

Câmiü't-Tevârîh'in 1620 Numaralı Taşkent Nüshâsı Resimleri Üzerine Değerlendirme

An Evaluation on the Pictures of Jâmi' Al-Tevârîkh 's Tashkent Copy, Numbered 1620

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Öz- Bu araştırma, 14. yüzyıl başlarında İlhanlı hanedanının başkenti Tebriz yakınlarında vezir Reşidüddîn (öl.1318) ve kolektif yazarlar tarafından hazırlanan, resimli *Câmi' u 't-Tevârîh* eserinin Taşkent nüshası üzerine değerlendirme niteliğindedir. Özbekistan Cumhuriyeti Bilimler Akademisi Abu Rayhan Beruni adını taşıyan Doğu Araştırmalar Enstitüsünde N. 1620'de korunmakta olan nüsha, günümüze kadar gelen *Câmi' u 't-Tevârîh* nüshaları içinde en az resim programına sahip olan, 14. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde hazırlandığı nüshalardandır. Resimli Taşkent nüshası, günümüze kadar parçalar halinde gelen diğer *Câmi' u 't-Tevârîh* nüshalarının alışlagelen kompozisyonlarına benzerlik göstermemektedir. Eserin tamamlanmış resim programında sadece taht sahnelerine yer verilmesi, birkaç resmin eskiz niteliğini taşıması, kalabalık kompozisyonlardan kaçınılması, onun, diğer nüshaların üretildiği merkez dışı atölyede hazırlandığını görmemizi sağlar. Çalışmada, *Câmi' u 't-Tevârîh*'in Taşkent ve Timurlu sarayında derlenen Paris nüshasındaki birkaç resim üzerinde karşılaştırma yapılacaktır. Resmedilmek için seçilen konu, kompozisyonda yer alan figür ve giysi özelliklerinin benzer ve farklı yönleri üzerine değerlendirme yapılacaktır. Çalışmamızda, nüshanın kodikolojik özellikleri irdelenecektir. Eserin, İlhanlı hâkimiyetindeki Tebriz merkezli atölyelerden etkilenen diğer yerel sanatçılar tarafından hazırlandığı düşünülmektedir.

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Anahtar Kelimeler- Genel Dünya Tarihi, *Câmi' u 't-Tevârîh*, N.1620'lı Taşkent Nüshası, Kodikolojik İnceleme, Resim Programı.

Abstract - This research is an evaluation of the Tashkent copy of the illustrated work *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh*, which was prepared by the vizier Rashid al-Din (d. 1318) and collective writers in the early 14th century, near Tabriz, the capital of the Ilkhanid dynasty. The copy, which was preserved in N. 1620 at the Institute of Oriental Studies, named Abu Rayhan Beruni, of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, is one of the copies prepared in the first quarter of the 14th century, which has the least painting program among the *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh* copies that have survived to the present day. The illustrated Tashkent copy does not show any resemblance to the usual compositions of other *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh* copies that have survived to the present day. The fact that only the throne scenes are included in the completed painting program of the work, that a few paintings have the quality of sketches, and that crowded compositions are avoided, indicate that the work was prepared in a workshop outside the centers where the other copies were produced.

In the study, a comparison will be made on the Paris copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh* compiled in Tashkent and Timurid palace and a few pictures in the Diez Album. The subject chosen to be depicted, the figure in the composition and the similar and different aspects of the clothing features will be evaluated. In our study, the codicological features of the copy will be examined. It is thought that the work was prepared by other local artists who were influenced by Tabriz-based workshops under the rule of the Ilkhanids.

Keywords- General World History, *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh* Tashkent copy numbered 1620, Codicological Review, Painting Program.

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The work *Jami' al-Tawarikh* pioneered the primary sources in which the history of various states and nations living in Asia and Europe in the 14th century was written impartially. The large-scale historical work, initiated upon the request of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan Khan, continued to be used significantly in world historiography over time. The work soon shed light on the historiography of the Timurid periods. It is not possible to encounter a full-text example of the work. Its incomplete, scattered, illustrated, and unillustrated copies are preserved in museums and private collections worldwide. It is impossible to reach the exact number of works prepared in four copies per year in the art workshops of Tabriz and the center. It is obvious that the administration, which began to disintegrate from within after Rashid al-Din's unexpected death, gave up the production of copies of the work. It can be thought that after Rashid al-Din, some artists working in unsupported central workshops moved to rural workshops. The example that forms the basis for this idea is preserved today in the Eastern Research Institute, named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, N. 1620.

The copy we examined has different features from those prepared in Tabriz in the first quarter of the 14th century. Unlike the usual *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, the copy has little visuality and is far from crowded compositions. Another aspect that differs from the copies prepared in the same period is that the note

stating that the text of the work has been completed and the date along with it. The volume of the work was renewed in the second quarter of the 19th century. The work has been repaired several times until today. Due to moisture and preservation problems, papers from various periods were pasted on the copy pages. When the existing paintings were examined, paint spills were detected. The copy has a few blank pages reserved for pictures and illumination. It has been determined that the two images added later in the manuscript are similar to the scattered copy in the Diez Album of *Jami' al-Tawarikh* with Paris, prepared in the Timurid palace workshop in the 15th century. Considering that all six world-known copies of *Jami' al-Tawarikh* were compiled in the Timurid palace, it can be thought that the pictures were added to the Tashkent copy in the palace library or in a workshop around the palace.

