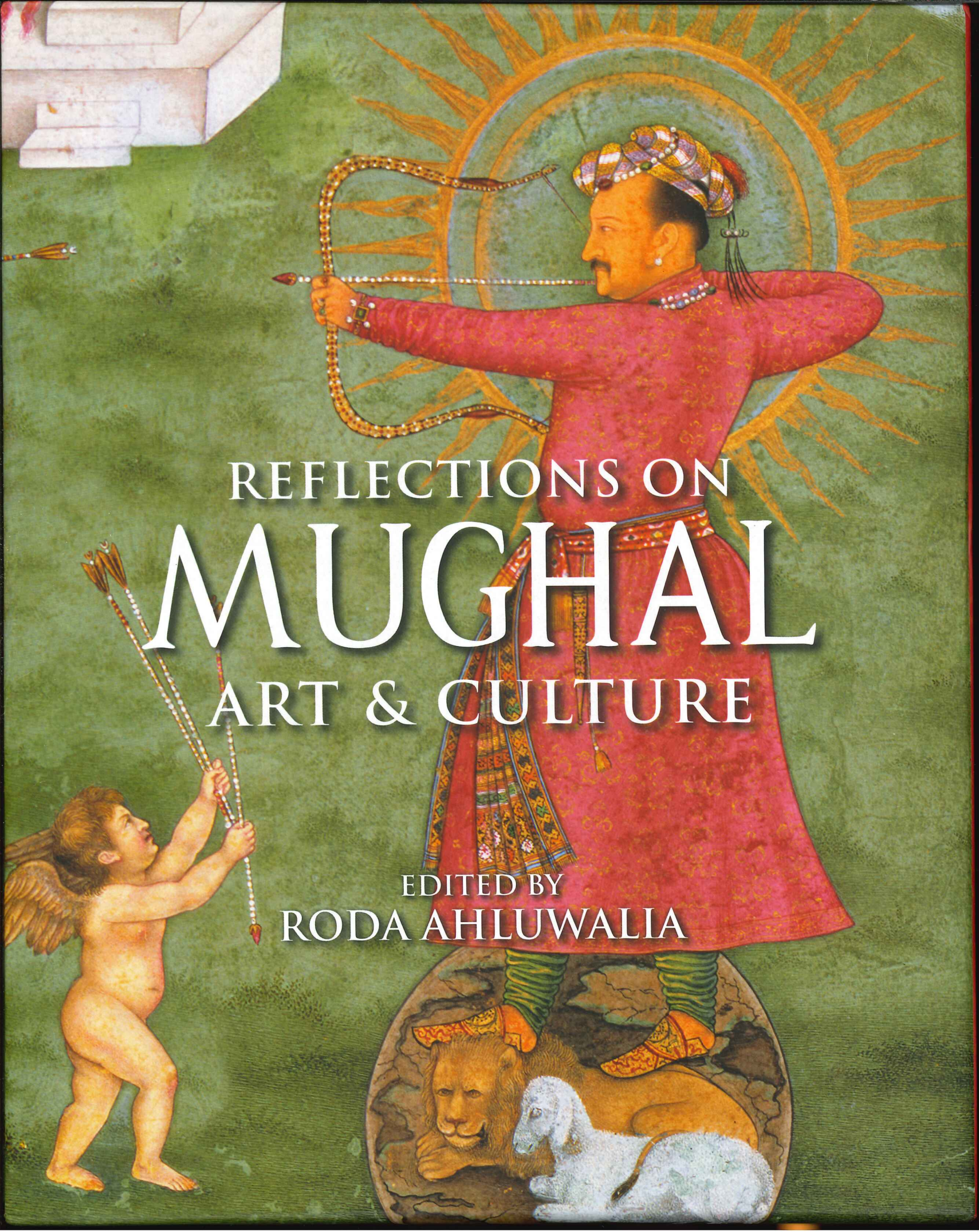

REFLECTIONS ON MUGHAL ART & CULTURE

EDITED BY
RODA AHLUWALIA

Shield of Akbar
Steel with gold damascene
Mughal, Dated 1593 CE
Dia: 52 cms, Acc. No. 22.4112
Sir Ratan Tata Collection
Courtesy of the Trustees of the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai

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Rear cover image: Inscriptions of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, (Or.6810, f. 3r).
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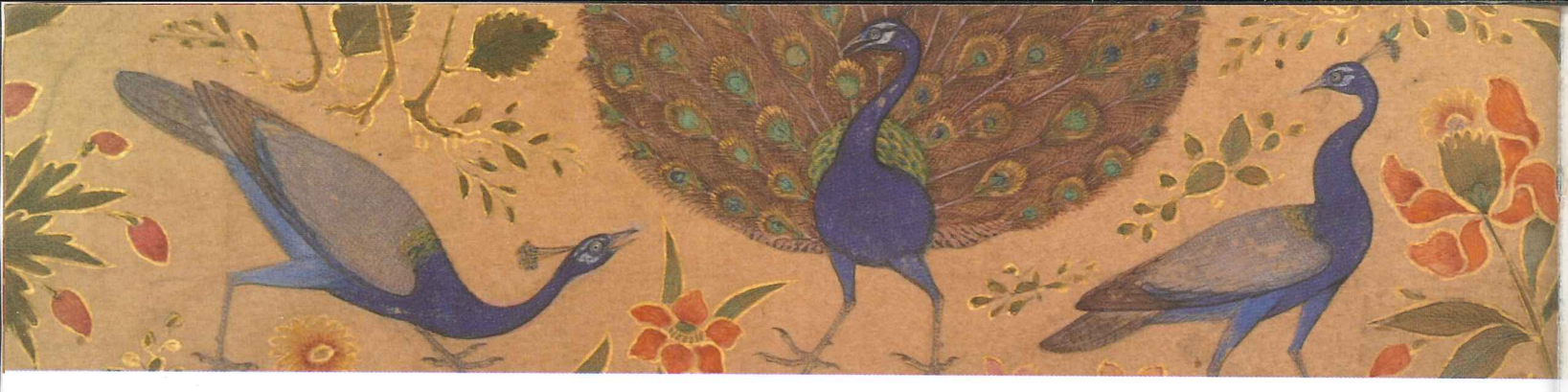
CONTENTS



FOREWORD

One of the main aims of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute is to promote scholarship in the field of Oriental Studies, and toward that end the Institute sponsors an Annual Seminar every January. In 2017 a Seminar on 'Mughal Art and Culture' was organized by the Institute, which attracted leading scholars and curators from India and around the world. Research undertaken by the scholars and papers presented for this event provided fresh insights into the Mughal world view, and new inspiration toward scholarship, and I am happy that these 13 studies have been collated into a volume, co-published by the Institute with Niyogi Books.

The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute was inaugurated on the 18th December 1916 by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay, to perpetuate the memory of Mr Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, the renowned oriental scholar, linguist, writer, social reformer and educationist. Over the years the Institute has developed an excellent library – a veritable treasure house of knowledge in the field of Oriental studies, containing more than 26,000 books, including rare books, in various languages and 2,000 manuscripts in the Avestan, Pahlavi, Zend and Persian languages. This rich collection is regularly consulted by scholars of repute from all over the world.

The Institute publishes an Annual issue of the Journal of the Institute, as well as books on specialized areas, and encourages scholars to conduct their research by awarding Research Fellowships; among which is the Mrs Avabai B. Wadia Research Fellowship in memory of Phiroz Dorabji Mehta.

Our sincere gratitude to all the participants who have contributed to the excellent scholarship this publication brings. I would like to thank Roda Ahluwalia for agreeing to be the Academic Advisor of the Seminar, and for editing this book. Thanks also go to Dr Nawaz Mody for her invaluable help in all aspects of the Seminar and publication, and to Yasmin Khan for all her efforts in ensuring this publication proceeded smoothly. And last but not least we thank the Niyogi Team of editors and designers for ensuring that this body of scholarship and beautiful images of art works are published to a very high standard. I am sure this publication will be appreciated by connoisseurs of Mughal Art and scholars alike.

Muncherji N.M. Cama
President
The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute

Transregional Connections

Architecture and the Construction of Early Modern Islamic Empires

Gülru Necipoğlu

This article presents comparative reflections on the architectural cultures of the Mediterranean-based Ottomans, the Safavids in Iran, and the Mughals in the Indian subcontinent, with an aim to highlight transregional interactions.[1] From such a perspective, the tri-continental landmass dominated by these early modern empires can be conceptualized as an interconnected contact zone. My comparative approach is simultaneously connective in its intention to foreground inter-crossings. To that end, I adopt the concept of 'crossed histories', which allows me to examine the intimate association between empire building and monumental construction projects in the dialogical architectural landscapes of the three superpowers.[2]

Interweaving Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal monuments draws attention to the otherwise overlooked iconic building types chosen in these centralizing territorial empires for dynastic and communal self-representation. By emphasizing the deliberateness and relational aspects of such choices, I challenge the assumption in most survey books on Islamic architecture about an unmediated and self-propelled evolution of regional forms in these empires that are treated as segregated entities.[3]

FACING PAGE:
Figure 1. (a) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Mosque Complex.
Reha Günay, from Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 208; Fig. 170.
Courtesy of Gülru Necipoğlu, 2019
(b) Istanbul, Aerial View of the Süleymaniye Mosque Complex.
Westend 61 GmbH/Alamy Stock Photo

THREE EARLY MODERN EMPIRES

The Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals partitioned the eastern Islamic lands from the Balkans to Bengal, accompanied by smaller satellite states such as the Deccan

sultanates and the Uzbek khanate of Central Asia.[4] The three empires shared a semi-nomadic Turco-Mongol and a Persianate-Islamic cultural heritage, whose roots went back as early as the 11th- to 13th-century dynasties of the Ghaznavids, Ghurids and Seljuqs. The successors of those medieval dynasties became vassals of the Mongols and Timurids to varying degrees, which further fortified their commonalities. The crisscrossing of interactions in multiple directions between the early modern empires speaks against the presumption of a unidirectional influence radiating from Iran to its neighbours. A more productive paradigm would be to re-conceptualize the territories of these empires as a continuous zone with a common cultural heritage, which each polity considered its own.

I am fully aware that smaller polities which coexisted with the three superpowers are inevitably marginalized by my comparative-connective framework. But this can be justified since it is not my intention to present a general survey. At the outset, one must acknowledge the chronological disjunction and time-lag in the development of these empires. The Ottomans emerged much earlier than the Safavids and Mughals did, around 1299, and reigned over six centuries. The Safavid and Mughal polities, by contrast, were relative late comers, founded in 1501 and 1526 respectively; hence their life spans were shorter.

The height of Ottoman prosperity as a Mediterranean power was between the late 15th- to early 17th century, when its most celebrated architectural monuments were created. The subsequent rise to prominence of the Safavids and Mughals falls in the late 16th through the 17th centuries, when Europeans began to flock to Iran and India with the growing fortunes of Indian Ocean trade, which enabled ostentatious monuments and urban projects to be financed. Despite this chronological asymmetry, there are compelling structural parallels in the developmental stages of the Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals from minor regional polities to major dynastic empires.

