THE WOODEN HYPOSTYLE MOSQUES OF ANATOLIA
MOSQUE- AND STATE-BUILDING UNDER MONGOL SUZERAINTY

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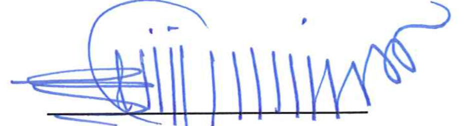

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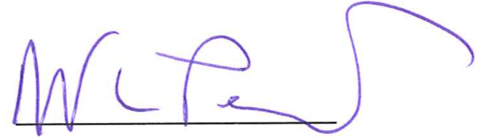

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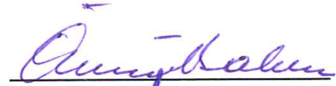
Prof. Dr. Ömür Bakırer (METU) 

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ABSTRACT

THE WOODEN HYPOSTYLE MOSQUES OF ANATOLIA
MOSQUE- AND STATE-BUILDING UNDER MONGOL SUZERAINTY

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This dissertation examines five wooden hypostyle mosques built in Anatolia during the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century: the Sahip Ata Cami in Konya (656/1258); the Ulu Camis of Afyon (671/1272) and Sivrihisar (673/1274-75); the Ahi Şerefettin Cami in Ankara (689/1289-90); and the Eşrefoğlu Cami in Beyşehir (696-698/1296-99). It aims primarily to explain how the condition of suzerainty prevailing after the Mongol Conquest in 641/1243 lead to the introduction of a new, wooden type of construction and caused it to proliferate. The dissertation employs a cultural-mode-of-production analysis to understand the circumstances of the type's introduction, with special emphasis on the place of wood in Islamic sacred building, the crisis of Islam after the Conquest, the cultural parameters of Seljuk patronage and the character of Mongol suzerainty.

Keywords: Wooden Architecture, Mosques, Anatolia, Seljuk, Mongol

ÖZ

ANADOLU'NUN AHŞAP SÜTUNLU CAMİLERİ
MOĞOL EGEMENLİĞİ ALTINDA CAMİ VE DEVLET İNŞASI

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Bu tezde yedinci/onüçüncü yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Anadolu'da inşa edilmiş beş ahşap sütunlu camii incelenmektedir. Bunlar Konya Sahip Ata Cami (656/1258); Afyon Ulu Cami (671/1272); Sivrihisar Ulu Cami (673/1274-75); Ankara Ahi Şerefettin Cami (689/1289-90) ve Beyşehir Eşrefoğlu Cami'dir (696-698/1296-99). Bu tez temel olarak 641/1243'teki istiladan sonra geçerli olan Moğol egemenliğinin nasıl yeni bir ahşap yapı tipinin ortaya çıkmasına ve yaygınlaşmasına sebep olduğunu açıklar. Bu çalışma, ahşabın cami yapımındaki yerine, istiladan sonra İslam'daki krize, Selçuk hamiliğinin kültürel parametrelerine ve Moğol egemenliğinin karakterine özellikle vurgu yaparak bu tipi ortaya çıkaran koşulları anlamak için kültürel üretim biçimi analizini kullanır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ahşap Mimarı, Camiler, Anadolu, Selçuklular, Moğollar

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Bibliographic research was conducted primarily at the Türk Tarihi Kürümü in Ankara, the staff of which was consistently helpful and patient. The Vakiflar Genel Mürdürlüğü gave permission to measure and photograph the buildings discussed in this thesis, and access to their files. In addition, I want to thank the Imams, Muezzins and friendly congregations of all the mosques I visited and studied in the course of my work. Their hospitality, aid and good will are much appreciated.

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A Note on Drawings

Most documentation of the wooden mosques is held in the form of digital scans in the archives of the Vakiflar Genel Mürdürluğü in Ankara. This documentation is plentiful but uneven, and it is not always fully accurate. At times, it is not clear if drawings were intended strictly as documentation, as restoration proposals, or for reconstruction purposes; sometimes the different modes are mixed in one set. It was not possible to locate accurate drawings of the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami, and gross inaccuracies exist in all of the published plan sketches. Likewise, good quality drawings still have not been made of the wooden mosques in Çarşamba, and they are urgently needed. For the purposes of this dissertation, the author thus chose to measure the plans of the four main wooden mosques. All references to dimensions and floor areas of these buildings in the dissertation derive from site measurements. All photographs are by the author, unless stated otherwise.

CHAPTER 1

Söz gider yazı kalır
Ağaç gider taş kalır
İsim gider nam kalır
Yiğit gider şan kalır

traditional turkish poem

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation examines five wooden hypostyle mosques built in Anatolia during the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century: the Sahip Ata Cami in Konya (656/1258); the Ulu Camis of Afyon (671/1272) and Sivrihisar (673/1274-75); the Ahi Şerefettin Cami in Ankara (689/1289-90); the Eşrefoğlu Cami in Beyşehir (696-698/1296-99). It aims primarily to explain how the condition of suzerainty prevailing after the Mongol's victory over the Seljuks in 641/1243 lead to the introduction of a new, wooden type of construction and caused it to proliferate. It thus argues for acknowledging a Mongol role in the development of architecture in Anatolia.

Mongol forces reached the eastern edge of the Seljuk Empire even as it was enjoying its apogee in the reign of Alaeddin Key Kubad (1220-1237). They had been drawn westward as far as the area around Lake Van in pursuit of the Harazemşah, Cellaladin Mingbarni, who had fled across Iran after the complete destruction of his Central Asian Empire by Chinggis Khan, beginning in 617/1220.[1] The Mongol General Chromaghun, already in control of the crucial site of Ahlat, pillaged the country around Sivas in 630/1232,[2] but the city was spared from destruction when his attentions were directed to subduing the Georgians, who were then the major power in the Transcaucaus (and strategic allies of the Seljuks).[3] Keykubad himself

[1] The defeat and flight of the Harazemşah is recounted by Vasily Vladimirovich Bartold in *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion.* Third Edition. London: Messrs. Luzac &Co. Ltd., 1968.

[2] Charles Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols" In *Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 1* Kate Fleet, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 53.

[3] A.C.S. Peacock, "Georgia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th Centuries" *Anatolian Studies* 56 (2006) 127-146.

actually acquiesced to Mongol demands for submission, but died before the arrangements could be put in place. His successor, Giyaseddin Keyhūshrev II (1237-46) prepared to make the same submission, but faced the Turkomen uprising known as the Baba Rasul revolt before going down to a resounding defeat at the hands of the Mongol General Baiju at the Battle of Köse Dağ on 6 Muhharam 641/26 June 1243. Timely negotiations by the vizier Mūhezzibeddin forestalled total obliteration, but the Seljuk dynasty continued only on the condition of Mongol suzerainty. The Mongols exacted immense sums in tribute and expected Seljuk military support in campaigns against the Mamluks; in exchange, they permitted the Seljuks to maintain control over the state's internal affairs.[4] The arrangement benefited both parties: the Seljuks gained a reprieve on their loss of control and potential annihilation and the Mongols got a ready-made administration for the country. This last point was especially important; the Mongols needed Muslim intermediaries to avoid rousing the resistance that otherwise would have been obligatory on a religious basis.

The defeat at Köse Dağ must have made the project of Islamization in Anatolia seem somewhat precarious, if not simply unfinished.[5] Indeed, while the Seljuks had been prolific builders, they had been quite parsimonious in endowing congregational mosques. The Sultans coordinated the construction of as many as two hundred caravanserais in just a few decades, but Claude Cahen notes that there were only twenty-four towns with congregational mosques in all of Seljuk Anatolia.[6] Moreover, the major mosques in much of what became Seljuk territory came to them by conquest of their rivals, not by their own constructive efforts. Even if this number were to be revised somewhat upward, it probably remains fair to say that at the time of their defeat, the Seljuks had accrued something like a deficit in large mosques. This deficit was particularly evident in mid-size cities where the Seljuks had almost

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[4] See Reuven Amitai-Preiss *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

[5] The phenomenon of despair over a real or perceived decline in a culture or society producing a powerful constructive reaction has been frequently observed in diverse cultural situations. For the most directly comparable case, see Charles J. Halperin *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985. Fritz Saxl's *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963) is perhaps the finest analysis of modern anxiety over cultural senescence and deracination.

[6] Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1968.): 189.

entirely neglected to build congregational mosques, and was acute on the western edge of the Anatolian plateau, a territory long contested with the Byzantines.[7]

The Mongol's victory at Köse Dağ may have debilitated the Seljuk Sultanate, but it had unexpectedly positive consequences for architectural production, at least in the short term. The Mongols spared Anatolia the mass destruction they notoriously inflicted elsewhere, and construction underway continued unabated.[8] In a few cases, Mongol rule can even be credited with triggering a surge in building. There is, for example, the well documented instance of three madrasas being inaugurated in Sivas, all in 669/1271, apparently out of rivalry for control of the city. The construction of congregational mosques also flourished as never before. The Mongols inspired a feeling of cultural crisis among the Muslims of Anatolia, leading them to build mosques as an affirmation of their faith and at the same time, overturned the established system of patronage, thus opening new opportunities to build. This fortunate turn of events contrasts sharply with other places that fell under Mongol domination; Iran's architectural history during the early Mongol period (AD 1220-1280), for example, has been described as 'virtually blank.'[9]

The efflorescence of Anatolian mosque building under Mongol suzerainty was abetted by a number of unique cultural features of the moment. In the half century following their victory over the Seljuks, the Mongols continued to practice a mix of their ancestral Shamanism, Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity. Individual Mongols, including some of the elite, may have converted to Islam of one form or another, or merged it with their other practices, but Islam became established as a state religion only after the conversion of the Ilkhan Ghazan on 1 Sha'ban 694/16 June 1295.[10] Formally, Mongol rule violated Islamic propriety, which rejected any subjugation to infidels. Nevertheless, the Mongols followed a long-standing *lassiez-*

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[7] For the specificity of this border area, see Speros Vryonis Jr., "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor" *DOP* 29 (1975): 42-71.

[8] Howard Crane's tabulation of Seljuk patronage shows no essential discontinuity in building. See "Notes on Saldjūq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* Vol. 36, No. 1 (1993): 1-57.

[9] Michael Rogers, "Recent Work On Seljuk Anatolia," *Kunst des Orients* 6 (1962): 147.

[10] For a detailed account of this long and complex process, see Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Sufis and Shamans: Some Remarks on the Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhante" in *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate.* (Aldershot: Variorum Collected Studies series, 2007): 27-46.

faire policy with regards to their subject's religious practices.[11] In Anatolia they even seem to have respected the inviolability of *wakf* properties.[12] Likewise, though the Mongols still continued as nomads until their conversion[13] and thus remained culturally indifferent to monumental building and even hostile to civilization as such, by demoting the Seljuk Sultans from their role as builders - or more accurately, as regulators of building - the Mongols inadvertently liberated the construction of congregational mosques, a type previously held as a Sultanic prerogative.[14]

Fakhr ad-Din Ali, an important Seljuk emissary to the Mongols, was the first to take this bold step, and with it, he introduced the wooden hypostyle mosque to Anatolia. The construction of a large and prominent new mosque in the Seljuk capital demonstrated that it would be the Mongol's policy to permit not only the free exercise of religion but also the establishment of new mosques. Wooden mosques were subsequently built in Afyon by Fakhr ad-Din Ali's son and in Sivrihisar by his successor in the post of *na'ib*, the Amir Mik'ail. The opportunity to build a mosque was quickly recognized by the Ahis of Ankara, members of a class of Seljuk society that been previously excluded from monumental symbolic representation. Following Fakhr ad-Din 'Ali's example, they also built in wood. Soon, a number of amirs, finding the restrictions on their undertakings lifted, and already accustomed to building on Seljuk orders, turned to building in their own name, for their own purposes and to their own benefit.[15] The most precocious one, Süleyman Eşrefoğlu of Beyşehir, built a wooden mosque closely modeled on Fakhr ad-Din 'Ali's inaugural mosque in Konya.

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[11] The notion of Mongol tolerance is old, well-established, and generally accepted. See Peter Jackson, `The Mongols and the Faith of the Conquered,' in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the sedentary world*, R. Amitai and M. Biran (eds.), (Leiden, E.J. Brill: 2005): 245-290

[12] Michael Rogers, "Recent Work," 145.

[13] For an account of the Mongol's relationship to fixed property, see Reuven Amitai-Priess, "Turko-Mongolian Nomads and the Iqta system in the Islamic Middle East (ca. 1000-1400 AD)" in *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate.* (Aldershot: Variorum Collected Studies series, 2007.) Article II: 154-170.

[14] Attitudes around mosque and state relations varied over time and by place within Islam, but sovereignty and control of mosque building were generally understood to be linked. See Th. Houstma's entry 'Architecture' in Brill's First Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. 1: 422; also the same author's entry 'Masdjid,' especially regarding the link between thrones, mimbers, and the khutba.

[15] On the Seljuk Sultan's delegation of building duties to the amirs, see Howard Crane, "Notes on Saldjūq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* Vol. 36, No. 1 (1993): 9-11.

All these disparate social groups and forces found the wooden mosque accommodated their needs and suited their symbolic aspirations. This new type of structure thus came to represent the diverse impulses and initiatives of a great empire as it slowly became debilitated by the lethal combination of Mongol exactions, internal dissention, and nearly constant warfare. The wooden mosque functioned as a common denominator, connected across social divisions in a time of strife and rapidly changing cultural parameters. A study of the emergence and development of the type thus provides a remarkably coherent cross-section of Anatolian architecture at a crucial moment in the formation of Turkey.[16]

One of this dissertation's premises is that the five mosques studied form a distinct group (Fig. 03). More precisely, it will be argued that they constituted a movement, which is to say that their production followed similar and even linked intentions, and to imply that their ultimately determining condition is political. It may seem no great task to defend the unity of so few mosques, built in a radius of less than two hundred kilometres over a period of only forty years, and furthermore, in a distinctive material and technique (Figs. 1 and 2). Nevertheless, the absence of any explicit statements of intention about the buildings places considerable demands on interpretation. The buildings themselves are the primary evidence of symbolic and political intentions, and inferences will thus be drawn directly from their urban situations, prominent features, built fabric and attributes. The building's inscriptions naturally offer vital facts, and fortunately they have been collected and translated.[26] The evidence provided by historiography, hagiography and travelogues will be integrated where it is available in translation or through secondary sources. Throughout, Claude Cahen's *The Formation of Turkey* is taken as a general guide to the cultural history of the thirteenth century.

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[16] Of course, the modern Republic of Turkey was established in the early twentieth century, but the social/political entity of the Turks in Anatolia was identified by Western observers in the thirteenth century, notably by Marco Polo. The allusion here is to Claude Cahen's book *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, which was re-issued in 2001 as *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century.* Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd, 2001.

[26] For Arabic inscriptions I have worked from the French translations in the RCEA, and in some cases from Turkish translations. I have also used existing English translations when available.

