

THE PICTORIAL REPRESENTATION OF SHI'Ī THEMES IN LITHOGRAPHED BOOKS OF THE QAJAR PERIOD

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INTRODUCTION

THE QAJAR PERIOD WITNESSED A NOTABLE RESURGENCE OF SHI'Ī RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT in Iran. In the political arena, the reasons for this phenomenon are linked to the efforts of the Qajar dynasty to legitimize its rule. From the vantage point of cultural history, the Shi'ī impact is most visible in the areas of drama and literature. In particular, the dramatic reenactment of the tragic events at Karbala, known as *ta'ziyeh* and often labelled the 'Persian passion play', experienced its formative period during the early days of the Qajar dynasty. The formation of *ta'ziyeh* resulted from the merging of the funeral processions staged on the day of 'Āshurā' with a specific genre of Shi'ī literature to whose growing popularity the *ta'ziyeh* also contributed.¹ Works of this genre follow in the vein of Hoseyn ebn Vâ'ez Kâshefi's fifteenth-century compilation *Rowzat al-shohadā'* (The Garden of Martyrs) and are commonly known as books of *rowzehkhāni* – literally the reading or recitation of the book *Rowzat al-shohadā'*; sometimes they are also called *marsiyeḥ* (lament) or *maqṭal* ([narrative about a] scene of combat).

Profiting from two concurrent developments, several works of *rowzehkhāni* literature compiled by contemporary authors gained a considerable popularity in the Qajar period. One was the genre's growing appeal, and the other was the introduction to Iran of the newly invented technique of lithographic printing in the early decades of the nineteenth century.² The most widely read book of the genre, judging from the numerous different editions preserved, was Mirzā Ebrāhim b. Mohammad-Bāqer Jouhari's *Tufān al-bokā'* (The Deluge of Tears). This book, whose author died in 1253 AH/1837 AD, was completed in 1250 AH/1834 AD and was

published in probably more than 50 editions during the second half of the nineteenth century.³ The lithographed editions of the genre were, however, more than presentations of literary (and often rhymed) versions of the early days of Islam and of the pivotal Shi'i experience of the martyrdom of Hoseyn and his followers at Karbala. What made the lithographed editions so special was that their text was often accompanied by illustrations. In this manner, they were able to contribute to the popularization of quintessential Shi'i concepts, while also drawing on popular imagery and furthering the stereotypical representation of themes lying at the core of Shi'i self-definition.

It is these illustrations that I propose to discuss. In approaching the topic, a few words will have to suffice to introduce the specific Qajar phenomenon of lithographed books. The theoretical grounding of my presentation is developed against the backdrop of the general iconography of narrative themes in Persian art. In empirically relying on a comprehensive survey of illustrations contained in lithographed books of the Qajar period,⁴ I will focus on two kinds of illustrations dealing with Shi'i themes. On the one hand, there are scenes whose overall iconographical value is immediately recognisable by anyone with even a basic knowledge of Shi'i concepts; on the other, a substantial amount of illustrations occurs with a certain frequency in different books. The items of the latter category serve best to demonstrate the iconographical potential of Shi'i themes in lithographic illustrations, as their adequate interpretation is linked to a more subtle, and sometimes intrinsic, knowledge of the related events.⁵

LITHOGRAPHED BOOKS OF THE QAJAR PERIOD

The particular art form of narrative illustration in Persian lithographed books is germane to the Qajar period. The technique of printing by way of lithography had been invented only just before the end of the eighteenth century, at a time when printing in general had not become a common practice in Iran. In fact, printing books from movable type was introduced to Iran only in the days of 'Abbās Mirzā, Fath 'Ali Shāh's heir apparent (who, in the end, was outlived by his father). Until Fath 'Ali Shāh's death, about 30 books had been printed by way of the newly introduced technique of printing from movable type. This technique had contributed tremendously to the availability and spread of knowledge in the West. In Iran, however, printing from movable type never gained a strong currency. Several reasons account for this lack of success, most decisive of which was probably the strong aesthetic sentiment of Iranian readers, who would not accept the physical appearance of texts in printed books. In particular, the printing types