One notable parallel is that, as these empires became centralized to various degrees over time, they increasingly adopted orthodox religious ideologies and more formal court ceremonies, which reciprocally shaped and were shaped by the built environment. Buildings were not just physical entities; they housed specific institutions and modes of human interaction, which I have analyzed in earlier comparative case studies.[5] Another striking parallel between the three polities is that, in the process of empire formation, each of them abandoned earlier capital cities. Provided with extensive landscaped gardens, their new capitals constituted more ambitious stages for the display of lavish monuments, performative rituals, and the cultivation of collective identities. I will focus

here on those late imperial capitals; namely, Istanbul, Isfahan and Delhi (called Shahjahanabad after its founder).

Just like their capital cities and iconic prestige monuments, the three empires themselves were remarkable constructs of the imagination. Initially their extended courts were predominantly Turkic speaking and preferred Persian as the written langue of high culture, while Arabic continued to be the common language of religious, legal, literary, and scientific texts. Although the ruling elites of these empires were trilingual to a certain extent, by the late-16th century the increasing linguistic Turkification of Ottoman court culture came to parallel the Persianization of its Safavid and Mughal counterparts. This growing linguistic divide, which was accompanied by the migration of many Iranians to the neighbouring Mughal Empire and the Deccan, has triggered an explosion of studies on relations between Safavid Iran and the Indian subcontinent, to the detriment of research on exchanges with the Mediterranean-based Ottoman empire.

The Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals ruled over a commercially linked zone, with jointly inherited political, religious, administrative, cultural, literary and artistic traditions. These common denominators were enhanced by the increased circulation of individuals and goods in the early modern period along well-protected trade and pilgrimage routes. Merchants, poets, artists, architects, scholars, Sufis and diplomats travelled with greater frequency along routes that crossed shifting political boundaries. So did dissident statesmen, refugee princes and even monarchs who occasionally sought asylum in neighbouring courts—warfare and factionalism being typical modes of transregional exchange.

The 16th century Spanish-Portuguese dominance in world trade, which eventually gave way to British and Dutch trading companies by the 17th century, triggered unprecedented interactions between the rising West and the Islamic empires in this era of mounting global connectivity. This was also a period of intensely 'competitive legitimacies' and 'contested space', during which imperial sovereignty became increasingly invested with spiritual authority.[6] In that context the three empires largely departed from their 15th-century international Timurid and Turkmen artistic heritage, including modes of architectural ornament characterized by abstract geometric and vegetal patterns. From the 16th century onward, the Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals developed distinctive architectural cultures with individualized floral languages of ornament that functioned as emblematic markers of territorial identity.[7] The continuing use of predominantly geometric and abstract vegetal designs in Uzbek architectural revetments was not

due to lack of creative originality, as is sometimes assumed. This was rather a deliberate choice signifying visual difference and proclaiming dynastic claims to be the rightful successors of the Timurids in Central Asia.

In contrast, the three empires chose to visually and spatially transform their collective Timurid and Turkmen heritage by fusing it with regional artistic traditions of their own multicultural territories, each of them forging a new sense of place and cosmopolitan imperial identity. While the Safavids creatively reinterpreted the Timurid-Turkmen past of their domains, the Ottomans and Mughals at opposite frontiers of the eastern Islamic world forged syntheses that incorporated local non-Muslim architectural traditions: Italo/Byzantine and Hindu/Jain respectively.

Major iconic monuments commissioned by royal and elite patrons, both male and female, can be roughly grouped according to two main building types. The first consisted of palace complexes and garden pavilions, with diverse approaches to the themes of universal kingship, dynastic identity and court ceremonial. Comparing the palaces of each empire shows how their codified rituals fabricated distinctive images of absolute monarchy, framed and staged through recognizable architectural and decorative idioms, as well as differing degrees of visibility and withdrawal. With their strategies of framing the gaze and the body, these palaces constituted notable examples of the invention of tradition.[8] The second building type was socio-religious architecture, complemented by infrastructural networks including hydraulic structures, bridges, roads, and caravanserais that interconnected imperial landscapes. Monuments ranging from multifunctional complexes, madrasas, mosques, and shrines to mausoleums both reflected and actively constructed specific sectarian orientations, as well as prevalent forms of Sufi piety in each empire.

The specific socio-religious building types chosen for dynastic and communal self-representation displayed much greater variation than palatial monuments did. Indeed, recent studies of early modern state formation have demonstrated the increasing enforcement of official religion throughout the Eurasian empires.[9] The fashioning of Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal imperial identities and religious orthodoxies developed relationally, in dialogue with each other in this age of confessionalization and imperial polarization.[10] Throughout the 16th–17th centuries sporadic sectarian wars raged between the Sunni Ottomans and Twelver Shi'i Safavids, accompanied by polemical discourses. However, the Mughal emperors managed to steer away from the Sunni-Shi'i divide, preferring instead a more inclusive strategy in their imperial domains where Muslims always

remained a minority. This difference was proudly announced in a letter Emperor Akbar wrote in 1590 to his Safavid neighbour, Shah ʿAbbas. Criticizing the intolerant religious bigotry of the Shah of Iran, Akbar (r. 1556–1605) claimed that his own openness toward India's different religions and cultures gave him the right to rule them all as universal emperor.[11] The well-known culture of tolerance endorsed by Akbar was approvingly described in the memoirs of his son and successor Jahangir (r. 1605–27):

> Followers of various religions had a place in the broad scope of the peerless empire—unlike other countries of the world, like Iran where there is room for only Shiites, and Rum [Ottoman lands], Turan [Central Asia], and Hindustan, where there is room for only Sunnis. Just as all groups and practitioners of all religions have a place within the spacious circle of God's mercy, in accordance with the dictum that a shadow must follow its source, in my father's realm, which ended at the salty sea, there was room for the practitioners of various sects and beliefs, both true and imperfect, and strife and altercation were not allowed. Sunni and Shiite worshipped in one mosque, and Frank and Jew in one congregation. Utter peaceableness was his established way.[12]

Nevertheless, the reign of Jahangir's son, Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58), which in many ways marked the zenith of imperial grandeur in Mughal architecture, ushered in an increasing concern for shariʿa-based Sunni orthodoxy. Yet once again, Shah Jahan did not attempt to impose religious conformity, a growing tendency that would characterize the reign of his son and successor Aurangzeb (Alamgir, r. 1658–1707).

ICONIC BUILDING TYPES

How such diverging trends manifested themselves in the architectural cultures of the three early modern empires has not yet been systematically analyzed from a comparative-connective perspective. I interpret the differing socio-religious building types favoured in these centralizing empires as indices of competitive claims to universal sovereignty, informed by individualized and multifaceted concepts of dynastic legitimacy. For instance, the Ottoman insistence on concentrating the highest level of architectural patronage on multifunctional Friday mosque complexes, which comprised the modestly scaled domed mausoleums of successive sultans, was unparalleled in the Islamic world. The

serial production of monumental mosque complexes in Istanbul by each sultan signified uninterrupted father-to-son succession as a policy of dynastic continuity. Moreover, these complexes articulated Ottoman claims to Sunni caliphal status and munificence by incorporating a wide variety of social, educational and charitable dependencies subordinated to a dominant central mosque, a notable example being the Süleymaniye complex (1548–59) (Fig. 1). This vast complex, with its funerary garden containing the mausoleums of the founder Sultan Süleyman and his favourite wife, was commissioned from the chief architect Sinan. During the Caliph-Sultan Süleyman's reign (r. 1520–66), the compulsory performance of congregational Friday prayers came to be officially enforced throughout the Ottoman territories.[13] Built with written permission granted by the sultans, smaller mosque complexes commissioned by royal women and foremost grandees conformed to a hierarchically stratified typology and norms of decorum. Not surprisingly, the late 16th-century Ottoman polymath Mustafa 'Ali regarded the *khutba* or Friday sermon, only pronounced in the great Friday mosques, as the ultimate symbol of sultanic and caliphal legitimacy. He wrote:

> The mighty sovereigns have been given two divine gifts, one being the noble *khutba* and the other one [the privilege to strike] the illustrious coins [in their names]. Of course, in the sublime *khutba* the idea of the greatness of the royal prestige and of the glory of the immaculate person of the ruler is expressed, it teaches high and low to obey their leaders and instructs the just and the righteous to follow the caliph of the time.[14]

Neither the Safavids nor the Mughals placed a premium as the Ottomans did on the construction of numerous mosque-centered complexes in their capital cities. The comparatively few Safavid and Mughal imperial mosques were not accompanied by extensive multifunctional charitable complexes and royal mausoleums, nor were they complemented by a large number of smaller Friday mosque complexes. The building type foregrounded by the Twelver Shi'i Safavids was monumental shrine complexes, which articulated the dynasty's legitimacy that rested on its descent from the Sufi Safavid order, based in Ardebil, and from the seventh Shi'i Imam buried in Baghdad. Not located in their capitals, Safavid pilgrimage centers were mainly situated in Ardebil, Mashhad (Fig. 2), and later on in Qum, with smaller *imamzada*s distributed in other cities like Qazvin. These complexes comprised the tombs of Sufi saints, Shi'i Imams, and their descendants, with whom the dynasty associated its fabricated genealogy traced back to Imam

