That Qajar visual art, particularly painting, does not exist is the inescapable conclusion the uninitiated might draw from looking up the subject in bibliographies. Pierson's Index Islamicus, Gulbun's Bibliography of Persian Art, Rohani's Bibliography of Persian Miniatures, and Iraj Afshar's Fihrist-i Maqalat-i Farsi, which jointly list some thirty, mostly very short, articles, are the only ones to offer some encouragement to the prospective student of Qajar painting. Even they are rather meager and barely sufficient for survival, despite some nice tidbits. Gulbun's bibliography in fact lists quite a number of very short articles on Qajar painters, but, since they are under the name of the artist and not under the heading of the Qajar period, the uninitiated would still be out of luck. The few additional studies not mentioned in these bibliographies are repetitive, narrowly focused, and offer little additional information on the subject. This also holds true to some extent for the most recent, and so far the best, overview in the Cambridge History of Iran which is the only one that covers almost the entire Qajar period, as the others do not. A major step forward has been the recent exhibition and its catalogue, Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, in the fall of 1998 at the Brooklyn Museum in New York.

Not many sources, whether Persian or European, provide data on Qajar art. Contemporary Persian sources hardly mention Qajar painting, and, if they do, it is only marginally and little more than the names of painters and information on the organization of the art of painting and its appreciation by contemporaries. Contemporary European sources say no more, and, whereas Persian authors, if they mention the art of painting at all, are quite positive about Qajar art, most, if not all, European observers are not. They complain of its absence of shading, perspective, and proportion, its lack of innovation and originality, and its penchant for imitation, an attitude that is not very encouraging to those who want to study this art style. It certainly discouraged interest by contemporary European visitors to Persia and had a negative impact on the kind of information available in the sources.

Given this silent treatment in Persian sources and the generally dismissive European attitude, it is not surprising that our knowledge of Qajar art and artists has not made much progress over the last fifty years, nor have art historians made any real effort to find what information there is. As will become apparent here there is much more information available than the studies produced so far have led us to believe. The interested student of Qajar art only has to delve deeply to locate material not yet listed, or listed under non-painting headings in bibliographies, as well as to find information where no one has yet looked or which has been overlooked or ignored.

The result of my delving into well-known, though hitherto underutilized, documents is offered herewith as a first and incomplete effort to shed more light on Qajar painting and painters from a socioeconomie point of view and to answer the following questions: what is a naqqash, a design artist or painter? how were artists organized? what do we know of their working methods? did a royal painting atelier exist? what subjects did painters choose to depict? and what do we know about the leading individual artists?

PAINTERS AND GUILDS

What is a naqqash? According to Falk, Persian painters mainly illustrated manuscripts in small-scale works, where detail and color were more important than texture and shading. However, this is a limited and erroneous view of what a naqqash was and did in Qajar Persia. According to the dictionaries a naqqash is someone who makes a naqsha (drawing, design, plan, portrait), whether a painter, a limner, an embroiderer, an illuminator (of books), a sculptor, a carver, an engraver, a draftsman, or a designer. This wide range of activities is also reflected in the literature, where
we indeed find the term *naqqash* employed to refer to occupations such as a print designer (especially for block prints), painter on wood, tile designer, glaze painter, and sculptor.\(^9\)

The most accomplished and versatile artists were those who received training in drawing and painting, as expressed in various art forms such as ink drawing (*siyah-qalam*), oil painting (*rang-i rughan*), studies from actual life (*ulgu-pardazi*), panorama painting (*durnama-sazi*), flower painting (*gul-sazi*), and portraiture (*shabih-sazi*). In addition to drawing and painting, they could also produce excellent work in illumination (*tadhhib*), miniature painting, painted lacquer, painting on glass (*eglomisé*), on walls and on enamel.\(^1\) They were also involved in textile printing, carpet and tile design, and sculpting. This versatility is clear from the little that we know about the skills of the various artists, about whom more later: the painting of miniatures or canvases was just one aspect of the artistic activity in which a *naqqash* or a visual artist could be engaged.

*The naqqash guilds.* In 1873, Hoeltzer (an employee of the Telegraph Department and a long time resident of Isfahan) wrote: “The art of painting has not progressed very much here, because the Persian religion forbids it. Therefore it is only practiced in private, because training in drawing is totally nonexistent. All encouragement to that end is cut off from the very beginning.”\(^11\) This paints a rather bleak picture of the general availability of training in drawing and painting in Qajar Persia in general, and in Isfahan, the center of *qalamdan* painting (lacquered *papier-maché* boxes), in particular. Although it was in general true, nevertheless, training was indeed provided to apprentices under the guild system as well as in the homes of artist families. After all, most of the *naqqash* were craftsmen and like other skilled professionals in Qajar Persia they were organized in guilds. In Isfahan around 1877, for example, according to a local history the following painting related guilds existed:

The painters’ (*naqqash*) guild: This group always had and still has a great number of members. The former and present masters of this town are famous. Their work can be found all over Iran, in European and several other countries. At present they have many famous masters. Formerly, there was a separate guild for enamel work (*minakari*) in Isfahan. They had famous masters such as Aqa 'Ali, son of Aqa Baqir the famous painter. In the art of enamel work he was as honored as his father was in painting. At present some painters are engaged in this art. As to their painting: if they are commissioned they will deliver work that is as good as the work of the old masters. They make [paint] very good top parts of water-pipes.\(^12\)

The book illuminators’ (*modhahhib*) guild: The group of illuminators used to be much bigger. All of them were well-known masters, but their number has decreased now. Those remaining are still [quite] capable and competent, from among them two men have gone to Tehran. One of these is Mirza Muhammad Taqi and the other Aqa Muhammad Javad.\(^13\)

The gold engravers’ (*naqqash-i zargar*) guild: They engrave and inlay ivory bones and lion fish-teeth for the grips of daggers (*khanjar*), mirror frames, walking-stick handles, chess pieces, and the like. For their inlay work they depict flowers, blossom patterns, and masterly designs in an excellent way. The masters of this craft were noteworthy for detailed ornamental work (*nazuk-kari*) and a perfect control of the chisel (*pardaz-i qalam*), but no longer. The few who remain inlay metal objects.\(^14\)

From these descriptions it is clear that not only were there various groups of visual artists constituted into guilds, but also that there was more than one *naqsha* or “design-art”-related guild. The enamel workers, who once had a separate guild, now joined the *naqqash* or painters, probably because a fall in demand for its product had resulted in the gradual disappearance of this craft.

This restrictive artistic and organizational environment also explains why the art of painting, or for that matter any craft, was dominated by a small number of families. In Kashan, the Ghaffari family was the premier producer of top painters; in Isfahan, it was *inter alia* the Imami and the Najaf 'Ali family. These families and members of related crafts intermarried and had other close social contacts. The marriage contract of Aqa Najaf 'Ali’s daughter, for example, shows she married the son of a painter. The witnesses to the contract, apart from members of her immediate family, consisted of friends of the family who were painters, goldsmiths (*zargar*), and dyers (*sabbagh*)—the latter two crafts related to painting.\(^15\)

It is clear that these “artistic” families had been engaged in their craft for many generations. Musavvir al-Mulki related that members of his family had been painters for some three hundred years. His father joked, “We don’t have blood in our veins, but paint.”\(^16\)
There were painters in many, if not most, of the main cities of Qajar Persia; Suhayli Khunsari lists in all some 100 painters and gilders known to him. In Isfahan about 1870 there were 20 master painters (ustad-i naqqash) and 27 mural painters (naqqash-i 'imarat). Even in 1920 there were still 30 master painters in Isfahan. In Kashan, the painters' guild in 1871 was not headed by the famous Kashani painters, but by craftsmen such as Aqa Muhammad Kazim, Ustad Aqa Jan, Aqa Muhammad 'Ali, and Aqa Qurban 'Ali, who were both painters (naqqash) and mirror inlayers (d'ina-saz). In Shiraz, there were about 10 master painters active in the second half of the nineteenth century. There were also painters in Tabriz, such as Afshar Urumi, and in Mashhad, but very little is known about them. In Tehran, in 1924, there were 26 master painters (ustad) who employed 16 apprentices (shagirds) and 10 boys (padus).

**WORKING CONDITIONS AND METHODS**

Both the painters and their shops or studios were simple and rather unpretentious. Most painters were first and foremost craftsmen; they had little in common with their flashy and bohemian West European counterparts, and certainly had none of their artistic pretensions. Therefore, "imposing galleries hung with paintings by the thousand, smitten by the glare of chandeliers, and gazed at by the beauty and intellect of lordly capitals, none of these things let the art student associate with the pursuit of the arts of design in Persia." In Isfahan, for example, in the upper story of the Gulshan caravanserai, the artists "each in his little room [arc] hard at work on some book cover or pencase, or possibly illustrating a manuscript copy of Hafiz or Saadi." When trying to visualize a Persian painter one should picture humble artists clad in white or green turbans and flowing tunics, sitting on their heels upon a rug in an open booth by the bustling wayside, or under a spreading chenar [plane-tree] in the market place. Around him on his knees are seated his chagirds, or assistants, who aid him in his labors, and also incidentally learn to start in turn as independent artists. He makes his own colors after receipts learned from his father or master, and devises varnishes of his own, which add a deliciously mellow effect to the delicate designs over which he devotes such patient and loving toil. He does not live in dread of art critics. His customers are his only critics.

The working method of the Qajar artists was still very much that of a traditional craftsman. Mirza Muhammad Taqi told me that he ground and mixed his own colors, and made his varnishes himself. His chagirds put on the priming, and sometimes laid in the pattern after his suggestion; but he always gave the finishing touches. Except in illuminating, he employed oil colors, even in designs so minute as scarcely to be appreciated without a magnifying glass. Notwithstanding the careful detail involved in all the designs of Mirza Mohamet Taghe, he is a rapid worker, and executes a prodigious amount of nearly uniform merit.

When he referred to this high output, Benjamin (the first American ambassador to Persia and a great admirer of Persian art) must have included Mirza Muhammad Taqi's outlines (which were "filled out" by his apprentices), and finishing touches. Hoeltzer remarks that "people here draw and paint very slowly, so that these products can become rather expensive. Mostly water colors are used, over which various coats of varnish are applied." Given the fact that it took five months to make a first-class qalamdan (pencase), this is not surprising.

Thus, the large output by the various master painters, whether in a simple workshop or in the royal atelier, was made possible by the assistance of apprentices and journeymen, who painted the backgrounds, colored in the outlines drawn by the master or by a more experienced journeyman, and generally did most of the work that did not require finesse. San'i al-Mulk, for example, did the faces and his apprentices the clothing in the paintings in the Nizamiyya palace.

As in earlier centuries the Qajar shahs kept artists at their court, among whom were painters and other painting-related visual artists (naqqashan-i darbar). They worked in a royal painting atelier, which, as in earlier centuries, was referred to as naqqash-khana or karkhana-yi naqqashi. In 1805, Jaubert (a French orientalist visiting Persia), noted that there was a studio in which painters were working in the royal palace in Tehran next to the royal library, while two contemporary Persian sources specified that it was next to the Marble Throne. These and other artists were subordinate to the naqqash-bashi (chief painter), a term
translated by Benjamin as "chief of engravers," indicating the broad range of technical subjects that a naqqash could be engaged in.34

This is even clearer from a decree issued by Muhammad Shah (r. 1834–48) in the name of 'Abdallah Khan Mi'mar, who was honored with the title of independent chief painter (naqqash-bashi bih istiqdal) in 1839–40. Before his appointment, he had already been working as one of the group of artists in the royal atelier (naqqashan-i naqqashkhana-yi humayun) of the previous shah. He was a master of design art (naqqashi) and architecture (torrahi-yi buyutat-i mu'aniya). All groups such as painters (naqqashan), architects (mi'aran), engineers (mohandisan), enamblers (minakaran), carpenters (najjaran), lapidaries/sculptors (hajjaran), potters (fakhhkaran), glass-cutters (shisha-baran), smiths (haddadan), janitors (saray-daran), gardeners (baghbanan), canal diggers (moganniyen) and candle makers (shamma'an) had to recognize him as their independent head.35

In the nineteenth century there were at least 12 naqqash-bashis. Other painters were also given that title, but they were not necessarily royal painters, for in these other cases the title is qualified as that of naqqash-bashi of the crown prince. The title was also granted in the military.36 The known naqqash-bashis are: Mirza Baba37 (until 1810), 'Abdallah Khan38 (in 1812–13), Mirza Ahmad, son of Mirza Hasan39 (as of 1819), Isma'il40 (in 1836–37), 'Abdallah Khan Mi'mar (as of 1839–49), Mihr 'Ali Isfahani (in 1842–43), Muhammad Ibrahim41 (in 1848–49), Kazeruni Sahib42 (after 1850), Abu'l-Hasan Ghaffari Sani' al-Mulk (in 1860–61), Muhammad Isma'il43 (until 1871), Mirza 'Ali Akbar Moza'yiin al-Dawla44 (as of 1871), and Mirza Muhammad Ghaffari Kamal al-Mulk45 (as of 1882–83).

