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The Topkapı Manuscript of the *Jāmiᶜ al-Tawārikh* (Hazine 1654) from Rashidiya to the Ottoman Court: A Preliminary Analysis

The famous Persian version of the Jāmiᶜ al-Tawārikh *(Hazine 1654) has never been studied with the care it deserves. Since its transcription was completed a year before Rashid al-Din's execution, it remained unfinished while approximately seven illustrations were inserted into it, and the locations of other illustrations were left blank. Careful examination of the manuscript reveals that almost all of the empty spaces left for narrative illustrations were painted during the last decades of the fourteenth century. Having decided to improve the quality of the manuscript, the kitābkhāna of Shāhrukh, in the fifteenth century, completed the missing passages of text and restored or overpainted some of its illustrations. The dedicatory inscription of Farhād Khān Qarāmānlu indicates that the manuscript was refurbished again in the Safavid period. The last artistic additions to the manuscript were overpainting an illustration and insertion of two illuminated friezes in the Ottoman Istanbul. This paper, which is a result of close examination of the original manuscript, explains the complicated life history of the book.*

Introduction

Jāmiᶜ al-Tawārikh ("Compendium of Chronicles") is a multi-volume universal history composed in the first decade of the fourteenth century by Rashid al-Din Fadl-Allāh (d. 1318), at the request of the Ilkhanid rulers Ghāzān Khān (r. 1295-1304) and Uljāytu (r. 1304-17). This work, which is considered to be the "first world history,"[1] consists of a history from the time of creation up to the date of its composition. This chronicle was divided into three volumes of unequal length, the last of which is not known to be extant. The first volume is devoted to Mongol history; and the second volume was divided into two parts, of which the first part on the history of Uljāytu is now missing. The second part of the second volume contains a history of the prophets and the pre-Islamic rulers of Persia, Islamic history up to extinction of the ᶜAbbasid dynasty, a history of Islamic Persian dynasties and a

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history of the non-Mongol peoples of Eurasia including Ughuz Turks, Chinese, Jews, Franks and Indians.[2]

Rashid al-Din established an enormous multi-functional complex in the northeastern part of Tabriz, which was called Rabʿ-i Rashidi ("Rashid's Quarter").[3] One of the main purposes of this complex was the transcription of Rashid al-Din's own works. According to the endowment deed of the Rabʿ-i Rashidi, two copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*, one in Persian and the other in Arabic, were to be transcribed yearly.[4] It is said that three copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* produced at the Rabʿ-i Rashidi survive.[5] All these manuscripts belong to the second part of the second volume. The first is an Arabic version consisting of two fragments of one manuscript kept in the Edinburgh University Library and the Khalili collection.[6] Two others, which are written in Persian, are housed in the Topkapı Palace Library with the inventory numbers of Hazine 1653 and Hazine 1654. The Arabic codex and Hazine 1653 are dated 1314; and Hazine 1654 was transcribed three years later.[7]

The present paper, which aims to discuss Hazine 1654, is a result of the examination of the original manuscript at the Topkapı Palace Library. The complicated history of this illustrated book can be reconstructed by the physical traces of its transfer from one owner to another.[8] It includes artistic additions in such workshops as Rashidiya, Jalayirid, Timurid, several Safavid libraries and Ottoman Istanbul. Moreover, the manuscript is jumbled: the locations of several folios have been replaced; at least twenty-five leaves are missing; and twenty-seven folios of the current manuscript were added in the Timurid period.

Considering the text not the illustrations, Hazine 1654 is the most complete surviving copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* produced at Rashid al-Din's scriptorium. In its current state, the book consists of 350 folios, 323 of which are productions of the Rabʿ-i Rashidi.[9]

Although this codex has already been mentioned in several general publications on Persian painting, no comprehensive research has been done on it. The basic publications on this manuscript are those by Güner Inal.[10] Nearly all other discussions are based on her observations.[11] In 1963, Inal attributed all the later paintings in Hazine 1654 to the court of Shāhrukh and classified them in three different styles: "the Mongol style," "the Shāhrukh style" and "the Timurid style."[12] In 1992, she offered another classification of "approximately four different styles."[13] A different view is offered by Basil Gray, who believes that most of the miniatures must have been painted about 1390.[14] Sheila Blair and Raya Shani have discussed that since the manuscript bears the seal of the Safavid ruler Safi II and a dedication to the shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din, it may have remained in Tabriz until the seventeenth century, so that one should rather look for stylistic parallels in this region.[15] In this paper, I will explain the story of the migrations of the book and artistic additions to it in different periods.

The Complicated Life History of the Book

The content of Hazine 1654 is as follows: pre-Islamic history (fols. 1b-51b), early Islamic history (fols. 51b-109a), Umayyads (fols. 109a-128b), ʿAbbasids (fols. 128b-168a), Ghaznavids (fols. 168b-198a), Saljuqs (fols. 198b-224b), Khwarazmshahs (fols. 225a-236b), Ughuz Turks (fols. 237b-250b), Chinese (fols. 251b-271b), Children of Israel (fols. 272b-294b), Franks (fols. 295b-328a) and Indians (fols. 328b-350a).[16]

One significant matter that should be noted is the omission of the subsections on the histories of Salghurids, Fatimids and Ismaʿilis in Hazine 1654. Compared with Hazine 1653, these two subchapters must have been located consecutively between the histories of Khwarazmshahs and Ughuz Turks.[17] It seems that these subsections in Hazine 1654 were not originally absent, because approximately one page of the text concerning the end of the history of Khwarazmshahs is also missing.[18] Therefore, it seems plausible to assume that the last leaf of the section on Khwarazmshahs and the next three subchapters were dropped.

According to its colophon on folio 350a, Hazine 1654 was finished on 3 Jumada I 717/14 July 1317.[19] It reads:

> The transcription of the book of *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* was finished with God's succor. Blessing be upon its owner; and may it benefit all Muslims. The completion of the writing was happened with God's help in the third of the month Jumada I of the year 717. May God forgive the scribe and all Muslims.[20]

The manuscript does not bear any other direct indication of the names of the artists and artisans, the original patron and the place of transcription. Since the manuscript was copied only a year before Rashid al-Din's execution on 18 Jumada I 718/18 July 1318, it might well have been left unfinished when the Rabʿ-i Rashidi was plundered. For this reason, as will be discussed later, approximately seven illustrations were added at the beginning—three of which survive—and other locations left for paintings remained blank.

Within the text, there are some current dates: a date of 700/1300-1301 appears on folio 1b,[21] and the dates of 704 and 705 can be found on folios 252b[22] and 328a,[23] which are the years of composition of those parts of the text by Rashid al-Din rather than the date of transcription. Each leaf of the book measures 557 × 328 mm. The written surface of 342 × 244 mm carries the text in thirty-one lines of *naskh* script. According to a later added note at the end of the colophon, the manuscript once had 375 folios.[24] Careful scrutiny of the manuscript showed that the missing folios belong to different chapters of the book, and thus there are lacunae in the manuscript's text.[25]

When I examined the manuscript carefully, it became clear that nearly all spaces which had initially been left empty for narrative paintings were illustrated later, in the last decades of the fourteenth century. These clumsily executed miniatures were

worked by a non-skilled artist. Basil Gray was the first scholar who attributed a group of the paintings of the manuscript to about 1390, and somewhere during the reign of Sultan Ahmad Jalāyir (r. 1382–1410).[26] A comparison between these miniatures and the Jalayirid paintings of the 1390s confirms his hypothesis. For example, the elongated human figures in a group of the paintings of Hazine 1654 have become like decorative puppets, which resemble the illustrations to Nasrullāh Munshi's *Kalila va Dimna* copied at Baghdad in 794/1392, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Sup. Pers. 913).[27] The paintings of the latter manuscript, especially those depicting interior scenes, show close similarities in coloration, architectural decorations, garments, carpets and thrones.[28]