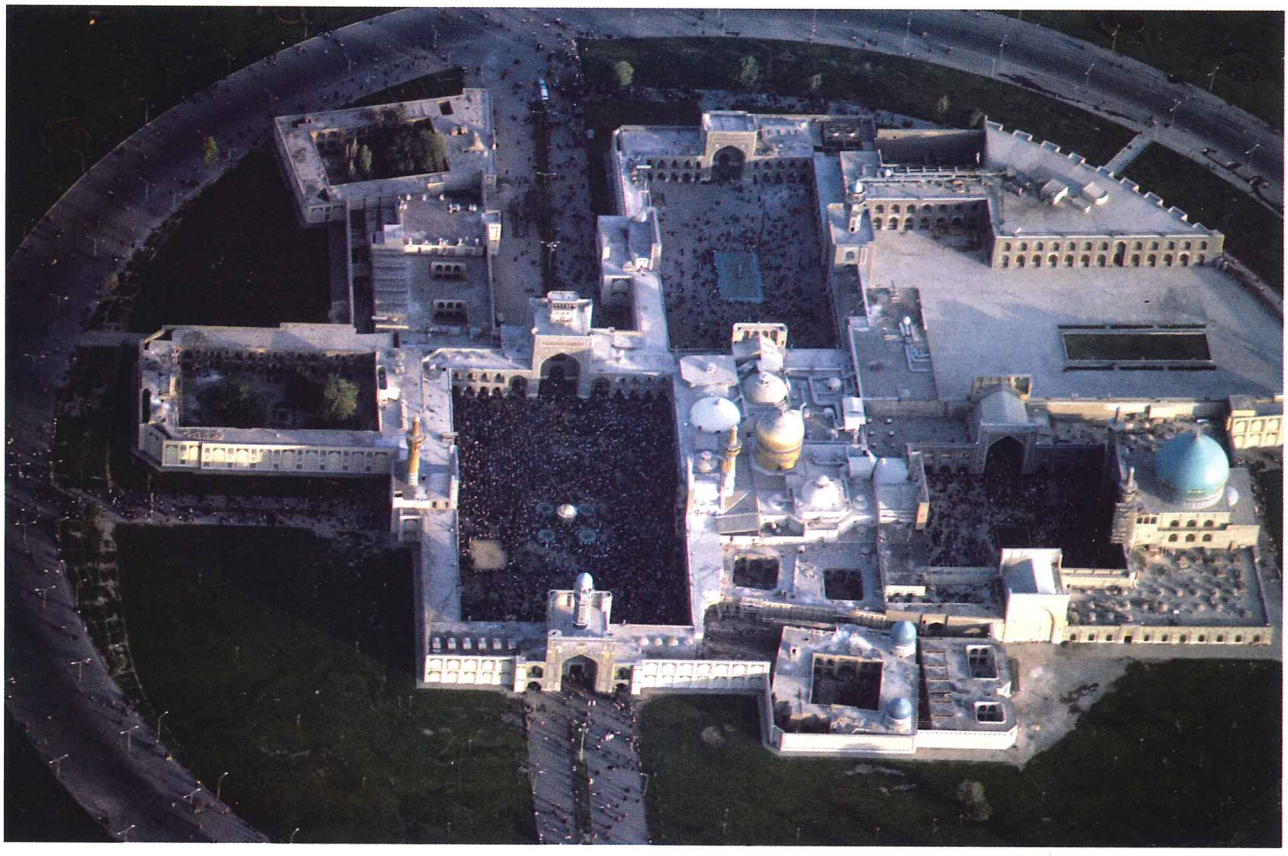


Figure 2. Mashhad, Shrine Complex of Imam Reza. Georg Gerster/Science Source

ʿAli. Therefore, unlike their Ottoman and Mughal contemporaries, who were buried in free-standing mausoleums set in the funerary gardens of multifunctional complexes, the Safavid shahs had their burial chambers inserted within preexisting shrines, next to holy tombs to underscore the dynasty's sanctity.[15]

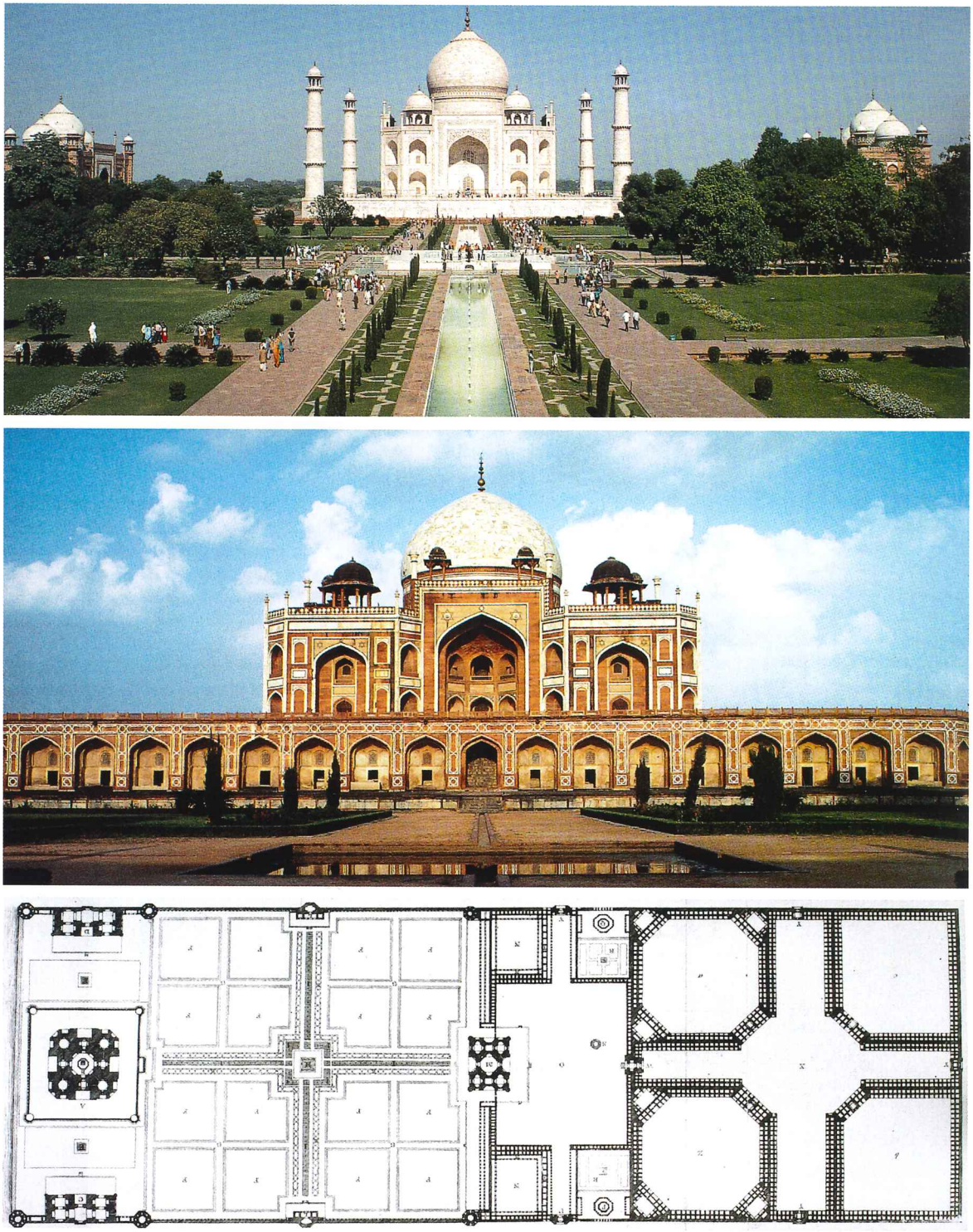
It was not until the early 17th century, during the reign of Shah ʿAbbas I (r. 1588–1629), that a monumental Friday mosque came to be built for the first time, due to the changing religio-political context of the new Safavid capital created by him in Isfahan (Fig. 3). According to Twelver Shiʿi theology, because the hidden Twelfth Imam would reappear on the Day of Judgment, the leadership of the Friday prayers during his absence was a highly debated issue. Yet, the legality of the Friday prayer was promoted in Shah ʿAbbas's new capital in response to internal ideological shifts as well as external criticisms, voiced by the Sunni Ottoman and Uzbek neighbours of the Safavids.[16]

The primary socio-religious architectural icons of the Mughal imperial regime were multifunctional dynastic funerary complexes set in elaborate gardens (Fig. 4). Unlike the mosque-centered Ottoman funerary complexes, their monumental

Figure 3. Isfahan, Masjid-i Shah, 2010. Courtesy of Daniel C. Waugh

FACING PAGE:
Figure 4. (a) Agra, Taj Mahal Complex. Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, p. 106, Fig. 136. © E. Koch 1996
(b), Delhi, Humayun's Mausoleum, seen from the West. Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, p. 86, Fig. 104. © E. Koch 1978

mausoleums dominated all dependent structures, including mosques, in scale and magnificence. Mughal dynastic mausoleums also overshadowed royal Friday mosques and Sufi shrines within the empire's domains. The Mughals preferred this more inclusive building type that was not limited to Muslims, but rather accommodated multi-faith and multi-gender dynastic ceremonies during annual tomb visitations commemorating death anniversaries.[17] This choice was furthermore rooted in the memories of monumental mausoleum complexes built in Samarqand and Herat by the Timurid ancestors of the Mughals, from which they had been exiled by the Uzbeks. Besides, the absence of burials in tombs among the Hindus and Jains had already turned grand mausoleums into particularly potent signifiers of Islamic architectural culture in the subcontinent, prior to the rise of the Mughal polity.



(c) The first plan of the Taj complex, Thomas and William Daniell, *Views of the Taje Mahel at the city of Agra, in Hindoostan. Taken in 1789*. London: T. Bensley, printer, Bolt Court, Fleet-Street, 1790? Public Domain, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed April 22, 2019), http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/tinyurl/9osPP2

Figure 5.
ABOVE: (a) Istanbul, Panoramic View from the Golden Horn, ca. 1590. Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8626*, fols. 159v-160. Photo: Reproduced in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*; p. 108. Fig. 100. © Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

FACING PAGE:
(b) Istanbul, Aerial View with the Hippodrome, Topkapı Palace, Hagia Sophia, and Sultan Ahmed Mosque Complex. Images & Stories/Alamy Stock Photo

The mere fact that entirely different building types became iconic in each of the three early modern empires suffices to show that taxonomic classifications of architectural typologies in survey books fall short of providing explanations for such deliberate dynastic choices. A comparative-connective methodology also reveals that the capitals of these empires were the primary loci for urban and architectural innovations, in the sense that dynastic imprints transformed their cityscapes more radically than they did provincial towns, despite obvious bilateral interactions.

The earliest capital to be founded was Ottoman Istanbul, created in the second half of the 15th century under the auspices of the youthful conqueror of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1451–81), and his principal courtiers (Fig. 5). This sultan's ambitious collaborative project of transforming the millennial Byzantine capital into a cosmopolitan Islamic metropolis at the crossroads of Europe and Asia entailed the selective appropriation of the eastern Roman urban tradition. His successors, descendants and subsequent grandees perpetuated that project as an ongoing collective enterprise, which found expression in the formation of the city's famous skyline punctuated by imperial hilltop mosques, with smaller mosques sited in lower positions and along the shores.[18] Unlike the landlocked Safavid and Mughal riverfront capitals removed from major seaports, Istanbul was a strategic cosmopolitan port city with an arsenal for the imperial navy and ship construction. The city's unique site spanning two continents and two seas, namely, Europe and Asia, as well as the Black Sea and Mediterranean, enabled the Ottomans to become a major sea power by the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, especially after the conquest of Safavid Iraq, Mamluk Syria-Egypt, and Berber kingdoms in North Africa.[19]

The creation of the new Safavid capital Isfahan between 1590 and the early 17th century was prompted by the centralizing imperial vision of another ambitious young monarch, Shah 'Abbas (Fig. 6). Unlike Mehmed II's seamless integration of old and new Constantinople, the shah appended a separate urban center to the medieval core of Isfahan, which represented his novel vision of spiritual kingship. Its magnificent monuments were organized around a grandiose royal piazza, the Maydan-i Shah, and the axial Chaharbagh Avenue, bisected by a central waterchannel. This spacious boulevard lined with trees crossed the Zayanda River with a bridge and was punctuated at both ends by royal belvedere pavilions that framed perspectival vistas.[20] Among other factors, economic motivations played a considerable role in the decision to transfer the Safavid capital from Qazvin to Isfahan, a city closer to the Persian Gulf through which maritime trade was expected to be enhanced by circumventing taxation in the Ottoman land routes. The Safavid conquest of Hormuz from the Portuguese with the help of English ships in 1622 was part of this project, for which a network of caravanserais was built along the route connecting the Gulf to the new cosmopolitan capital. The English traveller Thomas Herbert (1626–29) admiringly noted that the vast commercial piazza at the heart of Safavid Isfahan far surpassed its European counterparts in scale: 'The Maydan is without doubt as spacious, pleasant and aromatic a market as any in the universe … resembling our Exchange, or the Place-Royal in Paris, but six times bigger'.[21]

The last great imperial capital to be created was Shahjahanabad (1638–48), a rationalized culmination of Mughal urban ideals. Designed soon after Isfahan, this new imperial settlement of Delhi restored the city to its former glory.[22] It was the product of a single masterplan which, compared to the old capital Agra, boasted more regular streets and the wide axial Chandni-Chowk avenue bisected by a water channel (Fig. 7). Another channel provided water to the monumental garden estates of prominent royal women, which complemented the riverfront gardens of the imperial Red Fort. The regularly planned new centers of Isfahan and Delhi distanced themselves from adjacent former settlements, unlike Istanbul, yet remained in dialogue with these old urban enclaves through a spatial articulation of difference and bipolarity. In each case, difference was enunciated by a new regime of visuality, materiality and spatiality, whose flamboyance resonated with the 17th-century baroque aesthetic of contemporary western Europe and its overseas colonies, with which the Safavids and Mughals were in close communion.