Only four of the ten existing paintings in the Tashkent copy of *Jami' al-Tawarikh* have been completed, and the rest have survived as sketches. In the subjects chosen to be illustrated, captives, sketches prepared for war scenes, as well as Cenghiz Khan, Bartan Bahadur, Ogedei Khan, Kublai Khan and Hulagu Khan and their spouses were depicted. The main subject of the four completed paintings is the scenes consisting of two figures representing the Mongol rulers and their spouses side by side.

Unlike the copy's usual crowded *Jami' al-Tawarikh* painting program, scenes focusing only on the ruler and his wife came to the fore. The importance given to the ruler's wife by the Mongols shows that this tradition of depiction, also seen in the scattered copies of the Paris and Diez albums, has been adopted and continued. It is observed that common subjects were chosen to be illustrated in these three works. Similar clothing features have been identified in throne scenes depicting the ruler and his wife. Although it is not possible to obtain sufficient information about the content of the unfinished painting program of the Tashkent copy of *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, it is evident that the illustrated and sketched copy has a different design from the usual Istanbul, Edinburgh, and Paris copies. When the pictures of the work are examined, it is clear that it is not a Tabriz-based workshop work, which has become a tradition. The Tashkent copy of *Jami' al-Tawarikh* is one of the rare examples that have survived to the present day.

INTRODUCTION

Jâmi' al-tevârikh was one of the most popular works of medieval Eastern historiography. The precious manuscript, which started the tradition of pictorial history, is known as the main masterpiece of its period and later periods. The undisputed greatest success of the *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* work was that it eliminated the old ideas about world history that were effective in Islamic historiography.¹

The service of Rashid al-Din Faḍlullāh Hamadānī in the palace during the reign of Abaqa Khan (r.1265-1282), Ghazan Khan (r.1295-1304) and Soltan Uljaytu (r.1304-1316) in the formation of the Tabriz-centered artistic environment of the Ilkhanid domination was admirable. The Rab'-i Rashidi and Shahrīstan-i *Rashidi* neighborhoods, which were built by Ghazan Khan in 1298 near Tabriz, soon became a great art center that would make a name for itself for centuries with the influx of artists as well as scientists from different cultures. All units in *Shanb-e Ghāzān*, Rab'-i Rashidi and Soltaniya, which were administered by Rashid al-Din, had experienced a period of rapid development. He contributed greatly to the development of the culture and art environment of the Ilkhanid and mediated the unique works of the artists to come to light.²

Rashid al-Din's *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* is important in terms of the development of Ilkhanid-Timurian book art as well as Islamic painting art. Although the work was first thought of as Mongolian history at the request of Ghazan Khan, a world history and geography book was added later. As a result of the examination of the preserved and surviving works, there is no information that the last volume

¹ Mustafa Demir, 'İslam Ortaçağ'ında İran Bölgesindeki Tarih Yazıcılığı', *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (Şubat 2007): 265.

² Sheila S. Blair, 'Ilkhanid Architecture and Society: An Analysis of the Endowment Deed of the Rab-i Rashīdī', *Iran*, (1984): 67; Zeki Velidi Togan, 'On The Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries'. *Proceedings of Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca*. (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1963), 158; Osman G. Özgüdenli, 'Reşidüddin Fazlullah Hemedani', *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, C.35, TDV Yayınları, Ankara 2008, 19.

considered was written. In Rashid al-Din's Charter, it is mentioned that there were Georgian, Russian, Greek, Indian, Chinese and Turkish employees whose names were written in Rab'-i Rashidi.³ On the history of each nation, it was seen that the historians of that culture benefited from the Golden Notebook (Golden Book), which is thought to be the main source of the work, apart from the text in which they were compiled.⁴ The main reason why the other planned volumes of *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh* were not completed was the execution of Rashid al-Din by Abu Sa'id Khan (r.1318-1336) as a result of slander. A group of researchers put forward the hypothesis that the unpainted and illustrated copies of the *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh* work began to be prepared at the same time.⁵ The political understanding of the period, the fragmented state and the environment suitable for looting can show the reasons why the work has not become a complete text until today.

1. Evaluation on the Tashkent Copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh*

It is known that the illustrated copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh* were prepared between the 14th and 16th centuries.⁶ There are studies of local and foreign researchers on the copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh*. In these studies, the features, painting program and stylistic features of the copies that have come to the present in fragments have been examined under separate subject headings. However, a complete copy of the text and descriptions, illuminations and binding, dated at the time it was written, has not survived.⁷

The Tashkent copy, which has a different painting program than the known copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh*, is the main subject of our study. The aspect of the copy that differs from the well-known examples mentioned above is that, unlike the usual painting program, the completed depictions are only related to the throne scenes. Other incomplete paintings that come in sketches reveal the preparatory process for larger compositions.

Studies on the Tashkent copy are insufficient. Although Goetz does not give detailed information about the copy, he is content with the information about the clothes of male and female figures that developed originally under the Ilkhanid rule in the Fersian region, based on the examples in the copy.⁸ In the group work carried out in Uzbekistan, where the copy is preserved, a brief evaluation was made of the codicological features of the copy and the painting program.⁹ It has been emphasized that the work has different aspects from the copies that have survived to the present day. Barthold evaluates the text content of the copy along with the picture program. He emphasizes that the subjects related to the throne scene chosen to be illustrated also appear in other copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh*.¹⁰ After giving general information on the copy, Pugachenkova mentions that the figures chosen for illustration are depicted in a variety of clothes peculiar to Central Asia and Iran.¹¹ İsmailova and Polyakova, state in their study that the Tashkent copy is different from the other *Jâmi' al-tevârîkh* copies. They talk about the formation of the painting composition, the fact that the subjects chosen for painting have a different design from the other copies, and the composition consisting of only two figures is used to glorify the

³ Zeren Tanındı ve Filiz Çağman, 'Topkapı Sarayı'nın Kitap Hazinesinin İki *Câmi' ü't- Tevârîh* Nüshâsı Hakkında (H.1653-H.1654), *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, S. 30 (Haziran 2021): 190.