Possibly the book was transferred to Herat in one of the three campaigns of the Timurid ruler Shāhrukh (r. 1405–47) to Azerbaijan.[29] It should be noted that the Arabic copy and Hazine 1653 were also in Shāhrukh's possession, for they contain his library seals.[30] Although Hazine 1654 carries no clear evidence from the royal workshop of Shāhrukh, stylistic analysis of a group of its illustrations proves that it was refurbished under his patronage. As will be discussed later, a group of the paintings of the manuscript is modeled after the illustrations to the Arabic copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*.[31] This suggests that their painter had undoubtedly seen the Arabic codex, which was in the same library. Moreover, several depictions of the Chinese emperors and their attendants in Hazine 1654 are duplication of the images existing in Hazine 1653 and the dispersed manuscript.[32] The latter manuscript, which is a copy of Hazine 1653, was produced for Shāhrukh and contains the first volume of Hāfiz-i Abru's *Majmaʿ al-Tawārikh* and a section from the second volume of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*.[33]

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, several folios in different chapters of Hazine 1654 must have been missing. The royal library of Shāhrukh completed the missing parts by inserting new papers including the current folios 1-4, 22-39, and 344-48. These twenty-seven leaves are written in a *naskh* very similar to the calligraphy of the Rashidi folios. However, the use of *nastaʿliq* script in some of the captions of these folios proves that these papers do not belong to Rashid al-Din's scriptorium, because this script was invented at the end of the fourteenth century.[34] These papers are similar to the brownish Herati papers utilized in Hazine 1653 and the dispersed manuscript. While two different types of calligraphy can be discerned in the Rashidi folios,[35] the Shāhrukhi leaves have been written by a calligrapher of uniform hand.

The first four leaves of the manuscript, which are unillustrated, are productions of Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna* (i.e. royal library *cum* artists' workshop). The only surviving Rashidi paintings of the manuscript are three illustrations on two sides of the fifth folio: "Enthronement of Jamshid," "Zahhāk enthroned" and "Abraham in the fire." These three episodes are also illustrated in the Arabic copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*.[36] Although some leaves at the beginning of the Arabic codex are missing, it includes four paintings before the "Enthronement of Jamshid."[37] Since there are many overlaps in illustrated episodes of different copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*

produced at Rashid al-Din's scriptorium, it can be estimated that Hazine 1654 originally had at least seven Rashidi paintings.

In the process of completion of the manuscript, Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna* decided to improve the quality of some of its illustrations. As a result, several paintings were partly restored, mostly the faces of important personages and the decorative motifs on their garments. In the painting depicting the Saljuq Sultan Malikshāh, for example, the faces of the sultan and one of the courtiers on the far right have been overpainted (Figures 1 and 2). It should be mentioned that the figure of Abraham on folio 5b, which originally had been painted in Rashid al-Din's scriptorium, was also restored.

The more advanced phase of enhancing the quality of the manuscript is the overpainting of several fourteenth-century miniatures with new illustrations. This group of Shāhrukhi paintings has covered earlier miniatures completely (see Table A1, the table of illustrations, group IV). The traces of fourteenth-century miniatures beneath some of the illustrations in this group are clearly visible. For instance, in the illustration of "Moses orders to burn the golden calf," the Jalayirid depictions of the figures of Moses and Aaron can be seen beneath the Timurid painting (Figure 3). The paintings in this group can be found in two blocks of text: first, the section on early Islamic history, and second, most of the miniatures on the last 120 leaves of the manuscript including the sections on Khwarazmshahs, Ughuz Turks, Jews and Indians. The fact that the paintings of some chapters have been covered completely perhaps shows the importance of these sections for Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna*, or maybe the paintings were in poor condition.

Figure 1. Detail of folio 1a from a copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*, opaque watercolor, ink and gold on paper, Tabriz, 1317. Topkapı Sarayı Library (Hazine 1654), photo by courtesy of the Topkapı Sarayı Library.

Figure 2. Detail of Figure 4.

Figure 3. Detail of Figure 4.

The last group of Shāhrukhi images includes nine miniatures that were executed on fifteenth-century leaves added in Shāhrukh's workshop. Compared with other paintings in the manuscript, the illustrations of this group have greater height (see Table A1, the table of illustrations, nos. 18-26). Moreover, all these nine paintings are modeled after the illustrations to the Edinburgh fragment of the Arabic codex.[38]

The initial star-shaped *shamsa* on folio 1a containing the dedicatory inscription of Farhād Khān Qarāmānlu (d. 1598) indicates that the manuscript was refurbished again in the Safavid period (Figures 4 and 5).[39] Farhād Khān was a great Qizilbāsh Amir of Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1588-1629), who was installed as governor of Fars in 1003/1594-95, of Shiraz in 1004/1595-96, and of Astarabad and Mazandaran in 1007/1598-99.[40] In 1598, Farhād Khān fell out of favor with Shāh ʿAbbās I, he was murdered and his properties were confiscated.[41]

Under the patronage of Farhād Khān, the book was re-margined with thick pinkish papers and eight illuminated *ʿunvāns* were added to it.[42] Re-margination of the manuscript resulted in enlargement of the book's size and the loss of original catchwords. At the time of re-margination, instead of adding new catchwords as in Hazine 1653, the versos of all the leaves were paginated. The page numbers were added in the lower left corner of the written surface. The person who paginated was mistaken in two cases. The first leaf on Ghaznavid history is numbered 169 instead of 168, and thus the page numbers towards the end of the book are erroneous. The same mistake occurs on the first leaf on Indian history (folio 328b), which is numbered 330 instead of 329.

Very similar to Hazine 1653, the borders of the written surface are ruled in eleven narrow lines of different thickness and such colors as brown, orange, black, blue, gold and white. The lines of the borders mask the transition from the original leaf to the marginal papers. In folio 205b, the original Ilkhanid *jadval* is visible: two inner red lines and an outer blue.

Above and below the initial *shamsa* are two illuminated friezes that resemble the Ottoman illuminations of the seventeenth century. They were added in order to cover some Safivid notes (Figure 4). I was able to read these notes in part. The inscription in the lower frieze, which is written in one line, is a panegyric to Imam Husayn.[43] In the upper frieze, there is an important note written in at least three lines (Figure 6). A part of the central line reads, "*waqf nimud in kitāb rā kalb-i āstān-i ʿAli …*" (the book was donated by the dog of the threshold of [Imam] ʿAli). *Kalb-i āstān-i ʿAli* was the well-known appellation of Shāh ʿAbbās I.[44]

Thirty pages of the book contain thirty-five *waqf* seals of the shrine of Shaykh Safi in Ardabil.[45] All seals were gilded over, but some of them remain legible. They are dated 1017/1608-9 and read "*waqf āstāna-yi mutabarraka-yi safiyya-yi safaviyya*."[46] Therefore, it becomes clear that Shāh ʿAbbās included the manuscript in his own donations of 1607-8 to the shrine of Shaykh Safi.[47]

Above the *shamsa*, there is an Arabic inscription in *nastaʿliq* indicating that the book is Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*.[48] Perhaps the book was transferred to Istanbul during the reign of ʿOsman II (r. 1618-22) because in that time, the Ottoman army conquered Ardabil and looted all its treasures.[49]

In the Ottoman Istanbul, one of the Shāhrukhi paintings of the manuscript ("Sultan Sanjar Enthroned," fol. 209b) was partly overpainted and the costumes of the personages were changed to resemble the Ottoman garments. The golden seal of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) and the inscription "*Zu-l-Vajhayn-i Kütübhane-i Humayuni*" on the red binding indicate that the manuscript was bound at the Yıldız Palace in Istanbul. However, an impression of the original Safavid binding flap is visible on folio 129a.