FACING PAGE:
Figure 6. Isfahan, Aerial View of the Maydan and Chaharbagh Avenue.

ABOVE:
Figure 7. Mazhar 'Ali Khan, Detail of the Panorama of Delhi from the Lahore Gate of the Red Fort, 1846. London, British Library, Add. Or. 4126.
© The British Library Board

I maintain that the three imperial capitals developed in competitive conversation with one another, rather than in isolation. For instance, Mughal historians used Istanbul as a standard of comparison for Shahjahanabad. Muhammad Saleh asserted that Istanbul was not as big as Shahjahanabad.[23] Likewise, the late 17th-century author Sujan Rai boastfully claimed, 'Stamboul, the capital of the Sultan of Rum, which is famous for its largeness and extent, is not a tenth part of the tenth part of Shahjahanabad'. He then bragged that, 'Isfahan, [which is] famous for excellence and beauty does not come up to even a single quarter of this city [Shahjahanabad]'.[24]

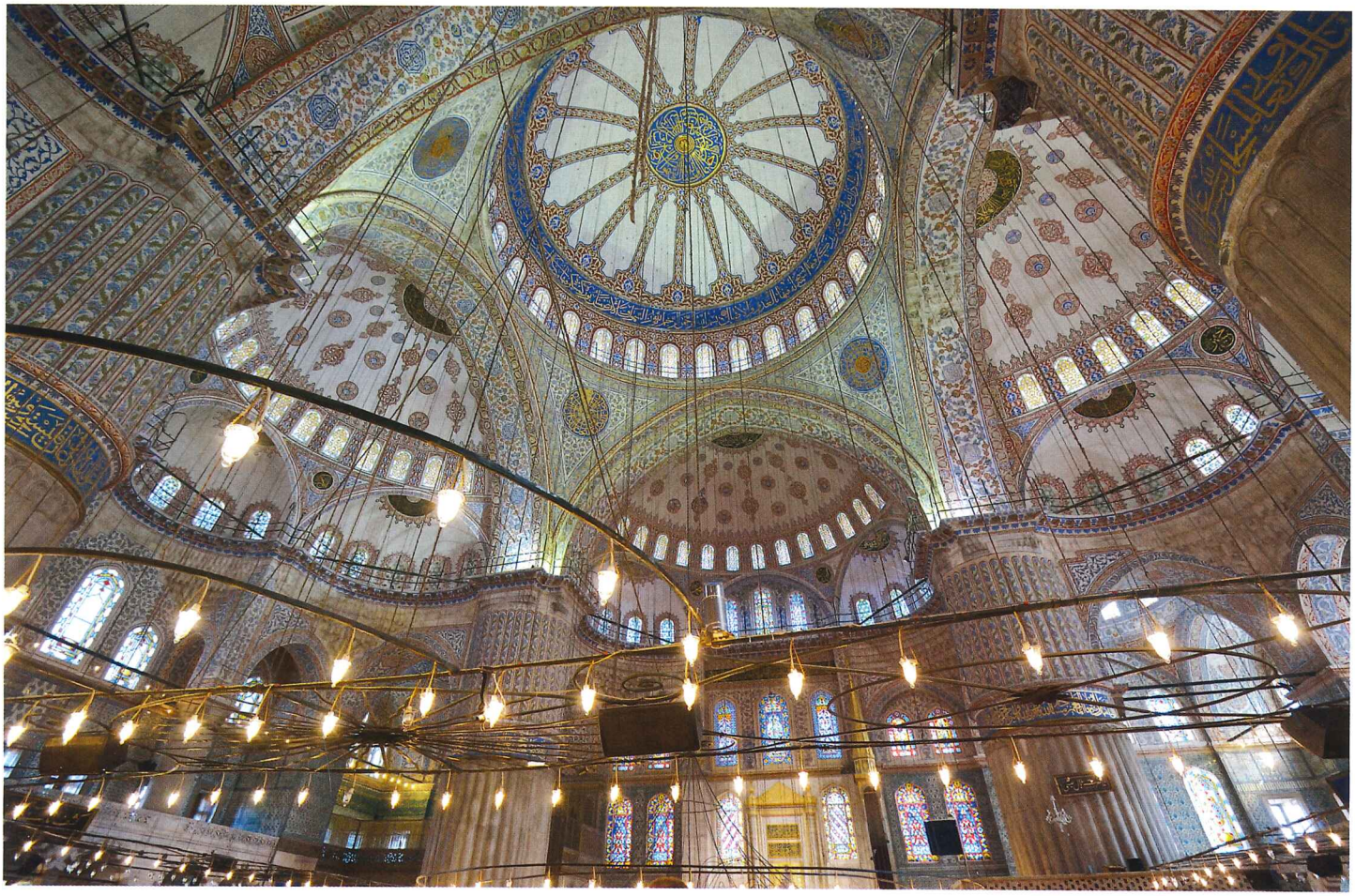
Isfahan, which aspired to compete with Istanbul and Agra, stimulated in turn the planning of Shahjahanabad.[25] In fact, during an audience, Shah Jahan even asked a Safavid ambassador to compare with Isfahan his '*new Dehli*' that was then under construction. According to the French traveller Bernier (1659), the ambassador 'answered aloud, and with an oath, "*Billah! Billah! Ispahan* cannot be compared to the dust of your *Dehli*": which reply the king took as a high encomium upon his favourite city, though the ambassador intended it in sportive derision, the dust being intolerable in *Dehli*.'[26] What more confirmation can one ask for the competitiveness of the intercrossed architectural histories of the three empires?

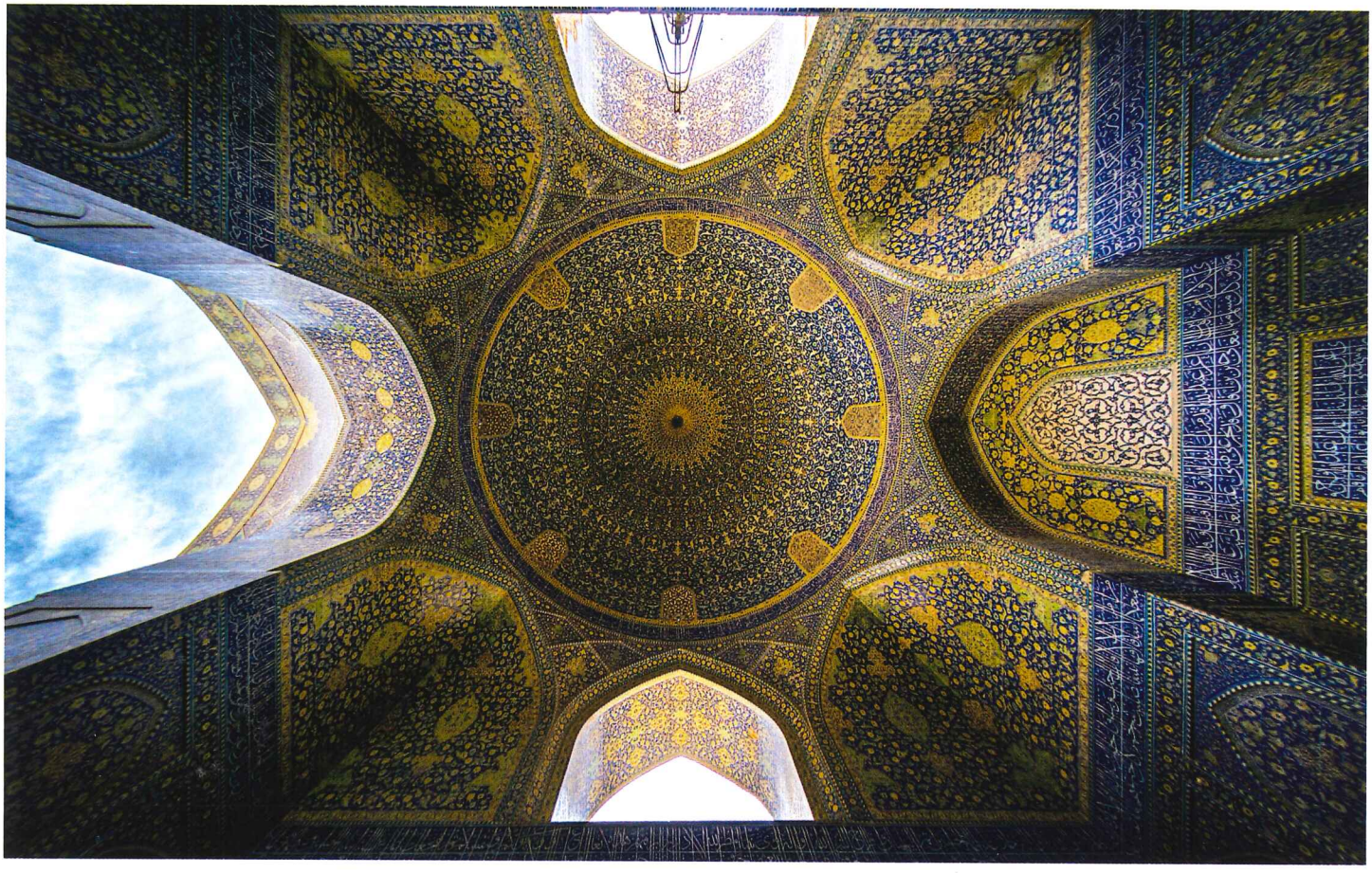
Unlike Isfahan and Delhi, each based on a single monarch's masterplan, Istanbul which cumulatively emerged from and encompassed the ruins of Byzantine Constantinople lacked the possibility of reinventing an entirely new urban layout. Nevertheless, the Ottoman capital that had attained its glorious

