

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Between 1453 and 1526 Muslims founded three major states in the Mediterranean, Iran, and South Asia: respectively the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires. By the early seventeenth century their descendants controlled territories that encompassed much of the Muslim world, stretching from the Balkans and North Africa to the Bay of Bengal and including a combined population of between 130 and 160 million people. This book is the first comparative study of the politics, religion, and culture of these three empires between 1300 and 1923. At the heart of the analysis is Islam, and how it influenced the political and military structures, the economy, language, literature, and religious traditions of these great empires. This original and sophisticated study provides an antidote to a common simplistic view of Muslim societies by illustrating the complexity, humanity, and vitality of these empires, empires that cannot be reduced simply to religious doctrine.

STEPHEN F. DALE is a Professor in the Department of History at Ohio State University. His previous publications include *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade 1600–1750* (Cambridge, 1994) and *The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Babur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India 1483–1530* (2004).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

New Approaches to Asian History

This dynamic new series will publish books on the milestones in Asian history, those that have come to define particular periods or mark turning-points in the political, cultural, and social evolution of the region. Books are intended as introductions for students to be used in the classroom. They are written by scholars whose credentials are well established in their particular fields and who have, in many cases, taught the subject across a number of years.

Books in the series

Judith M. Brown, *Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora*

Diana Lary, *China's Republic*

Peter A. Lorge, *The Asian Military Revolution: From Gunpowder to the Bomb*

Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, *The Partition of India*

Stephen F. Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Ohio State University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by
Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521691420

© Cambridge University Press 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-521-87095-5 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-69142-0 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to
in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such
websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For Roderic Maurice Kauai Dale
husband, father, brother, scientist, gentleman

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	page viii
<i>List of maps</i>	x
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Languages and transliteration</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
1 India, Iran, and Anatolia from the tenth to the sixteenth century	10
2 The rise of Muslim empires	48
3 The legitimacy of monarchs and the institutions of empires	77
4 The economies around 1600	106
5 Imperial cultures	135
6 Golden ages: profane and sacred empires	177
7 Imperial culture in the golden age	208
8 Quests for a phoenix	247
Conclusion	288
<i>Glossary</i>	293
<i>Dynastic lists</i>	299
<i>Bibliography</i>	302
<i>Index</i>	321

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Illustrations

1 Aya Sophia, Istanbul, photograph by the author	<i>page</i> 141
2 Humayun's tomb, Delhi, photograph by the author	148
3 Shirin arrives at Khusrau's palace. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Edwin Binney III Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Photograph © 2009 Museum Associates/LACMA	162
4 The <i>Gur-i amir</i> , the "tomb of the amir," Temür's tomb, Samarqand, photograph by the author	164
5 An Iranian school scene. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: purchase – Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.221	166
6 Khusrau discovers Shirin bathing. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1908.262a–b	167
7 The Mongol Qurachar. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase, F1952.2	174
8 Akbar's son, Prince Mirza. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: purchase, F1929.80	175
9 Süleymaniye Masjid, Istanbul, photograph by the author	210
10 Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Istanbul, photograph by the author	213
11 'Ali Qâpû Palace, photograph by the author	214
12 Shaikh Lutfullah Masjid, Isfahan, photograph by the author	215
13 Shaikh Lutfullah Masjid, Isfahan, photograph by the author	216
14 Masjid-i Shah, Isfahan, photograph by the author	217
15 Taj Mahal, Agra, photograph by the author	220
16 Jama Masjid, Delhi, photograph by the author	221
17 An Ottoman Pasha. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Edwin Binney III Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Photograph © 2009 Museum Associates/LACMA	230

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of illustrations	ix
18 Sultan Ahmet II. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Edwin Binney III Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Photograph © 2009 Museum Associates/LACMA	234
19 An imagined young Iranian couple. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: purchase – Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.316	236
20 A formerly pious and abstinent Sufi <i>shaikh</i> is satirized for taking wine. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.2	239
21 Jahangir. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: purchase, F1942.15a	242
22 Hindu village scene. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.200	243

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Maps

1 The Muslim Empires in 1700. After F. Robinson, ed., <i>The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World</i> (1996).	page 2
2 The eastern provinces of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate. After G. Le Strange, <i>Lands of the Eastern Caliphate</i> (1905).	11
3 The Ghaznavid Empire in 1030. After C. E. Bosworth, <i>The Ghaznavids</i> (1963).	18
4 The Delhi Sultanate in 1400. After M. S. Asimov and C. E. Brown, eds., <i>History of Civilizations of Central Asia</i> (1998).	23
5 The Great Saljuqs of Iran and the Saljuqs of Rum and Kirman in 1092. After J. A. Boyle, ed., <i>The Cambridge History of Iran</i> , V, <i>The Saljuq and Mongol Periods</i> (1968).	32
6 The Ottoman Empire to 1451. www.naqshbandi.org .	54
7 The Safavid Empire to 1514; Iraq was later lost to Süleyman I, (1520–66).	63
8 The Mughal Empire in 1530. After John Keay, <i>India: A History</i> (2001).	75
9 The Ottoman Empire in 1481.	85
10 The Safavid Empire in 1629.	96
11 The Mughal Empire in 1605. After Keay, <i>India: A History</i> .	99
12 Trade routes.	112
13 The Ottoman Empire in 1566 and 1683.	179
14 The Safavid Empire in 1660.	187
15 The Mughal Empire in 1658. After Keay, <i>India: A History</i> .	204
16 Qajar Iran in 1798. After Layla S. Diba and Maryam Ekhtiar, eds., <i>Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch 1785–1925</i> (1999).	253
17 The Mughal Empire in 1707. After Keay, <i>India: A History</i> .	266
18 Ottoman territorial losses, 1807–1923. www.naqshbandi.org .	282