⁴ Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 27*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1995), 21.

⁵ Filiz, Çağman ve Zeren Tanındı, 'Remarks on some manuscripts from the Topkapı Palace treasury in the context of Ottoman-Safavid relations'. *Muqarnas*, S.13 (1996): 132-148; Inal Güner, 'The fourteenth-century miniatures of the *Jâmi' al-Tavarikh* in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul, *Hazine Library, No. 1653*, 'Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi., (University of Michigan, 1965). 5-8.

⁶ See bibliography

⁷ Tanındı ve Çağman, 'Topkapı Sarayı'nın Kitap Hazinesinin' 191.

⁸ Henri Goetz, *The History of Persian Costume. A Survey of Persian Art*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), 280-290.

⁹ Khairullaev Muzaffar et al., *Oriental Miniatures, The Collection of the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, I, 14th-17th Centuries*, (Tashkent: The Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies, 2001), 30-32.

¹⁰ Aleksandr A. Semenov, 'Sobraniye Vostocnih Rukopisey Akademii Nauk Uzbekistan SSR', C.1 (Toshkent: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk UzSSR, 1952), 22.

¹¹ Galina A. Pugachenkova, 'K İstoriî Kostyuma Sredney Azii i İrana 15. Pervoy Polovini 16. Veka', *Arkeologiya*, (1956): 88-90.

ruler and his wife.¹² Rakhimova concentrates on copy paintings in her research. She makes important statements that the cuckoo crown worn by Mongolian noble Sunigil-Fudjin, Doguz Khatun, Turakine and Chabun Khatun, depicted in the throne scenes, is a part of the ceremonial dress of Bibi Khanym, Timur's wife.¹³

1.2. Codicological Review

As seen in other *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* copies, the size of the work, which includes the features of the period, is 40x28.5 cm. The written area of the work is 22.3x34 cm, the number of lines is 29 and it consists of 263 leaves. The text is written in black in Nestalik script on cream-colored Samarkand paper and the titles are written in red ink in thuluth script.¹⁴ In the text of the work, the names of ruler/Kağan and princess/Hatun, which were enclosed in a red double-lined ruler, were emphasized in the Uyghur script.¹⁵ In the examination made on the last page of the copy, it was determined that the text was not complete and no additions were made to the text. It is observed that corrections were made in the classical Nestalik script on the chapter titles previously written in red ink. It has been determined that the text is concluded by mentioning the events dating back to 1301-1302. Considering that the first illustrated copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârikh*, which has survived to the present day, was presented to Soltan Uljaytu in 1306-1307, it is thought that the Tashkent copy is also likely to belong to the first quarter of the 14th century. In the dating of the Tashkent copy, examples that continue the Ilkhanid painting style in the Iranian region are important. Based on the fact that after the death of Rashid al-Din, the artists working in Rab-i Rashīdī'workshop continued to work in other centers in Iran, it can be said that the Tashkent copy is the product of these workshops. The main source of this thought is *Shahnameh Demotte*, which has the characteristics of Rab-i Rashīdī'painting school and provides a different interpretation.¹⁶ There are various information about the dating of the *Shahnameh Demotte*. Duda says that the written part and the illuminated pages of the work were dated to 1310, and the pictures were added during and after Abu Sa'id Khan.¹⁷ As a result of examining the pictures of the manuscript, Stchoukine stated that the work was prepared in Tabriz between 1330-1340, and stated that some of the pictures correspond to the year 1375.¹⁸ Considering the above-mentioned information, it is seen that it is highly probable that the Tashkent copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* was prepared between 1310-1330.

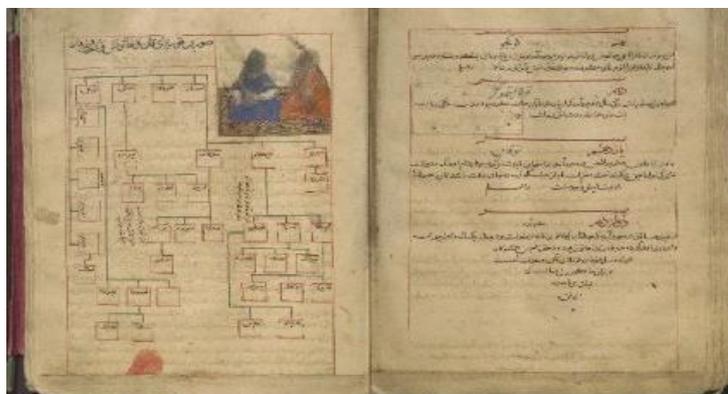


Figure 1. Names of rulers given in Arabic and Uyghur, *Jâmi' al-tevârikh*, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan N.1620, f.167v-167r.

¹² Elmira İsmailova ve Elena A. Polyakova, *Oriental miniatures in the collection of İnstitute of oriental studies*, (Tashkent: Gafura Guliyama, 1980), 6-8.

¹³ Zuhra Rakhimova, Headdress of Bibi Khanym, *Sanat*, <https://Sanat.Orexca.Com/2014/2014-1/Headdress-Of-Bibi-Khanym/> (05.02. 2022).

¹⁴ Khairullaev, et al., *Oriental Miniatures*, 30.