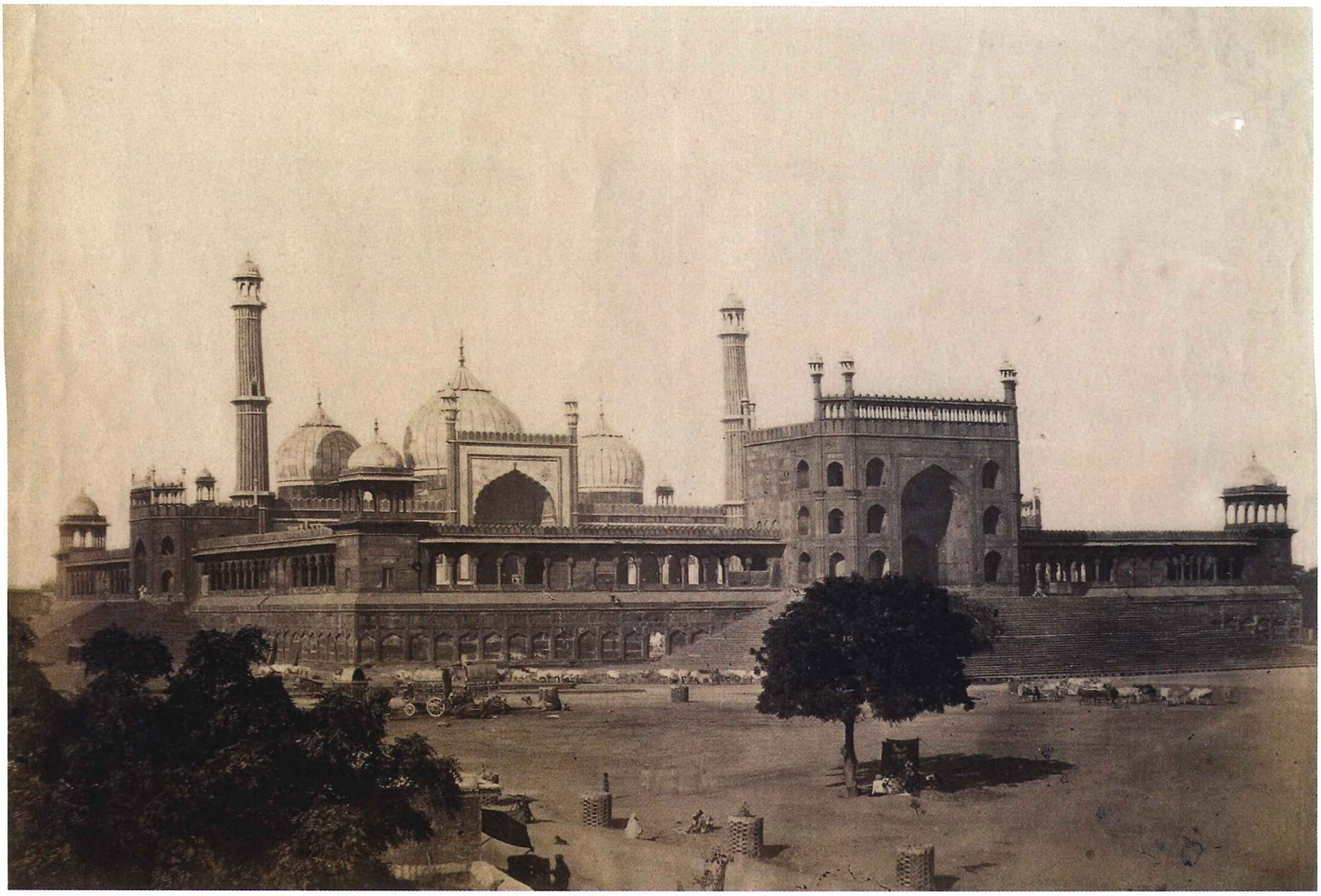
FOLLOWING PAGE (270):
Figure 8. (a) Isfahan, Masjid-i Shah, Interior View of the Domed Sanctuary, 2014. Mohammad Reza Domiri Ganji, Wikimedia Commons

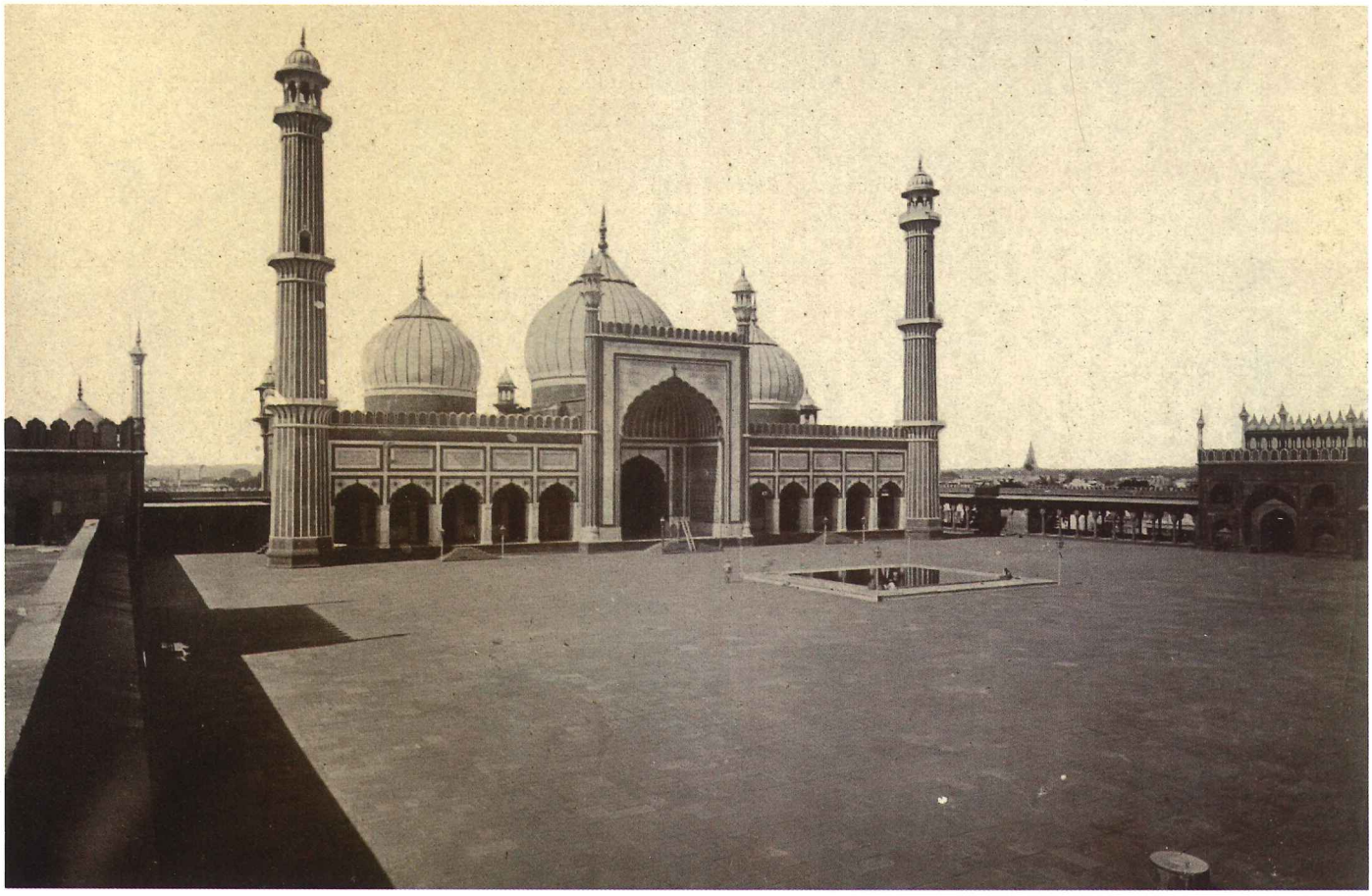
Figure 8. (b) Istanbul, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Interior View, 2014. Wolfgang Moroder, Wikimedia Commons

peak by the late-16th century effectively responded to changing tastes thereafter. Just around the time when Shah ʿAbbas was planning to add a monumental mosque (1611–29) to the recently completed new maydan in Isfahan, his Ottoman rival Sultan Ahmed (r. 1603–17) began to restructure Istanbul's main city square, the ancient Roman-Byzantine Hippodrome, with an equally ambitious mosque complex (1609–16) (Figs 5b and 6). Created in the midst of an Ottoman-Safavid war, the intertextuality of these two contemporaneous mosques is vividly captured by the epigraphic programme of the Masjid-i Shah. An inscription on the exterior of its sanctuary dome, dated 1627–28, beseeches God to grant victory to the Shah's armies and to banish to hell the enemies of the Twelver Shiʿis, who are friends of the Umayyads and follow them in tyranny. I read this as a pointed reference to the Sunni Ottomans, from whom Shah ʿAbbas had taken Baghdad a few years earlier, in 1624. He thereby regained the coveted Shiʿi shrines of Iraq, whose loss to the Ottoman sultan Süleyman in 1534 had dealt a major blow to Safavid dynastic legitimacy.[27] Just as the Masjid-i Shah's dome inscription implicitly cursed the Ottomans, an early 17th-century Turkish architectural treatise on the contemporaneous Sultan Ahmed mosque wishes its patron to eliminate the heretic Safavid shah.[28] Interestingly, this was a time when Ottoman-Mughal diplomatic relations intensified, triggered by Jahangir and Shah Jahan's attempts to forge an alliance against Shah ʿAbbas, who had conquered Mughal Kandahar in 1622, shortly before seizing Ottoman Baghdad. These initiatives were however suspended









upon Shah Jahan's recapture of Kandahar in 1639, a year after the Ottomans reclaimed Baghdad.[29]

Diverging from the minimally decorated, restrained classical manner of the chief architect Sinan, the Sultan Ahmed mosque boldly announced with its unprecedented six minarets aligned perspectivally, the inauguration of a more theatrical baroque taste for ostentatious splendour.[30] So did its Safavid counterpart in Isfahan, with its staggeringly extensive tile revetments. These two mosques embody a comparable aesthetic of exuberance, with a heightened sensorial and emotive dimension (Fig. 8). Both monuments have been criticized by modern architectural historians, who tend to prefer the less decorative classical aesthetic and structural values of earlier monuments. But clearly, by the 17th century tastes had changed, as they did in the West, where Renaissance classicism gave way to baroque extravagance. In other words, we are dealing with a pan-Eurasian aesthetic phenomenon, a kind of global baroque not defined as a style but as a shared sensibility.[31]

The simultaneous construction of two grandiose royal mosques in Istanbul and Isfahan was followed by Shah Jahan's own monumental Friday mosque built near the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad (1650–56) (Fig. 9). This was the largest example of its kind in the Mughal domains at that time (before its scale became surpassed by the mosque of Aurangzeb in Lahore).[32] Each of these three mosques, in close proximity to a public square near the imperial palace, attempted to outshine their predecessors. Bearing witness to the interconnected architectural histories of the early modern empires, these projects responded to and reverberated with one another.