used were regarded as crude in comparison to the accomplished practice of calligraphy, which has maintained its position as a highly esteemed cultural practice until the present day. Considering this situation, in the historical perspective, it appears as a particularly fortunate coincidence that printing by way of lithography had been invented shortly before. Moreover, lithography was introduced to Iran at the very moment when those in power became aware of the various advantages of printing books. In contrast to printing from movable type, lithography not only guaranteed the smooth continuation of calligraphy, as lithographed books virtually correspond to facsimile printings of manuscripts, but also permitted the integration of both illumination and illustration in one and the same process of printing, thus enabling Iranian publishers to create the specific form of illustrated lithographed books. While the first lithographed book in Iran was published in 1248–9 AH/1832–3 AD, the first illustrated lithographed books were not published until several years later, an early specimen being the 1259 AH/1843 AD edition of Maktabi's *Leyli va Majnun*. Even though the latter date marks the beginning of a period in which printing from movable type experienced a certain revival (after a hiatus of about a decade), lithographic printing soon gained the upper hand. Besides the appeal of lithographed calligraphy, the illustrations published in lithographed books certainly contributed to the success of this way of printing in Iran.

Illustrated books included cosmographical and zoographical encyclopaedias; works of theology, history, medicine and astronomy; as well as books on military drill, travel and education. Meanwhile, the majority of illustrations in lithographed books of the Qajar period is encountered in works pertaining to narrative literature, whether historical or fictional in terms of themes, and whether classical or contemporary Qajar in terms of language. The stories contained in narrative works often serve to illustrate specific moral or edifying points, and many episodes would readily offer themselves for pictorial rendering. Illustrations to episodes with an exemplary character could even gain a life of their own that would transcend their original function and turn them into icons in their own right.

EXEMPLARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS THEMES

The best studied of the exemplary illustrations of historical and religious themes is probably the depiction of Bahrām Gur and his slave girl, often known as Āzāde, who had challenged him to hit both the foot and the ear of an onager with a single arrow.⁶ The related episode is contained in both Ferdousi's *Shāhnāme* and Nezāmi's *Khamse* and is also rendered in

lithographed editions of the two works (Figures 8a and 8b).⁷ Other images from the field of historical narrative offering easy and unambiguous identification include many of the standard scenes from the Persian classics, such as, to name but a few, 'Farhād hewing away at Mount Bisotun' (Figure 9), 'Leyli and Majnun' (Figure 10), and 'the great wall built by Alexander' (Figure 11). One of the few images outside this range of narratives with a similar iconographical value is the one depicting the so-called *doval-pā*, known in English as the 'old man of the sea', a strap-legged monstrous creature of Persian legend that figures prominently in the narratives of Sindbād in the *Thousand and One Nights* and in similar stories, such as the travel adventures of the jeweller Salim (Figures 12a and 12b).

Above all, many of the scenes in which Rostam, the quintessential hero of Iranian history, makes his appearance have gained a strong iconographical value. And here again, the scene of Rostam killing the White Div (Figure 13) with its convincing dichotomy of good vanquishing evil and its presence in various forms of art is probably one of the best known. In the later episodes of the *Shāhnāme*, Rostam, by way of his armour, and particularly his helmet (Figure 14), is one of the few historical characters who are unambiguously identifiable in terms of iconography – besides such characters as Zahhāk, who is clearly characterized by the two snakes growing from his shoulders



Figure 8a Bahrām-Gur and Āzāde: *Shāhnāme* (1264).



Figure 8b Bahrām-Gur and Āzāde: *Khamse* (1264).



Figure 9 Farhād hewing away at Mount Bisotun: *Khamse* (1264).



Figure 10 Leili and Majnun: *Khamse* (1264).



Figure 11 The great wall built by Alexander: *Khamse* (1264).

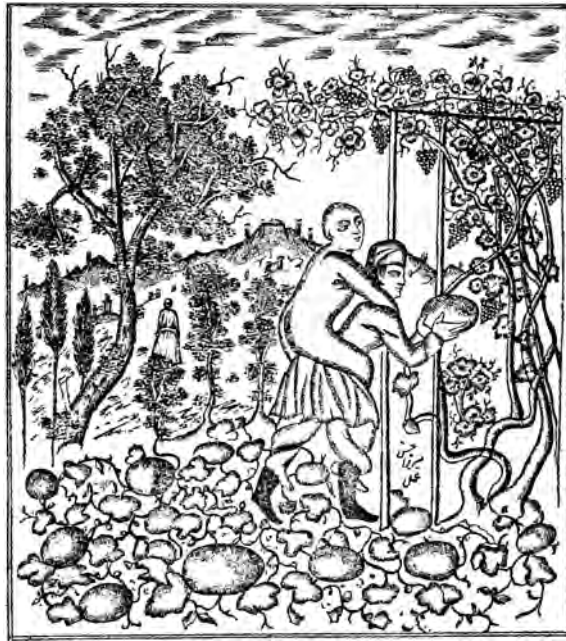


Figure 12a The *Doval-pā*: *Hezār-o yek shab* (1272).