¹⁵ Semenov, 'Sobraniye Vostocnih,' 22.

¹⁶ Inal, Güner, *Türk Minyatür Sanatı (Başlangıcından Osmanlılara Kadar)* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1991), 87.

¹⁷ Duda, Dorothea. 'Die Buchmalerei der Ğalā'iriden (1. Teil)', *Der Islam* 48, S. 1 (1971): 41.

¹⁸ Stchoukine, Ivan, 'Les Peintures du Shahnameh Demotte', *Ars Asiaticus*, V. 2 (1958): 88-96.

1.3. The Binding of the Book

The skin was free of miklep and the dark red skin on the outer cover was not original. The outer covers are decorated with oval sunbursts and salbeks. In the upper and lower salbek parts of the volume prepared in the engraving and printing technique, the names of the bookbinders bearing the names of Molla Maksut Shah and Muhammad Maksut, dated 1840-1841, are located. According to this, it is seen that the book cover was renewed towards the middle of the 19th century. On the first and last blank pages of the volume, there is a decorated page called marbling spring.¹⁹ There is a thin spiral zencirek between two straight rulers on the binding covers.

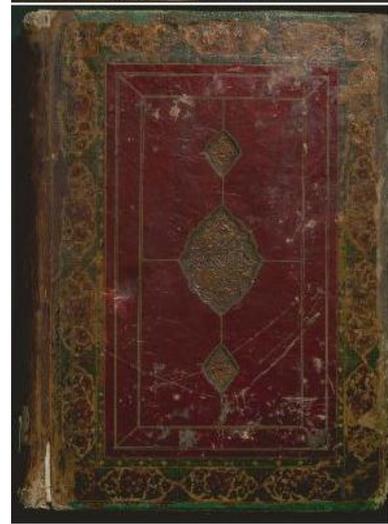
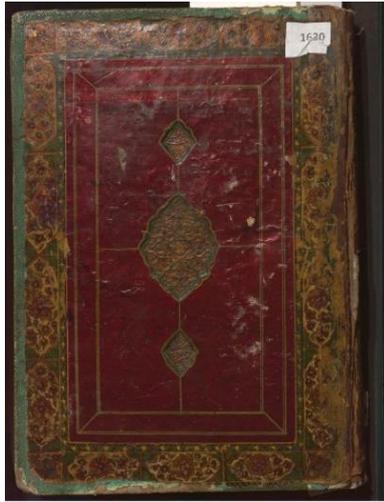


Figure 2 and 3. Front and back cover of the book, *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan

1.4. Repairs on *Jâmi' al-tevârih*

There are damages and stains on the illustrated and textual pages of the work. Worn leaves were reinforced by gluing new papers painted in several different tones (Fig. 2-3). Only two pictures belonging to the late period are pasted into the work later (y. 45a and fig. 5). Paint spills are encountered on the face, body and clothing parts of the figures. (Fig. 8,10 and 12). The different aspect of the work, like other copies, has survived as a whole without fragmentation.



Figure 3 and 4. Destroyed start page of the work, *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan 1620, (left) f.1a, f.2r-2v (right).

¹⁹ Khairullaev, et al., *Oriental Miniatures*, 30.

1.1. Pictures

Pictures are unsigned and undated, four completed (f.49r, 108r, 167v, 190r) and others sketched or left unfinished (f. 2v, 45r, 52v, 57v, 61v and 87r). As a result of the examination of the work, there is no definite information about where the Tashkent copy was prepared. It is thought that the work was probably prepared in one of the various workshops connected to the center of Tabriz, such as the copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârikh*. The realistic shapes and realistic concepts that make up the style, which is described as Tabriz style, show that the basics of Chinese and East Turkestan painting are present on the painting program with its unique coloring.²⁰ The painting, which was added to the f.45r and f.49r pages of the work, was similar to the Paris copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* compiled in the Timurid palace.²¹ The presence of a note stating that the Paris copy was prepared in Rab'-ı Rashidi brings to mind the idea that the Tashkent copy was prepared in one of the other workshops affiliated to the center.²² The similarity of the various seating styles in the throne scenes in the Diez Album²³ with those in the Tashkent copy shows that the album paintings are workshop products that continue the same tradition in a close period of time.

In the Tashkent copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârikh*, a total of 10 pictures and scribbles/sketches are encountered. Barthold mentions that the Tashkent copy consists of ten images, one placed at the outline level, two sketches and four completed.²⁴ In the catalog prepared by Khairullayev, et.al., fifty-nine pages for painting, twelve for illumination, and ten blank pages are encountered.²⁵ The main subject of four of the completed paintings is scenes consisting of two figures depicting the Mongol ruler and his wife. On the pages that are left blank to add pictures in the copy, sketches consisting only of ceremonial and war scenes from crowded compositions such as festivities, ceremonies and envoys, which were customary in previous *Jâmi' al-tevârikhs*, are observed. In the note written in black ink next to the completed pictures, it is emphasized that this part of the text mentions the Mongol ruler, his wife and family members. In this way, information about who the depictions belong to is obtained for the reader of the book.

2.1. Subjects of Images

Round Shield (f. 2v).

It is a sketch that resembles the appearance of an incomplete round shield and is defined based on the outlines. It is a sketch prepared for the usual war scenes in *Jâmi' al-tevârikhs*.

Genghis Khan's Ancestor, Dobun Bayan, with His Wife Alang-Goa (f. 45r).

