

DEPICTIONS OF THE ARK OF *NOAH* AND THE *GIANT UJ* IN  
*KULLİYAT-I TARIKHI* OF *HAFİZ-I ABRU*  
(STYLE AND ICONOGRAPHY)\*



*HÂFİZ-I EBRÛ'NUN KÜLLİYAT-I TARİH ESERİNDE NÛH'UN GEMİSİ VE  
ÛC b. UNUK TASVİRİ (ÛSLUP VE İKONOĞRAFİ)*

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**Abstract**

In Islamic Art, the tradition of depicting texts of history took shape in Tabriz from the very beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Herat School of illustration revived this tradition and continued the production of works of illustrated manuscripts. Having been written by the order of Shahrukh, included the general history of the world and prophets, *Kulliyat-Tarikhi* was compiled in Herat, one of the most productive centers of art in the Timurid period. The work of art is preserved in the library of Topkapı Palace Library (Baghdad 282). In this article, firstly codicological features of the book were defined and detailed information was given as to the content of the illustration program of the book. The depiction of Noah's Ark and the 'Uj' in the book was compared with other illustrated manuscripts in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century. From this respect, this study is crucial for us in terms of seeing the formation of the illustration program of historical texts including Noah's Ark and their influence on the development process in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Gathering and studying images about Noah's Flood in the works of Islamic art of painting including the history of prophets in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries will contribute to the literature of History of Art, as it is an up-to-date study.

**Keywords:** *Shahrukh's period, Hafiz-i Abru, Kulliyat-i Tarikhi, Prophet Noah, depictions of Noah*

**Öz**

İslam sanatında tarih metinlerini resmetme geleneği XIV. yüzyıl başından itibaren Tebriz'de şekillenmiştir. XV. yüzyılda Herat Resim Okulu bu geleneği yeniden canlandırmış, resimli el yazma eser üretimini devam ettirmiştir. Şâhruh'un emriyle hazırlanan, peygamberler ve genel dünya tarihini içeren Külliyyat-ı Tarih eseri Timurlu döneminin en verimli sanat merkezlerinden biri olan Herat'ta telif edilmiştir. Eser Topkapı Sarayı

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Müzesi Kütüphanesi'nde (Bağdat 282) korunmaktadır. Bu makalede, öncelikle kitabın kodikolojik özellikleri tanımlanmış, eserin resim programının içeriği hakkında detaylı bilgi verilmiştir. Eserde yer alan Nûh'un gemisi ve *Ûc bin Unuk* tasviri XIV-XV. yüzyıla ait diğer resimli el yazmalarla karşılaştırılmıştır. Çalışma bu yönüyle, Nûh'un gemisini anlatan tarihi metinlerin resim programının oluşumu ve XV. yüzyıldaki gelişim süreçlerine etkisini görmemiz açısından önemlidir. XIV-XV. yüzyıl peygamberler tarihini içeren İslam resim sanatı eserlerinde *Nuh tufanı* konusuyla ilgili imgelerin bir araya getirilmesi ve irdelenmesi güncel bir çalışma olması bakımından sanat tarihi alanında literatüre, umuyoruz ki, katkıda bulunacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Şâhrûh, Hâfız-ı Ebrû, Nûh, minyatür, elyazması*

## Introduction

Shahrukh's long-term reign is privileged with its political domination and contribution to that period's culture and art. In the Iranian region, Timurid dominance first expressed itself in Tabriz and later in Shiraz. The city of Herat, the capital of Timurid sovereignty during the Shahrukh (r.1405-1447) period, led to the shaping of art centers strong enough to compete with each other in Shiraz and Samarkand, where he ruled the Timurid princes.<sup>1</sup>

Dethroning the Sultan of Shiraz (Iskandar) in 1414, the death of Sultan Ahmed Jalayir (r.1382-1410) in 1410, and Baysunghur's seizing of Tabriz from Qarā-Qoyunlu in 1420 weakened the art dominance of the western region. Shahrukh brought his son Ibrahim Sultan (r.1415-1435) to replace Iskandar Sultan (r.1409-1414) and moved the treasury to Herat.<sup>2</sup> The art activities in Shiraz continued until the death of Ibrahim Sultan in 1435 and brought Shahrukh's artists to Herat. On the other hand, in Herat, under the auspices of Baysunghur, art activities were strengthened. Similar features are found in the miniatures of the Jalayirids, one of the sources influenced by the Timurid miniature art. In the miniatures of this period, which arose from the synthesis of the old traditions and Il-Khanids painting style, the rising horizon line, the importance of the environment with the small depiction of the character groups compared to the landscape, and the use of pure and bright colors became prominent.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, the Timurid miniature painting style, whose origins and foundations are based on the miniature art developed in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century under the leadership of the Muzaffarids and the Jalayirids in Shiraz, Tabriz and Baghdad, throughout the centuries not only Safavid art but also Indian, Ottoman and Mamluk art deeply influenced and

1 Togan, 1965, 52; Manz, 2007, 16-17; Yüksel, 2009, 29; Aka, 2012, 180

2 Çağman and Tanındı, 1979, 18-19; Soucek, 1996, 73-74; Akimushkin, 1997, 14; Manz, 2007, 30-31; Uluç, 2013, 235; Ghiasian, 2018, 20