The various guilds mentioned as being subordinate to the naqqash-bashi were probably not all related to the design crafts. These other, non-art crafts (candlemakers, canal diggers, janitors) were probably added for purely fiscal reasons to provide the naqqash-bashi with additional income, for guild subordinates had to pay a certain annual amount or a percentage per transaction to the naqqash-bashi, and any petition to the authorities had to be channeled through him. In an interesting anecdote told by Kamal al-Mulk, the leading role of the naqqash-bashi over all painters in Qajar Persia is illustrated. Nasir al-Din Shah, himself a painter, while making a painting of a tree, bushes, and water said to Kamal al-Mulk: "Now I am a painter and I have nothing to do with you. 'What kind of talk is this?', I replied, 'I have been appointed naqqash-bashi by royal decree and therefore all painters are my subordinates. Now that you have become a painter you have to consider yourself as one of my servants. How then can it be that you do not have to pay attention to me?'"46

The artistic tasks of the naqqash-bashi included, among other things, the execution of miniatures, oil paintings, portraits, and murals for his patron. Nasir al-Din Shah was an enthusiastic painter and photographer. He made many drawings and paintings, the extent and quality of which have not yet been inventoried and analyzed.47 The shah, for example, provided samples for portraits that were reproduced in print. When I'timad al-Saltana wanted to have a drawing of Amir Kabir in his Mir'at al-Bultan he told the shah that there was no picture of the amir. The shah replied, "Yes, there is; [it's] in my head," and on the spot he made the drawing of Amir Kabir's face that appeared in the book.48 Polak (the shah's personal physician), around 1860, reported that "Nasir al-Din Shah paints himself and keeps a naqqash-bashi in his service who often paints his portrait. He does not spend too much time sitting for his portrait; when the moustache has been finished he is done, and leaves it to the artist to complete the face. The bust which he likes is copied from Nicholas I. He also employs a painter from the Caucasus."49 The shah's face was probably completed using a recent photograph. The painter from the Caucasus undoubtedly was the Armenian artist Akop Ovnatanian, who did a portrait of Nasir al-Din Shah and whose meticulous style is more European than Persian, according to Robinson.50

In 1844, a Persian translation had been published of the Thousand and One Nights, and it became very popular. Muhammad Shah (r. 1834–48) wanted a manuscript version of it executed by Persian artists, but he died before a final decision on the project had been made. His son Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–96) wanted to honor his father's wish, for Brugsch reports that the manuscript had been made for the shah's mother.51 It was agreed that the text would be written by the calligrapher Aqa Mirza Muhammad Husayn Vazir, the miniatures drawn and painted by Sani' al-Mulk and the illumination of the pages done by the mudhahhib-bashi (chief illuminator). The total cost would be 7,000 tomans; the entire project was under the direction of Husayn Khan Mu'ayyir al-
Mamalik. It was also allegedly in his house that the work was executed. The Thousand and One Nights has 3,600 stories, and 30–40 painters worked on it under the direction of Sani’ al-Mulk. This work was produced between 1852 and 1859–60 in six volumes and contains 1,134 illuminated pages. Each page has three to four illustrations, for a total of about 3,400 miniatures. The shah liked the final result very much and gave the three artists each a special robe of honor (khil’at).

The fact that allegedly the Thousand and One Nights was produced, not in the royal palace, but in the house of one of the shah’s courtiers, seems to imply that under Nasir al-Din Shah there was no longer a royal painting atelier in the palace grounds. That ‘Abdallah Mustawfi, in his listing of the royal workshops (beyrutat), does not mention the painting atelier at all would seem to support such a conclusion. On the other hand, he does not mention other workshops either, such as the ‘akhashkhana or the royal photography studio, and we know they existed. Another contemporary source states unequivocally that the Thousand and One Nights was produced in the Madrasa-yi Majma’ al-Sanayi which was a recently created royal institution. Perhaps some of the work, such as the finishing touches to his apprentices’ work by Sani’ al-Mulk, was done in Mu’ayyir al-Mamalik’s house, but most was done in the madrasa. The confusion may have originated from the fact that the production of the manuscript was later moved to the house of Mu’ayyir al-Mulk’s father who was in charge of the madrasa project. Finally, when Kamal al-Mulk was engaged by Nasir al-Din Shah to produce a number of paintings, an atelier (karkhana) had to be prepared for him, though other evidence indicates that the royal painting workshop still existed. For example, on Muzaffar al-Din Shah’s accession to the throne in 1896, Sipihr (the court historian) lists among the royal workshops the naqqash-khana, and in the various salnamas (yearbooks) published by I’timad al-Saltana, the royal painting atelier with Kamal al-Mulk as the naqqash-bashi, assisted by four painters, continued to be listed until 1906, the last year of the Salnamas available. This is not surprising because his father, Muzaffar al-Din Shah (r. 1896–1907), also had a great interest in painting and especially in the works of the painter Kamal al-Mulk, whom he ordered to return to Persia.

Thus, the court painting atelier continued to exist and, in fact, acquired new competitors in the guise of the Dar al-Funun (college of science) which had its own atelier, as well as the Ministry of Information, which had another. In both government-financed ateliers, paintings, lithographs, and other artistic works were produced. In the Ministry of Publications (intiba’at), Mirza Abu Turab Khan Ghaffari had the rank of colonel and the title of special chief painter of H.H. the Crown Prince (naqqash-bashi-yi makhssus-i ‘alikazrat-i vatl-’ahd). He was charged with the management of the printing office and the newspaper (idara-yi intiba’at [va ruznamajat]). His successor, Musawir al-Mulk, only received the title of naqqash-i khusus.

There were also patrons other than the shah who hired artists to paint murals in their houses, or portraits, or miniatures, or make pencases reproducing a piece selected by the patron. These patrons, of course, were to be found among the rich, especially the political elite, such as governors, ministers, and merchants, who continued a centuries-old tradition.

** KINDS OF PAINTERS **

Prince Alexis Soltikof, who visited Qajar Persia in 1840, observed that “the school of Persian painting is very odd, and one cannot fail to [recognize] it. I have made a very thorough study of it so that I could make a distinction between the Tehran and the Isfahan school. Isfahan painting is, like so many other things that are made there, of much better quality than that of Tehran.” However, in fact there was apparently no such thing as an Isfahan, Tehran, Tabriz, or Shiraz school. First, the best painters worked for the court and therefore in Tehran. Should Mirza Baba and Mihr ‘Ali, the leading painters of the first two decades of the nineteenth century, who were both Isfahani working in Tehran, be classified as belonging to the Tehran or the Isfahan school? In addition, especially after 1860, many leading painters from the provinces migrated to Tehran, because that was where the market was for their art. Thus, wherever the nucleus of a provincial school of art may have existed it soon lost its best representatives. Second, judging from the surviving paintings, there is as yet no convincing evidence that different painting schools existed in Qajar Persia. No art historian as yet has suggested what the objective, discernable artistic differences between the allegedly existing schools might be.

Dr. Adamova of the Hermitage Museum, following Soltikof, maintains that there were such schools,
basing her assertion on two paintings depicting Fath 'Ali Shah reviewing his troops around 1812–13, both of which were probably painted in Tabriz. These two paintings are indeed different from all other Qajar paintings in that they have a sense of proportion and perspective, and the form is almost un-Qajar like in my opinion. However, both paintings are unsigned, their origin unknown, and so far they are in a class by themselves. These paintings may have been executed by a Persian painter who had received training in Europe or in European painting techniques, and who seemingly had no followers. It could be that they were made by Caucasian painters, such as the one who was part of a Russian embassy to Tabriz in 1817 led by General Yermolov. Though the crown prince 'Abbas Mirza (d. 1834) employed Persian painters trained in Europe, or at least in the European style, they did not paint in the style of the two paintings referred to by Dr. Adamova, but in a style completely in line with Qajar tradition. Though Dr. Adamova may be right that there were different painting schools, she has still to adduce evidence to support the idea. In addition, even if we could distinguish differences in styles of painters from different towns, those differences would undoubtedly be restricted to the period prior to 1850. After that date Persian painting became increasingly and very strongly influenced by European techniques and style, and whatever provincial differences may have existed before that date would certainly have been swept away by this new modern "national" style.

Although there seems not to have been provincial schools of art, there was a kind of socioeconomic stratification among the various painters which cut across local boundaries. The highest were those attached to the royal court and other elite patrons, executing oil paintings, wall paintings, lacquer paintings, manuscript illustrations, and illustrations for the official newspaper, the shah's travel books, and publications by others. They also worked for members of the political elite, sometimes even working and living in the houses of their patrons.

A second class of painters were engaged in making drawings and paintings for the market. Their products were sold in the bazaar as individual pieces. They made miniatures for the trade as well as illustrations for the expanding lithograph industry, illustrating popular stories, and serious books as well as newspapers. A specialized part of this class of painters were those executing miniatures on qalamdans, or in manuscripts, books, and the like. A third class were engaged as craftsmen (the majority being the shagird or apprentices of the painters of the second category) in industry, making designs and drawings for the textile (carpet, chintz, shawl) and tile industry as well as for architects. The painters of the screens for storytellers (naqqal) and for coffeehouses were generally specialized in that branch of visual art.

The quality of the work within each of these categories differed. Those in the first class were not necessarily better than those in the second, especially those doing the elaborate qalamdan work. In fact, this second group was the recruiting ground for the first. The remuneration was not necessarily better in the first group, either. The rich, including the shah, were notoriously bad payers, and the qalamdan work, especially the good pieces, fetched very high prices.

To a considerable extent the threefold stratification was determined by the quality of output and the type of market (patron) a painter was working for. It is clear that those in the first two categories belonged to a different social class than those in the more numerous third. For example, judging from the artistic quality of Aqa 'Ali Najaf's daughter's marriage contract, Aqa 'Ali, from a socioeconomic point of view, must have belonged to the middle class, as did the Ghaffari and Imami families. Most of the witnesses to the contract—the painters, goldsmiths, and dyers—belonged to a well-respected and well-to-do segment of society in Isfahan. The fact that Fursat lists the important Shirazi painters before the leading Shirazi merchants is an indication that their social standing was high. Many of them also came from good families, had a good education, and were sometimes good poets as well; there was even a financial comptroller (mustawfi) among them.

Most painters did not earn large wages, however. As in any other craft, they made a living for themselves, but were neither famous nor well-to-do. After a long period of apprenticeship beginning in early childhood they became masters and could accept commissions, say, from coffee-house owners. "Then came setting up a studio in the Coffee-House and working with materials purchased by the proprietor who also would lodge and feed the artist and his assistants during the days and weeks that the work continued. The artist's fee above and beyond expenses was a nominal one that did not allow the purchase and maintenance of even a donkey." Artists were proud of their accomplishments irrespective of their
artistic or social ranking. Benjamin, for example, had an artist come to his house to do some illumination for him. He said he was a pupil of Aqa Najaf, a famous artist who had lived in the previous reign. The man was proud of his work, and he claimed he did not work for money alone. But his could not equal that of his master, and in some points they were all unable to rival the greatest artists of the Safavid period.67

Although we cannot discern various schools of painting in Qajar Persia, this does not mean that there were no differences or changes in style between painters. After 1850, Qajar painters split up into two stylistic groups, one continuing to work in traditional ways, the other adopting a European style. This gradual development was brought about by the trips that some painters made to Europe, the resulting formal training of painters in European techniques in Persia itself, the growing popularity of photograph-like illustrations in the printed media and the spread of photography. It is true that in early Qajar times before that mid-century change, various paintings (especially on qalamdans) followed European models, but the style was still traditionally Persian.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, to improve their technique, some Persian painters began to be sent to Europe for training at government expense. In 1811, the first of them, Kazim the son of ‘Abbas Mirza’s chief painter, was one of a group of students whom ‘Abbas Mirza sent to Great Britain to master the art of European painting. Though it is reported that he succeeded very well in doing so, Kazim never returned; he died in Great Britain in 1813.68 He was followed by Mirza Riza, who was sent by Muhammad Shah to Paris to study painting, among other things.69 Abú’l-Hasan Ghaflari Sani’ al-Mulk was sent to Rome around 1847; Mirza ‘Ali Akbar Khan Muzayyin al-Dawla Natanzi was one of the 42 students sent to France in 1858, and on his return he became a teacher of painting at the Dar al-Funun. Mirza ‘Abd al-Mutallab was another of the students sent by Nasir al-Din Shah to Europe. In Shiraz, there were two master painters who worked in the European style, one of them, Mirza Aqa, had not only studied painting in Europe, but as a painter worked there for many years.70 In Tabriz, Sayyid Ibrahim, the younger brother of Sayyid Muhsin, the court painter of Crown Prince Muzaffar al-Din Mirza, was active as a painter and poet, having been trained as a painter in Russia.71

The purpose of the state-financed European education of talented painters was to create an indigenous group who had mastered European art and techniques and could teach them to students who could not afford to go abroad to study. At Nasir al-Din Shah’s orders, Sani’ al-Mulk, on his return from Europe, founded a school, the so-called maktab-i naqqashi-yi majani or Free Painting School, in 1861, where many pupils were taught in formal classes rather than according to the traditional apprentice system of on-the-job training.72 Sani’ al-Mulk also started an atelier and a public art exhibition. The school was later absorbed by the Dar al-Funun, where painting and drawing were formal subjects in which its students received training. This was still not a real art academy, for students also had to take non-art-related subjects. It was not until 1912, at the suggestion of Kamal al-Mulk, that a madrasa-yi sanayi-yi mustarafa va madrasa-yi naqqash (school of fine arts and painting school) was founded, with Kamal al-Mulk as director. It was located in the Bagh-i Nigarastan, a pleasure garden created in 1812 by Fath ‘Ali Shah.