Figure 4. "Enthronement of Malikshāh ibn Alb Arsalān," detail of folio 204b from a copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*, opaque watercolor, ink and gold on paper, Tabriz, 1317. Topkapı Sarayı Library (Hazine 1654), photo courtesy of the Topkapı Sarayı Library.
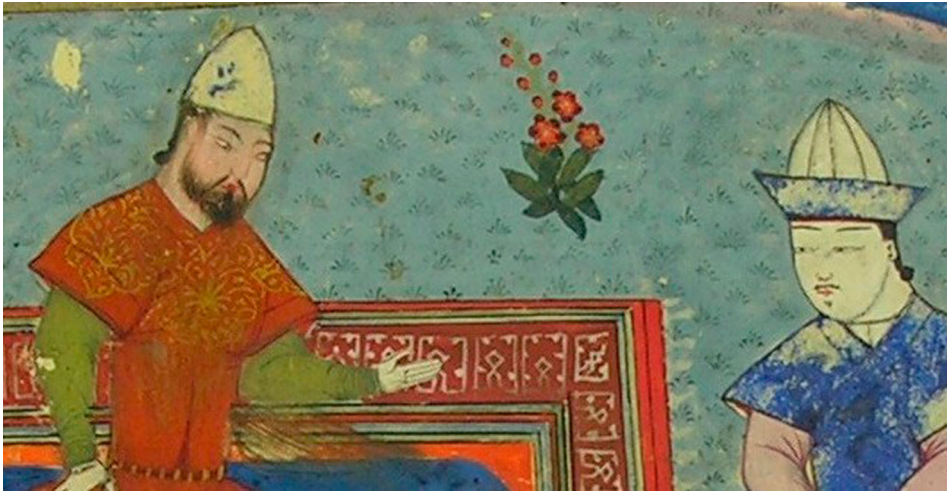
Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1.

The Illustrations, with Reference to the Table

One hundred seventeen pages are illustrated with 125 narrative illustrations. This means that eight pages contain two paintings.[50] Twenty-three pages comprise depictions of 108 figures of Chinese emperors and their attendants, starting from folio 254b and continuing to folio 271a. In fifty-five pages (from fol. 301a to fol. 328a), more than three hundred depictions of the Frankish popes and kings can be found.[51] That Hazine 1654 had more paintings is confirmed by pigment offset on the middle of folio 345a.[52] The illustration should have portrayed a scene from the life of Buddha. Unlike the earlier paintings in the Arabic copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*,

Figure 6. "Moses orders to burn the golden calf," detail of folio 283b from a copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*, opaque watercolor, ink and gold on paper, Tabriz, 1317. Topkapı Sarayı Library (Hazine 1654), photo courtesy of the Topkapı Sarayı Library.

all miniatures in Hazine 1654 are rectangles that stretch across the text. The only exception is the small painting "The encounter of Jacob and his family with Joseph and the grandees of Egypt," which is placed at the lower left corner of the written area of folio 9a.

It is here proposed, pending further scientific analysis, that the paintings in Hazine 1654 can be classified according to six major groups, as follows:

I   Rashidi illustrations;
II   Jalayirid paintings, which remained intact;
III   Fourteenth-century miniatures, which were partly restored in Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna*;
IV   Shāhrukhi illustrations, which were painted over Jalayirid paintings;
V   Shāhrukhi paintings, which were executed on Herati papers;
VI   Shāhrukhi depictions of Chinese emperors and Frankish popes and kings that were added in the empty spaces on the Rashidi folios.

With the exception of ten paintings (nos. 18-26 and 94 in the table of illustrations), the location of all the narrative paintings and portraits were designated in Rashid al-Din's scriptorium. There are considerable overlaps in illustrated episodes of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* manuscripts transcribed at the Rabʿ-i Rashidi. A comparison between these manuscripts will reveal how similar these three codices are. In the Arabic and both Persian versions, the illustrations are not distributed uniformly through the text. The scribes of these codices left long blocks of approximately ninety folios on the end of the life of the Prophet, the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid caliphates totally without painting.[53] By contrast, some sections like the pre-Islamic history, the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs are richly illustrated with a painting every leaf or two.

In Hazine 1654, the pre-Islamic history (fols. 1b-51b) contains twenty-eight paintings in fifty-one folios. Compared with the Edinburgh fragment of the Arabic codex, it seems that originally this section would have had more paintings. This is because, as mentioned before, the first four folios of Hazine 1654, which were substituted by Shāhrukh's workshop, are unillustrated, while the same part of the text in the Arabic codex contains four miniatures. Moreover, it seems that, like the Arabic manuscript, in Hazine 1654 the story of the prophet Jeremiah was designated for illustration.[54] On folio 21b, the scribe wrote the last four lines of the text on Jeremiah in a v-shape, similar to the arrangement of colophons. This was a tradition in all surviving Rashidi manuscripts in order to place the illustration at the top of the succeeding folio.[55] However, folio 22 (the location of the painting) is one of the substituted leaves.

The early Islamic history (fols. 51b-109a) is illustrated with twelve paintings on thirty-two leaves. Most folios of the same section in Hazine 1653 were replaced in Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna*. Thus, it is worthwhile to look at the Arabic version. Nearly all the illustrated episodes in this section in Hazine 1654 were also depicted in the Arabic codex.[56] Two paintings of the latter manuscript served as models for the depictions of the same episodes in Hazine 1654 (nos. 31 and 33).

Like the Arabic manuscript and Hazine 1653, the chapter in Hazine 1654 that deals with the post-caliphate dynasties of Iran is heavily illustrated, with an average of one image on every other leaf.[57] The subsections on the Ghaznavids (fols. 168b-198a) with twenty-two paintings and the Saljuqs (fols. 198b-224b) with sixteen miniatures were illustrated by the Jalayirids. While most of the illustrations to the Ghaznavids remain intact, the majority of the images of the Saljuqs were partly restored by the Shāhrukhi artists. The subsection on the Khwarazmshahs (fols. 225a-236b) encompasses five paintings. All these five episodes are also illustrated in Hazine 1653.

Next comes the history of the Ughuz Turks (fols. 237b-250b), with ten miniatures. In comparison, this subchapter in Hazine 1653 has more paintings. The scribe who copied Hazine 1653 left thirteen places for paintings.[58] The significance of this subchapter for Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna* is evident from the fact that all these images in Hazine 1654 were overpainted. As I have shown elsewhere, in the dispersed manuscript of the *Majmaʿ al-Tawārīkh*, which was produced for Shāhrukh, the subchapters on the Ughuz Turks and Chinese maintained their high rates of illustration, while the other subsections on the history of other nations have low rates of painting. This is not surprising for Shāhrukh, who maintained his Chaghatayid identity; and, on the other hand, he established a good relationship with the Chinese empire.[59]

The subchapter on the Chinese in Hazine 1654 (fols. 251b-271b) is comparable with Hazine 1653. In both manuscripts, the texts were copied at the Rabʿ-i Rashidi and the depictions were executed in Shāhrukh's workshop. The portraits of the Chinese emperors and their attendants in both manuscripts are identical, so that one should rather consider them to be the work of the same artist. It should be emphasized that all these Timurid depictions of the Chinese people emulate the portraits existing in the Arabic manuscript.

