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### RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Architectural Reassessment of Masjid i-Kabud at Tabriz; The Missing Iranian Layout

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Abstract: Masjid i-Kabud was built upon the order of Jahan Shah, the ruler of the Kara Koyunlu dynasty, in Tabriz, Northwest Iran. This building is among the most important remains of Islamic architecture and has repeatedly been the object of research by historians of architecture. While the configuration of this building finds a corresponding prototype in Timurid Iran, in the view of a wider audience the construction purpose of this building conceptualizes the theme of Anatolian architecture. Thus, there remain several controversies about the inception of architectural layout that need to be further explored. Using a comparative-analytical method, the aim is to trace back the architectural predecessors of Masjid i-Kabud. Unlike recent studies that attest a Perso-Ottoman interaction in shaping this monument, material evidences confirm beyond any doubt that this was built under the guidance of a masterarchitect who came from Central Asia a short time before its construction in Tabriz, a grand new capital. According to the results, it is possible to point out a general architectural consistency from the Timurid Empire to the Turkoman era that is largely visible in this building: a tomb in the rear of the central dome aligned with an axial portal, while auxiliary rooms surrounding the main dome on the three sides is a modification of the old traditional Iranian form and might have a close relationship with changes occurring within the religious doctrine in providing adequate space for pilgrimages and educational purposes.

**Keywords:** Muzaffariyeh Complex; Masjid i-Kabud; Timurid Architecture; Turkoman Era; Northwestern Iran.

### Introduction

After the death of Timurid ruler Shah Rukh in 1447 CE, Jahan Shah (r. 1438-1467) became an independent ruler of Kara Koyunlu and started to use the title of "Sultan" and "Khan" by ruling the territory comprising present-day Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, northwest Iran, eastern Turkey, and northeast Iraq from about 1374 CE to 1486 CE (Minorsky, 1954). He was successful enough to seize Herat, the former capital of the Timurid Empire (1405-1507 CE) (Sumer, 1990: 56) and to exile a large number of craftsmen and architects from Samarkand<sup>1</sup> to their homeland, (Jackson and Lockhart, 1986: 89). Due to this policy, by the 15th century Timurid elements had gradually penetrated into every aspect of the Turkoman's architecture as far the prosperity of their achievements in northwest unprecedented Iran got (Moradi and Houseinpoor 2017: 9). In order to obtain the social support, Masjid i-Kabud once was part of a great religious complex known as "Muzaffariyeh" in which various auxiliary buildings were clustered around a pathway known as "Khiyaban"<sup>2</sup> (Zoka, 1989: 183).

Judging from the construction date of 870 AD (Mashkur 1973: 63), as well as a similar architectural configuration that offers a glimpse into the striking specimens in Anatolia, 3 and to give an approximate chronology, some scholars have explained the architectural layout of Masjid i-Kabud as a sequence of the Ottoman architecture that also represents the Iranian construction identity (Blair and Bloom, 1994; Ansari and Nejhad Ebrahimi, 2000; Kabirsaber et.al 2014). Factors that may be aggravating this hypothesis deal with the following fundamental obstacles:

- The date 870 AD has not yet been agreed upon to indicate the construction date and may refer to the point in which the precious tile work and decorations had come into use at the end (Kabirsaber et.al 2014). From this point of view, it is very probable that the construction process had finished many years before.
- The term "Iranian Identity in Construction" reflects a huge gap that still exists between Iranian architecture

and the appearance of Masjid i-Kabud at the same time in northwest Iran. Moreover, comparative studies with other structures of same age, similar plan, function, and construction thoughts in Central Asia and Timurid Iran have never been involved.

Taking the above factors into account, the question that how the layout of Masjid i-Kabud derived from Iranian architecture4 is open to discussion in the academic circles. Incorporating parameters providing information related to the Timurid origin of and therefore, a better this building, understanding of the evolution of these construction methodologies with certain parallels with Masjid i-Kabud will be the most likely outcome of this research. What makes the results so informative for the history of architecture is that they can compensate for this void: The Iranian origins of the Masjid i-Kabud architecture as an isolated branch from the Ottoman architecture; repeating mistake of earlier studies.

### Research Method

This research rests on architectural materials. and all typical building layouts taken into consideration are based on available material evidence. To highlight the role of "Iranian Architecture" in shaping Masjid i-Kabud, the research program will be conducted through two main approaches. While I basically propose a building archeological approach to study the minute characteristics of the employed archetypes, and their detailed evolution, a second methodological tool used is that of typological comparison which basically focuses the taxonomic on classification characteristics of (usually physical) commonly found in contemporaneous buildings exist in Central Asia (Cultural Iran), Northeast Iran, and Anatolia.