The task of reading the extant buildings, not an easy one at the best of times, is complicated by the fact that all of them have been significantly and frequently altered over time, sometimes beginning at an early date. The dissertation will proceed by a close reading of the structures, but a broadly cultural approach rather than a formalist or forensic one guides it. Much could be learned from a part-by-part analysis of the buildings that would use digital mapping, impose identification codes, subject the timbers to systemic dendrochronological study, undertake chemical analysis of paint samples, etc. To be conducted properly, that project requires archeometric expertise and a team of workers, and it awaits others better qualified for such work. The present study does not seek to authenticate the historical fabric of the buildings except insofar as comment is unavoidable, nor does it make recommendations for conservation, etc.

The thesis will proceed largely on a contextual basis, by comparing the buildings, tracing prior construction in the buildings' localities and by recognizing the terms of patronage and building conventions of Seljuk Anatolia prior to and after the Conquest. The dissertation seeks to define the place of the wooden hypostyle mosque in the symbolic system of building at a moment of crisis in the Islamization of Anatolia.[28] Mongol domination went through several distinct phases, notably changing after the Mamluk incursion into Anatolia in *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 675/April 1277 and then again with Ghazan's conversion. This latter event removed the formal and ideological necessity of resistance to the Mongols. It is on the basis of this political distinction that the general term 'Mongol' is being used here to identify the first half-century of the suzerainty over the Seljuks of Rüm. The term Ilkhanid came into use some time after 656/1258, subsequent to Hugelu's realization of his task of subjecting the Caliph, and with his establishment of a new *ordu* (court/capital) in Azerbaijan.[29] The Mongols did not, however, immediately become settled or begin to build. Architectural historians thus generally understand Ilkhanid architecture as beginning with the Mongol's conversion to Islam, at which time they assumed its

[28] There is no single entirely appropriate term to describe the arrival and settlement of the Turks in Anatolia. The use of colonization here is intended in the scientific sense.

[29] Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Evidence for the Early Use of the Title 'Ilkhān' among the Mongols," in *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate.* (Aldershot: Variorum Collected Studies series, 2007): 353-361.

typical building programme.[30] This dissertation is specifically concerned with the time before the Mongols' conversion, and discusses buildings that were patently not made by the Mongols themselves. It is on this political basis that the dissertation distinguishes the first five wooden hypostyle mosques from the many similar and generally smaller ones that followed in the eighth/fourteenth century, when the cultural emergency caused by infidel rule had passed.

The Topic to Date

Katharina Otto-Dorn was the first historian to present the wooden-columned mosque as a unified topic.[31] Writing in 1959, Otto-Dorn discussed the Afyon Ulu Cami, the Ahi Şerafettin and Ahi Elvan mosques in Ankara and the Eşrefoğlu Cami in Beyşehir. She also mentioned the later Hacı Ivas, Molla Büyük and Örtmeli mescids, all in Ankara; the Ulu Cami of Ayaş; and the Mahmut Bey Cami in Kasaba Köy, near Kastamonu. At the time of publication she was apparently unaware that the Ulu Cami of Sivrihisar was built of wood; this omission was corrected in an article that appeared in 1965.[32] Neither article mentions the Sahip Ata Cami, so it appears that Otto-Dorn did not know that the ruined mosque was built of wood and predated the others. In addition to providing descriptions and translating inscriptions, Otto-Dorn proposed a source for the wooden column type in the tents of old Turkish nomadic culture.[33] This idea has become an established but unsubstantiated trope in critical and historical literature about the wooden mosques.[34]

Several Turkish historians have shown passing or sustained interest in the wooden hypostyle mosques. In 1968, Yılmaz Önge wrote a brief article on wooden

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[30] See, for example, Donald Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Ilkhānid Period*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955)

[31] Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen in Klienasien," in *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst: Festscrift für Ernst Kühnel.* (Berlin: Verlag Gebruder Mann, 1959), 58-88.

[32] Otto-Dorn, Katharina, "Die Ulu Dschami in Sivrihisar" *Anatolia IX*, (1965): 161-170.

[33] Otto-Dorn, "Holzsäulenmoscheen," 85-88.

[34] It is repeated, for example, by Aptullah Kuran in "Anadolu'da Ahşap Sütunlu Selçuklu Mimarisi." *Malazgirt Armağanı.* (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 1972), 181-182; by Gönül Öney in *Ankara Arslanhane Camii*. (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990), 14; and by Yaşar Erdemir in "Konya- Beyşehir Bayındır Köyü Camii." *Vakıflar Dergisi* Vol. XIX (1986): 193.

muqarnas column capitals.[35] He proposed that there could be two types of manufacture, namely carving *en masse*, and assembly from smaller units; in fact, the former type is unknown in Anatolia and remains only a theoretical possibility. At the beginning of the seventies, Oktay Aslanapa published the first, and to date only, general account of the mosques in English. "Seljuk Mesjids and Wooden Mosques in Anatolia" formed a short section of his comprehensive survey *Turkish Art and Architecture*.[36] There, Aslanapa referenced Central Asian prototypes such as the Ghaznevid 'Arus ül Feluk Cami and the Khiva Ulu Cami and first noted that the Sahip Ata Cami was originally built of wood.[37] The historian returned to the topic in his *Ilk Türk Mimari* where he reasserted the Central Asian origins of the type.[38]

Aslanapa's account seems to have spurred a broader interest in wooden construction. In 1972, Aptullah Kuran published an article titled "Anadolu'da Ahşap Sütunlu Selçuklu Mimarisi." This article reviewed the material to date and added a first notice of the Tuğrul Şah Cami in Ispir. Yılmaz Önge followed his earlier notice with another specialized article, "Selçukluda ve Beyliklerde Ahşap Tavanlar," in which he proposed a valuable typology of medieval Anatolian wooden roof construction.[39] In 1979, Orhan Cezmi Tuncer responded with a similarly themed article, "Selçuklularda Ahşap Örtü."[40] This article linked the wooden hypostyle mosques to Byzantine precedents rather than Central Asian ones, but its real value is that it lists almost one hundred wooden mosques and mesjids, mostly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Unfortunately, the material is not tabulated, which shows the need for a comprehensive survey and catalogue of pre-Ottoman wooden mescids. In 1982 Halük Karamağarali published a reconstruction of the Sahip Ata Cami based on archaeological soundings carried out almost a decade earlier. He did

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[35] Yılmaz Önge, "Ahşap Stalaktitli Sütun Başlıkları." *Önasya Dergisi* vol. 37 (1968): 8-9; 22.

[36] Oktay Aslanapa, "Seljuk Masjids and Wooden Mosques in Anatolia." in *Turkish Art and Architecture*. (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1971): 119-123.

[37] Aslanapa, op. cit., 123.

[38] Oktay Aslanapa, *Anadolu'da İlk Türk Mimarisi.* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını, 1991), 63-69

[39] Yılmaz Önge, "Selçukluda ve Beyliklerde Ahşap Tavanlar." *AtatürkKonferansları V 1971-1972*. (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 1975), 179-195.

[40] Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, "Selçuklularda Ahşap Örtü." *Ulusal Kültür*, Sayı: 6 (1979): 152-162.

not, however, comment on the Sahip Ata mosque's relationship to the other wooden mosques except to note its similarity to the Eşrefoğlu Cami in Beyşehir.

A flurry of articles published beginning in the nineteen-eighties presented numerous smaller wooden mosques, either individually or in regional surveys. Most of these mosques date from the eighth/fourteenth century or later, but as late as 1986, Günhan H.H. Danışman discovered a wooden mosque in Çarşamba, the Gökceli Cami, that proved to date from the very beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century.[41] A second mosque of the same provenance, the Şey Habil Cami, was discovered soon afterward on the outskirts of the same city.[42] Since the millennium there have been two monographic studies on the wooden mosques of the Black Sea region.[43] These works are surveys, and the other examples of wooden mosques they catalogue were built in the nineth/fifeteenth century, and many are from the nineteenth century AD.

The Eşrefoğlu mosque is the only wooden mosque to have been the subject of a monograph.[44] Admirably comprehensive, the book was written by Yaşar Erdemir, a professor of architectural history at Seljuk University who has also published on later wooden mesjids, with particular reference to their painted ornament.[45] Unfortunately, but not unexpectedly (given the monographic approach), the book provides little or no comparison of the Eşrefoğlu Cami with other wooden mosques, except for the one in nearby Bayındır Köyü. Gönül Öney is an art historian who has written numerous articles about carved wood artefacts and technique, on the tree of life motif, and on the mesjids of Ankara. She published a pamphlet on the Ahi Şerefeddin Cami in the

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[41] Danışman, H.H. Günhan, "Samsun Yöresi Ahşap Mimarisinin Gelenekselliği – Bafra, İkiztepe Arkeolojik Verilerinin Işığında Çarşamba, Gökçeli Camiinin İncelensemi." *IX Türk Tarih Kongres*, (1986): 135-144.

[42] Ian Peter Kuniholm took samples of the Şey Habil Cami in 1995 and published results in "Dendochronologically Dated Ottoman Monuments" U. Baram and L. Carroll, eds., *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground*. (New York, Plenum Press, 2000): 93-136.

[43] Yılmaz Can, *Samsun Yöresinde Bulunan Ahşap Camiler.* (İstanbul: Etüt Yayınları, 2004) and Naza-Dönmez, E. Emine, *Wooden Mosques of the Samsun Region, Turkey from the Past to the Present, in light of Surveys carried out in the years 2001-2003.* BAR International Series No. 1820. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008).

[44] Yaşar Erdemir, *Beyşehir Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii ve Külliyesi.* (Beyşehir: Beyşehir Vakfi Yayinlari, 1999.)

[45] Yaşar Erdemir, "Konya- Beyşehir Bayındır Köyü Camii." *Vakıflar Dergisi* V. XIX (1986): 193-206.

popular *Tanıtma Eserleri* series in 1998.[46] İbrahim Demirkol has published a similar short independent work on the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami.[47] These works present documentation of the mosques and provide translations of inscriptions, but they do not generally attempt to place the mosques in their broader historical context.

While wooden mosques have been catalogued as a type and individual mosques have been studied in depth, little work has been done on the buildings as a group. Historians have been reluctant to compare the mosques or to propose a general framework for their historical production. Nevertheless, knowledge of pre-Ottoman architecture has greatly advanced since the time of Otto-Dorn's work and architectural historian's interests have changed as well. This dissertation approaches the wooden hypostyle mosques with a different set of questions than those asked to date. Its interest does not linger on the description and documentation of individual masterpieces, but instead examines the structure and dynamics of mosque building in Anatolia, as uniquely revealed and transformed by Mongol suzerainty. This approach is in general agreement with Fredric Jameson's statement that,

> In postmodernity, our objects of study consist less in individual texts than in the structure and dynamics of a specific cultural mode as such, beginning with whatever new system (or nonsystem) of artistic and cultural production replaced the older one. It is now the cultural production process (and its relation to our peculiar social formation) that is the object of study and no longer the individual masterpiece. This shifts our methodological practice (or rather the most interesting theoretical problems we have to raise) from individual textual analysis to what I will call mode-of-production analysis, a formula I prefer to those that continue to use the word *culture* in something of an anthropological sense.[48]

This thesis could thus be described as a mode-of-production analysis that seeks to explain the valences of wooden mosque construction in Islamic culture and under Mongol suzerainty in Anatolia. It approaches space-making with the broadest possible interpretive terms – including the awareness that it is produced not only within a political economy, but also a culture, which is necessarily structured by

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[46] Gönül Öney, *Ankara Arslanhane Camii*. (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990.)

[47] İbrahim Demirkol, *Sivrihisar Ulu Camii. (*Sivrihisar: no publisher noted, 1995.)

[48] Frederick Jameson, "Symptoms of Theory, or Symptoms for Theory?" *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 30 No. 2 (Winter 2004): 403-408.

doctrines and conventions. This critical/historical approach could be labelled, with apologies to Jameson, a *cultural*-mode-of-production analysis. It acknowledges, for example, architecture's central role in community and state formation, an emerging discourse that has yet to really make its mark.[49]

The dissertation thus takes a critical position with respect to classical typology and style analysis. While acknowledging that the wooden mosques can be closely grouped according to many taxonomic parameters –plan, function, building material, decorative and signifying details (See Fig. 04) – it is the phenomenon of the emergence of a new mosque type that is primarily examined here. Of greater interest than the formal details of the mosques, which are highly consistent, is the fact that each building is the product of a unique conjuncture, but that each conjuncture shares features with the others and is in fact historically linked to the others. Given this etiological and discursive predilection, it may not be surprising that the study also distances itself from the tectonic approach it would likewise seem to naturally endorse. In terms of structural form, the buildings are not only highly conventional, they are also rather banal. The dissertation is occupied instead with identifying the discursive terms of the cultural and architectural 'movement' it hypothesizes.[50]

The thesis seeks to re-examine the place of the Mongol invasion in the historiography of medieval Anatolian architecture. Very few studies have ever precisely problematized Mongol suzerainty, and none have as yet been entirely satisfactory. [51] Ülkü Ü. Bates, for example, wrote an article in 1978 with the

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[49] Historians of Modernism have been more inclined to this type of analysis. See, for example, Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.) Greg Hise has concisely exposited this direction in contemporary architectural historiography in his polemical article, "Architecture as State Building: A Challenge to the Field" *JSAH* Vol. 67 No. 2 (Jun 2008): 173- 177.

[50] The term movement is used here in mindfulness of Hannah Ahrendt's characterization of it in *The Origins of Totalitarianism,* but a more appropriate comparison may be with the various 'movements' in nineteenth century architecture. For a study of one such movement see Mark Crinson's discussion of the Crimean Memorial Church in Istanbul in *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture.* (London: Routledge, 1996): 124-166. Of course, medieval Islamic architecture offers nothing comparable to the rich polemical and discursive material Crinson examines.

[51] Even the terms used to describe the event are contended; Invasion seems to be the preferred term, but where it seems suitable, I have also used the term 'Conquest' to refer specifically to the victory at Köse Dağ and its immediate consequences. Throughout, I employ the term suzerainty to give a general name to the cultural period.

sweeping title, “The Impact of the Mongol Invasion on Turkish Architecture.”[52] While the article offers a perceptive synopsis of the event’s cultural parameters, the architectural focus is disappointingly narrow, for it is exclusively concerned with monumental tombs. On the other hand, the author appropriated a span of time –the period from AD 1250 to AD 1450 is noted at least three times – that is far too long to be treated coherently in a short article. In fact, the purview is so great as to include the second brief Mongol Invasion of Anatolia under Tamerlane at the beginning of the nineth/fifteenth century. Bates’s decision to extend the scope of her study to the eve of the Conquest of Constantinople betrays the influence of a teleological vision of the Ottomans. This extension distorts her stated topic, for surely most historians would agree that the distinctive features of the early Ottoman tombs owed little or nothing to the Mongols, and had more to do with assimilating Byzantine models.

