.4.	The farmer's unfaithful wife is abandoned to a lion	35	35	35					
48.	B.20.4.	The rat starts to free the cat	36	36	36					
49.	K.Add.C.27.	The frog tied to the mouse is carried off by the crow	37	37	37					
50.	C.29.	The old woman and the "angel of death"	38	38	38	7	5	5	22	11
51.	B.21.	The king's son blinded by the lark	39	39	39				21	
52.	K.Add.C.32.	The advice of the <i>darwish</i> to the wolf	40	40	40					
53.	K.Add.C.33.	The Arab and the baker	41	41	41	8	6	6		12
54.	K.Add.C.35.1.	The sultan of Baghdad receives a Chinese maiden as a gift	42	42	42					
55.	K.Add.C.35.5.	The sultan about to throw his mistress into the Tigris	43	43						
56.	K.Add.C.35.5.	The sultan having thrown his mistress into the Tigris			43					
57.	B.22.5.	The lion and the pious jackal who refused to eat meat	44	44	44					
58.	K.Add.B.24.1.2.	The lion witnessing the chain of retribution	45	45	45					
59.	K.Add.C.41.	The boar that seized the monkey's fruit	46	46	46					
60.	C.32.	The crow that imitated the partridge	47	47	47					
61.	K.Add.C.38.	Sulayman at court	48	48	48	10	7	7		13
62.	B.23.3.2.	King Hilār and his favourite Īrāndukht	49	49	49					
63.	B.23.7.	Īrāndukht and Dilfurūz	50	50	50					
64.	C.30.	The pigeon who killed his mate	51	51	51					
65.	B.25.2.	The pious man and his guest (who wanted to learn Hebrew)				9				
66.	K.Add.C.45.12.	The prince dressed as a servant is presented to the king of Fārs	52	52	52					
67.	K.Add.B.26.4.	The princess in conversation with the merchant's daughter	53	53	53					
68.	K.Add.B.26.4.	The monkey, the snake, the tiger, and the goldsmith	54	54	54					
69.	B.27.2.	On the road, the king's son encounters three young men	55	55						
70.	B.26.10.	The king's son in prison			55					
71.	C.33.3.	The two freed doves lead the old man to a treasure	56	56	56					

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 (*hiġri qamari*), and positions seven and eight refer to the place of the relevant illustration within the specific edition. Abbreviations employed are as follows :

AA	= <i>Akhlāq-i asāsi</i>
AS	= <i>Anwār-i Suhayli</i>
CT	= <i>Chihil Ṭūṭi</i>
JT	= <i>Jāmi' al-tamsil</i>
KD	= <i>Kalilah wa Dimnah</i>
MA	= <i>Maṣnawi-ye atfāl</i>
RM	= <i>Riyāz al-muḥibbin</i>

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 *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, Fig. 7.4; *Akhlāq-i asāsi*, Fig. 11.1)
2. 02AS6101 (Fig. 1.2) The fox and the drum (C.4) (also in *Akhlāq-i asāsi*, Fig. 11.2)
3. 03AS6102 (Fig. 1.3) Dimnah complains to Kalilah 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 asāsi*, 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; *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, 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 *Jāmi' al-tamsīl*, Fig. 10.5; *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, 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 *Jāmi' al-tamsīl*, 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. 37AS 9807 (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-tamṣīl*, 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-tamṣīl*, 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-tamṣīl*, Fig. 10.5; and *Chihil Tūṭī*, 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 *Riyāz al-muḥibbin*, 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.C.41)
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 Īrāndukht (B.23)
63. 63AS6150 (Fig. 6.3) Īrāndukht 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)

68. 68AS6154 (Fig. 6.8) The monkey, the snake, the tiger, and the goldsmith rescued from the pit (B.26.1) (similar in *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, Fig. 9.7)
69. 69AS6155 (Fig. 6.9) On the road, the king's son encounters three young men (B.27.3)
70. 70AS6755 (Fig. 6.10) The king's son in prison (B.27.10)
71. 71AS6156 (Fig. 6.11) The two freed doves lead the old man to a treasure (C.33.3)

SCENES ILLUSTRATED IN THE 1282 EDITION OF *KALĪLAH WA DIMNAH*

(Figs. 7-9)

1. 01KD8201 (Fig. 7.1) Burzūyah presents the book to Anūshīrvān (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 asāsi*, Fig. 11.1)
5. 05KD8205 (Fig. 7.5) The lion, Shanzabah, and Kalilah 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 asāsi*, 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 asāsi*, 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 asāsi*, 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, Irāndukht, 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 the pit they had fallen into (B.26.1) (also in *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, 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 *KALĪLAH WA DIMNAH* TRADITION IN RELATED TEXTS

(Figs. 10-11)

Chihil ṭūṭi (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)

Jāmi' al-tamsīl (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; *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, 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; *Akhlāq-i asāsī*, Fig. 11.11)

Riyāz al-muḥibbīn (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)

