

4th International Süleymaniye Symposium

IV. Uluslararası Süleymaniye Sempozyumu

The Baburid (Mughal) Empire: New Sources, New Approaches Bâbürlü İmparatorluğu: Yeni Kaynaklar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar

16-18 SEPTEMBER | ibn Haldun Üniversitesi, Süleymaniye Yerleşkesi
EYLÜL 2022 | Salis Medrese, İstanbul

ÖZET KİTAPÇIĞI | ABSTRACT BOOKLET

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 **IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY**
SCHOOL OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

 **TİKA**
30.yıl

Sempozyum, T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığının (TİKA) katkılarıyla düzenlenmektedir.
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SEMPZYUM PROGRAMI / SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM

16 Eylül Cuma / 16 September Friday

09:30 - 10:00	Kayıt - Açılış Kokteyli / Registration - Opening Cocktail
10:00 - 10:30	Selamlama Konuşmaları / Welcoming Remarks
10:30 - 11:00	Açılış Konuşması / Keynote Address Stephen F. Dale, <i>Babur's Timurid South Asian Empire</i> (online)
11:00 - 12:15	1. Oturum / 1st Session - Babürlü Tarihi ve Tarih Yazımına Yeni Yaklaşımlar / New Approaches to the Baburid History and Historiography Oturum Başkanı / Chair: Halil Berktaş Irfan Ahmad, <i>Five Theses On How Writing History Without Political Theory-Philosophy Is Boring</i> Zahit Atçıl, <i>The Mughals as a Muslim State in the Agrarian Age from the Perspective of Marshall Hodgson</i> Scott Levi, <i>Ferghana Dreams: New Research into the Mughals and their Central Asian Homeland</i> Gagan D. S. Sood, <i>Mughals and Ottomans in the Genesis of the Modern World: From Comparisons to Integration</i>
12:15 - 14:15	Öğle Arası / Lunch Break
14:15 - 16:15	2. Oturum / 2nd Session: Şiir, Ben-Anlatıları ve Kimlikler / Poetry, Ego-Documents and Identities Oturum Başkanı / Chair: Nagihan Haliloğlu Ali Anooshahr, <i>The Poetry of Hakim Yusufi at the Mughal Court</i> Rishad Choudhury, <i>Beyond the Persianate Babel: The Diary of a Pilgrim from Early Colonial Madras</i> Yagnaseni Datta, <i>Identities Made and Unmade: Contesting Social Class Hierarchies in the Mughal Jūg Bāsish, C. 1602 CE</i> Syed Najaf Haider, <i>Language, State and Identity in a Hindwi Autobiography of Mughal India</i>
16:15 - 16:30	Ara / Break
16:30 - 18:30	3. Oturum / 3rd Session: Kadın Tarihi / Women's History Oturum Başkanı / Chair: Suraiya Faroqhi Mehreen Chida-Razvi, <i>A Woman's Space: The Zenana in Mughal-era Architecture and Painting</i> Nilgün Dalkesen, <i>Dynastic Women and Ülüsh (Power-Sharing) System: Two Important elements as Turco-Mongol Heritage behind the Baburid Success in India</i> Parshati Dutta, <i>Building as Biography: Constructing Mughal Women's Histories with a close reading of Empress Nur Jahan's caravanserai Nur Mahal</i> Shireen Moosvi, <i>Reconstructing a Women's History of Mughal India</i>

17 Eylül Cumartesi / 17 September Saturday

09:15 - 11:15	<p>4. Oturum / 4th Session: Hindistan'daki Türk Mirası ve Farsça-Türkçe Tarihyazımı / Turkish Heritage in India and Turco-Persian Historiography</p> <p>Oturum Başkanı / Chair: İdris Bostan</p> <p>Ali Fuat Bilkan, <i>Kuzey Hindistan'da Siyasî Egemenliğin Kültürel Yansımaları: Babür Sarayında Türkçe Azmi Özcan, Babürlü Toprak Düzeni ve İşleyişi</i></p> <p>M. Şakir Yılmaz, <i>16.-17. Yüzyıl Farsça ve Türkçe Tarihyazımında Dünya Tarihi</i></p> <p>Ümit Naci Yorulmaz, <i>Bangladeş'teki Babürlü Eserleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme</i></p>
11:15 - 11:30	Ara / Break
11:30 - 13:30	<p>5. Oturum / 5th Session: Savaş ve Ekonomi / Warfare and Economy</p> <p>Oturum Başkanı / Chair: Syed Najaf Haider</p> <p>Naveen Kanalu, <i>The Fiscal Norms of Hanafi Law: Documentary Procedures and Agrarian Realities in the Mughal Empire (c. 1660-70)</i></p> <p>Pratyay Nath, <i>Post-Nomadic Warfare in Early Modern Asia, or Why the Mughals and the Ottomans Went Their Own Ways</i></p> <p>Amita Paliwal, <i>The Urban Economy of Sind under the Mughals in the Seventeenth Century</i></p> <p>André Wink, <i>The Mughal Culture of Chivalry</i></p>
13:30 - 14:30	Öğle Arası / Lunch Break
14:30 - 16:30	<p>6. Oturum / 6th Session: Gündelik Hayat, Siyaset ve Mimarlık / Everyday Life, Politics and Architecture</p> <p>Oturum Başkanı / Chair: Lisa Balabanlılar</p> <p>Shadab Bano, <i>Men at Home: Domesticity and Everyday Life in Pre-Colonial Households in India</i></p> <p>Munis D. Faruqi, <i>Eunuchs and Imperial Power in Late-Seventeenth Century Mughal India</i></p> <p>Zahra Shah, <i>Architectural Knowledge in Early Modern India: The World of the Mughal Muhandis</i></p> <p>Gulfishan Khan, <i>Khulāṣah-ı aḥvāl-i-Bānu Begum mukhātab ba-Mumtāz Maḥall: A Site Plan of the Tāj Maḥall</i></p>
16:30 - 16:45	Ara / Break
16:45 - 18:45	<p>7. Oturum / 7th Session: Fizikî ve Zihnî Sınırlar / Physical and Mental Borders</p> <p>Oturum Başkanı / Chair: Scott Levi</p> <p>Lisa Balabanlılar, <i>The Mughal Royal Court and the Conquest Landscape: An Environmental Study</i></p> <p>Michael H. Fisher, <i>The Mughal Empire (1526-1858) and its Environmental Limits and Technologies</i></p> <p>Mohammad Hossain - M. Fatih Çalışır, <i>India in the eyes of an Ottoman geographer: A critical study on the chapter on India in Abu Bakr Dimashqi's Nusret al-Islam</i></p> <p>Cemil Kutlutürk, <i>Mughal/Baburi Emperors through the Eyes of the Medieval Hindu Intellectuals and Statesmen</i></p>

18 Eylül Pazar / 18 September Sunday

09:30 - 11:30	8. Oturum / 8th Session: Antikite, Kozmografya ve Din / Antiquity, Cosmography and Religion Chair: Shireen Moosvi Fatih Bayram, <i>The Rise of the Qadiri Order in India: Miyan Mir and the Mughal Imperial Family</i> N. Zeynep Çavuşoğlu, <i>The Light of the Heavens and the Earth: Reading Akbarnāma as a Hagiography</i> Ebba Koch, <i>Humayun's Cosmic Carpet as a Heterotopic Gameboard</i> Corinne Lefèvre, <i>Mughal Antiquarian Cultures</i>
11:30 - 11:45	Ara / Break
11:45 - 13:00	Açık Oturum ve Kapanış Konuşmaları / Open Discussion and Closing Remarks: <i>What is Next in the Baburid (Mughal) Studies?</i>
13:00 - 14:00	Kapanış Yemeği / Closing Reception
14:00 - 18:00	Suraiya Faroqhi ile Eski İstanbul Turu / Istanbul Old City Tour with Suraiya Faroqhi <i>Süleymaniye, Divan Yolu, Sultanahmet and Ayasofya</i>



TEBLİĞ ÖZETLERİ

ABSTRACTS



Five Theses On How Writing History Without Political Theory-Philosophy Is Boring

Irfan Ahmad
Ibn Haldun University

Abstract

Writing history assumes some kind of geography, even when depicted as networked. That is, history is geography temporalized, or, simply geo-story tethered to the nation form. It also continues to be ideographic. As in-disciplinary outsider to history, I think about orienting history in a nomothetic frame. What matters, then, is not so much what "in reality was" but the truth about potentiality and becoming that goes past the tripartite modernizing division of time into past, present and future. To institute these theses, my examples are multiple but mostly about the Baburid or Mughals of "south Asia," itself a geo-historical-political term.

Short Bio

Irfan Ahmad (Ph.D. Cum Laude, University of Amsterdam) is Professor of Anthropology-Sociology at Ibn Haldun University, Turkey. Until early 2022, he was Senior Research Fellow at Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious & Ethnic Diversity, Gottingen. He is author of two monographs, most recently, *Religion as Critique: Islamic Critical Thinking from Mecca to the Marketplace* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017) and (co)editor of four volumes, most recently, *The Nation Form in the Global Age: Ethnographic Perspectives* (Palgrave, 2022). His writings have been translated into Arabic, German, Portuguese, Turkish, Urdu and Indian languages. A public intellectual, he has taught at Dutch and Australian universities. He has written for and interviewed by global media such as New York Times, Al-Jazeera, Deutsche Welle, NRC Handelsblad, People's TV, Press TV, Sky TV, The Hindu, Jadaliya, Huffpost, The Age, Open Magazine, The Conversation and many radio networks in Australia (SBS Hindi & Urdu), South Africa and Slovenia. Pertinent to this presentation is the 2022 essay, "*The Time of Epistemic Domination: Notes on Modernity as an Oppressive Category.*"



The poetry of Hakim Yusufi at the Mughal Court

Ali Anooshahr
UC Davis

Abstract

This paper investigates the panegyrics (Qasidahs) of the physician Muhammad Yusufi Haravi, composed throughout the 1530s at the Mughal court of the Mughal emperors Babur and Humayun. Yusufi's poem reflect his search for patronage, the ambiguities of service, and encounter with South Asia. It provides an early evidence of the formative period of Indo-Persian court culture under the Mughals.

Short Bio

Ali Anooshahr is Professor of History at the University of California, Davis. He a historian of the "Persianate World" with a special focus on India and Iran during the late medieval and early modern periods. His publications include (ed. with Ebba Koch), *The Mughal Empire from Jahangir to Shah Jahan: Art, Architecture, Politics, Law and Literature* (The Marg Foundation, 2019). He is on the editorial board of the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*.



The Mughals as a Muslim State in the Agrarian Age from the Perspective of Marshall Hodgson

Zahit Atçıl
Istanbul Medeniyet University

Abstract

This paper discusses the place of the Mughals from the perspective of world historian Marshall Hodgson, who have been known with his magnum opus titled *The Venture of Islam*. Hodgson who taught Islamic history at the University of Chicago, albeit his early death at relatively young age, has an outstanding position in the academic world for his publications on world history and Islamic history. As he criticized the existing narratives of world history and offered an original narrative for the Islamic history, Hodgson examines the historical past as a complex unity combined by political, economic, social, religious, cultural, and artistic aspects. As for his treatment of the Mughals, Hodgson does not simply present a political narrative but rather an exposition discussing religious, cultural, social, and economic structures of India that the Mughals ruled from the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century. Hodgson examines the Mughals as a Muslim state in the Agrarian age and views India under the Mughals where the Sunnism infused by Sufi affiliations in a multi-religious context with various interactions across religions. This paper aims at discussing how Hodgson's vocabulary and conceptual framework help us to understand the history of the Mughal dynasty and India under the Mughals.