PAINTERS WHO PRODUCED FOR THE MARKET

Although some painters worked on commission for wealthy patrons, in the royal atelier, and for members of the elite, the painting craft was basically market-oriented. Its products included illuminated manuscripts with their illustrations, in addition to qalamdans, water-pipe vessels and tops, oil canvases, watercolors, enamels, cut-outs (qit’a),73 drawings, and paintings on wood and walls. As a consequence there was a bustling trade in these products, which were offered for sale both in and outside the bazaar and through dallals or brokers. Although there were specialized sellers of high quality and rare manuscripts, paintings, painted objects and the like were few and far between, and most naqqash catered to the general public, and did not handle the higher quality, uncommon manuscripts, for which special searches had to be initiated.74 Benjamin was visited by Mirza Muhammad Taqi, one of the best illuminators in Tehran, who showed him boxes, fans, bookcovers, and illuminated pages or manuscripts.75 Dallals or brokers brought manuscripts and paintings to visiting Europeans and other foreigners, as well as to collectors among the Persian elite and literati. The sale of libraries of learned men after their death was also arranged through these dallals. Individual owners of manuscripts could also approach
Europeans with offers. “Several fine manuscripts were brought to us, besides a great variety of Persian drawings,” Morier wrote.⁷⁵ Ouseley, the British ambassador to Persia, observed in 1810, “A few [miniatures], though exhibiting mere outlines, bore, as they deserved, a price comparatively high; for those outlines had been traced by the hand of some Persian Flaxman.”⁷⁷ In 1861, the Prussian ambassador Brugsch was offered more than 3,000 manuscripts during his stay. He wrote that a good Shahnama with many miniatures cost 158 thaler.⁷⁸ Painted portraits were also brought for sale by dallas, “often in deplorable condition, the canvas torn, and the paint breaking off in flakes.”⁷⁹

Thus, there was a brisk trade in paintings and painted objects, especially of separate miniatures, both for the connoisseur and the general public. These usually depicted single figures illustrating Persian types, costumes, and manners painted on a plain background. They were dubbed “tourist art” because they were painted in a simplified Persian style to make them attractive to European clients, who were quite willing to buy them.⁸⁰

Of pictures very neatly executed in water colours, on leaves of paper either separate, or collected into books, many hundreds were brought for inspection to our tents, and offered daily for sale in the shops of Ispahan. Among those I found several interesting, as portraits of remarkable personages and others as they illustrated manners and customs, representing scenes of frequent occurrence in domestick life; many were recommended as precious relics of the ancient school.⁸¹

Forty years later this situation had not changed much:

In Isfahan as well as in Tehran and Shiraz there are a lot of painters, who offer their work for sale to the public. They hang it next to the European lithographs in the bazaar, these are water colors on white paper. The usual subject matter is: love scenes, beautiful girls, conceited dandies, pictures of clothing. Landscapes or durnama they do not produce, because they are unable to do so.⁸²

The situation in 1898 was not unlike that of 1860 judging by de Vilmorin’s remarks.⁸³

Unfortunately, information on prices is generally lacking. Travelers did not report what a manuscript, a painting, or a qalamdan cost, because it was not regarded as useful or interesting to their readers, although this information may be available in the archival records of the museums to which many of these art works were given or belonged. In 1875, Murdoch Smith acquired many paintings “for a song,” i.e., for the price of a few shillings per painting after a “clean up” in the Gulistan palace.⁸⁴ Prices varied, of course, according to the quality of the product, the market situation, fashion, the bargaining skill of the purchaser, and the financial need of the seller. The work of some artists commanded higher prices than that of others. Another British traveler named Rich reports that on September 10, 1821, in Shiraz he met Mirza Muhammad Hadi, the foremost qalamdan painter in Qajar Persia. He no longer painted, but Persians would buy his work at any price.⁸⁵ The qalamdans by Abu’l-Hasan naqqash-bashi Afshar, for example, were sold during his lifetime, in the 1840’s, at prices of more than 50 tomans—the implication being that they were extraordinarily costly,⁸⁶ though towards the end of the century, some forty years later, qalamdans by other artists were being sold at prices ranging from 100 to 200 tomans, and exceptionally well executed qalamdans could demand prices as high as 1,500 tomans.⁸⁷

Paintings by Europeans fetched higher prices than those by Persian painters, since in the second half of the nineteenth century many educated Persians believed that European painters produced better work.⁸⁸ Polak relates that a Qajar prince sold Nasir al-Din Shah an oil portrait of a Parisian soubrette by Swo-boda, which he maintained was by Raphael. When the prince was told that the price of 200 ducats was too high he reacted by saying that in Europe one paid 5,000 ducats for the work of Raphael.⁸⁹ Only the work by Kamal al-Mulk was considered to be of equal quality, and went for prices similar to those paid for works by European artists.⁹⁰ Kamal al-Mulk received 250 tomans cash and a watch valued at 200 tomans for Mushir al-Dawla’s portrait.⁹¹ Kamal al-Mulk told his students that whenever he had finished a painting Nasir al-Din Shah would carefully look at it for a long time, and then would order it put flat on the floor. Once that was done he had the entire painting covered with ashrafis (gold coins),⁹² thus determining what he owed for the work.

THE IMPACT OF PRINTING AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Although printing (lithography [basma] and shortly thereafter moveable type [chap]) had been reintroduced in Persia around 1817, illustrated lithographed books did not begin to appear in Persia until 1843;
possibly the first illustrated book printed was the *Layla va Majnun*. Many educated Persians, of course, had been exposed to printed illustrations through subscriptions to European magazines as well as through printed books in Persian from India. As is evident from the Madonna and Child motif on many early Qajar *qalamdan*, painters had also long been influenced by European engravings and lithographs that were sold in the bazaar.

To produce the early lithographed drawings, the Persian artists used a delineating pencil, and, as a result, the drawings were rather inadequate. Especially those that appeared in popular storybooks were often crude and not of very high artistic quality. A better category of lithograph illustration followed the introduction of photography. The artists used a fat pencil, no longer a delineating one. This allowed them to apply shading and facial expression just as in photos. The first publication of this kind was the *Reznama-yi Hakim al-Mamalik* or *Safrana-yi Khurasan*, published in Tehran in 1869. Apart from portraits of important persons there were also drawings, including one of an army review.

After the publication in 1861 of the newspaper *Sharaf* with its fine drawings, this model was continued under Muzaffar al-Din Shah in the newspaper *Sharafat*, with pictures drawn by Musavvir al-Mulk. Many of the lithographic drawings were executed by top artists, the most prolific being ‘Aliquli of Khuy. Robinson lists 26 lithographers, including Sani al-Mulk Ghaffari, Abu Turab Khan Ghaffari, and Mas‘ud Ghaffari, all well known and accomplished painters, and then raised the question whether there is an explanation for the relatively high number of artists from the town of Khunsar on his list. The only one that I can offer is that traditionally we also find a large number of Khunsarids among the calligraphers of Qurans and the like in the period prior to the introduction of printing in Persia. With the invention of lithography it seems likely that many Khunsar calligraphers shifted to book printing; perhaps the shift from calligrapher to lithograph illustrator was not a difficult one to make for many of them, given their natural talent for art and form.

Despite the studies of Persian lithographic illustrated works by Molé and Robinson, which did not include the Russian or Persian collections, there is still no comprehensive overview of this source of information.

Persians were quite aware of the impact photographs and lithographs had on their style of painting. Photography had been introduced into Qajar Persia as early as 1844, but was at first only practiced by Europeans. The first Persian photographers became active in the 1870's. I’timad al-Saltana, for example, observed in 1886, “As of the time of the invention of photography, portrait painting, likeness painting (shabih-kashi), landscape painting (durnama-sazi) as well as paying attention to shade and light and the application of perspective (qanun-i tanassub), were being applied.” In fact, in another book, the *Iksir al-Tawarih*, written in 1844 by I’tizad al-Saltana, the newly invented art of photography is described as “a kind of painting,” which is understandable given the fact that the Persian term for photograph, ‘aks, was until then used to refer to a certain artistic reproduction technique, most likely a type of stencil work using tracing paper. It is also evident from the works produced by Persian painters such as Mahmud Khan, poet laureate and court painter, who produced a photographic-like series of paintings of royal palaces and gardens. Although other painters in effect only did retouché work on photographs or colored them, Mirza Mihi Khan Musavvir al-Mulk was himself a professional photographer. Not surprisingly, portrait painting relied heavily on photographs mainly to reduce sitting time for the patron. The photograph-like stance of the painted figure in the second half of the nineteenth century is striking when one compares portrait paintings with portrait photographs.

The introduction and popularity of book printing dealt a blow to painters and related craftsmen who worked in the traditional style. To have a divan by Farrukhi Saystani produced in the traditional way, by employing a calligrapher (*khattat*), a book layout designer and binder (*jadval-kish* and *sahaf*), without any illustrations or illumination, but including the expense of paper, would cost at least 20 toman, while the same divan in a printed version would cost only 2 percent of that price. In 1846, after the introduction of printing, books in Tehran had become so cheap “that it has done much injury to the trade of the copyists; still very fine manuscripts hold their price and there are several copies of the Shah-Nameh (the Persian Homer [sic]) which could not be bought for less than a hundred pounds and you might perhaps buy a printed one for as many as sixpences [sic].”

This victorious march of the printing press is clear from the decreasing number of manuscripts produced, completing the process that had started in the eigh-
teenth century of the fading away of manuscripts with good miniatures, of which very few were made in Qajar Persia, even before the growing popularity of lithograph printing. Some Qajar painters, especially from the Imami family, specialized in painting miniatures in the Safavid style on blank pages in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts. Another indication of the decline in the demand for miniatures was the situation of the bookbinders' guild in Isfahan in 1877.

In former times, because of the multitude of inhabitants they bound excellent books, Qurans and prayer books, handwritten by calligraphers on tirma and Chinese (khanbaliq) paper and the like. Good book production involving such skills as arranging the text and margin on the pages (main va hashiya kardan), aligning volumes, book binding (juvis-kishma), book files (juzvdanha) and attractive headbands (shiraza bandi) as well as other (aspects of) the arts of book binding, were common. Their products were much in demand. They had famous masters. For some years now the abovementioned guild has declined in importance, because handwritten books [manuscripts] have fallen into disuse as a result of the introduction of moveable type (chap) and lithography (basma).

The production of high-quality paper for manuscripts was also affected. The guild of paper makers (kaghadh-kar) in Isfahan suffered as a consequence. Since ancient times, there has been a big manufactory in Isfahan, which houses equipment, cisterns, and laborers. In the past, they made several kinds of paper; one was fustuqi, on which writing came out clearly and beautifully; it had elegance and durability. It was better than the fustuqi paper made in the rest of the country. Several books have been written on it, and its beauty is obvious. Another kind of paper [it made] was rather thick and lasted longer than any other paper. Old decrees and documents that have survived to this day demonstrate this clearly. Another kind of paper is known as chahar-bghal. Old specimens are of a quality inferior to tirma paper and what was made more recently is rather impure and of [even] lower quality. If there were a demand for it, then they could make it as excellent as before. If they devoted more attention [to it] and were more careful, they could make it even better than before, of the quality they made for the late imama-yi hijla. There was a sayyed in the time of the late shah, who produced handmade paper outside the manufactory, in his own house. He made very large sheets of chahar-bghal paper which he sold for 6 'Abbasis; such excellent paper was not to be found anywhere else. Some people preferred khanbaliq paper and examples of it can [still] be found in some houses. Finally, the kind of paper very common nowadays is of an inferior quality. The Isfahan papermill is not doing well at present.

Not every ancillary branch of the painting craft was negatively affected by book printing, however; the makers of qalamdans or pencases, in fact thrived. In Isfahan, where most traditional crafts were in an economic slump by the 1870's and were being reduced in size or were at the point of extinction, the guild of the muqaww-saz or pasteboard makers did well. "They make pen cases, mirror frames and other articles of pasteboard. Formerly the pasteboard of Isfahan was not as good as it is now, as is clear from the old pasteboard decorated by famous painters. Because of the inferior quality of earlier pasteboard they took the initiative in Isfahan and began to copy drawings, so that antique drawings of old masters could be transferred onto new pasteboard, and they developed a highly successful process."

DOMINANT THEMES IN QAJAR PAINTING

Qajar paintings used many themes, but three—to wit, (a) political-epic, (b) sensual, and (c) religious—dominated. All of them used a variety of (though often the same) media to achieve their purpose. In addition to the standard themes such as royalty and nobles; historical, battle and hunting scenes; they also painted girls, flowers, arabesques, and religious subjects. An interesting development was the addition to the depictions of important members of the political elite such as ministers and governors, of members of the merchant class. Merchants were increasingly making their political clout felt, and they too wanted to "have their picture taken"; this usually meant a photograph, but sometimes a painted portrait. Although the engravings and lithograph illustrations in popular literature covered these three themes, they of course also had other ground to cover depending on the nature of the book that they were illustrating. A class apart were the drawings which generally depicted popular themes in crude detail, often the various classes of people and crafts as well as the important events of life such as marriage, birth, circumcision.

