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Scions of Turan: Illustrated epic manuscripts of the 16th-century Abū'l-Khairid Uzbeks and their cross-dynastic exchanges

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Table of takeovers

Compiled with information derived from the publications of M. Annanepesov, Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Alexandre Bennigsen, Yuri Bregel, Audrey Burton, Martin Dickson, Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, Joo-Yup Lee, R.D. McChesney, Charles Melville, Andrew Newman, Maria Eva Subtelny, Maria Szuppe, Thomas Welsford.

Time period	Ruling power in the east: Herat/Khurasan	Ruling power in the west: Tabriz/Baghdad	Contributing factors to and outcomes of conflicts
1501–1505	Timurid (Herat) Abū'l-Khairid (Samarqand)	Safavid	1500–1501: Bābur's second short-term rule in Samarqand 1500-01 (first rule May 1497-98); defeated by Abū'l-Khairids under Shībānī Khan 1501: Shah Ismā'īl I begins reign in Tabriz 1503: Safavids take Iraq-i 'Ajam (Fars and Isfahan) from Aq Qoyunlu Turkmans 1505: Shībānī Khan's victory over Khwarazm (lost to Safavids in 1510)
1506–1510	Abū'l-Khairid	Safavid	1506: Death of Timurid ruler Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāiqarā in Herat 1507: Shībānī Khan's victory over Herat 1507–1510: 1st Abū'l-Khairid occupation of Herat 1510: Shah Ismā'īl I defeats Shībānī Khan at Marv; Safavid conquest of Herat
1511–1515	Safavid Abū'l-Khairid (1513)	Safavid	1511–1512: Bābur's third short-term rule in Samarqand 1512: Battle of Ghijduvan (Abū'l-Khairid victory over Bābur); proto-Mughals flee to Kabul 1513: Brief Abū'l-Khairid occupation of Herat before Safavids reclaim 1514: Battle of Chaldiran (Ottoman victory over Safavids)
1516–1520	Safavid	Safavid	1516–1526: Bābur controls Balkh 1516–1517: Ottoman victory over Mamluks in Egypt and Syria; Ottomans acquire pilgrimage sites 1517: Ottoman victory over Spanish Algiers 1520: Sultan Süleyman I begins reign
1521–1525	Safavid	Safavid	April–May 1521: minor 12-day Herat siege by Abū'l-Khairids May 1524: death of Shah Ismā'īl I June 1524: Shah Ṭahmāsp begins reign

1526–1530	Abū'l-Khairid (1529-1530) Safavid	Safavid	1524-28: Abū'l-Khairids control Sistan May 1526: First Battle of Panipat; beginning of Mughal Empire in India with Timurids eliminated as third rival to Khurasan 1526–1534: Safavid court intrigue, qizilbash civil war 1526–1528: Abū'l-Khairids attack Herat 1528: Battle of Jam (Safavids and Abū'l-Khairids clash in Herat) 1528: Abū'l-Khairids and Mughals battle over Balkh and Badakhshan 1529–1530: Abū'l-Khairids occupy Herat (29 October 1529–August 1530)
1531–1535	Abū'l-Khairid (1531-1533 raids) Safavid	Ottoman-Safavid War (1532–1555)	1530–1534: Battle of Bitlis between Safavids and Ottomans (ends in Ottoman victory) 1531–1533: Uzbek campaigns into eastern edge of the Caspian Sea (Bastam and Damghan), advancing as far as Rayy 1532: Abū'l-Khairids attack Herat
1536–1540	Abū'l-Khairid (1535-1537) Safavid	Ottoman-Safavid War (1532–1555)	1535–1537: Abū'l-Khairids attack Herat 1535: Ottoman victory over Safavids in the “Two Iraqs” 1538–1539: Abū'l-Khairids under ‘Ubaidullāh take over Khwarazm 1540: ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Khan reigns as great khan in Samarqand (until 1551) 1540: Death of ‘Ubaidullāh, accession of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz to head Bukhara appanage. Cessation of Abū'l-Khairid threats to Safavids (until 1580s)
1541–1545	Safavid	Ottoman-Safavid War (1532–1555)	1540–1550: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz rules Bukhara appanage
1546–1550	Abū'l-Khairid	Ottoman-Safavid War (1532–1555)	1548: Abū'l-Khairid raids in Khurasan 1550: ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Khan attempts to take Herat
1551–1555	Safavid	Ottoman-Safavid War (1532–1555)	1550: Bukhara appanage struggle between Yār Muḥammad and Pīr Muḥammad 1551–1556: Naurūz Aḥmad reigns as great khan in Samarqand 1555: Treaty of Amasya between Safavids and Ottomans; Ottomans retain Baghdad 1555: Safavid capital shift from Tabriz to Qazvin
1556–1560	Abū'l-Khairid	Ottoman (Baghdad)	1557: Abū'l-Khairid capital consolidation in Bukhara under ‘Abdullāh b. Iskandar Khan; start of civil unrest in Transoxiana

1561–1565	Safavid	Ottoman (Baghdad)	1561: ‘Abdullāh Khan makes father Iskandar great khan of Samarqand 1563–1565: Abū’l-Khairid attempts to seize Mashhad (unsuccessful) mid-1560s: Akbar thwarts challenges to his rule by fellow Timurid claimants and Uzbeks
1566–1570	Safavid	Ottoman (Baghdad)	1566: Death of Sultan Süleyman I; accession of Selim II 1567: ‘Abdullāh Khan attempts to take Herat; besieges Turbat held by future Shah Muḥammad Khudābanda
1571–1575	Abū’l-Khairid	Ottoman (Baghdad)	1573: ‘Abdullāh Khan takes Balkh 1574: Abū’l-Khairids seize Herat for 9 months 1575: Abū’l-Khairids attempt siege of Khiva (Khwarazm)
1576–1580	Safavid	Ottoman-Safavid War (1578–1590)	1576: Shah Ṭahmāsp dies; accession of Ismā‘īl II. Ottomans annex Tabriz 1577: Death of Ismā‘īl II 1578: Accession of Shah Muḥammad Khudābanda. Safavid-Ottoman war launched 1578: Abū’l-Khairid attack launched in Khurasan, repulsed by governor of Mashhad
1581–1585	Safavid	Ottoman-Safavid War (1578–1590)	1583: Death of Iskandar Khan; ‘Abdullāh becomes great khan from new capital Bukhara 1584: Abū’l-Khairids take Badakhshan and Kulab from Mughals 1585: Mughal capital shift from Fatehpur Sikri to Lahore 1585–1603: Tabriz under Ottoman rule
1586–1590	Abū’l-Khairid (1588–1598)	Ottoman-Safavid War (1578–1590)	1588: Shah ‘Abbās I overthrows Muḥammad Khudābanda and begins reign in October 1588–1598: Khurasan controlled by the Abū’l-Khairids after Herat taken in April 1588, Mashhad in November 1589, followed by Nishapur, Sabzivar, and Isfahān 1590: Treaty of Ferhat Paşa; Shah ‘Abbās relinquishes Tabriz and Baghdad
1591–1595	Abū’l-Khairid (1588–1598)	Ottoman	1593–1598: ‘Abdullāh Khan occupies Khwarazm
1596–1600	Abū’l-Khairid (1588–1598) Safavid (1599 onwards)	Ottoman	1598: Safavid capital shift from Qazvin to Isfahan 1598: ‘Abdullāh dies in February; Shah ‘Abbās takes Khurasan 1599: Rise of Tūqāy-Tīmūrīds in Samarqand

Appendix 2: Periodization of Abū'l-Khairid arts of the book

Periods 1–4 cover the extent of the Abū'l-Khairid dynasty; Period 5 encompasses the transition to the Tūqāy-Timūrid dynasty.

Period	Dates	Notable patrons	Notable artisans	Centers
1	1500–1529	Muḥammad Shībānī, Kīldī-Muḥammad, Kūchkūnchī, Suyūnch Khwāja	Bihzād	Samarqand, Herat, Tashkent, Balkh
2	1530–1555	‘Ubaidullāh, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, Muḥammad Yar, Naurūz Aḥmad (Barāq)	Maḥmūd Muṣaḥhib, Shaikhzāda, Mīr ‘Alī, Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahābī	Bukhara, Samarqand
3	1556–1575	‘Abdullāh Khan	‘Abdullāh Muṣavvir	Bukhara, Balkh
4	1576–1598	‘Abdullāh Khan, Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān (military commander), ‘Abdī Khwāja Ṣa’d (religious leader)	Muḥammadī	Bukhara, Herat, Balkh
5	1599–1628	Valī Muḥammad Khan	Muḥammad Murād, Muḥammad Darvīsh, Muḥammad Sharīf	Samarqand, Bukhara

Appendix 3: Correspondence between Ottoman and Abū'l-Khairid rulers. ca. 1500–1598

Compiled with information derived from the publications of Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Alexandre Bennigsen, Martin Dickson, Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, Audrey Burton, L. Fekete, Bert G. Fragner, H.F. Hofman, and Toru Horikawa. Supplemented with other documents in the Ottoman Imperial Archives.

Languages:

P=Persian, T=Turki.

Dates:

CE Year.Month.Day(s) followed by AH Year.Month.Day(s) in parentheses.

M=Muḥarram, S=Ṣafar, RA=Rabī‘ al-avval, R=Rabī‘ al-ākhir, JA=Jumādā al-ūlā, J=Jumādā al-ākhira, B=Rajab, Sh=Sha‘bān, N=Ramaḥān, L=Shavvāl, ZA=Zū al-qa‘da, Z=Zū al-hijja.

Locations:

BL Or 3482=Maḥma ‘al-inshā’ by Abū’l Qāsim Ḥaidar Iwaghli (P).

BL IO 3497=Sharafnāma-yi shāhī by Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh (P).

BL Or 6478=Taẓkīra-yi Muqīm Khānī by Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī Khān (P).

BOA=Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman Imperial Archives), Istanbul (P&T).

FB=Maḥmūd ‘a-yi munsha‘āt-i salāṭīn by Feridun Beg (P&T).

MM=Mirat ul-memālik by Sidi Ali Reis, 1557 (T).

TS=Tarih-i Selānikī by Selānikī (T).

Letter location and accession number	Date written	Language (when known)	From	To	Contents (when known)
BOA: TSMA 11404	1513.7.9 (919.JA.5)	P	‘Ubaidullāh	Muḥammad Tīmūr (unidentified)	‘Ubaidullāh discusses siege of Herat
FB	1514.3.18-27 (920.M)	P	Selim I	‘Ubaidullāh	‘Ubaidullāh acknowledges receipt of firepower from Selim I used in the Battle of Ghjduvan to fight the Timurids under Babur
FB	1514.7.12-21 (920.J)	P	‘Ubaidullāh	Selim I	
FB	1514	T	Selim I	Suyūnch	Ottoman proclamation of victory in Chaldiran
FB	1514 or 1515	P	Suyūnch	Selim I	Suyūnch’s response
FB	1515.9.1-9 (921.B)	T	Selim I	‘Ubaidullāh	Selim I reports on his conquests in Diyarbakir and Kurdistan
BOA: TSMA E.8358	1518.1-1519.1 (ca. 924)	P	Jānībeg Sulṭān	Selim I	‘Ubaidullāh’s congratulations on the conquest of Egypt
BOA: TSMA E.5441 (also 745/25)	1533.8.1 (940.M.10)	P	‘Ubaidullāh	Süleyman	‘Ubaidullāh reports to the Sulṭān about a campaign between April–May 1532 in which the Safavids were routed from Herat, and congratulates Süleyman on his victory over Shāh Ismā‘īl’s son Bahrām Mīrza, governor of Khurasan, in August 1533
FB	—	T	Süleyman	Uzbek Sulṭān (unidentified)	
TSMA.E.6515	—	T	Süleyman	‘Ubaidullāh	
BOA: TSMA.E.750.85	1535.2.5 (941.Sh.1)	P&T	‘Ubaidullāh	Süleyman	‘Ubaidullāh opens with a poem from Dihlavī to express sorrow to his Ottoman counterpart
TSMA.E.5905	1535.2.15 (941.Sh.11)	T	‘Ubaidullāh	Süleyman	
BOA: TSMA.E.12284	1535.3.1 (941.Sh.25)	T	‘Ubaidullāh	Süleyman	
BOA: TSMA.E.5489	1541.2.27–3.28 (947.ZA)	P	‘Abd al-‘Azīz	Süleyman	Death announcement of ‘Ubaidullāh
BOA: TSMA.E.9661	ca. 1550	T	Naurūz Aḥmad (Barāq) Khan	Süleyman	
FB	1550.5.30 (957.JA.13)	T	Süleyman	‘Abd al-Laṭīf	
?	1551–55				Exchanges of embassies (east to west) and weapons (west to east) between Naurūz Aḥmad Khan and Süleyman. Süleyman asks Naurūz Aḥmad Khan to march against Iran

BOA: TSMA K.888, f.160	1552.4 (959.JA)	T			Letter by the Ottoman authorities to allow safe passage concerning the return to Central Asia of the ambassadors of the rulers of Bukhara, Samarkand and Urganch
BOA: TSMA K.888, f.237v	1552.5 (959.J)	T			Letter by the Ottoman authorities to allow safe passage of Naurūz Aḥmad Khan's ambassador, arquebuses, cannons, janissaries, and horses from Edirne through the Crimea to reach Samarqand
BOA: TSMA.E.9696	1554.7 (961.N)	P	Naurūz Aḥmad Khan	Süleyman	Naurūz Aḥmad informs the addressee that he will soon resume the war against the Safavids after it stalled following the death of 'Abd al-Laṭīf Khan
MM	1556–57				Ottoman admiral Sidi Ali Reis en route between India and Istanbul visits court of Naurūz Aḥmad
FB	1556.2 (963.R)	P	Naurūz Aḥmad Khan	Süleyman	
FB	1556.5.1 (963.J.20)	P	Naurūz Aḥmad Khan	Süleyman	
FB	—	P	Naurūz Aḥmad Khan	Süleyman	
BOA: TSMA.E.9696	1557.4–5 (964.B)	P	Süleyman	Naurūz Aḥmad Khan	Süleyman answers Naurūz Aḥmad, expressing his hope to have a special friendship with 'Abdullāh, but cannot give or accept help for the sake of peace with the Safavids
?	ca. 1559–61				Pīr Muḥammad offers to march on Iran; Ottoman help fails to materialize
?	1559.9 (967.Z)	T	Süleyman	Pīr Muḥammad	
FB	1561.9.2–10 (968.Z)	T	Süleyman	Pīr Muḥammad	
BOA: M.21–465	1573.3.25 (980.ZA.21)	T	Selim II	'Abdullāh Khan	
FB	1576–77 (984–85)	T	Murad III	'Abdullāh Khan	'Abdullāh's first representative sent to the Ottomans, ambassador 'Alī Bahādur Ḥajjī, carries letter from the new sultan Murad III expressing determination to fight Iran.
FB	pre–1585	—	Murad III	'Abdullāh Khan	Ottoman ambassador Muṣṭafā Chāvūsh representing Murad III sent to Khanate; message carried not found.