3 Lentz and Lowry, 1989, 51-52

was considered one of the pinnacles of Islamic art.<sup>4</sup> In terms of cultural development, one of the most important steps taken during the Timurid period (r.1370-1507) was the establishment of *Kitabkhana*.<sup>5</sup> Thanks to the muralists and calligraphers working in the *kitabkhana* who are responsible for the production of books and some other artworks, the lives of the governors of that period have survived in a visual format. Although there is no concrete document that Timur established a *kitabkhana* in Samarkand, it is thought that such an institution exists in the capital and that the major libraries of the medieval Islamic world (Baghdad, Cairo, Córdoba) may have served as a model for Timur. As a matter of fact, before the Timurids there was a bookstore tradition in the region.<sup>6</sup>

As Grube and Sims have stated, '*The draughtsmanship is of an extreme refinement and finesse, especially because so many of the craftsmen of the kitabkhana were themselves calligraphers, whose mastery of the relatively new nasta'liq style of writing may have contributed more than is usually recognized to the delicacy and the flexibility of the drawing*'.<sup>7</sup>

The library founded by Il-Khanid vizier Rashîd al-Dîn at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century may have been a source for the book arts of the Timurids. Especially after the death of Timur, the *kitabkhana* became the main elements of the Timurid cultural life. Baysunghur, the son of Shahrukh, founded *kitabkhana* in the 1420s, and as a result of his illustrated manuscripts which were produced with quality materials, they became the center of attraction for talented artists. This became the main means for reflecting the state's power in Baysunghur's period, similar to the use of architecture as an ideological tool that indicates power in the times of Timur and Shahrukh. The artworks produced in these centers have always competed with each other. As a result of Shahrukh's protection and support under the rule of Il-Khanid and Jalayirid, the art of painting has an important place in reaching new dimensions in Iran.

Abd-Allah ibn Lutf-Allah ibn 'Abd al-Rashid, al-Bihdadini al-Harawi (d. 1430), known as Hafiz-i Abru, is one of the famous scientists, writers, and historians of the Timurid period (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century), who greatly contributed to the rise of the Iranian and Central Asian history and culture.<sup>8</sup> The historiography technique used by Hafiz-i Abru is pretentious and possesses a different approach.<sup>9</sup> According to Lambton, in addition to being a historian Hafiz-i Abru was also a geographer, had knowledge of various scientific fields including previous history works, and his work was based on scientific resources.<sup>10</sup>

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4 Lentz and Lowry, 1989, 116

5 Lentz and Lowry, 1989, 159-160; Ghiasian, 2018, 25

6 Lentz and Lowry, 1989, 50

7 Grube and Sims, 1979, 154-155

8 Tauer, 1965, 49; Semarkandi, 2008, 377

9 Woods, 1987, 96

10 Lambton, 1978, 1-9

Historical manuscripts demonstrate the initiation of illustrating historical texts in the Islamic art to be the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The tradition of illustrated history, which emerged in Tabriz in the first half of the XIV century and was revived in Herat in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, reflects the continuity of illustrated manuscripts' production. *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* which maintains the tradition of illustrated history, and is the original and only copy containing illustrations in the İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library (B.282) was completed in Herat (1416-1418), one of the most productive art centers in the Timurid period.

**Codicology reviewing:** The text consists of 938 folios and thirty-one lines. The size of the book is 42x31cm, and the dimensions of the writing area are 22.7x20.7cm.<sup>11</sup> The work contains XXI parts. The author of the work is unknown. The author is unknown, but the calligrapher's name mentioned in the text is 'Ma'ru'f Ahsen 'l-Lahu halehu' (معروف کاتب احسن الله حاله). It is stated that the book was written by the order of the Timurid ruler, Shahrukh Bahadur Han (f.10r).<sup>12</sup>

The work has a corpus structure in which important historical books of that period were compiled by Hafiz-i Abru. Some of the assembled books include al-Tabari's *The History of the Prophets and Kings*, Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-tawarikh*, Shâmi's *Zafarnâma*, and some additional chapters written by Hafiz-i Abru himself. *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* starts with the internal wars during Shahrukh's period and narrates the historical events (B.282, f.860v). It also covers the events that happened at the end of April, 819 (1416 AD) (B.282, f.938r) when the army was sent and reached Kirman.<sup>13</sup>

The book's cover does not have a flap, and the lids are made of a dark brown, cherry wood leather. The covers' interior is decorated with a Saz style and a gilded sunburst motif. The inner covers are given an oval sunburst motif in a light colored leather. The book's cover is not the original and it was probably renewed in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Turkey. The work is written on a cream colored paper and the headings are written in *Thuluth* script. The edited part is demonstrated in a gold and blue colored table.<sup>14</sup>

**Colophon recording:** The work has several different colophon recordings ranging from 818 (1415 AD) to 820 (1417-1418 AD).<sup>15</sup> According to E. Sims: 'This work is one of the most impressive manuscripts of the Timurid period. The work has no official title. This large volume of historical work is called B.282 as it is located in the Baghdad mansion'.<sup>16</sup> Felix Tauer stated, 'That the work was written in the second decade of the

11 Lentz and Lowry 1989, 114, 332-333; Sims and Stanley, 2002, 222-227; Biçer Özcan, 2007, 41; Ghiasian, 2018, 32

12 İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library B.282

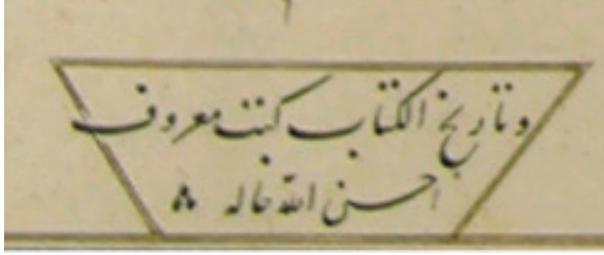
13 Tauer, 1932, 97-99; 1965, 54-55; 2005, 290; Stchoukine, 1954, XXX; Karatay, 1961, 51; Gray, 1979, 177; Woods, 1987, 97