Short Bio

Zahit Atçıl is Associate Professor of Ottoman history at Istanbul Medeniyet University. Currently he is director of Ottoman International Studies Graduate Program. He earned Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago in 2015. He has published on early modern Ottoman history and Islamic history. His work focuses on Ottoman diplomatic history, Ottoman bureaucracy, and Ottoman state formation in the early modern period. He received Outstanding Young Scientist Award from the Turkish Academy of Science in 2020.



The Mughal Royal Court and the Conquest Landscape: an Environmental Study

Lisa Balabanlilar
Rice University

Abstract

Moving beyond the traditional environmental historical focus on economic geography and land use patterns, this paper explores the Mughal intellectual and sensory engagement with nature and the landscape. In particular, the peripatetic nature of their royal court would profoundly impact the ways in which the Mughals intervened and interacted with their environment.

Famously, the early Mughals had no immediate affinity for their newly conquered territories. Describing himself as a reluctant exile, Babur bitterly denounced his most recent acquisitions, although the potential for power and great wealth convinced him to make his claims permanent. Mughal disdain for their South Asian lands would shift dramatically, however, over the next few generations, eventually mellowing into appreciation and delight. This dramatic reversal was both the result of and reason for the peripatetic Mughal royal court culture. For over two hundred years, at the peak of their greatest success and power, the mobility of the royal court played a pivotal role in the formulation of Mughal rule in India, as a ritual through which the princes negotiated and reinforced communal solidarity and legitimate rule, but which also drew them into an intimate and emotional relationship with the landscape of the subcontinent.

The institution of courtly mobility would impact/influence the development of Mughal infrastructure, social networks, and built environments, relations with the animals and plants with which they would become so closely interconnected. Mughal ecological awareness was not grounded in a conservationist model, although their use and development of the natural world was thoughtful and deliberate, and careful provisions were made to prevent the despoilation and abuse of local ecosystems and resources. While Mughal journeys were often undertaken for political and military reasons, the travel needs of the royal retinue could at times take precedence over more pragmatic considerations. Much of their infrastructural development enhanced and improved the emperor's access, through sometimes dangerous terrain, to favorite landscapes of particular beauty and scenic charm. It was through this attentive and affectionate interaction that the Mughals could proudly declare the land of their conquests, at one time seeming so alien and inhospitable, to be a veritable paradise on earth.

Short Bio

Lisa Balabanlilar is the Joseph and Joanna Nazro Mullen Professor in Humanities at Rice University in Houston, Texas. She is currently Chair of the Department of Transnational Asian Studies and Director of the Chao Center for Asian Studies at Rice. Professor Balabanlilar received her PhD in history from the Ohio State University in 2007. She has published on Islamic kingship in pre-modern South Asia, women and royal court culture, landscape, the hunt and the peripatetic royal court. Her first book, *Imperial Identity in the Mughal Empire: Memory and Dynastic Politics in Early Modern South and Central Asia*, was published in 2012, and her latest book *The Emperor Jahangir: Power and Kingship in Mughal India*, was released in 2020, released in paperback in 2021. It was chosen as a Financial Times Book of the Summer in 2020. Professor Balabanlilar teaches courses on South and Central Asian History, Early Modern Islamic Empires, the Mughal Empire, and the history of the Silk Road, among other topics. In 2016, she was awarded Rice's top teaching honor, the George R. Brown Prize for Excellence in Teaching. She received the George R. Brown Award for Superior Teaching in 2014 and 2018, and the Phi Beta Kappa Teaching Prize in 2010.



Men at Home: Domesticity and Everyday Life in Pre-Colonial Households in India

Shadab Bano
Aligarh Muslim University

Abstract

The study of men at home, the site from where men have traditionally been missing remains a relevant field of enquiry given the unevenness of knowledge about men's domestic roles and engagements in diverse cultures and contexts. In India, the historiography in this area is particularly poor. The power of the modern European 'separate sphere' domesticity (extending to Colonial India) chiefly conceived in terms of femininity, though sufficiently challenged in Europe, continue to have its hold here. The 'separate spheres' as it excludes women's role from the realm of outer material world, similarly denies the realm of home/spiritual/cultural /emotional to men. This has not only disregarded the many ordinary everyday domestic engagements of men, crucial as well in home-making, but perhaps also account for the neglect of other possible domesticities of pre-modern times. Otherwise too there has been a general neglect of the study of ordinary homes and domesticity in the pre-modern Indian historiography.

The concern in this paper is not simply to mark the presence of men in the domestic settings from where they have been missing in the historiography but to recover and refurbish the histories of domestic environment and family relationships. Interestingly, even though the written histories mainly record men's deeds, it is quite difficult to discern men's domestic-intimate aspects (perhaps more than for women). However, fresh questions and concepts when applied to these writings bring out quite an unambiguous gendered nature of these narratives. This paper through the close reading of the texts – *the tazkiras* and ethical treatises aims to study men's involvement at home and masculine domesticity in the Mughal elite circles. A petty merchant's autobiography, *Ardhakathnak*, though from a different cultural milieu becomes useful in understanding domestic life of the common folk and also the larger shared normative affecting men's concerns and behaviour in Mughal times. The dominant sway of the courtly norms over the centuries could be gathered through other unusual source – the personal letters of French officer serving in British East India Company, Henry Polier - *Ijaz-i-Arsalani*, whose letters to his Indian wives, children and domestic servants throw light on the dimensions of male involvement and conduct in the eighteenth century household modelled in distinct nawabi lifestyle. The paper through these multiple windows aims to look at men's everyday life and engagements at home in pre-colonial India before the Victorian 'separate sphere' ideal took over.

Short Bio

Shadab Bano is an Associate Professor at the Centre of Advanced Study in History (Women's College Section) at Aligarh Muslim University, India. She is currently Joint Secretary of the Indian Association for Women's Studies. Her doctoral thesis (2003) is on medieval Indian slavery. She has several publications on the theme and is working on her monograph on slavery. Her recent thrust has been on women's history and gender relations in medieval India, women and Muslim 'reform' in colonial India, and education and women's rights in contemporary India. She has written on themes of marriage and concubinage, *pardah* in royal and aristocratic households, prostitutes and performers, eunuchs, women's work and property, etc., and have received best paper awards in Indian History Congress. Her volume on Teaching/Writing Resistance: Women's Studies in Contemporary Times, which she co-authored with Panchali Ray is in press. on Ottoman diplomatic history, Ottoman bureaucracy, and Ottoman state formation in the early modern period. He received Outstanding Young Scientist Award from the Turkish Academy of Science in 2020.



The Rise of the Qadiri Order in India: Miyan Mir and the Mughal Imperial Family

Fatih Bayram
Istanbul Medeniyet University

Abstract

The story of the Mughal dynasty is interesting in terms of the relationship between the rulers and Sufi masters. In his autobiography, Babur Shah (r. 1526-1530) explains how Khwaja Ahrar led him to new conquests in his dreams and how he found respite from a heavy illness by translating a work of the famous Sufi master from Persian into Chagatay Turkish.

The Mughal empire saw the zenith of the Sufi ascendancy during the reign of Akbar Shah (r. 1556-1605). This period was also a turning point in terms of the rise of the Qadirî order in Indian realms. The famous Sufi master Miyan Mir, one of the descendants of the Caliph Umar, came to Lahore during the reign of Akbar, and Akbar Shah's son Jahangir (r. 1605-1627) was very much impressed by him. Shah Jahan (r. 1627-1657) visited him at least three times in Lahore.

Shah Jahan's son Dara Shikoh accompanied his father during these visits. At the third visit, Dara Shikoh expressed his intention to become Miyan Mir's disciple. The death of the Qadirî shaykh in the year 1635, however, prevented him from fulfilling his wish. Nevertheless, Miyan Mir's successor Mulla Shah Badakshi initiated Dara Shikoh with his sister Jahanara Begüm to the Qadiri order. Dara Shikoh wrote a biography of Miyan Mir and in this work, there is a chapter about Bibi Jamal Khatun, who was Miyan Mir's spiritual sister.

Short Bio

Fatih Bayram graduated from the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Boğaziçi University in 1997. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Bilkent University with a dissertation entitled "Zaviye-Khankahs and Religious Orders in the Province of Karaman: Seljukid, Karamanid and Ottoman Periods, 1200–1512" under the guidance of Prof. Halil İnalcık. He is currently a lecturer at Istanbul Medeniyet University's Department of International Relations. His main areas of interest are cultural diplomacy, history of Sufism and the popular culture and memory behind the words of Turkish songs.



Kuzey Hindistan'da Siyasî Egemenliğin Kültürel Yansımaları: Babür Sarayında Türkçe

Ali Fuat Bilkan
Gazi Üniversitesi (Emekli Profesör)

Özet

Kuzey Hindistan'a egemen olan Türk ve Müslüman hükümdarların himayesinde yayılan Farsça, resmî yazışmalarda olduğu gibi, kısa sürede bir edebiyat dili olarak da gelişmiştir. Babürlü Devleti'nin kurucusu Babür Şah ile saray elitlerinin Çağatay Türkçesiyle şiir yazma tercihleri, Kuzey Hindistan'da 15. yüzyılın sonu ile 16. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar devam eden Türkçe şiir yazma geleneğinin oluşmasına imkân sağlamıştır.

Gürkanlı Devletinin kurulduğu coğrafyada Farsça'dan Türkçe'ye ve Türkçe'den Farsça'ya geçişlerde, Babür sarayındaki Türk ve İranlı yöneticilerin belirleyici rolü, kültürel sermayenin siyasî egemenlik üzerindeki etkisini de göstermektedir. Gazneliler ve Dehli Türk Sultanlıkları döneminde, devletlerin resmî dili olarak kullanılan Farsça, aynı zamanda kültür ve sanat alanında da önem kazanmıştır. Ancak Babür'ün Kuzey Hindistan'da kurduğu egemenlik, bu coğrafyada Timurlu sanat ve kültür geleneğini de hâkim kılarak Türkçeyi öne çıkarmıştır. Babür Şah ve çevresindeki Türk idareci ve askerlerin sarayda Türkçe konuşmaları ve edebî eserlerde Türkçe (Çağatay Türkçesi) kullanma tercihleri, bu dönemde Timurlu kimliğinin ve Çağatay kültür mirasının siyasî hâkimiyetin sembolü olarak öne çıkarıldığını göstermektedir.

Bu tebliğde, Babür döneminde kültürel hâkimiyeti sağlayan başlıca üç konu ele alınacaktır: Timurlu kimliği, Çağatay Türkçesi ve Nakşbendîlik bağı.