PREVIOUS PAGE (271):
Figure 9. (a) Delhi Jami' Masjid, External View. IAA110046 © Aga Khan Trust for Culture.
(b) Delhi Jami' Masjid, View from the Courtyard. IAA110058 © Aga Khan Trust for Culture

FACING PAGE:
Figure 10. Detail from a topographic painting of Tabriz depicting the Maydan with the Royal Palace and Mosque Complex of Uzun Hasan, Matrakçı Nasuh, *Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i 'Irāḳeyn*, ca. 1537. Istanbul University Library, T. 5964, fols. 27b-28a

A TRANSREGIONAL PALATIAL PROTOTYPE: THE *HASHT BIHISHT*

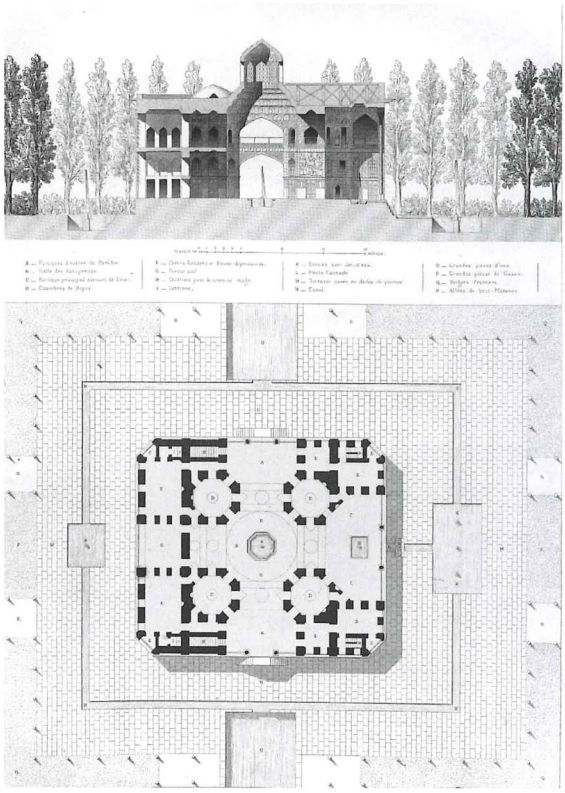
The linked architectural histories of the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal empires also extended to the realm of palatial buildings. I shall consider here only one such example, the international Timurid and Turkmen pavilion type known as *hasht bihisht*, or eight paradises, close variants of whose plan were translated to local idioms in all three empires. Despite their similar nine-partite ground plans (a cross in a square, with a central domed hall surrounded by four double-storeyed corner units, consisting of eight halls), these pavilions assumed differing elevations in the process of translation. The earliest surviving example is the Çinili Köşk, or Tiled Pavilion, of the Topkapı Palace complex in Istanbul, which combines brick and stone with Persianate tilework.[33] Yet this pavilion is rarely integrated into

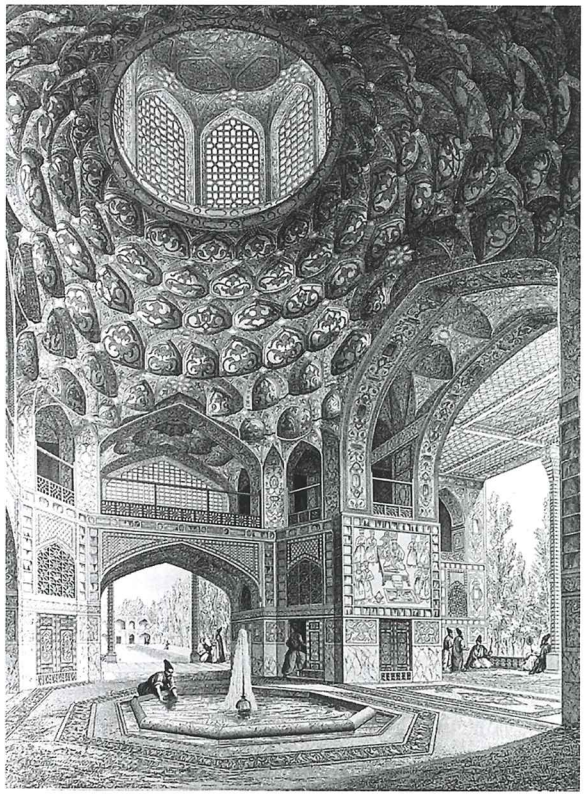
the architectural histories of Iran, Central Asia, and India. It was accompanied by two other monumental pavilions in the outer garden of the Topkapı Palace, constructed in the Ottoman and Byzantine manners respectively. The Persianate Çinili Köşk was built in the Timurid-Turkmen international style by an imported workshop from Iran in 1472 to express the universalistic imperial claims of Mehmed II. The Ottoman sultan was then preparing a military campaign against his Aqqoyunlu Turkmen rival based in Tabriz, Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), whom he defeated within a year in 1473.

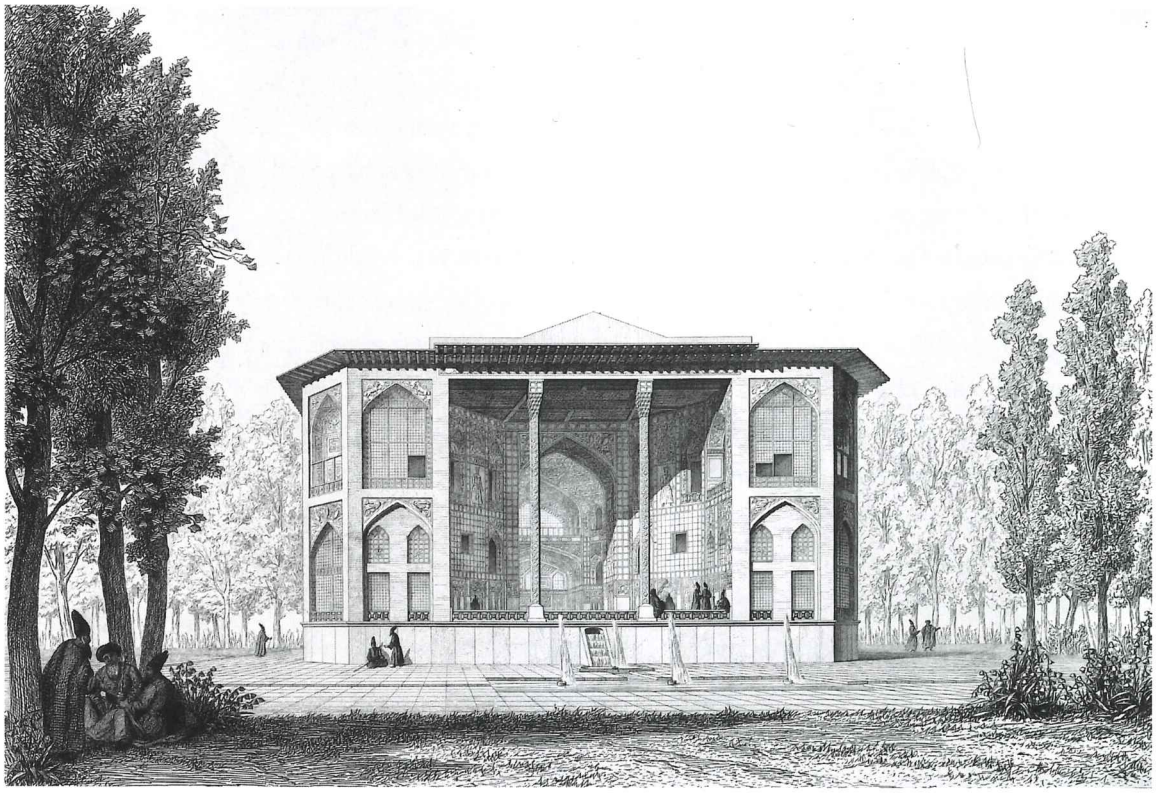
A no-longer extant *Hasht Bihisht* pavilion in brick and tilework also graced the palace complex of Uzun Hasan in the Aqqoyunlu capital Tabriz, which was completed by his son Ya'qub Beg in the 1480s. When the Safavid shah Isma'il I (r. 1501–24) conquered the city in 1501, he made it his own capital and settled at the former Aqqoyunlu palace. This palatial complex continued to be the main Safavid royal residence for nearly half a century, until the capital moved to Qazvin in 1555.[34] The only remaining visual record of the Tabriz palace, with its turquoise-domed *Hasht Bihisht* pavilion raised on a high vaulted plinth, is a manuscript painting by the Ottoman topographer-historian Matrakçı Nasuh (Fig. 10). It depicts the Safavid capital Tabriz, based on a drawing made in situ during Sultan Süleyman's conquest of that city in 1534. The painting also shows the Aqqoyunlu maydan in Tabriz, as modified by the Safavids in its details, which provided the model for its counterpart in the New Isfahan of Shah 'Abbas, down to its polo posts and its central tall mast topped by a golden apple. This topographic manuscript painting also tends to be overlooked in studies on Safavid architecture because of the segregation of fields. In defence of connectivity, I should add that Süleyman's military expedition gave ample opportunity to his topographers and his future chief architect Sinan, who attended that lengthy campaign (1533–35), to familiarize themselves with exemplars of Persianate architecture, gardens and cities, which are visually recorded in the same manuscript.[35]

A late-17th century version of the *hasht bihisht* pavilion type has survived in the Safavid palace complex in Isfahan, where it is raised on a relatively low platform from its surrounding walled garden (Fig. 11).[36] This pavilion (completed in 1669) is built in brick and tilework, which are the traditional building materials of the Iranian plateau and Central Asia, in contrast to the predominantly stone masonry buildings of the Ottoman and Mughal empires. Its internal *muqarnas* dome had a central fountain underneath and is spatially continuous with the geometrically landscaped garden through four iwans that blur the boundary between interior

FACING PAGE:
Figure 11. (a, b, c) Plan, Cross-Section, Elevation, and Interior View of the Hasht Bihisht Pavilion in Isfahan. Drawings by Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse mesurés, dessinés et décrits*, A. Morel, Paris, 1867. Public Domain: http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990012331410203941/catalog







and exterior. The low profile of the dome is not at all visible externally, thereby giving the building a cubic appearance with a flat roof.

In the Indian subcontinent the same building type, of which some palatial examples existed (such as the Farah Bagh Palace in Ahmadnagar, 1583), was transformed into a monumental mausoleum at the Mughal emperor Humayun's funerary complex in Delhi (r. 1530–40, 1555–56). Translated into the local building materials of red sandstone with white marble highlights, Humayun's mausoleum was posthumously built under the supervision of his widow, Hajji Begum, during Akbar's reign.[37] Like the *Hasht Bihisht* pavilion in Tabriz, Humayun's tomb (ca. 1562–71) is raised on a high vaulted plinth and features an externally articulated monumental dome (Figs 4b and 10). Humayun, who with his wife and intimates sought asylum at the Safavid court in 1544 after being overthrown by his Afghan rival, had seen the Aqqoyunlu *Hasht Bihisht* pavilion during an excursion in Tabriz.[38] However, the use of local building materials and elements (such as *chattris*) have created an entirely different aesthetic affect at his mausoleum, which remains unparalleled in its perfect integration of the tomb's *hasht bihisht* plan with the nine-partite garden's elaborate layout. This inward-looking mausoleum transformed the function of its outward-looking palatial prototype into a collective burial place for the deceased Mughal emperor and his extended household, set in a paradisiacal garden. Its architect, Sayyid Muhammad-i Mirak was the son of Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyas, an expert in agriculture, irrigation and architecture. His father had worked as a landscape architect in late Timurid and Safavid Herat, Uzbek Bukhara and Babur's Agra, where the Mughals fashioned themselves as the 'Timurids of Hindustan'.[39] Both father and son were landscape architects-cum-builders, familiar with the late Timurid, Uzbek and Safavid building traditions.[40]

Humayun's mausoleum provided the main model for the Taj Mahal complex in Agra (1632–48, completed 1653), although some have also proposed the aforementioned Farah Bagh Palace (1583) of Ahmadnagar as a prototype. Commissioned by Shah Jahan to enshrine the deceased queen Mumtaz Mahal, the Taj encompassed a grand compound with a new commercial suburb carrying her name (Fig. 4).[41] The *hasht bihisht* prototype underwent yet another aesthetic transformation in its materiality while being translated into white marble, with coloured semi-precious stone inlays depicting naturalistic paradisiacal flowers. The attenuated proportions of the Taj, which emphasize verticality, depart from the earth-bound horizontality of Humayun's tomb and embody a new baroque aesthetic sensibility, unmistakably in tune with contemporaneous Islamicate and Europeanate architecture.