14 Tanındı, unpublished; Özcan, 2007, 41

15 Lentz and Lowry, 1989, 338

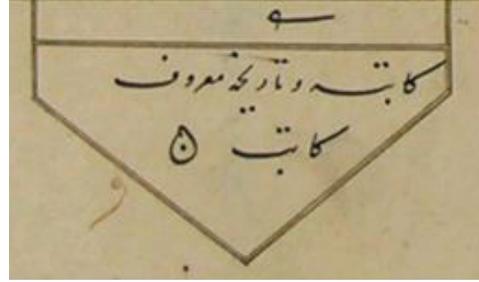
16 Sims and Stanley, 2002, 222.

Shahrukh's rule and named it *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi Hafiz-i Abru* (کلیات تاریخیه حافظ ابرو). The previous reviews of the book show that the first colophon recording (f.296r.) appears in the statement of 'and *tarikh al-kitab kutiba Ma'ruf Ahsen'l-Lahu Halehu*' where the word "kutiba ma'ruf" represents the years 818 (1415-1416 AD) in the abjad writing style'.<sup>17</sup>



**Fig. 1:** Calligrapher's name, *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*, f.296r', İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library B.282.

One of the dates in the text can be found at the beginning of *Zayl-i Tarikh-i Tabari's* section (f.297v). The record *Ma'ruf Ahsen'l-Lahu Halehu* (معروف کاتب احسن الله حال) shows that clerk Ma'ruf worked on copying the book in the month of Rajab (September) 818 (1415 AD). In another date (f.652r.) the name of the clerk can be seen in the record '*Katebe ve tarikhe ma'ruf kateb*'. This indicates that the clerk Ma'ruf has cited this section in the year 819 (1416 AD).



**Fig. 2:** Calligrapher's name, *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*, f.652r', İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library B.282.

A group of researchers explained the two dates found in the work without mentioning the first date which particularly states the name of the calligrapher. In addition to the colophon recordings mentioned above the dates of copying the book are provided in two other places in the text.<sup>18</sup>

In the text, the first date found on page f.2v's second line from the bottom, and on-page f.3v the reason behind writing the *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* by Hafiz-i Abru is indicated. This information is given under the "*Sababi tahriri in kitab*" (سبب تحریر این کتاب) title on the page (B.282, f.3v). According to the information provided in the content, Hafiz-i Abru gave the most important evidence regarding the dating of the work. The years 820 (1417-1418 AD) were confirmed as the work's writing date.<sup>19</sup>

17 Tauer, 1932, 97-98.

18 Lentz and Lowry, 1989, 338-339; Ghiasian, 2018, 33.

19 Karatay, 1961, 52

On reviewing the contents, it is shown that the author started the text with compliments which is an indication that this work was prepared for Shahrukh. In addition, Mohamad Reza Ghiasian contributed to this research by providing an explanation for the reasons this work has been produced.<sup>20</sup>

***The rationale behind writing (tahrir) this book***

*His majesty [Shahrukh] – may God perpetuate his rule – from the extremity of his interest and effort to the study of history and the predecessors' works, is erudite in the accounts of generations and nations, and the Turkish, Arabian and Persian kings. He ordered the transcription (kitabab) of an anthology from sections of this science. One of the most reliable books on history, which is common in our time, is the translation of the history by Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari. Most of its stories have been narrated from the commentaries, quoting from the Qur'an ... Afterwards there is Jami' al-tawarikh of Rashidi, who collected the accounts of sultans and the tribes' rulers. He wrote the book for sultan Ghazan, and it was finished in the beginning of the reign of sultan Uljaytu in the year 705 [1305–6]. [Shahrukh] wished to incorporate what has occurred after that time up to our time that is during the year 820 of the Hijri [1417–18]. He commissioned this humble slave to collect the events of the ages and the rise of prosperous sultans as much as possible. Thus, the book of Zafarnama of sahib-qiran, and afterward, a history of the victories and events of the time of His Majesty [Shahrukh] – may God perpetuate his rule – was incorporated therein (B.282, f. 3v).*

On the f.10a-shamsa page of the book, the ownership recording of the work cannot be found.

Eleanor Sims and Tim Stanley also stated 'As a result of their work on Baghdad 282, the text of the manuscript was started in Shiraz at the beginning of the 15th century and the paintings were completed in Herat'.<sup>21</sup> Today, this hypothesis might be considered unrealistic, thus leading to a new hypothesis to be envisaged by Mohamad Reza Ghiasian. The first reason is the removal of power from Shiraz on 31 July 1414 before the work of Iskandar Sultan was written. The second reason is Shahrukh's instructions and guidance to Hafiz-i Abru in regard to the writing of this work and the reasons behind it, which can be found on page (B.282, f.3v). Furthermore, the presence of information regarding the work's finish date clearly terminates any ongoing debate in relation to the work's different dating.<sup>22</sup>

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20 Ghiasian, 2018, 34.