The image of the ruler has an important place in the painting art of the Ilkhanid period. Two figures sitting on a cushion laid on an embroidered carpet, looking at each other's faces. It is observed that the figures are sitting cross-legged, with their posture and ceremonial clothes, a composition depicting the ruler and his wife. Dobun Bayan wears high boots that cover his knees under a loose dress with interlocking folds, and is depicted with a headdress with long feathers on his head, worn by the men of the household during ceremonies and envoys. One encounters Alang-Goa's red cuckoo crown with a high and ostentatious feather crowned with a crescent moon. Two vases of fruit are depicted in front of the figures. The picture is not complete. Based on the similarity between the paper and the cut-pasted picture on the next page, it strengthens the idea that these two pictures were added during the compilation process when the new benefactors of the work received them (f.49r).

²⁰ Jahn, Karl, 'Doğu ile Batı Arasındaki bir Ortaçağ Kültür Merkezi- Tebriz', *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4, (1971): 29-33.

²¹ Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Suppl. Pers. 1113, f.162v and f.164v.

²² Inal, *Türk Minyatür*, 66.

²³ Inal, Güner, 'Berlin Deiz Albümlerindeki Bazı Dağınık Câmi'El-Tevâ'rihk Minyatürleri Üzerine', *Belleten* 46, S. 184 *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, (Ekim 1982): 845-860.

²⁴ Semenov, 'Sobraniye Vostocnih,' 22.

²⁵ Khairullaev, et al., *Oriental Miniatures*, 30.

Bartan Bahadur, His Wife and Family Members (f.49r).

It is a painting that depicts Genghis Khan's grandfather Bartan-Bahadur Khan and his wife Sinigil-Fudjin, which was attached/added to the work later. Two figures facing each other are depicted in plain clothes. Bartan-Bahadur Khan's dress and crown are in the Mongolian palace style, but the ruler's insignia are not seen in the clothing features. Bartan-Bahadur Khan wears an intertwining orange dress, sits on a low stool with his right hand towards his chest and his left hand on his stomach, with his dark boots visible from under the clothes. In the copy, only Sunigil-Fudjin's high boots covering her knees are depicted under clothing. Such descriptions are frequently seen in ceramic plate samples of the Abbasid-Seljuk period. Sinigil-Fudjin and his wife sit on an unadorned red carpet framed by a green border. She wears a half-sleeved blue dress over a yellowish long dress, and is depicted with a cuckoo crown, the headdress of the dynastic women of the period. On her head, the headdress of the dynastic women of the period is depicted with a cuckoo crown. The clothing features on the figures differ from the pictures in the other copy with their modest appearance. Female figures wearing a cuckoo crown are encountered in four paintings in the murakka no. TSMK H 2153 of an unknown copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârih*. Karamağaralı, makes evaluations about the title of the woman in the description in the album; He reports that the Gugu crown is seen in the Uighur princesses, it is a sign of princess, and this headdress of Ibn Battuta's is called 'Bugtak', and Rubruquis and Carpini's is called 'Bokka'.²⁶ It is observed that Sinigül-Fudjin's face was later covered with dark paint. One of the two different hair styles encountered in other copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, the hair style gathered on both sides can be seen.



Figure 5. Bartan Bahadur, his wife and family members, *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan 1620, f.49r.

In the depiction of the magnificent Mongolian dynasty, the clothes of the figures have a plain appearance, and the depiction of the ruler on the stool shows that the painter who designed the painting was unaware of the characteristics of the period and the identity of the people. In the Edinburgh copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, a similar headdress of Bartan Bahadur is encountered in the depictions of the nobles in the court of the Mongol emperor. This shows that from time to time, the artists, the ruler and his entourage always had confusion in the description of the headdresses, and sometimes the headdresses specific to the monarch were confused with the headdresses of the courtiers and servants. (Fig.6). These features of the crown are reminiscent of Sassanid crowns. The necessary point is that the Seljuks were also influenced by the Sassanids.²⁷ This painting is thought to have been added to the other incomplete (f.45r) depiction of the Timurid palace. It is thought that it was used to emphasize the features reflecting the Ilkhanid period.

²⁶ Karamağaralı, Beyhan, 'Camiut-Tevarih'in Bilinmeyen Bir Nüshasına Ait Dört Minyatür'. *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, S.2 (Ocak 1968): 71.

²⁷ İndirkaş Zühre, 'Selçuklular'da Taç Geleneği', *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, S. 10 (Aralık 1991): 43-44; İndirkaş, Zühre 'Orta Asya'dan Anadolu'ya Türklerde taç geleneği'. *Türkler*, C. 4, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara 2002, 151-156.



Figure 6. Seljuk Sultan Berk-Yaruq ibn Malik-Shah Enthroned, *Jâmi' al-tevârikh*. Edinburgh University Library, Or.Ms.20, f. 139v.



Figure 7. Black and white patterned ceramic pillow depicting the Yuan Bridal Procession scene, Zhou Yao art museum in China²⁸

Khairullayev et al., that it is a rectangular book containing a few Persian words depicted between two figures.²⁹ As a result of our research, it is possible to say that this object, which is thought to be a book, is actually a ceramic pillow or cushion from the Yuan dynasty / Kublai Khan (r.1260-1294) period. (Fig. 7).

Execution of the Prisoners (f.52v).

In another painting, which was left unfinished as a sketch, after the war with the Udu and Budurut tribes by the order of Cenghiz Khan, the captives boiled in seventy cauldrons are depicted.³⁰ The left side of the scene depicts six cauldrons placed at regular intervals on supports. In five of the cauldrons, naked, suffering and dying captives are observed. The feet of the captives hanging from the cauldrons and the dying captives reaching out in hopes of being rescued and struggling are depicted realistically. The depictions of two women witnessing the suffering of the captives and three horsemen watching the punishment have survived only in sketches. It is seen that the crowded composition with a dense subject is not completed.