BL Or 3482, ff.114b-115a	1585.7 (993.B)	T	‘Abdullāh Khan	Murad III	‘Abdullāh’s letter to Murad III inquires into the possibility of a joint Ottoman-Uzbek attack on Iran.
HT, f.243b	1587.8.3 (995.Sh.28)	—	‘Abdullāh Khan	Murad III	‘Abdullāh writes from Herat to the sultan again proposing a joint attack on Iran. Missive given to Ottoman envoy Sala Shāh who departs the khanate with gifts and arrives in Istanbul in 1590; Abū’l-Khairid victory already secured over Khurasan.
BL Or 6478, ff. 236b-240a	1589.9.30 (977.ZA.20)	P	‘Abd al-Mu’min	Murad III	‘Abd al-Mu’min writes following the siege of Mashhad on 30 September 1589, boasts of ‘Abdullāh’s military victories and political power. Claims the Mashhad shrine and Tahmasp’s tomb were desecrated. Speaks of sending troops to Tabriz.
?	ca. 1591				‘Abdullāh sends two ambassadors to Istanbul in 1591 with details of his successes in Khurasan.
FB	ca. Aug. 1591– March 1592	—	Murad III	‘Abdullāh Khan	Murād writes to ‘Abdullāh referring to the latter’s recent capture of Herat, intention to take Bastam and Damghan, and advance on Qazvin. Voices dissatisfaction with further Abū’l-Khairid expansion. Explains the Ottomans’ commitment to peace with Iran after Shah ‘Abbās presents Ḥaidar Mīrza as a hostage.
TS	1594.1.11 (1002.RA.)	T	‘Abdullāh Khan	Murad III	‘Abdullāh proclaims his military victories and asks the Ottomans to request of the Safavids to extradite the Khwarazmian ruler Ḥajjim Khan from Qazvin to Khwarazm.
TS	1594	—	Murad III	‘Abdullāh Khan	Letter expresses Ottoman refusal to extradite Ḥajjim Khan or wage war with Safavids carried by Bukharan ambassador Adtāsh Khan.
FB	1594–97	—	‘Abdullāh Khan	Mehmet III	Letter asks for pilgrims’ protection while making the hajj in Ottoman lands carried by Khwāja Ishāq.
FB	Feb. 1598	—	‘Abdullāh Khan	Mehmet III	‘Abdullāh’s congratulations on Ottoman victories against Austria and on Mehmet III’s accession in 1595 carried by ambassador.

FB	late 1597–early 1598	—	Mehmet III	‘Abdullāh Khan	Letter on behalf of Mehmet written by Khadim Hasan Pasha (Ottoman grand vizier October 1597–April 1598) expresses joy over Abū’l-Khairid victories against the Khwarazmians to liberate Caspian shores. Carried by Uzbek envoy Tardī ‘Alī after his embassy visit to Istanbul.
FB	post–April 1598	—	Mehmet III	‘Abdullāh Khan	Letter on behalf of Mehmet written by Gerash Pasha (Ottoman grand vizier April–December 1598) confirms ‘Abdullāh's request for protections granted to Bukharan pilgrims. Asks ‘Abdullāh to lift a blockade in Khwarazm to benefit pilgrimage and trade.

Appendix 4: Manuscripts produced for ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and his courtiers ca. 1530s–1550s in the workshop of Sulṭān Mīrak, *kitābdār* of Bukhara

Listed by the date of their illustrative program in Bukhara.

Number	Title	Author	Scribal information	Illustration information	Accession number
1	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr ‘Alī al-Ḥusainī al-Kātib as-Sulṭānī	Shaikhzāda, 1531	Cartier collection
2	Qur‘ān	—	Shaikh Kamāl b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Balkhī	1532	TSMK no. 10
3	<i>Kulliyāt</i>	Navā‘ī	Mīr ‘Alī Bukhārā‘ī	1536	TIEM 1946
4	<i>Yūsufu Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	‘Aīshī al-Kātib and Mīr ‘Alī al-Sulṭānī, 1537	1537, later additions in 1557	FM 24-1948
5	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Mashhadī, 1499	Maḥmūd Muzahhib, Shaikhzāda, 1538	BNF Sup. Pers. 1416
6	Qur‘ān	—	1538	—	Khalili Collection QUR 114
7	<i>Haft manẓar</i>	Hātifī	Mīr ‘Alī, 1529	Sulṭān Mīrak, 1538	NMAA F.1956.14
8	<i>Yūsufu Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Mashhadī, 1492	Sulṭān Mīrak ca. 1540s	Kevorkian Collection CXXXV
9	Album	Miscellaneous	Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Mashhadī, Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr, Shaikh Burānī, Khaṭā‘ī	Maḥmūd Muzahhib, ca. 1540s	TSMK H.2159
10	<i>Ṣubḥat al-abrār</i>	Jāmī	Maḥmūd al-Haravī	ca. 1540s	Kelekian Collection
11	<i>Khamsa</i>	Navā‘ī	Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Mashhadī, 1492	1540	WCRL 1/8 (RCIN 1005032)
12	<i>Maṭla‘ al-anvār</i>	Dihlavī	Mīr ‘Alī, 1540	Sulṭān Mīrak, 1540	KBOPL 129
13	<i>Sharḥ-i Dīwān-i ‘Alī</i>	Jāmī	Sulṭān Maḥmūd al-Ṣāfi b. Sulṭān Muḥammad, 1518	ca. 1540	RIOS S-1532
14	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr ‘Alī al-Ḥusainī, 1531	1540	Cartier Collection
15	<i>Ṣubḥat al-abrār</i>	Jāmī	Khwāja Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī Siyāvūshānī, 1535	ca. 1540	Sotheby's sale 21 April 1980, lot 186
16	<i>Tīmūr-nāma</i>	Hātifī	Scribed by Maḥmūd b. Nizām al-Haravī in 1541.	ca. 1541	TSMK H.1594
17	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr ‘Alī al-Ḥusainī, 1531	1542	HAM 1979.2

18	<i>4 maṣnavī</i> (lacks <i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>)	Jāmī	Mīr Ḥusain al-Kātib al-Khāqānī al-Ḥusainī (Kulangī), Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Munajjim al-Khāqānī at Bukhara, Khwāja Jān b. Sulṭān Aḥmad Siyāvūshānī at Bukhara, 1543	1543	CBL 213
19	Anthology	Qāsim Anwār, Kamāl Ismā‘īl, Ḥāfīz, Āsaft, Bannā‘ī, Hilālī	(Muḥammad) ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Munajjim al-Haqqānī al-Kātib; Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī, 1545	1545	TSMK R.958
20	<i>Makhzan al-asrār</i>	Nizāmī	Mīr ‘Alī Haravī, 1538	Sulṭān Mīrak, 1545	BNF Sup Pers 985
21	Qur’ān of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz	—	Muḥammad Ḥusain b. Muhyī al-Haravī, 1545	1545	DMA K.1.2014.1172
22	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Mīr ‘Alī al-Ḥusainī (II), 1547	1547	CBL 215
23	<i>Bahāristān</i>	Jāmī	Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Mashhadī, 1547	Sulṭān Mīrak, ca. 1547	MCG LA 169
24	<i>Gulistān</i>	Sa‘dī	Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Mashhadī, 1500	Sulṭān Mīrak, 1547	MBF 30
25	<i>Rauḍat al-muḥibbīn</i>	Jauziya	Mīr ‘Alī (II), 1548	Sulṭān Mīrak, 1548	SJM A. Nm. 1611
26	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr ‘Alī al-Haravī, 1542	1549	MCG L.A. 177
27	<i>Haft aurang</i>	Jāmī	Posited ca. 1540s	illustration added ca. 1560s	TSMK H.1091
28	Anthology	—	Scribed by Kulangī and Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Kātib circa 1545-50.		TSMK R.1964
29	<i>Bahāristān</i>	Jāmī	Mīr Ḥusain Ḥusainī Kulangī, 1551	1551	MIA 52.13

Appendix 5: Manuscripts produced for ‘Abdullāh Khan and his courtiers ca. 1550s–1570s in the workshop of ‘Abdullāh Muşavvir, *kitābdār* of Bukhara

Listed by title.

Number	Title	Author	Scribal information	Illustration information	Patron	Accession number
1	Anthology (with <i>Dīvān</i> of Jāmī, <i>Būstān</i> of Sa‘dī)	Jāmī, Sa‘dī	1563	1563	‘Abdullāh	Kevorkian Collection
2	Anthology	Ni‘matullāh	‘Alī Rizā al-Kātib, 1564	1564	Ni‘matullāh Khalifa	Hotel Drouot sale 3 December 2012
3	Anthology (<i>Bayāz</i>)		Mīr Husain al-Husainī (Kulangi), 1575	1575	‘Abdullāh	Hotel Drouot sale 17 June 2019, lot 306
4	Anthology		1579	1579	unspecified	JRL Pers. MS 45
5	<i>Anvār-i suḥailī</i>	Kāshifī	‘Alī Rizā al-Kātib, 1564	1564	unspecified	LACMA M.73.5.517
6	<i>Bahāristān</i>	Jāmī	‘Alī Rizā al-Kātib, 1575	1575	unspecified	AMA 93/23/1146
7	<i>Dīvān</i>	Shāhī (Qāsim)	‘Alī Rizā al-Kātib (attributed), 1563	1563	‘Abdullāh	NYPL Spencer, Pers. 52
8	<i>Dīvān</i>	Ḥāfiẓ	1568	1568	unspecified	Khalili Collection 719
9	<i>Dīvān</i>	Ḥāfiẓ	Muhammad Husain al-Husainī (Kulangi), 1570	1570	unspecified	Khalili Collection 778
10	<i>Dīvān</i>	Qāsim	Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Bukhārī, 1579	1579	unspecified	JRL Pers. MS 43
11	<i>Duval Rānī u Khizr Khān</i>	Dihlavī	1568	1568	unspecified	NMI 997
12	<i>Būstān</i> and <i>Gulistān</i> (dispersed)	Sa‘dī	1560	1560	‘Abdullāh or courtier	CAI 1998.171, 172; Christie’s sale 10 October 2013, lot 15; 25 April 2013, lots 26 & 27; BL IO J.28.8; BM 1948.1009.0.57; WCMA 91.15.56, lot 60 from a Sotheby’s auction 3–8 October 2014; Marteau Collection (as of 1912) now in an unknown location
13	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr ‘Alī Haravī (II), 1562	1562	‘Abdullāh’s vizier Amīr Tursun	Christie’s sale 7 October 2008, lot 175 (formerly MKG 2164)

14	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Muhammad Qāsim al-Haravī, 1524	1565	unspecified	CBL Per 129
15	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Sulṭān Bayazīd b. Mīr Nizām, 1566	1566	unspecified	Kevorkian Collection
16	<i>Muntakhab-i Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī (Kulangi), 1575	1575	unspecified	NLR PNS 269
17	<i>Gūi u chaugān, Hālnāma</i>	‘Arifī	1560	1560	unspecified	JRL Pers. MS 31
18	<i>Gulistān</i>	Sa‘dī	1560	1560	Courtier of ‘Abdullāh	Christie's sale 4 October 2012, lot 13
19	<i>Gulistān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr ‘Alī al-Ḥusainī (Kulangi), 1564 or 1567	1564 and 1608	unspecified	BL Or. 5302
20	<i>Gulistān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr ‘Alī Haravī (II), 1566	1566	Khawāja Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain b. Khawāja Mīr Vazīr	NLR PNS 110
21	<i>Gulistān</i>	Sa‘dī	Mīr ‘Alī Haravī (II), 1567	1567	unspecified	BL Or. 9302
22	<i>Khamsa</i>	Nizāmī	Sulṭān Muhammad Nūr, 1514	1560	unspecified	AHT 78
23	<i>Khamsa</i>	Nizāmī	1564	1564	unspecified	VMM Inv. 219
24	<i>Khulaṣat al-Khamsa</i>	Nizāmī	Muhammad Ḥusainī al-Ḥusainī (Kulangi), 1565	1565	unspecified	RAS 363
25	<i>Laylī u Majnūn</i>	Hātifī	1558	1558	unspecified	LM MAO 713
26	<i>Shāh u gadā</i>	Hilālī	Sulṭān Muhammad Nūr, 1539	1565	unspecified	DMA K.1.2014.1167
27	<i>Shāhnāma</i>	Firdausī	Bāqī Muhammad, 1564	1564	‘Abdullāh	TSMK H.1488
28	<i>Silsilat al-zahab and Makhzan al-asrār</i>	Jāmī	Sulṭān Muhammad Nūr, 1519	ca. 1560s	‘Abdullāh	TSMK R.895
29	<i>Ṣubḥat al-abrār</i>	Jāmī	...-al-Haravī, 156...	ca. 1560s	unspecified	IM 5028.1.79
30	<i>Ṣubḥat al-abrār</i>	Jāmī	Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī al-Haravī, 1564	1564	‘Abdullāh	DAI LNS 16 MS
31	<i>Ṣubḥat al-abrār</i>	Jāmī	Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī, 1565	1565	unspecified	BLO Ouseley Add. 23

32	<i>Ṣubḥat al-abrār</i>	Jāmī	Ishāq Muḥammad b. Ishāq Gunābādī, 1567	1567	unspecified	Sotheby's sale 21 April 1980, 196
33	<i>Tīmūr-nāma</i>	Hātīfī	1560	1560	unspecified	BL 7780
34	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Bābā Mīrak al-Kātib al-Tāshkandī, 1558	1558	unspecified	NMAA S.1986.40
35	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Sultān Muḥammad Nūr, 1515	ca. 1560	unspecified	NMAA S.1986.52
36	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī (Kulangī), 1560s	1560s	ʿAbdullāh (no inscription)	NLR Dorn 425
37	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī, 1563	1563	ʿAbdullāh	AKM MS 17
38	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	ʿAlī Rizā al-Kātib, 1568	1568	unspecified	TSMK R.897
39	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī (Kulangī), 1560s-70s	1560s/70s	unspecified	NLR Dorn 425
40	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī (Kulangī), 1572	1572	unspecified	IM 5032.1.79
41	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī, 1557	1557	ʿAbdullāh	MIK 1.1986.105
42	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i> (dispersed)	Jāmī		1560s	ʿAbdullāh or courtier	SAM 47.17; DC 53.1980, 54.1980; MFAL E.563b & c; MMA 67.266.7-8b; RRK IV-5; BL IOL J.28.19 & 20
43	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bukhārī, 1563	1563	Niʿmatullāh Khalifa	Sotheby's sale 21 April 1980, lot 194
44	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī, 1564	1564	ʿAbdullāh	LACMA M.73.5.440-444
45	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bukhārī, 1564	1564	ʿAbdullāh	Sotheby's sale 18 October 1995, lot 58
46	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī, 1565	1565	ʿAbdullāh	AHT 80
47	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Sultān Bayazīd b. Mīr Nizām, 1566	1566	unspecified	Colnaghi Collection

48	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Sulṭān Bayazīd b. Mīr Nizām, 1544	1566	unspecified	AHT 81
49	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	1568	1568	unspecified	BL Or. 4389
50	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	‘Abdullāh Shīrāzī, pre-1555	1570s	Kāmrān b. Bābur (intended patron or later recipient)	NYPL Pers. 64
51	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Mīr ‘Alī al- Ḥusainī (Kulangi), 1570	1570	unspecified	Christie's sale 18 October 1994, lot 72
52	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	1570	1570	unspecified	MBF 509
53	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	‘Alī Rizā al- Kātib, 1572	1572	unspecified	IM OS 5032.1.79
54	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	‘Alī Rizā al- Kātib, 1573	1573	unspecified	Sotheby's sale 19 October 1994, lot 107
55	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	‘Alī Rizā al- Kātib, 1581	1581	unspecified	Sotheby's sale 22 April 1980, lot 306
56	<i>Ẓafarnāma</i>	Hātīfī	‘Alī Rizā al- Kātib, 1568	1568	unspecified	ARB 2102
57	Folio from unidentified manuscript	—	—	—	‘Abdullāh or courtier	MMA 20.120.262

Appendix 6: Abū'l-Khairid manuscripts gifted in the 16th century

Arranged by possible date of dispatch.