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

Marigold Acland of Cambridge University Press commissioned this book and, like dozens of other scholars, I deeply appreciate both her encouragement and her sympathetic interest in and sophisticated knowledge of Islamic studies. The book was written during a wonderful leave year funded by a research fellowship from the National Endowment of the Humanities in Washington, DC, supported by matching funds from the Ohio State University.

I have benefited from the work of so many scholars in so many disciplines that it is impossible to credit them all. My intellectual debts will be obvious from the footnotes and bibliography, but beyond those citations, I want to particularly acknowledge Cornell Fleischer, who introduced me to both Turkish and Ottoman history; my own colleagues in Ottoman studies, Carter Findley and Jane Hathaway; Gülru Necipoğlu for her cultural studies of Ottoman architectural history; and Suraiya Faroqhi for her many works on Ottoman social history. Hamid Algar introduced me to Persian and modern Iranian history and John Masson Smith Jr. taught me the use of documents and coins for pre-modern Iranian and Middle Eastern history. In addition I am particularly indebted to Rudi Matthee for his publications on the Safavids and to Paul Losensky for his revealing studies of Persian poetry of the Safavid and Mughal eras. I first studied Indian history with Eugene F. Irschick, and began my studies of Mughal history with the work of the late John Richards. I have also benefited from the work of Muzaffar Alam and an entire galaxy of Indian historians who have produced seminal scholarship on the Mughal period, especially Tapan Raychaudhuri, Irfan Habib, Athar Ali, and the scholar of Indo-Persian literature, Abdu'l Ghani. Amina Okada's studies of Mughal art have also shaped the way in which I look at the paintings of the imperial atelier.

Three scholars took the time to read and critique this book in manuscript form, and they will recognize that many of their valuable suggestions are integrated into the final text. They are Catharine Asher, the

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals
Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii Preface

historian of Mughal architectural history; Gene Garthwaite, a specialist on the Bakhtiyari nomads and the history of modern Iran; and Ruby Lal, who is known for her study of women in early Mughal history. The book is substantially better for their help.

My thanks go to three institutions for permission to quote from copyright material. They are: Princeton University Press, for Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600)* (1986); the University of Washington Press, for a book whose rights they now own, namely *Ottoman Lyric Poetry*, ed. and trans. Walter G. Andrews, Najaat Black, and Mehmet Kalpakli (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); and Mazda Press, for Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighani: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1998).

I have dedicated this book to my late brother, Roderic M. K. Dale.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Languages and transliteration

Languages

Three principal languages were used in the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires. These were: first, the Semitic language Arabic, the native language of ethnic Arabs as well as religious and scientific language of the Islamic world; secondly, the Indo-European language Persian, the native language of ethnic Iranians, the lingua franca of educated Muslims in Anatolia, Central Asia, and northern and central India, and the prestigious literary language of Muslims in all three empires; thirdly, Turkish, one of a larger family of some thirty-four related languages, sometimes labeled, controversially, as Altaic languages. All three languages were written in the Arabic script, but the use of this script for Persian led to the creation of new letters to reflect Persian pronunciation. This script was particularly ill suited to Turkic languages, including Ottoman, so that some letters in Ottoman or other Turkic dialects have different values from those they have in Persian or Arabic.

Transliteration

Generally Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words have been spelled in accordance with the system used by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. However, some exceptions have been made for commonly accepted usages, such as “Mughal” for “Mughul,” “Abu’l Fazl,” the name of the Mughal minister, instead of “Abu’l-Fadl,” and a few others. Such usages partly reflect customary pronunciations, and the pronunciation of all three languages, belonging as they do to three major language families, is distinctly different. To take just one simple example, the common name for a Muslim religious judge is usually written, reflecting its original Arabic pronunciation, as *qadi*. In Turkish, as will be seen, it is usually written, in the Latin script adopted in the Turkish Republic, as *kadi*, while in Persian the word is often written, as it is pronounced, *qazi*. And in both

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-87095-5 - The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals
Stephen Frederic Dale

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv Languages and transliteration

Turkish and Persian the “a” of *qadi* is sounded differently than in Arabic. Speakers of each language have even modified the pronunciation of religious terminology. Readers familiar with one or more of these languages will supply their own pronunciations. Others need not be concerned, as it is the meaning of the terminology, as explained in the text or listed in the Glossary, which is most important.