The subchapter on the Jews (fols. 272b-294b) contains eight paintings, six of which have covered fourteenth-century miniatures. This subsection in Hazine 1653 was omitted by the Timurid historian Ḥāfiz-i Abru (d. 1430), but the same part of the text in the Arabic manuscript can be used for comparison. Not only do they both have approximately forty-five pages and eight paintings, but the episodes depicted are almost the same in each.[60]

The importance of the subsection on Franks in Hazine 1654 (fols. 295b-328a) is that it is the only surviving part of the text transcribed at the Rabʿ-i Rashidi. The Frankish history in the Arabic copy has not been preserved, and in Hazine 1653 (fols. 411a-421b) has been written in Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna*. The long illustrated table of Frankish history, which is fifty-five pages, starts from folio 301a.[61] The table consists of four columns titled: "history of the kings," "the names and the portraits (*suvar*) of the kings," "the names and the portraits of the popes" and "the history of the popes" respectively from right to left. Thus, the two central columns bear depictions and the names of the personages written in red. Each page consists of four rows, which chronologically record a brief history of the rulers and their contemporary popes. It starts with the lives of Jesus Christ and Augustus Caesar (d. 19 August 14), the founder of the Roman empire, and ends with the histories of Pope Benedict XI (d. 1304) and Adelbertus, the contemporary monarch.

As mentioned before, all these depictions were added in Shāhrukh's workshop. All the popes as well as Jesus wear Mongol hats and nearly all are seated on a rectangular red couch. Therefore, they appear to be Chinese rather than Europeans. All the rulers wear tri-lobed golden crowns, and most of them are seated on the ground. These depictions are very repetitive, thus giving the impression of a rote arrangement. It seems that they have been added to the manuscript simply to fill the blank spaces. The use of diagrammatic forms follows the traditions common in European illustrated chronicles. For example, a copy of *Chronologia Magna* by Paolino Veneto, which was copied after 1323, shows a similar diagrammatic and synoptical arrangement of vertical columns and horizontal rows.[62] It contains tables of rulers, writers and events, including many portraits throughout.

The subsection on Indian history consists of twenty-two leaves (fols. 328b-350a), five of which (fols. 344a-348b) were transcribed in Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna*. According to the old pagination, ten Shāhrukhi leaves are missing. The seventeen Rashidi folios that deal with Indian history are heavily illustrated with twenty-three paintings. In comparison, the same subchapter in the Arabic manuscript has a lower rate of illustration. It contains only nine paintings on twenty-two folios. Like Hazine 1653 and the Arabic codex, some paintings in this subsection are purely landscapes (fols. 330b, 331a, 331b, 332a and 334a) or landscapes with animals (fols. 245b and 333a), and two miniatures on folios 333b and 335a depict only architecture.

Conclusion

Comparison of the three surviving copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* transcribed at the Rabʿ-i Rashidi reveals that there are many overlaps in the illustrated episodes. This shows the standard procedure of the production of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* manuscripts in the scriptorium. All three codices remain unfinished: the Arabic codex contains some unfinished illumination,[63] and, as Sheila Blair states, its painters were under some pressure, as the illustrations towards the end of the book become more simplified;[64] most likely the paintings in Hazine 1653 were added from the beginning of the book to the middle of the subsection on Ughuz Turks (fol. 378b); and in Hazine 1654 approximately seven illustrations were inserted at the beginning of the book.

Considering the text, Hazine 1654 is the most complete surviving copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* produced at the Rabʿ-i Rashidi. Some parts of the long chapter on the history of other nations only survive in this manuscript. Therefore, that would be of great importance in reconstructing fragmentary manuscripts transcribed in the same scriptorium. For example, comparison of the Topkapı manuscripts with the Arabic codex shows that the subsection on the Jews was not originally the last subchapter of the Arabic manuscript.[65] In addition, the special layout of the subchapter on Frankish history shows how the Rashidi scribes followed Western sources for the design of this part of the text.

Stylistic analysis of a group of the paintings in Hazine 1654 and its comparison with other historical manuscripts produced for Shāhrukh reveals that it was refurbished under his patronage. This is not surprising, for he had collected and completed several fourteenth-century fragmentary codices of Rashid al-Din's enterprise,[66] and some copies of the text were produced at his own order.[67] These historical manuscripts served as a device to justify Shāhrukh's rule in history and to connect him with the previous Ilkhanid sultanates in Iran.

Notes

1. Boyle, "Rashīd al-Dīn"; and Melville, "Jāmeʿ al-Tawārī<u>k</u>," 462.
2. For the contents of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*, see Browne, "Suggestions for a Complete Edition"; and Melville, "Jāmeʿ al-Tawārī<u>k</u>," 463.
3. Rabʿ-i Rashidi comprised a library and scriptorium, a caravansary, a guest house, a hospital, a *khāni-qāh*, residential facilities, a congregational mosque, and other facilities. For discussions of the complex, see Blair, "Ilkhanid Architecture"; Blair, "Patterns of Patronage"; Hoffmann, "Gates of Piety"; Blair, "Writing and Illustrating"; Key Nejad and Balali Oskuyi, *Bāz Āfarini-yi Rabʿ-i Rashidi*; and Ben Azzouna, "Rashīd al-Dīn."
4. Blair, "Ilkhanid Architecture," 81; Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 14; and Thackston, "Translator's Preface," xii.
5. Apart from the three manuscripts produced at the Rabʿ-i Rashidi, one more copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* from Rashid al-Din's lifetime survives. It is a Persian codex copied at Baghdad and dated Shaʿbān 717/October-November 1317. The manuscript is housed in the Topkapı Sarayı Library with the inventory number of Revan 1518. See Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, no. 139; and Thackston, "Translator's Preface," xiii.
6. For the fragment of the Arabic copy of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* in the Edinburgh University Library (Or.MS 20) and reproduction of its illustrations, see Rice, *Illustrations*. This fragment is accessible

online in the following link (accessed October 2016): http://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/view/all/what/Or.Ms±20. For publication of the other fragment in the Khalili Collection (mss727), see Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*.

7. Hazine 1653 consists of 435 folios, 237 of which were transcribed in the Rabʿ-i Rashidi and the rest were added in Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna*. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, some parts of the book including the pre-Islamic history were missing. Shāhrukh commissioned his court historian Hāfiz-i Abru to complete the missing parts of the book. Hāfiz-i Abru replaced the pre-Islamic section with the first volume of his own *Majmaʿ al-Tawārikh*. A textual analysis of Hazine 1653 shows that its pre-Islamic section (fols. 1-148) comprises Hāfiz-i Abru's *Majmaʿ al-Tawārikh* and the rest (fols. 149-435) are Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*. The manuscript contains three colophons. The Ilkhanid colophon on folio 375a is dated 1314, and the Timurid colophons on folios 148a and 421b bear the dates 1425 and 1426. For a detailed analysis of Hazine 1653, see my forthcoming book: *Lives of the Prophets: The Illustrations to Hafiz-i Abru's "Assembly of Chronicles"* (Brill Publishers, in press).

8. Several other manuscripts in Topkapı (like Hazine 762 and Hazine 1510) have been transferred from one royal owner to another. For Hazine 762, see Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits de la "Khamseh,"* 71-81; and for Hazine 1510, see Soucek and Çağman, "A Royal Manuscript."

9. In comparison, the Arabic codex, which is shared between the Khalili collection and Edinburgh University Library, comprises 210 leaves (Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 23-4.); and Hazine 1653 contains 237 Rashidi folios.