6a: To the Safavids

Number	Title	Author	Original production information	Information on acquisition by the Safavids (when known)	Accession number	Notes
1	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī (Kulangī), 1560s.	Seal on f.1r and a record about the transfer of the book attest that Shah 'Abbās I endowed the volume together with other literary works to Shaikh Šāfi's mausoleum in Ardabil, in 1608.	NLR Dorn 425	Reproduced in Vasilyeva and Yastrebova, <i>Arts of the Book in the 15th-17th-Century Mawarannahr</i> , 188-203. This gifting of a Jāmī manuscript to the Safavids might have carried a subtle statement: Shāh Ṭahmāsp abhorred Jāmī (Dickson, "Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the Uzbeks," 190). The volume was later gifted by the Qajars to the Russians in 1829.
2	Anthology	<i>Būstān</i> of Sa'dī and <i>Dīvān</i> of Qāsimī	Scribed by Kulangī for a courtier of Naurūz Aḥmad between 1552-56 with illustrations from this period.	Offered to Shah 'Abbās I as <i>pīshkash</i> .	BNF Sup Pers 257	The manuscript entered the Mughal imperial library and continued to the Ottoman realm after 1653 (Richard, <i>Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du Xlle au XVIIe siècle</i> , 148).
3	<i>Makhzan al-asrār</i>	Nizāmī	Scribed by Mīr 'Alī in 1538 with illustrations added in 1545 and produced for 'Abd al-'Azīz.	Sent to the Safavids where a double-page frontispiece was added in Isfahan between 1610-20.	BNF Sup Pers 985	The manuscript continued onwards into the library of Shāh Jahān where further Mughal retouching was added, then was taken by Nādir Shāh as booty where it remained in the royal Qajar collections, then was later gifted to the Russians and sold in Paris (Richard, "Un Makhzan al-Asrar de Nizāmī").

6b: To the Mughals

Ms. no.	Title	Author	Original production information	Information on acquisition by the Mughals (when known)	Accession number	Notes
1	<i>Gulistān</i>	Sa‘dī	Scribed by Kulangī between 1564-67.	Illustrated by Shaikhm in Akbar's <i>kitābkhāna</i> in the late-sixteenth/early seventeenth century.	BL Or. 5302	Manuscript's trajectory is evinced by artistic interventions from the reign of Fath ‘Alī Shāh (r. 1797-1834), including a painted lacquer binding depicting a foreign retinue wearing military uniforms from the period of George III (r. 1760–1820).
2	<i>Tavārīkh-i guzīda-yi nuṣrat-nāma</i>	anonymous	Illustrated in Transoxiana circa late-1530s through 1550s.	Possibly gifted to the Mughals pre-1590. Might contain a seal of Shāh Jahān.	BL Or. 3222	Brend, “A Sixteenth-Century Manuscript from Transoxiana.”
3	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Mīr ‘Alī in 1509, assembled between 1544–47 under Sultān Mīrāk for ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.	Presented to Akbar in 1556. It was then in the possession of Akbar's son Sultān Murād Mīrẓā (1570–99), and passed into Akbar and Jahāngīr's ownership.	CBL Per 215	Akimushkin, et al., “The Shībānīds (Bukhara, 1500–98) and the Janīds (Astarkhanīds),” 581.
4	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Kulangī and illustrated for a courtier of Yār Muḥammad in 1554.	In the possession of Akbar's son Sultān Murād Mīrẓā (1570–99).	MCG LA 184	Natif, “The SOAS <i>Anvār-i Suhaylī</i> ,” 347.
5	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Scribed by Mīr ‘Alī in 1531 and illustrated in 1540 for ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.	In the possession of Akbar's son Sultān Murād Mīrẓā (1570–99).	Cartier Collection	After the manuscript was transferred to Akbar's library it continued into the possessions of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān (Balafrej, <i>The Making of the Artist in Late Timurid Painting</i> , 222).
6	<i>Khamsa</i>	Nizāmī	Scribed by Mīr Muḥammad in 1557.	Illustrations added in India circa 1572.	BL IOL 384	Natif, “The SOAS <i>Anvār-i Suhaylī</i> ,” 347.
7	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī al-Haravī in 1557 and illustrated for ‘Abdullāh Khan.	Gifted to the Mughals during the last quarter of the sixteenth or the first decade of the seventeenth century.	MIK I.1986.105	Kröger, “On Maḥmūd B. Ishāq al-Shihabī's Manuscript of ‘Yūsuf va Zulaikhā’.”
8	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by ‘Abdullāh Shīrāzī, pre-1555. With illustrations circa 1570.	Gifted to Kāmran b. Bābur.	NYPL Pers. 64	Sharma, “Approaching Jāmī through Visual Culture,” 46.

Ms. no.	Title	Author	Original production information	Information on acquisition by the Mughals (when known)	Accession number	Notes
9	<i>Šubhat al-abrār</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shahhābī al-Haravī in 1564 (although the colophon has been tampered with) and illustrated for ‘Abdullāh Khan.	Gifted to Akbar at some point between 1577–96 or in 1601.	DAI LNS 16 MS	Adamova and Bayani, <i>Persian Painting: The Arts of the Book and Portraiture</i> , 423.
10	<i>Bahāristān</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Sulṭān ‘Alī in 1547, assembled by Sulṭān Mīrak for ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.	Inspected by Akbar in 1566.	MCG LA 169	Gruber, “The Gulbenkian <i>Bahāristān</i> ,” unpaginated.
11	Qur’ān	—	Scribed in Samarqand.	Gifted by ‘Abdullāh to Akbar in 1593.	NMI 54.29/1	Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation,” 345.
12	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Mīr Šālīḥ al-Kātib in February 1599.	Date of transfer to India unknown but later acquired by Tīpū Sulṭān.	BL IO Islamic 737	
13	<i>Shāh u gadā</i>	Hilālī	Scribed and illustrated in 1540 for a courtier of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.	Bears Mughal overpainting. Date of accession by the Mughal library unknown.	MLM M.531	Tanırdı suggests a Bukharan copy of <i>Shāh u gadā</i> by Hilālī was a diplomatic gift to the Mughals (“Safevī, Özbek ve Osmanlı İlişkisinin Kitap Sanatına Yansıması,” 580).
14	<i>Shāh u gadā</i>	Hilālī	Scribed by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr in 1539, refurbished and illustrated in 1565.	Unknown when accessioned by the Mughal library.	DMA K.1.2014.1167	The manuscript continued onwards into the library of Shāh Jahān where further Mughal retouching was added, then was taken by Nādir Shāh as booty where it remained in the royal Qajar collections, then was later gifted to the Russians and sold in Paris (Richard, “Un Makhzan al-Asrar de Niẓāmī”).
15	<i>Shāh u gadā</i>	Hilālī	Circa 1565.	Unknown whether accessioned by the Mughal library.	Hotel Druout auction, Paris, 16 November 1992, lot 293	
16	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr in 1515 and illustrated in the 1560s.	Later inspected by the Mughal royal library in 1658.	NMAA S1986.52.1	Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation,” 250.
17	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Scribed by Kulangī under the authority of ‘Abdullāh al-Munshī and illustrated in 1553.	Signed by Jahāngīr in 1605.	MKG Inv. 2197	Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation,” 338.

Ms. no.	Title	Author	Original production information	Information on acquisition by the Mughals (when known)	Accession number	Notes
18	Anthology	—	Scribed by Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Kātib and illustrated circa 1550.		BNF Supp Pers 802	French Indian Company employee Pierre de Brueys purchased the volume in India in 1801 (Richard, “Illustrated Manuscripts from Mawarannahr in French Collections,” forthcoming).
19	<i>Haft manẓar</i>	Hātifi	Scribed by Mīr ‘Alī in 1529, assembled by Sulṭān Mīrak in 1537 for ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.	Includes a note by Shāh Jahān dated 1628.	NMAA 1956.14	Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation,” 286.
20	<i>Dīvān</i>	Hilālī	Scribed by Mīr ‘Alī in 1531.	In the possession of Shāh Jahān.	KCL Pote 186	The manuscript is the subject of Firuza Melville, “Hilali and Mir ‘Ali.”
21	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Scribed by Mīr ‘Alī in 1542, illustrated in 1549 for ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.		MCG L.A. 177	Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation,” 303.
22	<i>Bahāristān</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Kulangī and illustrated in 1551.		MIA 52.13	
23	<i>Rauẓat al-muḥibbīn</i>	Jauziya	Scribed by Mīr ‘Alī and assembled by Sulṭān Mīrak for ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in 1548.	Contains notes by Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān.	SJM 4372, or A. Nm. 1611	Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation,” 339.
24	<i>Dīvān</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Mīr ‘Alī in 1515, illustrated in 1560.	Contains a note by Shāh Jahān’s librarian Daulat.	NYPL M&A Pers. 1	Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation,” 248, fn. 15.
25	<i>Majālis al-‘ushshāq</i>	Bāiqarā/ Gazurgāhī	Scribed by Mīr Šāliḥ in 1606, illustrated by Muḥammad Samarqandī in Samarqand.	Contains seals of Shāh Jahān.	ARB 3476	
26	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa‘dī	Scribed by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr in Samarqand in 1530.		RAS 251	
27	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikhā</i>	Jāmī	‘Aīshī al-Kātib and Mīr ‘Alī al-Sulṭānī, 1537	1537, later additions in 1557	FM 24-1948	Sharma, “Approaching Jāmī through Visual Culture,” 46.
28	<i>Gulistān</i>	Sa‘dī	Scribed by Mīr ‘Alī Haravī (II), 1566 for Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain b. Khwāja Mīr Vazīr	Contains seals of Jahāngīr up to Aurangzib, later Nādir Shāh. Later in the hands of the Russian envoy to Iran I.O. Simonich.	NLR PNS 110	Provenance mentioned in O.V. Vasilyeva and O.M. Yastrebova, <i>Arts of the Book in the 15th-17th-Century Mawarannahr</i> , 72.

6c: To the Ottomans

Ms. no.	Title	Author	Production information	Information on acquisition by the Ottomans (when known)	Accession number	Notes
1	Qur'ān	—	Scribed by Shaikh Kamāl b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Balkhī in 1532 for 'Abd al-'Azīz.	Likely transmitted to the Ottoman library in 1582.	TSMK M.10	
2	<i>Izhār al-muẓmar-i kabīr</i>	?	Scribed and illustrated in 1542.		TSMK B.148	Mentioned by Akimushkin, "Biblioteka Shībānīdov v Bukhare," 340.
3	<i>Khamsa</i>	Nizāmī	Scribed in 1501 and illustrated in the "little figure" style.	Possibly accessioned by the royal Ottoman library in 1594.	TSMK R.863	Stchoukine suggests the manuscript was offered to Sultan Murad III in 1594 by 'Abdullāh's ambassador in <i>Les Peintures des Manuscrits de la 'Khamseh' de Nizāmī</i> , 125.
4	<i>Khamsa</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī in 1506, unknown date of illustrations.		TSMK R.888	Simpson and Farhad, <i>Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang</i> , 371.
5	<i>Silsilat al-ẓahhab</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr in 1519, illustrated circa 1565-70.		TSMK R.895	
6	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	Jāmī	Scribed by 'Alī Rizā and illustrated in 1568.		TSMK R.897	Carries an inscription stating it was offered by the ambassador of Bukhara but without a date. Likely transmitted to the royal Ottoman library in 1582 at the circumcision festival for Murād's son Mehmed in 1582 (Stchoukine, <i>Les Peintures des Manuscrits de la 'Khamseh' de Nizāmī</i> , 125).
7	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa'dī	Scribed by 'Alī al-Kātib and illustrated in 1583.		TSMK R.931	İnal, "Bir Özbek Şehnemesi," 319.
8	<i>Būstān</i>	Sa'dī	Scribed and purportedly illustrated in 1583.		TSMK R.936	Based on the scribal date I suspect it is of Khurasani manufacture. Mentioned in İnal, "Bir Özbek Şehnemesi," 318-19.
9	<i>Gulistān</i>	Sa'dī	Scribed and illustrated in 1583.		TSMK R.938	İnal, "Bir Özbek Şehnemesi," 320.
10	Anthology	Qāsim Anvār, Kamāl Ismā'īl, Ḥāfiz, Āsafī, Bannā'ī, Hilālī	Scribed by Muḥammad 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Munajjim al-Haqqānī and Kulangī between 1544-1549 for 'Abd al-'Azīz.		TSMK R.958	Tanırdı, "Safevī, Özbek ve Osmanlı İlişkisinin Kitap Sanatına Yansımaları," fn. 15.