21 Sims and Stanley, 2002, 222.

22 Ghiasian, 2018, 34.

### **The original text:**

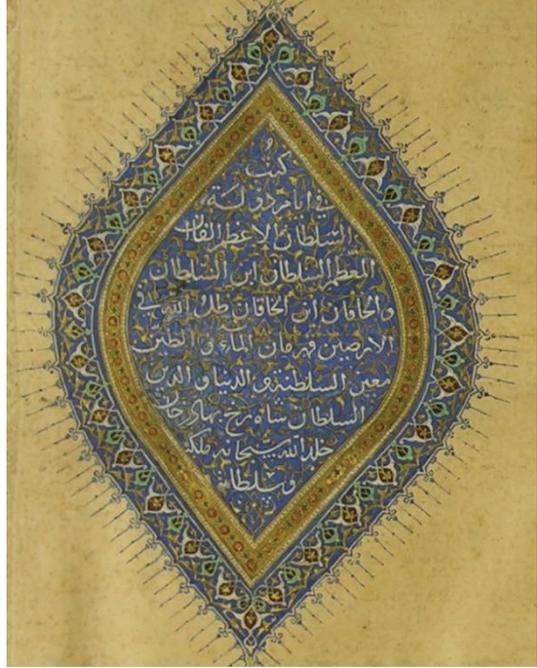
كتب في ايام دوله السلطان الاعظم القان المعظم السلطان ابن السلطان و الخاقان ابن الخاقان ظل الله في الارضين  
قهرمان الماء والطين معين السلطنة والدنيا و الدين السلطان شاه رخ بهادر خان خلد الله سبحانه ملكه و سلطانه

### **Meaning:**

‘The great sultan, the immense Kaan, the son of the sultan, the son of the emperor, the shadow of God in two places, the hero of water and earth [all living things], sultanate, the vicegerent of the world and religion, the Sultan Shahrugh Bahadur Khan – May Almighty Allah preserve his property and continue his sultanate! - written in the state’.

### **Seals:**

At the top right corner of the page, the third Sultan Ahmed’s (r.1703-1730) waqf seal of the can be seen. Also, towards the top left corner of the page, a round seal dated 940/1533-34 with unreadable inscriptions is found. In the lower-middle section of page f.1r and in other pages (f.341r, 620r, 818r, 938v) the round seal of Sultan Muhammad Hussain (not identify) can be depicted.<sup>23</sup> At the bottom right section of the same page and on-page f.938v, the round seal of Sultan Shahrugh Bahadur Han who was the sponsor of the book is shown. On the lower left section of the page the round seal of Maksud bin Ahmad (not identify) is found. Finally, in the lower-left corner, a large round seal of Muhammad Miran Shah (d.1451) with the inner part divided horizontally is illustrated. On the manuscript’s page number f. 640a there is a round seal and the stamp on the upper right of page f.938v is unreadable. At the top left corner of f.1a’s first page, there is a caption which depicts the date 906/1500-01 as an illustrated work. As for the last page (f.938v) the writing “date has not changed, the same year 906” (1500-01) can be seen in Persian. The research on these seals is still ongoing.



**Fig. 3:** Zahriye (inscription) medallion page image *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*, f.10r’, İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library B.282

23 Tanındı, unpublished research.

### **Illuminated:**

In addition to the illustrations found in the books developed in the Timurid palace, the whole components starting with the context and ending with the illumination are considered a high level art. One can come across examples showing that this style survived in Timurid Herat until the end of the 15th century. From this perspective the books particularly prepared for Shahrukh and Baysungur Mirza with their fine workmanship and rich illuminated designs outshine other works.<sup>24</sup>

As Zeren Tanındı has stated, *'The magnificent examples of this style produced in Herat are in Kulliyat-i Tarikhi Hafiz i Abru. The first examples of this style of illumination can be found in the manuscripts probably prepared in Fars region in the mid-14th century. The same style is to be found among the artistes decorating the interior of the buildings in Fars and Samarkand. One can believe that the creator of this style was the illuminator Lutfullah al-Tabrizi working in Fars. One can come across examples showing that this style survived in Timurid Herat until the end of the 15th century.'*<sup>25</sup>

On reviewing *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi's* illustrations it is realized that in addition to the illustrations being the main subject of the work, understanding the whole messages properly depends on the design of illuminations. Apart from the double-page frontispiece the 32 illuminated manuscript consists of 19 'unwans and eleven shamsa. A variety and composition difference in 'unwans' and shamsa's designs can be observed.<sup>26</sup>

Indeed, the time-lag would deserve no comment were it not for the fact that many of the fact that many of the smaller illuminated 'unwans of B.282 are still in the Shiraz style predating the Timurid arrival in Fars.<sup>27</sup>

As Şehnaz Biçer Özcan has stated, *'Illuminated pages of manuscripts made in the workshops of Herat in Timurid period are works of art with high-quality pattern and technique. Undoubtedly, the reason for the success of Herat workshops is that the artists skilled in their field were gathered by the art-lover Timurid rulers. Being in the same workshops of artists trained in different styles definitely increased the quality of the works of art.'*<sup>28</sup>

### **Illustrations:**

Twenty illustrations in the work entitled *Annals of Tabari* consist of prophets' lives and struggle stories starting with Prophet Adam and ending with Prophet Muhammad including Prophets Noah, Salih, Ibrahim, Yusuf, Moses, Solomon, and Issa. It also includes Alexander the Great's (Zulkarneyn) heroism and illustrations of Ali's

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24 Biçer Özcan, 2009, 287-290