Figure 12b The *Doval-pā*: *Salim-e Javāheri* (1271).



Figure 13 Rostam kills the White Div: *Shāhnāme* (1265–67).

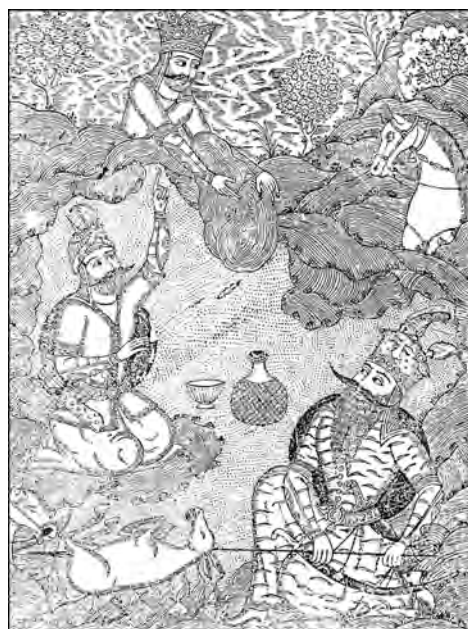


Figure 14 Rostam roasts an onager: *Shāhnāme* (1265–67).

(Figure 15). Notably, besides Rostam as the embodiment of Iranian national values, there is only one other character, as we shall presently see, who by way of his iconography has gained a similarly unambiguous prominence: Ali, the quintessential religious hero and the embodiment of Shi'i religious values.⁸

In the area of religious themes, whether pre-Islamic or early Islamic, the amount of images having gained an iconographical value similar to that of historical images is comparatively small. As for pre-Islamic religious history, the most prominent ones occurring in a variety of works are 'Abraham about to sacrifice his son' (Figures 16a and 16b) and 'Solomon enthroned' (Figure 17). Besides the eschatological figure of the Dajjāl (Figure 18), the only exclusively Islamic, while not predominantly Shi'i, theme recurrently depicted is one of the Prophet Mohammad's miracles, the 'splitting of the moon' (*shaqq al-qamar*) (Figure 19). But early Islamic history is already tantamount to early Shi'i history, so it is here that the pictorial depiction of Shi'i themes begins.

SHI'I THEMES IN PERSIAN LITERATURE

Shi'i identity, both learned and popular, is determined by two main points. The first point is the unquestionable superiority of Ali. Islamic dogma

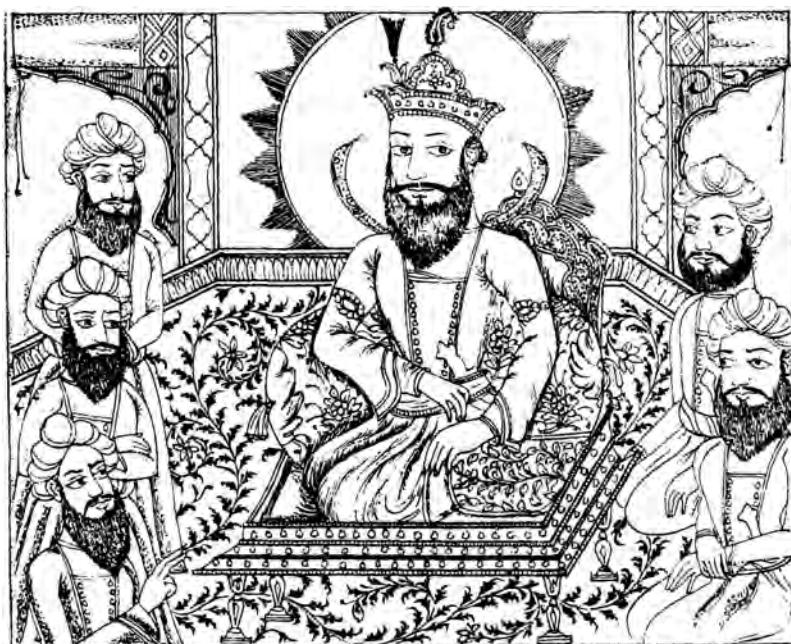


Figure 15 Zakhāk: *Shāhnāme* (1262).