Both Mughal sources and European travellers confirm that the Taj Mahal was part of an urban development project aimed to entice foreign merchants to the capital Agra. According to Peter Mundy (1632–33), Shah Jahan intended 'to remove all the city there, causing hills to be made level so that they might not hinder the prospect of it. Places have been appointed for streets, shops, dwellings and he has commanded merchants, shopkeepers and artificers to inhabit that place called by her name "Tage Gunge/Taj Ganj' (Taj Market)."[42] The French jeweller Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, who saw the tomb complex in 1640–41 and 1665, enthusiastically wrote:

> Of all the Tombs in Agra, that of the wife of Shah Jahan is the most splendid. [The emperor] purposely made it near the Taj Market where all foreigners come, so that the whole world should see and admire its magnificence. The Taj Market is a large bazaar consisting of 6 large courts, all surrounded with porticoes, under which are chambers for the use of merchants and an enormous quantity of cottons are sold there.[43]

The court historian Lahauri also mentions the commercial dependencies within the complex, endowed with a waqf named after Mumtaz Mahal:

> In these *sarais* they buy and sell merchandise of diverse sorts from every land, varied goods from every country, all kinds of luxuries of the day, and things that are essential to a civilized and comfortable life, brought from all quarters of the world. Behind the imperial caravanserais, merchants have built many substantial houses (*manazil-i pukhta*) and caravanserais. And this thriving dwelling-place founded for all eternity, which has become a large city, is called Mumtazabad.[44]

This shows that like Shah 'Abbas, who aspired to attract English, Dutch and other foreign merchants to Isfahan's new commercial maydan, Shah Jahan wanted the Taj complex to be acclaimed by the entire world and fully succeeded in his intention. Certainly, some of the appeal of the complex was due to the way it incorporated European aesthetic elements, such as its Italianate *pietre dure* floral inlays, its baroque formal qualities, its bilateral symmetry, and the mausoleum's perspectival framing at the end of the garden's grand central axis. In fact, Bernier compared the *pietre dure* revetments of the Taj with familiar counterparts at the Medici Grand Duke's chapel in Florence,[45] just as Tavernier found its dome

comparable to the Val-de-Grâce in Paris.[46] It is remarkable, however, that the Taj Mahal simultaneously echoed the flamboyant aesthetic of contemporaneous iconic monuments in Istanbul and Isfahan.

EPILOGUE

In the concluding section of this article, I would like to emphasize that the Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals regarded their distinctive architectural idioms as infinitely superior to that of their medieval regional predecessors. This self-confident ethos of early modernity is diametrically opposed to the decline discourse that has prevailed until quite recently in the historiography of Islamic architecture, with its traditional medieval focus, due to which the age of the three empires was deemed a somewhat derivative period of artistic decline.[47] The sense of pride in monumental architecture and urbanism as an expression of dynastic grandeur is consistently expressed in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal texts alike, which acclaim their own 'golden age' as 'a climactic moment in the history of civilization'.[48]

The Ottoman chief architect Sinan, for instance, proudly asserts in his autobiography written in the 1580s that he incomparably improved the Hagia Sophia-inspired architectural style of former Ottoman sultanic mosques with unprecedented refinement in the Şehzade Mehmed and Süleymaniye mosques (See Fig. 1):

> To the engineers of the age and to the overseers of auspicious monuments it is manifest and apparent that although [formerly] buildings constructed in the style of Hagia Sophia did not possess elegance, this servant perfected the noble mosque of Şehzade Sultan Mehmed—may God illuminate his tomb—which was the model for the noble building complex [and mosque] of His Majesty Sultan Süleyman Khan—may he rest in peace. Subsequently in this lofty edifice [i.e., the Süleymaniye complex] various beautiful works of art were created, each of which took form with elegance.... Such artistry had not previously been accomplished by any master.[49]

A similar attitude of dissatisfaction with medieval monuments is articulated by the Safavid historian Junabadi, according to whom Shah 'Abbas criticized the old maydan of Isfahan around 1590 because its *suqs*, caravanserais, and bathouses were 'narrow, crooked, and stuffy'. The new maydan created for the

shah corrected this deficiency with its rational design principles: 'Through the circumstances of these sublime buildings, the capital city of Isfahan is one of the mothers of cities of the civilized world and it's equal and like in the seven climes does not exist'[50] (Fig. 6). According to another Safavid court historian, Iskandar Beg Munshi, when Shah 'Abbas visited the shrine complex of Imam Reza in Mashhad, he likewise found its architecture from the Timurid period rather unimposing. The historian explains how the Shah planned to regularize the asymmetrical layout of the shrine's entrance with the addition of a symmetrical four-iwan forecourt (Fig. 2):

> After performing the pilgrimage ceremonies at the shrine of the Imam Reza, the Shah resolved ... to restore the buildings and dwellings and to enlarge the main courtyard of the shrine, because he considered the existing one unimpressive. The [Timurid] Mir 'Alishir portico was the entrance to the shrine ... but it was extremely badly located in the corner of the courtyard. The Shah's plan was to demolish some older buildings lying east of the courtyard and already in ruins, and to incorporate the lands thus acquired within the courtyard in such a way that the Mir 'Alishir portico would then be located in the center of the southern wall. He also planned to construct a second portico in the north wall, facing south and opposite the Mir 'Alishir portico, and two other porticoes in the east and west walls respectively. An avenue would then be constructed from the west gate of the city running east to the shrine: on reaching the shrine, it would circle around it passing by all four entrance porticoes.[51]

This passage testifies to the urbanistic dimension of the Mashhad project, much like that of Shah 'Abbas in Isfahan, characterized by an early modern preference for order, axiality, and symmetrical planning principles resonating with the new imperial order.

Shah Jahan's court historian Muhammad Saleh likewise explains that Agra was found unsuitable as a capital because its palace was too small and its mansions, shops and other buildings encroached on lanes and thoroughfares. Transferring the capital to Lahore was considered but rejected because it too was crowded and considered unattractive, with its jumbled and haphazard plan and construction. The emperor therefore decided to build Shahjahanabad as a monument to his own greatness, with spacious and straight avenues (Fig. 7).[52] Bernier agrees that Agra lacked uniform wide streets, unlike those of Delhi; its streets were 'short,

narrow, and irregular, and full of windings and corners: the consequence is that when the court was at *Agra* there is often a strange confusion'.[53]

The historian, Lahauri, confidently asserts that the architectural idiom invented in Shah Jahan's reign, with the emperor's agency, attained unsurpassed refinement:

> The mind [of the emperor], brilliant as the sun, pays great attention to lofty edifices and strong buildings, which as the saying has it—"Verily our monuments will tell of us"—long speak with mute eloquence of their master's high aspiration and sublime authority, and for ages to come are memorials to his love of land development, spreading of ornamentation, and nourishing of purity... In this peaceful reign the work of building has reached such a point that it astonishes even the world traveller who is hard to please and the magical masters of this incomparable art.[54]

The passages I have quoted bear witness to a proud self-perception, and early modern sense of superiority towards the medieval built environments of each empire. Through meaningful manipulations of inherited regional forms and critical uses of the past, all three empires transformed their shared late medieval monumental and spatial heritage. Hence, their interactive architectural cultures were both linked by common roots and separated by deliberate deviations from those roots. It was this duality that enriched their dialogical potential.

In conclusion, I hope to have demonstrated the interconnectedness of the vast region ruled by the three empires, whose architectural cultures have generally been treated as if they were hermetically sealed entities, even when compared with one another. The construction of new capitals displaying semi-autonomous architectural idioms, with individualized floral decorative skins, was part of a self-conscious fashioning of empire that made territorial boundaries more legible. The immediately recognizable novel regimes of architecture, confined to the geographic boundaries of each polity, contributed to a heightened sense of cohesion. This transformation in architectural aesthetics overlapped with an outspoken spirit of innovation in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal poetry that promoted the originality of 'fresh styles' over 'ancient manners'.[55] The formation of early modern empires thus brought about new verbal and visual representations of territoriality, spatiality and materiality that were determined by frontiers. As Michel de Certeau has observed, the very presence of frontiers made possible both 'the isolation and interplay of different spaces'.[56]

ENDNOTES

1. This paper is based on the 2012–13 Slade Lectures in Fine Art, which I was invited to deliver in the University of Cambridge. Titled 'Architecture of Empire: The Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals,' these eight public lectures constitute the basis of a forthcoming book I am preparing on the architectural cultures of the three early modern empires and their neighbours. Earlier versions of the present paper were delivered as lectures at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz-Max-Planck-Institut (2014), and at the 'Eurasian Empires Conference' in Leiden University (2016).

2. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,' *History and Theory* 45/1 (2006): 30–50; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'A Tale of Three Empires: Mughals, Ottomans, and Habsburgs in a Comparative Context,' *Common Knowledge* 12:1 (2006): 66–92; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,' *Modern Asian Studies* 31/3 (1997): 735–62; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

3. Much like self-contained chapters in survey books, an exhibition on the three empires treated them separately in different halls, *Three Empires of Islam: Istanbul, Isfahan, Delhi: Masterpieces of the Louvre Collection*, Sophie Makariou and Charlotte Maury curators (Valencia: Fundación Bancaja, 2008). For a critique of segregated approaches, see Gülru Necipoğlu, 'The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches,' in *Islamic Art and the Museum: Approaches to Art and Archaeology of the Muslim World in the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber, and Gerhard Wolf (London: Saqi Books, 2012), pp. 57–75. See also Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Frameworks of Islamic Art and Architecture: Concepts, Approaches and Historiographies,' in *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, co-edited by these authors in the Wiley Blackwell *Companions to Art History*, 2 vols., (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2017), 1, pp. 2–56. In volume 2 we commissioned a comparative essay on architecture and urbanism in the three early modern empires.