25 Tanındı, 1999, 650-651

26 Özcan, 2007, 41; Sims and Stanley, 2002, 222

27 Sims and Stanley, 2002, 224.

28 Özcan, 2007, 402

wars which he encountered while promoting and spreading Islam. Apart from Tabari's text, a story enriched with the illustrations which explain the history of Iranian rulers, the Iranian and Turonian wars from the book entitled *Shahnama* written by Firdavsi, and the stories of Bahram-ı Gur were depicted (f.10r-296v).<sup>29</sup>

The illustration is unsigned and undated. The design of the illustrated page is different. These illustrations include:

- Cat.1. The Angels Prostrating Themselves Before Adam (f.16r);
- Cat.2. Noah and the Giant 'Uj' (f.23r);
- Cat.3. The prophet Salih brings forth a camel out of a rock (f.27v);
- Cat.4. Nimrud Casts Abraham into the Flames (f.30r);
- Cat.5. Nimrud Ascends to Heaven (f.31v); Cat 6. Abraham sacrifices his son (f.35v);
- Cat.7. Yusuf Appears before Zulaykha and Her Maidens (f.41r);
- Cat.8. Moses' Rod Becomes a Snake (f.51v);
- Cat. 9. The Magi of Pharaoh Prostrate Themselves Before Moses (f.54v);
- Cat.10. Moses Slays the Giant 'Uj' (f.65r);
- Cat.11. Balqis brought to Yemen by an Angel by the order of Prophet Solomon (f.74r);
- Cat.12. The battle between Turonian and Iranian (f.78r);
- Cat.13. The Building of the Wall Against Gog and Mogog (f.85r);
- Cat.14. Jesus brings back to life Shem, the son of Noah (f.89v);
- Cat.15. Bahram Gur Kills a Lion and Onager with One Arrow (f.105r);
- Cat.16. The Angels Assist the Prophet Muhammad in the Muslim Victory at the Battle of Badr (154r);
- Cat.17. The Battle of Khaybar (f.169r);
- Cat. 18. The Prophet Muhammad in the Ka'ba (f.171r);
- Cat. 19. The Death of the False Prophet Musaylima at the Battle of 'Akraba' (f.178r);
- Cat.20. The battle of Siffin (f.214r).<sup>30</sup>

All these illustrations have a wide gold border. At eighteen of the illustrations, there are Ottoman inscriptions written in red ink that describe the illustrated episodes.<sup>31</sup> Eleven of the twenty illustrations were elevated by moving the illustration to the page border, and arrangements were made in full-page view with vertical lines of landscape

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29 Karatay, 1961,51-52; Sims and Stanley, 2002, 222.

30 For illustrations of: Stchoukine, 1954, XXX; Gray, 1979: 146, 148, 163; Lentz and Lowry, 1989, 132, 166; Sims and Stanley, 2002, 222-227;

31 Ghiasian, 2018, 33

elements (f.16r, 23r, 27v, 30r, 31v, 65r, 85r, 89v, 169r, 171r, 214r). Nine illustrations are generally described in a horizontal and square frame (f.35v, 41r, 51v, 54v, 74v, 78r, 105r, 154r, 178r).

In the palace of Shahrukh, the large-scale history works on the continuation of the Il-Khanids' tradition can be seen in the book design of *Jami' al-tawarikh*, as well as the *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*. However, the similarity in style cannot be observed in the illustrations. When we examine the *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* illustrations, it is similar to the iconography and description of the subject found in the *Iskandar Sultan Anthology*, which was dated 1410-1411. Eight of the twenty topics depicted in the *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* are found in *Bal'amî's Persian translation of al-Tabari's Tarikh* and are named differently (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, F59.16,47-19).<sup>32</sup>

The program of the illustration includes the Prophets, legendary rulers, and the life events of Prophet Muhammad. Since the book was written in Persian when it came to the Ottoman Palace, and due to the need to understand the ideas related to the book, the reader was informed about the short paintings' topics by providing information in Ottoman using a red ink on each painting.

### **Noah and the Giant Uj: Style and Iconography**

**Text:** In the *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*, the story related to Noah is included under the title of the Prophets and is explained by benefiting from the Qur'an verses. According to the text, before Noah's prophecy, Biyarasp and his people worshiped the idols named Vedd, Suade, Yagus, Yanuk and Nasr. The Almighty God chose Noah as a prophet for all the creatures on earth from south to west. After becoming a prophet, Noah invited people to the path of Allah for fifty years. Allah said in the Holy Qur'an: "We sent Noah to his people as a messenger. O, people! Serve Allah and have no deity but Him. Indeed, I fear the punishment of a great day upon you. When Noah came to the city from where he lived, he invited the people to the path of Allah, but he was captured and beaten by the people. The people of the tribe called Noah as a magician and a liar. Noah had an unbelieving wife and four sons. One of the sons didn't obey his father. One day Noah's patience was exhausted and he prayed to Allah for the destruction of his people: "Oh My God! Leave no single unbeliever on earth!" God told Noah that He will destroy his people with water".