Figure 16a Abraham about to sacrifice his son: *Akhbār-nāme* (1267).



Figure 16b Abraham about to sacrifice his son: *Hezār mas'ale* (s.a.).



Figure 17 Solomon enthroned: *'Ajā'eb al-makhlūqāt* (1264).



Figure 18 The *Dajjāl*: *'Aqā'ed al-shi'a* (1269).



Figure 19 The Prophet Mohammad's miracle of 'Splitting of the Moon' (*shaqq al-qamar*): *Akhhār-nāme* (1267).

reserves the pride of first place to the Prophet Mohammad, but Shi'i popular veneration for Ali surpasses the Prophet's position by far. He is the only legitimate successor to the Prophet Mohammad as the leader of the Islamic community, the *umma*. He is the first imam of the Shi'a, whose denomination, after all, derives from the essential qualification as the *shī'at Ali*, the 'party of Ali'. He is, in short, the supreme human being. In terms of narrative literature, this point is elaborated in numerous books that treat Ali's historical exploits in the early period of the spread of Islam, many of which have in subsequent centuries been embellished with fictional events up to the point that Ali – similar to the heroes of the Persian popular romances – is even made to fight *divs* and dragons.⁹ The most popular of these books in the Qajar period probably was Moulā Bamun-Ali's *Hamle-ye Heydariyeh* (The Lion's Attack), the term *heydar*, or lion, being one of Ali's epithets (Figure 20).

The second point determining Shi'i identity is the tragic experience of Hoseyn's martyrdom at Karbala (Figure 21). This event is elaborated in an even larger quantity of books compiled in both poetry and prose. Besides the *Tufān al-bokā'*, already mentioned, and Sarbāz Borujerdi's similarly popular *Asrār al-shahāda* (The Secrets of Martyrdom), this category of books comprises items such as Mollā Hasan Hā'eri's *Anvār al-shahāda* (The

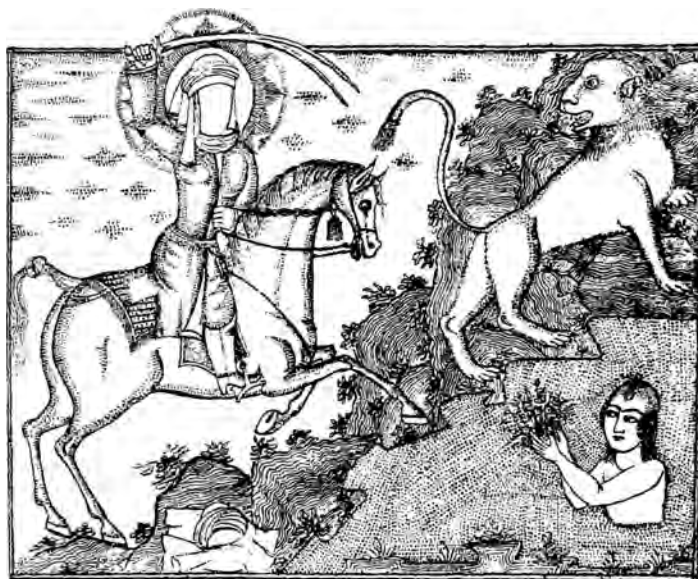


Figure 20 'Ali attacking a lion: *Hamle-ye Heidariye* (1264).

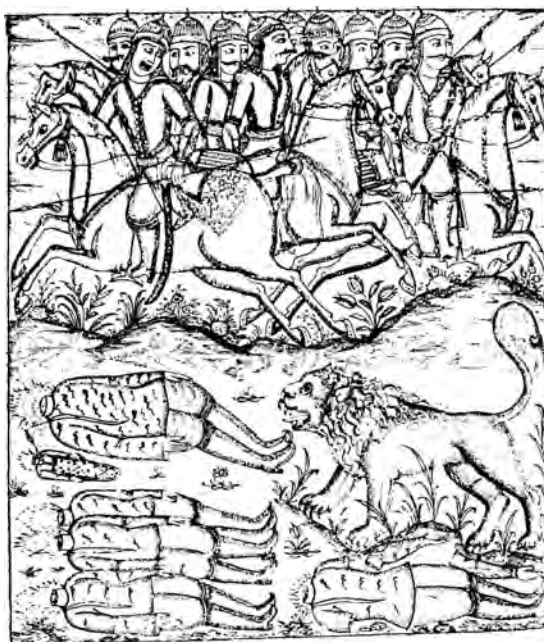


Figure 21 A lion defends the beheaded bodies of the martyrs of Karbala: *Mātamkade* (1266).