Kısa Özgeçmiş

Ali Fuat Bilkan, Ondokuzmayıs Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü mezunu olup doktorasını Gazi Üniversitesi'nde Nâbî Divânı hakkında gerçekleştirmiştir. ODTÜ, Gazi, Fatih, TOBB ETÜ ve İpek Üniversitelerinde görev yapan Bilkan, postdoktorasını Jawaharlal Nehru Üniversitesi'nde "Hindistan Kütüphanelerinde Türkçe Elyazmaları" üzerinde yapmıştır. ABD'de Wisconsin Üniversitesi'nde de misafir öğretim üyesi olarak görev yapan Bilkan, 2015 yılında emekliye ayrılmıştır. Ali Fuat Bilkan'ın eserlerinden bazıları şunlardır: *Nâbî Divânı*, *Hindistan'da Gelişen Türk Edebiyatı*, *Ekber Şah ve Din-i İlahî*, *Babür'ün Risale-i Vâlidîyyesi*, *Osmanlı Zihniyetinin Oluşumu*, *Fakihler ve Sofuların Kavgası* ve *Osmanlı İmparatorluk İdeolojisi*.



A Woman's Space: The Zenana in Mughal-era Architecture and Painting

Mehreen Chida-Razvi
Khalili Collection of Islamic Art

Abstract

The place of elite women in Mughal-era social, political, and artistic spheres has recently begun to garner attention from scholars, but the same cannot be said of the physical space they occupied: the zenana. This area within a palace or royal encampment was one of the most inaccessible, closed-off to outsiders by physical means, be it walls or tented enclosures. Furthermore, few detailed written descriptions of such quarters exist. Surviving material culture, however, allows for a greater understanding of these female spaces. In the extant palace complexes of the Mughals and Rajputs, and the beautifully rendered images of these areas on the painted page, it is possible to delve into the boundaries of the zenana and achieve a greater understanding of its creation, planning, and use.

A comprehensive study on the representation of the zenana in painting and architecture has not yet been undertaken; the research presented in this talk will be part of the first attempt to do so. This will be achieved by consulting contemporary references to and descriptions of the zenana in Mughal and European sources, and examining how they compare with surviving zenana architectural spaces. These textual and architectural groups will then, in turn, be juxtaposed against depictions of the zenana in contemporary paintings to see how they equate with, or what parallels exist in, the two-dimensional visual record.

This study will also interrogate descriptions and depictions of female-only spaces outside of the palatial zenanas, such as gardens and river terraces, in order to gain a better understanding of what was classified as a Woman's Space, and if the spatial ideals and rules of the zenana were also applied to these locations.

There is, of course, an extraordinary amount of material that will be covered in this research. In order to present a cohesive topic at the symposium, the time period covered in this presentation will be restricted to the 16th and 17th centuries, examining texts, paintings, and architecture primarily from the reigns of the Mughal emperors Akbar (r.1556-1605), Jahangir (r.1605-27), and Shah Jahan (r.1628-58).

Short Bio

Dr Mehreen Chida-Razvi is an Islamic Art Historian specializing in the art and architecture of Mughal South Asia. She is the Deputy Curator of the Khalili Collection of Islamic Art and the In-House Editor for their publication series, is an Associate Editor for the International Journal of Islamic Architecture, and regularly teaches courses and lectures on Islamic and Indo-Islamic art at universities and museums in London and Oxford. Since 2012 she has been the Hon. Secretary of the Indian Art Circle (London), and was named a Trustee of the Luigi & Laura Dallapiccola Foundation in 2020. She has published extensively on aspects of Mughal and Persianate art, architecture, and urbanism; her most recent publications include: *'Picturing the Mughal Madonna: The Virgin Mary as a Symbol of Mughal Legitimacy and Royal Authority in Jahangir's Architecture'* (Brill, forthcoming 2023); *'Power and Politics of Representation: Picturing Elite Women in Ilkhanid Painting'*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (2021), *'Lahore's Badshahi Masjid: Spatial interactions of the Sacred and the Secular'* (Intellect, 2020), and *'From Function to Form: Chini-khana in Safavid and Mughal Architecture'*, *South Asian Studies* (2019). Dr Chida-Razvi has further shared her academic expertise with wider audiences through her participation in and consultation for documentaries, including on the Taj Mahal; programming on BBC World Service Radio, BBC2 and BBC4; podcasts; participation in the Lahore, Jaipur and Heidelberg Literary Festivals; and as an expert lecturer on cultural tours.



Beyond the Persianate Babel: The Diary of a Pilgrim from Early Colonial Madras

Rishad Choudhury
Oberlin College

Abstract

Persian literary culture was crucial to mediating interconnections between the Mughal empire and the wider Islamic world. Travel-writing, in particular, produced the conditions of possibility for what many scholars have called a “Persianate cosmopolis,” a sphere of cultural and intellectual exchange spanning early modern South Asia and the Middle East. But how did this republic of letters respond to the Mughal empire’s decline?

This essay probes the *ruznamcha* or diary of a hajj pilgrim to propose some provisional answers. Written by a prince from the Mughal successor crown of Arcot in Madras – colonized in 1801 by the English East India Company – the diary detailed the daily experiences of a southern Indian Shi’a Muslim as he journeyed across the Middle East between 1814 and 1816. By examining the text with attention to questions of intertextuality, and by exploring the life of its author through archival research, the essay sets forth the narratological and political contexts alike behind its composition. Doing so reveals ‘Abdul Husain Karnataki’s (d. 1830) diary to be nearly unexampled in Indo-Persian travel literature, a text that broke from convention to privilege a narrative form that strongly emphasized the author’s subjective experiences. An original ego-document that recorded the traveler’s idiosyncratic moods and emotive states, the diary delineated besides his reflections on the ascriptive differences that purportedly prevailed between the peoples and polities of India, Iran, Turkey, and Arabia. This essay suggests that the prince’s personal preoccupations were ultimately meaningful responses to historic imperial transitions in both the Subcontinent and the Indian Ocean. Situating the diary within emergent colonial influences on Indo-Persian written genres, the essay thus offers a reconsideration of how the Babel of the Persianate might have transformed between the decline of the Mughals and the rise of vernacular cultures in South Asia.

Short Bio

Rishad Choudhury is assistant professor of history at Oberlin College. His first book, *Hajj across Empires: Pilgrimage and Political Culture after the Mughals, 1739-1857*, is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press in 2023.



The Light of the Heavens and the Earth: Reading Akbarnāma as a Hagiography

N. Zeynep Çavuşoğlu
Ibn Haldun University / EHESS, CETOBaC

Abstract

Literally meaning the life of the holy, hagiographies depict the life and deeds of the saints in Islamic culture. In *Akbarnāma* (The Book of Akbar) it is possible to see the main features of a hagiography. The book in many ways is an attempt to “apotheosize” the ruler since the author of the book and famous statesman Abu’l-Fazl ‘Āllami (1551-1602) perceives the Mughal ruler Akbar (r. 1556-1605) as “the latest and most perfect manifestation of the divine light” and depicts the “perfect man” in mentioning his characteristics. There is also Sufi vocabulary in *Akbarnāma* which points out Abu’l-Fazl’s intentions to give an unworldly and hagiographic outlook to the reign of Akbar. Therefore, reading *Akbarnāma* as the “Hagiography of Akbar” is another way to appreciate and understand it.

In order to do so this paper will investigate everything related to Akbar in *Akbarnāma* that is considered holy and related to holiness. There are some instances such as the events that happened before and during the “auspicious birth” and the *karamat* (miracles) Akbar performed during his reign. He is said to be the recipient of the hidden light. The dream accounts in *Akbarnāma* cannot be neglected as dreams and visions play a significant role through common symbols within the Islamicate culture that come from different veins while being useful to construct a narrative. The features and details of visions are often designed for specific purposes in the hagiographic accounts, histories or autobiographies and take a literary shape. The terms Abu’l-Fazl uses in *Akbarnāma* have a specific reference, such as the terminology of Islamic, Hindu, Zoroastrian philosophy or the Qur’an itself.

According to the construction of Abu’l-Fazl, there is a spiritual meaning for everything related to Akbar which forms the mystical and mythical dimension of *Akbarnāma*. *Akbarnāma*’s difference stems from its discourse, references and intentions of Abu’l-Fazl. It is possible to say that he makes many attributions without necessarily using references. What is more, he uses a language that indicates his references but in such a way that only once, the reader is familiar with those notions, can it be understood. This may be because it is assumed that the desired audience of this book would be familiar with, know or understand the attributions or like many other aspects of Akbar’s reign. A juxtaposition of different things is desired in order to create a new “discourse” and “language” in a sense which is unique and above the things it contains. Even though the book is in Persian, there are many Arabic words along with some Turkish, supporting the broadness of the terminology. This research will attempt to highlight the “literary language” Abu’l-Fazl constructed in his Book of Akbar and try to understand and reveal the “hidden” meanings and intentions to fashion Akbar as a ruler with two bodies.

Short Bio

N. Zeynep Çavuşoğlu graduated from the History Department of Boğaziçi University. She holds a Master of Arts degree from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the Sabancı University with a thesis entitled: “The Age of Akbar: Statecraft and Political Ambitions.” She has been working as a research assistant in the History Department of Ibn Haldun University since 2018. She is currently a Ph.D. candidate at École des Hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS). Her research focuses on the writing of Islamic history, in particular universal stories written in Persian between 1450 and 1600.



Babur's Timurid South Asian Empire

Stephen F. Dale
Ohio State University

Abstract

It is a curious aspect of historiography that Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur is given only passing mention in most histories of the empire he founded in South Asia, known misleadingly as the Mughal Empire but more accurately labeled the Timurid-Mughal Empire. Given the fragility of the state he established during his four years in the subcontinent and the interregnum that followed when Afghan chased his son Humayun from India in 1540, historians tend to reduce Babur's state to little more than an extended footnote in their works. It is members of the BJP Party and Hindu cultural chauvinists who now commonly invoke his name – not as an heroic or admirable figure -but as the *bete noire* of Hindu civilization. They vilify him as a Central Asian religious barbarian who invaded India on a Muslim religious crusade, symbolized by the construction of the Babri Masjid, a monument, in their imagery, of anti-Hindu fanaticism.

This paper will attempt to recover - or restate – the reality of Babur's invasion and the state he tentatively established in northern India during the four years between his victory at Panipat in 1526 and his death in 1530. It will argue that Babur's invasion represented a Timurid dynastic conquest – not a religious crusade - while his fragile government constituted a typical sultanate institution of the type that had become common in the Islamic world following the decay and eventual destruction of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. This typology is meant to indicate that while dynastic rulers such as Babur and his descendants patronized Islamic institutions their principle goal was the preservation and glorification of the dynasty, whose members sought to live, what an historian of Shah Jahan's reign typified as "civilized and comfortable life." Civilized and comfortable meant for Babur the type of regime he attempted to establish during his twenty years in Kabul, a sedentary, agrarian state enriched by commerce and culturally modeled on the sophisticated Perso-Islamic culture of regimes he knew from late Timurid Iran and Mawarannahr.

It really ought not to be necessary to write these things in the twenty-first century, but cynical political posturing and distorted publications have made it important wrestle back historical reality from the ideologues who denounce Babur for the religious fanaticism they attribute to him.