The Almighty God commanded Noah to plant the Savin tree (درخت ساج). For forty years as the tree continued to grow, he continued to invite his people to Allah's path. When the Savin tree grew well, the Almighty God ordered Noah to "cut the tree, tie it together with stone and stud, and build a ship." And he constructed the ship, and whenever an assembly of the eminent of his people passed by him, they ridiculed him. He said, "If you ridicule us, then we will ridicule you just as you ridicule. Noah could not know how to build a ship, since no one had ever built it before. God sent Gabriel to

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32 For detailed information: Fitzherbert, 2001.

teach Noah how to build a ship. Noah began to build the ship, and those who came from his people were making fun of him. The ship was completed in forty years. The length of the ship is one thousand two hundred cubits, the width sixty cubits, and the ship consists of three layers: the first and second levels were for the living creatures on earth and in the sky created by God, and the third level was for people. When the day of the flood came, the water of torment gushed out of the ground and sky. The followers of Noah gathered near the ship. Animals and birds were taken to the ship according to their types and in pairs, and those who did not board the ship were all destroyed underwater. And the water of torment rose to forty cubits. The flood continued for six months. Noah boarded the ship from the region of Kuffa, and reached the land of Mecca. He circumambulated Mecca Haremeyn, then headed west. When it came to Damascus, the ship swayed when it approached the temple. With the support of God, the ship recovered and continued on its way. And it was said, "O earth, swallow your water, and O sky, withhold [your rain]." And the water subsided, and the matter was accomplished, and the ship came to rest on the [mountain of] Judiyy. And it was said, "Away with the wrongdoing people." The day when Noah and those on the ship landed was called Ashura Day. The Muslims, animals, and birds who took to the ship together with Noah embarked upon the earth, including pigs and cats that were not on the ship before. God created these creatures on the ship. At the request of Noah, God created the pig from the elephant's back to feed on the animals' waste. Due to the accumulation of rats gnawing all over the ship the lion's sneeze resulted in cats. There were elephants, lions, pigs, mice, cats, and donkeys on board. Noah had three sons, their wives, and 73 men who obeyed him. Noah lived six hundred years after the flood, a total of 950 years (f.22b-23b).

The story related to Noah's flood is based on the Qur'an verses.<sup>33</sup> The illustration on the page of folio 23a with a size of 29.5x30 cm depicts the story of Noah's ship and the Giant 'Uj'. In the text of the work, lack of info about 'Uj clearly shows that the illustration program including the subject rests on Tabari text. According to the info Tabari directly conveys from believers of Torah, nobody could get out of the flood but 'Uj and those who got on the ship. The rise of water could only reach his toes or knees. Although 'Uj did not believe in him, he did not get drowned. The only reason for this is related to his help by carrying lumber from Damascus.<sup>34</sup>

The image covers 2/3 of the page and moves to the page borders.<sup>35</sup> Giant 'Uj' is depicted on the left side of the page as a half-naked man holding a big fish in one hand. The single-masted ship's sail is carefully decorated. In the lower section a lion, horse, camel, cat, donkey, elephant, giraffe, and deer appear behind the rails of the cage. Prophet Noah, his sons, their wives, and their children, and as mentioned in the text chicken

33 Surah as-Saffat:65,75,77,78; Surah al-Qamar:12,13,14; Surah Hûd :37,40-41; Surah Nûh: 6,7,21,22,23,26,27.

34 For detailed information: Taberî, 1991, 245; Bozkurt, 2012, 35.

35 Sims and Stanley, 2002, 222.

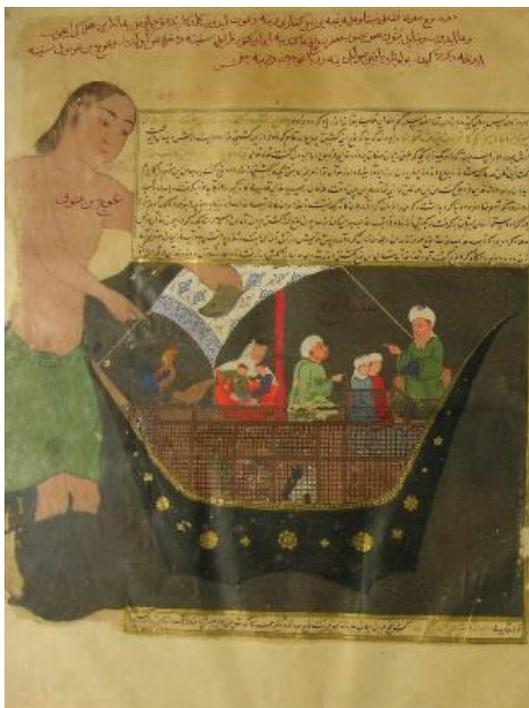
and roosters are found in the illustration. Prophet Noah is depicted larger than the other figures. The Picture has been damaged through the ages. There are spoils on the upper part of Uj's body, Noah's face and the clothes of the figure sitting opposite Noah. Lower left corner of the page has been repaired. The paper edges that were cut and pasted on the sheet surface during the repair seem to have collapsed. Painted with silver, the sea oxidized and darkened over time.

As Muhammad Reza Ghiasian has stated,

*'He is depicted as tall as the entire height of the written surface. The location of the ship and 'Uj in the Iskandar Sultan Anthology has here been reversed'. The has two steering oars and an ornamented sail, but it has three storeys'. Noah's family consists of a turbaned oarsman in a short-sleeved robe, two women attired in golden crowns and white chadurs, and two infants wearing caps and long-sleeved garments'.<sup>36</sup>*

Illustrations related to the example which revived Noah's ark in the *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* have survived until today. Two of them are written in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Tabriz and the illustrated copy is in the form of *Jami' al-tawarikh*. One is found in the *Anthology* which was prepared at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century for Iskandar Sultan in Shiraz. The others are the three copies of *Majma' al-tawarikh* which were found during the reign of Shahrukh and reconstructed in Herat among which one is still dispersed. The Il-Khanid iconography of Noah's Ark became much more elaborated under the Timurids.