4. This region is referred to as the 'Balkans-to-Bengal complex' in Shahab Ahmed's posthumously published book, *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016). His important work draws upon earlier attempts that connect the three empires, particularly Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times, Venture of Islam*, vol. 3 (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1974). See also Stephen Frederic Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (Cambridge, U.K. and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Douglas E. Streusand, *Islamic Gunpowder Empires: Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2011).

5. See my following case studies comparing the three empires: 'Qur'anic Inscriptions on Sinan's Imperial Mosques: A Comparison with their Safavid and Mughal Counterparts,' in *Word of God – Art of Man: The Qur'an and its Creative Expressions*, ed. Fahmida Suleman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 69–104; 'Word and Image in Portraits of the Ottoman Sultans: A Comparative Perspective,' in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Ayşe Orbay (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000), pp. 22–59; 'Framing of the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces: A Comparative Perspective,' *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 303–42; 'Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture,' *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 169–80.

6. I borrow these terms from Colin P. Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion and Rhetoric* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), p. 4. Focusing on Safavid chancellery documents, he analyzes the competitive claims to legitimacy of the Safavids, Ottomans, Mughals, as well as the Uzbeks and Deccan sultanates. On diplomatic relations, see Naimur Rahman Farooqhi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations: A Study of Political & Diplomatic Relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556–1748* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1989); Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations: A Study of the Political and Diplomatic Relations between the Mughal Empire and Iran* (Teheran: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970).

7. See Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Early Modern Floral: The Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures,' in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local,* eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Alexandra Payne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 132–55.

8. See Necipoğlu, 'Framing of the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces,' pp. 303–42.

9. Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, Tülay Artan and Metin Kunt, eds., *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011); Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

10. Tijana Krstić, 'Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51/1 (2009): 35–63.

11. This letter, included in the third volume of the Mughal historian Abu'l Fazl's *Akbarnāma* (1590–95), is translated in Ebba Koch, 'How the Mughal *Pādshāh*s Referenced Iran in Their Visual Construction of Universal Rule,' in *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History*, eds. Peter Fibiger Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 194–209, at pp. 194–95.

12. Wheeler M. Thackston, trans., ed. and annotated, *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India* (Washington, D.C., New York: Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 40.

13. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005, second edn, 2011), pp. 47–59; Gülru Necipoğlu, 'The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation,' *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 92–117.

14. Cited in Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 35, from *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's Counsel for the Sultans of 1581,* ed., trans. and notes by Andreas Tietze, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979–82) 1, p. 81.

15. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, esp. pp. 20–21, 115–24. On Safavid shrines, with a focus on Ardebil, see Kishwar Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion and Power in Early Modern Iran* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011).

16. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 34–35, 80–82; Necipoğlu, 'Qur'anic Inscriptions,' pp. 91–92; Andrew J. Newman, 'Fayd al-Kashani and the Rejection of the Clergy/State Alliance: Friday Prayer as Politics in the Safavid State,' in *The Most Learned of the Shi'a: The Institution of Marja' al-Taqlid*, ed. Linda S. Walbridge (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 34–52; Sussan Babaie, 'Building the Past: The Shaping of Safavid Architecture, 1501–76' in *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576*, eds. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby, (Milan and New York: Skira, 2003), pp. 27–47.

17. On annual tomb visitation ceremonies, known as 'urs, see Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), pp. 97–99.

18. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009). See also Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople,' *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81; Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 82–92, 103–15; Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul: Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996).

19. Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Palmira Johnson Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994).

20. Sussan Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces: Statecraft, Shiʿism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008); Stephen P. Blake, *Half the World: The Social*

Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590–1722 (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Pub., 1999).

21. Cited in Sussan Babaie, 'Persia: The Safavids 1501–1722,' in *The Great Empires of Asia*, ed. Jim Masselos (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 136–65, at p. 154; Sir Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia 1627–1629*, abr. and ed. William Foster (London: G. Routledge & Sons 1928), p. 127.

22. Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639–1739* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Jeremiah P. Losty, *Delhi 360°: Mazhar Ali Khan's View from the Lahore Gate* (New Delhi: Lustre Press Roli Books, 2012).

23. Cited in Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, p. 192.

24. Cited in ibid., p. 192.

25. Shah 'Abbas's new capital, Isfahan 'represented a political impulse to establish an imperial capital that would rival contemporary Constantinople or Agra': See Babaie, 'Persia: The Safavids 1501–1722,' p. 156. According to Kishwar Rizvi, Isfahan competed with other early modern capitals and given Shah 'Abbas's close relations with the Mughals, India may have been a source of inspiration: See her, 'Architecture and the Representations of Kingship During the Reign of the Safavid Shah 'Abbas I,' in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, eds. Charles Melville and Lynette Mitchell (Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 371–96, at pp. 383–84.

26. François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656–1668*, trans. Archibald Constable (Lahore: al-Biruni, 1976), pp. 152–53.

27. Necipoğlu, 'Qur'anic Inscriptions,' pp. 91–92. In a polemical letter addressed to Sultan Süleyman in 1554, during an earlier Ottoman-Safavid war, Shah Tahmasp envisioned this war in relation to early struggles of the Shi'i Imam 'Ali's followers against the Umayyad caliphal oppressors, 'Uthman, Mu'awiya, Yazid, and Marwan. The letter depicts the Ottoman sultan as the chief priest of the idol temple, Istanbul, 'may the curse of God be upon it and the groups of heretics and hypocrites [in it]': Translated in Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran*, pp. 81–83.

28. Cited in Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 518, from Cafer Efendi, *Risāle-i Mi'māriyye: An Early-Seventeenth-Century Treatise on Architecture. Facsimile with Translation and Notes*, by Howard Crane, Supplements to Muqarnas: Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture, vol. 1 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1987), pp. 67, 75.

29. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, pp. 25–39.

30. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 514–18, esp. p. 517. On this mosque, see also Emine Fetvacı, 'Music Light and Flowers: The Changing Aesthetics of Ottoman Architecture,' *Journal of Turkish Studies* 32/1 (2008): 221–40.

31. José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

32. Catherine, B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, New Cambridge History of India; I, 4 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 202–3.

33. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1991), pp. 212–17.

34. Babaie, *Isfahan and its Palaces*, pp. 30–35.

35. Nurhan Atasoy with the contributions of Seyit Ali Kahraman and Ruşen Deniz, *Swordsman, Historian, Mathematician, Artist, Calligrapher: Matrakçı Nasuh and His Menazilname: Account of the Stages of Sultan Süleyman Khan's Iraqi Campaign*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: MASA, 2015); Nasûhü's Silâhî (Matrakçı), *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i 'Irakeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân*, ed. Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976).

36. Babaie, *Isfahan and its Palaces*, pp. 198–206.

37. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, pp. 44–47; Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526–1858)* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1991), pp. 43–48. Also see, Neeru Misra and Tanay Misra, *The Garden Tomb of Humayun: An Abode of Paradise* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2003); S.A.A. Naqvi, *Humayun's Tomb and Adjacent Monuments* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2002); Michael Brand, 'Orthodoxy, Innovation, and Revival: Considerations of the Past in Imperial Mughal Architecture,' *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 323–34; Glenn D. Lowry, 'Humayun's Tomb: Form, Function, and Meaning in Early Mughal Architecture,' *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 133–48.

38. On Humayun having toured Tabriz before returning to Kabul and Kandahar, see Bāyazid Bayāt's *Tārīkh-i Humāyun* (History of Humayun), in Wheeler M. Thackston, ed. and trans., *Three Memoirs of Humayun*, 2 vols. (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 2009), 2, pp. 1, 12. See also Laura, E.Parodi, 'Humayun's Sojourn at the Safavid Court (A.D. 1543–44)' in *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, 2 vols., eds. A. Panaino and R. Zipoli (Milan: Mimesis, 2006), 2, pp. 135–57.

39. On the architect of Humayun's tomb and his father, see Maria, E. Subtelny, 'Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyas and the Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture,' *Studia Iranica* 24 (1995):19–60. Subtelny has revised previous identifications of the builder on the basis of new documentation: See Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 44, n. 4, 6; Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, pp. 27, 85–86; Dale, *The Muslim Empires*, p. 148.

40. On this family of builders and landscape architects, see the articles by Maria E. Subtelny, 'Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyas and the Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture,' pp. 19–60; 'Agriculture and the Timurid *Chaharbagh*: The Evidence from a Persian Agricultural Manual,' in ed. Attilio Petruccioli, *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, Supplements to Muqarnas: Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture, vol. 7 (1997): 110–28; and 'A Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual in Context: The 'Irshad al-Zira'a' in Late Timurid and Early Safavid Khorasan,' *Studia Iranica* 22/2 (1993): 167–217.

41. Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*; Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, pp. 209–15; Lisa Golombek, 'From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal,' in *Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari, Islamic Art and Architecture I (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1981), pp. 43–50. On the Farah Bagh as a prototype, see: H.I.S. Kanwar, 'Foreign Impact on the Architecture of the Taj Mahal,' in *Studies in the Foreign Relations of India*, ed. P.M. Joshi (Hyderabad: State Archives, 1975), pp. 528–40; Omar Khalidi, 'From the Deccan to Hindustan? Gardens in the Deccan and Beyond,' *Deccan Studies* vol. 5, no. 2 (July–December, 2007): 42–58.

42. Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, ed. Richard Carnac Temple, vol. 2, *Travels in Asia, 1628–1634* (The Hakluyt Society, 1914. Reprint Nendeln/Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), pp. 213–14.

43. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 2 vols., trans. V. Ball, ed. William Crooke, 2nd edn. (London: Oxford University Press, 1925) 1, p. 90.

44. Translated in Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, p. 257.

45. "Everywhere are seen the jasper, and *jachen* [*yashm*], or jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the *Grand Duke*'s chapel at *Florence*, and several more of great value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and enchased in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall': See Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 298, cited in Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, p. 92.

46. Tavernier exclaimed that, 'the dome of the Taj is scarcely less magnificent than that of the Val-de-Grâce in Paris,' completed in 1667: See Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 1, p. 90; cited in Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, p. 241.

47. Necipoğlu, 'The Concept of Islamic Art,' pp. 57–75.

48. Dale, *The Muslim Empires*, p. 177; Necipoğlu, 'Challenging the Past,' pp. 169–80.

49. *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, trans. and eds. Howard Crane and Esra Akın, edited with a preface by Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006, reprint 2014), pp. 74–75.

50. Junabadi's description is translated in Stephen Blake, 'Shah 'Abbas and the Transfer of the Safavid Capital from Qazvin to Isfahan,' in *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, ed. Andrew J. Newman (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 145–64, at pp. 156–57. See also Robert D. McChesney, 'Four Sources on Shah 'Abbas's Building of Isfahan,' *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 103–34, at 112–14.

51. Iskandar Munshī, *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great = Tārīkh-e 'Ālamārā-ye 'Abbāsī*, 3 vols., trans. Roger M. Savory (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1978–86), 2, p. 1064. Cited in Necipoğlu, 'Challenging the Past,' p. 177.

52. Cited in Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, pp. 27–28.

53. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 285.

54. Translated in Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, p. 84; see Bernier, *Travels*, p. 268, note 8.

55. On the 'fresh style' in poetry and further bibliography, see Dale, *The Muslim Empires*, pp. 151–61, 222–29.

56. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 123.