Short Bio

Stephen Frederic Dale, PhD University of California at Berkeley, Emeritus Professor of South Asian and Islamic History at The Ohio State University. Most recent publications: *Babur, Timurid Prince and Mughal Emperor* (Cambridge 2018) and *The Orange Trees of Marrakesh, Ibn Khaldun and the Science of Man* (Harvard 2015).



**Dynastic Women and *Ülüş* (Power-Sharing) System:
Two Important elements as Turco-Mongol Heritage behind the Baburid Success in India**

Nilgün Dalkesen
Istanbul Medeniyet University

Abstract

Baburids as Timurid heirs represented and exercised Turco-Mongol traditions in India. Zahireddin Muhammed Babur (1483-1530) and his successors used this moral heritage effectively in these new lands where their military and economic power was weak at the beginning. While some of these traditions did not work effectively, some did better thanks to the conditions of the region.

This study will examine how and why the Turco-Mongol traditions of the *ülüş* system and dynastic women's role in politics became effective in the formation and consolidation of Baburid power in India during the periods of Babur and Hümayun. These traditions could be practiced easily and effectively thanks to the new developments related to the environment; obtaining India's rich resources helped leaders to easily strengthen their authority and to implement the *ülüş* system effectively. As the ruling and military class left Babur and returned to Central Asia due to the hot and humid climate of India, fewer men were left in the administrative and bureaucratic system. This caused the women of the dynasty to fill the gap and removed the obstacles in exercising their traditional political and social roles in the politics. Thus, they were effective in preserving the legacy of Babur by masterfully managing the crises created by the political and military rivalry between the male members of the dynasty after Babur's death.

Short Bio

Nilgün Dalkesen holds an BA (Middle East Technical University), MA (Hacettepe University), and Ph.D. (Middle East Technical University, 2007) degrees in history. She currently teaches at Istanbul Medeniyet University History Department. Her research focuses on the gender history in the Turco-Mongol dynasties during pre-modern times and the socio-cultural life in Anatolia during the Ilkhanid rule.



Identities Made and Unmade: Contesting Social Class Hierarchies in the Mughal *Jūg Bāsisht*, c. 1602 CE

Yagnaseni Datta
Yale University

Abstract

In 1574 CE, the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605 CE) convened a translation bureau at Fatehpur Sikri. He invited notable scholars to translate Sanskrit texts into Persian. The royal atelier then produced exquisite codices demonstrating mastery of the Persian, Indic, and European artistic traditions. One such codex is an illustrated copy of the philosophical account, *Jūg Bāsisht*, dated 1602 CE at the Chester Beatty Library. It is a Persian translation of the *Laghu-Yogavāsistha*, a tenth-century Sanskrit philosophical work from Kashmir that instructs on the illusory nature of worldly experiences and the attainment of liberation through purposeful actions.

Organized as an instructive dialogue between the brahmin sage Bāsisht and his royal pupil Rām, this codex with forty-one paintings provides an exceptional opportunity to witness Mughal experimentation in art and religious thought through a cross-fertilization of several language-bound discursive traditions in early-modern South Asia. Yet, scholars have remarkably ignored the codex, perhaps due to its unstable attribution and the supposed abstruse nature of its contents, unable to place it within the sterile categories of the “Hindu” and the “Islamic” in the art historical discourse. This binary perpetuates the epistemic violence of colonialism. Accordingly, my paper takes preliminary steps to study the *Jūg Bāsisht* paintings methodically, and its interventions re-examine the facile tropes of early Mughal liberalism.

Using translation theory as a hermeneutical model for visual analysis of the *Jūg Bāsisht*, my paper examines the relational dynamic between spiritual ascendancy and worldly authority and its implications in contesting societal hierarchies in seventeenth-century Mughal India. Through three case studies, I conduct a preliminary assessment of the various figural presences in these paintings to problematize the early-modern relational framework between brahmins and kshatriyas, shaykhs and sultans, to account for the Mughal court’s intercession in reframing societal class structures in Mughal India. Furthermore, my analysis locates the body as a marker of religious, ethnic, and caste identity by tracing the Mughal imperial gaze and argues that the body’s physicality is fetishized as a symptom of austerity, offering a paradox that insists on the material manifestation of spiritual liberation.

Short Bio

Yagnaseni Datta is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Art History at Yale University. Her research focuses on an early seventeenth-century Mughal illustrated manuscript of the *Jūg Bāsisht* (c. 1602). Applying translation theory as a hermeneutical model, she examines the processes of visual and cultural translation from Sanskrit to the Persian language in the *Jūg Bāsisht* codex and its role in shaping the spiritual and intellectual authority of the Mughal sovereign. Yagnaseni is also a graduate curatorial intern at the Yale University Art Gallery and has held curatorial positions and internships at the Jewish Museum, New York, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, and the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Building as Biography: Constructing Mughal Women's Histories with a close reading of Empress Nur Jahan's caravanserai Nur Mahal

Parshati Dutta
University of York

Abstract

Mughal histories, like the majority of traditional historic chronicles elsewhere, have been written by and about men, and have routinely marginalised women by excluding their voices, homogenising female narratives, and in inquiries driven by visual culture, by controlling and gendering the observers' gaze. While there has been no dearth of Mughal women in positions of immense power, a genuine limitation on the availability of primary literary resources, the distance from dominant western discourses, and the impact of androcentrism and colonial agendas of historians, have combined to produce little more than orientalist clichés in the name of their histories until the late 20th century. A reassessment of sources and realignment of methodological stances are therefore imperative now to address this gap. Academics must consider widening their scope beyond standard textual references to include alternative primary materials where women have been agents of their own representation, and analysing them with greater criticality in terms of context and cultural nuance, in addition to applying standard scientific and distant reading methods. Architecture patronised by women are thus rendered particularly significant as new sources for scholars, especially as they enable methodological approaches such as qualitative close readings. Using the case of an early 17th century caravanserai constructed by Empress Nur Jahan on the highway connecting Agra and Kabul, and with emphasis on its typological, functional, locational, stylistic, epigraphic and iconographic implications, this paper is an attempt to test this very theory. The paper also draws attention to the significance of the caravanserai typology as one severely under-researched in Mughal architectural history, and appraises it specifically in terms of its popular female patronage, citing examples by Begums Bega, Jahanara, and Zeenat-un-Nissa. Findings regarding the patrons as exemplars of women of their time are then corroborated against those provided by conventional sources and methods to assess the effectiveness of this model of research, both in terms of furnishing new information and triangulating existing ones. Opening new research avenues towards the re-writing of women's histories, it is substantiated that buildings can effectively be read as biography as they embody material expressions of their patrons' identities and priorities, spatial experiences and degrees of mobility, wealth and commercial prerogatives, political acumen and pious inclinations, social networks and personal ambitions.

Short Bio

Parshati is a PhD candidate at the Department of History of Art, University of York, UK. She has an undergraduate degree in architecture and a postgraduate degree in Architectural Theory and Design from India. She has been engaged with the field of built heritage and conservation, primarily through research, with organisations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS, Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, India Foundation for the Arts, Cultural Resource Conservation Initiative India, Mehrangarh Museum Trust and Helen Hamlyn Trust. She has also held a permanent position as Assistant Professor at the Sushant School of Art and Architecture where she directed the academic track of Architectural Theory and Methods. Her research, articles, and photo-essays have been published on platforms such as the Wire, Scroll.in, Sahapedia, and Newslaundry. Her interests include Islamic art and architecture of South Asia, gender and space, colonial urbanism, built heritage in terrains of conflict, and architectural photography.



Eunuchs and Imperial Power in Late-Seventeenth Century Mughal India

Munis D. Faruqui
UC Berkeley

Abstract

This talk and the follow up article will focus on the growing importance of the imperial eunuchate during Emperor Alamgir's reign (r. 1658-1707). Although eunuchs played a significant role in the Mughal Empire from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, their role in imperial politics has been completely overlooked for the second half of the seventeenth century. The reason that this is significant is because Alamgir relied more heavily on eunuchs to press imperial goals than any previous Mughal rulers. This dependence increased as Alamgir aged and faced mounting political and military challenges. As well as exploring the specifics of Alamgir's deepening relationship with the imperial eunuchate, this talk will offer insights into broader aspects of the eunuch experience in Mughal India as well as their central role in handling Mughal collapse in the early eighteenth century. This project largely draws on one of the richest and least utilized archives available to Mughal historians for the late seventeenth-century: the *Akhbarat-i darbar-i mu'alla* (Newsletters of the Exalted Court). Spanning thousands of pages, the *Akhbarat* is a near daily record of events at the imperial court between the 1680s and the early 1700s. Using the *Akhbarat*, it is possible to reach critical judgments about Alamgir's relationship with the imperial eunuchate that are based on historical facts rather than hearsay, unsubstantiated judgments, or prejudice. Ultimately, such a study will offer a more textured understanding of Alamgir's reign and the Mughal Empire in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Short Bio

Munis D. Faruqui is a historian in the Department of South & Southeast Asian Studies at UC Berkeley. His focus is on the Muslim experience in South Asia, especially during the Mughal period. His books include *Princes of the Mughal Empire, 1504-1719* (Cambridge, 2012), *Expanding Frontiers in South Asian and World History* (co-edited with Richard Eaton, David Gilmartin and Sunil Kumar) (Cambridge, 2013), and *Religious Interactions in Mughal India* (co-edited with Vasudha Dalmia) (Oxford, 2014). He is currently working on a book centered on Emperor Aurangzeb and the Mughal Empire in the latter half of the seventeenth century. In 2014, Dr. Faruqui was one of three recipients of UC-Berkeley's Distinguished Teaching Award. The award recognizes teaching that "incites intellectual curiosity in students, engages them thoroughly in the enterprise of learning, and has a lifelong impact." Dr. Faruqui holds the Sarah Kailath Chair in India Studies and is entering his sixth year as Director of the Institute for South Asia Studies at UC Berkeley.



The Mughal Empire (1526-1858) and its Environmental Limits and Technologies

Michael H. Fisher

Robert S. Danforth Professor of History, Oberlin College (Emeritus)

Abstract

From the successful invasion in 1526 of north India by the Timurid Babur until the termination in 1858 of this imperial dynasty by the British, the Mughal Empire interacted in complex and diverse ways with its environment, variously defined and bounded. This paper considers key technologies by which this dynasty, its core supporters, and its employees affected and were affected by India's material world during the three and a quarter centuries during which the Empire's authority sporadically expanded over most of the Indian subcontinent (and parts of Central Asia) and then fragmented. Even at its peaks of power, the Empire's external and internal geographic, political, and cultural frontiers remained contested.