Ms. no.	Title	Author	Production information	Information on acquisition by the Ottomans (when known)	Accession number	Notes
11	<i>Haft aurang</i>	Jāmī	Circa 1560s.		TSMK H.1091	
12	<i>Shāhnāma</i>	Firdausī	Scribed by Muḥammad al-Bāqī in 1564 for ‘Abdullāh Khan.	Transmitted to the Ottoman library in 1594.	TSMK H.1488	İnal, “Bir Özbek Şehnamesi.”
13	<i>Shāhnāma</i> (truncated version)	Firdausī	Scribed by Muḥammad al-Bukhārā’ī, undated. Perhaps written and illustrated in Baghdad in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.	Deposited by the Ottoman governor Davud Paşa (d. post-1596) in the Topkapı Palace at some point between 1594–1604.	TSMK H.1503	Schmidt, “The Reception of Firdausī’s <i>Shāhnāma</i> Among the Ottomans,” 125.
14	<i>Shāhnāma</i>	Firdausī	Circa 1480–1510.		TSMK H.1509	İnal, “Topkapı Müzesindeki Hazine 1509.”
15	<i>Shāhnāma</i> (truncated version)	Firdausī	Scribed by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī in Bukhara in 1535.	Likely illustrated in Baghdad in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.	TSMK H.1514	
16	<i>Shāhnāma</i>	Firdausī	Possibly scribed in Herat circa 1500 with illustrations begun there.	Finished in the Ottoman realm circa 1530s/1540s. Date of accession by the Ottoman library unknown, post-Chaldiran (1514) possible. Contains later ownership seals of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–74) and Osman III (r. 1754–57).	TSMK R.1549	
17	<i>Ṭīmūr-nāma</i>	Hātifi	Scribed by Maḥmūd b. Nizām al-Haravī in 1540.		TSMK H.1594	
18	Anthology	—	Scribed by Kulangī and Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Kātib circa 1545-50.		TSMK R.1964	Also labelled <i>Majmū‘a-yi aṣṣār</i> . Information on the scribe in Szuppe, “The Family and Professional Circle of Two Samarkand Calligraphers,” fn. 59.
19	Album of Bahrām Mīrẓā	—	With calligraphic specimens by the Abū’l-Khairid leaders ‘Ubaidullāh, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Naurūz Aḥmad		TSMK H.2154	Togan, <i>On the Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries</i> , 18.
20	Album of ‘Ubaidullāh	—	Compiled ca. 1530.		TSMK H.2155	Togan, <i>On the Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries</i> , 20.
21	Album	—	Bukharan or Khurasan provenance, ca. 1580s.		TSMK H.2169	Mahir, “Album H. 2169 in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.”
22	Album of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz	—	Compiled ca. 1540.		TSMK H.2159	Togan, <i>On the Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries</i> , 20.

Ms. no.	Title	Author	Production information	Information on acquisition by the Ottomans (when known)	Accession number	Notes
23	Album of 'Abd al-'Azīz	—	Originally compiled circa 1540, repaired in Khurasan and/or Isfahan circa 1580-1600.	Brought to Istanbul after 1597.	TSMK E.H. 2841	Tanırdı, "Safevî, Özbek ve Osmanlı İlişkisinin Kitap Sanatına Yansıması."
24	<i>Duval Rānī u Khizr Khān</i>	Dihlavī	—		IUL F.1340	Illustrations appear to be ca. 1500s Samarqand/ Herat, or ca. 1520s, Tashkent.
25	<i>Khamsa</i>	Nizāmī	Scribed by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr and illustrated by Shaikhzāda in 1524 in Herat.	Possibly accessioned by the royal Ottoman library in 1594.	MMA 13.228.7	İnal identifies the manuscript as the copy gifted to the Ottomans in 1594. The binding is akin to those made for the Safavid prince Sām Mīrzā (d. 1566). 'Ubaidullāh may have taken the manuscript to Bukhara before it was gifted to the Ottomans. Seal impressions attest to both Safavid and Qajar ownership (including a son of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh in 1844). In circa 1900, F. R. Martin acquired the volume from an Ottoman collection.
26	Qur'ān of 'Abd al-'Azīz	—	Scribed by Muḥammad Ḥusain b. Muḥyī al-Haravī in 1545.	Likely transmitted to the Ottoman library.	DMA K.1.2014.1172	
27	<i>Dīvān</i>	Qāsimī	Scribed by Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī in 1514, illustrated circa 1535.		BNF Sup Pers 1960	Gilt panel-stamped binding akin to TSMK R.863. The manuscript was owned by Hajji Ahmed Bostancı in 1786, before coming into F.R. Martin's possession (Welch, "Private Collectors and Islamic Arts of the Book," 26).
28	<i>Lisān al-tair</i>	Navā'ī	Scribed and illustrated in 1553 for Yār Muḥammad.		BNF Sup Turc 996	According to Richard's investigation, a Frenchman obtained the manuscript from the Ottomans ("Illustrated Manuscripts from Mawarannahr in French Collections," unpaginated).

Figures

Figure 1. Sām recognizes his son. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. LACMA M.73.5.409.

Figure 2. Bahrām Gūr slaying a dragon. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. DMA 1.2014.128.A-B.

Figure 3. Bahrām Gūr slaying a dragon. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. KMM ms. 5986, f.691b.

Figure 4. Shah Shāpūr consulting advisors. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. MAH no. 1971-107/431.



Figure 5. Bahrām Gūr slaying a dragon. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. R.1549, f.379b.



Figure 6. Gushtāsp slaying a dragon. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. BL ms. Or. 13859, f.208r. Reproduced in Norah M. Titley, "A Shahnama from Transoxiana," *British Library Journal* 7, no. 2 (1981): fig. 5.



Figure 7. Rustam pulls Bizhan from the pit. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. R.1549, f.185b.



Figure 8. Rostam seated with Kai Khusrau. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. R.1549, f.229b.



Figure 9. Shīrīn visits Farhād at Bisūtūn. Nizāmī, *Khamṣa*, 1501. TSMK ms. R.863, f.66v.
 Reproduced in Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits de la 'Khamseh' de Nizami au Topkapi Saray Muzesi d'Istanbul* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1977), fig. LV.



Figure 10. The poet Shādī presents a book to Shībānī Khan. Shādī, *Fathnāma*, undated. ARB ms. 5369, f.19r. Image taken by Semiha Altier.



Figure 11. Tīmūr's troops attack the city of Khiva (Urganj). Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, scribed in 1467, illustrated ca. 1480-1506. JHUL ms. Garrett 3, ff.115r-116v.



Figure 12. Shībānī lays siege to Samarqand. Shādī, *Fathnāma*, undated. ARB ms. 5369, ff.213r-214v. Reproduced in Galina A. Pugachenkova, *Miniatures of Central Asia* (Tashkent: Editorial Office of Encyclopaedias, 1994), 19-20.



Figure 13. Shībānī's troops attack Tatkand. Shādī, *Faṭḥnāma*, undated. ARB ms. 5369, ff.206r-207v. Image taken by Semiha Altier.



Figure 14. Tīmūr surveys the remains of the defeated Qipchaq army in the town of Nerges in Georgia. Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, scribed in 1467, illustrated ca. 1480-1506. JHUL ms. Garrett 3, f.283v.



Figure 15. Shībānī Khan sits in front of a yurt with his lover. Shādī, *Faṭḥnāma*, undated. ARB ms. 5369, f.54r. Galina A. Pugachenkova, *Miniatures of Central Asia* (Tashkent: Editorial Office of Encyclopaedias, 1994), 23.



Figure 16. Tīmūr's accession scene in Balkh. Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, scribed in 1467, illustrated ca. 1480-1506. JHUL ms. Garrett 3, f.83r.

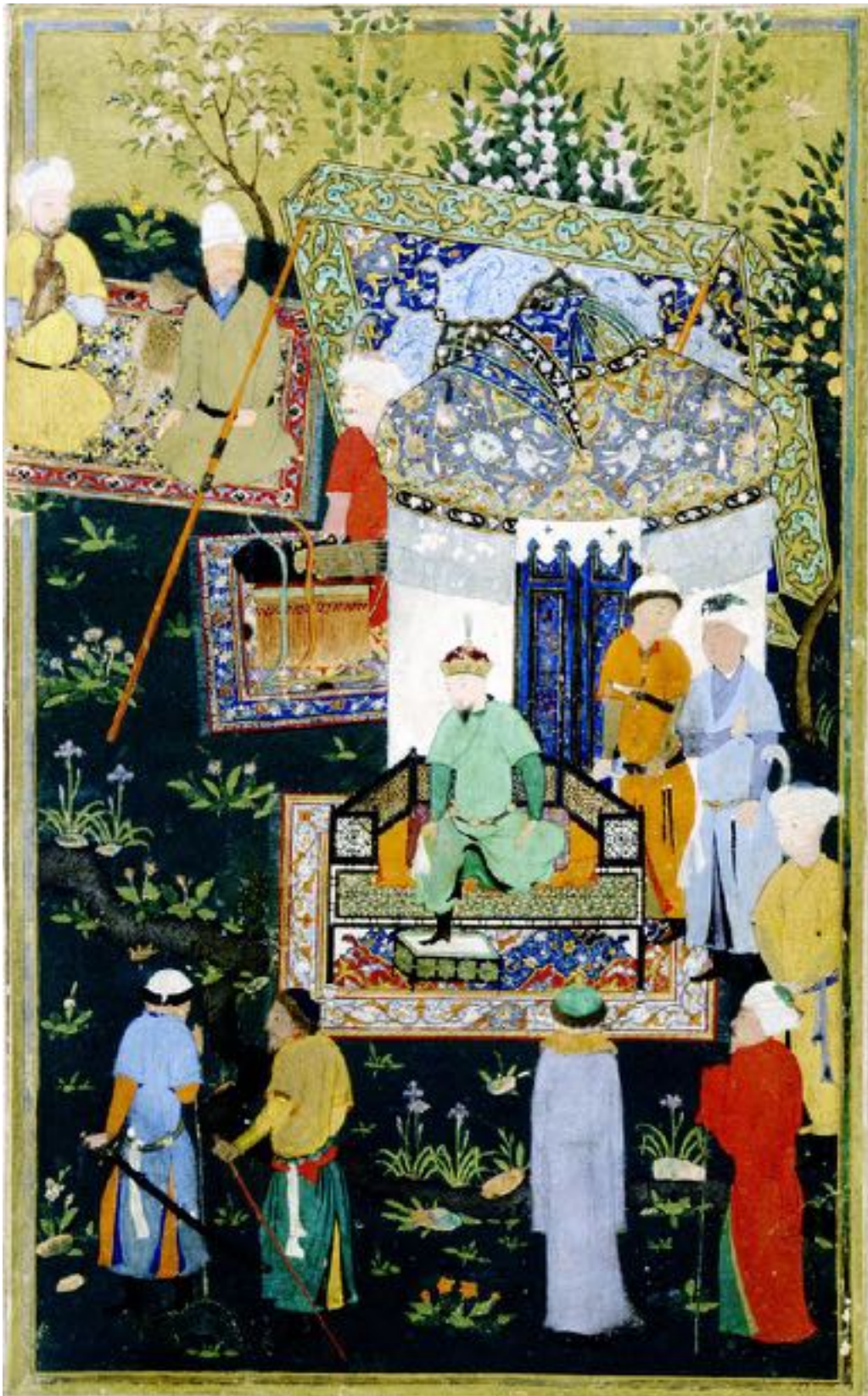


Figure 17. The invention of the game of chess in Iran. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. H.1509, f.305r. Reproduced in Güner İnal, "Topkapı Müzesindeki hazine 1509 numaralı Şehnamenin minyatürleri = Shahname hazine no. 1509." *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı / Journal of Art History* 3 (1969-70): fig. 15.



Figure 18. Isfandiyār slaying a dragon. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. H.1509, f.213a. Reproduced in Serpil Bağcı, “Old Images for New Texts and Contexts: Wandering Images in Islamic Book Painting,” *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): fig. 3.



Figure 19. Māh-i Dil receives a letter from Shībānī. Shādī, *Fathnāma*, undated. ARB ms. 5369, f.44r. Reproduced in El'mira Ismailova, et al. *Sharq Miniatiurasi Ūzbekiston Ssr Fanlar Akademii* Abu Raihon Beruni Nomidagi Sharqshunoslik Instituti: *Vostochnaia Miniatiura V Sobranii Instituta Vostokovedeniia Imeni Abu Raihon Beruni Akademii Nauk UzSSR* [Oriental Miniatures of Abu Raihon Beruni Institute of Orientology of the Uzssr Academy of Sciences] (Tashkent: Ghafur Ghulom Nomidagi Adabiyot va San'at nashriyoti, 1980), fig. 19.