Orhan Cezmi Tuncer is the architectural historian who has made the most concerted effort to theorize the Mongol period in Anatolia. His major study, *Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisi ve Moğollar*, identifies thirteen of the most important monuments built between 654/1256 and 784/1382, and subjects them to a close comparative analysis. While the work is methodologically rigorous – the drawings are especially fine and useful- the conclusions it draws are mostly limited to formal features, centering on the development of the stone portal feature and the elaboration of the basement story of buildings. Tuncer’s work is flawed by the assumption that the impact of the Mongols can be detected in those features of the buildings that are conventionally understood as stylistic. The Mongol period presents difficulties that are instead primarily political and conceptual. The Mongols confront architectural history with its nemesis – a vast and immensely powerful empire of nomads that had no permanent, monumental architecture of its own.[53] Despite sporadic early forays into building (mostly Christian edifices in Tabriz, all of which are now lost) the Ilkhanids did not assume the tropes and forms of Islamic architecture until the conversion of Ghazan, by which time their dominance of Anatolia was beginning to

[52] Ülkü Ü. Bates, “The Impact of the Mongol Invasion on Turkish Architecture.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Jan. 1978): 23-32

[53] When- and wherever the Mongols began to build, it was invariably in the idiom of the civilized people they had conquered, logically so, since they conscripted local designers and builders for the work. For a thorough discussion of this phenomenon, see Nancy Schatzman Steinhardt, “Imperial Architecture along the Road to Mongolian Dadu” *Ars Orientalis* Vol. 18 (1988): 59-93.

wane. As Michael Rogers puts it, "Anatolia, in spite of the fact that it remained a vassal state for so long, bears scarcely any trace of (the Mongol's) stay there."[54] It is impossible to attribute a direct stylistic influence to the Mongols. It many be legitimate to speak generally of the architecture of the Mongol period in Anatolia, but it is impossible to speak of Mongol architecture as such. It would be more accurate to speak instead of "Mongol Effect."[55] This would comprise the Mongol's outright destruction of cities in Central Asia, for example, but also the more subtle, pervasive and occasionally liberating actions, for example, of prohibiting certain forms of expenditure (halting all defensive building), of restructuring patronage, displacing craftsmen and thus causing an influx of new design methods, forms and artistic motifs, etc. For their part, the Mongols viewed the changes they wrought as mere epiphenomena of their mandate for world domination.[56] Since it is precisely intentionality that the Mongols problematized, the historian must rely on various secondary or inferential methods to discern these changes. In the last analysis, the Mongol Effect reveals more about the internal constitution of the culture affected – its preconceptions, internal tensions, contradictions, and capacity to adapt - than it does about Mongol intentions as such.

Micheal Rogers precisely articulated the historiographic problem of the Mongols in his 1962 article, "Recent Work on Seljuk Anatolia." In the context of a long discussion of Claude Cahen's *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, which takes the defeat at Köse Dağ as the central event in the formation of Turkey, he says,[57]

These two things (i.e., style and patronage) are subject to change in entirely different ways. A building programme is dependant upon a tax structure and a system of land-tenure, as well as upon the existence of a patron class, and any radical change in these would have wrought immediate havoc upon the established Seljuk tradition; so that in this respect, the history of art is very much at the mercy of political change.

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[54] Rogers, "Recent Work," 136.

[55] This term is chosen in deliberate contrast to the term 'impact' that is commonly used to describe the consequences of Mongol rule. Impact is vivid, but sounds too intentional; 'effect' refuses both drama and moral judgment. For a comprehensive study of these matters in another context, see again Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*. For a persuasive general critique of the influence paradigm, see Michael Baxendall's "Excursus Against Influence" in *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 58-62.

[56] Thomas T. Allsen*, Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Mongke 1251-1259.* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987.)

[57] Rogers,"Recent Work," 147.

As for the history of style, political factors are much less relevant, or at least only to the extent that they may by invasion or wholesale massacre, bring into existence craftsmen or patrons with entirely different tastes; which, again, is very far from having been the case in Anatolia.

It is useful to have the dichotomy of stylistic and political change stated so clearly, for it provides a ground on which it is possible to see that the wooden mosque bridges the two forms of change. The new type is a rare instance of a major new building technique whose introduction can be shown to be a direct reaction to the Mongol Invasion and the new condition of suzerainty. The wooden mosques are not Mongol buildings as such, but their emergence can be understood as a clear sign of the change of fortune in the Seljuk state, and in particular the Sultan's loss of authority to commission, control, delegate and restrict the production of buildings.

This line of inquiry concerns cultural forces that have to be inferred and interpreted. Ethel Sara Wolper is probably the historian who has gone farthest in documenting the nuances and subtle shifts of power in Anatolia at the time of Mongol domination. Her 2003 book *Cities and saints: Sufisim and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia* is not presented as being explicitly concerned with Mongol suzerainty, but it is particularly rich in observation of the micro-political interaction of different faith communities in precisely that context.[58] Wolper describes a syncretic tendency that is often noted as a feature of Turkish medieval history, but which has never before been demonstrated in such concrete architectural and urbanistic terms.[59] Her speculative use of political topography is not always convincing, but it advances the interpretation of Anatolian building and especially urban space design to new levels.

The cultural-mode-of production approach taken in this thesis is guided in part by contemporary studies of intercultural relations, which have been honed in turn by the post-colonial debate. Thomas Allsen, Michal Biran, Nancy Schatzman Steinhardt, Beatrice Forbes Manz and Charles Halperin have all made important contributions to knowledge of Central Asian history by applying intercultural studies

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[58] Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and saints: Sufisim and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia.* (University Park, PA.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.)

[59] Speros Vryonis Jr.'s *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor* is still the most comprehensive approach to this problem in Anatolia.

to the Mongol phenomenon. The aim of this thesis is obviously to advance medieval Anatolian studies in particular, but it is hoped that it may also contribute in some small way to the very dynamic field of Mongol studies.

It will be clear (painfully clear to some) that the analysis of architecture, power and territory presented herein is essentially political. Even though the thesis strives to demonstrate the material and political terms of the wooden mosque's production, it should be stated that the mosques are not regarded as mere expressions of power. Even the evidence that the buildings functioned as a sort of tax shelter or declaration of political independence does not justify cynical reasoning. The fact that the mosques are sacred spaces is irreducible and must not be forgotten. Likewise, it is important to resist the tendency of political analysis to cause the buildings themselves to fade into insignificance compared to events and documents. That would be a great loss, for the wooden hypostyle mosques of Anatolia not only inspire awe by the mere fact of their preservation, they also have the powerful aura of buildings built under grave and trying conditions and occupied by communities over the course of centuries. Indeed, it is important to acknowledge that these are living buildings, and that they continue to be used at the present in much the same way as they were when first conceived.

1.2 The Place of Wood in Islamic Architecture

The five early wooden hypostyle mosques in Anatolia testify to an important episode in the history of Turkish architecture, but they also constitute the largest surviving group of medieval wooden mosques, and are thus significant to the history of Islamic architecture as a whole. The rarity of mosques built with wooden columns requires some historical and cultural explanation. This absence is so conspicuous as to suggest that it is based on something more than the mere scarcity of wood or the perennial bias toward masonry in Eastern Mediterranean architecture. Of course it could be that wooden columned mosques were plentiful and widespread at one time and have since succumbed to the hazards of fire and ravages of insect and rot. This does not, however, seem to be the case. On the contrary, the use of wooden columns appears to have been always limited to specific times and places.

The absence of wooden columns from medieval Islamic building is particularly conspicuous because logs are perfectly adapted to building the type of hypostyle mosque that dominated Islam's first few centuries. Many species of trees, especially conifers, grow in quite regular shapes and relatively uniform sizes, moreover, where trees grow, it is usually in some quantity, so when wood is available at all, it is often plentiful. Trees are ready-formed to construction, as it were, and can be supplied, transported, and utilized with relatively little effort. Given that many of the large early mosques required dozens or even hundreds of columns, there must have been many instances when timber was a more practical method of building than, for example, gathering suitable spolia in large quantities.[60]

The length and slenderness of wooden columns presents particular spatial advantages when constructing hypostyle halls for mosques. Compared to cumbersome stone piers or columns, wooden columns are less obstructive of the sight lines needed to coordinate communal prayer. Wood columns also facilitate ceiling heights commensurate with the expansive plans of mosques designed to accommodate large numbers of worshippers. They are capable of supporting ceilings without arcades, colonettes, vaults or any of the other ingenious devices that architects have developed to supplement the height of masonry columns. Bearing beams directly on columns produces a more unified interior because the mosque's upper space is not divided into channels of space, as inevitably happens with masonry. Because wooden beams are generally shallow, they make the decision about orientation of the structure less crucial to the mosque's spatial quality as a whole. Likewise, wooden construction does not need the tie beams that are so conspicuously present in masonry buildings.

In addition to compelling practical and spatial advantages, wooden construction also had the sanction of an impeccable precedent. It is well-known that the *zulla,* or portico of the Prophet's mosque in Medina was built of palm-trunks and roofed with palm leaf thatch. This modest shelter is said to have been added to the Prophet's original walled compound in response to worshippers' complaints about

[60] Michael Rogers has outlined the efforts involved in gathering spolia in "The State and the Arts in Ottoman Turkey Part 1: The Stones of Suleymaniye." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 14 No. 1 (Feb., 1982): 71-86. His account is for the Ottoman period, but the difficulties must have been similar at other times, though probably more localized.

the sun's heat during prayer. Further, the *suffrah,* a type of minimal loggia was built to shelter the poorest of Mohamed's followers and it must have had a similar form and mode of construction. These two features are generally accepted as prototypes of the prayer hall adjacent to the *kibla* wall and the *revaks* that extended around courtyards in later mosques.

The Prophet's mosque was constructed provisionally, not just out of circumstances, but deliberately so. This quality was amply demonstrated when the kibla was re-oriented to Mecca in the second year of the Hijra. The palm-trunk columns of the zulla were simply relocated to the south wall as needed, and the suffrah moved to their former place.[61] Several hadith reveal that the Prophet had a general scorn for sumptuous building and extravagance. One hadith specifically addresses the insubstantiality of the Prophet's original construction:

> The columns were of palm-trunks and the roof of palm-fronds. And it was said to him [the Prophet], 'Why do you not roof it [i.e. properly]?" And he said, "It is a booth like the booth of Moses made of twigs and grass; the affair [i.e. the end of the world] will happen sooner than that."[62]

The Prophet here associated his mosque with the temporary *sukkot* constructed annually to commemorate the Jewish exodus, and defended the fragility of its wooden construction in explicitly eschatological terms. The Prophet's statement affirms the perishability of wood and thatch as a deliberate and positive value, one that acknowledges the transience of this life and its trials.

Imitation of the Prophet's practice –the principle of *sunna*- might be expected to have legitimized building in wood, perhaps even to have canonized it in Islamic tradition, but as events transpired, it did not serve even to preserve the mosque he built. There are manifold difficulties in maintaining an unprepossessing wooden building and they were undoubtedly exacerbated by the multiplying faithful. These pressures lead inexorably to a series of substitutions and compromises that quickly undid the modest wooden mosque. Instead of maintaining the Prophet's mosque in its original form, his successors glorified it in a series of substitutions each more

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[61] Keppel A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*: Umayyads A.D. 622-750. Second Edition in two parts. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) 13

[62] Jeremy Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet' and the Concept of the Mosque." in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam.* Jeremy Johns, ed. Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, Vol. IX/2 (1999): 106.

elaborate than the last. The Prophet's uncle, Abu Bakr, faithfully preserved the original material choice when he replaced the palm-trunks in the Prophet's Mosque after they became worm-eaten,[63] but in 17/638, the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb had the Prophet's mosque torn down and rebuilt in a larger form. There are conflicting reports about this alteration. Ibn Rusta says the new columns were made of mud brick, but Samhūdī says the palm-trunks were replaced with timber columns.[64] These columns were presumably more regular and refined than the nondescript palm-trunks, although the roof of palm-thatch and mud remained as before. When the Caliph Uthman Ibn Affan rebuilt the mosque once again, the still-new timbers were replaced by pillars of cut stone and the mosque was given a new roof of imported teakwood.[65] The mosque was enlarged again by al-Walid I and remained intact, with alterations, until its destruction by fire in 656/1256. A passage from Ibn 'Abd ar-Rabbih's 10th century *Al Iqd al-Farid* describes the building's ceiling, "The capitals are gilded and on them are carved and gilded architraves; then on the architraves are the ceilings, also carved and gilded."[66] This description shows that by the last iteration, the roof was not only properly built, but also rather splendid.

The Prophet's mosque is not the only example of wooden columns in the early Islamic period. In 26/647-8, the Caliph Uthman had the prayer space of the Mosque of the Haram enlarged and covered with a wooden roof carried on wooden columns. In 72/692, after Caliph Abdul Malik bin Marwan conquered Mecca from the guardian of the holy site, Ibn Zubayr, he had the outer walls of the mosque raised, the ceiling rebuilt with teak beams, and the column capitals gilded. His son, al-Walid, replaced the wooden columns with marble ones and decorated the mosque's arches with mosaics. The same process that had transformed the Prophet's mosque was applied to the holy place, rendering it monumental, and a conventionally appropriate representation of the growing power of the triumphant new religion.

Early iterations of the Kaaba also had wooden columns. It is reported that when the Kaaba was rebuilt in AD 608 – fourteen years before the Hijra - timbers from a Greek mechant ship wrecked at Shu'aibiya (the port of Mekka before Jidda)

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[63] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 27 note 12.

[64] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 27.

[65] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 40.

[66] Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet,'" 107.

were used in the work.[67] This reconstruction employed a novel form of construction consisting of alternating layers of wood and stone, a technique that Creswell identified as Abyssinian.[68] The wood took the form of short lengths of unsquared logs that ran through the depth of the wall; there was fifteen courses of wood and sixteen of stone.[69] This iteration of the Kaaba had a rectangular plan with a centre aisle formed by a double row of three tall columns on its long axis. Given the use of wood in the outer walls, it is logical that the tall columns were also timber. After this building succumbed to fire in the taking of the Haram, Ibn Zubayr reduced the building's size and placed three teak-wood columns in a single row. Ibn Battuta described these columns as 'exceedingly high.'[70] There is little further evidence about the construction, but it appears to have always had the quality of loftiness that it does now, and that the ceiling has always been flat, so wooden columns naturally suited the construction.

Differing with Creswell's Abyssinian attribution, Barbara Finster identifies the Kaaba as an example of the sort of Hellenistic temple-inspired building that she calls a cubical Yemeni mosque.[71] The mosque at Tamur is a pre-Islamic example and has coffered stone ceilings. The mosque at Shibam is also this type and probably dates at least in part from the time of al-Walid. Despite their ceilings being as high as their plans are long, the cubical Yemeni mosques have stone columns, either extended upward by arcades, or made tall by stacking small antique columns.[72] This latter practice is the other alternative for the pre-revelation re-building of the Kaaba, and given that sources mention that it had alabaster panels for light, and thus likely a stone coffered ceiling, it may have been sounder.