Lights of Martyrdom), Āqā Mirzā 'Ammān Sāmāni's *Ganjine-ye asrār* (The Treasury of Secrets), Bidel's *Mātamkade* (The House of Mourning), Bidel Kermānshāhāni's *Tohfāt al-Dhākerin* (The Gift of Those Who Remember), Mohammad-Hoseyn b. Mohammad-Rezā's *Vasilat al-najāt* (The Means of Deliverance) and many more.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SHI'I THEMES IN LITHOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATION

In accordance with the two previously mentioned points determining Shi'i consciousness, there are two areas of Shi'i iconography in lithographed books of the Qajar period. The first relates to Ali and his role in early Islamic history, and the second to the last days of Hoseyn and his followers, culminating in the battle of Karbala. Illustrations to subsequent Shi'i history focus on the aftermath of Karbala, such as the revenge taken by Mokhtār. Illustrations to topics unrelated to those tragic events are extremely rare. In fact, the only images related to the later Shi'i imams are contained in the 1267 edition of the *Akhhār-nāme*, a booklet of the genre of *qesas al-anbeyā'* (Stories of the Prophets), whose historical range covers the events from the creation of Adam to the Day of Judgment.¹⁰ While just less than a quarter of the booklet's 82 text-related illustrations deal with Shi'i history, the Shi'i imams after Hoseyn are only depicted with one illustration each.

The majority of illustrations related to Shi'i themes in lithographed books of the Qajar period, in accordance with the related events, deal with battles and fights. Early Islamic and, particularly, early Shi'i history is depicted as a period of constant warfare, armed strife, and struggle for the recognition of legitimate rule. In the early days of Islam, the battles served to spread the True Faith to the infidels, and Ali is depicted as the impeccable and valiant hero, the Prophet's first and most faithful follower and the religion's most ardent defender. Many of the illustrations relating to religious warfare are fairly unspecific, depicting heroes in single combat or armies either preparing to fight or fighting each other. In a like manner, they might also be, and often are, contained in any book treating armed strife, such as Ferdousi's *Shāhnāme*, or one of the Persian popular romances, such as *Eskandarnāme* or *Romuz-e Hamze* (Figures 22a and 22b). Often the only iconographical clue enabling the viewer to distinguish a religious context from a historical one is the fact that the hero's face is covered by a veil or is surrounded by a halo. There is, however, a certain group of images that has gained a specific iconography in depicting crucial events.

In terms of chronology of the historical events, the first Shi'i image with a clear iconography is an illustration to the legend about the infant Ali's



Figure 22a Battle scene in profane narrative: *Romuz-e Hamze* (1273–76).

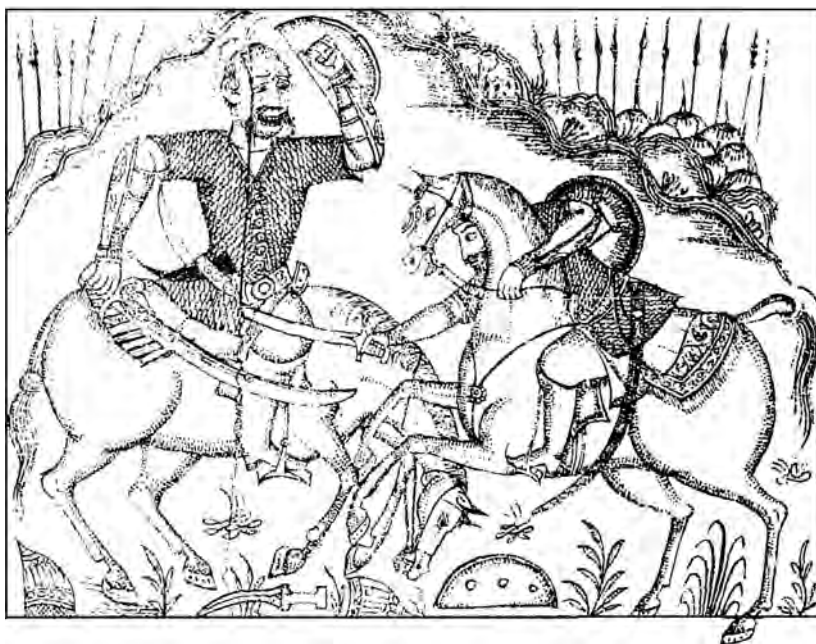


Figure 22b Battle scene in religious narrative: *Moseiyab-nāme* (1265).