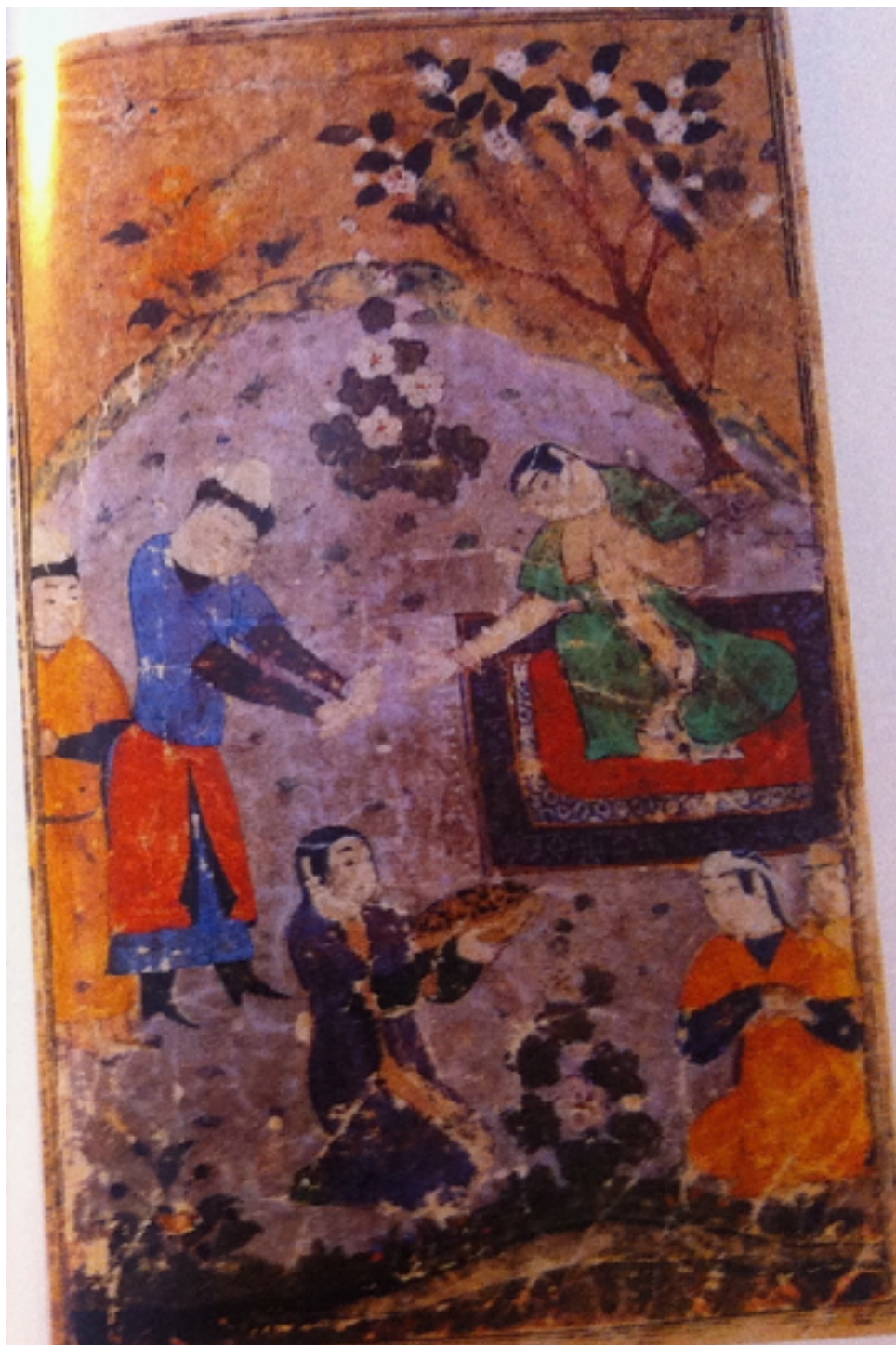


Figure 20. Bahrām Chūbīna in female attire. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. H.1509, f.368b. Reproduced in B.W. Robinson, "Two Illustrated Manuscripts in the Malek Library, Tehran," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (Philadelphia, 1988), 94-97, fig. 12.



Figure 21. Bizhan brought before Afrāsiyāb. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1451, Yazd. TIEM ms. 1945, f.187v.



Figure 23. Sultan Maḥmūd Bahādur brings Muḥammad Mazīd to Shībānī Khan. Shādī, *Fathnāma*, undated. ARB ms. 5369, f.146r. Image taken by Semiha Altier.



Figure 24. Battle between the armies of Iran and Turan. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1451, Yazd. TIEM ms. 1945, f.232v.

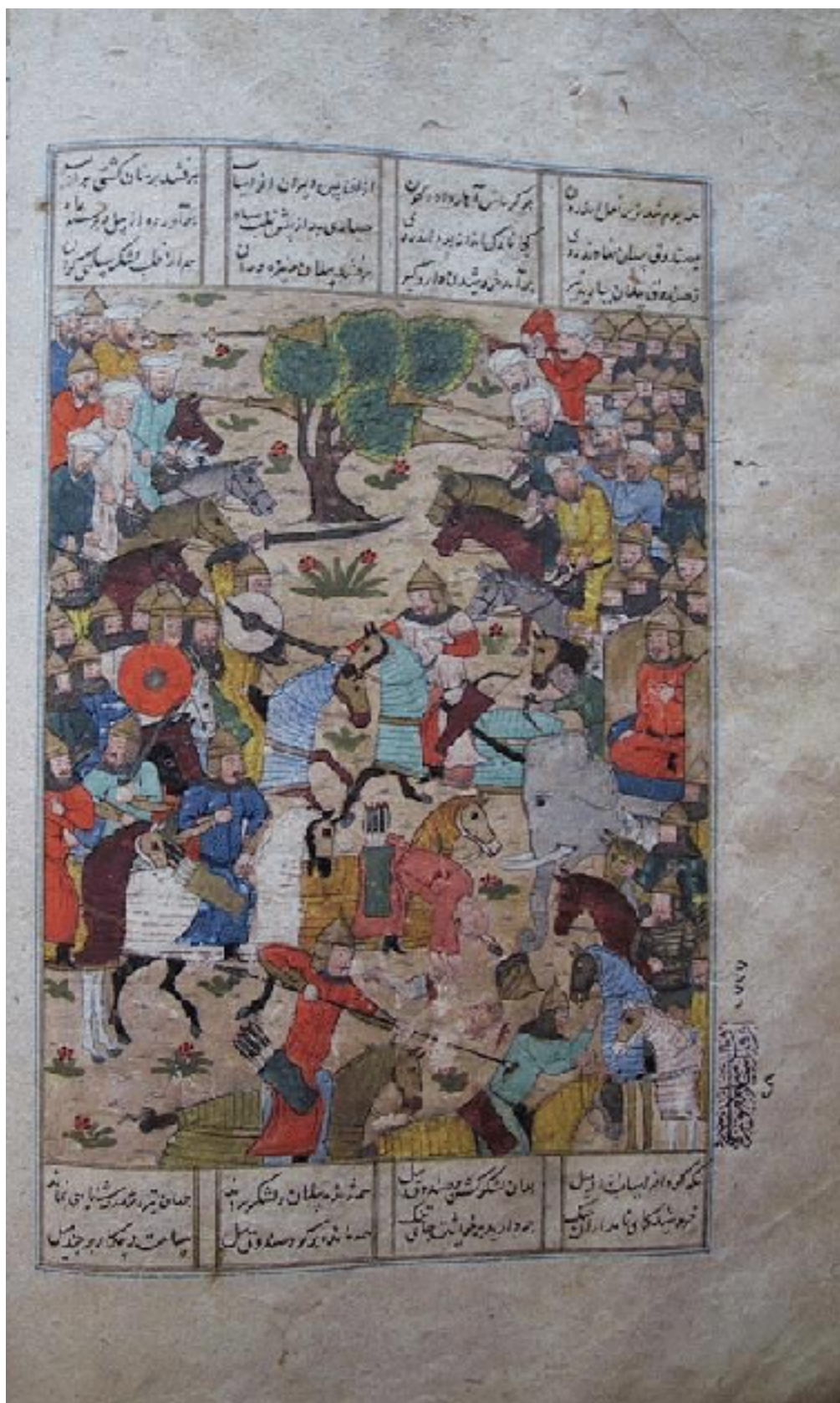


Figure 25. Detail: The Chinese Khaqan and his son Farhād enthroned. Navā'ī, *Kulliyāt*, dated 1521. NLR ms. Dorn 559, f.79r. Reproduced in Olga Vasilyeva, et al. *The Works of Alishir Navai in Fine Books of the 15th-16th Centuries from the collection of the National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, Russia* (Tashkent: Zamon Press, 2017), fig. 4.13.



Figure 26. Bahrām Gūr talks to the artist Mānī, who offers him Dilārām's portrait. Navā'ī, *Kulliyāt*, dated 1521, Tashkent. NLR ms. Dorn 559, f.184r. Reproduced in Olga Vasilyeva, et al. *The Works of Alishir Navai in Fine Books of the 15th-16th Centuries from the collection of the National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, Russia* (Tashkent: Zamon Press, 2017), fig. 4.25.



Figure 27. Detail: Shaikh Suhrawardī invites the calligrapher Yāqūt to sit next to him. Navā'ī, *Kulliyāt*, dated 1521. NLR ms. Dorn 559, f.49v. Reproduced in Olga Vasilyeva, et al. *The Works of Alishir Navai in Fine Books of the 15th-16th Centuries from the collection of the National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, Russia* (Tashkent: Zamon Press, 2017), fig. 4.8.



Figure 28. Shāpūr II. Kūhistānī, *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Khair Khānī*, dated 1543. ARB ms. 9989, f.76v. Reproduced in Edvard Rtveladze, ed., *The Oriental Miniature: Historical Figures* (Tashkent: Zamon Press, 2021), 204.



Figure 29. Ghazan Khan beneath his tent in Urjan giving a feast for his nobles. Kūhistānī, *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Khair Khānī*, dated 1543. ARB ms. 9989, f.173r.



Figure 30. Enthronement of Abū al-Khair. Kūhistānī, *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Khair Khānī*, dated 1543. ARB ms. 9989, f.213v.



Figure 32. Chinggis Khan sitting with his sons. *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-yi nuṣratnāma*, ca. 1540-62. BL ms. Or. 3222, f.43b.



Figure 33. Ūgtāy Khan and his retinue. *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-yi nuṣratnāma*, ca. 1540-62. BL ms. Or. 3222, f.50v.



Figure 34. Tribute paid to a Chinggisid prince in 638 AH (1241). Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmī‘ al-tawārīkh*, ca. 1430. BNF ms. Sup Pers 1113, f.137r.



Figure 35. Abū al-Khair and his followers. *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-yi nuṣratnāma*, ca. 1540-62. BL ms. Or. 3222, f.118v.



Figure 36. Shībānī's assault on Samarqand. *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-yi nuṣratnāma*, ca. 1540-62. BL ms. Or. 3222, f.130v.



Figure 37. The death of Chinggis Khan. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmī‘ al-tawārīkh*, ca. 1430. BNF ms. Sup Pers 1113, f.14r.



Figure 38. Entertainment in a garden. Anthology, ca. 1545-50. TSMK ms. R.1964, f.107a.



Figure 39. Tīmūr enthroned. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1541. TSMK ms. H.1594, f.34v.



Figure 40. Enthronement scene. Jāmī, *Bahāristān*, dated 1548. MCG ms. LA 169, ff.12v-13r. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon – Calouste Gulbenkian Museum. Photo: Catarina Gomes Ferreira.



Figure 41. Enthronement scene. Jāmī, *Bahāristān*, dated 1551. MIA ms. 52.13.



Figure 42. Battle scene. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1541. TSMK ms. H.1594, f.63r.



Figure 43. Hunting scene. 'Aṭṭār, *Manṭiq al-ṭair*; undated. BL ms. Add. 7735, f.84r.



Figure 44. Folio with the poetry of Khwājū Kirmānī, undated. In Basil Gray, *Oriental Islamic Art: Collection of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga: Lisbon, 1963), illus. 131.

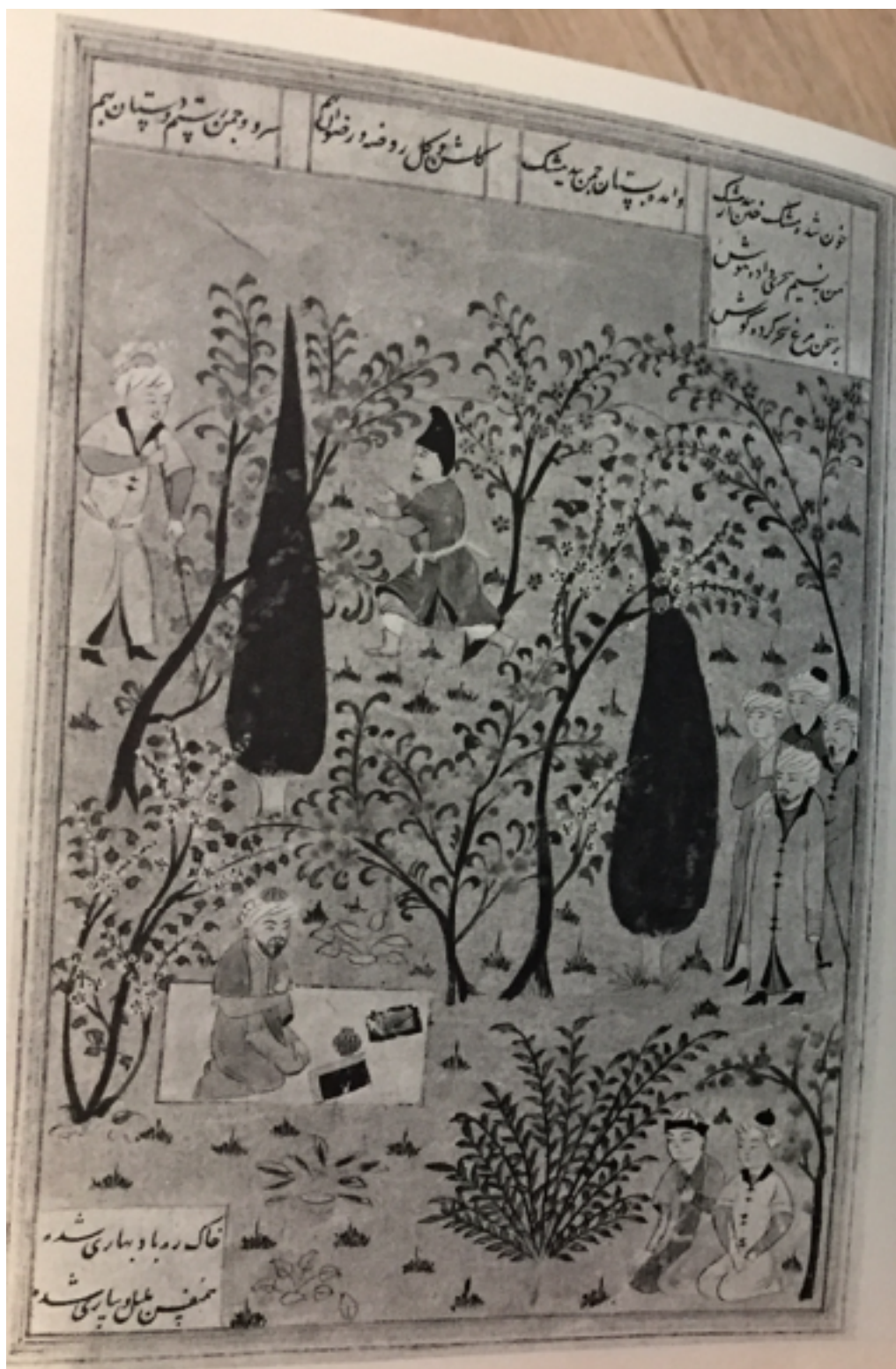


Figure 45. Folio painted by Maḥmūd Muzahhib. Jāmī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*, ca. 1551–56. NMAA ms. S.1986.46, f.2.



Figure 46. Battle scene. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1551. HAM 1957.140, f.83r.



Figure 47. Enthronement scene: Tīmūr holding court in a garden. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1551. HAM 1957.140, f.34v-35r.



Figure 48. Badī' al-Zamān conversing with Sultan Selim I. Shukrī Bitlīsī, *Selim-nâma*, ca. 1525-30. TSMK ms. H.1597-98, f.140r.