Indeed, many of the strengths, constraints on, and ultimately fatal flaws in, the Empire arose from its efforts to control its environment and its boundaries. The Empire innovated powerful technologies, and emulated others developed by earlier Indian dynasties and also by the contemporary Safavid and Ottoman Empires, as well as those imported by early European merchants, which enabled it to harness many of India's material resources, vitally including water. India's diseases, geomorphology, and distinctive macro and microclimates also proved essential in shaping the Empire. While no single essay could comprehend the full extent or complexity of such interactions, this paper will build on insightful recent scholarship in order to suggest paths forward in our understanding of the Mughal Empire and its environments

Short Bio

Michel H. Fisher is the Danforth Professor of History, Emeritus, Oberlin College, USA. He has published widely in South Asian History including: *An Environmental History of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018) and *A Short History of the Mughal Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015; Turkish edition: *Bâbürlüler: Hindistan'da Bir Türk İmparatorluğu*, translated by M. Fatih Çalışır, Introduction by Zeynep Çavuşoğlu (Istanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2020).



Language, State and Identity in a Hindwi Autobiography of Mughal India

Syed Najaf Haider
Jawaharlal Nehru University

Abstract

The paper is a study of the only autobiography of a merchant written in Mughal India. The *Ardhakathanaka* (Half a Tale) is a long versified composition in which Banarasidas writes about his failed business ventures, friendship, family life, encounter with the Mughal state and, finally, an episode in which he almost lost his life in a bid to prove his identity. The paper will be a discussion of the hybrid language of the text, the role of the state in the life of a small merchant and how could one prove identity in the absence of identity papers in pre-modern times!

Short Bio

Najaf Haider is Professor of Medieval and Early Modern History at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Haider graduated from the Aligarh Muslim University and obtained a doctoral degree from the University of Oxford in Mughal history. Haider was Samir Shamma Fellow at St Cross College, University of Oxford and Visiting Professor at the University of Vienna and University of Bonn. Haider is on the editorial board of *International Journal of Asian Studies*, Cambridge University Press. Haider has published on monetary economy, communication and conflict, secretarial classes, history of Delhi, and intellectual history of Islam. He is currently working on 'The Legal Framework of Commercial Transactions in Medieval India' for the *Cambridge History of International Law*.



**India in the eyes of an Ottoman geographer:
A critical study on the chapter on India in Abu Bakr Dimashqi's *Nusret al-Islam***

Mohammad Hossain – M. Fatih Çalışır
Ibn Haldun University

Abstract

Documented Ottoman-South Asia relations in the seventeenth century are limited to records of the various embassies exchanged between the Mughals and the Ottomans, particularly in the early part of the seventeenth century. According to N. R. Farooqi the Ottoman-Mughal diplomatic relations wavered between the friendly and the non-existent. This paucity in relations, however, did not mean that Ottomans were oblivious to India, or less interested about it. On the contrary, the presence of India was strong in the Ottoman imagination, a phenomenon which can be attested to scientific geographical works such as Katip Celebi's *Cihannuma*, Abu Bakr Dimashqi's *Nusret al-Islam* and other similar scientific works of the seventeenth century 'Ottoman Enlightenment'.

This paper will focus on the chapter of India in Abu Bakr Dimashqi's major seventeenth century work of geography entitled *Nusret al-Islam*, which was a translation of *Atlas Maior* by Flemish cartographer Jean Blaeu. In tracing the Ottoman intellectual interest in India in Dimashqi's work, the paper will look at what Dimashqi focused on, and the influences in his work with respect to India. Taking these into account, the paper will also delve into how Ottoman patronage networks played an important role in directing such intellectual output. It will argue that Dimashqi's thorough and detailed work gives us a new perspective into Ottoman intellectual treatment of India and the Mughal empire in the seventeenth century.

Short Bios

Mohammad Hossain is a Ph.D. student at the Department of History, Ibn Haldun University. His research interests encompass themes of intellectual history, environmental history, and the history of science in the early modern period of Ottoman history (1600-1800). He completed his MA in Civilization Studies from the Alliance of Civilizations Institute (MEDIT) in 2019, and his MA thesis was entitled "Ecology, epidemics and the colonial state: environmental change and health in eastern Bengal Delta, 1858-1947."

M. Fatih Çalışır completed his Ph.D. at Georgetown University in 2016. Before his doctoral studies, he worked as an assistant expert at the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library and the Istanbul Museum of the History of Science and Technology in Islam. His research includes science and politics in the early modern Ottoman Empire, Ottoman cultural history, and environmental history. He published several articles, three translations (English to Turkish), and edited a book on Süleyman the Lawgiver with Suraiya Faroqhi and M. Şakir Yılmaz (IHU Press, 2020). He teaches at Ibn Haldun University History Department.



Pādshāhnāma (Book of the Emperor): Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān and Mumtāz Mahall

Gulfishan Khan
Aligarh Muslim University

Abstract

The paper seeks to reconstruct the family life of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān prior to the commencement of the construction of the monument Rauda -i-munavvara, the Illumined tomb of his beloved wife Arjumand Bano Begum, the Empress Mumtāz Mahall called Nawāb Mahd'Ulya Mumtāzzamani, as embodied in the *Pādshāhnāmas*. Though the *Pādshāhnāmas* the official histories commissioned by Shāh Jahān are written by team of historians like the monuments of his reign being the works of team of architects and builders, but these provide remarkably candid views of the emotions, and sentiment of the imperial patron specially in relation to his queens and children. However, life of Mumtāz Mahall as well as brief allusions to the other queens is largely seen from the perspective of the emperor as represented by the historiographers Qazwini, Lāhorī, and Jalāl al-Dīn Tabātabāī. The persona of Mumtāz Mahall continued to permeate the final volume composed by Shaykh Muhammad Wārith as well, as the author recorded accounts of the annual 'Urs ceremonies and the imperial visits to the resplendent mausoleum of Hazrat-i Mahd-i 'Ulya Mumtāzzamani, the recipient of divine mercy and beneficence, where the emperor offered Fātiha, (along with his son Dārā Shikūh (d.1659) for the peace and contentment of the soul of the long-departed Queen. However, the above-mentioned historian Wārith also described queens Akbarābādi Mahall (d.1086/1677) and Fathpuri Mahall "the noble ladies concealed behind the veil of chastity and the distinguished with superior regard." The two special royal ladies are referred as *parastar-i-khas-i-badshahi* who hold precedence over all members of the imperial household (*mashkoy-i mua'lla*) by virtue of their service and loyalty and who also receive the most attention from the emperor. Their contribution to the new city of Shah Jahanabad where they patronized construction of mosques, caravanserais, baths, markets and gardens in the new capital is also graphically noted. There is no mention of Sirhindi Begum whose tomb called Chaukhandi is supposed to be in Agra along with that of Fathpuri Mahall and Akbarābādi Mahall. The poetics of Abū Tālib Kalīm Kāshānī (1582–1651) the poet-laureate and that of Muhammad Jan Qudsi Mashahdi characterized with poignancy and sadness and composed in ornate and rhetorical Indo-Persian is yet to explore to study emperor's emotional life and psyche. The poet declared: The grief of the king is the grief of the country; It has power over everybody, independently. The pain of the king causes pain to the entire world, Turning the bright day into darkness. Consider the entire world a body (kalbud), of which the crowned one [the king] is the head. If pain of the foot causes the body to deteriorate, What may result when the head suffers? (Begley) However, the numerous works produced in the nineteenth century such as the *Khulāsah-i ahvāl-i-Bānu Begum mukhātab ba-Mumtāz Mahall* written to satisfy British curiosity about the Mughal monuments and the historical background of these buildings are mostly fabrications. Even a cursory perusal of these topographical treatises shows that the historical figures have become legends by then. But the buildings were accessible to the local people as the inscriptions, both Qur'ānic and historical, are produced accurately. The descriptions of major components of these monuments such as that of the Tāj Mahall and its subsidiary structures as these stood in pre-Revolt city of Taj are mostly reliable.



Short Bio

Gulfishan Khan is Professor of Medieval Indian History, and Chairperson and Co-ordinator of the Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, and Musa Dakri University Museum at the Aligarh Muslim University, India. Since 2009 she has been studying textual expressions of the Mughal imperial visual and material culture, and its intersection with the Islamic mystical ideas and religious environment. She has published research papers on inter-faith dialogue, Indo-Persian historiography and Shah Jahani architecture as reflected in the official historiography. She has been a Visiting Fellow at the University of Oxford and also an Associate and Fulbright Fellow at the Aga Khan Programme for Islamic Architecture, Department of History of Art and Architecture, Harvard University (USA), where she explored aspects of Mughal historiography with Professor Gulru Necipoglu as the academic advisor.

She is author of the *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West during the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford University Press, 1998), wherein she explored Indo-Persian educated elite's perception of the modern European science, technology, arts, education, as well its political, social and cultural institutions. Her other two books are *Essays on Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah*, and *Khwajah Shams al-Din Muhammad Hafiz Shirazi and the early British Romantics*, (Published by the Aligarh Muslim University Press, 2015).



The Fiscal Norms of Hanafi Law: Documentary Procedures and Agrarian Realities in the Mughal Empire (c. 1660-70)

Naveen Kanalu
EHSS

Abstract

The Mughals lived in an enchanted world of temporal creation. In the *Ash'ari* school of rationalist theology (*kalam*) the Mughals followed, an atomist theory of existence informs the emergence of time and its material effect on the world. In postclassical Hanafi law, these ideas of atomist temporality affected fiscal mechanisms, which were inherently problems of adjusting intertemporal mismatches between cycles of productive activities. In the 1660s, the sixth Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb 'Alamgir (r. 1658–1707) commissioned the compilation of the first and only imperial codification in Arabic, *Al-fatawa al-'alamgiriyya* or "The Institutions of the World Conqueror." (popularly called *Al-fatawa al-hindiyya* in the Middle East). How did agrarian-fiscal time intersect with normative temporal concepts developed in Hanafi legal theory and jurisprudence (*fiqh*)? The Mughals measured time and its material signifier, the production of revenue in terms of multiple agrarian-fiscal cycles. This paper examines legal discourse and documentary techniques of transcribing revenue calculations to show how Hanafi concepts of temporality—a sequence of finite discrete units of time-events, determined the passage of time as a change from potentiality to actuality. I will demonstrate how Hanafi law pervaded Mughal imperial chancery practices through and through, not merely by pointing out conventions and formulae, but by tracing how the recording of revenue calculations was fraught with interruptions, contingencies, and discrepancies. More broadly, I will argue that Hanafism opens new possibilities for a comparative approach to land tenure in the Mughal and the Ottoman Empires in the early modern period.

Short Bio

Naveen Kanalu is Associate Professor (Maître de conférences) at the EHSS (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales/ School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences) in Paris and holds a chair titled "The Institutional History of the Mughal Empire: Law, Power and Political Economy in South Asia (17th-18th Centuries)". He received a PhD in History from the University of California, Los Angeles and is currently working on a monograph titled, *An Empire of Law: Hanafism and Islamic Statecraft in Mughal India*. The book project examines the legal, political and economic history of the Mughal Empire during its phase of imperial centralization in the second half of the seventeenth century. His articles on Hanafi jurisprudence in Indo-Islamic polities, British colonial interpretations of Islamic law, and European representations of Mughal rule have appeared in journals and edited volumes. More broadly, his interests pertain to Islamic documentary forms and chancery practices, Persianate culture in vernacular socio-linguistic contexts, and Arabic manuscript culture and Arabo-Islamic intellectual history in precolonial South Asia.