fight with a dragon (Figure 23). The story goes that a dragon attacked Ali in his cradle. Ali showed superhuman awareness and strength in seizing the dragon's jaws and ripping the monster apart. One of the interesting points in this image is the fact that items of material culture, such as the infant's cradle, are depicted according to usage contemporary with the illustrator's work. It is for this reason that illustrations in Qajar lithographed books constitute an important source for studying the cultural and social history of the period.¹¹

THE DEPICTION OF ALI

From the Shi'i point of view, not only was Ali the most deserving character to lead the Islamic community after the Prophet Mohammad's death, but he had also been explicitly appointed by Mohammad as his successor. This event is said to have taken place when the party rested during the return from the Prophet's final pilgrimage at a pond between Mecca and Medina known as Ghadir-e Khomm, when Mohammad took Ali's hand and said, '*Man kuntu maulāhu fa-Ali maulāhu*' (Everybody whose patron I am also has Ali as a patron). The scene is thus of pivotal importance for Shi'i self-definition (Figure 24). While the faces of the two venerated characters are veiled, Mohammad is depicted on the right

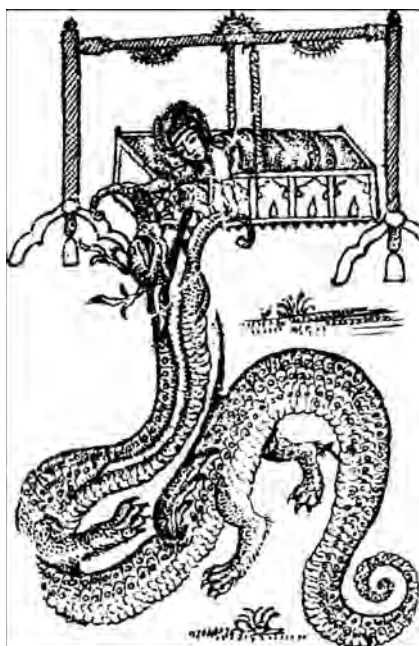


Figure 23 The infant 'Ali fighting a dragon: *Daftar* (untitled booklet) (1263).

side of the image, seated on a stack of camel saddles, while Ali is placed in the centre. With his right hand Mohammad holds up Ali's left hand, and with his left hand points to him in a gesture of acknowledgment. A crowd of followers sitting nearby watches the scene, indicating both the official nature of Mohammad's gesture and the fact that the witnesses will later be cited in testimony of Ali's designation (*nass*) as Mohammad's successor.

Ali's prowess in battle is most impressively demonstrated at the battle of Kheybar, where, in an often reproduced image, he vanquished the enemy champion Marhab (Figure 25). Ali's stroke with his famous sword Zolfaqār is said to have been so fierce that the archangels Esrāfil, Gabriel and Michael descended to earth, two of them guiding Ali's hand and one of them protecting the earth with his wings, lest it be split in two, as was the enemy's body.

Ali's sanctity is underlined by several miracles he is said to have performed, at least two of them emulating miracles of the pre-Islamic prophets. Ali's staff turning into a dragon emulates the story of Moses (Musā) (Figure 26), while his fire ordeal relates to that of Abraham (Ebrāhim) (Figure 27). The motif that fire or great heat does not harm the hero belongs



Figure 24 'Ali and Muhammad at Ghadir-e Khumm: *Eftekhār-nāme-ye Heidari* (1310).



Figure 25 'Ali fights Marhab-e Khebari: *Eftekhār-nāme-ye Heidari* (1310).

to the standard repertoire of legend, whether historical or religious. In the Iranian national legend, it is impressively demonstrated by the fire ordeal of Siyāvosh in Ferdousi's *Shāhnāmeḥ*. Ali, rather than passing through the fire without harm, is seated on the fire, whose flames, instead of harming him, turn into roses.

Fātemeh, the Prophet Mohammad's daughter, is the most venerated woman in Shi'i Islam and, in fact, one of the few female characters depicted with an active role in lithographic illustration. Her marriage to Ali (Figure 28) serves as a further argument to legitimize the claim of his sons to succeed him as the leaders of the Islamic community, as they are both the Prophet's only living male offspring (albeit in the second generation) and the descendants of the person most venerated by Shi'i Islam.