Figure 49. Reception of the Iranian ambassador in Amasya. 'Ārifī, *Süleyman-nâma*, dated 1558. TSMK ms. H.1517, f.600a.

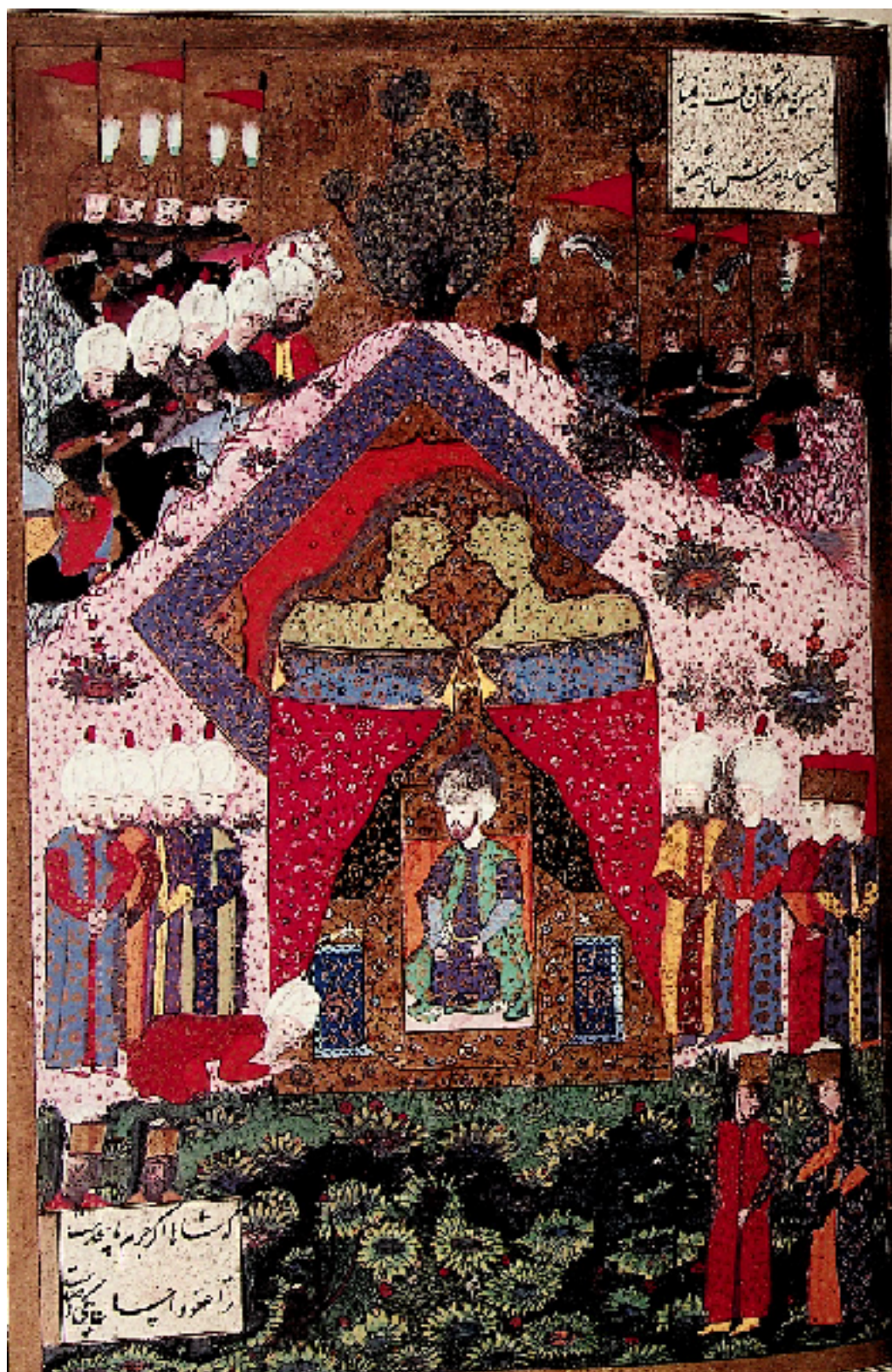


Figure 50. Shībānī Khān celebrating his victory over Andijan in a garden setting. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shībānī-nāma*, dated 1510, illustrated ca. 1535-43. ÖNB cod. mixt. 188, f.166b.



Figure 51. Shībānī Khan defeats Bābur at Sarpul. Muḥammad Šālih, *Shībānī-nāma*, dated 1510, illustrated ca. 1535-43. ÖNB cod. mixt. 188, f.47b.



Figure 52. Death of the rebel leader Kalender. 'Ārifī, *Süleyman-nâma*, dated 1558. TSMK ms. H.1517, f.248a.



Figure 53. Süleyman inspecting prisoners after the Ottoman siege of Vienna. 'Ārifī, *Süleyman-nâma*, dated 1558. TSMK ms. H.1517, f.297a.



Figure 54. Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ presenting his manuscript to Shībānī Khan in the garden of his summer residence near Samarqand. Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ, *Shībānī-nāma*, dated 1510, illustrated ca. 1535-43. ÖNB cod. mixt. 188, f.188b.



Figure 55. Outdoor entertainments. Nizāmī, *Khamsa*, ca. 1530-45. TSMK ms. H.764, f.53a.

Figure 56. Bahrām Gūr in the black pavilion. Nizāmī, *Khamsa*, ca. 1530-45. TSMK ms. H.764, f.189a.



Figure 57. The defeat of the town of Karakul. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shībānī-nāma*, dated 1510, illustrated ca. 1535-43. ÖNB cod. mixt. 188, f.38b.

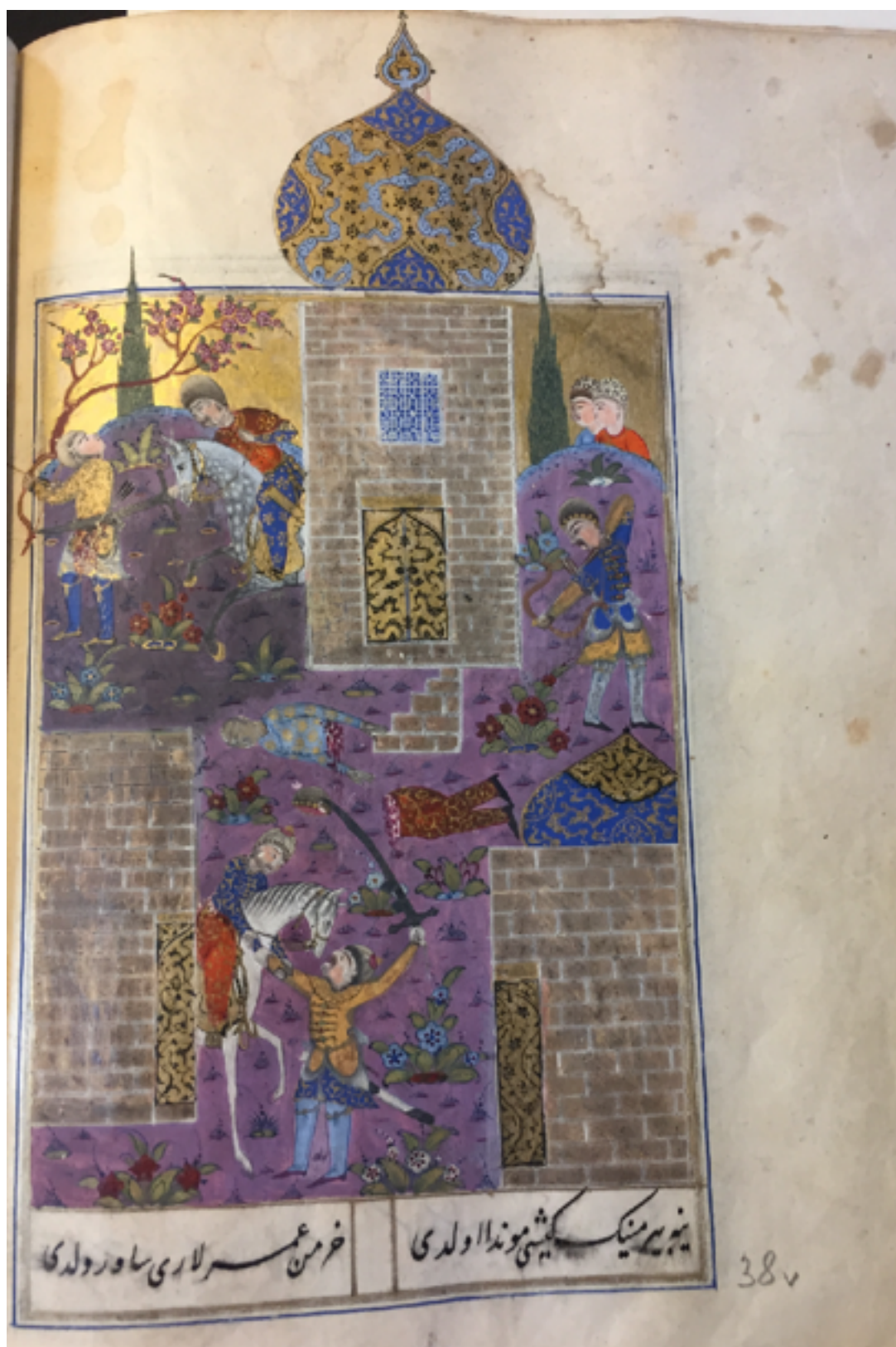


Figure 58. Illuminated frontispiece. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1556. ARB ms. 1811, ff.8r-9v. Paintings attributed to Muḥammad Murād Samarqandī. Reproduced in G.A. Pugachenkova and L.I. Rempel', *Vydaiushchiesia Pamiatniki Izobrazitel'nogo Iskusstva Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1961), fig. 92.



Figure 59. Illuminated frontispiece. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1564. TSMK ms. H.1488, ff.1b-2a. Reproduced in Birinci Baskı, *Şahname Yazmalarından Seçme Minyatürler* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları kitapları, 1971).



Figure 60. Binding impressed with panel stamp. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1564. TSMK ms. H.1488.



Figure 61. Rustam defeats the white div. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1564. TSMK ms. H.1488, f.94a. Reproduced in Birinci Baskı, *Şahname Yazmalarından Seçme Minyatürler* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları kitapları, 1971).



Figure 62. Rustam defeats the white div. Illustration on silk, undated. Present location unknown. Reproduced in B.W. Robinson, et al., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book: The Keir Collection* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), entry III.227.



Figure 63. Young Rustam lassoing the colt Rakhsh. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1564. TSMK ms. H.1488, f.66r. Reproduced in Birinci Baskı, *Şahname Yazmalarından Seçme Minyattürler* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları kitapları, 1971).



Figure 64. Dārā and the herdsmen. Sa' dī, *Būstān*, dated 1488. DAKM ms. Adab Farisi 22, f.10a.

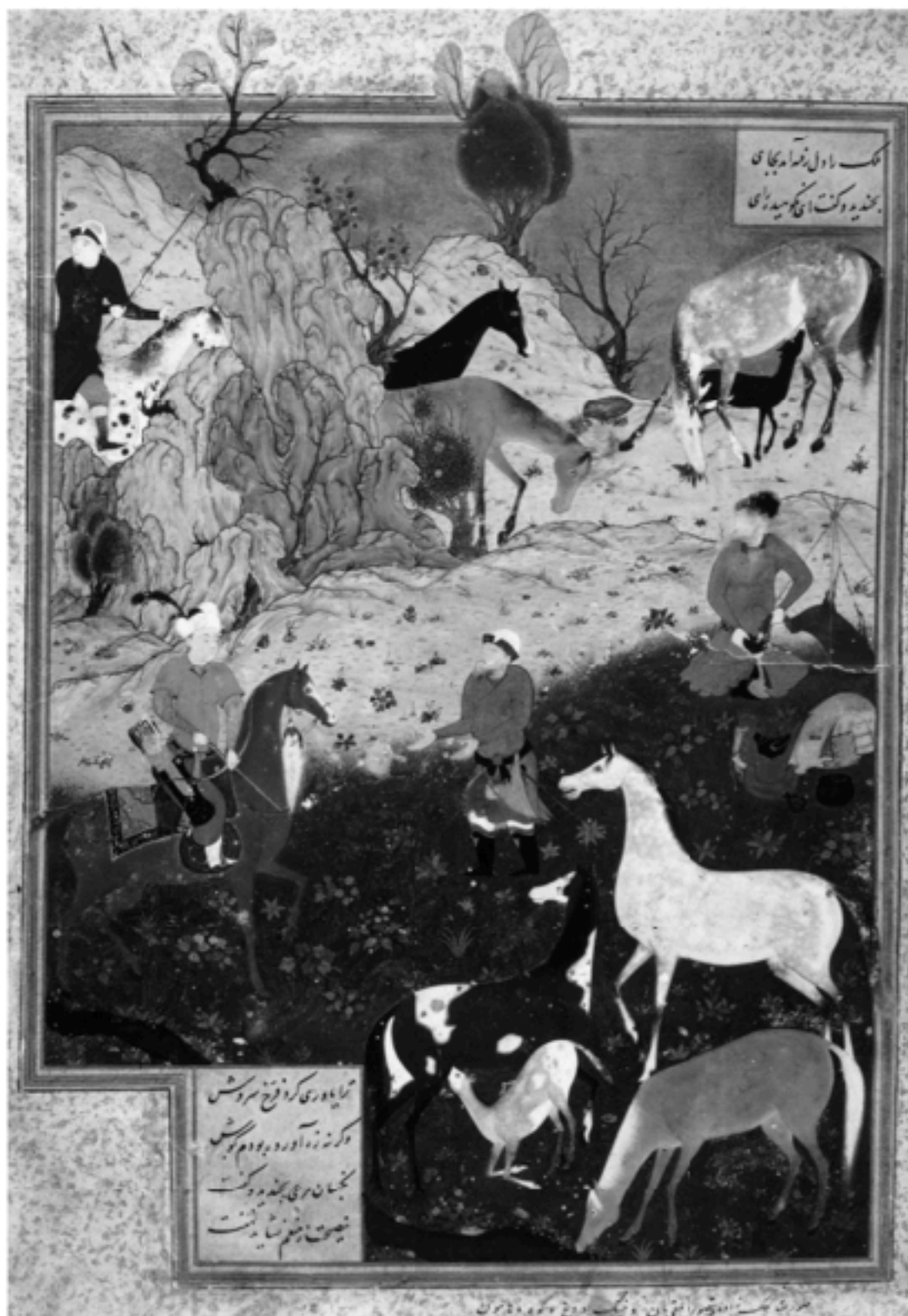


Figure 65. Manūchihr in battle. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1564. TSMK ms. H.1488, f.41r.