Humayun's Cosmic Carpet as a Heterotopic Gameboard

Ebba Koch
Universität Wien

Abstract

Of all the 'Great Mughals', Humayun, the son of Babur and the second Mughal ruler (1508–56), is perhaps one of the least understood and appreciated— remembered chiefly as a political and military failure, having lost to his rival, the Afghan Sher Shah, what Babur had conquered in India. Humayun neither wrote an autobiography nor had a historian to glorify him; the eccentric accounts of his historian Khwandamir elude general comprehension.

Humayun is mainly known through his magnificent mausoleum at Delhi raised by his son Akbar between 1562 and 1571. In the past years the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, India has been building a site museum for the tomb, and I was invited to assist with developing a programme for the permanent exhibition. A major focus is on the ruler for whom the tomb was created, to shed light on his travels, campaigns, extraordinary social and intellectual life, and his deep involvement with the knowledge systems of his time, with the sciences of mathematics, astronomy, astrology, and occultism, and with literature, poetry, painting and architecture. To accompany the exhibition, I authored a book entitled *The Planetary King: Humayun Padshah: Inventor and Visionary on the Mughal Throne* (Ahmedabad: Mapin, 2022) in which I attempt to draw a picture of Humayun's life and works, especially to reconstruct his extraordinary inventions that he had described by Khwandamir: the planetary court, his extravagant buildings and court settings.

In the present paper I shall address one of the inventions of Humayun, the Carpet of Mirth. I identified it previously, as did Eva Orthmann and Ali Anooshahr, as a cosmic model based on the Ptolemaic geocentric system. What has as yet not been considered is the carpet's use as a game board which created a transforming space where things were different in the sense of Foucault's heterotopia.

Short Bio

Ebba Koch taught at the universities of Vienna, Oxford and Harvard; she specialises in the architecture, art and culture of the Great Mughals of South Asia and their artistic connections to Central Asia, Iran and Europe. Her publications include *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology* (Oxford 2001) and *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (Thames & Hudson 2006). Presently she is working with the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on a Museum for Humayun's Tomb at Delhi, and authored an accompanying book *The Planetary King: Humayun Padshah: A Visionary and Inventor on the Mughal Throne* (Mapin 2022).



Mughal/Bâburi Emperors through the Eyes of the Medieval Hindu Intellectuals and Statesmen

Cemil Kutlutürk
Ankara University

Abstract

Mughal/Baburi rulers attracted the attention of medieval Hindu priests and statesmen through their multidimensional policies. Hindu intellectuals used the term of "Turk" as an umbrella concept to express the religion of Islam and its followers, rather than specifying a certain ethnic group. As a matter of fact, when Muslims were in question, they often preferred the expression *Turuka*, which was the local equivalent of the term "Turk," and when talking about Islam, they used the phrase *Turuka* dharma meaning "the religion of the Turks." This indicates that the Mughals of Turkish descent played an active role in the spread of Islam on the Indian continent.

Some Hindu thinkers who prioritized maintaining their political-religious authority over Indian society acted with prejudice and made negative characterizations of Mughal emperors. They considered the Muslim Turkish administrations as *yavana*, which means "foreigner, other, invader" and *mleccha*, which means "filthy, barbarian, ignorant, alien to Indian culture." They, furthermore, interpreted the strengthening of the Baburs in India as a typical feature of Kali Yuga. In fact, they aimed to keep Hindus alive and vigorous against the sovereignty of Turks by using this kind of Indic mythological and religious point of view.

However, those who had the opportunity to come into close contact with the Muslim rulers made more reasonable and unprejudiced observations of their rules. For instance, the Mughal rulers such as Jahangir and Ferruh Shah were addressed as *dahun din ka svami*, meaning "the patron of two religions," emphasizing that they respect not only Islam but also Hindu belief and culture. The effort put forth by the Mughal rulers to develop the virtue of living together among individuals belonging to different religions stands as an exemplary model that can be seen rarely at a time when religious and cultural divisions create barriers between individuals in many parts of the world. Therefore, the viewpoints of Hindu intellectuals and statements like Dadu Dayal, Eknath, and Shivaji towards Baburi emperors will be discussed in this paper by analyzing the Indian sources such as *Cungrnama*, *Hindu Turk Samvat*, and *Shivabharatam*.

Short Bio

Cemil Kutlutürk is an Associate Professor of the History of Religions at Ankara University. He completed his first master's degree in History of Religions at Ankara University. By earning the ICCR program grant, he was in India between 2011-2013 where he completed his second master's degree in the department of Indian Religions and Philosophy (Hindu Dharma aur Dharshan) at Benares Hindu University. He completed his Ph.D. in 2014 with a thesis on Avatara Doctrine in Hinduism. In the 2015-2016 academic year, he conducted post-doctoral research at Columbia University in the USA within the scope of a TUBITAK project. He became an Associate Professor with his book entitled the Perception of Islam in Indian Thought (2019). Through the ITEC program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India, he was in Hyderabad, where he carried out field research on Durrushehvar Sultan's contributions to Indian society (January-March 2019). Kutlutürk's primary research topics are Indian religions and culture, the interaction of Sufism and Indian mysticism, and Indo-Turkish relations. He is currently Deputy Director of the Social Sciences Institute of Ankara University.



Mughal Antiquarian Cultures

Corinne Lefèvre
CEIAS, CNRS-EHESS

Abstract

Like many early modern princes, several Mughal emperors cultivated collecting to the highest degree. In contrast to European or Chinese counterparts, however, antiques seemingly did not loom large in the *padshahs'* collections: does it mean that the textual and material cultures of ancient times played only a marginal role in the definition and expressions of the dynasty's imperial identity? In other words, did such thing as Mughal antiquarianism exist and, if so, what was the relationship between this form of knowledge and imperial power?

By way of answer, my presentation will start with another apparently simple question: where was the frontier of "ancient times" (*waqt-i qadim, bastan*) in the eyes of the dynasty? Obviously, the time line of antiquity did not remain static during the 16th-19th centuries, and one could legitimately swing the cursor from the infinitely distant first man to the near pre-Mughal period. One could even include the first 150 years of the dynasty's rule—a period which, following the Turkmen and Afghan invasions of the second third of the 18th century and the political destabilization and material destructions that accompanied them, gradually came to be considered a golden age whose traces (*asar*) and memory had to be preserved. However, not all of these antiquities were equally significant for the Indian Timurids, nor do they all offer the same heuristic interest. My presentation will therefore focus on three distinct poles of Mughal antiquarianism.

The first one emerged in the wake of the arrival of the first European travellers at the imperial court during the second half of the 16th century: it relates to Greco-Roman antiquity and will be analysed mainly through the antique-like images that entered the pages of the royal *muraqqa's* (albums) at the turn of the 16th-17th century. The second one has to do with the pre-Islamic past of South Asia. Mughal interest in Indian antiquity was part of the larger movement of indigenization (or Indianization) of the empire that saw the transformation of the small Indo-Afghan kingdom founded by Babur (r. 1526-1530) into a Pan-Indian formation. The last case study will follow the footsteps of Khwaja 'Abd al-Karim Kashmiri (d. 1784), one of the few Mughal scholars to have left a written account of his pilgrimage to the Hijaz. His *Bayan-i Waqi'* enables the historian to connect the author's first-hand reactions to the "discovery" of Middle Eastern antiquities with the knowledge produced at the Mughal court since the 16th century about pre-Islamic Iran.

Short Bio

Corinne Lefèvre received her Ph.D. (2005) in History from the Ecole des Hautes en Sciences Sociales, Paris. She taught at the INALCO University before becoming a CNRS Reserach Fellow and a member of the Centre for South Asian Studies (CEIAS) in 2006. She specializes in the political and cultural history of the Mughal empire (16th-18th centuries). Her most recent book publication is *Consolidating Empire. Power and Elites in Jahangir's India 1605-1627* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2022).



Ferghana Dreams: New Research into the Mughals and their Central Asian Homeland

Scott Levi
Ohio State University

Abstract

This paper surveys the historiographical evolution of scholarship on the Mughals' relationship with Central Asia over the past three decades. The paper begins with a brief survey of the state of the field on the eve of the collapse of the USSR in 1991, contrasting scholarship emanating from South Asian history with Russophone scholarship that engages the subject from a Central Asian perspective. From the early 1990s, Central Asia's independence created new opportunities for scholars beyond the boundaries of the former Soviet Union to visit Central Asia, collaborate with Central Asian scholars, access Central Asian sources, and investigate an array of new questions. These included how the Mughals in India, or, as the Central Asian academics identify them, the "Baburids" viewed their Central Asian homeland and maintained contact with peoples and markets there. The paper surveys contributions made by scholars working in South Asia, Central Asia, Europe and North America in order to identify evolving scholarly trends in the areas of politics and the military, commercial history, religious interactions and the networks that maintained them, and other intellectual exchanges. It aims to demonstrate that our collective understanding of Mughal Indian relations with Central Asia has advanced considerably over the past three decades, and that the ground remains fertile for future research.

Short Bio

Scott Levi is Professor of Central Asian History at the Ohio State University, where he serves as chair of the Department of History. He works mainly on the social and economic history of early modern Central Asia, and his work aims to place the region in a broader, world historical context. He currently serves as editor-in-chief for the Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian Commercial History. He has published a number of articles, chapters, and books, which include: *The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and its Trade, 1550–1000* (Leiden, 2002); *The Rise and Fall of Khoqand, 1709–1876: Central Asia in the Global Age* (Pittsburgh, 2017); and *The Bukharan Crisis: A Connected History of 18th-Century Central Asia* (Pittsburgh, 2020).



Reconstructing a Women's History of Mughal India

Shireen Moosvi
Aligarh Muslim University (Emerita)

Abstract

Degrees of oppression of women in Mughal India among its large and socially (and religiously) varied populations, as illustrated by both the Shastric precepts and Shari'at, the former applying to Hindu higher castes, the latter to Muslims. Polygamy and concubinage was universal. So also women's seclusion among Hindu higher castes and Muslim gentry (*shurafā*). Diversity, however, must be taken into account: a form of matriarchy provided among the Nairs (warrior caste) of Kerala. Among upper caste Hindus (esp. Kshatriyas) widow-burning (*sati*) was widespread. Few women were educated, and their property rights were limited (widow or daughter inherited only if there was no son left, among Hindus, as shown by Vrindavan documents, and among Muslims the daughter's share was only half that of son.

There were signs under Akbar (reigned, 1556–1605) of some protest against these inequities that emperor condemned the Muslim law for allowing only half share to women, sought to promote monogamy among his subjects, and banned involuntary *sati* (a ban that continued under his successors).

There were naturally exceptions. Some sates in the Peninsula had by tradition women rulers; and Jahāngir's famous queen, Nūr Jahān won praise for even her critics for her humanitarian sentiments, shown for example, in her liberation of the emperor's women-slaves calling them *sahelis* (women-friends). On the whole, however, this hardly altered a system where women were denied simple primary rights.