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[67] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 1.

[68] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 3-5.

[69] There is an obvious discrepancy here - timbers from a ship would hardly have been unsquared.

[70] Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, v. 2.* H.A.R. Gibb, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Haklyut Society, 1958-1994.) 195.

[71] Barbara Finster, "Cubical Yemeni Mosques" *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* xxi (1991): 49-68.

[72] The San'ā' Mosque has a variety of rather short stone columns gathered from numerous pre-Islamic sources and supplemented with tall arches; the mosque at Shibam has stone columns 8 meters tall without arcades.

Even though the two holiest places in Islam were provided with wooden columns, they did not become the norm in the construction of new hypostyle mosques built as Islam spread. In an investigation of what he calls the 'concept of the mosque', Jeremy Johns deduced that if any one person can be credited with giving a definitive form to early mosques, it would have been the Caliph 'Umar.[73] 'Umar built the mosque at Kufa around 17/638, and is also credited with building the first Mescid al-Aqsa and the mosques of Basra, Fūstat, Alexandria, Mosul and numerous others, both historically attested and legendary. It must have been in this building campaign that the practice of building with spolia was adopted and wooden columns were written out of the mainstream of Islamic architecture.[74]

Given the utter reticence of early sources on architectural intentions, it is to be expected that the reasons for avoiding wood were not made explicit. A statement by the historian Tabari is as close to an explanation as might be possible. Noting Kufa as the model for 'Umar's building campaign, he says, "In the same manner, other mosques were laid out, except the *Masjid al-Haram*; in those days, they did not try to emulate that out of respect for its holiness."[75] If Tabari is correct about this subtle matter, the decision against wooden structures was taken according to the idea that wood should be reserved for the holiest places. In short, the material may have been identified so strongly with the holiest mesjids that further use threatened to devalue it. In a subtle inversion, the prophet's model is respected by not emulating it. This extrapolation is as close as we are able to get to evidence of a *de facto* prohibition of wooden structures. As might have been anticipated, the decision was motivated by symbolic, not pragmatic, concerns.

The mosque at Kufa became so paradigmatic that later hypostyle mosques are generally known as Kufa- or Kufic-type mosques. It was not, however, the mosque of 'Umar but the enlargement of the mosque in 50/670 by Ziyād ibn Abīhi that became canonical.[76] Descriptions of this mosque are very interesting from the point of view of the exclusion of wood, since all accounts praise the mosque's loftiness.

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[73] Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet,'" 109.

[74] There may have been a few remaining cases of frontier mosques built with palm trunk columns, such as the mosque of Amr (21 h. 641/2) in Fustat. See Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 36-37.

[75] This passage is quoted and discussed by Jeremy Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet,'" 110.

[76] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 46.

Muqaddasī, for example, says, "The mosque…is erected on lofty columns of joined stones, and is beautiful."[77] Yāqūt (622/1225) also remarked on the elegant slender columns and gave the additional information that the ceiling was teak. Creswell noted that the ceiling was thirty cubits high and calculated that the ceiling stood 15.54 metres tall. Creswell also notes that, "One of the builders of Khusrau suggested using columns (*asātīn*) from Jabal Ahwāz which should be hollowed out, drilled and fitted together with lead and dowels of iron."[78] The most complete description of the mosque at Kufa was given by Ibn Jubayr (580/1184). He said, "The aisles are supported on columns like masts (*a'mida sawārī*) composed of blocks of hard stones superimposed piece by piece, bedded on lead and not surmounted by arches (*qisīy*), the same arrangement of which we have spoken apropos the Mosque of the Prophet at Madina; extremely high, they go up to the ceiling of the mosque. It is impossible for the eye to appreciate their height. I have nowhere seen a mosque of which the columns (*a'mida*) are so long or the ceiling so elevated."[79]

The terms in which the Kufa mosque was lauded make it clear that loftiness was considered a very admirable quality in mosque building. So too does the extraordinary effort put into stacking antique columns. Indeed, the builder Ziyād boasted that, "On every one of the columns of the mosque of Kūfa I spent 1800 dihrems."[80] Ibn Jubayr's comparison of the columns to masts makes the analogy with wood all but explicit, and underscores the attempt to reproduce the natural qualities of wooden pillars with stone. Spolia may have symbolized the supercession of the old order by the new revelation, but extraordinary measures were required to make found materials meet the spatial desiderata of the new mosque form. Wood, the optimal option, was repressed.

Although wooden timbers were evidently the natural model of the columns in the mosque at Kufa, from the time of Al-Walid onward, wood was used

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[77] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 36.

[78] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 36. The identification of the builder is the basis for much of the discussion of the relationship between the early mosques and the classical Iranian imperial audience hall known as the *apadana*.

[79] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 36.

[80] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 36.

predominantly in building sumptuous ceilings.[81] Several of the early Yemeni cubical mosques and ones of other plan types like the Great Mosque at San'ā', retain at least part of their original coffered wooden ceilings. J.W. Allen has traced the transmission of wooden ceilings from Greco-Roman models through Byzantine constructions to early Islamic building.[82] In addition to the early Yemeni mosques, Allen cites as examples the ceilings of somewhat later mosques, such as the Great Mosque at Kairouan (244/838) and the Mosque of Ibn Tulun (265/879).

Allen regards these and other examples primarily as evidence of a lost Abbasid ceiling tradition. Although the expansion of mosques in the Umayyad era discouraged the use of wooden supports, there seems to have been something of a revival of wood with the Abbasid revolt and the shift of power from Damascus to Baghdad. Historical descriptions of the Great Mosque of Al-Mansūr (built in 149/766) refer to its wooden columns.[83] Al-Hatib says that, "the columns of wood of the mosque – that is to say, each column – consisted of two pieces bound together with sinews, glue and iron clamps, except five or six columns near the minaret (which were made all of a piece). On each column were round composite capitals, of wood like the shaft."[84] This intriguing description is difficult to visualize since no example of a composite wooden column has survived. Indeed, it is unclear why the timbers had to be spliced when wooden logs are usually available in fair lengths. The effect, however, was probably somewhat similar to the tallest Yemeni mosques, like the one at Shibam. Regardless of these uncertainties, Ibn Rusta confirms the fact that the columns were indeed wooden, and he mentioned that they and the roof were made of teak, the most popular wood for early mosques. Creswell, who reconstructed

[81] There were also early gabled roof with beams and trusses, similar to early Christian basilica roofs, like those of the Great mosque of Damascus and the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, both of which have been lost to fire. Richard Hamilton observed the major refurbishment of the Aqsa mosque and published his detailed account as *The Structural history of the Aqṣā Mosque: A Record of Archeological Gleanings from the Repairs of 1938-1942.* (Jerusalem, Published for the Govt. of Palestine by Oxford University Press, London, 1949.)

[82] J.W. Allen. "The Transmission of Decorated Wooden Ceilings in the Early Islamic World" in *Learning, Language and Invention: Essays presented to Francis Maddision*, editors W.D. Hackmann and A.J Turner. (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994) 1-31.

[83] K.A.C. Creswell, "The Great Mosque of al-Mansūr at Baghdād" *Iraq*, v. 1, no. 1 (1934): 105-111.

[84] Creswell "The Great Mosque," 105.

the mosque's plan, was of the opinion that wooden columns were used once again when the mosque was doubled in size by Harun al-Rashid in 192-3/808-9.[85]

The most surprising thing about Al Mansur's Great Mosque is that it survived the travails of medieval Baghdad, including the Mongol's pillage. References to it appear in travelogues throughout the medieval period and halt only after the city was captured by the Persians in 1033/1623-4.[86] Any account of wooden construction in medieval Islamic architecture must recognize that this canonical wooden mosque remained lodged at the heart of the caliphal capital throughout the period. Its continuous presence and stature could have provided models and some form of legitimation for wooden construction, but the evidence for this is now lost.

The shift of the capital from Umayyad Damascus to Abbasid Baghdad has generally been regarded as heralding the rising importance of Iran, and although the hypostyle hall was the dominant early mosque type in Western Iran, only a few mosques, including those of Siraf, Susa and Isfahan had wooden ceilings. Most others, like the mosques at Damgan, Fahraj and Nayin, were built entirely in mud brick with vaults. With the development of the four-eyvan plan in the fifth/eleventh century, Iranian mosques eliminated virtually all wood.[87] The sole exception is a mescid in the village of Abyaneh, near Kashan. This small building has a wooden ceiling and two octagonal columns aligned with the mihrap. The columns have wooden capitals consisting of pairs of intersecting abaci forming small projecting brackets. The mosque's wooden mimber is dated 466/1073 and Ettinghausen says that the building's construction is probably contemporary.[88] The construction technique and form of the columns probably derives from traditional residential architecture. Intriguing though this example is, the mesjid's small size and remote location make it an anomaly, not an indicator of a lost tradition of monumental wooden mosque building.

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[85] Creswell "The Great Mosque," 106 note 3.

[86] Creswell "The Great Mosque," 111.

[87] Even wooden furnishings are rare. Myron Bement Smith's article "The Wood Mimbar in the Masjid-i Djami' Nāīn" *Ars Islamica* vol. 5 no. 1 (1938): 21-32 presents a survey of early wooden artefacts from Iran; the list is rather short and the mimber of its title, dated 711 H, is the earliest item described. He was apparently unaware of the wooden artefacts of the Abyaneh Cami.

[88] Richard Ettinghausen, "The 'Bevelled Style' in the post-Samarra Period," in *Archaeologica oreintalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. G.C. Miles. (Locust Valley, NY: 1952), 78.

Central Asia, in particular Kwarazemia, is the one area of the Islamic world where mosques continued to be built in wood from the very beginning of Islamization. Maqdisi, writing in 375/985 with additions in 385/997, said that the mosque at Kath, the Afsharid capital in Northern Khwarazem, had columns of black stone as tall as a man surmounted by wooden posts supporting roof beams.[89] The wooden columns in the Friday mosque of Khiva are probably the oldest that remain in situ anywhere. The building, which was expanded to its present form in 1203/1788-89, is a fifty-five by forty-six meter hypostyle hall consisting of a three by three meter grid with two hundred and twelve ornately carved wooden columns of various dates. The building incorporates twenty-four columns that tradition claims were brought from Kath when it was abandoned due to draught. Some of these columns may thus be the ones described by Maqdisi and the loss of the tall stone bases might actually account for the mosque's unusually low ceiling. Four of the columns have donor's inscriptions carved in Kufic lettering marking them off as a set. Sheila Blair has translated the inscriptions and on the basis of epigraphic details dates them circa 400/1010.[90]

Historical records reveal that Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni built a famous mosque with wooden columns known as the Arus ül-Felek (Bride of Heaven) in his capital city in present day Afghanistan.[91] The building was probably destroyed in the sack of Ghazni by the Ghurid *malik* 'Ala' al-Din Husayn in 545/1155. No trace of Mahmud's mosque remains, but archaeologists have discovered a ruined hypostyle mosque in the Swat valley of Northern Pakistan that must have had wooden columns. [92] An inscription stone gives the date of 440/1048-49, making it the oldest mosque in Pakistan. The plan was twenty-eight by twenty-one meters and the roof was supported on forty columns. While Mahmud controlled much of Central Asia and thus had access to the wooden mosques in Kwarazemia as a prototype, it should

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[89] Sheila Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiania.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.) 77.

[90] Blair, *Monumental Inscriptions,* 76-77. The columns are also described by Belinitsky and Voronina in "Nadpisi na Derevyannykh Kolonnakh khivinskoy so brondy mecheti" *Epigrafika Vostoka* 14 (1961): 3-8.

[91] Oktay Aslanapa, "Seljuk Masjids and Wooden Mosques," 120.

[92] Ahmad Hasan Dani. *Islamic Architecture: The Wooden Style of Northern Pakistan.* (Islambad: National Hijra Council, 1989.): 65-66.

also be noted that he is infamous for destroying the Hindu Temple of Somnath, which had fifty-six teak-wood columns. It is reported that Mahmud confiscated the temple's wooden doors, and he may well have assimilated other aspects of the temple to the new mosque in the manner of trophies.[93] In any case, there were undoubtedly other pre-Islamic wooden traditions in the Indus valley, in Kashmir and on the Indian sub-continent, and they continued to influence the architecture of Northern Pakistan. [94]

In addition to the few extant remains and literary records, Soviet archaeological expeditions uncovered remnants of a few wooden hypostyle buildings in Central Asia that were destroyed by fire. One example is the wooden mausoleum of a Karahanid noble in the citadel of Afrosiab, the citadel of ancient Samerkand. Partial excavation of this building by V.A. Vyatkin in 1925-1930 revealed a patterned mud brick perimeter wall and a grid of column bases 2.4 meters on centre north-south and 3.8 meters east-west. [95] There were fragments of a burnt wooden ceiling and an inscription identifying the building as the tomb of Ibrahim ibn Husein. The tomb dates from 580-595/1186-1199 and must have been destroyed in the Mongol attack on the city in 617/1220. Such important cities as Urgench, Bukhara, Pendjikent and Termez probably also had early wooden mosques, but excavations have yet to locate them.[96]

Finally, there is a tradition of building wooden mesjids in the *kislaqs* (villages) of the upper Zerafshan river valley in Tadjikistan. These mesjids are as small as the villages they serve, and usually have a square plan with a single column in the middle, or if larger, four columns. Beginning in the thirties, Soviet archaeologists removed the oldest columns from mosques in Oburdan, Kurut, Fatmev and elsewhere and placed them in museums. The only old column that

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[93] See Finbarr Barry Flood, "Lost in Translation: Architecture, Taxonomy, and the Eastern "Turks." *Muqarnas* 24, (2007): 79-115.

[94] See, for example, Hermann Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955.

[95] For information on Vyatkin's excavations, see M. I. Filanovich, " Reznoye derevo uz raskopa v severnoye chasti Afrasiaba" *Afrasiab* Vol. 4 (1975): 135-143

[96] Fragments of a wooden temple apparently dedicated to Shiva were discovered at Pendjikent in 1960. See P. Banerjee, "A Siva Icon from Pandjikent" *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 31 no. 1 (1969): 73-80. There are similarly charred artefacts – surprising well preserved – from Istaravshan (near Kojand) and a few other locations, all now stored in various museums in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

remains *in situ* is at Rarz. These mesjids have no dates and there is no real way to establish their age. In the case of Oburdan, the column was clearly older than the mosque in which it was found, and the community has a tradition that it was brought to the new building from a much older one that had decayed.[97] On a general stylistic basis these mosques can be dated to the early fifth/eleventh century and there is some support for this in the wooden mihrap from Iskodar, which, also on an epigraphic basis, can be dated to circa 400/1010.[98] This important artefact was also probably relocated to the relatively new mescid from an older building.