## Previous Researches on Masjid i-Kabud Layout

This building was severely damaged in an earthquake occurred in 1780 CE. However, in the 17th century, it was already reportedly "completely destroyed and abandoned"

(Melville, 1981). In the 20th century, during the Pahlavi era, Masjid i-Kabud was finally rebuilt.5 With regards to the origin of this monument; three axial researches have been carried out. In 2000, on the basis of a pictorial evidence mainly left by Nasuh Matrakci,6 Ansari and Nejhad Ebrahimi advanced the viewpoint that the current domes must have been set on relatively high drums in which two lofty minarets flanked the portal (Ansari and Nejhad Ebrahimi, 2000). From the perspective of the architectural tradition, a valuable approach was promoted by Kabirsaber (2014) in which he speculates that the architectural configuration in Masjid i-Kabud provides us with precious information about the mosque architecture in Anatolia. Although his study suggests a probable link with mausoleums of Central Asia and Anatolia, a lack of suitable comparative data hinders the possibility of pinpointing when, how, and under which condition these buildings impacted Masjid i-Kabud. He concludes that the main dome that occupies the absolute center of this building, including a tomb on the rear, does not follow the typical construction method of the

Timurid era (Kabirsaber et.al, 2014). By focusing on the available archaeological materials on the opposite side of this monument, Moradi and Houseinpour (2017) reconstruct the whole site. Due to different perspectives, their work pays more attention to the concrete analysis of building structure, rather than discussing the textural sources. Nevertheless, the relevance of their research stays on the fact that the symmetrically coupled characteristic of this building with opposite functions is a conscious imitation of contemporaneous complexes in Central Asia (Moradi and Houseinpour 2017: 215) (Fig. 1).

## Kara Qoyunlu Territories

Kara Koyunlu Turkomans, at one point, established their capital in Herat in modernday Afghanistan (Bosworth, 1996: 54). They of were vassals the Ialairid Sultanate in Baghdad and Tabriz from about 1375, when the leader of their leading tribe ruled over Mosul. However, they rebelled against Jalairids, and secured their independence from the dynasty with the conquest of Tabriz by Qara Yusuf. During

Jahan Shah's reign he managed to expand the Kara Koyunlu territory to its largest extent, including Eastern Anatolia, most of present-day Iraq, central Iran, and even Kerman (Minorsky, 1954). In the spring of 1453, Jahan Shah's son, Pirbudagh conquered Qom and Jahan Shah seized himself Isfahan, then Shiraz. In 1454, the army of Kara Koyunlu, commanded by Pirbudagh captured Kerman

and Yazd. In 1457, after the death of the governor of Khorasan, Babur Mirza, Jahan Shah took the possession of the Eastern part of Iran. Then he conquered Mazandaran, Astarabad, Mashhad, Nishapur and on June 28 of 1458, he entered Herat, the capital of Timurids and ascended the throne of Shahrukh (Zardabil, 2018: 304) (Fig. 2).



Fig. 1. A 3D model of Masjid i-Kabud and opposite buildings before the destructive earthquake of 1780 CE (Moradi and Houseinpour 2017: 215).



Fig. 2. Approximate territory of Kara Kuyunlu dynasty at its peak.

## Architectural Compositions of Masjid i-Kabud

There is no exact evidence as to what this building meant for. So far, all practical all discussions about purposes, this monument are simply a hypothesis based upon its remains and a few known facts. Name of places give us more clues, although the title "Kabud" is more acceptable due to the fact that both interior and exterior surfaces of this building once were covered with turquoise tiles (Zoka, 1989: 183), "Muzaffariye" is referring to a feminine characteristic that cannot be used for a mosque (Wilber et.al, 1995: 584). Anyway, pinpointing appellation of this monument falls outside our

interest. Approaching from the south, two aligned domes, respectively known as the family mausoleum of Jahan Shah (Karbalai, 2004: 524) and the gigantic central dome catch attentions (Fig. 3). The large dome covers an area of approximately 17 x 17m with a height of about 24m. A pointed squinch mechanism is employed to change the walls of the square chamber to an octagonal base to erect the dome, a technique that was predominant in the Timurid architecture (Soustel and Porter, 2002: 101) and became much more generalized in buildings after Masjid i-Kabud like Uzun Hasan Mosque at Tabriz (Moradi and Houseinpour, 2017: 295).