Political and epic subjects. One of the main purposes for using political themes in the visual arts was to proclaim the power and the glory of the ruler and his dynasty. More than any other Persian dynasty
before them, the Qajar shahs tried to project their might and importance both inside Persia and abroad through the medium of art. The last time that Persian shahs had used the visual arts in such a concerted and broadly based artistic manner was in the pre-Islamic era. The Qajars through the multitude of depictions in various media as well as sculpture announced to the world that they had gained the throne of Persia after forty years of internecine war. To press their legitimacy as well as sovereignty they had themselves depicted either alone, or surrounded by their sons and/or by visiting foreign ambassadors. Of particular interest are the group portraits, for example, paintings of Fath 'Ali Shah and his sons, which follow the same configuration of organization as the scenes on Sasanian rock bas-reliefs. This imitation of an earlier artistic archetype of Persian power was purposeful and was not limited to painting or sculpture. It is also reflected in the justification for adopting the European style nizami dress in the 1840's, which, so Muhammad Shah argued, was an adaptation of the ancient Persian military uniforms found on the sculptures of Persepolis. The reference to ancient times when Persia was great is not only found in the visual arts, but was part of a rethinking of language, history and culture, in the movement that coincided with the establishment of the Qajar dynasty. In particular, Fath 'Ali Shah (1798–1834) stimulated an unheard of production of paintings in various forms so that the world would know him in all his might and glory. One of the early paintings of Fath 'Ali Shah, made by Mihr 'Ali, was so much to his liking that it was copied many times, although each time the shah was seen fitted out in different clothes. These paintings were either done al fresco on walls of palaces and mansions or in oil on canvas and placed in appropriate niches in the same buildings. These royal paintings, like anything else royal (a robe of honor, a royal decree), were viewed and handled with great respect. They were also given as farewell presents to visiting European and Asian dignitaries and ambassadors. Malcolm observed that the envoys of Sind carried, among other presents to their Prince, a picture of His Majesty, Fath 'Ali Shah. This painting was carefully packed in a deal box; but the inclosed image of royalty could not be allowed to pass through his dominions without receiving marks of respect hardly short of those that would have been shown to the sovereign himself. The Governor and inhabitants of Abusheher went a stage to meet it: they all made their obeisance at a respectful distance. On its entering the gates of the city a royal salute was fired; and when the Envoys who had charge of it embarked, the same ceremonies were repeated, and not a little offence was taken at the British Resident because he declined taking a part in this mummery. The Qajars did not introduce the custom of mural painting, but they continued a centuries-old Persian tradition. The first Qajar shah, Aqa Muhammad Khan, had a palace built for him in Sari, which, according to Fraser, a British traveler who visited the building in 1822, "was once fitted up with paintings and mirrors, after the usual Persian taste; but the former are defaced or faded, and the latter are partly broken or in disrepair. One painting, representing Shah Ishmael cleaving in twain the Aga of the Janissaries before the Turkish emperor Sultan Soleymann, a favourite subject of the Persian pencil, certainly possesses considerable merit. Some of the groups fighting and struggling in the foreground are drawn with a degree of spirit and execution not often to be seen in Eastern pictures." In 1844, when Holmes, another British traveler, visited the building to see the paintings, there was no trace left of them, probably the result of a fire that had broken out in the building. The old Qajar palace in Astarabad was covered with tiles ornamented with arabesques, inscriptions, and pictorial illustrations of that never-failing theme of Persian art, the adventures of Rustam. The tradition was continued under the second Qajar shah, Fath 'Ali. For example, in the diwan-khana of the royal palace in Tehran in 1824: In every recess or pannel there is some picture: in one is a hunting piece, in another a battle, in others portraits of the King. I was amused at the style of some of the smaller paintings. One professes to represent Nadir Shah returning the crown to the Indian king, after having wrested it from him; the right hand of Nadir grasps the club of state, the left rests on the crown; but so fierce is the expression of the conquerer, and so peculiar his attitude, that it seems as if he intended to knock down the Indian monarch. A second, exhibits Noorsheervan giving audience to the Grand Signior, the artists forgetting that the Persian monarch, having died before Mahomet, could not have been a contemporary with one of his successors. In a third picture we have Iskander (Alexander the Great) listening to the discourse of Ufflatoon and Aristo (Plato and Aristotle). The Macedonian hero is dressed in the modern Persian fash-
Wilbraham (a British traveler) observed Muhammad been painted with any sense of doubted. He further noted that neither picture had a picture of Napoleon, which the Russian visitor strengthen off his horse. The Persians believed that this was all, his adjutant, and a wounded officer, who had fall-
inarm; the other was a battle scene showing a gener-
'Abbas Mirza with his son Muhammad Mirza with their
Mirza that on the walls of the
talar

In 1834, the Russian envoy Baron Fyodor Kurov noticed during his visit to Crown Prince Muhammad Mirza that on the walls of the talar or varandah of the royal palace hung two paintings. One showed 'Abbas Mirza with his son Muhammad Mirza with their army; the other was a battle scene showing a general, his adjutant, and a wounded officer, who had fallen off his horse. The Persians believed that this was a picture of Napoleon, which the Russian visitor strongly doubted. He further noted that neither picture had been painted with any sense of perspective. In 1837, Wilbraham (a British traveler) observed Muhammad Shah in the Nigarastan, where he also saw "four deep recesses, ornamented by fanciful representations of the feats of Rustam, and other heroes of Persia." Muhammad Shah was also the subject of many pictures.

The French ambassador de Sercey visited the Nigarastan palace where he saw, in one of the buildings in the middle of one of the gardens, the paintings representing Fath 'Ali Shah receiving the homage of the foreign ambassadors. General Gardanne and his suite were also represented there. He was shown the space that Muhammad Shah intended for de Sercey's own picture. In the summer palace of 'Abbas Mirza in the Bagh-i Shumal, south of Tabriz, "the reception room, built by 'Abbas Mirza, is a small saloon adorned with paintings of envoys who have come to Persia, of Napoleon and other celebrities, the work of a Persian artist who had studied in Europe."

In gardens around Shiraz in the late nineteenth century the French traveler de Vilminor noted a multitude of representation of monarchs, in particular of Nasir al-Din Shah. In addition to such serious matters, he also noted gayer subjects, of ordinary people in various situations, and copies of sculptures of personages at Persepolis. The last major wall paintings executed in Qajar Persia were the ones in the Nizamiyya palace done by Sani' al-Mulk and his apprentices in the mid-1850's.

The former Sadr Azam had a palace built some years ago, and had a portrait of the king surrounded by his sons painted in the large hall; on two sides the portraits of all the ministers, all the magnates and even of the foreign representatives are placed. The unfortunates that are thus mutilated are: M. de Gobineau, then chargé d'affaires, M. de Lagowski, now consul-general at Alexandria, and Heydar Effendi. This occurred during the English war, reason why M. Murray's portrait is not to be found there. Nothing is more preposterous than these portraits; these gentlemen fall over one another, and the colors of their dress is of the highest realm of fantasy; next to these monstrousities, the Kashmir dress of their neighbors is rendered with a precision and attention to detail that would do justice to the most able miniaturist.

Of course, murals continued to be made, but from what is known of them it would seem that they were of inferior quality. In 1881, the British journalist O'Donovan observed that the shah's summer palace at Enzeli had painted walls "with exceedingly primitive attempts at representing modern Persian sol-
In Tehran the palace walls were “covered with gaudy red and blue pictures of men and horses, the former in modern military tunics and shakos, the latter painted a bright red.”

Sensational art. Apart from their political ends, the visual arts also served to please the senses. “They excell in Sensual art. Apart from their political ends, the visual arts also served to please the senses. “They excell in the art of painting birds and flowers in fresco, and the apartments decorated in that style have a fresh and lively air that is very agreeable to the eye.” These same flowers, landscapes and non-figurative patterns were also found on pencens, mirror frames, and the like. In fact, Hoeltzer, a long-time resident of Isfahan, concluded that “painting as a matter of course focuses on the representation of flowers and arabesques, which one finds beautifully done on older bookbindings and qalamdans.” In the Takhtah-Qajar palace at Shiraz in 1817 a Colonel Johnson traveling overland from India to England, noticed rooms painted “with birds and some extremely ill-drawn landscapes, representing what is called the story of the Dervish [sic] and Thersa’s daughter.” These paintings filled niches in the walls.

In addition to birds, flowers, and landscapes, girls were also pleasing to the eye, as were Europeans (or were the latter depicted for their oddity?). This was a tradition that predated Qajar Persian interest in these subjects. In a former palace of Karim Khan Zand in Shiraz, one of the rooms had “a great number of paintings of the ladies of that chieftain’s time.” In Isfahan Colonel Johnson observed that in the Chihil Sutun, there were “four paintings under glass in the outer room, small portraits of the Shah’s mistresses.” In Tehran, he noted in the home of a bath-house owner “pictures of Europeans in each niche of the room.” In the audience hall of the palace in Tehran, which had painted and inlaid doors, and ceilings with flowers and figures, there were two “niches filled with glasses of different figures, having a half-length portrait in each, of either man or woman, in the manner of Chinese paintings on glass, which perhaps they actually were.” Falk seems to be wrong to conclude that the other main subject—girls—apparently resulted from a desire for decoration that would suit the purpose of the building for which they were intended. . . Although it is seldom possible to know from what type of room or chamber a particular painting came, it is clear that the subjects fell into groups according to their original purpose. The larger and more formal portraits would have been placed in an audience chamber or room of an official nature, while paintings of girls would have been designed for the more private apartments of a palace, and hunting scenes would have been most suitable for hanging in a residence or hunting lodge outside the capital.

Contemporary travelers paint a different picture, however. Morier writes that in the audience hall of Fath ‘Ali Shah large paintings of battles and himself were hung. “In other parts are portraits of women, who are dancing according to the fashion of the country.” In the new palace Qasr-i Qajar there were also many paintings, “portraits of women, Europeans as well as Persians.” Keppel, a British traveler visiting the Qasr-i Qajar some twelve years later, remarks of the female quarters that “the walls are whitewashed, but are in a dirty state: they are without decoration, if except the poetical effusions of their fair inmates, whose writings may be traced in every apartment.”

A similar situation is found in the houses of princes and notables. In the house of the poet laureate (malik al-shu’ara), after remarking on various decorations, Fraser observes the “pictures, too, by native artists, painted on the walls,—rather fearful performances,—of Persian and European beauties in various shapes and attitudes, and several vile prints gaudily framed.” Similarly, in Asif al-Dawla’s house Fraser found a room “with several vile Persian pictures.” Around 1850, in the women’s quarters of the royal palace in Tehran the shah’s mother made Lady Sheil observe “that the walls of the court had been recently painted in fresco. Various subjects were represented, but she paused before the one she liked best . . . It was an encampment of eelyats [nomads] in a green plain—goats and sheep were grazing; here and there women were to be seen, some cooking, some carrying water, and milking.”

From this it is clear that the women’s apartments were not necessarily adorned with suggestive pictures and that these allegedly “private” paintings were also to be viewed by visitors and were not as private as Falk would have us believe. The British traveler Buckingham, in the mid-1820’s, observes that the palace erected at Isfahan for Fath ‘Ali Shah, in about 1824, displayed among other things “some paintings of Georgian youths, of both sexes, with portraits of Jemsheed, and other distinguished ancients, and of Jenghiz Khan, and some other moderns. The portrait of the King himself occupies the chief place in every apartment.”
This absence of false modesty also persisted among later shahs. Nasir al-Din Shah, for example, created a picture gallery on the European model. A large chamber was emptied and hung with portraits of foreign kings. Because these did not cover all the walls, colorful lithographs of "bathing girls" and the like were bought from the bazaar to fill the empty space.\textsuperscript{153} Orsolle (a French traveler) also remarks on the hotchpotch of materials offered in the gallery. In particular, he mentioned the cheap lithographs of women, the "lithographies décollectées et déjambées" which contrasted sharply with the rest.\textsuperscript{154} European lithographs also adorned the walls of bourgeois households such as a rich Armenian merchant in Julfa.\textsuperscript{155} In 1901 the picture gallery still existed.

The royal picture gallery (or, rather, gallery of painted canvases), a long, long room, where a most interesting display of [ . . . various arms . . . ] are much more attractive than the yards of portraits of ladies who have dispensed altogether with dressmakers' bills, and the gorgeously framed advertisements of Brooks' Machine Cottons, and other products, which are hung on the line in the picture gallery . . . The paintings on the walls ran very much to the nude, and none of them very remarkable, if one excepts a life-size nude figure of a woman sitting and in the act of caressing a dove. It is a very clever copy of a painting by Foragne [sic] in the Shah's picture gallery, and has been done by a Persian artist named Kamael-el-Mulk, who, I was told, had studied in Paris.\textsuperscript{156}

From this description it is clear that the display of pictures was rather eclectic, and even included photographs of some of the shah's favorite women.\textsuperscript{157}

\textit{Erotica.} Another related subject, and a major one, was the explicit erotic scene; Robinson maintains that compared with India or Japan, there was little of it, probably because little of it has survived.\textsuperscript{158} Wills, a British physician in the service of the Telegraph Department, couched this interest in nice terms. "The copying of doubtful European works is their bane, and they fail in rendering of the nude, in which they delight. For pretty faces and good colouring, the Persian artist has a deserved reputation."\textsuperscript{159} Tancoigne, a French officer in Persian service, wrote that painters made portraits of persons "that have been ornaments to their country, but they employ themselves chiefly on indecent and military subjects."\textsuperscript{160} Ouseley observed that "there was yet another class of miniature paintings which evinced in the grouping of figures and general style of drawing, considerable skill and ingenuity wasted on subjects the most offensive to a modest eye . . . but of several offered for sale, those most highly finished were unfortunately of such a description as precludes any further notice."\textsuperscript{161} He further remarked that "some figures painted in oil-colours on canvass, and nearly of the natural human size, represented those modern beauties who grace the Harems of the wealthy and voluptuous."\textsuperscript{162}

 Fraser remarked the following in the \textit{mālik al-shu'āra}, i.e., the royal poet's house, in the mid 1880's: "The worst part of it was the paintings, being vile attempts at nude or very slightly-clothed beauties, with fearful red cheeks, deadly black eyes, brows like twin bows of ebony, and all manners of extraordinary charms."\textsuperscript{163} But this was not an exception because he observed similar vile pictures in the house of Asif al-Dawla.\textsuperscript{164}