Central Asia's wooden hypostyle mosques clearly continued an indigenous pre-Islamic, probably Soghdian, tradition. While no example of a Soghdian wooden building has survived, the unmistakable profile of Soghdian classical columns appears on numerous pre-Islamic artefacts, from silver platters with Christian iconography to Zoroastrian ossuaries.[99] The exact provenance of this design is not yet established, nor is it even known with any certainty if the column details – in particular, the distinctive spherical base - originated in wood construction or in stone.[100] Although such essential questions remain unanswered, it is abundantly clear that the Central Asian wooden column type was not imported from the West.

Despite passing through Kwarezemia *en route* to conquering Iran, the Great Seljuks did not absorb the Central Asian wood building tradition. Instead, they assimilated the established western Iranian tradition in which wood is almost entirely absent. It was this tradition that the Seljuks of Rūm emulated when they began, belatedly and tentatively, to build in Anatolia in the mid-sixth/twelfth century. They rapidly adapted to various indigenous building traditions and influences from surrounding cultures, notably Syrian and Armenian stonework. Very little appears to

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[97] Henry Field and Eugene Prostov, "Archeological Investigations in Central Asia, 1917-37," *Ars Islamica*, Vol. 5 No. 2, (1938), 257.

[98] Blair, *Monumental Inscriptions*, 78-79.

[99] G. A. Pugachenkova, "The Form and Style of Sogdian Ossuaries," in *The Archaeology and Art of Central Asia: Studies from the Former Soviet Union*, Bulletin of the Asia Insititute 8 (1994): 227-243.

100 The base detail seems from a tectonic point of view to respond to the possibilities of wooden construction, but there are reports of a sandstone column with a similar spherical base from the tenth or eleventh century mosque of Idrīs Paighambār in Sairām, Kirghizstan and two more from other sites in Kirghizstan. See Henry Field and Eugene Prostov, "Archeological Investigations in Central Asia, 1917-37. *Ars Islamica*, Vol. 5 No. 2, (1938), 267. The description of this column type matches perfectly the engaged corner columns on the terracotta portal of the 14th century Mazor-i-Sherif outside of Pendjikent.

have been built in the first century or more of Turkish occupation, especially in the still-contested territories of Western Anatolia. Only three examples of wooden mosques predate the construction of the Sahip Ata Cami in 656/1258; they will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

This survey is not exhaustive, but should suffice to show the limits of the practice of building mosques with wooden columns. At the risk of over-simplification, it can be said that there were only three contexts in which wooden structure is known to have been used: paleo-Islamic building, the mosque of al-Mansur, and in Central Asia. Elsewhere, wood was used only for ceilings, and for much of the history of Iran, it was not used at all.[101]

The fact that the option of building mosques with wood was rarely availed indicates that the distinct functional and tectonic advantages offered by timber must have been offset or countered by other desiderata and expectations. The historical evidence suggests that at some point wooden columns came to be considered somehow unsuitable for building mosques, especially in the central Islamic lands. This decision seems to have been taken at quite an early point in the formation of Islamic architecture, but it is not possible to prove from the evidence of desuetude that there was a prohibition as such, much less explain why it might have developed. There is nevertheless something to the rarity of wood in building mosques that suggests more than mere aversion. Wood does not seem to have just lapsed into disuse, but rather to have been abjured at some point. Wooden construction was coded with recognition of transience and humility, qualities that conflicted with the needs of triumphant, universalistic Islam. The set of tectonic values that ultimately prevailed may legitimately be called monumental; they are the opposite of the ones affirmed by the Prophet in the mosque he built in Medina. In the course of its reconstructions, the Prophet’s mosque was compromised by the very tendency to sumptuous Imperial building that he had abjured. Any later use of wood thus inevitably recalls both the Prophet’s original injunction against grandeur in building, and the early Caliphs’ capitulation to its allure.

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[101] Notice should be given here of the numerous wooden columned mosques in Adabşehir, Bonab and Maragah, even though they come some two centuries after the group in Anatolia. See Sirous Kheyri, *The Architecture and Decoration of Wooden Sotavand In Safavid Era Azerbaijan,* Tabriz: Adine Publishing, 1386 AH.

1.3 Precedents to the Wooden Mosque in Anatolia

Any attempt to evaluate the novelty of an historical phenomenon must examine the cultural production system from which it emerged. In the case of the wooden hypostyle mosques, this means learning if there was a prior practice of building in wood in Anatolia and how these new mosques related to it, if at all. Were the new wooden mosques the enlargement of an earlier type, or perhaps the transformation of an ephemeral type into a more permanent, monumental form? After examining the concrete evidence provided by the few remaining monuments, the question of lost traditions will be addressed. Of course, it is not possible to be definitive on this point, since historical context never permits full restitution. The perishability of wood may appear to make this problem more acute, but wooden architecture is not unique in this respect; all historical research must ultimately come to terms with the limits of its sources.[102]

Only three mosques built with wooden columns are known to predate the construction of the Sahip Ata mosque in 656/1258. They are the Şey Habil and Gökçeli Camis in Çarşamba, a town on the Yeşil Irmak delta about twenty kilometres from the Black Sea; and the Tuğrul Şah Cami in İspir, a town on the Çoruh river midway between Erzurum and Rize (Fig. 1). Although it seems improbable that more early examples will be found, that assumption must be tempered by the fact that the mosques on the Black Sea coast were discovered as recently as 1986 and their date not established until 1994.

The Çarşamba mosques were built in such a similar manner and so close in time and place that for present purposes they can be considered a single historical manifestation. Given the current state of knowledge, they are the oldest surviving wooden mosques in Anatolia. The Şey Habil Cami is located in a rural graveyard outside of Yaycilar Köy and the Gökçeli Cami is about five kilometres away, in the

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[102] There is, for example, remarkably little architectural evidence of any sort for the first century the Seljuks were present in Anatolia. Pamela Armstrong has resorted to purely archaeological techniques to find evidence for the early Turkmen on the western coast of Anatolia, see "Seljuks before Seljuks: nomads and frontiers inside Byzantium," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Eastmond. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001: 277-286. For a similar approach, see G.R.H. Wright, "Beyce Sultan – A Fortified Settlement in Byzantine Phrygia," *Anatolica* 33 (2007): 143-168.

old cemetery on the east side of the Yeşil Irmak at the rural edge of Çarşamba. The archaeologist H.H. Günhan Danışman first brought attention to these mosques in an article published in 1986.[103] Danışman was the director of an archaeological excavation of the ancient site of Ikiztepe near Bafra. Having discovered the postholes and carbonized traces of a long prehistoric tradition of wooden building, he and his team surveyed standing buildings in the Black Sea region to learn more about the continuity of local wooden building practices. Danışman's publication did not in fact include the Şey Habil Cami, nor was he able to establish the date of the Gökçeli Cami. He noted an unsubstantiated date of AD 1195, but held the opinion that the mosque was more probably built by the Isfendiyaroğullari in the fifteenth century.[104] Since then, however, the earlier date has been proven closer to being correct. Using dendrochronological analysis on samples cut in 1991, Peter Ian Kuniholm discovered that the primary timbers of the Yaycilar Camii were cut in AD 1204 and 1205, and that those of the Gökçeli Cami were cut at the end of 1206.[105] He also noted that the deep porch on the north face of the Gökçeli Cami is a replacement of around AD 1335 for an earlier porch.

The two mosques are closely similar in form, size, construction and details (Figs.05-08.). The single open room of the Gökçeli Cami is 11.6 metres by 12.88 metres and that of the Şey Habil Cami is 9.66 metres by 11.55 metres, exclusive of *son cemaat yeris* (latecomer's gallery) and *revaks* (arcades.) Both mosques have wooden columns resting on large raw stone footings and pitched roofs with beams and exposed roof planking. In each case, the plan's narrow dimension is the kibla side, to which the roof ridge is perpendicular. The roof at the kibla wall has a gable, while the son cemaat yeri at the north is covered by a hip roof. The ceiling of the Gökçeli Cami is entirely open, and the inside face of the roof planks is painted with

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103 H.H. Günhan Danışman, "Samsun Yöresi Ahşap Mimarisinin Gelenekselliği –Bafra, İkiztepe Arkeolojik Verilerinin Işığında Çarşamba, Gökçeli Camiinin İncelenmesi," *IX Türk Tarih Kongres*, (1986): 135-144.

104 Danışman, "Samsun Yöresi," 139-140.

105 Peter Ian Kuniholm, "Dendochronologically Dated Ottoman Monuments," U. Baram and L. Carroll, eds., A *Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground*. New York, Plenum Press, 2000: 93-136. Yaycilar (another name for Şey Habil) Köy Cami is item no. 45 on p. 128 and Gökçeli Cami appears as his 47 A and 47B, on pp. 130-132. Note that Kuniholm incorrectly attributes an estimate of "a date in the 1100s" to Danışman, who actually favoured a date the fifteenth century.

simple vegetal and scroll patterns and also has some illegible kufic patterns.[106] The Şey Habil Cami has a wooden ceiling on the underside of its beams. This is almost certainly an alteration; six new columns and a kadinlar mahfil were added too, possibly as late as the nineteenth century.[107] The new columns appear to be pine, while the older ones are hardwood, probably oak.

Both buildings were built log-crib style using logs from thirty to eighty centimetres in diameter honed down to only fifteen to twenty centimetres in thickness. All the walls are comprised of continuous timbers that project beyond the intersecting corners, in a few cases, by as much as a metre and a half. [108] A couple of timbers thus exceed fifteen metres in total length. The sidewalls of the Gökçeli Cami stand 3.4 metres tall, but are comprised of just seven courses. The trees from which the mosques were built must have been truly enormous, and the amount of exposed heartwood suggests that only a few slabs were cut from each log.[109] The walls of Gökçeli Cami are all oak, while those of Şey Habil are predominantly oak with an admixture of a darker wood that is locally identified as elm. Oak was probably used because it was the most readily available wood, but it is also one of the hardest of all woods to cut and carve; on the other hand, properly cut, it does not warp as badly as some other woods.[110] Obviously, the species used was quite resistant to rot.[111]

The mosques enclose areas of one hundred and forty and one hundred and five square metres respectively. The Gökçeli Cami likely approaches some kind of

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[106] The date and origins of these paintings are still debated. Candan Nemlioğlu assumes they are original in the article, "Göçeli (Gökçeli) Camii" *1. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyet Semineri Bildirileri. Selçuk Üniversitesi.* (Konya: Selçuklu Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, 2001), 117-136; but the unpublished official archeological report commissioned by the VGM concludes that they are not. In any case, they were heavily retouched with oil paint at some fairly recent time, and suffered such damage in recent restorations that they are now thoroughly disfigured.

[107] Both Yilmaz Can and E. Emine Naza-Dönmez report these features without comment, but the wood and construction details of the six outer columns is undoubtedly different than the three centre ones. The fact that the larger Gökçeli Cami does not have a kadinlar mahfil also makes the presence of one in the smaller mosque quite suspect.

[108] In fact, one course in the west wall of the Şey Habil Cami has a neatly executed scarf joint.

[109] This apparently extravagant use of wood was probably necessary to minimize the cupping and splitting that occurs when thin sections of wide slabs are cut from the outside of a log. As logs dry, they shrink more around their radius than in any other dimension, which is why they either warp or their outside faces or develop deep cracks. Of course the off-cuts must have been used in other ways.

[110] This is not just because of its degree of hardness, but also because its extremely complex growth structure frustrates carving.

[111] Not all types of oak are rot-resistant. North American red oak, for example, has open capillaries that invite mould and thus this wood was not much used for barn timbers, even though it is abundant.

upper limit for the width of this type of construction. In fact, the two-metre difference in the width of the two mosques leads to quite different plans. While the smaller mosque had a single row of columns on its central axis, the larger mosque has three rows of columns, which ensures that it also has a row of columns on the central axis. This is a somewhat paradoxical development, since two rows of columns would have produced a clear centre span, while still having spans shorter than those in the Şey Habil Cami. This decision suggests an overriding priority placed on supporting the gable wall and roof ridge. In fact, both buildings have an extraordinary tambour wall made of stacked cantilevered timbers tied into the gable faces and bearing on the central beam.[112] The profile of the wall is rather like that of a negative half-ellipse – from the bearing point along the central beam it curves inward to the middle of its height and then corbels up from there to the ridge.[113]

The columns in both mosques appear rather spindly when compared to the awesome wall planks. They range from around twenty-eight to thirty-eight centimetres in diameter and all but one is honed to an octagonal plan; the column closest to the mihrap in Şey Habil Cami has sixteen facets. About fifty centimetres below the beam level, the columns reduce to a square plan to meet the abaci, which are the same width as the beams, and run in both directions where beams cross. There are carved ornaments on a few columns, with perhaps more appearing in the *son cemaat yeri* than in the mosque itself. The columns have one other curious feature that is not immediately apparent. Their bases have been undercut to give them blunt points, presumably to allow them to pivot slightly in the event of a high wind or earthquake.

The mosques in Çarşamba were obviously connected in some way to Seljuk ambitions to gain control of the Black Sea coast, but how so is not clear. Turks under the general Karatiken invaded the major ports on the central Black Sea in 473/1081, ten years after the Battle of Manzikert, but systematic colonization of the Black Sea

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[112] This feature is concealed by the new suspended ceiling of the Şey Habil Cami, but can be seen through an attic hatch.

[113] Kuniholm has observed that this curious feature makes little or no structural sense. See the archaeological report appended to Yilmaz Can, *Samsun Yöresinde Bulunan Ahşap Camiler.* İstanbul: Etüt Yayınları, 2004. p. EK-4. It is, however, probably not productive to try to impose modern structural rationalism on the medieval past.

coast began more than a century later, around 590/1194. Mustafa Daş notes that Seljuk sources refer to the coastline of the central Black Sea, with Samsun in the centre, as the Canik region and that at some point late in the sixth/twelfth century, the Danişmenids of the southern regions attacked the coast and forced the Byzantine authorities to pay taxes.[114] They did not, however, manage to establish real dominion and throughout the seventh/twelfth century, control of the region between Karadeniz Ereglisi (Herakleia Pontike) and modern Sinop was uneasily divided between the Byzantines and the Grand Comnenians of Trebizond.

The fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in AD 1204 triggered major changes on the Black Sea coast. The Byzantine dynasty continued to exercise its dominion along the southwest coast from its new base in Nicea, but the Grand Comnenians moved westward along the coast hoping that Byzantium's weakness would allow them to claim additional ports. The Seljuks also recognized the opportunity and entered the contest at the same moment. Though they managed to capture Samsun in 600/1204, the Trebizondites soon expelled them.

The two wooden mosques in Çarşamba are the only material traces of this early, uncertain phase of Turkish occupation of the coast.[115] The two most probable scenarios for the mosques' construction are that they were built as part of the campaign to conquer the coast, or, judging by their construction dates and location, that they represent a fall-back position after the Turks were driven from Samsun. Both mosques are located in extensive and probably ancient graveyards; the setting suggests they had a role in commemorating troops lost in the coastal campaign, or in the project of coastal colonization.