10. Inal's research on Hazine 1654 is out of date, because, as will be discussed, most of the statistical information on the manuscript provided by her lacks accuracy.

11. The manuscript in chronological order has been discussed by Aga-Oglu, "Some Unknown Mohammadan," 330; Aga-Oglu, "Preliminary Notes," 183; Holter, "Die Islamischen Miniaturhandschriften," 26, no. 72; Ettinghausen, "An Illuminated Manuscript," 35-6, nos. 6-7; Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, 393, no. 940; Inal, "Some Miniatures"; Inal, "Fourteenth-Century Miniatures," 34-5, 398-9; Jahn, *Rashīd-al-Dīn's History of India*; Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen*; İpşiroğlu, *Das Bild im Islam*, 58; Togan, *Oğuz Destanı*; Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels*; Rice, *Illustrations*, 25-6; Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte*; Gray, "History of Miniature Painting," 96, 116-17; Milstein, "Iconography of Moses," 206; Gutmann, "Abraham in the Fire," 349; Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts"; Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*; Fitzherbert, "Portrait of a Lost Leader," 68-9; Çağman and Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," 138-40; Thackston, "Translator's Preface," xiii; Milstein, "The Manuscripts," 5-6; Tanındı, "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts," 150; Shani, "Noah's Ark," 139-44, 183; Blair, "Writing and Illustrating," 61-3; Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, 180; Blair, "Calligraphers," 172, 180; Ghiasian, "Historical Style," 873, 886; and Hillenbrand, "Holy Figures," 3, 15, note 88.

12. Inal, "Some Miniatures," 165.

13. Idem, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," 103.

14. Gray, "History of Miniature Painting," 96, 116-17.

15. Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 28; and Shani, "Noah's Ark," 141, no. 32. I never saw any seal from the Safavid ruler Safi II (r. 1629-42), as mentioned by Sheila Blair. Two imprints of a circular seal can be seen on folio 1a and inside a painting on folio 188a. Both imprints are nearly disappeared and only a part of the outer circle is visible (fig. 4).

16. The manuscript begins with the sentences as follows:

حمد و مدح و آفرین حضرت جهان آفرین را که صانع صنایع غریب و مبدع بدایع عجیب است و شکر و ستایش پروردگاری را که مظهر عجایب و مصدر غرایب و بدایع است منزّه از اضداد و انداد معرّا از قرین و مقارنه جل جلاله و تعالی و عم نواله و توالی و صلوات متوالیات و درود متواتر بر روضهٔ سلطان کاینات و خلاصه موجودات مقتدای انبیا محمد مصطفی

and before the colophon, finishes with the following words:

آنچه در بطلان مذهب اهل [...] خاطر آمد بسبب حکایات که درو ایراد افتاده مطوّل گشته است هر چند هیچ یک از فواید و عواید خالی نیست ان شاالله که پسندیده حق تعالی باشد و [...] بر ذلل و سهو و خلل و خطا که رفته عفو و مغفرت کرامت کند بمن الله و سعه جوده و کرمه

17. The folio umbers of these four subchapters in Hazine 1653 are as follows: Khwarazmshahs (fols. 329b-338b); Salghurids (fols. 339a-341b); Ismaʿilis (fols. 342b-375a); and Ughuz Turks (fols. 375b-391a).

18. The last page on the history of Khwarazmshahs (fol. 236b) finishes with the following words: مردان ما را رعب و هراس ازیشان در صمیم دلها متمکن شدست و اگر من از میان بر خیزم بدست ایشان ممکن نشود و من شما را سد اسکندرم از شما هر یک یک فوج با علمی مدد کنند

19. The colophon page of the manuscript is reproduced by Ateş, *Cāmiʾ al-tavārīh*, pl. II; and Jahn, *Rashīd-al-Dīn's History of India*, 94.

20. تمام شد کتابت کتاب جامع التواریخ به یاری باری تعالی آنرا بر صاحبش مبارک و میمون گرداناد و فواید آن بکافه مسلمین و مسلماتِ عاید باد و اتفق الفراغ من التحریر بعون اللّه و حسن التیسیر فی ثالث شهر جمادی الاولی سنه سبع عشر و سبعمائه غفر اللّه لکاتبه و لجمیع المسلمین

21. تا غایت وقت که تاریخ سنۀ سبعمائه است

22. تا این زمان که سنۀ اربع و سبعمائه هجری است

23. و این زمان که شهور سنه خمس و سبعمائه هجری است

24. جمیع اوراق جامع التواریخ بعدد سیصد هفتاد پنجست

25. With the exception of the subsections on the histories of Salghurids and Ismaʿilis, some of the missing leaves can be discerned between the following folios: 194-5, 236-7, 344-5. In the last case, according to the old pagination, ten leaves are missing.

26. Gray, "History of Miniature Painting," 96, 116-17. Basil Gray's attempt at dating the vast majority of the illustrations of the manuscript is vitiated. He has attributed most of the paintings including all twenty-three miniatures of the section on the Indians to the late fourteenth century without considering Shāhrukhi addition to the manuscript. Moreover, he dated the paintings on two sides of the fifth folio to "one generation later in date than that in the colophon." He discusses that the style of the paintings of Hazine 1654 and the Arabic codex is not the same: "the drapery is more softly drawn and the use of silver for shading avoided." Rice, *Illustrations*, 35, no. 8. As Sheila Blair's studies demonstrate, there was a considerable decrease in quality of the manuscripts between the Arabic and the Persian copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh* produced at Rashid al-Din's scriptorium. She has shown that these changes can be considered as ways to reduce expenses and speed up production. Blair, "Writing and Illustrating," 63.

27. For this codex, see Gray, "History of Miniature Painting," 114, pl. xxix; and Richard, *Splendeurs Persanes*, 72. The manuscript is accessible online in the following link (accessed October 2016): http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84328980/f1.planchecontact.r=Persan%20913.

28. For example, see Sup. Pers. 913, fols. 11b, 23a, 24b, 45b, 46b, 71a, 106b, 134a.

29. For Shāhrukh's campaigns, see Roemer, "Successors of Tīmūr," 102-4; and Melville, "The Itineraries of Shāhrukh."

30. For Shāhrukh's library seal in the Arabic codex, see Gray, *World History*, 27, no. 7; Robinson, "Rashid al-Din," pl. ii; and Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, fig. 19. The seal and dedicatory inscriptions of Shāhrukh in Hazine 1653 have been published by Ettinghausen, "An Illuminated Manuscript," figs. 3-4.

31. Some comparative paintings are published by Inal, "Some Miniatures," figs. 3-17.

32. Of the examples of these duplicated images, two consecutive leaves of the dispersed manuscript can be mentioned. These folios are depictions of the first to the sixth mythological Chinese emperors. See Christie's Auction, October 6, 2009, lot 56; and Bonhams Auction, October 6, 2008, lot 6. The same depictions can be found in Hazine 1654 fol. 254b and Hazine 1653 fol. 394b. The latter folio is reproduced by Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte*, pl. 7.

33. For an analysis of the dispersed manuscript, see Ghiasian, "Historical Style."

34. Fazāʾili, *Atlas-i Khat*, 444-5; Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture*, 29-30; and Wright, *Look of the Book*, 231-2.

35. The first type of calligraphy can be found on folios 5a-21b and 40a-195b, and the second type on folios 196a-343b and 349a-350a.