Very little research has been done on the subject of erotic art, or on sexual life in Persia in general, but it merits attention given the interest which it generated.\textsuperscript{165} Nasir al-Din Shah gave Kamal al-Mulk pornographic pictures to use as the basis for paintings. Kamal al-Mulk, however, did not want to paint them and procrastinated, and the shah did not insist that he make them, preferring him to spend his time on paintings of quality.\textsuperscript{166} Publications dealing with political and religious subjects were censored, but nothing was done to control the—to some—shocking content of many of the illustrations found in popular publications.\textsuperscript{167}

\textit{Religious subjects.} Despite the Islamic prohibition against depicting human beings, even religious subjects did not escape the attention of Persian artists. Nor were pictures with religious themes limited to miniatures in manuscripts, for there was a lively trade in cut-outs of iconic depictions (though they were formally prohibited), and they were also found in lithograph publications. De Vilmorin wrote that we were also offered [for sale] ancient pictures on cardboard which represented religious subjects, such as the mosque of Karbala, the adoration of the faithful, and the Last Judgment. My attention was in particular drawn by the fact that the main persons who were represented in those pictures wore a white face veil. The salesman explained to me that these persons represented the prophets of Islam, whose faces it was forbidden to depict, and which were little known anyway. "See," he added, "so that one does not make a mistake, their names
have been written on the veils*. Indeed, on the veils I could see Arab characters, written in golden letters, which were translated for me as, this is Ali, this is Mohammed, etc.168

However, when religious persons were shown in their youth, prior to their divine mission, then the obligatory veil was often missing. One of the most popular themes was the depiction of two Safavid ulama, Mir Damad and Shaykh Baha’i. Another popular religious subject was the Vierge à la chaise (seated Madonna) which had been imported from Europe. However, the virgin had been Persianized; she had more decolleté, the colors were different, and it took some imagination to recognize the original model.169

Other popular art, such as coffee-house paintings, also displayed the same subject matter as the “high art” products. Epic canvases illustrating the heroic exploits of Firdawsi’s Shahnama formed the majority. In addition romantic tales, based on biblical, Koranic and epic stories such as the tale of Joseph and Zulaykha could be depicted, though they were not numerous. Religious subjects, particularly Shi’ite accounts of the Karbala tragedy, on the other hand, constituted a major part of the output.170 The same held for a related art form, that of the naqqal or professional storyteller. “On dead walls not far off some traders in religion had fixed up large canvas paintings, fifteen feet square, representing various scenes in the massacre of Hassan and Hussein, stories, which mostly represented Shahnama themes and characters, were also found in the bazaars, as well as bathhouses and even mosques. “Persians certainly have not that abhorrence of representations of living creatures which seems so universal among the Sunnites, for not only at the Kadjar Palace of Astara-bad, but on the panels and over the door of every café and bath, as well as on the lintels of the very mosques, are to be seen depicted in gaudy colours, if not the same story of Rustam and the Div Sefid, other human figures, both male and female, the wine-cup no infrequent addition to the picture.”171

In addition various artistic representations were found on both European and later Persian lithograph drawings and engravings that were sold in the bazaars as well as on chintzes (qalamkar), screens (par-da), tiles, mirrorcases, hope chests, caskets, spectacle cases, porcelain, the tops of waterpipes, playing cards, etc.172 The imperial message was even portrayed on coins, because for the first time since the Sassanid dynasty the effigy of the shah appeared on Persian coins under Fath ‘Ali Shah. But not only was the shah’s portrait to be found on the walls and in niches of palaces and mansions, “Portraits of their king may be found in every town among the Persians; large and painted on canvas; or small, on leaves of paper; on the covers of looking-glasses, on kalamdans or pen-cases, and on the lids of boxes; even the most rudely executed presenting, generally, some similitude.”173 Royal portraits were particularly popular for embellishing waterpipes. “Most of the better sort of culleans are enamelled with figures of men and women in [various] forms and postures; many of these are imitations from the French school of painting, and still retain the dress worn a century ago.”174

A new artistic medium was the government newspaper, to which all senior officials had to subscribe; it served to propagate the shah’s splendor, power, and presence just as paintings had done under Fath ‘Ali and Muhammad Shah. Every year, at Nuruz and the Shah’s birthday a new lithographed portrait of the shah was drawn and published on the first page of the newspaper.180 The shah himself also wrote books about the travels that he made both inside (Mashhad) and outside (Europe, Iraq) Persia, which were embellished with lithographs drawn by Mirza
Abu Turab, his newspaper illustrator. In addition to these new media the shah also had many paintings reproduced of himself, where he is depicted in modern Europanized style.

WELL-KNOWN NAQQASH

This final section will be devoted to bibliographical information on the most important Qajar painters. Khunarsi lists about 100 of them, but I have been unable to find information (beyond their name) on anything like that number.\(^1\) It could be argued that at best this section deals with those about whom information could be found. That is certainly true, but, as the information shows, those that were remembered in some detail were considered to be among the best. Others are known only through their surviving works or their names. Each person also had personal preferences for particular painters, paintings, or styles. For example, according to I’timad al-Saltana, writing in 1883, “the best were Mahmud Khan Malik al-Shu’ara and Mirza Abu’l-Hasan Khan Sani’ al-Mulk. Further there were Mirza Muhammad Khan Naqqash-bashi entitled Kamal al-Mulk, and Mirza Ja’far Khan Zanjani Naqqash, who were good in all aspects of the art of painting. Further, there was Mirza Abu Turab Khan naqqash-bashi-yi intiba’at, and Muhammad Hasan Beg Afsar Urumi who was deaf-and-dumb.”\(^2\) However, Mu’ayyir al-Mamalik, writing about qalamdan painters rather than oil, canvas, and mural painters gives a different set of names. Whatever the case may be, in what follows, short biographies of the best-known painters are offered for the reader’s information. To facilitate the work of those who believe in the existence of provincial schools the material has been organized by city, at least in the case of those painters whose city of origin and workplace are known.

Qajar painters can be roughly divided into four generations. The first, active between 1785 and 1820, was represented by Mirza Baba, Mihr ‘Ali, ‘Abdallah Khan, and Muhammad Hasan Khan. The next group, working mainly between 1820 and 1840 and about whom nothing much is known, includes Ahmad, Muhammad, and Sayyid Mirza. The third generation, working between 1845 and 1865, includes Sani’ al-Mulk. The fourth generation, working after 1865, includes Kamal al-Mulk and Isma’il Jalayir.

Isfahan Painters

The Imami Family. Mirza Baba naqqash or Mirza Babay al-Husayni Imami, was not the father, as some have suggested, but a contemporary of Aqa Najaf ‘Ali (see below). Mirza Baba’s son was Aqa Muhammad Isma’il, who consequently has been wrongly identified as Aqa Najaf ‘Ali’s brother.\(^3\) Mirza Baba seems to have been the first court painter or naqqash-bashi of the Qajars, who was already active in the Astarabad period. Mirza Baba was active from about 1785 to 1810. Not much is known about him. He produced oil paintings, manuscript illuminations, miniatures, and lacquer covers. His earliest known work seems to be a small drawing of a dragon and a phoenix, dated Astarabad 1203 (1789). A famous work by Mirza Baba is his illuminated manuscript (including marginal decorations with painted lacquer covers) of Fath ‘Ali Shah’s own poems, which was presented to the prince regent of Great Britain in 1812. Mirza Baba, undoubtedly assisted by painters from the royal workshop, was “employed seventeen years on the miniature pictures, illuminations, and various ornaments, of this work, particularly portraits of the royal author, and of his uncle Agha Muhammad.”\(^4\) According to various art historians, the British ambassador Gore Ouseley stayed in the painter’s house in 1810. Because the name of its former owner was Mirza Baba and gilded ornaments in the house contained the words “yadgar-i Mirza Baba” (a memorial to Mirza Baba), these art historians believed that the owner and the painter of the house ornaments were the same, though Ouseley does not suggest this.\(^5\) However, according to James Morier, another member of the Ouseley mission, the house “formerly belonged to Mirza Baba, who had held the situation of Beglerbeg of the city, but who, if the expression may be used, fell rich, and was put to death.”\(^6\)

Mirza Baba’s son, Muhammad Isma’il, was also granted the title naqqash-bashi, with the nickname firangi-saz, because he painted mainly small scenes in the European style. We do not know whether Mirza Baba’s other descendants continued in the painting craft, but many members of the Imami family were active as painters and artists throughout the Qajar period, mostly as qalamdan painters, an art they dominated in the second half of the nineteenth century. The best known of them were Muhammad Mihi, Muhammad Taqi, Muhammad Sadiq, Muhammad Riza, Muhammad Javad, and Nasrallah Imami, who painted...
qalamdans, mirror frames, and book covers. There were, in addition, well-known illuminators such as Sayyid Abu'l-Qasim Huseini Imshafani mudhakhib-bashi and Mirza 'Abdul-Vahab Imshafani mudhakhib-bashi in 1878.

In the 1860's, Sayyid Muhammad Imshafani was a well-known painter. Muhammad Imshafani was also an Imshafani family member, as were most of the Imshafani masters. He is credited by Robinson with much of the excellent lacquer work in Isfahan. His relative, Muhammad Riza Imshafani, made the finest piece of lacquer in the Victoria and Albert Museum collection. Another famous member of the Imshafani family was Mirza Aqa Imshafani, who worked at the end of Qajar period and beyond. He was born Muhammad Mihrd Imshafani in 1881 in Isfahan and was known as Mirza Aqa. He died in 1954 at the age of 75. He was the son of Sayyid Muhammad Husayn. He was taught, among others, by Mirza Riza Sani‘yi Humayan in Tehran, not the same as 'Abdul-Husayn Sani‘yi Humayan, who died in 1921 at the age of 64, was the son of Aqa Muhammad Kazem. His daughter had a son Shukrallah Sani‘zada who was a famous miniaturist in the 1950-60's.

Musavvir al-Mulki. Another famous painter from Isfahan was Husayn Musavvir al-Mulki, who was born in 1861 in Isfahan, where his father, Muhammad Hasan naqqash, had a workshop for making and painting qalamdans. His grandfather, Sayyid Muhammad Humayun, and his great-grandfather, Muhammad Kamir naqqash, were also painters. In fact, according to family tradition the family had been engaged in the painting craft since the Safavid era. When Husayn was thirteen years old his father died. With the help of his father’s staff he continued the workshop and perfected his understanding of the art. He turned out basically two types of qalamdans: small ones for one toman, and big ones for two tomans. About that time the market for qalamdans took a turn for the worse, and Husayn became a designer of chintz textiles (qalamkar) to make a living. He found that he was good at portraiture and genre painting. His fame became established under the Pahlavi regime in the late 1930’s when recognition for his oil, watercolors, and miniature painting became established. He was also engaged in illuminating, and pattern designing for tiles and carpets, in which art he was self-taught. By that time Musavvir al-Mulki had an atelier with twenty apprentices.

Kashan Painters

The Ghaffari family. The Ghaffari family claims descent from Abu Dharr al-Ghaffari, a companion of the Prophet, and came from a long line of ulama and judges. Mirza Abu'l-Hasan naqqash, the son of Qazi Mu’izz al-Din, was the first well-known painter in the family. He was governor of Kashan for a time and also wrote a history of Nadir Shah and Karim Khan Zand, called Gulshan-i Murad, which is illustrated with miniatures. Mirza Abu'l-Hasan’s brother ‘Abdul-Mutallib had two sons: Mirza Muhammad and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim. Of these two, apparently only Mirza Muhammad [Hasan Khan] painted. According to Benjamin, the first...
American ambassador to Iran, "Mehmat Hasan Khan, a pupil of Agha Sadeq, who was famous under Karim Khan Zand and beyond, did the life-size portraits in the Negaristan of Fath 'Ali Shah and his sons."

Mirza Muhammad had three sons, Mirza Abu'l-Hasan, Mir Muhammad Mirza Buzurg, and Mirza 'Ali Riza. The first, Abu'l-Hasan Ghaffari, stood out as a painter during the reign of Muhammad Shah. Mir Muhammad Mirza Buzurg was pishkhidmat (gentleman-in-waiting) in the service of Muhammad Shah and Nasir al-Din Shah. He also painted, but not much. In fact, his major contribution were his two sons, who would later become famous painters. The youngest brother, Mirza 'Ali Riza, was also a painter. He painted oil portraits of Nadir Shah and Karim Khan Zand smoking a water-pipe (qalyan), but he is not otherwise well known.

Abu'l-Hasan Ghaffari Kashani, Sani' al-Mulk, the son of Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan, was born around 1816 in Kashan. To learn the art of painting he was sent to Tehran to be trained by Ustad Mihr 'Ali Isfahani, the naqqash-bashi. A signed and dated (1245 [1829–30]) drawing by Mihr 'Ali was clearly made for Abu'l-Hasan to use as a model. He drew attention to his skills and was allowed to make an oil painting of Muhammad Shah. To complete his training he was sent to Rome and Florence—it is said with the help of Husayn 'Ali Khan Nizam al-Dawla—around 1846 and returned in 1850. Among other things he copied works by Raphael, including a Madonna and a Transfiguration. His copy of a Madonna painting was hit by bullets in a fight in 1908, and repaired by Muzayyin al-Dawla, after it was hung in Kamal al-Mulk's School of Fine Arts. Abu'l-Hasan's first works in Persia after his return from Europe date from 1850; his subsequent work all betrays European influence. Several paintings from this period are known, e.g., that of Farrukh Khan Ghaffari and his three sons.