Danişman's hypothesis of an ancient, continuous wood-building tradition on the Black Sea coast is probably not far from identifying the sources of the two mosques in Çarşamba. The precise forms and sophisticated technical details of the buildings speak of an active, highly developed building culture, one capable of producing relatively small buildings that have a monumental scale due to their materials, technique and workmanship. At the same time, the proximity of the

[114] This account derives from the abstract to Daş' forthcoming publication.

[115] Note also that the mosques may have been closer to the coast when built, since the river's deposits could have extended the delta quite a lot in eight hundred years.

mosques to the coast is suggestive. Oak is traditionally used in boat-building, and though there is no hint of the curving that might be expected of a hull, nor of any other obviously marine details for that matter, the skill to cut wide planks and carefully mortise and tenon them together to form thin walls is itself redolent of marine architecture. Of course, at the time the mosques were built, the Turks in Anatolia had not yet ventured into seafaring.

In 1972 Aptullah Kuran published an article on wooden mosques titled "Anadolu'da Ahşap Sütunlu Selçuklu Mimarisi."[116] His survey of the known wooden mosques concluded with an investigation of Eleviya Çelebi's claim that he had seen a mosque with two hundred wooden columns in Erzurum. Kuran found no trace of such a mosque, but did locate a previously unnoticed mosque with wooden columns in İspir, a small mountain town on the Çoruh River north of Erzurum (Fig. 09). The mosque, known variously as the Çarşi Cami and the Tuğrul Şah Cami, has four columns, not the two hundred reported by the notoriously unreliable seventeenth century traveler, and they are rather primitive in form. Nevertheless, the mosque's generous size and feeling of openness displays the positive spatial qualities of wooden structures.

Unfortunately, many of Tuğrul Şah Cami's original features have been destroyed. Some were lost in restorations undertaken as recently as 2006, while others must have been lost in the course of successive alterations in the twentieth century. İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, writing in 1960, mentioned alterations made six years earlier and also reports that the Müftü Şaban Efendi had had the roof rebuilt "about fifty years earlier."[117] The original entrance is gone, the mihrap is new, all the windows appear to have been enlarged (probably in several stages), and all the interior surfaces have been recently refinished; outside, there is a new metal roof and the entire exterior has been clad in new stone, save for a few token spots below the windows. The changes are so substantial as to cast uncertainty over the mosque's historical value.

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[116] Aptullah Kuran, "Anadolu'da Ahşap Sütunlu Selçuklu Mimarisi," in *Malazgirt Armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 1972), 179-186.

[117] İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi.* (Istanbul: Ercan Matbaasi, 1960), 508.

To add to this list of woes, a crude modern copy has replaced the inscription stone and the original is apparently lost.[118] Fortunately, Konyalı transcribed the text of the stone and published a photograph of it in his survey of the monuments of Erzurum. It says (in Konyalı's Turkish translation):

> Bu mübarek mescit Emir Atabey Erdemşah eliyle
> Sualtan (sic) Mugis-üd-din Tugrul Şah için yapıldı.[119]

This inscription, which Konyalı describes as "badly written, with grammatical errors," identifies the builder as Emir Şemseddin Atâbey Erdemşah. Although there is no date, Konyalı pointed out that Mugisiddin Tuğrul Şah is known to have ruled Erzurum and environs from AD 1201 to 1225, so he attributed the mosque to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

The original part of the İspir Cami has a floor area of some two hundred and sixty square metres, which is four or five times the area of a typical domed cubical mesjid, such as the undated stone-built one in the kale not far from the mosque. The basic plan of the building appears to be intact. It consists of a 15.5 metres (E-W) by 17 (N-S) metres rectangular room comprised of three bays defined by two broad beams running parallel to the kibla wall. Each of the beams bear on two columns made of large squared timbers (Fig. 10). The piers presently found where the beams meet the outer walls are not original, or at least they are not present in Kuran's photo. The columns vary in size: the one in the northwest corner is forty by forty centimetres at its base; the southwest one is forty-two by forty-four centimetres; and the southeast one is forty by forty-six centimetres. The northeast column is larger than the others, forty by sixty centimetres and quite irregular, though, like the others, its north and south faces are flattened. All the columns save this one have long

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[118] This loss is particularly perplexing. Konyalı described the stone as being in place in 1960 (i.e. after the northern additions) and Kuran likewise spoke about it as if it was in place at the time he published in 1972, but all that remains now is a crude modern transcription. However, Konyalı also mentions a son cemaat yeri that is no longer present. It seems likely that some time after 1972, the son cemaat yeri was replaced by a two-story extension to the mosque by removing the north wall. If the stone was not simply lost at that time, then perhaps it was taken to Erzurum for storage, though this may be merely hopeful thinking.

[119] Konyalı, *Erzurum Tarihi,* 508-09.

wooden brackets added to the east and west faces.[120] These brackets are the same width as the columns and run almost their full height; they are shaped in two or three large shallow scallops roughly double the bearing surface of the column at its top. Their powerful profile helps visually and structurally integrate the columns with the abaci, which are horizontal wooden members the width of the columns and just over two metres long.

The ceiling details are obscured by modern board and batten paneling. A photograph of the interior published by Kuran gives the impression that the construction was quite crude, which must have given rise to the regrettable impulse to regularize it. If the panelling has been applied directly to the structure, then the casing reveals at least the outline of the earlier space and structure. This shows that the eastern and western bays of the building slope up slightly to the centre bay. Two north south oriented tie beams span between the columns below this sloped ceiling at the level of the beams. Kuran's small, dark and grainy photo reveals that the southern bay had round pole-type joists oriented north south and they appear to be paired. The photo also shows that the unusually wide beams – they measure almost 1.2 metres - are composed of three wooden members. There are additional short brackets balanced crosswise on the abaci to transfer the roof loads; the tie beams are simply extended versions of these brackets.

The building's central bay has a shallow coffered dome. There is a matching dome in the corresponding bay to the north but none where it might be expected in front of the mihrap. This is because the structure there is oriented perpendicular to the kibla wall. Kuran's photo offers no help in understanding the coffer's construction, but the domes are a familiar type consisting of diminishing layers of squares, each rotated at 45 degrees to the proceeding one. The whole ensemble is now cased in flat boards, but the dimension of each step suggests it is made of layers of stacked logs, which is how such coffers were usually built.

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[120] It is impossible to know if these brackets are original, or to explain the discrepancy in the appearance of the four columns. Two possibilities are that the northeast column is a cruder replacement made when the skill or care to replicate the sculpted brackets was lost; it is however, equally possible that the north east column is the only original one, and that the others are later replacements, made at a time inclined to formally elaborate the structure. Of course this is all speculation, and it is possible that none of the columns are original, or that they all are, and never did match.

The four wooden columns, which Kuran described as painted a light grey colour, have been stripped and are now stained dark brown. The wood thus revealed has wide growth rings and a strong grain. Local worshipers identify it as mulberry (*dut/tut ağaç*). The irregular shape of the north-east column certainly rules out pine, which usually grows in straighter form. If the wood were indeed mulberry, then dendrochronological analysis would not be able to verify the column's ages, since it is a species not commonly used in construction, and is thus not yet studied.

While the general premise of Kuran's article is the familiar one that wooden mosques in Anatolia derive from Central Asian models, there is no need to resort to this hypothesis to explain the İspir Cami. All of the mosque's primary constructional features can be identified with various local building techniques. The tall applied brackets are a common feature of nineteenth century buildings in Kars, and can probably be found throughout the north-eastern region and the Trans-Caucasus. Likewise, the plains around Erzurum have many old village houses and farm buildings with barrow-like earthen roofs made of heavy log joists and beams sitting on squat tree-trunk pillars.[121] In fact, there are ruined stone houses with heavy wood columns and earthen roofs not more than fifty metres from the İspir Cami's west entrance. The roofs of these houses slope upward to a central ridge at precisely the same slight angle as the mosque roof, and they utilize a similar system of tie beams; the ruins even provide an example of the type of shallow dome-like coffers made of rotated stacked logs that is seen in the mosque. This type of roof, known in Turkey as a *bindirme tavan*, is quite ancient, but that does not guarantee that the mosque's roof is original.[122] On the contrary, it could indicate that the entire roof is a reconstruction dating any time before modern construction techniques were introduced - in Eastern Turkey, as late as the First World War. Konyalı's reference to the roof being reconstructed around 1910 provides a likely date for the present roof structure.

The case of the İspir Cami is deeply compromised by successive alterations and probably does not merit such detailed consideration. All aspects of the mosque's

[121] An earthquake destroyed several houses in one village west of Erzurum in April 2004; the collapse revealed the heavy wood and earth construction.

[122] There are very few intact medieval examples of this '*bindirmele*' type roof. Two small examples are found in the Haji Bektaş *zaviye*, but even there, one has been entirely reconstructed. For a survey of this type in the vicinity of Sivrihisar, see Parla, Canan. *Sivrihisar Bindirme Tavanli Camiler*. Eskişehir: CIP Anadolu Universitesi Kütüphane ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi, 2005.

form can be explained as adaptations of traditional building techniques. The mosque may have been larger than typical local houses, but it did not differ from them in any essential constructional features.

The vernacular traditions from which the two wooden precedents derive could not be more different, but are both also clearly distinct from the type of wooden hypostyle mosque that emerged in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century. In the first case, the crib construction imposed an absolute size limit far below that of the later hypostyle mosques. In fact, none of the wooden mosques on the Black Sea coast surveyed by Can and Naza-Dönmez – a continuous tradition of six hundred years - are larger than the oldest two. The İspir Çarşi Cami points toward the spatial advantages of wooden construction, but its rustic features cannot be regarded as a prototype for larger, more sophisticated buildings. Despite the drastic alterations it has suffered, it can still be seen to be an enlarged vernacular domestic construction.

That the search for Anatolian precedents to the wooden hypostyle mosques leads to a lonely river delta and a remote mountain valley confirms their scarcity. The mesjids are *uc* buildings, built to advance the project of colonization on the frontiers with the Byzantines. In these outposts, the building of mesjids reverted to the simplest, most familiar and accessible forms and material for construction. The resulting buildings are fundamentally similar to local houses, which the new settlers also likely adapted for their dwellings. A product of the frontiers, they have also been preserved by isolation – a good fortune that these mosques share with the one wooden village mosque still extant in Iran and the *kişlak* mescids in the nearly inaccessible Zerafshan river valley.

Lost Traditions

Given the circumstances of the Turks' arrival in Anatolia, it is reasonable to assume that the first spatial manifestations of worship were improvised.[123] Claude Cahen says that the very first Muslims in Anatolian towns, "certainly practised their religion

[123] For details of the Turk's arrival, see İbrahim Kafesoğlu, "The first Seljuk raid into eastern Anatolia (1015-1021) and its historical significance." Gary Leiser, trans. *Mésogeios* 25-26. (2005): 27-47; and Armstrong, "Seljuks before Seljuks" 277-286.

in small, makeshift buildings, no doubt mainly churches or parts of churches that had been confiscated."[124] Carole Hillenbrand refutes this generally accepted idea and proposes instead that, "the first Turkish Muslim worship would have taken place in simple enclosures or in structures made of wood."[125] Her argument that invaders, "not being sure of their reception, would surely wait a while before utilizing the monuments of the predominant faith of the newly conquered area for their own cult," flies in the face of what is known about Muslim conquests – indeed, of the triumphal symbolic appropriation of space in general[126] - but what is really to the point is the assumption that wood is so evanescent. Wood may provide advantages for building quickly, but Hillenbrand writes as if wood construction was so negligible as to leave no trace, and appears to accept that a whole form of building has vanished. Hillenbrand is probably mistaken, but it is still worthwhile to examine secondary sources for traces of lost traditions.

In most Anatolian cities, the kale mescid was the first deliberate architectural manifestation of the Turkish presence. These small mosques, located in the strategic centre of cities from Erzurum to Ankara, were invariably built of masonry, either brick, or more commonly, stone.[127] They manifest the elite's ambition to establish formal settings for their own religious practice. They also show the inveterate association of mosques with cities and urban centres, and the tendency to adopt local building techniques. In most cities the construction of a large congregational mosque did not follow until several decades later. The first Seljuk congregational mosques were built in Konya and Aksaray in the middle of the sixth/twelfth century, but in many places (such as Kayseri) they did not emerge until the end of the century and in smaller cities, they often appeared only in the eighth/fourteenth century. In the interim – and in many places it was a very long interim – the Friday worship of the masses probably continued to take place in confiscated Christian buildings. Daily

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[124] Cahen, *Formation,* 168.

[125] Carole Hillenbrand, "Ravandi, the Seljuk Court at Konya and the Persianization of Anatolian Cities," *Mésogeios* 25-26: 167.

[126] Hillenbrand, "Ravandi," 167. For the dynamics of triumphal expression, see Oleg Grabar. "On the Symbolic Appropriation of the Land" in *The Formation of Islamic Art*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 45-74.

[127] For a comprehensive survey of kale mesjids, see Ali Boran, *Anadolu'daki İc Kale Cami ve Mescidleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 2001.

worship must have taken place in homes, whatever form they took. Indeed, for the nomadic or transhumant Turkomen population, there was no other option.

Rejecting Hillenbrand's hypothesis of a lost tradition of makeshift wooden mosques does not mean denying the existence of all impermanent forms. Islam regards prayer as an absolute personal responsibility that cannot be abrogated. This demand conflicted with the fact of a highly mobile society: medieval Islamic courts were peripatetic, armies were constantly on the move, merchants spent months en route, scholars and artisans alike migrated in search of patronage, and part of the population remained nomadic.[128] There must have been great demand for spatial and material reification of worship beyond the level of the *secade* (individual prayer carpet), which in some sense is the zero degree of spatial order needed for prayer. These practices and forms are elusive, especially as regards collective worship. There are, however, literary records of tent-mosques in caravans and an Ilkhanid-era miniature that depicts a mosque tent in use (Fig. 11).[129] Since the tent is the Turkish type and not the round Mongolian yurt, the picture gives a tantalizing glimpse of two interior posts swathed in curtains or hanging textiles. These interior posts were presumably made of wood and must have had an established, conventional form or forms. On the other hand, the general formal parsimony of medieval culture likely means that the form of mosque tent posts would not have differed from those used in other tents. Unfortunately, no medieval example of a wooden tent post has been preserved, nor is there a more revealing depiction.[130]

An image of these columns may be preserved in another place where it has not yet been recognized, for example, in the *kapı* or *pencere kanatlari*, (thin columns that cover the gap between door or window leaves, i.e. plackets) or in the *köşe sütünler* (corner colonettes) that frame portals or niches, or in the carved columns of

[128] For a variety of travel practices both ancient and modern, see Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds. *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

[129] Reproduced as Fig. 134 in Linda Komaroff and Stefan Carboni, eds. *The Legacy of Genghis Kahn: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002: 116.