Figure 66. Battle scene from dispersed manuscript. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. DMA K.1.2014.750.



Figure 67. Detached folio. Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, undated. HAM no. 1965.477.



Figure 68. Tīmūr's troops lay siege to a fortress in Khurasan. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1568. ARB ms. 2102, f.45v. Reproduced in Olimpiada Galerkina, *Mawarannahr Book Painting* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1980), 95.



Figure 69. Attack on Kai Khusrau's castle. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1564. TSMK ms. H.1488, f.297r.



Figure 71. Tīmūr surveying his troops beneath an umbrella. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1568. ARB ms. 2102, f.69v.



Figure 72. Illustrated frontispiece. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1568. ARB ms. 2102, ff.105r-106v. Reproduced in Olimpiada Galerkina, *Mawarannahr Book Painting* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1980), 96-97.



Figure 73. Reconstituted illustrated frontispiece. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, ff.1r (right), 87v (left).



Figure 74. Battle scene 1. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. RAS ms. Persian 305A, f.70r.



Figure 75. Battle scene 2. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. RAS ms. Persian 305A, f.76v.



Figure 76. Loose folio inscribed *amīr Tīmūr šāhib qirān*, undated. GMAA no. B.11.5r.
 Reproduced in Philipp Walter Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl W. Hiersemann, 1914), pl. 75.



Figure 77. Garshāsp smiting a div. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1535, illustrated ca. 1580s. TSMK ms. H.1514, f.46v.



Figure 78. Illustrated frontispiece. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1535, illustrated ca. 1580s. TSMK ms. H.1514, ff.1r-2v.



Figure 79. Illustrated frontispiece. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. R.1544, ff.1r-2v.



Figure 80. Bahrām, son of Gūdarz, defeated by the Turanian army. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. H.1503, f.181a.



Figure 81. Zāl and Rustam visit Kai Khusrau. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. TSMK ms. H.1503, f.162r.



Figure 82. Ruler (Qul Bābā?) at a feast. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, undated. Bruschettini collection. Reproduced in Abolala Soudavar, "The Age of Muhammadī," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): fig. 26.



Figure 83. Gathering of dervishes. Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān*, dated 1581–86. TSMK ms. H.986, f.21b. Reproduced in Abolala Soudavar, “The Age of Muhammadi,” *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), fig. 18.



Figure 84. Loose folio. Jāmī, *Haft aurang*, undated. LACMA no. M.73.5.577.



Figure 85. Gathering in a pavilion. Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān*, dated 1593. BLO ms. Elliott 163, f.55b.

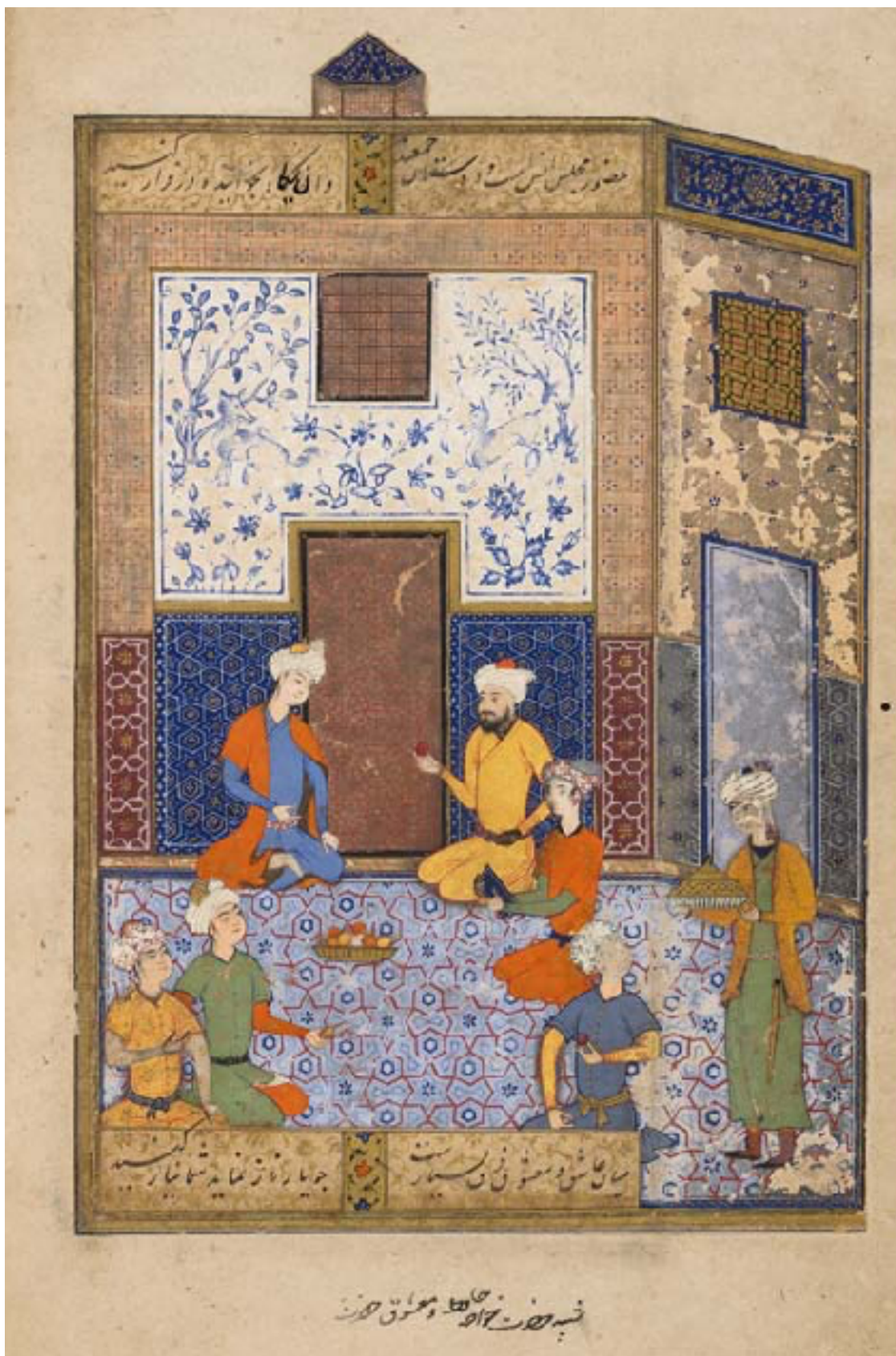


Figure 86. Illustrated colophon. Jāmī, *Silsilat al-zahab*, dated 1592. AHT no. 83. Reproduced in Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), pl. 83.



Figure 87. Rūdāba and Zāl seated in a pavilion. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. CBL ms. Pers. 295, f.76v.



Figure 88. Siege scene. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. CBL ms. Pers. 295, f.232v.



Figure 89. Illuminated frontispiece. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. CWH ms. 1032, ff.1r-2v.



Figure 90. The court of Kayūmars. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. CWH ms. 1032, f.7r.



Figure 91. The accession of Iskandar. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. TSMK H.1522, f.369v.



Figure 92. Faraidūn attacks Žahhāk. Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation in prose, undated. HAM no. 1985.230.



Figure 93. Žaḥḥāk's vizier announces Faraidūn's arrival. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. CWH ms. 1032, f.14r.



Figure 94. Faraidūn enthroned. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. CWH ms. 1032, f.21v.



Figure 95. Outdoor entertainment scene. Jāmī, *Dīvān*, dated 1576. BL ms. IOL P&A 48, f.71a.
 Reproduced in B.W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976), fig. 217.



Figure 96. The death of Īraj. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. CWH ms. 1032, f.29r.



Figure 97. Pious man attacked by a drunkard. Sa'dī, *Muntakhab-i Būstān*, dated 1527. AHT no. 66, f.11v. Reproduced in Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), fig. 66b.



Figure 98. Tūr's attempt to ambush Manūchīhr. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. CWH ms. 1032, f.35r.



Figure 99. Sultan Maḥmūd captures the Qaisar of Rum and brings him to Tīmūr. Hātīfī, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1582. Private collection, f.155v.



Figure 100. Tīmūr's forces storm the walls of Damascus. Hātifī, *Tīmūr-nāma*, dated 1582. Private collection, f.138v.



Figure 101. Manūchihr slays Salm. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. CWH ms. 1032, f.38r.



Figure 102. Battle scene from *Iskandarnāma* section. Nizāmī, *Khamsa*, dated 1579–80. NLR ms. PNS 272, f.234b. Reproduced in N.V. Diakonova and L.G. Giuzal'ian, *Sredneaziatskie Miniatiury XVI-XVII vv.* Series: *Vostochnaya Miniatiura i Kalligrafia v Lenindradskikh Sobraniakh* (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), pl. 29.



Figure 103. Rostam lifts Afrāsīyāb. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1535. TSMK ms. H.1514, f.172r.



Figure 104. Zāl climbs Rūdāba's hair. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. CWH ms. 1032, f.49r.



Figure 105. Zāl climbs Rūdāba's hair. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. BL ms. Or. 7204, f.55b. Photograph taken by Michael Erdman.



Figure 106. Zāl climbs Rūdāba's hair. Şerif Âmidî, Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation, undated. TSMK ms. H.1520, f.48a. Reproduced in Serpil Bağcı, et al., *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006), 95.



Figure 107. Abdürrahman Gazi climbs the fortress of Aydos. Arifi, *Shāhnāma-yi Āl-i 'Usman*, vol. IV (*Osmannama*), dated 1558. Private collection, f.70b. Reproduced in Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1987), fig. 31.



Figure 108. Zāl climbs Rūdāba's hair. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1604. AIIT ms. 2.01 BD, f.37v.



Figure 109. Outdoor gathering. Sa'dī, *Muntakhab-i Būstān*, dated 1527. AHT no. 66, f.2v.
Reproduced in Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), fig. 66a.



Figure 111. Bīzhan comes to Manīzha's tent. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1556. Painting attributed to Muḥammad Murād Samarqandī. ARB ms. 1811, f.191v. Reproduced in M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII Centuries Miniatures* (Stalinabad [Dushanbe]: Academy of Sciences, 1974), 101.



Figure 112. Tahmīna approaches Rustam's bed chamber. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1556. Paintings attributed to Muḥammad Murād Samarqandī. ARB ms. 1811, f.84v. Reproduced in M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII Centuries Miniatures* (Stalinabad [Dushanbe]: Academy of Sciences, 1974), 100.



Figure 113. Faraidūn defeats Žahhāk. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1556. Paintings attributed to Muḥammad Murād Samarqandī. ARB ms. 1811, f.21r. Reproduced in M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII Centuries Miniatures* (Stalinabad [Dushanbe]: Academy of Sciences, 1974), 95.



Figure 114. Rustam rescues Bīzhan from the pit. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1556. Paintings attributed to Muḥammad Murād Samarqandī. ARB ms. 1811, f.204v.



Figure 115. Luhrāsp enthroned. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1600. BL ms. IO Islamic 301, ff.185b-186a.



Figure 116. Shīrīn weeps at the grave of Khusrau. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. BL ms. Or. 14403, f.534v.



Figure 117. Rustam rescuing Bijan from the pit. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1564. TSMK ms. H.1488, f.247. Reproduced in Güner İnal, *Türk Minyatür Sanatı: Başlangıcından Osmanlılara kadar* (Ankara: Atatürk Cultural Center, 1995), fig. 112.



Figure 118. Rustam rescues Bīzhan from the pit. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. BL ms. Or. 14403, f.153v.



Figure 119. Siyāmak attacked by the div Khazarvān. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1604. AIIT ms. 2.01 BD, f.10r.



Figure 120. Siyāmak attacked by the div Khazarvān. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1564. TSMK ms. H.1488, f.18b.



Figure 121. Shāpūr enthroned. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. BL ms. Or. 14403, f.367v. Reproduced in Karin Rührdanz, "The Samarqand Shahnamas in the Context of Dynastic Change," in *Shahnama Studies II: The Reception of Firdausi's Shahnama*, ed. Charles Melville and Gabrielle van den Berg, pp. 213-233. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 223, fig. 8.



Figure 122. Frontispiece. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1602. NLR ms. PNS 90, ff.1r-2v. Reproduced in O.V. Vasilyeva and O.M. Yastrebova, *Arts of the Book in the 15th-17th-Century Mawarannahr: From the Collection of the National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, Russia* (Tashkent: Zamon Press, 2019), 240-41.



Figure 123. Jamshīd carried by divs. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1604. AIIT ms. 2.01 BD, f.12r.



Figure 124. Mosaic spandrels to the Shīrdār madrasa on Rīgistān square, Samarqand. Built between 1619–36.



Figure 125. Luhrāsp enthroned. Manuscript belonging to General Cherniaev. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. ARB ms. 872, f.219r.



Figure 127. Garshāsp seeks to wed the daughter of the Qaisar in Rum. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1602. NLR ms. PNS 90, f.61r.



Figure 128. Žahhāk enthroned with the daughters of Jamshid. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated illustration. LACMA M.83.27.2.



Figure 129. Ruler seated in a pavilion surrounded by courtiers and attendants, one of whom is leading in a Christian priest. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated illustration. FMC PD.144-1948.



Figure 130. The execution of Afrāsiyāb in front of Garsīvāz. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated illustration. BM 1948,1009,0.55.