36. This folio is housed in the Edinburgh University Library. See Rice, *Illustrations*, nos. 5-7.

37. These four illustrations, which are in the Edinburgh University Library, are "The city of Irām" (fol. 1a), "The prophet Sālih" (fol. 1b), "Hushang enthroned" (fol. 2a), and "Tahmuras enthroned" (fol. 2b). For their reproduction, see Rice, *Illustrations*, nos. 1-4.
38. The paintings of Hazine 1654 folios 23a, 24a, 25a, 26a, 27b, 31b, 32b, 33b and 36b emulate the Edinburgh images on folios 138a, 6b, 142a, 19a, 6b, 22a, 23a, 23b and 140b respectively.
39. The inscription of the initial *shamsa* reads:

برسم كتابخانه نوّاب مستطاب معلی القارين السلطنه القاهر و عضد الدوله التامه مقرب الحضره العليه الخاقانيه موتمن الدوله و التهيه السلطانيه فرهاد خان قرامانلو خلّد الله دولته الی يوم القيامه سمت اتمام يافت

40. Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah ʿAbbas*, vol. 2, 674, 690, 748-9. For a discussion on Farhād Khān, see Matthee, "Farhād Khan Qaramānlū."
41. Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah ʿAbbas*, vol. 2, 760-62.
42. These illuminated *ʿunvāns* can be found in the following folios: 1b, 168b (Ghaznavids), 198b (Saljuqs), 237b (Ughuz Turks), 251b (Chinese), 272b (Israelites), 295b (Franks), 328b (Indian). For reproductions of three of them (fols. 168b, 295b and 328b), see Jahn, *Rashīd-al-Dīn's History of India*, pl. 51; Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte*, pl. 1; and Çağman and Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," figs. 12-13.
43. The central part of the phrase reads,

" ...امام حسين عليه السلام بر دريا شد و ... "

44. Rizvi, "Sites of Pilgrimage," 100; and Blair, *Text and Image*, 245.
45. These seals can be found in the following folios: 1b, 24b, 35a, 56b, 64b, 75a, 91a, 95a, 109a, 131b, 147b, 172a, 190a, 198a, 198b, 213a, 216b, 223a, 247a, 264a, 287a, 292a, 294b, 295b, 313a, 314a, 320a, 332a, 336a, and 350a. For the reproduction of one of the legible seals, see Çağman and Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," fig. 13.
46. The well-known copy of Farid al-Din ʿAttār's *Mantiq al-Tayr* ("Language of the Birds") in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (63.210) also contains impressions of the same seal with the same date. See Swietochowski, "Historical Background," figs. 3, 19, 20, 23, 27; and Kamada, "A Taste for Intricacy," figs. 1-4.
47. For the donations of Shāh ʿAbbās to the Shrine of Shaykh Safi, see Canby, *Shah ʿAbbas*, 120-23.
48. The inscription reads:

هذا كتاب جامع التواريخ لخواجه رشيدالدين فضل الله الوزير فى دوله السلطان محمد خدابنده الجنكيزى مات رحمه الله تعالى شهيداً فى سنه ثمان عشره و سبعمائه

49. Çağman and Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," 140.
50. The pages with two paintings are: fols. 5a, 213b, 238b, 331a, 331b, 334a, 338b and 339a.
51. Inal's description of the number of illustrations of the manuscript, which has been referred to by other scholars, is incorrect. She writes, "It has 118 miniatures, and 78 pages contain representations of Chinese emperors." See Inal, "Some Miniatures," 165; Inal, "Fourteenth-Century Miniatures," 34; and Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 28. In 1992, she states that the first three paintings are Ilkhanid in style and "the other 195 miniatures were all painted later." Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," 103.
52. Folio 345a is reproduced in Jahn, *Rashīd-al-Dīn's History of India*, 84.
53. In the Hazine 1654 (fols. 84-168), there is a block of eighty-five folios without illustration. There are similar blocks of ninety-seven unillustrated folios in Hazine 1653 (fols. 171-267) and eighty-two leaves in the Arabic codex. For the unillustrated block in the Arabic copy, see Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 42-3.
54. For the depiction of Jeremiah in the Arabic manuscript (fol. 13b), see Rice, *Illustrations*, no. 17.
55. For example, see Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels*, pl. 39; and Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 40-41.
56. Of the twelve miniatures of Hazine 1654, eleven are depicted in the Arabic codex. The folios concerning one of the twelve episodes of Hazine 1654 (the battle of Uhud) are missing in the Arabic version (the Khalili fragment). The Arabic copy has two more paintings: "discovery of the well of Zamzam" (Or.MS 20, fol. 41a) and "the first revelation of the Prophet" (Or.MS 20, fol. 45b).

57. For the illustrations to the post-caliphate dynasties of Iran in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* manuscripts, see Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 42-3; and Melville, "Royal Image," 354-6.

58. Of the thirteen places left for paintings, the first seven were added in Rashid al-Din's scriptorium (fols. 375b-378b), the next five were painted in Shāhrukh's workshop (fols. 382a, 383b, 384a, 386b, 387a) and the last place (fol. 389b) remains unillustrated. This indicates that, like Hazine 1654, Hazine 1653 was an unfinished manuscript.

59. See Ghiasian, "Historical Style"; and my forthcoming paper: "Images of the Non-Mongol Peoples of Eurasia form Rashid al-Din's '*Compendium of Chronicles*,'" *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* (in press).

60. Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 43.

61. Thirty-five pages of the subsection on the Frankish history in Hazine 1654 are reproduced by Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte*, pls. 1-35.

62. For this manuscript, which is housed in the British Library (Egerton 1500), see *Catalogue of Additions*, no. Eg. 1500; and Saxl and Meier, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 3, 143-6. It is accessible online in the following link (accessed October 2016): http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=2976

63. Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 30.

64. Ibid., 91; and Blair, "Writing and Illustrating," 63.

65. What Sheila Blair has reconstructed (*Compendium of Chronicles*, appendix ii) is the jumbled version that was paginated in seventeenth-century India. Since both the Persian copies finish with the Indian history, it seems plausible to assume that the Arabic manuscript also ends with the same subchapter, the last page of which contains a colophon.

66. As mentioned before, both the Arabic codex and Hazine 1653 contain Shāhrukh's library seals.

67. Four copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* produced for Shāhrukh are known to me:
    - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sup. Pers. 1113 (Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Tîmûrides*, 48-51, pls. xlix-lii; Gray, "An Unknown Fragment"; Richard, "Un des Peintres"; Richard, *Splendeurs Persanes*, 76; and Rührdanz, "Illustrationen zu Rašīd al-Dīns");
    - The British Library, Ms. Add. 7628 (Browne, "Suggestions for a Complete Edition," 17-37; Rieu, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, 74-8; and Melville, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the Shāhnāmeh," 204-7);
    - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sup. Pers. 209 (Richard, *Catalogue des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 300-302);
    - The dispersed manuscript, for which see Ghiasian, "Historical Style."