Maṣnawī-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; *Kalilah 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 Dimna*, 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; *Jāmi' al-tamṣīl*, 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; *Kalilah 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; *Jāmi' al-tamṣīl*, 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; *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, Fig. 9.7)

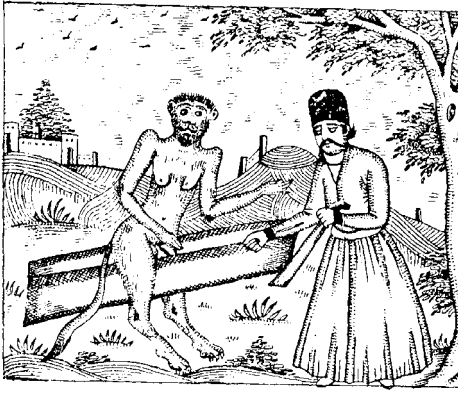


Fig. 1.1



Fig. 1.2



Fig. 1.3



Fig. 1.4



Fig. 1.5



Fig. 1.6

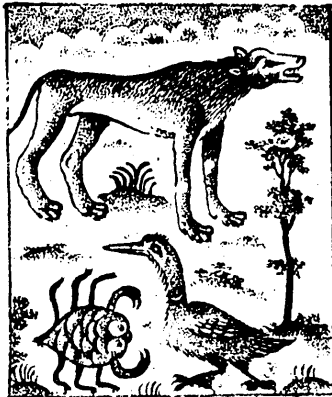


Fig. 1.7



Fig. 1.8



Fig. 1.9



Fig. 1.10



Fig. 1.11



Fig. 1.12



Fig. 2.1



Fig. 2.2



Fig. 2.3

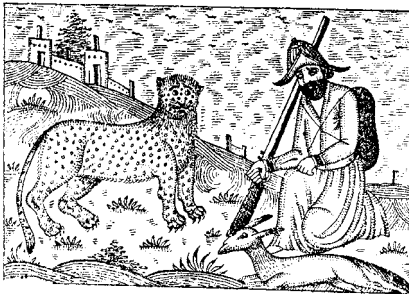


Fig. 2.4

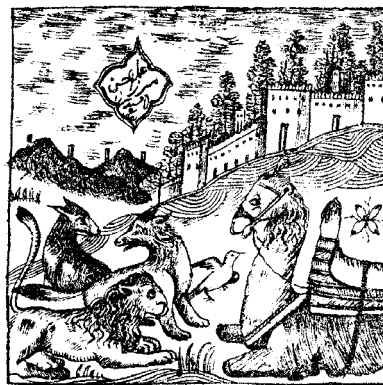


Fig. 2.5



Fig. 2.6



Fig. 2.7



Fig. 2.8



Fig. 2.9



Fig. 2.10



Fig. 2.11



Fig. 2.12



Fig. 3.1



Fig. 3.2



Fig. 3.3

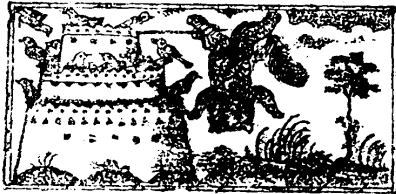


Fig. 3.4



Fig. 3.5



Fig. 3.6



Fig. 3.7



Fig. 3.8



Fig. 3.9



Fig. 3.10



Fig. 3.11



Fig. 3.12

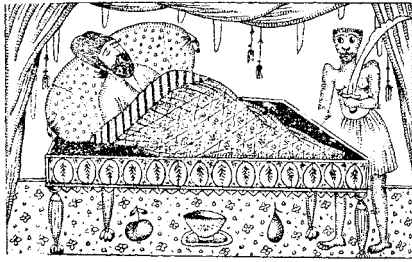


Fig. 4.1



Fig. 4.2



Fig. 4.3



Fig. 4.4



Fig. 4.5



Fig. 4.6



Fig. 4.7



Fig. 4.8



Fig. 4.9



Fig. 4.10



Fig. 4.11