In 1850, Amir Kabir, the prime minister (1848–52), had created the Crafts Council (majma' al-sanayi') in a large building in the bazaar, the function of which was to have a permanent place for various outstanding Persian craftsmen to teach their apprentices. It also served as a kind of permanent exhibition space for Persian crafts. One of the many rooms in this building was dedicated to painters; in it Abu'l-Hasan worked with 22 students. In Muharram 1269 (1852–53) the number of painters, bookbinders (sah-
Abu’l-Hasan ended this project with 34 students in the najma al-sanayi’, completing six volumes over a period of seven years (1852–59) during which time 43 artists worked on it. The calligraphy was by Muhammad Husayni Tehrani and the illumination by Mirza ‘Abdul-Vahhab and Mirza ‘Ali Muhammad, with the help of two students. The bookbinding was done by Mirza ‘Ali and the oiling of the covers by Mirza Ahmad, Ghulam ‘Ali, and Aqa Jani. The manuscript has a total of 2,280 pages—1,142 pages of text and 1,143 pages of miniatures, with 3–4 miniatures to a page. In 1857, Abu’l-Hasan, at the orders of the then prime minister, Mirza Aqa Khan I’timad al-Dawla Sadr-i A’zam Nuri, also painted the walls in the Nizamiyah palace, now known as Luqanta, with 48 portraits of various dignitaries, with the help of his students. As payment, Nasir al-Din Shah gave him a costly jewel. He also painted portraits of Aqa Nuri and Nasir al-Din Shah.

When this major work was finished another important task, in a different field of art, was waiting for Abu’l-Hasan. Because of his training in painting, printing, and lithography in Europe, Abu’l-Hasan was appointed head of the government printing department in 1861. In that same year he was also put in charge of the newspaper and the print shop and given orders to issue an illustrated newspaper; he published the newspapers Dawla-yi ’uliyyah-yi Iran and Milliati which he started to embellish with engraved pictures. His formal title was chief of the publications and newspaper department (idarayi intiba’at va ruznama-jat). He held these posts until the end of his life. Nobody could equal him, said I’timad al-Saltana, when Abu’l Hasan died.

He was first given the title of khan, then that of naqqash-bashi in 1861. Apart from his excellence in art the appointment may also have been owing to his personal relationship with Nasir al-Din Shah, whom he had instructed in the art of painting and drawing. Abu’l-Hasan took over the management of the paper including making the engravings, beginning with issue no. 472, dated 5 Safar 1277 (1862), when the paper was renamed Iran. In this first issue he presented his self-portrait. He made a total of 57 lithographs of dignitaries for the newspaper Iran, as well as one of a printing press. Nasir al-Din Shah liked his work so much that seven months later, in no. 520, dated 27 Shavval 1278 (1862), it was announced that Mirza Abu’l-Hasan had been honored with the title of Sani’ al-Mulk. It was further announced that a new painting school had been founded, accompanied by a call to parents to enroll students in it. Parents could bring their children and Sani’ al-Mulk would teach them himself on Saturdays; on the other days students would use the master’s paintings and European lithographs. On Friday, which was a public holiday, people could come and have a look at the school and its work. In 1863, Sani’ al-Mulk was instructed by the shah to make a likeness of the Imam ‘Ali based on descriptions in books. The shah wore it around his neck at his next public audience. The state painting school (naqqashkhana-yi dawlati) opened on 12 Rajab 1280 (1863–64) according to Iran no. 552. In 1866, Sani’ al-Mulk was also appointed as superintendent of the government printing shop as well as of three new newspapers as assistant (na’ib) to the minister of science.

He continued to edit the newspaper and make lithographs for it until his death at age of 50 in 1866. Nasir al-Din Shah learned the art of painting from him, but his most famous pupil was Mirza ‘Abbas Shirazi. After his death the journal was continued, but the level of artistry in the drawings did not approach the same high standard as before. Sani’ al-Mulk made oil paintings, miniatures, and lithographs. According to Mu’ayyir al-Mamalik, who saw 14 oil paintings by the painter which he describes, Sani’ al-Mulk’s strength was in oil painting, portraiture, and copying. Sani’ al-Mulk sometimes signed his paintings Abu’l-Hasan Thani (the second), because his paternal uncle signed his paintings Abu’l-Hasan al-Ghaffari al-Mustawfi. When Abu’l-Hasan became naqqash-bashi he dropped the suffix thani (the second) and signed himself Abu’l-Hasan naqqash-bashi Ghaffari Kashani. Various pictures by Sani’ al-Mulk have appeared in print. Sani’ al-Mulk had three sons, Yahya Khan, Asadallah Khan, and Sayfallah Khan, who were all painters. Nasir al-Din Shah called Yahya Khan, Abu’l-Hasan Khan III. The latter also signed as “the third,” al-thalith. Yahya Khan mainly copied European art, such as Raphael’s Rome on Fire (1879) which hangs in the Iran Bastan Museum. He also did watercolors and drawings, and an illustration of a manuscript in the style of manuscripts de luxe. The paint brush blazing the Qajar sky was taken over by another Ghaffari, but not by one of Sani’ al-Mulk’s sons, despite their skills.
and the interest shown in them by the shah. Nor was it taken over by another, though lesser-known, painting member of the Ghaffari family, viz. Mirza Mas'ud Khan Ghaffari (for the relationship, see family tree).227 Another painting member of the family was Mirza Mas'ud's cousin 'Abdul-Vahhab Ghaffari, the hakim-bashi or royal physician.228

The new torch bearer and his successor was one of Sani' al-Mulk's nephews. Sani' al-Mulk's second brother, Mir Muhammad Mirza Buzurg, had two sons: Abu Turab, who was probably born in Kashan in 1846–47, and Muhammad, who was born in Tehran in 1847–48. Abu Turab's birthdate may not be correct, because, if it is, he would have been only 27 years old when he died, while his portrait shows a man who appears to be about 40 years. Kamal al-Mulk, when asked about his brother's birthdate, did not know it. More likely the date was about 1844–45. From childhood onwards both brothers were very much interested in painting. Abu Turab came to Tehran around 1876–77 and attended the Dar al-Funun, where he studied painting and French. His painting was well liked; he won various medals and graduated from the school.

In 1882-83, Mirza Abu Turab was appointed to the Ministry of Publications to draw the portraits of the leading men of the day for the newspaper and became naqqash-bashi-yi dar al-taba'a, having mastered the art of naqqashi-yi basma or lithographic illustration. He worked for the newspaper Sharaf (founded in 1882) until 1889–90, the year that he committed suicide. Mirza Abu Turab also illustrated the shah's travelogue to Mashhad and other books, such as the Mir'at al-Buldan, for which he made various engravings in 1876–77. He had become Mirza Abu Turab Khan, then became a colonel and was always in the shah's favor. He received a gift of an expensive shawl from the shah in 1884–85 and once again in 1887–88, and the order of the third class of the Lion and the Sun. He committed suicide on 19 Jumadi al-Thani 1307 (January 1890), at the age of 28, by taking a large dose of opium, because he could not stand this life anymore, allegedly due to the misbehavior of his wife, according to 'Umam al-Saltana. Abu Turab had two daughters, and was succeeded at the ministry by Mirza Musa, who drew Abu Turab's picture for the Sharaf to accompany his obituary in the paper.229

The man who would dominate Qajar painting after 1880 was Abu Turab's younger brother, Muhammad, who after his birth in Tehran, had grown up in a village near Kashan. He left for Tehran when he was 12 to devote himself to painting and study. He was admitted to the Dar al-Funun, where his painting teacher was Muzayyin al-Dawla naqqash-bashi. In Kamal al-Mulk's own words, "I was taught by family members and by Muzayyin al-Dawla; he had no talent for art and had faults such as jealousy. The rest I taught myself."220

Muhammad continued to develop his skills well. When, in 1881, Nasir al-Din Shah visited the Dar al-Funun at the end of the school year as had been his habit, he saw a portrait drawing of his uncle affixed to a wall, the likeness and quality of which impressed him. The uncle, 'Aliquli Mirza I'tizad al-Saltana, had been the director of the school, but had recently died. The shah asked who the artist was and, when introduced to Muhammad, told him to come to the palace where a place would be prepared for him to work and to teach the shah how to draw. He became a pishkhidmat (gentleman-in-waiting), and given the name Mirza Muhammad Khan. After that, whenever the shah felt like it Muhammad prepared the tools and assisted the shah in drawing and painting.

Muhammad continued to receive honors. In 1881 he was given a medal and a salary of 20 tomans; in 1882–83 he received the title of naqqash-bashi and his salary was increased by 80 tomans. He also painted various pictures including a portrait of the shah. In 1883–84, Muhammad married, the shah ordered a house to be prepared for him, and his salary was increased again in 1884–85 by 48 tomans (by being assigned the revenues of his father Mirza Buzurg), 33 tomans and 4 qrans and 10 kharvar; in 1886–87 he was given another 50 tomans (formerly held by Mubarak Mirza the painter, grandson of Fath 'Ali Mirza), and in 1887–88 yet another salary increase plus a medal.

In 1891–92, Muhammad was as usual painting in the talari d'ima in the Gulistan palace in Tehran, a temporary atelier, where during working hours only he was allowed to enter, aside from an occasional visit by the shah. At that time a thief was caught stealing jewels from the throne. During the investigation Kamran Mirza, governor of Tehran, questioned those who worked near the throne, including Muhammad, whom he treated badly. Muhammad resigned in a fury, although he considered those five years to be among the best of his life. Nasir al-Din Shah commented that "our Kashi, if he were not such a bad sport, would be better than 100 porcelain vessels." He came under the protection of Amin al-Sultan, the
prime minister, who in 1893–94 submitted a request to the shah to honor Muhammad; the shah granted him the title of kamal-al-mulk.

After Nasir al-Din Shah's death, his son, Muzaffar al-Din Shah, asked Kamal-al-Mulk to paint a portrait showing his father in the center, with Muzaffar al-Din Shah in the various stages of his life starting from his youth until his accession to the throne around him, using photographs as his model. Muzaffar al-Din Shah was very pleased with the result and rewarded Kamal al-Mulk with a trip to Europe to hone his skills. He visited Paris, Rome, Vienna, and some other cities during his almost three years' stay in Europe. Kamal al-Mulk befriended various painters in France and Germany. When Muzaffar al-Din Shah came to France in 1901 Kamal-al-Mulk visited him and was well received. The shah liked the copies he had made of famous paintings that he had seen in the Louvre, including one by Titian, and Kamal al-Mulk shortly thereafter returned to Persia, where he resumed his duties as court painter and received the order of the Lion and Sun first class. For a painting submitted to the shah he received a ring with diamonds from the treasury, and shortly thereafter another medal. In no. 60 (1902) of Sharafat his picture and biography appeared.

Kamal al-Mulk left in 1902 for Karbala. He returned to Tehran in 1906. In 1911–12, at the suggestion of Kamal al-Mulk, a madrasa-yi sanayi-i mustarafa va madrasa-yi naqqashi (school for fine arts and painting) was founded with Kamal al-Mulk as director. It was located in the Bagh-i Nigarastan created in 1812-13 by Fath 'Ali Shah. Here also were samples of works by 'Abdallah Khan naqqash-bashi, Mirza Jani, Mihr-e 'Ali, and Mirza Baba. Today it is the site of the Kamal al-Mulk Museum. Here for the next sixteen years he would guide many young artists through their first steps. Kamal-al-Mulk died a national hero at the age of about 92 years in 1928.221

Other Kashan painters. Another Kashani painter was Mahmud Khan Malik al-Shu’ara, also known as Sharif. He was the son of Muhammad Husayn Khan ‘Andalib and the grandson of Fath ‘Ali Khan Saba-yi Kashani. The family was of Kurdish origin and belonged to the Dunbuli tribe, which has its home in Azerbaijan. Amir Ghayath Beg was a commander in the Safavid army and, owing to an error, had been the cause of a number of his Dunbuli soldiers being killed. Out of shame he decided not to return to his home-land and stayed in Kashan, where he died in 1733-34. His son, Aqa Muhammad Zarrabi, became the chief of the mint of that city and his son, Fathallah Khan, became one of the poets at the court of Lutf ‘Ali Khan Zand. After the latter's defeat in 1794, Fath ‘Ali Khan became attached to the Qajar court, where he was given the post of malik al-shu’ara, or poet laureate, as well as the governorship of Qum, Kashan, Saveh and Naraq. Fraser recounts meeting him in 1821:

The day following we paid a visit to Futeh Allee Khan, the shah-ul-shaer, or malek-ul-shaer, poet laureate of the kingdom. This very interesting old man, who is descended of an ancient family, for several successive generations governors of Cashan, possesses much genius, a lively imagination, and good taste; he is singularly well informed in, and has a great taste for, mechanics; having constructed several complicated pieces of machinery of his own invention, in a very ingenious manner, and even succeeded in making a printing press, from the plates in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.222

After his death in 1821–22, the position of malik al-shu’ara was given to Fathallah Khan’s son Muhammad Husayn Khan, who used the pen name ‘Andalib. He died in 1848–49. His son Muhammad Husayn Khan was born in 1815 in Tehran. From childhood he was engaged in a broad range of studies, and he became the most knowledgeable of his contemporaries in literature (adab), religious law (fiqh), exegesis (tafsir), prosody ('aruz), rhyming (faqiya), poetry, elegance of style (insha), history, mathematics, muhazirat, and philosophy (hikmat). He played chess very well and was an accomplished calligrapher. He also was good at making things with his hands such as maquets, inlay work, and embossing (munabhatkari). He made a collage composed entirely of pieces of Persian and foreign stamps. He was a good embroiderer and an accomplished sculptor. Although he was not greatly interested in poetry, he composed ghazals which were considered to be excellent. Mahmud Khan was a master in both old- and new-style painting. One of his paintings Istinsakh (Transcript) was considered to be an avant-garde piece, painted in a style not yet adopted in Europe. He also took a series of photographs of royal palaces and gardens.