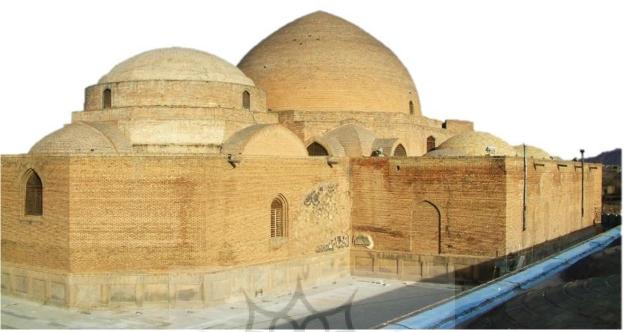


Fig. 3. Current remains of the Masjid i-Kabud in Tabriz.

Similar architectural themes between Masjid i-Kabud and Timurid prototypes could be categorized as follow:

## Central Dome and Rear Tomb: Mausoleum Layout

In Central Asia, in the period between 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, kings and emperors used to build large mausoleums encompassing a central dome in connection with a smaller one for their afterlife (Knobloch, 2001: 103). From a cross-cultural perspective, this archetype

had a direct and far-reaching impact on the architectural layout of Masjid i-Kabud. Regarding this building we are in dark on whether like the central dome, the smaller-scale dome also was set on drum or not (Moradi and Houseinpour, 2017: 167), but obviously the north-south axial configuration of the two dome is evidence (Fig. 4). The comparison between the architectural layouts of contemporaneous buildings in Central Asia shows that there are other religious buildings as similar in layout as Masjid i-Kabud.

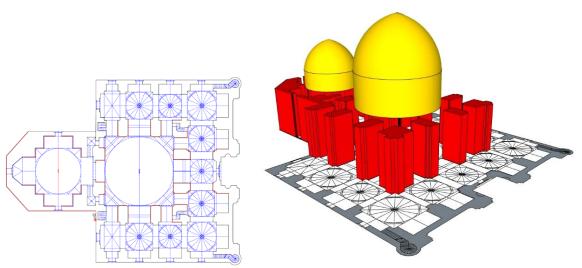


Fig. 4. Ground plan of Masjid i-Kabud (Left) and configuration of two domes set on drums before 1780s (Right).

Among the most representative archetypes is the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi, a distinguished Sufi of the 12th century (Chuvin, and Gerard, 2001: 96). This building is located in southern Kazakhstan, in the northeastern section of the city of Turkestan and built between 1389 and 1405 by the order of Timur (Hattstein and Delius, 2007: 109) (Tab 1; No.1). Timur, himself, is reported to have participated in its construction and skilled Persian craftsmen were employed on the project (Ibid). Two aligned domes in this monument were prototype that served as a model for other major buildings of the Timurid period, in particular in Samarkand (Soustel and Porter, 2002: 88). This building

contains thirty-five rooms serving a range of functions. Otherwise, it is a multifunctional structure of the Khanagah type, with functions of a mausoleum and a mosque (Chuvin, and Gerard, 2001: 96). The tomb of Yasawi is situated on the central axis at the end of the building and located exactly at the center of the section and having included a double-layer ribbed roof (Hillenbrand, 1994: 91).

In resemblance of the same configuration, the mausoleum of Zhusip-Ata is located in the center of a rural cemetery in the village of Ikan, which is subordinate to the city of Turkestan (Chuvin, and Gerard, 2001: 96). This building consists of two domes while the ground plan indicates a longitudinal and axial

composition, a similar to the architectural layout of the Ahmad Yasawi Mausoleum. The monument belongs to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century (Soustel and Porter, 2002: 88) and the inscription introduces Zhusip-Ata as a discipline of Ahmad Yasawi (Dani, 1992: 287). Like his mentor's mausoleum, the prismatic structure comprises Ziyarat-Khana (worship hall) and a tomb inside (Tab. 1; No. 2)

Similar articulation appeared in Pahlavan Mahmud's mausoleum who was an Iranian poet and wrestler (1247-1326). Also known as Puria-ye-Wali, Mahmud was lionized as the paragon of Iranian chivalry (javanmardi) and esteemed for his literary and athletic accomplishments (Luijendijk, 2016). Although he was not strictly a religious figure, his tomb became a popular place of pilgrimage in both Khoy (in Iran) and Khiva (in Uzbekistan), both of which claimed Mahmud as their own. Mohammad Rahim I (r. 1806-1825), effectively adopted Mahmud as the khanate's patron saint and reconstructed the initially built construction (13th- 14th century) by saving its original composition and reserved a niche on the northern wall of the

khanqah (central dome) for his own mausoleum (Ibid). This building crowned with a Timurid-style blue dome—the only one of its kind in Khiva—used as a Sufi lodge, or khanqah. Mahmud's cenotaph was placed within a brilliantly decorated chambered dome to the south leading from the khanqah (Gangler et.al 2004) (Tab.1; No, 3).