Genghis Khan on the Throne (f. 57v).

Genghis Khan, the Mongolian ruler who has survived in sketches, is depicted sitting on the throne with a beard and mustache, crescent eyebrows and almond-like eyes in the center of the composition³¹ Karamağaralı mentions that the figures with these characteristics represent the Eastern Turk type known from Turfan wall paintings and *Şehnames*. Genghis Khan wears a short-sleeved caftan over a long-sleeved garment that is intertwined and covers his body. He raises his right hand and is depicted speaking. The fact that the depiction is a sketch is likely to be a preparation for the crowded composition depicted on the throne by Genghis Khan.

²⁸ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1936-1012-165, (10.12.2022).

²⁹ Khairullaev, et al., *Oriental Miniatures*, 30.

³⁰ See Khairullaev, et al., *Oriental Miniatures*, 30.

³¹ See Khairullaev, et al., *Oriental Miniatures*, 31.

A Scratch/Sketch (f.61v).

The example that has survived in the form of a sketch in the copy is understood to be a human figure with its unclear lines. It is highly probable that it was part of an incomplete composition. Encountering such scribbles in the work strengthens the idea that the process in which the work was written and illustrated was the same period.

Three Figures and Few Subjects- a Table and Shield Scribble/Sketch (f. 87r).

It is the last page that is missing in the copy. There are three figures on the page, several objects and shields on the table.³² These items selected for composition should be part of a crowded composition. Frequently seen objects on the table often depict the monarch and family members together in throne and ceremonial scenes. It is seen that there is a shield in the composition, and in the unfinished scene, there is a soldier or guards on duty to protect the ruler.

Ogedei Khan, His Wife and Family Members (f.108r).

The composition consists of two figures, Ogedai Khan, the third son of Genghis Khan, and Borta-Fudjin, the daughter of Dai-Noyon.³³ Ogedei Khan and his wife, who are depicted facing each other on a geometrically embroidered carpet, are depicted in magnificent clothes reflecting the palace style. The monarch wears a light green caftan that reaches up to the elbow, over his long-sleeved dress in a light green colour. On the sleeve part of the caftan or hilat, the armband of the dress, which is decorated with embroidery and inscriptions, carries the titles and nicknames of the Caliph, ruler and statesmen, called Tiraz, encountered in the medieval Islamic weaving art.³⁴



Figure 8. Ogedei Khan, his wife and family members, *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan 1620, f.108r.

Ogedei Khan's right hand is on his knee, his left arm is under the chest, and his dark boots are seen under the slit of the caftan. The headdress of the ruler, resembling the feathers of a peacock spreading around, and the middle end of which is divided into two, is frequently encountered in the Ilkhanid-Timurid manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries. Turakine, with a round face and almond eyes, wears a purple caftan over a light-colored dress, and is depicted with her right hand on her knee and her left hand under her breast, like her husband. In the sleeve part of his caftan, a tirâz is encountered, as in his wife. His shoes are hidden under the clothes. Turakine's headdress Alang-Goa and the cuckoo crown worn by Sinigil-Fudjin in ceremonies are decorated with pearls in dark tones (Fig.5). The painting has been damaged, as a matter of fact, spills are seen on the faces and clothing parts of the figures. The fruit plate in the middle of the two figures is imperceptible as a result of destruction.

³² See Khairullaev, et al., *Oriental Miniatures*, 31.

³³ See Khairullaev, et al., *Oriental Miniatures*, 31-32.

³⁴ Bozkurt, Nebi, 'Tirâz'. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, C. 41, TDV Yayınları, Ankara 2012, 112-114.

In the Tashkent copy, another example of the two figures depicting the ruler and his wife sitting on the carpet can be found in the Diez Album. It is possible to see that the six figures, which are not repetitive and depicted separately on the carpet, are prepared for a larger composition, emphasizing different poses and gestures (Fig.9) Inspired by Ilkhanid models, it leads us to think that it was made in another center, perhaps at the same period, but at a later date. Inal emphasizes that these depictions can only be representative of the Rab-i Rashīdī' style.



Figure 9. Mongolisches Herrscherpaar, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Ms. Diez Album, Fol. 71, S.63. No. 5-6, Iran, 14th century.³⁵

Kublai Khan, his wife and family members (f.167v).

Kublai Khan is the grandson of Genghis Khan and the fourth son of Toliu Khan. Like the Mongolian rulers mentioned above, he is depicted with his wife in a heavily embroidered version. The clothing design seen in other monarch's clothes has hidden its essence. The only difference is the color of the caftans. Kublai Khan wears a dark blue caftan with gold embroidered sleeves on a white dress. The title of Kublai Khan is the same as the title of Ogedei Khan (Fig 8). The monarch is seen holding a long-handled fan in his left hand.



Figure 10. Kublai Khan, his wife and family members, *Jâmi' al-tevâriḳḩ*, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan 1620, f.167v.

Chabun Khatun wears an orange caftan with gold embroidered sleeves and is depicted with a formal ceremonial cuckoo crown on her head. It is observed that the expression of the figures is the same as in the previous paintings (Fig 8 and 9). The face of the figure in the picture, the part of her clothes from the chest to the head, has been heavily damaged, moreover, paint spills are observed. There is a plate filled with fruit in front of two figures and this item/object allows us to see that the event is a ceremony or a reception of a messenger. This item/object indicates that the event is part of the stage for a ceremony or ambassadorial reception.