Ali was assassinated at the hand of a certain 'Abdarrahmān b. Muljam. Historical sources sometimes relate the attack as having taken place at the door of a mosque in Kufa. The illustrations, however, depict Ali deeply immersed in prayer, the attack of his assailant thus constituting a foul and cowardly act that deprived the Islamic community of its legitimate ruler (Figure 29).

It is significant to note that Ali is the only religious character who can be identified by way of an unambiguous iconographical detail. Historically,



Figure 26 'Ali's staff turns into a dragon: *Akhbār-nāme* (1267).



Figure 27 'Ali's fire ordeal: *Asrār al-shahāda* (1268).



Figure 28 Fātima preparing for her wedding: *Jāme' al-mo'jezāt* (1271).



Figure 29 The assassination of 'Ali: *Asrār al-shahāda* (1268).

Ali's sword Zolfaqār – as is known from a description dating back to Fatimid times – had two cutting edges (Arabic *shafratān*), on both the upper and the lower side. Popular iconography has turned this into a sword whose blade branches into two separate tips.¹² Even though Ali's son Hoseyn is said to have inherited Ali's sword, in popular iconography the depiction of a hero handling a sword with two tips is restricted to Ali. As already mentioned, it is interesting to note that Ali, as the quintessential religious hero, shares this basic iconographical depiction only with Rostam, the ultimate national hero, who is identified by way of his helmet.

THE BATTLE AT KARBALA AND ITS AFTERMATH

While Ali is being venerated as the supreme human being, his son Hoseyn, the third Shi'i imam, is most ardently venerated because of his tragic death. In fact, the martyrdom of Hoseyn, his family and his followers during the battle of Karbala in Moharram 60 AH/October 680 AD is the pivotal tragedy of Shi'ism. The chain of events taking place before and on the crucial date of 10 Moharram, the day of 'Āshurā', has been remembered, recounted and reenacted innumerable times. Whereas the tragedy consists of numerous single events, the large majority of which are well known to the Shi'i community, some scenes are particularly notorious for their tragic impact. It is hard to judge which of those scenes is either most tragic or best known.

The scene that is most often depicted in various books and also most unambiguously identifiable in terms of iconography shows Hoseyn together with his infant son Ali Asghar (Figure 30). Hoseyn, his face covered by a veil, is seated on horseback, holding his son in his arm with the other arm sometimes clutching a spear. Besides being small, the infant is depicted as tightly wrapped, thus demonstrating his absolute helplessness. The image invokes the memory of Hoseyn's destitution when he implored the merciless enemy to let at least his infant son drink some water. As one of the most moving images relating to Karbala, the devotional image has also been reproduced as a single-leaf print that was probably distributed or sold at the Shi'i centres of pilgrimage in Iraq (Figure 31).¹³

In the framework of the many fights and related cruelties during the battle of Karbala, it is at times hard to identify the acting characters, but two of them stand out for their iconography: Qāsem, the son of Hasan, Hoseyn's brother, who is usually depicted as a shining youth whose face is surrounded by a halo (Figure 32); and Abo 'l-Fazl 'Abbas, Hoseyn's half brother (Figure 33), whose face is rendered as that of a beautiful bearded man of age. Notably, some of the minor scenes connected with the battle of Karbala are rendered in great detail. However, the images allow an unambiguous



Figure 30 Hoseyn and 'Ali-Asghar: *Vasilat al-najāt* (1284).



Figure 31 Hoseyn and 'Ali-Asghar: Single leaf print (1313).



Figure 32 Qāsem: *Asrār al-shahāda* (1268).



Figure 33 Abo 'l-Fazl 'Abbās: *Asrār al-shahāda* (1268).

identification only for the initiated viewers who are familiar with the many episodes related in the sources. There is, for instance, the scene of a warrior on foot attacking a group of enemies before the background of a city wall. Against the backdrop of Karbala, this scene would depict Moslem b. 'Aqil attacking the inhabitants of Kufa, a battle during which Moslem was killed (Figure 34). A similarly clear identification is permitted for the scene in which the two children whom Moslem left without protection have been sought out and are about to be murdered by Hāres (Figure 35). Another minor event, Vahb's mother assisting her son's party by attacking the enemies with a tent-pole (Figure 36), also allows an unambiguous identification as a similar event is not depicted in any other context.