In the economy poorer women worked in almost all crafts. Unlike other civilizations, they worked even in the building industry, carrying bricks on their heads, and mixing lime mortars, as shown in Mughal paintings. Though sometimes appearing as superior land-owners, and land-grantees, they almost never were land peasants, but only worked as field-labourers. Cotton was entirely spun by them (on the wheel). On the other hand, despite Mughal India having such a large merchant class with institutions like deposit-banking; and bills' markets, not a single women is known to have acted as a merchant.

From such chance data as are available, it seems there was no difference in infant mortality rates between males and females. Both were very high to judge from records of the Mughal royal family. Among common people it is almost certain that women received less medical attention – whatever its effectiveness – than men.

Short Bio

Shireen Moosvi obtained her MSc degree (Maths) (Lucknow) and MA degree in History (Aligarh). With this background and knowledge of Persian, attempted a statistical study of Mughal economy, on which she obtained PhD degree (Aligarh). Published *Economy of the Mughal Empire, 1595 – a Statistical Study* by OUP in 1987, with a revised & enlarged ed. in 2015. Very widely reviewed as unique in its field. The next work in broadly the same field *People, Taxation and Trade in Mughal India* was published (OUP) in 2008; fifth reprint 2015. In the meantime, came her *Episodes in the Life of Akbar* published by NBT, 1994 (8th reprint in 2014) which again won favourable reviews, and also appeared in Hindi, Marathi, Urdu translations. She has edited *Capitalism, Colonialism and Globalisation*, 2011, and two volumes on the Revolt of 1857, and published over hundred research papers in national and international journals of History. Working up from Research Assistant (1970) to Professor (1988-2013) she has 44 years of teaching experience. She has been General President of the Indian History Congress (2016-17), Senior Fulbright Fellow (1983-84) and worked with Noble Laureate Professor Robert William Fogel at the University of Chicago, U.S. and was appointed Visiting Professor, JNU (2014-15). Currently Secretary Aligarh Historians Society and Joint-editor, *Studies in People's History*, a SAGE publication.



Post-Nomadic Warfare in Early Modern Asia, or Why the Mughals and the Ottomans Went Their Own Ways

Pratyay Nath
Ashoka University

Abstract

Both the Mughal and Ottoman Empires were founded by Turkish horse-warriors from Central Eurasia. Having conquered vast -and often agrarian- lands, they started great post-nomadic polities whose trajectories were moulded as much by their nomadic pasts as by the vastly different conditions offered by their new realms. Much like every sphere of the imperial experience, warfare too underwent profound shifts over time. Their shared cavalry-centric military techniques from Central Eurasia were taken in different directions by the new environmental conditions, technological priorities, social dynamics, economic constraints, and cultural factors. This article brings these military processes in the two empires under comparative historical analysis. It explores in particular the reasons, nature, and effects of divergences in military processes in these two major post-nomadic polities of early modern Asia. Methodologically, this marks a departure from conventional military history for the early modern period, where various Asiatic polities are usually studied through the Eurocentric lens of the Military Revolution. By comparing the two Asiatic polities with each other while studying their commonalities and differences, the article highlights their autonomy in ushering in military early modernities in their own right, while being in constant dialogue with other parts of the world.

Short Bio

Pratyay Nath is Assistant Professor of History, Ashoka University, India. He is the author of *Climate of Conquest: War, Environment, and Empire in Mughal North India* (Oxford University Press, 2019); with Meena Bhargava, the co-editor of *The Early Modern in South Asia: Querying Modernity, Periodization, and History* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming in August 2022); and with Kaustubh Mani Sengupta, the co-editor of *Itihāser Bitarka, Bitarker Itihās: Atīter Bhārat o Ājker Gabeshanā* [Debates of History, History of Debates: Past India and Present Research] (Ananda Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 2022). His latest publications include 'Pilgrimage, Performance, and Peripatetic Kingship: Akbar's Journeys to Ajmer and the Making of the Mughal Empire', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1-26 (2022) and 'Looking beyond the Military Revolution: Variations in Early Modern Warfare and the Mughal Case', *The Journal of Military History* 86, no. 1 (2022): 9-31. His work lies at the intersection of environmental history, military history, and imperial history, with a focus on early modern South Asia. He is one of the editors of *The Medieval History Journal*. He writes in English and Bangla.



Babürlü Toprak Düzeni ve İşleyişi

Azmi Özcan
Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi

Özet

Türkler tarihin hükmünü belirlemede toprağın belirleyici olduğu dönemlerde çok etkin yapılar oluşturmuşlardır. Aynı durum Hint Alt kıtasında hükümlen olan Babürlüler için de geçerlidir. Toprak düzeninin Orta Asya'da Türkler ve Moğollar arasında geliştiği Hindistan'da Delhi sultanlarından itibaren yerleştiği, Bâbürlüler döneminde ise sistemleştirildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Buna göre devletin sahip olduğu topraklar genel olarak hâlis ve câgîr olmak üzere iki kısma ayrılıyor, Bâbürlü hânedanına ait olanlara hâlis, bunun dışındakilere de câgîr deniliyordu.

Topraklar devlet adamları, memurlar ve kumandanlara hizmetlerine karşılık olmak üzere rütbe ve makamlarına göre veriliyordu. Kendisine bu şekilde toprak verilen kimse asker barındırmak ve talep edildiğinde bunlarla birlikte savaşa katılmak zorundaydı. Artan gelirinin bir kısmını da vergi olarak devlete öderdi. Bu sistemi, aynı geleneğe dayandığı için Büyük Selçuklular'daki iktâ ve Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki timar sistemi ile benzerlikler taşıyordu. Bâbürlü Devleti'nin kuvvetli olduğu zamanlarda toprak sistemi iyi işlemiş, siyasî ve ekonomik açılardan idareye büyük destek sağlamıştır. Bu bakımdan sistemin iyi uygulanması Bâbürlüler'in yükselmesinde ne derece olumlu rol oynadıysa bozulmasının da imparatorluğun gerilemesinde aynı derecede etkili olduğu gözlemlenmektedir.

Kısa Özgeçmiş

Uluslararası akademik camiada Sömürgecilik tarihi, Yakınçağ tarihi ve Güney Asya Müslümanları hakkındaki araştırmalarıyla tanınır. İlahiyat ve Hukuk lisans eğitimi aldı. 1986 yılında Manchester Üniversitesi'nde Orta Doğu Araştırmaları üzerine Master yaptı. 1990 yılında Londra Üniversitesi Tarih bölümünde Hindistan, İngiliz-Osmanlı İlişkileri üzerine Doktora yaptı. 1996-1999 yıllarında İSAM başkanlığı yaptı. Son dönem Osmanlı Tarihi alanında yayımlanmış 4 kitabı ve farklı dillerde pek çok makalesi bulunmaktadır. *Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain 1877-1924* adlı kitabı Brill Publishers tarafından 1997 yılında yayınlandı. 25 Aralık 2007'de Bilecik Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü'ne atandı. 2016 yılına kadar Bilecik Şeyh Edebali Üniversitesi'nin kurucu rektörü olarak çalışmalarını sürdürdü. Pek çok uluslararası bilim kuruluşları üyeliği bulunmaktadır.



The Urban Economy of Sind under the Mughals in the Seventeenth Century

Amita Paliwal
Jesus & Mary College, University of Delhi

Abstract

Sind is one of the very few geographically distinct regions of the Indian subcontinent comprising the Lower Indus Basin, with the Baluchistan Hills, Thar Desert, pressing it closely from the East and the West and the Sukkur Gorge, providing practically the only opening from the North. The geographical boundaries of Sind extend from the lower half of the Indus valley, from Bhakkar down to the Arabian Sea, and from Kirthar Hills in the West to the Thar Desert in the East. In other words, this very region commanded the important trading routes to Central Asia and Europe, by roads and by the Sea. Right from the very beginning this extreme western region had witnessed changes in historical social processes whether it was harbouring Indus Valley Civilization or its contact with the Arab world for the very first time in Hindustan. Its nurturing Indus river provided the rich agricultural zone to accommodate sedentary population while the desert and hills accommodated nomadic tribes.

Situated on the lower side of the river Indus, Thatta had been an important trading centre of Sind with its port Lahari Bandar on the bank of the Western branch of river Indus, Baggaur. Ibn Battuta (The Moroccan traveller) in the Fourteenth Century, had found it to be a fine town on the sea coast, possessing a large harbour, visited by merchants from Yemen, Persia and other countries. The Persian source *Tarikh -i-Tahiri* mentions coming of Portuguese in this port town in the middle of sixteenth century. Its possession was so important that the Mughal Emperor Akbar took it under the direct administration in order to avoid Portuguese monopoly in that area and only the Princes and very important nobles were appointed *Subadars* here. During Emperor Shahjahan's time also it was a busy emporium of trade, so much so that the port was accommodating one thousand ships at a time.

The growing demand of Sind textiles, leather products, indigo and saltpetre, in the Asian as well as the European markets, was so much that we find that the European traders like The Portuguese, the English and the Dutch, were actively involved in the trading activities with this region. Later the Dutch Factor also tried to establish his factory in the area.

This paper will focus on the major trading centres in Sind, its important trading routes, various trading communities; indigenous as well as European represented, major items of export and import and also the instruments of trade and exchange mechanism in the area under study. I will also focus on its decline as a trading centre; the geographical and the political reasons behind it in the light of contemporary Persian sources, Travel Accounts and the English Factory Records.

Short Bio

Dr Amita Paliwal completed her studies from Centre of Advance Studies, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University with a Gold Medal In Post-Graduation and did her research on Sind under the Mughal Empire from 1591-1740 AD: A Study of Its Administration, Society, Economy and Culture under the guidance of Prof Shireen Moosvi. She has published many papers on Sind administration, material culture and economy. She also received many prestigious fellowships and awards. Presently Dr Amita Paliwal is working as an Assistant Professor of History in Jesus and Mary College of Delhi University.



Architectural Knowledge in Early Modern India: The World of the Mughal Muhandis

Zahra Shah
London School of Economics and Political Science

Abstract

Despite the acknowledged centrality of architecture and its patronage to the Mughal imperial project in India, relatively little is known about the intellectual and social worlds of Mughal architect. Indeed, the early modern architect is an elusive figure, remaining a shadowy artistic presence even while demonstrating skills that straddled multiple spheres of knowledge - from mathematics and masonry to calligraphy and theology. This paper studies the oeuvre of a prominent family of architects who were involved in, and at times led, important imperial architectural projects. This paper focuses on three generations of the family of Ahmad Mi'mar Lahori, all of whom identified themselves as architects and engineers (*muhandis*) and produced a range of literary and scientific works in addition to architectural and calligraphic projects. Departing from abstract approaches that read architectural works and ideas within the framework of Islamic aesthetics alone, this paper will situate these works in historical and social context, to show how they responded to and shaped tensions and opportunities specific to the Mughal world. Further, it is hoped that reading multiple architectural and textual forms alongside each other will allow a fuller understanding of what it meant to be an architect in Mughal India.

Short Bio

Zahra Shah is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the Department of International History, London School of Economics and Political Science. Before joining the LSE, she taught at Government College University, Lahore. Her current project investigates the social history of early modern Lahore through a focus on the Wazir Khan Mosque.