The Arabic copy of the *Jami' al-tawarikh* painting, which was dated Hijri 717/1314-1315 (London, Khalili Collection, MSS.727, f.45r) is divided into three parts. Paddlers are depicted on the right side of the ship mast and the Prophet's sons are depicted in the middle of the ship.



**Fig. 4:** The ark of Noah and the Giant 'Uj' detail of f.23r', Herat, 1415-1418, *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*, İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library B.282. (Photo by Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Library)

36 Ghiasian, 2018, 136-137



**Fig. 5:** The Ark of Noah' detail of f.45r', Tabriz, 1314-1315, *Jami' al-tawarikh*, Khalli Collection, London. MSS.727. (The Khalili Collections, 2020.)

On the left part of the composition, there is the character of Noah, who is sitting on a large throne and speaking to the characters behind him.<sup>37</sup>

Due to the flood, huge fishes are depicted between the waves. The embroidered cover shows the landmark by hills behind the sail (Fig.5).

Today, the single sheet image found in the Diez albums at Staatsbibliothek in Berlin is a reminder of the illustration in the *Jami' al-tawarikh's* Arabic version (BS. Diez, A.72.S.16.no.2).<sup>38</sup> On the shipboard surrounded by railings, there are two females (wives), three male characters, and Noah's character, which is very similar to the depiction of the Khalli Collection. The illustration does not contain any details pointing to the flood (Fig.6).

As Richard Ettinghausen has stated, '*There is no resemblance between the picture of Noah's Ark in the Arabic copy and those produced for Shahrugh*'.<sup>39</sup> The composition with an empty background is extremely plain and static. The major parts of the pictorial space are occupied by a simple horizontal ship, which is depicted at the centre. Noah reclines on the deck in the upper left corner of the picture in a pose reminiscent of Noah's figure in the Arabic codex.<sup>40</sup>

37 İnal, 1991, 70-71; Blair, 1995, 45; Ghisian, 2018, 33-34; Shani, 2002, 132-137.

38 <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/metsresolver/PPN736013601>

39 Ettinghausen, 1955, 39-40

40 Ghisian, 2018, 135



**Fig. 6:** The Ark of Noah' detail of p.16no.2', *Jami' al-tawarikh*, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Diez, A.72. (Diez Albums, 2020)

The fourth example is in the 1410-1411 *Iskandar Sultan Anthology* (CGMFL 161, volume 2, f.241r)<sup>41</sup>. The image covers the entire page. In the center of the illustration a small ship continuing in its path due to the flood can be seen. On the right side of the illustration, there is a half-naked Giant 'Uj', holding a big fish. The people of Noah's tribe, who refused to board the ship, were watching the flood from the land behind the rocks with astonishment and anxiety. The darkness of the flood enveloped the sky.

The person in charge of paddling the ship turned his face to Uj whom Noah has pointed out. Under the elaborately decorated sailing mast, the Prophet, his sons' wives and their children sit with crowns on their heads. Noah is depicted larger than the other characters in the illustration, and as in the *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*, he is dressed in a green clothing probably referring to his prophecy. In the lower level of the ship horses, lions, elephants, camels and pigs are depicted in pairs. A big fish and other sea creatures can be seen on the surface of the water that surrounds the ship (Fig.7)

The iconographic interpretation in the copies of *Majma' al-tawarikh* which were found in the İstanbul, Topkapı Palace collection (H.1653. f.12r), and the images from the scattered copy (The David Collection, Inv.no.8 / 2005) seems to be interrelated. In these paintings, unlike the examples of *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* and *Jami' al-tawarikh*, the character of Kenan, Noah's non-believer son, has been added to the crowded composition of people and animals. The characters drowning in the water, the intertwined clouds, and the hectic characters on the ship are depicted in a way that reflects the effect of the flood (Fig.5-6). As Mohamad Reza Ghiasian has stated, '*Especially Kan'an, were invented by the artists of Shahrukh's kitabkhana*'.<sup>42</sup>

41 Shani, 2002, 148-160.

42 Ghiasian, 2018, 139



**Fig. 7:**

The Ark of Noah' detail of f. 241a', Shiraz, 1410-1411, *Iskandar Sultan Anthology*, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum Foundation, Lisbon, 161, Vol.2.

(Photo by Courtesy of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum Foundation, Lisbon)

The style of the illustrated manuscript is somewhat old-fashioned compared to the otherwise refined Timurid painting, but the scene in the stormy sea is quite dramatic, with the waving sail, the ship coming out of the picture frame, and the bloated bodies. The animals that will fill the world are narrated in a humorous and very realistic way.<sup>43</sup> In the last two illustrations, the similarity between the clothes on Noah's head, where one is white and the other is a bluish cloak, can be seen in the Christian art of painting which must be used in connection with Noah's wise personality (Fig. 8-9).

As Mohamad Reza Ghiasian has stated, '*The main differences of these two illustrations are the proportions of the picture frame and the number of human figures, birds and animals. Compared with the paintings of the Majma' al-tawarikh, the lower height of the composition obliged the artist to omit the sky, the drowned figures and the middle storey of the ship. No pictorial element has been designed outside the picture frame and even the golden dragon-head of the prow is located inside the composition*'.<sup>44</sup>

43 <https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/timurids-and-turkmen>