Fig. 4.12



Fig. 5.1



Fig. 5.2



Fig. 5.3



Fig. 5.4



Fig. 5.5



Fig. 5.6



Fig. 5.7



Fig. 5.8



Fig. 5.9



Fig. 5.10



Fig. 5.11

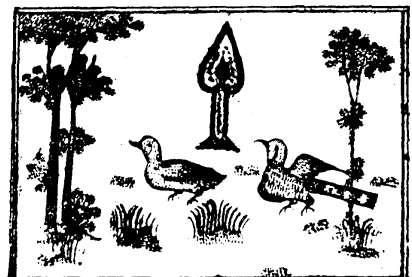


Fig. 5.12



Fig. 6.1



Fig. 6.2



Fig. 6.3



Fig. 6.4

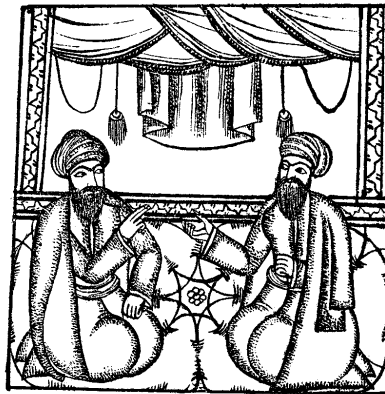


Fig. 6.5



Fig. 6.6



Fig. 6.7



Fig. 6.8



Fig. 6.9



Fig. 6.10



Fig. 6.11



Fig. 7.1

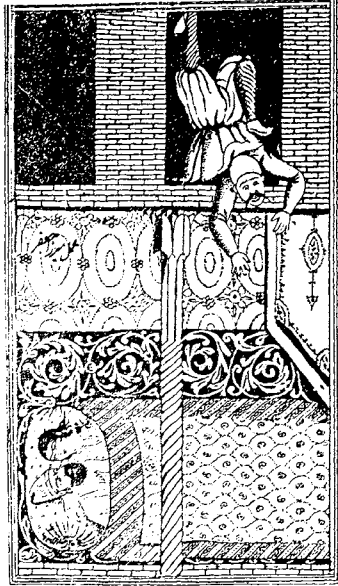


Fig. 7.2



Fig. 7.3



Fig. 7.4



Fig. 7.5



Fig. 7.6



Fig. 7.7



Fig. 7.8



Fig. 7.9



Fig. 8.1



Fig. 8.2



Fig. 8.3



Fig. 8.4



Fig. 8.5



Fig. 8.6



Fig. 8.7

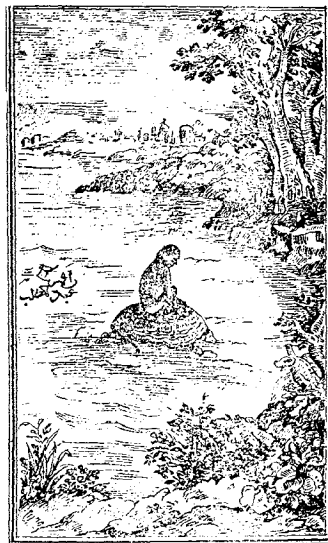


Fig. 8.8

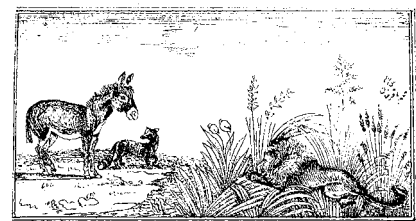


Fig. 8.9



Fig. 9.1



Fig. 9.2



Fig. 9.3



Fig. 9.4



Fig. 9.5



Fig. 9.6



Fig. 9.7



Fig. 9.8



Fig. 10.1



Fig. 10.2

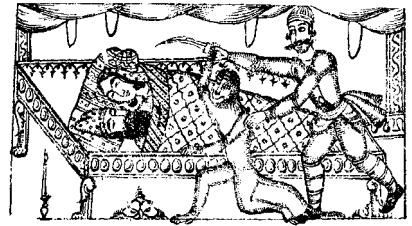


Fig. 10.3



Fig. 10.4



Fig. 10.5



Fig. 10.6

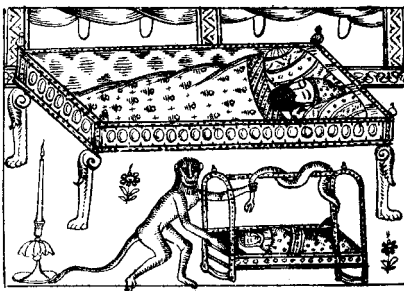


Fig. 10.7



Fig. 10.8



Fig. 10.9



Fig. 10.10



Fig. 10.11



Fig. 10.12



Fig. 11.1



Fig. 11.2



Fig. 11.3



Fig. 11.4



Fig. 11.5



Fig. 11.6



Fig. 11.7

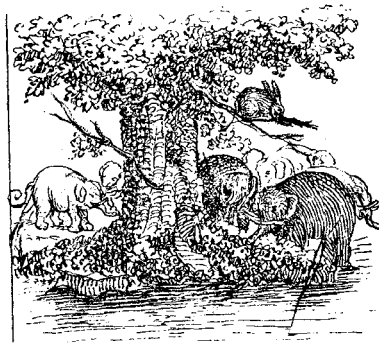


Fig. 11.8



Fig. 11.9



Fig. 11.10



Fig. 11.11

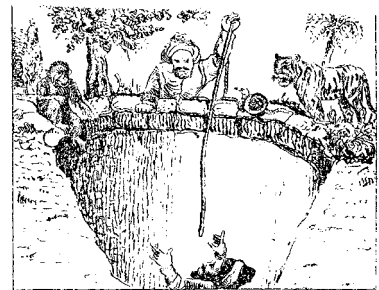


Fig. 11.12