[130] Many tent details are covered in Nurhan Atasoy's comprehensive *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex.* Istanbul: MEPA Publishers, 2000, but there is little information on the posts as such. It is not clear even if the few seventeenth century examples are original. Interestingly, graphic depictions of stone columns and arcades are found inside almost all Ottoman tents.

medieval türbes.[131] These examples are all highly attenuated, as they would be if they depicted wooden columns, but a formal or even functional explanation of this fact is more probable than any representational one. In any case, these elements likely received their canonical forms long before Central Asian nomads could have influenced them. Their sources are undoubtedly in the classical art of antiquity, as perpetuated by early Christian architecture. This is certainly the case for the arcades seen on the walls and roofs of türbes in Ahlat and Erzurum, which have obvious Armenian and Georgian sources. Likewise, the crude spiky-leafed capitals frequently seen on corner colonettes are evidently an attempt at carving the acanthus leaves of composite capitals.

The search for a model of the wooden column in tent posts along the lines proposed by Otto-Dorn has to be qualified by the profound divide between Islam, which is a fundamentally urban religion that used forms that had become canonical centuries earlier, and the late-coming nomads, from whose tents these hypothetical transfers might have been made. Even if columns of this sort could be identified, it would remain unclear how such a tradition would relate to the wooden mosques.

Literary sources are the last remaining area to be examined for secondary evidence of wood-columned mosques, and the claim by Evliya Çelebi that was investigated by Aptullah Kuran is the only reference to wooden mosques to emerge from historical literature.[132] Çelebi's claim is uncorroborated and the number of columns given is quite unbelievable. By comparison, the Afyon Ulu Cami has forty columns and an area just over nine hundred square metres. A mosque with two hundred columns and a bay size similar to the four extant examples would have covered an area of more than four thousand square metres. No mosque of the seventh/thirteenth century in Anatolia even remotely approached this size.[133] This alone is enough to disqualify the claim as exaggeration. Even if the mosque Çelebi

[131] For the corner colonettes, see Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal, *Osmanlı Öncesi Anadolu Türk Mimarisinde Taçkapılar.* İzmir, no publisher, (1982): 55-68. An example of paired columns is found on the medium-sized tomb in the Saltukid funerary compound in Erzurum.

[132] Kuran,"Anadolu'da Ahşap Sütunlu Selçuklu Mimarisi," 184.

[133] Nor did any pre-modern mosque. The Bursa Ulu Cami at 3150 square metres is the largest premodern mosque in Turkey. For comparison, the Kocatepe Cami in Ankara (1987) covers 4,500 square metres and the Sabancı Merkez Cami in Adana (1998) covers 6,600 square metres.

described had existed, there is still no way to determine if it dated from the seventh/thirteenth century or possibly much later.

If some lost tradition of wooden construction could be detected by these skeuomorphic and literary traces, there still remains the problem of determining how it would be scaled up, or why it might have been revived and expanded in the immediate aftermath of the Mongol Invasion. On the other hand, the capitals of the wooden columns in Anatolia, their most revealing feature, are attributable either to the appropriation of classical forms (spolia) or a tradition of highly refined and canonically Islamic decoration (*muqarnas*). Two columns near the mihrap in the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami have carved ornaments that Aslanapa regarded as atavistic. The effect of these columns is heightened by the addition of lambrequin-like plaques, but it is uncertain if they are original or a later addition. In general, the proposition that the wooden mosques derive from ancient nomadic Turkmen's tents can be regarded as an instance of the mythification of Turkish origins in mid-century nationalist art-historical literature.[134]

A final possibility that must be considered is that the wooden hypostyle mosques were a far smaller innovation than they first seem. The hypostyle mosque was the dominant type of mosque in twelfth and thirteenth century Anatolia. There was considerable variation in the way this plan was realized and even more in the means by which it was roofed. In a few cases the roof was vaulted, either in brick, as in the Malatya Ulu Cami (621 and/or 645/1224 and/or 1247), or more commonly in stone, as with the Divriği Ulu Cami (625/1228), the Alaeddin Cami of Niğde (620/1223-24) and the Hunat Hatun Cami in Kayseri (635/1238.) Vaulting, however, was never the dominant roofing method. In the majority of Seljuk mosques, the roof consisted of closely spaced wooden poles laid as joists on arcaded walls standing on either stone piers or marble columns, the latter always spolia. The extensive and nearly flat roofs thus created were covered with a thick layer of earth which had to be carefully

[134] For a mild critique of this tendency among architectural historians, see Michael Roger's "Recent Work." Can Emirtan offers a more advanced discussion of such cultural constructions in, "Hittites, Ottomans and Turks: Ağaoğlu Ahmed Bey and the Kemalist construction of Turkish nationhood in Anatolia" *Anatolian Studies*, vol 58 (2008): 141-171. Otto-Dorn's motives for constructing this narrative are probably not Nationalist, but rather more Orientalist, though there was undoubtedly some fusion of these themes in mid-century art-historical literature.

tended to prevent rot. The Ulu Cami of Sivas (592/1196-1197), the Ulu Cami of Kayseri (601/1205-1206), and the Alaeddin Cami of Konya (550/1155-632/1238) are all examples of this common roof type (Fig. 12).

Given this established practice, does the wooden hypostyle mosque not amount simply to the substitution of wooden columns for the stone columns or brick piers in general use? This change would confer the substantial practical benefits of wooden construction without requiring much other alteration in the plan. It does not, however, seem to have taken place. This simple substitution appears to have been an ever-present possibility, but there are no earlier examples of hypostyle mosques with wooden columns in Anatolia. If using wooden columns was an option at an earlier point, why did builders not avail themselves of it? It could not have been for lack of wood, since Anatolia abounded in suitable timber. The Seljuks established an active export trade in wood through the port at Alanya, and the ceilings of many Mamluk mosques in Cairo must have been made of wood from Anatolia.[135] Furthermore, if wood was available to build ceilings, it was presumably also available to make columns, but builders abstained from taking this apparently logical step. The unavoidable conclusion is that it was an active tenet of mosque building in Anatolia that wood was unsuitable for building mosques, except perhaps on the rustic frontier. Unfortunately, the existence of this rule can only be inferred from the empirical evidence of building practice; as with most other tenets of Islamic architecture, it is axiomatic. If it was ever articulated, it belonged to convention, custom, propriety, jurisprudence, or lore, but not to theory as such.[136]

All the evidence indicates that the wooden-columned hypostyle mosque appeared in Anatolia suddenly and without direct precedent in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century. As far as we know at present, the Sahip Ata Cami, founded in 656/1258, was the first large mosque to have wooden columns. It was not an internal, local development. The size and assurance of the building's design

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[135] Ibn Battuta says that al'-Alāyā (modern Alanya) "has quantities of wood, which is exported from there to Alexandria and Diymāt, and thence carried to other parts of Egypt." *Travels*: 417.

[136] One of the best expositions of this phenomenon is by 'Azab, Khaled Muhammed. "The jurisprudence of architecture and town-planning in Islamic civilizations" Journal Islam Today N° 22-1426H/2005 http://www.isesco.org.ma/english/publications/Islamtoday/22/P5.php accessed Jan 25, 2010.

suggests that wooden construction arrived full-fledged. Logically, it must have been imported from some place with a tradition of building in wood, likely along with an architect or builders familiar with this practice. The question to be pursued here – the ‘most interesting theoretical problem,’ in Jameson’s terms - is not, “From whence?’ but rather, “Why at that moment, and to what ends?” The degree to which the new mosque transgressed strongly held expectations of mosque construction reveals the extraordinary circumstances under which the type was introduced and the pressures to which it responded. Construction in wood appears in this light as a compromise with tradition justified by the *force majeure* of defeat and political domination. It was an innovation in a culture in which innovation was not taken lightly. In any case, the sharp break with established practice in terms of patronage and construction coded the wooden mosque with both the urgency and new possibilities of building under Mongol suzerainty.

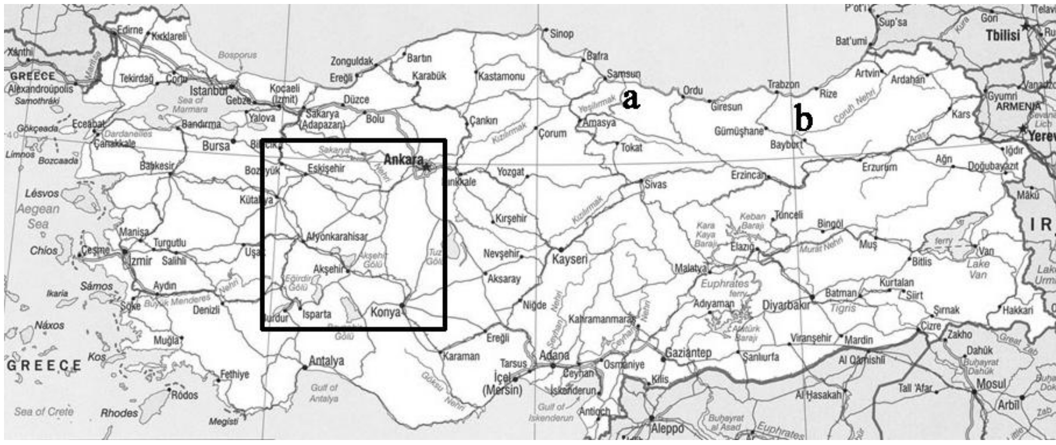

Fig. 01 Key map of Turkey with the locations of early wooden mosques.
a – Gokçeli and Şey Habil Camiis, Çarşamba b – Tuğrul Bey Camii, İspir

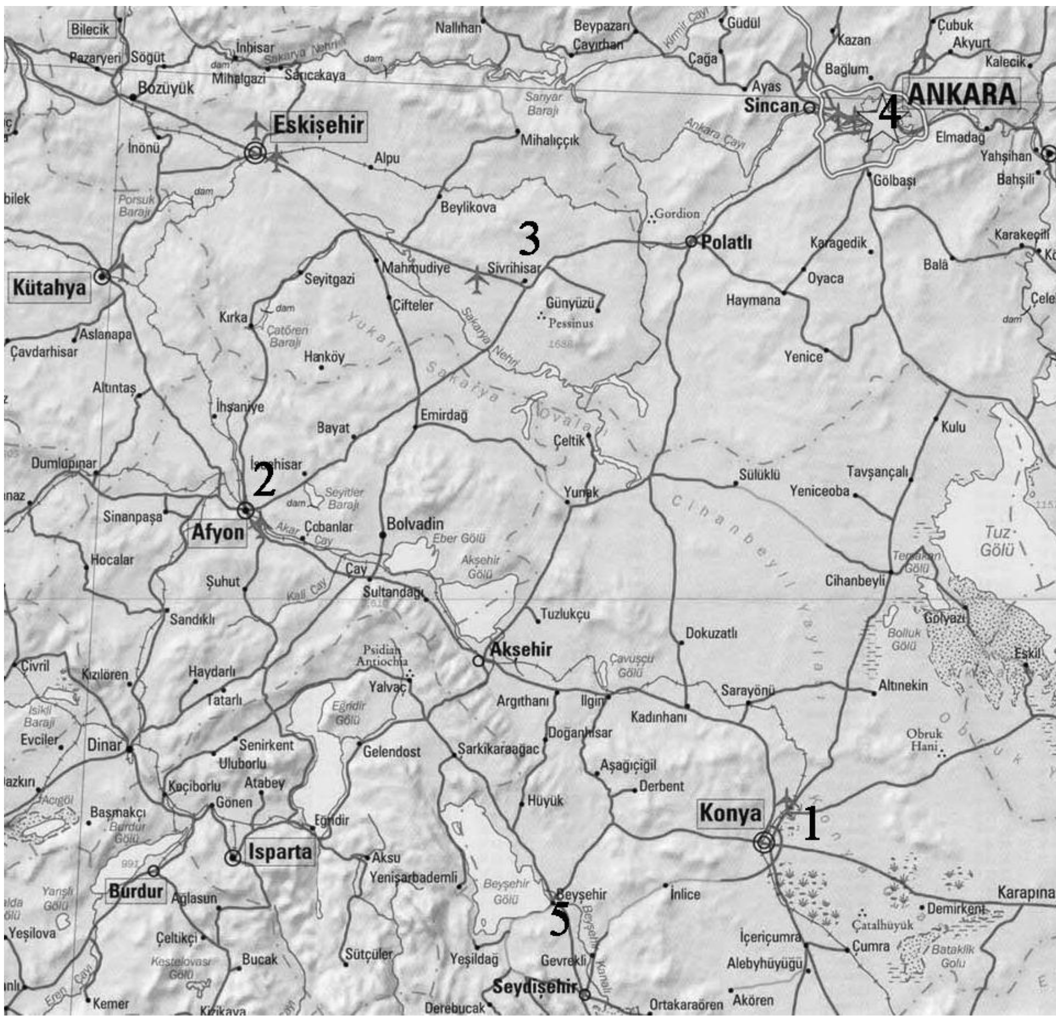

Fig.02 Western Edge of Central Anatolian Plateau, with the locations of wooden mosques built prior to 700/1300. 1 – Sahip Ata Camii 2 – Afyon Ulu Camii 3 - Sivrihisar Ulu Camii 4 – Ahi Şerefettin Camii 5 – Eşrefoğlu Camii