Zangi-Ata<sup>7</sup> mausoleum (14<sup>th</sup> century) is situated 15 kilometers away to the south from the border of modern city of Tashkent, Uzbekistan. He was the fifth *murid* (student) of Ahmad Yasavi - the recognized spiritual leader of all Turkic tribes of Central Asia, and preached in the Tashkent area till his very death in 1258 (Dani, 1992: 301). In its original shape, this building encompasses two aligned domes in which the larger one covers the mausoleum of Zangi-Ata while the smaller one belongs to his wife, Saint Ambar Bibi (Mustafayev, 2013) (Table 1; No, 4).

Sheikh Havendi al-Tahur's mausoleum is considered the most ancient construction, potted on the territory of Tashkent (Baumer, 2016: 55). It was built on the order of Tamerlane above the grave of the Sheikh at the

end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Dani, 1992: 158). The present construction is not original but a reconstruction that preserved the original plan and form. The mausoleum contains of Ziyarat-Khana (worship room) and Gurkhana (tomb). There are two premises in the two domes: one of them, covered with the dome on a drum with 12 dimensions encloses the gravestone of al-Tahur. In a smaller housing, under the dome on an 8-dimensioned base there is a burial site which is considered to belong to his wife and son (Ibid) (Table1; No, 5).

Mizdakhan is a huge ensemble of mixedage antiquities and comprises one of the most ancient cemeteries Central in (Hillenbrand, 1994: 47). Mausoleum of Mazlumkhan-sulu (13th-14th centuries) is also located here; originally this building had strongly marked religious features. There is a legend, which tells, that once this place was a palace of khan's daughter, named Mazlumsulu. When the city was attacked by "infidels", the leader of the enemies fell in love with the girl, and she reciprocated his feelings. Then the infuriated governor killed his daughter and ordered to bury her in her own palace, which later became a mausoleum consisted of two aligned domes (Dani, 1992: 301) (Tab.1; No, 6).

After al-Boharsi's death - in 1261- the khangah, erected near to the Al-Boharsi grave, became the center of Kubravi order in Bukhara (Dani, 1992: 120). Construction of first building of mausoleum above the grave of "Sheikh of peace" was finished at the beginning of the 14th century (Baumer, 2016: 80). The design of building is consisting of the burial-dome and commemoration room (Ziyarat Khana). Two domes above these rooms organize building's side-view (Table1; No, 7).

The two blue domes of the mausoleum of Kazi Zade Rumi (1420-1425) in Shahi-Zinda necropolis at Samarkand stands for further expansions in Timurid imperial territories. (Table1; No, 8) Here, the traditional compositional solution of the longitudinal-axial complexes devoted to the tomb of Kazi Zadeh Rumi, the tutor of Ulugbek (central dome), and his wife (smaller dome) (Soustel and Porter, 2002: 42).

In short, the axial composition of two domes presenting a khangah aligned with a tomb facing south is so characteristic of mausoleums in Central Asia during the Timurid era which has repeated in the construction of Masjid i-Kabud in Tabriz too.

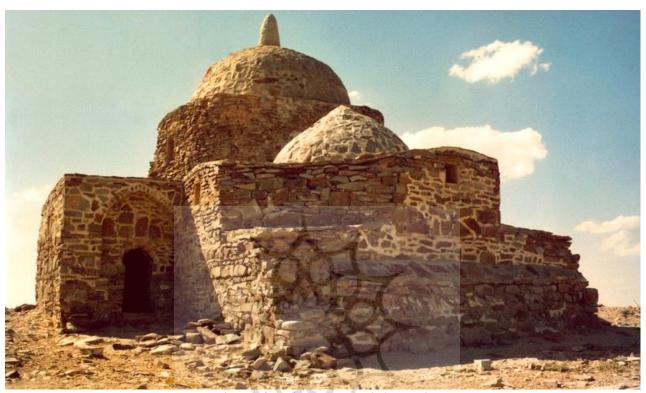


Fig. 5. Mausoleum of Ayub Ansari in Tikab, Northwest Iran.