³⁵ https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN635104741&PHYSID=PHYS_0129&DMDID=DMDLOG_0131 (11.06.2023)



Figure 11. Birth Scene, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Ms. Diez Album, Fol. 70, S.63. No. S. 8, Iran, 14th century.³⁶

On the side borders of the carpet on which the figures sit, decorations resembling Kufic script are encountered (Fig.8, 10 and 12). An example that includes the nativity scene in the Diez Album is similar to the carpet pattern encountered in the Tashkent copy (Fig.11). It has an ornament program consisting of written or herbal ornaments around it and zigzags in the center. This highlights that there is a connection between the artists working on the Tashkent copy and the Diez Album, and that they follow the same or similar styles. Based on this information, it can be concluded that both examples belong to the first thirty years of the 14th century.

Hulagu Khan, his wife and family members (f.190r).

Hulagu Khan is one of the sons of Toliu Khan. On the embroidered carpet, he and his wife Doguz Khatun are depicted looking at each other. The expressions are the same as the previous description of the ruler and his wife. Hulagu Khan's ruler headdress is the same as Ogedei Khan's ceremonial headdress. The caftan, which is considered as an ambassador's reception and official ceremonial dress, is in light green tones. The sitting style, clothing and headgear details are the same as the above-mentioned example of Ogedei Khan and his wife Turakine (Fig. 8).



Figure 12. Hulagu Khan, his wife and family members, *Jâmi' al-tevârikh*, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan 1620, f.190r.

Doguz Khatun resembles Turakine in her sitting style, round face, red-colored crown, and embroidered caftan details in orange tones. The draped depiction of the clothes of the monarch and his wife is used to provide volume on the figure. In the composition, it is possible to distinguish the noble Mongolian women, who maintain their dignity and show up next to their wives in ceremonies, from the dress features. There is little damage to Hulagu Khan's face and clothing details in the painting. It is possible that the damages are caused by weather and storage conditions.

³⁶ https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN635104741&PHYSID=PHYS_0129&DMDID=DMDLOG_0131 (11.06.2023)

A style similar to the compositions depicting the ruler and his wife in the Tashkent copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* can be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Suppl. Pers. 1113) in Paris, which was prepared in the Timurid palace between 1430-1434.³⁷ It is thought that the Tashkent copy was influential in two paintings on the 'Hulagu Khan in celebration' and 'Abaqa Khan ascending the throne', which depict the Mongol dynasty (Fig. 12-13).



Figure 13. Hulagu Khan in celebration, *Jâmi' al-tevârikh*, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Suppl. Pers. 1113, f.174v.

In the painting, which consists of a crowded composition containing the subject of the celebration of Hulagu Khan, the people of the palace, the ruler and his wife are depicted sitting on the mat with his wife on the throne set in the palace garden. Hulagu Khan and his wife are similar to the sitting style, clothing and headdress features encountered in the Tashkent copy. It is noteworthy that in the Tashkent copy, only the ceremonial dresses and headdresses suitable for the ruler and his wife used for the courtiers in the Paris copy (Fig.13 and 14).



Figure 14. Abaqa Khan ascending the throne, *Jâmi' al-tevârikh*, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Suppl. Pers. 1113, f.194r.

The painting, which includes the subject of 'Abaqa Khan ascending the throne', is similar to the crowded composition chosen for the theme of the Hulagu Khan celebration. Even the colors of the clothes of the ruler and his wife, the ceremonial headdress and the courtiers, the maid in charge of the drink and the artist holding the tambourine add liveliness to the painting (Fig.13). It is possible that the bottom two figures on the left side of the table in the crowded composition are members of the monarch

³⁷ Edgard Blochet. *Catalogue des manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Vol IV*, ed. Ernest Leroux (Paris: Imprimerie, 1905), 201-202; Muhammad R. Ghiasian, *Lives of the Prophets The Illustrations to Hâfiz-i Abru's 'Assembly of Chronicles'*, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 27; Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, 14-16; <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc33995g> (17.12.2018)

family. The facial expressions and sitting style of the figures are similar to those of Abaqa Khan. Thus, the artist revealed the difference between palace servants and family members.

CONCLUSION

The copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârih* were prepared from donations made to Rab'-i Rashidî under the patronage of Rashid al-Dîn at the beginning of the 14th century. It is known that the text, which was in Mongolian at the time it was written, was used in two copies in Arabic and Persian for educational purposes in Ilkhanid madrasahs.³⁸ Researchers such as Blair and Bloom have argued that other copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârih* were made in other centers of the Mongol Empire apart from Rab'-i Rashidî and that the work was not just an illustrated history but perhaps a tool used to justify Mongol domination over Iran.³⁹

The Tashkent copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, which was prepared at the beginning of the 14th century, which is the subject of our research, can be considered as a by-product of the developing art workshops in Tabriz. The absence of seal and dedication writing on the work, the fact that the emphasis is placed only on the ruler and his wife, unlike other *Jâmi' al-tevârih* copies in the painting program, and it is far from the usual crowded composition, shows that the copy is the product of a different workshop attached to the center. It can be said that the completed depictions in the Tashkent copy, which resemble the examples depicting the ruler and his wife, encountered in the Diez Album, are not a trial sample prepared for crowded compositions. The clothing features of the figures depicted in the Tashkent copy, the carpet and fruit vases that complete the composition, show that the subject chosen for painting is not just an example of a sketch (Fig. 8, 10 and 12). The fact that the carpet depicted under the figures in the Tashkent copy is similar to the example in the Diez Album shows that the artists working on the two samples followed a certain style (Fig. 9).