Mahmud Khan, in addition to his function as malik al-shu’ara, held other important posts. He was, among other things, pishkar or chief financial officer of the governor of Borujerd, in 1845–46, during Muhammad Shah’s reign. He turned down an offer for
an ambassadorship abroad, and instead held offices in the maslahat-khana, the Ministry of Justice, and for a time was the director of the government newspaper and printing office (idara-yi raznamajat va intibā'at). He was a vegetarian. He died in 1893–94 at the age of 83 in Tehran and was buried in Rayy. One of his four sons, Mirza Ja'far Khan, succeeded him as malik al-shu'ara. Another son, 'Ali Hasan Khan, was also a painter, mainly of watercolors, a few of which were in the royal library.225

Close to Kashan is Natanz, where Mirza 'Ali Akbar Khan Muzayyin al-Dawla Natanzi was born in 1847. His brothers were Iqbal al-Dawla and Sahib-Ikhtiyar. In 1858–59, when he was twelve years old, he was sent with 42 students to France by Nasir al-Din Shah. He went to school in Paris where he attended the Ecole des Beaux Arts. He received his diploma in painting, sculpting, music, and theater arts. He stayed in France sometime thereafter to paint with a famous French painter. On his return he was appointed teacher of French to the shah as well as teacher at the Dar al-Funun of French, military music, and painting. Among his students were Kamal al-Mulk and Musavi al-Mamlak. In 1871–72 he was given the title naqsh-bashi.224

At the orders of Nasir al-Din Shah he also began staging theater plays at the Dar al-Funun. His French was so good that in France they called him a walking encyclopedia. He translated a 50,000-word French dictionary known as the Diamant into Persian, which he finished in the reign of Ahmad Shah. It was printed in France and was entitled Muzayyin al-Lugha. He wrote three other French-related works, including a textbook for teaching French.225 He also translated the first book on musical notation into Persian, the text for the lessons given by LeMaire on music theory at the Dar al-Funun. He became a teacher of French to Ahmad Shah and his brother. His paintings were displayed in various palaces. He died on 'id-i ghadir 1923 when he was 89 years old.226

According to Mu'ayyir al-Mamlak, Mirza 'Ali Akbar Khan was one of the leading masters of Nasir al-Din's time. "In durnama-sazi and gul-sazi he was very good, and also very able in shabih-sazi."227 The French traveler Orsolle met Muzayyin al-Dawla in the 1880's. He wrote that the professor had lived for ten years in Paris and had been totally Frenchified, and that he produced watercolors of reasonable quality. Muzayyin al-Dawla was particularly proud of his oil painting of St. Michael and the Vierge à la chaise, which he had copied in Rome.228 Gobineau, the French ambassador to Iran, however, did not have a high opinion of the artistic merits of Muzayyin al-Dawla:

Muhammad Shah had send an artist to Rome to learn the secrets and processes of European art, which the Persians acknowledge freely as being superior to theirs. Unfortunately, the choice of the student did not appear to be very fortunate. The painter had neither been touched nor had understood anything. The only result of his trip was to bring a copy of the Vierge à la chaise, which was very popular, and is copied everywhere nowadays. Besides, for a long time now European engravings and lithographs are being copied. One sees them on the qalyans, inkpots, mirrors, and mainly pictures of a saintly nature.229

His opinion was shared by Kamal al-Mulk, who, though acknowledging that Muzayyin al-Dawla was the only one outside his family from whom he had received instruction in painting, was of the opinion that his erstwhile master did not have much talent.230 In 1894, he may have been in the service of Zili al-Sultan, the prince governor of Isfahan; he might have been the officer who had compiled a Persian-French dictionary and who accompanied de Vilmorin on his visit to Isfahan.231

Tehran Painters

Mihr 'Ali. An early Qajar painter, Mihr 'Ali, painted lifesize portraits on the walls of a new palace in Isfahan as well as the oil paintings of Fath 'Ali Shah in the Amery collection. He was one of the teachers of the celebrated Abu'l-Hasan Ghaffari. He produced lifesize portraits of Fath 'Ali Shah, of which nine are known to be his.232 In addition to canvas paintings Mihr 'Ali also did painted murals in a palace in Isfahan. Ousely notes,

The portraits of many ancient kings, represented of the natural size, contribute to embellish this palace. They have been painted within ten or twelve years by a celebrated artist, Mihr 'Ali of Tehran; who has not only had marked each picture with his own name, but considerately added the title of each illustrious personage whom he intended to delineate. This alone enables the spectator to distinguish Feridun, Nashiravan and others from Iscander or Alexander the Great, whose face, dress, and arms are, most probably, the same that Mihr 'Ali's imagination would have assigned to any Persian prince of the last fifty or hundred years.233
Belonging to the same group was 'Abdallah Khan who did a striking painting of Fath 'Ali Shah. According to Browne it was he, not Muhammad Hasan Khan, who painted the famous mural paintings in the Nirangestan palace in 1812-13. In that same year another member of the same embassy met with 'Abdallah Khan, naqqash-bashi, whom he showed "several portraits of the royal family, khans, &c." He also did other murals such as three in a palace in Karaj, about which Lady Sheil observed: "The like-nesses of the chiefs are said to be excellent, and that of Agha Mahommed Khan inimitable. The former are fine, sturdy, determined-looking warriors. Agha Mahommed looks like a fiend. The atrocious, cold, calculating ferocity which marked the man is stamped on his countenance."  

Other painters that belonged to the same period and made oil paintings in the style of Mihr 'Ali included Muhammad Sadiq, Abu'l-Qasim (1816), and Sayyid Mirza (1829-30). Mirza Ahmad naqqash-bashi, son of Mirza Hasan Naqqash, made pencases as well as oil paintings (dated 1819, 1823 and 1844); the paintings already show the European style. In addition, there are two artists, known as Muhammad (1842) and Sayyid Mirza, who made excellent oils and lacquer paintings, and who did the new binding for the Nizami manuscript of Shah Tahmasp.  

Aqa Mirza Isma'il Jalayir, a product of the Dar al-Funun, was one of the court painters (naqqashan-i darbar). In siyah-qalam, and nuqta-guzari he was the best after Mirza Baba naqqash-bashi. Aqa Mirza Isma'il Jalayir was good at shabih-sazi and pardaz and sometimes did durnama'i siyah-qalam, nuqta-guzari and some-times did durnama'i. He was well in colors; he also colored photographs and lithographs. If he felt like it, he imitated the handwriting of famous calligraphers. He first would draw the letters with a pencil and then use a brush with paint. When I'tizad al-Saltana, the minister of science, asked him to make a pencase with battle scenes on three sides. The artist asked for an advance and then came back again for another advance. The minister lost patience with the delay and gave him a deadline. When the artist finally submitted the pencase the minister only saw depictions of mountains and hills and no battlefield. Surprised, he asked where the battle scenes were. The painter replied, "They are behind the mountains, for lack of time." The minister, instead of getting angry, laughed aloud at this Witticism. This story reached the ears of the shah, and it was retold for a long time at court. The painter probably died in 1886-87, for in that year Kamal al-Mulk received an additional income of 50 tomans which formerly had gone to Mubarak Mirza.  

Mirza 'Abdul-Mutallah was one of the students sent by Nasir al-Din Shah to Europe. His daughter was one of the last women the shah married. Amin al-Dawla, the prime minister, gave him a function as adviser in the post office. He was a master at portraiture and watercolors. He made a watercolor of Muzaffar al-Din Shah on his accession.  

Mirza Mihdi Khan Musavir al-Mulk worked towards the end of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign, throughout that of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, and into the beginning of Muhammad 'Ali's. He was good at painting portraits and panoramas, whether from live subjects or photographs. Mirza Musa was succeeded by Mirza Mihdi Khan Musavir al-Mulk as naqqashi-yi makhshus-i ruznama-yi Sharafat. Nasir al-Din Shah brought a Swiss panorama painted by the best Austrian painter with him from Europe. When the shah had this painting put up in the palace he asked Musavir al-Mulk whether he could make a perfect copy of it. He said he could,
and two months later he submitted his copy to the shah, who was so impressed that he gave him 1,000 tomans and hung the copy opposite the original. He also made an oil painting of the Shahabad palace and of Muhammad 'Ali Shah. Mirza Musa was also a photographer and had a studio in Tehran. Samsam Khan Musavvir al-Mamalik made portraits of the members of the elite in both oils and watercolor, as well as etchings. One is a painting of Sardar-i As'ad; which was in his mausoleum in Isfahan. He taught painting to Persian high society, including Crown Prince Ahmad Mirza.

**Tabriz Painters**

Abu'l-Hasan naqqash-bashi Afshar. A well-known poet born in Urumiya, who worked in Tabriz, he held the rank of naqqash-bashi in the military. His father was Allahvirdi Naqqash, who was very good at flower designs and colors. Both he and his paternal uncle, 'Ali Ashraf Naqqash Afshar, were famous for their pencases and bookcovers. 'Aziz Khan Sardar Mukri, a provincial governor, sent their work as presents to Tehran. His pencases were sold during his life at prices of more than 50 tomans, which was a considerable sum at that time. He died in 1889 in his mid-forties.

Muhammad Hasan Beg Afshar Urumi. Another famous Tabrizi painter, he was deaf and dumb. His earliest known work dates from 1839-40; he lived until about 1880.

Other well-known artists were Sayyid Muhsin and his younger brother Sayyid Ibrahim, known as Aqa Mirza, who were sons of Aqa Mirak. Muhsin was also a poet. Sayyid Ibrahim had been trained in painting in Russia and was Muzaffar al-Din Mirza's painter.

**Shiraz Painters**

Mirza Aqa worked as a painter for years in Europe and then returned to Shiraz. He died in Tehran in 1895-96. Fursat Husayni Shirazi had learned painting from him. Aqa Muhammad Husayn worked in the style of European painters, and was also a poet; he lived in Bombay in the 1890's. Ustad Aqa Kuchik was his lifelong friend. Mirza Baqir, son of the late Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Mu'allim and brother to 'Al-lama al-'Ulama, was a very good painter and sculptor of busts; he, too, was a poet. Mirza Lutfallah Mustawfi was also a good painter as was Mirza Mustafa, who had studied theology. A well-known buta and flower painter, who also did portraits, was Lutf 'Ali Khan, who was the best of them all. He was a relative of Mushir al-Mulk, the powerful administrator of the province of Fars. He died in 1871-72 in Shiraz. Another flower painter was Aqa Muhammad 'Ali, who died in 1868-69, also in Shiraz. His son Aqa Muhammad Husayn only did butas, but no other figures.

**CONCLUSIONS**

In this study I have shown that art in Qajar Persia represented both a continuation of age-old traditions and a break with the past. As in earlier centuries, Qajar naqqash were not just painters, for they were involved in a variety of art forms: they designed patterns for carpets and tiles, made block prints, and they were also engravers, illuminators, sculptors, and even architects. The naqqash and crafts closely related to them constituted guilds and were represented in all large towns. Most painters worked in the bazaar as craftsman in rather mundane workshops as well as in the homes of the patrons of high art. The royal court also boasted of a painting atelier, which was directed by the naqqash-bashi or royal painter. All members of the various design art guilds were his subordinates. Painters working for the royal court did not necessarily all work at the palace, but also in other newly created royal institutions such as the Madrasa-yi Majma'-yi Sanayi' and the Dar al-Funun.

This situation was not so different from practice in Persia prior to 1800. However, there were no provincial schools—at least we have not been able to determine any particulars that distinguished the output of one provincial town from another. But there was a social hierarchy. The top painters worked for the court and the elite; the middle-class painter produced the better work of the broad group of craftsmen-artists, while the largest third group was formed from the bulk of craftsmen and apprentices who did the cheaper work and provided support to the master painters. Painters as in earlier centuries produced for the market, and there was a brisk trade in paintings and painted objects, including tourist art.

The other difference with earlier centuries was that Qajar painters made only a few illuminated manuscripts in the celebrated Timurid and Safavid tradition, but they excelled in oil painting, lacquer, and enamel. Qajar painters were also more exposed to what happened in the world at large than their pre-
decessors had been. Some were sent abroad to learn European painting techniques. The introduction of photography and the art of printing also had an important impact on the development of the Qajar painting style. The establishment of painting classes in the Dar al-Funun created not only a new class of painters, but also a demand for a different kind of art. The publication of newspapers and books with illustrations provided a new outlet for this style. It also made the price of manuscripts too expensive, and their already dwindled production then vanished altogether. Qajar painting changed, and the traditional style gradually disappeared after 1850: Qajar paintings were still traditional in that they focused on (a) political, epic (battles, royalty); (b) sensual (flora and fauna), including erotic; and (c) religious (imams, ulama) subjects. However, the rendering of the subject matter showed change not only in style, but also in the way royalty and other traditional subjects were depicted. Finally, Qajar painters used a large variety of media such as walls, canvases, wood, glass, enamel, books, newspapers, pencases, waterpipes, screens, tiles, and the like, to express their art.