13 kilometers to the south of Takab city,
Northwest Iran, the stone-base construction
known as the mausoleum of Ayub Ansari
(1471 CE) reflects a conscious replica of a two
aligned dome layout and the far west
expansion of this composition as well (Fig. 5).
Although archaeological remains at the
smaller dome support the evidence of a burial
complex, the deceased character is hitherto
unknown and textual resources are silent on

this issue. This monument left relatively little-studied but considering geographical distance,
Unlike Hillenbrand (1994) who believed in
definite construction similarities between
Masjid i-Shah (1476 CE) and Masjid i-Kabud,
it is pertinent to understand how the
longitudinal-axial domes in the mausoleum of
Ayub Ansari may serve as a scale model for
Masjid i-Kabud, while this configuration is
absent in Masjid i-Shah, Northeast Iran.

Table 1. The "Central Dome and a Tomb in Rear " Mausoleum Layout in Timurid monuments.

No.	Building	Pic	Construction Date	Location
1	Mausoleum of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi (Archnet.org)		1389 – 1405 CE	Turkestan, Kazakhstan
2	Mausoleum of Zhusip-Ata (Archnet.org)		15 <sup>th</sup> – 16 <sup>th</sup>	Turkestan, Kazakhstan
3	Mausoleum of Pahlavan Mahmud (Archnet.org)		13 <sup>th</sup> – 14 <sup>th</sup>	Khiva, Uzbekistan
4	Mausoleum of Zangi-Ata (Archnet.org)		14 <sup>th</sup>	Tashkent, Uzbekistan
5	Mausoleum of Sheikh Havendi al- Tahur (Archnet.org)	كاه ما الحال ومطالعات المالية المالية	14 <sup>th</sup>	Tashkent, Uzbekistan
6	Mausoleum of Mazlumkhan-sulu (Archnet.org)		13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup>	Uzbekistan

7	Mausoleum of Saif ed- Din Boharzi (Archnet.org)	14 <sup>th</sup>	Bukhara, Uzbekistan
8	Mausoleum of Kazi Zade Rumi (Archnet.org)	15 <sup>th</sup>	Samarkand , Uzbekistan

## Auxiliary Rooms Surrounding Central Dome (Khangah)

Interesting parallels with regards to double axial domes in Masjid i-Kabud and Timurid mausoleums in Central Asia would inevitably hold more solid clues that this monument had the same composition of a khangah and a burial dome. Then, it is not surprising when Hafiz Housein Karbalai (1618 CE), the closest historian to the construction date of this building, remains conservative and title this structure as "A spectacular building made by Abu Muzzafar Jahan Shah", rather than a mosque (Karbalai, 2004: 524). In spite of this, if we consider both the central dome and portico as *shabestan* (praying hall) which are facing to the smaller dome containing the

family tomb of Jahan Shah, according to the Islamic faith, it would be abominable to say daily prays in front of a grave (Khalid, 2007). From this point of view, attributing the main function of Masjid i-Kabud as a mosque would rise serious dilemma over its identity. In Masjid i-Kabud, the porch that merged into the complex is a one-bay wide corridor that runs threes sides of the main dome (Fig. 6right). This is the quite common construction methodology of the mausoleum of Ahmad Yasawi (Fig.6-left), suggesting that the mausoleum in its general function must provide enough space to accept pilgrims and practitioners (Soustel and Porter, 2002: 42). The latter building is closely associated with the diffusion of Islam in Central Asia with the

help of Sufi orders, and with the political ideology of Timur (Mustafayev, 2013). Despite the public closure of this monument during the Soviet era, the mausoleum of Ahmad Yasawi has continued to draw pilgrims once the order was lifted. Up to contemporary times, the building has remained an object of pilgrimage for Kazakh Muslims; hence, the town of Turkestan became the second Mecca for Muslims of Central Asia (Gangler, 2004: 67). However, along with the evolution of the Sufi doctrine, the portico became progressively one of the most important elements of a mausoleum during the Timurid era (Blair and Bloom, 1995: 118). In other cases, like Pahlavan

Mahmud's mausoleum, where the overall dimension of mausoleum sufficed to cover the predicted number of practitioners, portico is usually absent or has been replaced by smaller rooms. Taking the above factors into account, it is not difficult to understand why the holy reputation of Masjid i-Kabud in Tbariz (new capital) reached foreign lands due to the presence of royal family buried inside (Karbalai, 2004: 523), the fact that prompted the existence of auxiliary spaces to host pilgrims or support the relative educational courses. Here, portico resembles to the main dome, but its status is far lower than the latter, and its position is not as prominent as the burial dome.