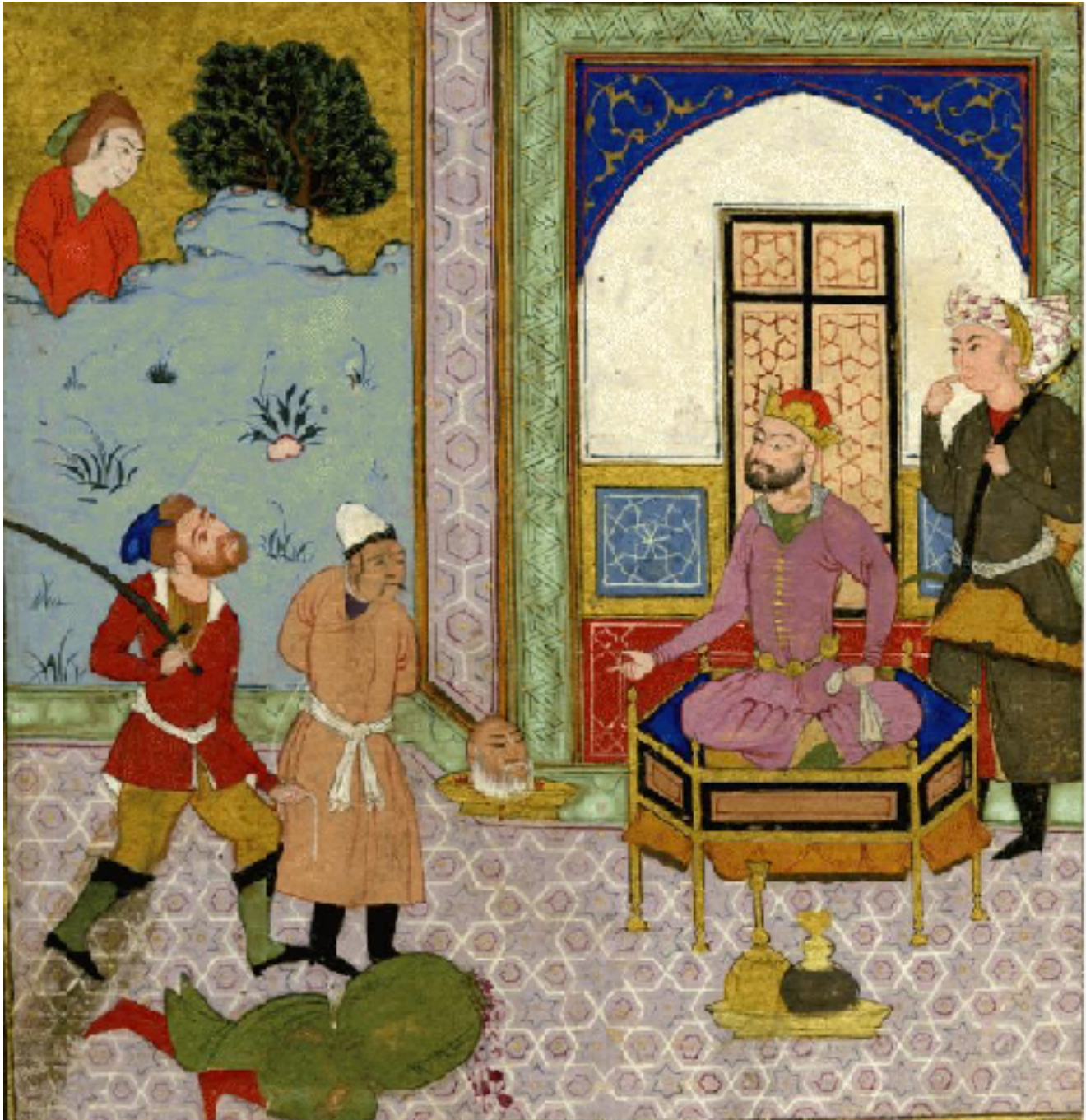


Figure 131. The trial of Siyāvush. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. BL ms. Or. 14403, f.267v.



Figure 132. Faraidūn assaults Žaḥḥāk. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1610. LACMA M.78.9.5.



Figure 133. Rūdāba and Zāl. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, BKBM ms., shelfmark unknown.



Figure 134. Painting attributed to Bijapur in the Deccan, ca. 1600–10. V&A IM.14&A-1913.



Figure 135. The death of Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat. Abū'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1602. BL Or. 12988, f.66a.



Figure 136. Portrait of Prince Salīm, dated 1600. RIOS Album E-14, f.3a.



Figure 137. Faraidūn assaults Žaḥḥāk. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1601. PFL ms. 59G.



Figure 138. Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī and Ḥasan Najm al-Dīn before ‘Alā al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh. Bāīqarā, *Majālis al-‘ushshāq*, dated 1606. ARB ms. 3476, f.72b.



Figure 139. Tīmūr wins a victory over Amīr Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī in an argument. Bāiqarā, *Majālis al-‘ushshāq*, dated 1606. ARB ms. 3476, f.75a.



Figure 140. Rustam kneels over his victim. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. PUL ms. O-15/7248.



Figure 141. Rustam rescues Bīzhan from the pit. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. PUL ms. O-15/7248.



Figure 142. Reconstituted illustrated frontispiece. Left: “Man Reading,” LM OA 7109. Right: “Seated Princess,” NMAA S1986.304.

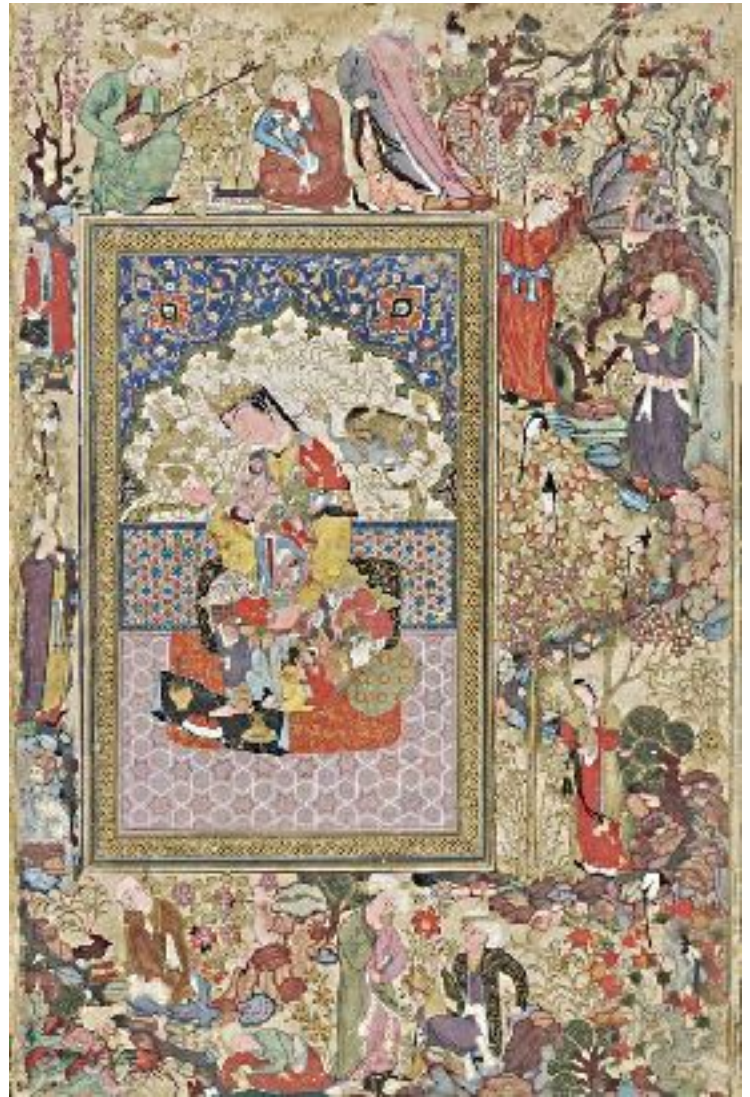


Figure 143. Man in *chakdār jāma*. Signed by Muḥammad Murād Samarqandī, undated. Reverse contains lines written by Mīr ‘Alī Haravī. ARB no. 30v.



Figure 144. A Tūqāy-Tīmūrid khan receives a Mughal emissary in a *chīnī-khāna*. CSMVS, shelfmark unknown. Reproduced in Robert Skelton, "Relations between Mughal and Central Asian painting in the seventeenth century," in *Indian Art & Connoisseurship, Essays in Honour of Douglas Barrett*, ed. J. Guy (Chidambaram Ahmedabad, India: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts in association with Mapin Pub., 1995), 290.



Figure 145. Sa'dī visits the temple of Somnath, painted by Muḥammad Murād Samarqandī. Sa'dī, *Būstān*, 1615. CBL ms. Pers. 297, f.159b.



Figure 146. Tīmūr's campaign in India. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, f.65v.



Figure 147. Battle scene. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, f.21r.



Figure 148. Soldiers committing atrocities on a city's inhabitants. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, f.2r.



Figure 149. Tīmūr's troops lowered in baskets to attack the inhabitants of Nerges in Georgia. Hātifī, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, f.55v.



Figure 150. Manūchihr defeats Tūr. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1556. Painting attributed to Muḥammad Murād Samarqandī. ARB ms. 1811, f.31v.



Figure 151. Fallen warrior in the battle between Kai Khusrau and Afrāsiyāb. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. BL ms. Or. 14403, f.319r.



Figure 152. Aulad leads Rustam to the White Div's cave. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1604. AIIT ms. 2.01 BD, f.62v.



Figure 153. Tīmūr before the captive Tūqtamīsh Khan. Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, 1628. ARB ms. 4472, f.219r. Reproduced in G.A. Pugachenkova and O. Galerkina, *Miniatiury Srednej Azii/Miniatures of Central Asia in Selected Examples from Soviet and Foreign Collections* (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1979), 172-73.



Figure 154. Tīmūr celebrates his victory over Tūqtamīsh Khan. Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 1628. ARB ms. 4472, f.288a.



Figure 155. Tīmūr lies with Dilshād. Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, 1628. ARB ms. 4472, f.152b.
Reproduced in G.A. Pugachenkova, *Miniatures of Central Asia* (Tashkent: Editorial Office of Encyclopaedias, 1994), 36-37.

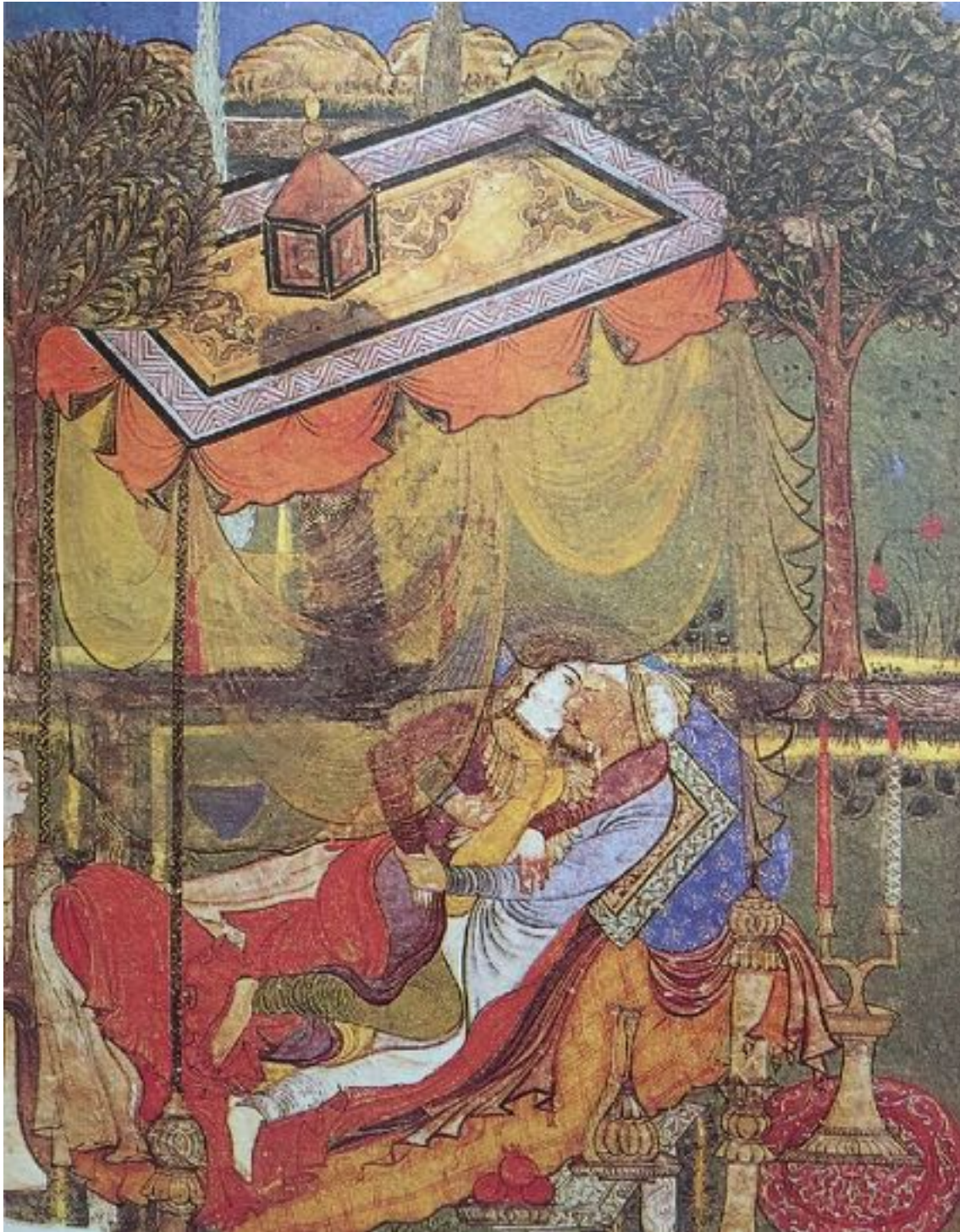


Figure 156. Tīmūr's attack on the Sīstānīs. Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 1628. ARB ms. 4472, f.170a.



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Curriculum Vitae

Jaimee K. Comstock-Skipp was born in California, USA to a British (Cockney) father and an American (San Franciscan) mother. She holds a BA with Highest Honors (2009) from the University of California, Berkeley in Near Eastern Studies with a specialty in Islamic civilizations, and the Arabic and Persian languages. With a Student Merit Fellowship, she obtained a first MA (2012) from the Williams College Graduate Program in the History of Art (USA), and a second MA (2015) from The Courtauld Institute of Art in London (UK) with tuition and fees covered. There she studied Mongol through Safavid book arts predominantly from Iran. During summers in between coursework and outside of enrolled studies, she took intensive Persian-language programs (Farsi and Tajiki) in Tajikistan, and herself administered them while employed by American Councils for International Education. As a Fulbright US Student Award recipient based in Dushanbe, Tajikistan (2015–2016), she investigated Tajik cultural and artistic history and heritage with regard to manuscript and wall paintings that portray subject matter from the *Shāhnāma* epic.

While an external PhD candidate in the Leiden Institute for Area Studies between 2017–2022, she was resident in the Netherlands on a Juynboll Foundation grant to prepare for a PhD-track (2017), and a 2018 Grantee of the RCMC/FEL Junior Fellowship at the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen based in Leiden. She mostly lived in Istanbul and was supported by the following funding bodies: Orient Institut Istanbul PhD Research Grant Fellowship, Barakat Trust Graduate Student Grant, Netherlands Institute in Turkey Residency Fellowship, Iran Heritage Foundation, and the Leiden University Fund. Fieldwork in Uzbekistan was completed while on Erasmus+ Fellowships (2020, 2022) at the Al-Beruni Institute for Oriental Studies, and Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies. Upon the completion of her PhD, she will be a visiting fellow at the Oxford Nizami Ganjavi Centre between 2022—2023.