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NOTES

1. Shoko Okazaki and Kinji Eura, Bibliography on Qajar Persia (Osaka, 1985), does not list one single article or book on the subject. Nasir Pakdaman, Bibliographie francaise de civilisation iranienne, 3 vols. (Tehran 1355/1973) has nothing to offer either. Angelo M. Pietmontese, Bibliografia Italiana dell'Iran (1462-1982), 2 vols. (Naples, 1982), has only two very short articles of general import. Despite its title, the very disappointing publication by Faramarz Massoud-Ansellel'Iran (hereafter NAQQASHI) nothing to offer either. Angelo M. Piemontese, BibliographiefranCaise de civilisation iranienne, 3 vols. (Tehran 1355/1973) has nothing to offer either.


4. B. W. Robinson, "Persian Painting under the Zand and Qajar Dynasties," Cambridge History of Iran (hereafter CHI), 7:870-89.


9. Hans Wulff, The Crafts of Persia (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 88, 98, 125, 164, 166. According to Fursar, "illuminations and flower painting (gul-sazi) are one of the arts of painting" (Fursar Husayni Shirazi, Athar-i 'Ajam [litro; Tehran, 1314/1896-97], p. 549).

10. Ja'far Shahri, Tarikh-i itima'i-yi Tehran dar garm-i sidadkhum, 6 vols. (Tehran, 1368/1989), 3:196-201; CHI 7:874-75. "The same painters also were engaged in enamel painting on gold or copper, but this art also is in decline"; Hoeltzer, Persien vor 133 Jahren, pp. 55-66.


13. Tahvildar, Jughrafsya, p. 112; on Mirza Muhammad Taqi, also see Benjamin, Persia and the Persians, pp. 316-17; for a list of the most important illuminators and some particulars, see Qazi Mir Ahmad Qumi, Gulistan va Hunar, ed. Ahmad Suhayli Khunsari, 2nd ed. (Tehran, 1352/1992), pp. 50-51.


24. On guilds in general, see Willem Floor, *The Guilds in Iran*.
25. Ibid.
27. Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, pp. 314–15; see also de Rochechouard, *Souvenirs d’un voyage en Perse*, p. 265, who remarked that "in the Orient the artist is a salesman and a craftsman, and that one does not buy his works because of their intrinsic merit, but because one needs them." For a contemporary photograph of a painter busy making a painting, in this case Mirza Musa, see Yaghma, 10:174.
36. Khansari, *Gulistan*, p. lii, mentions a certain Sayyid Muhammad Naqqash-bashi, about whom I have not been able to find other particulars.
40. Ibid., p. 136.
42. Ibid.
53. Yaghma 10 (1336/1957): 168–69; Badri Atabay, *Fihrist-i Kitab Khanoo-yi Salatani—Divanho-yi khati va kitab-i Hasar va Yakshab* (Tehran, 2535/1976), 2: 1375–95, for a detailed description, which inter alia mentions that the manuscript was produced in the royal atelier, thus contradicting Mu'mayar al-Mamalik. This *Fihrist* also reproduces 78 miniatures of this manuscript.
55. *Yadgar* 3 (1325/1946): 68–70.
56. Ibid., p. 67.
61. Dr. Adamova's evidence was presented at a colloquium on Qajar painting at the Brooklyn Museum held in February 1965.
63. A special kind of painting was the so-called nail painting. This type of painting went out of vogue at the end of the nineteenth century. Khansari, *Gulistan*, p. 1.
64. Hoeltzer, *Persien vor 133 Jahren*, p. 43.
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61. Fursat, Athar, p. 548.
63. l’timad al-Saltana, M’athir, p. 117.
64. Atabay, Fihrist-i Muraggqat (Tehran, 1353/1974) contains many reproductions of cut-outs produced in the Qajar era.
68. Brugsch, Die Reise des K. K. Gesandtschafts, 1: 91; 2: 307; de Rochechouart, Souvenirs d’un Voyage en Perse, p. 265, also remarks that one may still obtain excellent manuscripts with beautiful miniatures.
70. See Napier Malcolm, Five Years in a Persian Town (London, 1905), passim; and Wills, In the Land of the Lion, p. 377, have some prints of these popular paintings. "I even saw paintings representing harem intrigues," Mortiz von Kotzебue, Narrative of a Journey into Persia, in the Suite of the Imperial Russian Embassy in the Year 1817 (Philadelphia, 1820), p. 154.
76. l’timad al-Saltana, M’athir, p. 219.
77. Yaghma 10 (1336/1957): 175.
78. Fursat, Athar, p. 547.
83. Willem Floor, s.v."Chap," Encyclopaedia Iranica.
86. For the latter, see l’imad al-Saltana, M’sathir, pp. 125–26.
90. CFI 7: 889.
91. Tahvildar, Jughrafiya, p. 103.
92. ibid., p. 105.
93. ibid., p. 107; see also de Rochechouart, Souvenirs d’un voyage, p. 266.
118. For example, Jaubert, Voyage en Arménie, p. 349, which is now in the Louvre, according to Robinson, CHI, 7: 874.


120. J. B. Fraser, Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces and the Southern Banks of the Caspian Sea (London, 1828), p. 41. The Qajars in this respect continued a longstanding Persian royal practice. In the Haft Tan in Shiraz, "the walls of the tolar or open halls were daubed in fresco, and at each end was a portrait of Hafiz and Sadi; very coarsely done." These were painted in the Zand period (Claude James Rich, Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon, etc. (London, 1839), pp. 227–28; for a reproduction of these paintings, see Johnson, A Journey from India to England, opposite p. 59; he also thought that the pictures were ill done.

121. Holmes, Sketches on the Shore of the Caspian, p. 211.


123. Keppel, Personal Narrative of Travels, 2: 140–41.


126. Johnson, Journey from India to England, pp. 182–83, with details on the pictures. Similar paintings were displayed in the royal pleasure-house in Fin near Kashan (de Vilmorin, De Paris à Bombay, p. 210). Wall paintings were observed as late as 1894 by de Vilmorin in the palace in Tišís which displayed the portraits of the last shah who had lived there (ibid., p. 40).


130. Rahnama-yi Kizah, 10:655–57; ibid., 17: 177, 181 portrait by Muhammad Hasan Afshar made in 1839–40, and p. 831, portrait made in 1842–43, and one of 'Imad al-Mulk by Sani' al-Mulk; ibid., 18: 209. Also drawings done by Soltikof, Musafirat bih Iran, pp. 93–95, also of his sons, see pls. 17 and 19.


132. S. G. Wilson, Persian Life and Customs (New York, 1895), p. 62; see also Kotzebue, Narrative of a Journey into Persia, p. 139.


134. Hyier, preface quoting a letter by J. de Rochechouart. For pictures of these paintings, see ibid.: "Lately, the prime minister (Agha Nuri) had paintings done in his palace of Nizamiyeh; but these paintings, which represent the king, his children and all personages of the court, as well as the chiefs of European missions, unfortunately were not well done" (de Gobineau, Les dépêches diplomatiques, 2: 213–14).

135. O'Donovan, Merv Oasis, 1:313; according to H. Binder, Au Kurdistan, en Mesopotamie et en Perse (Paris 1887), p. 441, the interior decoration of the Enzeli palace was atrocious.

136. Harry de Windt, A Ride to India (London, 1891), p. 99 (on p. 97 a painting of a dancing girl). Good mural paintings were still executed by Ustad Bahram. He did sensual scenes on the walls of sleeping quarters of Nasir al-Din Shah, also birds and animals on the pond in the Saltana-bad palace (Yaghoš 10: 175).

137. Tancoigne, Narrative of a journey, p. 214.

138. Ibid., pp. 213–14; Soltikof, Musafirat bih Iran, p. 91.

139. Hoelzeler, Persien vor 133 Jahren, p. 56.

140. Johnson, Journey from India to England, p. 60 (with description of each scene).

141. Ibid., p. 61; Waring copied one of the ladies, viz. Shah Nubat, the favorite mistress.

142. Ibid., p. 109 with a copy of two of these paintings.

143. Ibid., p. 157, and on p. 159 the shah, his sons, and ambassadors.

144. Ibid., pp. 166–67.

145. Falk, Qajar Painting, p. 10.


147. Ibid., p. 226.


149. J. B. Fraser, A Winter's journey (Tatar) from Constantinople to Tehran, 2 vols. (London, 1838), 2: 56.

150. Ibid., 2: 100.


154. E. Orsolle, Le Caucase et la Perse (Paris 1885), pp. 248, 250; see also de Rochechouart, Souvenirs d'un voyage, p. 264.


157. Landor, Across Covedated Lands, 1: 226–29; on p. 128 a photo of the state room in the royal palace with i.a. paintings; see also F. Rosen, Persien in Wort und Bild (Berlin 1926), p. 128.

158. CHI 6: 887.

159. Wills, In the Land of the Lion, p. 333.

160. Tancoigne, Narrative of a journey, p. 213.


162. Ibid.

163. Fraser, Winter Journey, 2: 56.

164. Ibid., p. 100.

165. For those interested, more information can be found in Ayanda, 1–3 (1358/1979); 155; see also Robert Surieu, Soro e Naz (Geneva, 1967), which depicts erotic scenes in the Thousand and One Nights manuscript painted by Sani' al-Mulk, pp. 151, 153–59, as well as miniatures by other mostly unknown artists (except Mir Muhsin Naqqash) from
unknown sources and in private collections, pp. 151, 161–68; and on pp. 118–19 tiles from a hammam. See also the popular drawings in lithographs, especially of the *Thousand and One Nights* prints. Khanum Nushin Na'fisi, "Naqqash-yi 'amiyana-yi Iran," *Hunar va Mardom* 89 (1348/1969): 52–61; see especially illustrations 2, 9, 14–16. See also two paintings in *Taj al-Saltana*, pp. 255, 259.


177. De Rochechouart, *Souvenirs d’un voyage,* pp. 253–54, with special focus on items with enamelled representations. In Tehran alone there were more than 200 enamel workers in the 1860’s whose work was outstanding; ibid., p. 259. For illustrated pencases, book covers, and wooden panels, see Mohammad Taqi Ehsani, *Jildha va Qalamdanha-yi Iran* (Tehran 1368/1989); for tiles with religious subjects, see, e.g., Peter J. Chelkowski, *Ta’ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran* (New York, 1979), pp. 74–87; Kotezheue, *Narrative of a Journey into Persia,* pp. 159, 220, 245, 248.


188. *FIZ* 26:135.


204. *Ittila’at-i Mahana,* 1, no. 3 (1327/1948): 29; Brugsch, *Die Reise der K.K. Gesellschaft,* 2:397.


209. *Ittila’at-i Mahana,* 1, no. 2 (1327/1948): 29; see Vagisy-yi *Ittihaqiyat,* no. 470.

210. Roshan, *Persien,* p. 64; on p. 46 two pictures of lacquer paintings done by Aqa Najaf.

211. *Yaghma* 10 (1336/1957): 168–69; Khunsari, *Gulistan,* p. 51. I’timad al-Saltana had pictures by Sani’ al-Mulk naqqash-bashi in the house, t.a. of his father, which was a
very good likeness; it had been painted 30 years earlier (T'imad al-Saltana, Ruznama, p. 591).

214. Shihabang and Dihbashi, eds., Yadnama-yi Kamal al-Mulk, p. 22.


216. Shihabang and Dibashi, eds., Yadnama-yi Kamal al-Mulk, pp. 11-20; Aqa Khan Malik "Buzurgtarin naqqash-i 'asri Qajaruya,

217. Three of his oils were in the royal palace; Mu'ayyr al-Mamalik also saw one hanging at Hidayat's house. He provides a short description of these paintings, Yaghma 10 (1337/1957): 172; Khunsari, Gulistan, p. li.


221. Ahmad Suhayli Khunsari, Kamal al-Mulk, akval va athar-i Muhammad Ghaffari (Tehran, 1968); Hirmand Publications, Kamal al-Mulk [collection of articles] (Tehran 1968). For a list of his most important artist students, see Shihabang and Dibashi, eds., Yadnama-yi Kamal al-Mulk, p. 76.

222. J. B. Fraser, A Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the Years 1821 and 1822 (London 1825; rpt. 1984), pp. 152-53.


224. Bamdad, Tarikh-i Rijal-Iran 2: 426.


234. Ibid., 3: 68-70 (reference is given by Robinson; however, nothing is there to indicate the painter!); Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, 1: 338-39. He became naqqash-bashi under Muhammad Shah. 'Abdullah Khan Mi'mar, Rahnama 17: 179-80. He actually was also engaged in architecture; Rizaguli Khan Hidayat, Tarikhi Rawat al-Safa-yi Nasiri, 10 vols. (Tehran, 1395/1960), 10: 812; 'Abdullah Khan naqqash-bashi; Khunsari, Gulistan, p. l.

235. Browne, Year among the Persians. p. 105.


237. Lady Sheil, Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia. p. 115. He died about 1850; Smith, Persian Art, p. 78.

238. Falk, Persian Painting, Robinson, "Persian Painting under the Zand and Qajar Dynasties."

239. FIZ 26: 135; CHI 7: 879.


244. Ibid., p. 175.

245. Ibid., p. 170; he went to Europe with Mirza Husayn Khan. Khunsari, Gulistan, p. li.


249. T'imad al-Saltana, Ma'aktir, pp. 125-26; Brugsch, Die Reise der K.K. Gesandtschaft 2: 307; Rahnama-yi Kitab 17, pp. 177, 181; Khunsari, Gulistan, p. I.


251. Fursat, Athar, p. 548.