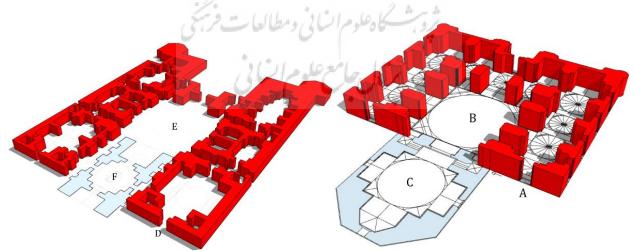


Fig. 6. Auxiliary rooms surrounding main dome in Masjid i-Kabud (Right-A) and mausoleum of Ahmad Yasawi (Left-D). (E), (B): central dome; (C), (F): burial dome.

## Two Minarets and Twin Domes Flanking Main Façade

Although main part of historical reports is so general that it is exceedingly difficult to form a definite idea as to the general shape of Masjid i-Kabud (Chardin, 1686: 78). Matrakci's pictorial depiction of Tabriz (1585 CE) gives us the best and most detailed information concerning this structure (Moradi and Houseinour, 2017: 290). Judging from the miniature (Fig. 7), also considering previous conclusions (Ansari and Nejhad Ebrahimi, 2000; Kabirsaber, 2014, Moradi Hoseinpour 2017, 292), we may conclude that the general elevation of this building was consist of a lavishly decorated façade flanking by two minarets and two domes, a copy tradition of Madrasa (school) layout during Timurid Iran (Hillenbrand, 1994: 92).

We have to consider the position of Timurid Madrasa in the historical development of Masjid i-Kabud. Madrassa in Timurid Iran have a definite architectural shape, with the exception of a few variations (Hillenbrand, 1994: 92). This shape is an open rectangular court with vaulted

Iwans. These are open towards the courts and lie in the middle of the four court façades and between them are rows of dwelling cells (Blair and Bloom, 1995: 141). This transformation was no doubt partly due to the interchangeably nature of madrassa, mosque and khangah in the Iranian architecture (Hillenbrand, 1994: 92). As Table 2 suggests, dominant façade in Masjid i-Kabud propose a similarity in composition when compared with both the Ulugh Bey Madrasa (1417 CE) in Samarkand and the Khargard Ghiasieh Madrasas (15th century) in northeast Iran, which both were among the best clergy universities of the Muslim Orient in the 15th Century CE (Soustel and Porter, 2002: 87). Grabar addressed the combination of entrance and two adjacent domes as "The entrance complex" and Wilber sees it as one of special characteristics of Timurid schools (Blair and Bloom, 1995: 141). Although the Shir Dar Madrasa (1619-1636 CE) in Samarkand was erected approximately two hundred years after the completion of aforementioned specimens, there is no doubt that the same architectural thought was decisive in shaping its ground plan.

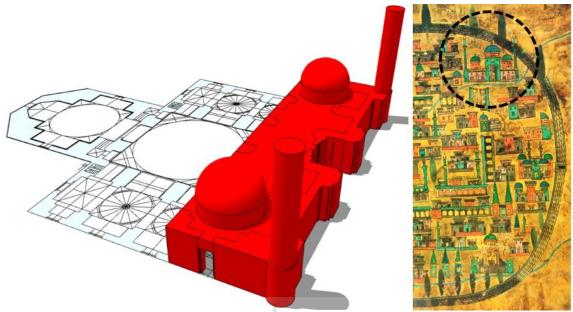


Fig. 7. Right: Map of Tabriz drawn by Matrakci (10<sup>th</sup> century) (Matrakci, 2000: 89); Left: Architectural arrangement of main elevation in Masjid i-Kabud before 1780.

Table 2. Timurid Madrasas including two domes and two minarets in the main elevation.

Building	plan	Elevation			
Ghiasieh Madrasas					
Ulugh Bey Madrasa					
Shir Dar Madrasa					

In case of Ghiasieh, two lateral minarets got spilled for obscure reason and the dome on the right side of the elevation is a mosque with a Mihrab (Blair and Bloom, 1995: 150), to copy the architectural language of the Ulugh Bey Madrasa. The generally accepted view is that the function of as a mosque was only one of the purposes related to Masjid i-Kabud (Zoka, 1986: 185). Then, it is very probable that one of the dome-covered chambers on the northern elevation of Masjid i-Kabud was in use as a mosque, the only solution that would overcome the ban in praying in front of a grave (Khalid, 2007).

### Discussion

First of all, it would be necessary to find a proper answer to this question that "does the Masjid i-Kabud with its original shape fit into the course of development of Ottoman mosques or not?

It is believed that the Masjid i-Kabud was built "In resemblance of Ottoman mosques in Anatolia." (Blair and Bloom, 1995: 99; Hillenbrand, 1994: 89; Kabirsaber, 2014). Yet, it is not to be doubted that previous studies do

not refer to the general configuration of the Masjid i-Kabud but rather to the splendor of the edifice as the current whole. Anyway, Ottoman mosques have nothing in common with the original shape of this building more than dome-covered spaces.