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Appendix

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Table A1.   Table of the illustrations[1]

No.	Group	Folio	Title
Pre-Islamic History			
1	I	5a	Enthronement of Jamshid, 100 × 256 mm.[2]
2	I	5a	Zaḥḥāk enthroned, 96 × 257 mm.
3	I	5b	Abraham in the fire, 125 × 259 mm.
4	II	7b	Jacob's sons bringing Joseph's shirt stained with false blood to their father, 125 × 259 mm.
5	II	9a	The encounter of Jacob and his family with Joseph and grandees of Egypt, 94 × 189 mm.
6	II	9b	The prophet Job's distress, 110 × 264 mm.
7	II	10a	Enthronement of Manuchihr, 105 × 260 mm.[3]
8	II	12a	The drowning of Pharaoh and his army, 131 × 260 mm.
9	II	12b	Moses praying after the murder of the Egyptian, 120 × 260 mm.[4]
10	II	13a	Moses slays the giant ʿUj, 98 × 260 mm.
11	II	13b	Korah and his treasures are swallowed up by the earth, 102 × 255 mm.
12	II	16a	Samson destroys the temple, 120 × 260 mm.
13	II	17a	David judges between two brothers, 95 × 263 mm.
14	II	17b	Solomon among demons, fairies, animals and birds, 110 × 260 mm.[5]
15	II	18b	The death of Solomon, 110 × 258 mm.
16	II	19b	Kaykhusraw ibn Siyāwash ibn Kaykāwus enthroned, 126 × 258 mm.
17	II	20b	Luhrāsb on the throne, 110 × 260 mm.[6]
18	V	23a	Gushtāsb on the throne and Zoroaster, 172 × 253 mm.[7]
19	V	24a	Ardashir on the throne, 128 × 250 mm.
20	V	25a	Humāy the daughter of Bahman enthroned, 170 × 254 mm.
21	V	26a	Alexander in the fog, 165 × 250 mm.
22	V	27b	Ashk ibn Ashkān on the throne, 170 × 250 mm.[8]
23	V	31b	Annunciation to Mary, 163 × 250 mm.[9]
24	V	32b	The seven sleepers, 153 × 250 mm.[10]
25	V	33b	Jonah and the whale, 170 × 250 mm.[11]
26	V	36b	Enthronement of Shāpur ibn Ardashir, 140 × 245 mm.
27	II	45a	Destruction of the army of Abraha in Mecca, 130 × 255 mm.
28	II	46b	Enthronement of Hurmuz ibn Nushirwān, 120 × 255 mm.

(Continued)

Table A1. Continued

No.	Group	Folio	Title
Early Islamic History			
29	III	55b	The birth of the Prophet Muhammad, 98 × 260 mm.[12]
30	IV	57a	The youthful Muhammad recognized by the monk Bahirā, 123 × 255 mm.
31	IV	59a	The Prophet solves a quarrel over lifting the Black Stone in the Kaʿba, 122 × 260 mm.
32	IV	62a	The persecution of Bilāl al-Habashi, 110 × 255 mm.
33	IV	66a	Muslims received at the Abyssinian court, 110 × 255 mm.
34	IV	68b	The Prophet and the members of Bani Hāshim and Bani al-Muttalib in the valley of Abi Tālib, 125 × 257 mm.[13]
35	IV	69a	The ascension of the Prophet Muhammad, 120 × 260 mm.
36	IV	73b	The Prophet Muhammad's migration, 110 × 258 mm.
37	IV	79a	The battle of Badr, 118 × 260 mm.
38	IV	80a	The battle of Bani Qaynuqāʿ, 118 × 260 mm.
39	IV	81b	The battle of Uhud, 117 × 260 mm.
40	IV	83b	The battle of Bani al-Nadir, 118 × 260 mm.
Ghaznavids			
41	II	169b	The conquest of Qusdār by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, 110 × 260 mm.
42	II	170b	Nāsir al-Din fights with the army of Indians, 110 × 260 mm.
43	II	172b	The conquest of the castle of Shams al-Maʿāli Qābus by the armies of ʿAdad al-Dawla and Muʾayyad al-Dawla, 155 × 263 mm.
44	II	173b	Battle between Tāsh and Abu al-Hasan Simjur, 110 × 260 mm.
45	II	174a	Murder of Abu Saʿid Shibi at the command of Nasr ibn al-Hasan Firuzān, 103 × 260 mm.
46	II	177a	The battle between Mahmud ibn Sabuktigin and Abu ʿAli Simjur, 110 × 310 mm.
47	II	177b	Arrival of the envoys of Abu ʿAli and Fāʾiq to the court of Nuh ibn Mansur, 112 × 260 mm.
48	II	178a	The army of Nuh ibn Mansur captures Ilmanku and his people, 110×310 mm.
49	II	179b	At the time of Nuh's death, Maʾmun ibn Muhammad is killed by his slaves, 110 × 263 mm.[14]
50	II	181a	The army of Sayf al-Dawla defeating in a battle, 114 × 257 mm.
51	II	181b	Al-Qādir bi-Allāh sends a robe of honor to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, 110 × 260 mm.

(Continued)

Table A1. Continued

No.	Group	Folio	Title
52	II	182b	The raid of the army of Ughuz Turks on the camp of Ilak Khān's army, 97 × 325 mm.
53	II	183a	Muntasir's army crossing Amu Daryā river in winter, 105 × 260 mm.
54	II	184b	The entrance of the army of Nāsir al-Din Sabuktigin to India, 105 × 260 mm.
55	II	185b	The besieging of the castle of Erek, 107 × 260 mm.
56	II	186b	The besieging of Gurgan at the time of Qābus ibn Wushmgir, 113 × 260 mm.
57	II	188a	The battle of Bahātiyya, 105 × 260 mm.
58	III	190b	The battle of Ghur, 127 × 255 mm.
59	III	192b	The battle of Nārin, 120 × 258 mm.
60	II	195a	Bughrā Khān leaves the city of Bukhara, 110 × 260 mm.[15]
61	III	196a	The siege of the castle of Manch or Barāhima, 128 × 260 mm.
62	III	197a	The death of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, 125 × 254 mm.[16]

Saljuqs

No.	Group	Folio	Title
63	III	199b	Amir Isrāʾil in the court of Sultan Mahmud, 110 × 238 mm.
64	III	200b	Tughrul Beg came to Nishabur in the year 429 and sat on the throne of Mahmud ibn Masʿud, 120 × 304 mm.
65	III	202b	Enthronement of Alb Arsalān, 110 × 304 mm.
66	III	204b	Enthronement of Malikshāh ibn Alb Arsalān, 115 × 291 mm (figs. 1 and 2).
67	III	206a	Enthronement of Barkiyāruq ibn Malikshāh, 156 × 243 mm.
68	III	208a	Enthronement of Muhammad ibn Malikshāh, 160 × 243 mm.
69	III	209b	Enthronement of Sanjar ibn Malikshāh, 140 × 290 mm.[17]
70	III	211b	The defeat of Sultan Sanjar by the Ughuz Turks, 113 × 240 mm.
71	III	212b	Enthronement of Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn Malikshāh, 116 × 235 mm.
72	II	213b	Enthronement of Tughrul ibn Muhammad ibn Malikshāh, 105 × 242 mm.
73	III	213b	The mausoleum of Tughrul ibn Muhammad ibn Malikshāh, 155 × 245 mm.
74	III	216b	Enthronement of Malikshāh ibn Mahmud, 135 × 238 mm.
75	III	217a	Enthronement of Muhammad ibn Mahmud, 93 × 225 mm.
76	III	219a	Sulaymānshāh ibn Mahmud enthroned, 115 × 222 mm.
77	III	219b	Enthronement of Arsalān ibn Tughrul, 130 × 236 mm.
78	III	222a	Enthronement of Tughrul ibn Arsalān, 110 × 245 mm.