The Paris copy, which we compared with the Tashkent copy, was prepared in Herat, the Timurid capital known as the book production center in the 15th century. The compiled copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârih* in the 15th century came to light under the patronage of Timurid ruler Sultan Shakhruh (d. 1447) and his son Baysunghur Mirza (d.1433). The Timurid Meliks, known for their interest in history, assigned the palace historian Hâfiz-i Abru (d.1430) this task. As a result of the efforts of Hâfiz-i Abru, close to ten copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârih* were collected in the palace library. The most important evidence showing that the artifacts are in the palace is; Sultan Shahruh's treasury seal is stamped on the margins of the copies. One of the stamped copies is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Suppl. Pers. 1113).⁴⁰

As a result of our research, the common issues in the Diez Album, which consists of the Paris copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, which is similar to the Tashkent copy, and the scattered copies of *Jâmi' al-tevârih*, were determined. The similarity in the sitting style and clothing characteristics of the figures in the composition is striking (Fig. 9, 13 and 14). Bato states that besides the sitting style of the rulers, active hand movements also give vitality to the composition. She mentions that this tradition is a mudra movement in Buddhism, as the right hand is depicted as active and the left hand on the knee.⁴¹ This customary practice encountered in the Diez Album and the Paris copy is not seen in the Tashkent copy. In the Tashkent copy, where the right hands of the ruler and his wife are depicted on their knees and their left hands are at chest level, it is possible to say that the working artist was unaware of this movement or applied it incorrectly. This difference in hand movement reveals that artists who are connected to the center can go beyond the usual style. In the Tashkent copy, a similar object spotted in the center of the painting depicting Bartan Bahadur and his wife, which Khairullayev and others consider as a cushion, is seen in front of the throne in the composition depicting the Kagan and his wives in the

³⁸ Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, 23.

³⁹ Sheila S. Blair ve Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800*. (USA: Yale University Press, 1996), 3, 192, 207.

⁴⁰ Makhmudjonova, Gulzoda, 'Resimli Tarih Geleneğinin Önemli bir Örneği: Hâfiz-ı Ebrû, Külliyyat-ı Tarih', Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi., (Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2021). 20-26.

⁴¹ About the mudra movement see: Bato, Zeynep. 'Asya'dan Esen Bir Rüzgar: Câmiü't-Tevârih Minyatürlerindeki Hükümdarlar (TSMK H.1653)', *Lale* 5, (Ocak 2022): 90-99.

Paris copy. In compositions containing throne scenes, it is seen that the square or rectangular table on which the emperor rests his feet in front of the throne, and the depiction of a cushion added to the Tashkent copy, are emphasized as a step in an example in the Paris copy. It supports the possibility that the Tashkent copy is one of the scattered and incomplete *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* copies in Baysunghur Mirza's palace library called Bagh-i Sefid in Herat.⁴²

The scenes depicting the ruler and his wife in the Tashkent copy have undergone little change in the Paris copy, and the monarch and his wife are depicted on the throne, embroidered (Fig. 13 and 14). Demirarslan mentions that sitting cross-legged indicates a respectable position, and the influence of Buddhism in this style of sitting among Turks who have lived together with various cultures for centuries.⁴³ There are two types of sitting on the throne. In the picture added later to the Tashkent copy, it is seen that the ruler is depicted on a collapsible stool (Fig.5). As stated above, it is understood that the artist who designed the painting was not aware of the characteristics of the period.

Except for the only painting in the Tashkent copy, it is seen that the shoes of the royal woman figure in orange/blue and purple dress are always hidden in the dress in the ceremony scene with the participation of the ruler and his wife. (Fig. 8, 10 and 12). It is possible to see the same shape in the female figures in the Paris copy (Fig. 12 and 13).

The Tashkent copy of *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* reflects a different style from the known copies in the time period it was prepared. Based on the completed and sketched pictures, it can be concluded that, contrary to the known Istanbul and Edinburgh copies, it is seen that crowded compositions are avoided. The fact that the completed paintings are only depictions of the ruler and his wife, and that most of the sketches consist of war scenes, shows that the main emphasis was placed on the image of the ruler. The pages reserved for more than fifty pictures and left blank for illumination indicate that the work on the pictures was started before the text part of the work was completed yet. The concept of space is not seen in the illustrated throne scenes. There are no items that indicate whether the event is outdoor or indoor. Two different examples are encountered in the headdresses of monarch. The first is an example of a triangular crown called *Taj-ı Börki/Tac-ı Borqi* in the scene depicting Bartan Bahadur and his wife (Fig. 5 and 6).⁴⁴ The other example is the headdress divided into two as a fan and decorated with tufts of feathers in the middle, and it is found in the Tashkent, Paris and Diez Albums (Fig. 8, 10, 12-14). In all the samples examined, a *Gugu crown* was used when describing women's headdresses *Jâmi' al-tevârikh* copies lost their importance for a while as a result of the political turmoil and instability experienced after Rashid al-Din's death (Fig. 5, 8-14). At the beginning of the 15th century, the work regained its importance in the Timurid palace centered in Herat, and the missing copies were compiled again.

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⁴² Makhmudjonova, Gulzoda, *Resimli Tarih Geleneğinin.* ' 56.

⁴³ Demirarslan, Deniz, 'Türk yaşam kültüründe oturma mobilyasının değişimi ve gelişimi'. *Türk-İslam Dünyası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 5. S.16 (Mart 2008): 71-85.

⁴⁴ Bato, Zeynep, 'Asya'dan Esen Bir Rüzgar,' 96.

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