Although like Ottoman mosques the chief element of which the broad space of this mosque is formed, are the dome squares, the arrangement of two aligned domes set on drum, that typically consists of a Ziyarat-Khana (central dome) and a tomb of a religious character, is an absent layout in Ottoman architecture. On the other hand, auxiliary rooms around the central dome in Ottoman mosques are separated from one another and only narrow arch openings provide limited visual connections while in Masjid i-Kabud this space is undivided.

Other distinctive feature is that in Ottoman mosques the central square space is usually as large as the rear dome, but in Masjid i-Kabud, just like other specimens in Central Asia, the southern dome is smaller in size which means an important step towards centralizing the main dome. Another formal element which is

characteristic of Timurid architecture is strongly apparent in the main elevation of the Masjid i-Kabud. Here, minarets rose directly from the foundation, but in Ottoman mosques minaret are usually set on the upper levels, specially top of the loadbearing walls.

More importantly, judging from the similar architectural layouts in Central Asia, we should be aware of the fact that one of the vanished domes in the "Entrance Complex" in Masjid i-Kabud may indicate the aim to create a broad space suitable for the so-called people mosque but Ottoman mosques of the same period lack such a necessity (Fig. 8).

It is believed that the ground plan of the old Fatih mosque was of fundamental importance for the development of Ottoman mosque and the interaction between Iranian architecture and Ottoman achievements has always faded into obscurity (Aga-Oglu, 1930). Moreover, in front of the Ottoman mosques lay the porch, so characteristic of all Anatolian architecture while such an arrangement never appeared in Masjid i-Kabud.

In some cases, like the mosque of Sultan Murad I (1365) and Yeşil Cami Mosque (1423), both in Bursa, the center of the building is a dome-covered square with a fountain in the middle, as the last vestige of the original court (Ibid). This central space which lies always deeper than the surrounding spaces has never reported in the Masjid i-Kabud or other contemporaneous buildings in Iran.

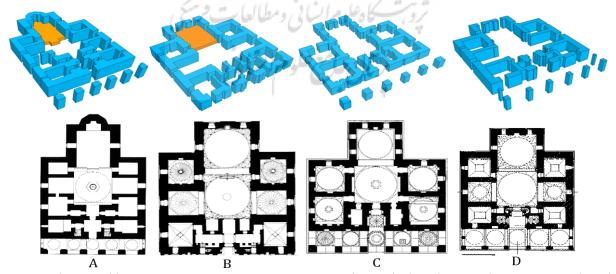


Fig. 8. Architectural layout in Ottoman mosques. A: Mosque of Murad I (1365), B: Yaşil Cami Mosque (1423), C: Beyazid Paşa Mosque (1402), D: Yildirim Cami Moaque (1395).

Figure 9 indicates the distribution of architectural specimens in Central Asia of those have similar themes in accordance with architectural layout in Masjid i-Kabud. Almost all of these monuments are located in cities which had been conquered by Turkmen

dynasty in Central Asia between 1438 to 1467 CE, then other possibility would be that Jahan Shah had directly experienced all these buildings in his campaigns and had asked to copy the same architectural language in his capital, Tabriz.

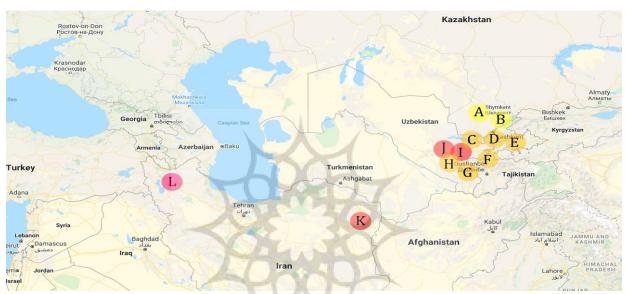


Fig. 9. Geographical location of Timurid projects in which similar construction layout is traceable with architectural composition in Masjid i-Kabud (L). A: Mausoleum of Ahmad Yasawi; B: Mausoleum of Zhusip-Ata; C: Mausoleum of Pahlavan Mahmud; D: Mausoleum of Zangi-Ata; E: Mausoleum of Sheikh Havandi al-Tahur; F: Mausoleum of Seif ed-Din Boharzi; J: Mausoleum of Kazi Zade Rumi; H: Mausoleum of Mazlumkhan-sulu; I: Ulugh Bey Madrasa; J: Shir Dar Madrasa; K: Ghiasich Madrasas; and K: Masjid i-Kabud.