44 Ghiasian, 2018, 137-139



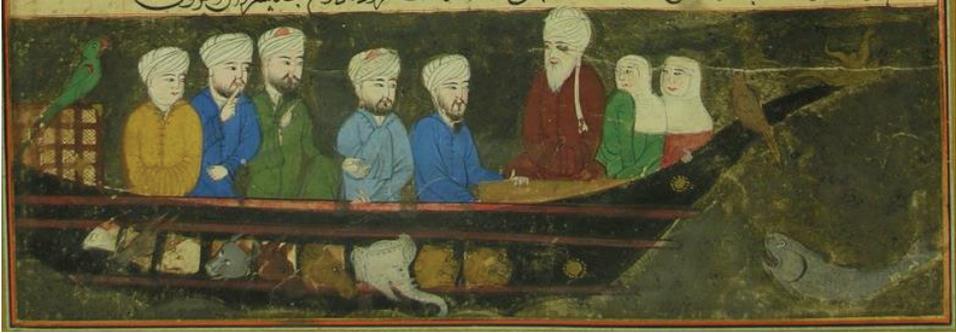
**Fig. 8:** The Ark of Noah' detail of f.12r', Herat, 1425, *Majma' al-tawarikh*, İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library - Hazine 1653. (see Inal, 1963, 163–75)



**Fig. 9:** The Ark of Noah. *Majma' al-Tawarikh*, Herat, 1428. (The David Collection, 2005.)

In H.1654 copy too, Prophet Noah is depicted in white turban and brown clothes. The composition of the illustration has a design that is not intense (Fig. 4, 5, 6, 7). A large fish on the moving sea surface, animals placed on the second floor of the ship, and depiction of birds on each side of the deck exist. Totally eight figures are depicted on the deck. In the center of the ship five figures, at the fore of the ship between two women Prophet Noah is depicted. In *Majma' al-tawarikh* the fore of the ship is facing to the right. The resemblance between the horizontal illustration program placed in the text and the one in *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*, using the sample program is the determination of the fact that the artist was in the *kitaphana* of Herat during Shahrukh's reign.

As Mohamad Reza Ghiasian has stated, '*The illustration existing in the chapter about Israelites was renewed in Shahrugh's kitaphana*'.<sup>45</sup> As Güner Inal has stated, '*Compared with these miniatures, the miniatures of Majma' al-tawarikh H. 1654, with their dynamic lines and their color tones, seem much closer to Mongol examples; they are, indeed direct copies of them*'.<sup>46</sup>



**Fig. 10:** The Ark of Noah' detail of f.275r', Herat, 1425, *Majma' al-Tawarikh*, İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library (Hazine1654). (I would like to thank to Z. Tanındı for he illustration.)

When examining the illustration styles it can be proven that the work delivered to Shahrukh were painted by master painters who were trained in different art centers under the domination of Timur. The characters illustrated after the texts were copied. When examining the illustrations, it can be perceived that the painting space is insufficient for the painter as the text overflows to the page margins. Scene arrangements are usually transverse. In some scenes, the illustration is elevated by moving it to the border of the page, and the landscape elements were made in a full page view with vertical line arrangements.

45 Ghiasian, 2018a, 401.

46 Inal, 1963, 174..

## Conclusion

15<sup>th</sup> century, the period historical texts were illustrations in Islamic Art, is important in terms of seeing the progress of illustrated art history, problems met and, the reflection of this tradition to the other periods. Herat became one of the most significant centers of printing illustrated books. *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* written in the Shahrugh period, is the pioneer of works of art bearing Il-Khanid's tradition of historical style.<sup>47</sup> Physical and codicological features of the manuscript, the connection of style and iconography of painting reflecting Noah's Ark and the Flood with the text, its contribution to tradition of illustration were all evaluated by comparing with prominent and contemporary works of the period. The Uj, seen in illustrated composition, does not take place on a text. So that we can conclude the artist does not make use of the text.

It is observed that the artist tries to revive the iconography he has previously seen and known. According to the comparison results we made with other illustrations, ten of twenty illustrations in *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* are from *Bal'ami's Persian translation of al-Tabari's Tarikh* (f.31v, 54v, 65r, 105r, 154r, 178r,214r) and three illustrations are from *Iskandar Sultan Anthology* reflecting Shiraz style (f.23r, 30r, 35v).<sup>48</sup> These two works bear primary source attribute. Robinson has '*Also attributed some of the paintings of the manuscript to Pir Ahmad Baghshimali, who had earlier worked for Iskandar Sultan*'.<sup>49</sup> Eleanor Sims and Tim Stanley have argued, '*That several aspects of these paintings such as wide golden skies and relatively large figures are derived from the paintings produced for Iskandar Sultan*'.<sup>50</sup>

As Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims have stated, '*Herat painting of this period is not an original creation but a final resolution. It does not break with existing traditions to establish new pictorial values: rather it transforms the existing variety of modes into a crystalline pictorial structure capable of many permutations while retaining always its distinctive formal characteristics. It brings to perfection and then almost codifies the different stylistic manners of painting current all over Iran in the Shahrugh period and it is this final transformation, this resolution of the diversity of stylistic canons that constitutes the importance of the style for later generations*'.<sup>51</sup>

The presence of the first pictorial world history copies belonging to Il-Khanid and Jalayirid in Shahrugh's palace is important in terms of bearing the configuration of *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi* illustrated program illustrated-text relation and Shiraz style. *Kulliyat-i Tarikhi*, written by artists grown in Tabriz, Shiraz and Semerkand who employed a new style, will remain as the unique example of book art.

47 Ghiasian, 2018, 34

48 Robinson, 1991, 3; Roemer, 1986, 11-16; Grube and Sims, 1979, 148

49 Robinson, 1991, 6-7

50 Sims and Stanley, 2002, 224-226.

51 Grube and Sims, 1979, 147

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