Probably the most shocking scene to a Shi'i audience is the one following Hoseyn's murder at the hand of Shemr, whose evil character is usually underlined by his depiction with boar's teeth (Figure 37). Having severed Hoseyn's head, the Caliph Mu'āwiyā's troops paraded it on top of a spear when heading back to Damascus (Figure 38).

As for the events following the aftermath of Karbala, the scene that is most often depicted is the cruel revenge that the Shi'i insurgent Mokhtār



Figure 34 Moslem b. 'Aqil attacking the inhabitants of Kufa: *Tufān al-bokā'* (1269).



Figure 35 Hāres about to murder Moslem's children: *Asrār al-shahāda* (1268).



Figure 36 Vahb's mother attacking the enemies with a tent-pole: *Tufān al-bokā'* (s.a.).



Figure 37 Shemr about to murder Hoseyn: *Asrār al-shahāda* (1268).



Figure 38 Mu'āwiya's troops parading Hoseyn's severed head: *Asrār al-shahāda* (1268).

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took on those inhabitants of Kufa who were held responsible for Hoseyn's tragic death at Karbala. The revenge is depicted as a series of mutilations and tortures of utmost brutality inflicted upon those deemed guilty, with Mokhtār presiding over the action but not actively taking part (Figure 39).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The iconography of Shi'i themes relates to the basic tenets of the Shi'i creed. To the uninitiated Westerner, many scenes might look alike to such a degree that they are deemed almost identical. To Shi'i Muslims themselves, and particularly to those who actively practice their creed, they are easily identifiable as pictorial renderings of the central characters and pivotal events that lie at the core of Shi'i self-definition. The iconography of these Shi'i themes does, of course, result from the events discussed in the related texts. As a rule, the illustrations would not depict any events not described in the text. At the same time, any illustrative programme is but a reduction of the related narrative, whether only selected narratives out of many have been chosen for depiction, or whether a complex event is being condensed into the nutshell of a single image. The focus on iconographical



Figure 39 Mokhtār taking revenge: *Tufān al-bokā'* (1272).

representation adds a further reduction to essential and unambiguously identifiable details transporting a clear notion within the image of a single item, thereby transforming this item into an icon. Summing up the present discussion, it appears as though two items in particular offer themselves as icons of Shi'i identity: Ali's sword Zolfaqār as the epitomized symbol of the constant Shi'i struggle for the recognition of legitimate rule in the Islamic world, and Hoseyn's severed head as a powerful reminder of the historical tragedy that followed when Shi'i responsibilities were neglected.

The Shi'i themes discussed here are not necessarily germane to lithographic illustration, as many of them have also been illustrated in previous manuscript tradition, such as the famous *Khāvarānnāmeḥ*.¹⁴ Meanwhile, their publication in lithographed books not only marks a change in technique, but, moreover, one in audience. Lithographed books, even though still quite expensive for whatever one might consider the average reader in the Qajar period, were available to larger audiences than any reading matter previously produced in Iran. In this manner, the illustrations contained in lithographed books of the Qajar period held the potential to contribute to standardising and propagating the depiction of Shi'i themes in a previously unprecedented manner. In addition, there is a complex relationship between lithographic illustration and the depiction of Shi'i themes in various other areas of art, such as lacquerwork, picture tiles, stuccowork, paintings on walls (murals) or behind glass, and picture carpets,¹⁵ all of which at times employ specifically Shi'i imagery and serve to remind the Shi'i community of the basic tenets of its creed.

NOTES

1. Chelkowski 1979; Aghaie 2004.
2. Marzolph 2002b; idem 2007.
3. Marzolph 2001, pp. 266–267.
4. Marzolph 2001.
5. For important works on Persian and Islamic iconography, see Fontana 1994; Milstein, Rührdanz, and Schmitz 1999; Sims, Marshak, and Grube 2002.
6. Fontana 1986; Marzolph 1999.
7. For bibliographical details of the works mentioned in the following, see Marzolph 2001.
8. Soroudi 1980.
9. Vakiliyān and Sālehi 1380/2001.
10. Marzolph 2002a.
11. Āqāpur 1377/1998.
12. Halm 1996.
13. Vinchon 1925.

14. Ibn Hisām Khusefi Birjandi 1381/2002.
 15. Seif 1369/1990; idem 1371/1992; idem 1376/1997; idem 1379/2000; Tanāvoli 1368/1999.

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