### Conclusion

The previous studies that give an answer to the question of "which region dominantly affected the architectural layout of Masjid i-Kabud" have unfortunately disregarded as yet and current literature on this issue is so general that it is impossible to get even an

approximate idea of the structure. Result of this research can summarized as following:

There is no evidence to attribute the date 870/1491 to the construction date of Masjid i-Kabud, therefore suggesting the fact that the shape of the Ottoman Mosques may have

given an impulse to Masjid i-Kabud would be naïve.

In spite of its adherence to the Central Asian architectural traditions, Masjid i-Kabud shows a new artistic feature that combines a mausoleum with madrassa that peripherally could act as a mosque. This organic development displays a typical "Two aligned dome and the entrance complex" layout which convinces us to attribute it to the Timurid architecture. Hence, from the standpoint of artistic appearance, Masjid i-Kabud is only a modification of the old traditional Iranian forms.

It may be assumed that the origin of the Timurid construction methodology is bound to the historic expansion of master-builders who were removed by force or willingly to the Timurid court, those who exiled Central Asia to serve the next Emperor (Jahan Shah) in the new capital (Tabriz). This is best proven by the fact that those countries which remained untouched by the Timurid master-builders do not know this type of construction at all.

The architectural layout adopted for Masjid i-Kabud was one typical of the

religious buildings of Central Asia, rather than the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the original shape of Masjid i-Kabud was reached not by mere imitation but by a specifically Iranian (Turkmen) development.

We are therefore justified in saying that the selection of Tabriz as the new capital of Turkmen dynasty and the presence of local master-builders who previously were served Timurid territories signify in this transformation to the northwest Iran. As a result, the Timurid architectural spirit remained in its essence the same as it had been before the reorganization Turkmen of architecture.

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## بازبینی ساختار معماریِ مسجد کبود در تبریز؛ الگوی فراموش شدهٔ معماری ایرانی

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**حکیده:** مسجد کبود به فرمان جهان شاه، فرمانروای سلسله قراقویونلو در تبریز احداث شده است. این بنا در زمرهٔ مهمترین و باشکوهترین آثار معماری اسلامی در ایران است تا آنجه که بخش اعظمی از مطالعات تاریخ معماری و باستان شناسی متمرکز بر بررسی وجوه مختلف آن بوده است. درحالی که ترکیببندی معماری این بنا نشان دهندهٔ ارتباط غیرقابل انکاری با معماری دوران تیموری در ایران است؛ مطابق با نظر اكثر محققان، ساختار فضايي اين بنا منعكس كننده معماري منطقه آناتولي است. در همین زمینه، بررسی ابعاد مختلف معماری و ساختمان بنای مزبور نیازمند مطالعات دقیق تر به منظور قضاوت پیرامون انتساب آن به معماری ایرانی و یا معماری آناتولی خواهد بود. تحقیق پیشرو بر آن است تا با استفاده از روش گونهشناسی معماری عهد تیموری در منطقه ماورالنهر، شمالشرقی ایران و آناتولی، ریشههای معماری مسجد کبود در تبریز را مورد ارزیابی مجدد قرار دهد. برخلاف مطالعات پیشین مبنی بر برهمکنش معماری ایرانی-عثمانی در شکل گیری محتوای معماری مسجد كبود، دادههاي معماري موجود بيانگر احداث مسجد كبود منطبق با تفكرات معماري استادكاراني است که تحت فرمان جهانشاه از آسیای مرکزی به پایتخت جدید حکومت جدید (ترکمانان) كوچانده شده بودند. مطابق با نتايج بهدستآمده و در رابطه با ساختار معماري مسجد كبود ميتوان تداوم سبکی مشابهی را از معماری تیموری به آثار معماری دوره ترکمان مشخص کرد. کلیت معماری طرح مزبور معرف یک کاربری مذهبی با گنبد مرکزی و گنبدخانهای با ابعاد کوچکتر در ضلع جنوبی آن است به نحوی که کاربری های جانبی فضاهای پیرامون گنبد مرکزی را اشغال کرده است. بدین ترتیب، ساختار معماری مسجد کبود در تبریز را باید الهام گرفته از الگوی مشابه موجود در معماری تیموری دانست که با توجه به مقتضیات معماری دوران ترکمان و توسعهٔ مبانی نظری معماری مذهبی جهت تأمین فضای کافی به منظور اسکان زائرین و مقاصد آموزشی ایجاد شده است.

واژههای کلیدی: مجموعه مظفریه، مسجد کبود، معماری تیموری، دوره ترکمان، شمالغرب ایران.

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