Mughals and Ottomans in the Genesis of the Modern World: From Comparisons to Integration

Gagan D. S. Sood
London School of Economics and Political Science

Abstract

An important consequence of today's global history is that for the first time the thesis of a truly polycentric early modern era is a compelling proposition. According to this thesis, developments from the seventeenth century within the era's most populous, productive and powerful regions - one centred on southeastern China, a second extending from northwestern Europe into the Atlantic, and the third spanning much of the Near East, Iran and India - led to the emergence of our modern world. Developments internal to each region were cross-cut by flows and interactions that enmeshed them in a shared globalisation. Scholarship on the first two of the regions is voluminous and framed to give proper heed to their historical significance. In contrast, scholarship on the region held in common by the Mughals and Ottomans, while not inconsiderable, falls short of its potential because it has yet to be framed appropriately. This shortcoming may be remedied by an approach that combines regional-scale reciprocal comparisons with a model suited to reconstructing sovereign governance in complex polities. I argue that by adopting such an approach there arises the prospect of not just recapturing the historical significance of the region of the Mughals and Ottomans on their own terms, but also of grasping the global genesis of the modern world.

Short Bio

Gagandeep S. Sood is associate professor in early modern international history at the London School of Economics and co-editor of the *Journal of Global History*. His main research interests lie in the Mughal and Ottoman worlds between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. He is also interested in Europe, China and India, and their role in the genesis of the modern world. These interests stem from earlier work on everyday connexions spanning the Middle East and South Asia in the eighteenth century. Its findings, which culminated in *India and the Islamic Heartlands* (CUP, 2016), reframe our understanding of the larger region at a pivotal stage in its history, and offer fresh perspectives on early modern Eurasia and the transition to colonialism. Building on that work, Dr Sood's current project is about sovereign governance in the Mughal and Ottoman empires over the seventeenth century. Initial findings have appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (2020) and *Modern Asian Studies* (2022).



16.-17. Yüzyıl Farsça ve Türkçe Tarihyazımında Dünya Tarihi

M. Şakir Yılmaz
İbn Haldun Üniversitesi

Özet

İlhanlı ve Timurlu dönemlerinde gelişen Farsça tarihyazımı Osmanlı ve Babürlü imparatorluklarında da seçkin zümrelerin entelektüel ve estetik beğenilerine hitap eden prestijli konumunu korumuştur. Cüveynî'nin (ö. 1283) *Tarih-i Cihângüşâ'sı*, Kadı Beyzâvî'nin (ö.1286) *Nizamut-Tevarih'i*, Reşîduddin Fazlullah'ın (ö.1318) *Câmiu't-Tevârih'i*, Vassâf'ın (ö.1330) *Tarih'i*, Kazvî'nî'nin (ö.1349) *Tarih-i Güzîde'si*, Râvendî'nin (ö.1207?) *Rahatu's-Sudûr'u*, Şerefeddin Ali Yazdî'nin (ö.1454) *Zafernâme'si* gibi eserlerin Osmanlı tarih kültürünün önemli eserleri arasında olduğunu biliyoruz. Sholeh Quinn gibi modern araştırmacılar dünya tarihi alanında öne çıkan Farsça tarih eserlerinin Osmanlı ve Babürlü dünyasında kaleme alınan Farsça eserler ile benzerlik ve farklılıklarına işaret eden çalışmalar yapmışlardır. Bu bağlamda Osmanlı dünyasında Farsça olarak kaleme alınmış olan Şükrullah'ın (ö. 1464'ten sonra) *Behcetü't-tevârih'i*, Muslihuddîn Lârî'nin (ö. 1572) *Mir'âtü'l-edvâr ve mirkâtü'l-ahbâr'ı* ve Şeref Han'ın (ö. 1604) *Şerefnâme'si* gibi umumi tarih eserleri değerlendirilmiştir. 16.-17. Yüzyıllarda Türkçe olarak kaleme alınan eserlerin ise bu gelenek ile irtibatları konusu irdelenmemiştir. Bu tebliğde 16. yüzyıl sonu ve 17. yüzyıl başlarında kaleme alınmış olan iki dünya tarihinin, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli'nin (ö. 1600) *Künhü'l-Ahbâr'ı* ve Nişancızâde Muhyiddin Mehmed'in (ö.1621) *Mir'âtü'l-kâinât'ın*ın dünya tarihini aktarışları ele alınacak ve Farsça tarihyazımı ile ne derece irtibatlı oldukları sorgulanacaktır.

Kısa Özgeçmiş

Şakir Yılmaz İbn Haldun Üniversitesi Tarih bölümünde öğretim üyesidir. Yüksek lisans ve doktorasını Bilkent Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümünde yapmıştır. Erken dönem Osmanlı siyaset düşüncesinin entelektüel köklerini incelediği yüksek lisans tezi Hüsameddin Amasî'nin *Miratu'l-Müluk* başlıklı eserine odaklanır. 16. Yüzyılın önemli bir bürokrat, tarihçi ve entelektüel olan Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebinin yaşam ve yapıtlarını ele alan doktora çalışmasında Osmanlı devlet teşkilatının bu yüzyıldaki gelişimi incelenmiştir. TİKA'da görev yaptığı dönemde Moğolistan'daki Türk Anıtları projesinden Türkoloji merkezleri projelerine kadar çok sayıda projede görev yapmış, 2005-6'da Avrasya Etüdları dergisi editörlüğü ve 2007-2010 arasında Ukrayna program koordinatörlüğünde bulunmuştur. Orta Asya ve Orta Doğu coğrafyasında kültür ve tarih birlikteliği sağlayan kurumlar ve eserler üzerinde araştırmaları vardır. Osmanlı tarihyazımı, siyaset düşüncesi ve idare tarihi üzerine araştırmaları devam etmektedir.



Bangladeş'teki Babürlü Eserleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme

Ümit Naci Yorulmaz
TİKA

Özet

Bengal toprakları, Hindistan'da hüküm süren büyük Türk imparatorluğu Babürlüler tarafından 1576'da ele geçirilmiş ve 1757'da başlayan İngiliz hâkimiyetine dek bu imparatorluğun bir parçası olarak kalmıştır. Bangladeş'i iki asra yakın hâkimiyetleri altına alan ve tarihteki en güçlü Türk imparatorluklarından biri olarak kabul edilen Babürlüler, yönetimleri atındaki topraklarda kendilerinden önceki sultanlıkların sahip olduğu mimari anlayışı Türk-Orta Asya ve Hint-Fars mimari öğeleriyle harmanlamış ve özgün bir mimari yaklaşım ortaya koymuşlardır.

Devletler hâkimiyet alanlarını inşa ettikleri eserler ve bu eserlerin ortaya çıkış süreçlerinde oluşan sosyo-ekonomik unsurlarla perçinleştirirler. Babürlü Türk İmparatorlar da bu bağlamda hâkimiyetleri altına aldıkları topraklarda geniş avlulu, soğan kubbeli özgün ince minareleriyle anıtsal camiler, saraylar, dörtgen şeklinde tasarlanmış devasa bahçeler (*chahar bagh*), mezarlar ve kaleler gibi yapılar inşa ederek kültürel hâkimiyet alanlarını genişletmişlerdir.

Tebliğimizde günümüz Bangladeş sınırları içinde kalan ve Babürlüler döneminde inşa ya da imar edilen eserlere değinilecek ve bu eserler üzerinden Bangladeş topraklarındaki Türk izlerine dair görüşler tartışmaya açılacaktır.

Kısa Özgeçmiş

Marmara Üniversitesi İktisat Bölümü'nde lisans ve yüksek lisansını tamamladıktan sonra Heidelberg, Tübingen ve Berlin Freie üniversitelerinde iktisat ve iktisat tarihi alanlarında eğitim aldı. 2011 yılında Birmingham Üniversitesi'nde tamamladığı doktora tezinde II. Abdülhamit dönemi Osmanlı-Almanya iktisadi ilişkilerini savunma sanayisi bağlamında inceledi. Başta Türkiye, Almanya, ABD, İngiltere, Avusturya, Meksika, Malezya ve Hindistan olmak üzere çeşitli ülkelerde araştırmalar yapan Yorulmaz, doktora sonrası çalışmalarını Washington Üniversitesi ve Stanford Üniversitesi'nde tamamladı. 2014-2018 tarihleri arasında Başbakan Müşaviri olarak görev yapan Dr. Yorulmaz, 2021 Ocak ayından itibaren TİKA Başkan Yardımcılığı görevini sürdürmektedir. Yorulmaz'ın *Arming the Sultan: German Arms Trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I* (Londra: I.B. Tauris, 2014) adlı kitabı *Büyük Savaşın Kara Kutusu: II. Abdülhamid'den I. Dünya Savaşı'na Osmanlı Silah Pazarının Perde Arkası* başlığıyla Türkçeye çevrilmiştir (İstanbul: Kronik, 2018).



The Mughal Culture of Chivalry

André Wink

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Abstract

Together with the empires of the Ottomans and the Safavids, the empire of the Mughals has long been cast as one of the 'gunpowder empires' of the early modern Islamic world. In this paper it will be argued that, although gunpowder weapons became a factor of significance in the Mughal empire from the early sixteenth century onwards, it is misleading to call it a 'gunpowder empire' because cavalry, not artillery, nor infantry, always was and remained its chief military asset. Accordingly, a culture of chivalry continued to prevail in the empire. Etymologically derived from the medieval French *cheval*, 'horse,' the term 'chivalry' here denotes the ethos and practices of fully armed men fighting from horseback. The argument will be advanced that, if in Europe and elsewhere infantry replaced cavalry from the sixteenth century onwards and, in combination with radically new developments in gunpowder warfare, brought the age of chivalry to a close, in India it was essentially perpetuated until the age of European colonialism beginning in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What is more, together with the increased use of horses in warfare, the culture of chivalry was assimilated among ever broader segments of society.

It was far from homogeneous. An internally differentiated culture of chivalry is what one would expect in a multi-ethnic empire such as that of the Mughals. But, for all its internal differentiation, this was in its fundamental characteristics a single culture that was ever more widely shared across ethnic and religious boundaries – among Turks, Mongols, Persians, Afghans, Rajputs, and other horse-riding warrior elites in India. As such, the paper identifies four general characteristics of the culture of chivalry that came to permeate the Mughal empire in its entirety. Its first general characteristic was that, while imperial statistics generally remained poor and unreliable in the extreme, the Mughal imperial nobility at all times displayed an obsessive precision with all issues of rank, precedence and honor. Its second, and related, general characteristic was its intimate connection with a distinctively noble life style and consumption pattern, and with concomitant notions of polite society and dignified behavior. Its third general characteristic was that it regulated gender relations by investing honor in women in certain prescribed ways.

Its fourth general characteristic was that it was indissolubly linked to the world of privilege (lit.'private law'), institutionalized dissidence, and sedition that was to some extent characteristic of chivalrous societies throughout history. The paper highlights not only the specific forms taken by these four general characteristics but concludes that they continued to prevail over incipient elements of an early modernity that was beginning to make itself felt in these same centuries.

Short Bio

Andre Wink is Kern Professor Emeritus at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is the author of, most recently, *The Making of the Indo-Islamic World, c. 700-1800 CE* (Cambridge, 2020).

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