(Continued)

Table A1. Continued

No.	Group	Folio	Title
Khwarazmshahs			
79	II	225b	Il Arsalān who is seated on a throne orders to chain Sulaymānshāh, 112 × 240 mm.
80	IV	229a	Sultan Muhammad Khwārazmshāh suppressing the Ghuri rebels, 110 × 242 mm.
81	III	232b	Jalal al-Din escaping from the army of Chingiz Khān, 115 × 227 mm.[18]
82	IV	234a	The battle between Sultan Jalāl al-Din and the army of caliph Nāsir in Baghdad, 107 × 255 mm.
83	IV	236a	The battle between Jalāl al-Din and the Georgians, 122 × 245 mm.
Ughuz Turks			
84	IV	237b	Dibyāvqu Khān and his four sons, 110 × 244 mm.[19]
85	IV	238a	A woman informs Ughuz that his relatives intend to kill him, 85 × 238 mm.[20]
86	IV	238b	Ughuz defeats his relatives in a battle, 111 × 240 mm.[21]
87	IV	238b	Turks constructing gharry, 88 × 239 mm.[22]
88	IV	241a	The expedition of Ughuz to Egypt, 113 × 237 mm.[23]
89	IV	242b	Ughuz Khān receives messengers with gifts, 120 × 238 mm.[24]
90	IV	243a	The enthronement of Kun Khān, the son of Ughuz, 110 × 233 mm.[25]
91	IV	245b	The dog Qarā Burāq drives off the wolves, 120 × 234 mm.[26]
92	IV	246b	Kul Erki Khān, Tumān Khān and Qurqurt, 116 × 238 mm.[27]
93	IV	249a	The captivated Shāhmalik in front of his father ʿAli Khān, 117 × 235 mm.[28]
China			
94	VI	252b	Khwāja Nasir al-Din Tusi in the court of Hulāgu Khān, 237 × 245 mm.[29]
Children of Israel			
95	IV	275a	The ark of Noah, 84 × 253 mm.[30]
96	IV	278b	An angel embraces Jacob, 112 × 246 mm.[31]
97	III	280b	Joseph, Benjamin and their brothers, 111 × 280 mm.[32]
98	IV	283b	Moses orders to burn the golden calf, 110 × 245 mm (Figure 3).[33]
99	III	286a	Moses anoints Joshua, 107 × 240 mm.[34]
100	IV	288a	Saul falls upon his own sword, 117 × 248 mm.[35]
101	IV	289a	The judgment of Solomon, 107 × 252 mm.[36]
102	IV	291b	Jonah and the whale, 118 × 243 mm.[37]

(*Continued*)

Table A1. Continued

No.	Group	Folio	Title
India			
103	IV	330b	Mountains of India, 100 × 250 mm.[38]
104	IV	331a	Mountains of Turkestan, 112 × 240 mm.[39]
105	IV	331a	Mountains between India and Tibet, 120 × 246 mm.[40]
106	IV	331b	Seven rivers in India, 110 × 241 mm.[41]
107	IV	331b	The Ganges river, 110 × 241 mm.[42]
108	IV	332a	Seven branches of the Ganges, 115 × 250 mm.[43]
109	IV	333a	Battle between a rhinoceros and an elephant, 105 × 241 mm.[44]
110	IV	333b	The city of Kashmir, 118 × 238 mm.[45]
111	IV	334a	An island between India and China, 110 × 238 mm.[46]
112	IV	334a	The Waq-wāq tree, 105 × 239 mm.[47]
113	IV	335a	A city in India, 110 × 242 mm.[48]
114	III	336a	An ancient Indian king seated on the ground, 112 × 242 mm.[49]
115	IV	337b	An Indian king in battle, 124 × 244 mm.[50]
116	III	338a	The Ghuri ʿAlā al-Din Husayn in the court of Sultan Sanjar, 120 × 240 mm.[51]
117	IV	338b	Coffin of the Guri Ghiyāth al-Din Mahmud ibn Muhammad, 122 × 247 mm.[52]
118	IV	338b	The ruler of Delhi, Shams al-Din Iltutmish, 120 × 246 mm.[53]
119	IV	339a	Ulugh Khān in the court of Radiya, 120 × 240 mm.[54]
120	IV	339a	Enthronement of Nāsir al-Din, the successor of Sultan Radiya, 116 × 240 mm.[55]
121	IV	339b	Malik Firuz returning from Delhi, 117 × 238 mm.[56]
122	IV	340a	Malik Firuz meets ʿAlā al-Din near a river, 120 × 238 mm.[57]
123	IV	341a	An angel orders an Indian prophet-king to sacrifice, 110 × 237 mm.[58]
124	IV	342b	The Indian king, Rāk meets his daughter, 113 × 230 mm.[59]
125	IV	343b	An Indian king releases a cow, 114 × 244 mm.[60]

Notes

1. In order to provide a shorter table, the portraits of the Chinese emperors (fols. 254b-271a) and the Frankish popes and kings (fols. 301a-328a) have not been listed here.
2. Inal, "Fourteenth-Century Miniatures," 398; Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," fig. 2; and Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 91, fig. 55.
3. Melville, "Illustration of History," fig. 2.
4. Gray, "History of Miniature Painting," 109, no. 66.
5. Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," fig. 13.
6. Ibid.," fig. 5.

7. Inal, "Some Miniatures," fig. 6; and Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," fig. 3.
8. Inal, "Some Miniatures," fig. 4.
9. Ibid., fig. 8; and Inal, "Fourteenth-Century Miniatures," 398.
10. Massignon, "Les sept dormants d'Ephèse," pl. vi, no. 1; Inal, "Some Miniatures," fig. 10; and Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 101, fig. 65.
11. Inal, "Fourteenth-Century Miniatures," 399.
12. Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," fig. 10.
13. Inal, "Some Miniatures," fig. 1.
14. Gray, "History of Miniature Painting," 109, no. 67.
15. Folio 195 is not in its correct place and compared with the same part of the text in Hazine 1653 (fol. 274a), it should be after folio 175. Thereafter, there is a gap within the text that indicates at least one leaf is missing.
16. Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," fig. 15.
17. As mentioned before, in the Ottoman court, this painting was partly overpainted again and the costumes of the personages were changed to resemble the Ottoman garments.
18. Fitzherbert, "Portrait of a Lost Leader," fig. 2.
19. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen*, fig. 2; Togan, *Oğuz Destanı*, pl. 2; and Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," fig. 4.
20. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen*, fig. 4.
21. Ibid., fig. 6.
22. Ibid., fig. 8.
23. Ibid., fig. 13.
24. Ibid., fig. 16.
25. Ibid., fig. 18.
26. Ibid., fig. 21; and Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," fig. 14.
27. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen*, fig. 23.
28. Ibid., fig. 24.
29. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte*, pl. 3; and Inal, "Some Miniatures," fig. 2. This painting was added in Shāhrukh's *kitābkhāna* to the vacant space left for a diagram. The major parts of the counterpart folio in Hazine 1653 (fol. 392a-b) remains blank.
30. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels*, pl. 7; and Shani, "Noah's Ark," 183;
31. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels*, pl. 14.
32. Ibid., pl. 18.
33. Ibid., pl. 24.
34. Ibid., pl. 29.
35. Ibid., pl. 33.
36. Ibid., pl. 35.
37. Ibid., pl. 40.
38. Jahn, *Rashīd-al-Dīn's History of India*, pl. 55.
39. Ibid., pl. 56.
40. Ibid., pl. 56.
41. Ibid., pl. 57.
42. Ibid., pl. 57.
43. Ibid., pl. 58.
44. Ibid., pl. 60.
45. Ibid., pl. 61.
46. Ibid., pl. 62.
47. Ibid., pl. 62.
48. Ibid., pl. 64.
49. Ibid., pl. 66.
50. Ibid., pl. 69.
51. Ibid., pl. 70.

52. Ibid., pl. 71.
53. Ibid., pl. 71.
54. Ibid., pl. 72.
55. Ibid., pl. 72.
56. Ibid., pl. 73.
57. Ibid., pl. 74.
58. Ibid., pl. 76.
59. Ibid., pl. 79.
60. Ibid., pl. 81.