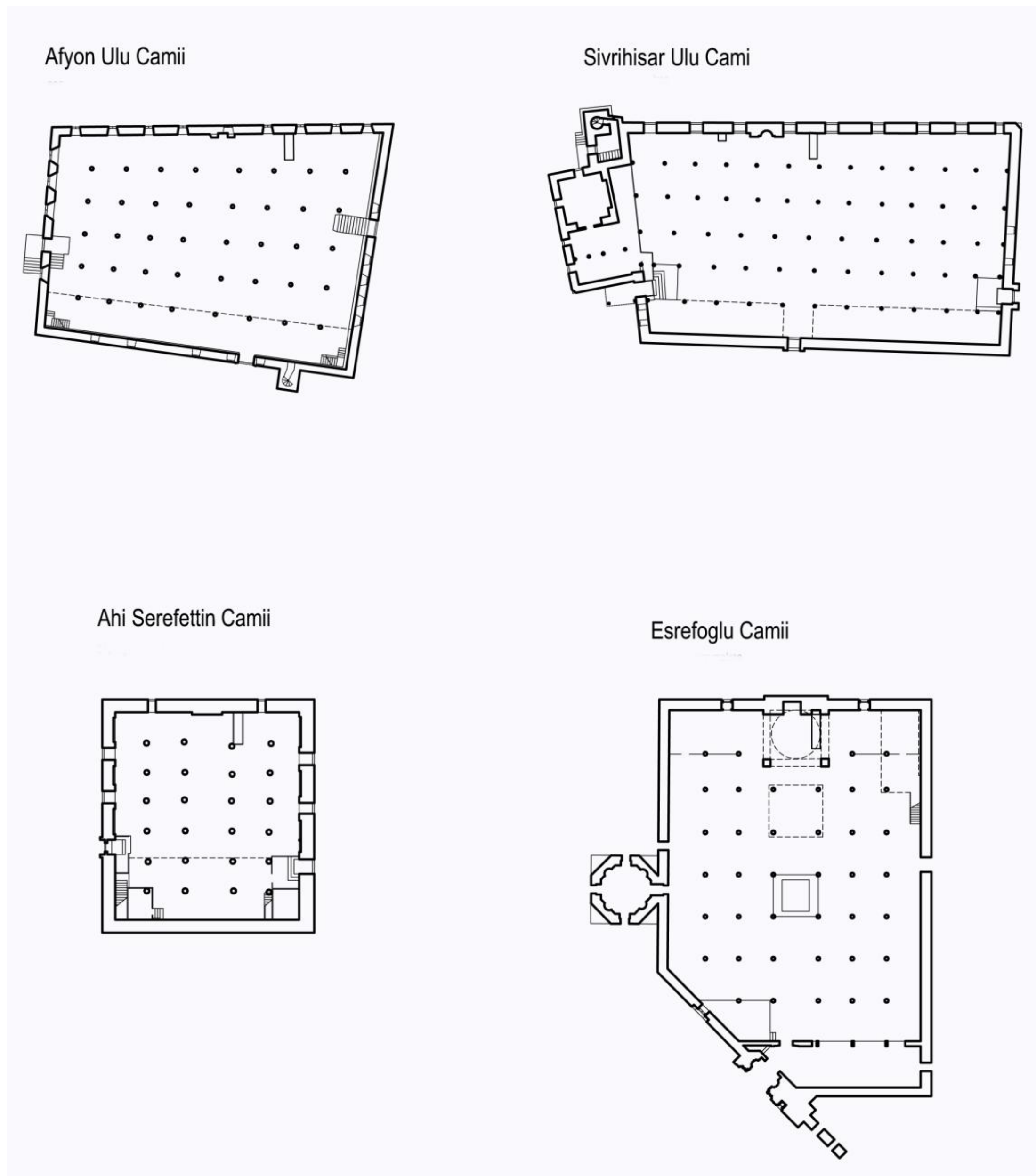

Fig. 03 The Extant Wooden Hypostyle Mosques of Anatolia prior to 700/1300: Comparison of plan and scale. (drawn by the author from site measurement) In all cases, the kibla wall is located at the top of the page.

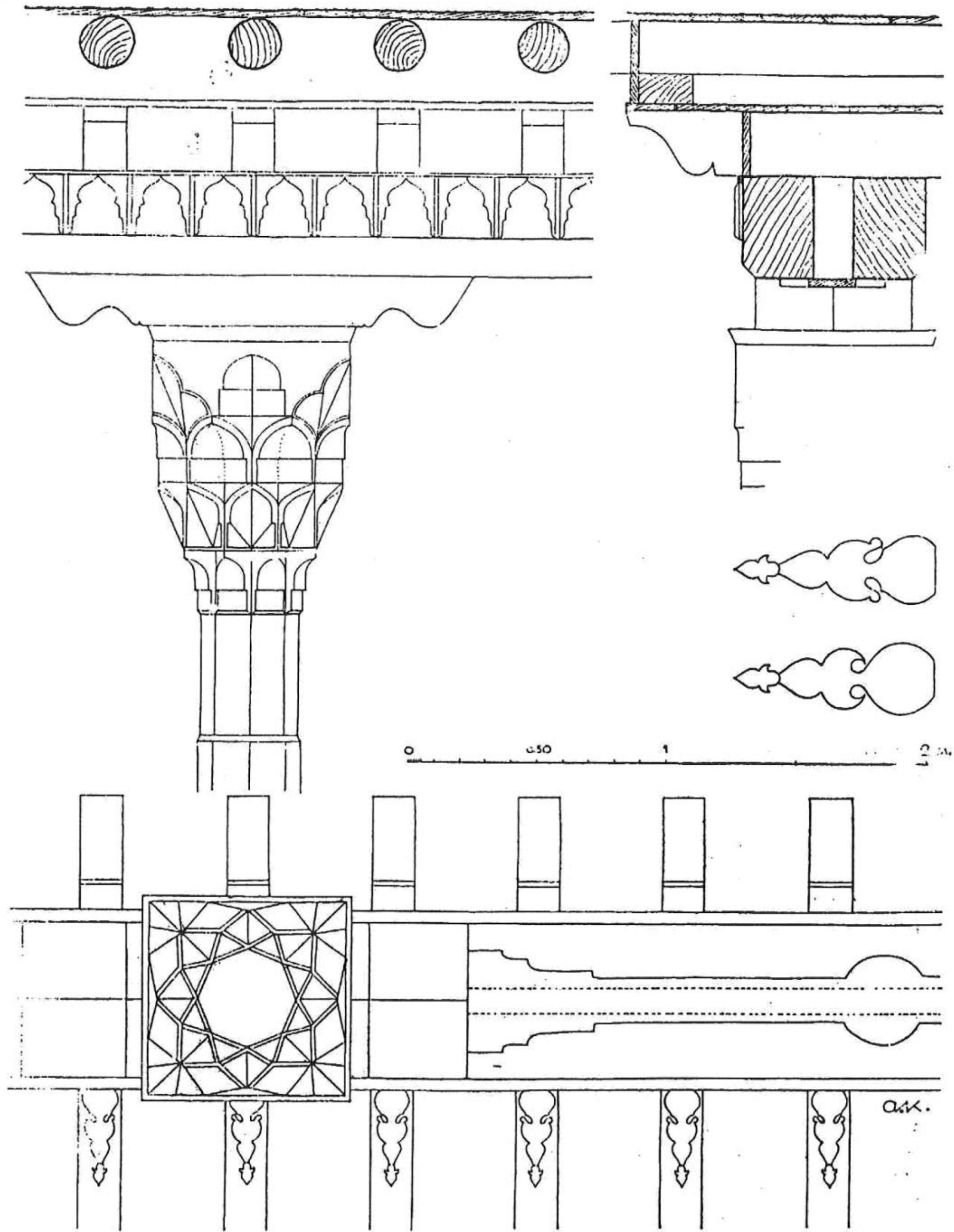

Fig. 04 Typical construction details of Anatolian wooden mosques, as shown in the example of Beyşehir (drawing after Erdemir). These forms are found with small variations in all of the wooden mosques – for example, all exposed joist ends and abaci have ogival profiles; all interstitial spaces between joists are capped; all the beams are paired and only the Ahi Şerefettin does not have a placket to conceal the joint; the miniature arcade on the face of the beams is unique to the central aisle of the Beyşehir mosque. Only the mosques in Beyşehir and Afyon have muqarnas capitals.

Fig. 05 Şey Habil Cami, Çarşamba. Exterior view. The kibla wall is to the right.

Fig. 06 Şey Habil Cami, Çarşamba. Interior view. The dropped ceiling is probably not original.

Fig. 07 Gökceli Cami, Çarşamba. Exterior view of kibla wall, showing quoin corners and the gable brace piercing through the pediment.

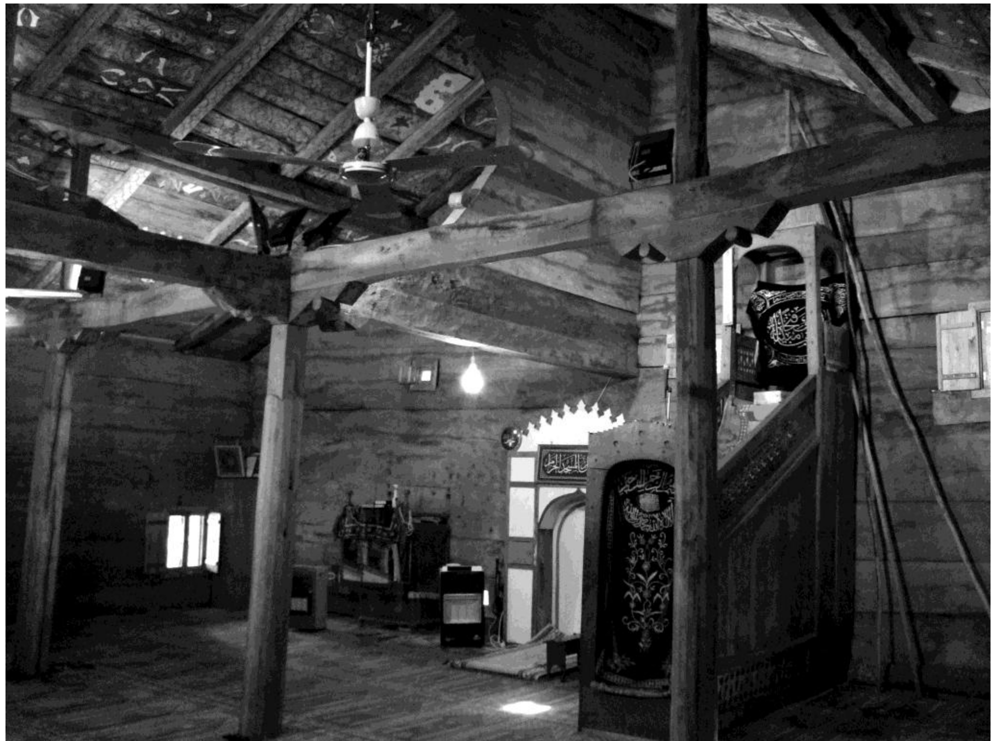

Fig. 08 Gökceli Cami, Çarşamba. Interior view, showing open ceiling and gable brace piercing the pediment. The columns in the central row have intersecting abaci with scroll profiles.

Fig. 09 The Tuğrul Şah Cami, İspir. Urban Context, relative to the kale. The river seen here is a tributary of the Çoruh, which runs along the foot of the hills in the background.

Fig. 10 The Tuğrul Şah Cami, İspir. Interior with four wooden columns and 'bindirme' roof. The column in the background was added when the north wall was removed.

Fig. 11 Mongol Tent Mosque. Illustration from the Diez Albums, Iran, 14th century, Ink and colour on paper. Staatsbibliotek zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Oreintabteilung (Diez A. fol. 70, S. 8 no. 1). This is the sort of construction that Otto-Dorn proposed as a precedent to the wooden columned mosques. There is, however, no evidence for its influence on the wooden mosques.

Figure 12 Wooden roof structures in Anatolian mosques. Top: Interior space and roof joists of the Ulu Cami, Sivas; Bottom: Interior space and roof joists of the Aladdin Cami, Konya. Note that in both cases the buildings are heavily restored and none of the wooden elements are original; it is unclear if the spacing, scale and (lack of) ornamentation accurately reproduces the original.

CHAPTER 2

The Sahip Ata Cami: The Inaugural Monument

The wooden hypostyle mosque was introduced to Anatolia by Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī ibn al-Husayn ibn Abū Bakr, known as the Sahip Ata, when he built a major new mosque in Konya in 656/1258. Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī had already proved himself inclined to build by his two prior foundations, a han and hammam in İshakli, 647/1249-50 and the Taş medrese in Akşehir, 648/1250-51, but nothing about them foretells a departure of the magnitude taken in Konya.[1] The new mosque not only exceeded in scale and symbolic importance anything that Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī had previously built, it also surpassed in size and importance any mosque previously built by any non-Sultanic patron under the Seljuks. The building, inspired by extraordinary circumstances, defied the conventions and restrictions that had previously governed Seljuk patronage and opened new possibilities for building in Anatolia.

The mosque is known variously as the Sahip Ata Cami, after one of Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī's honorific titles, which means 'Lord of Giving," or as the Lârende Cami, due to its location just outside the city gate in the direction of that place, now known as Karaman. Unfortunately, the building was damaged by a fire before AD 1825 and then largely destroyed by another in AD 1869. A new, smaller mosque was then built on the site in AD 1871 by Muheddin Usta (Fig. 15/16/17). It is attached to the older kibla wall, but well within the eastern, western and northern boundaries of the former one. Nevertheless, sufficient information to reconstruct the building's original plan can be derived from the ruins, the few early documents and some archeological soundings made in the nineteen-seventies. Halük Karamağaralı undertook a reconstruction of this sort in the early nineteen-eighties, and his work will be

[1] For a full account of the Sahip Ata's patronage, consult M. Ferit and M. Mesut, *Sahip Ata ile Oğlullarının Hayat ve Eseleri.* Istanbul: Türkiye Matbaasi, 1934. For a more recent account, see the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Alptekin Yavaş, *Anadolu Selçuklu Veziri Sahip Ata Fahreddin Ali'nin Mimari Eserleri.* T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi, 2007.

discussed below (Fig. 18).[2] The evidence of the building's physical context will also be interpreted, and finally, the political status of the patron – especially his position vis-à-vis the Mongols and Seljuks – will be considered, all in order to interpret what the building represented in its historical moment and explain why it came to be such an influential model.

Fortunately, the mosque was not completely destroyed in the fires of the nineteenth century; masonry parts of the building were saved from destruction at both its south end, where the mosque abutted the Sahip Ata's hanikah (678/1279-80) and türbe (682/1283-84), and at the north end, where the portal was protected by standing somewhat proud of the body of the building (Fig. 19). The very fine carved stone portal is often admired and has been thoroughly discussed by Kızıltan, Brend, Tuncer, Rogers, and Wolper, among others. It is chiefly recognized for having introduced the double minaret, a motif that not only links it to the architectural traditions of the Great Seljuks, but which could also be said to have initiated the multiplication of minarets that was to become one of the distinguishing features of Ottoman architecture. The top of one minaret has collapsed and the other is now almost entirely gone, but the portal's inscription is intact, as are many details of its stonework, which is carved in the florid and forceful style of Eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan. The base of the western minaret contained a sebil constructed from an antique marble sarcophagus, probably the first such charitable fountain to be incorporated in a mosque portal in Anatolia.[3] Unlike the monumental stone framework typically applied around the entrance to a Seljuk mosque, the Sahip Ata portal formed an anteroom that was likely roofed with a groin vault and had stairs on either side up to the minarets. The depth and expanded programme of the portal makes it resemble the entrances to madrasas or even caravanserais more than those of other contemporary mosques. The fine, faience-decorated mihrap also survived the fires without too much damage, perhaps by being sheltered from the blaze by the

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[2] Halük Karamağarali, "Sahipata Camii'nin Restitüsyonu Hakkinda Bir Deneme," *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi* 3, 1982: 49-76.

[3] Yılmaz Önge, *Türk Mimarisinde Selçuklu ve Osmali Dönemlerinde Su Yapıları.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997: 67-71. Ethel Sara Wolper makes a rather more daring interpretation of the sebil in "Understanding the public face of piety: philanthropy and architecture in late Seljuk Anatolia." *Mésogeios* 25-26: 328-329.

masonry of the maqsura dome, which did not survive.[4] The mihrap's proportions became distorted when the floor level was raised in the building's reconstruction, but in absolute size it was never as large as the mihrap of the Eşrefoğlu Cami or that of Ankara's Ahi Şerefettin Cami.

The remaining fragments of the portal and kibla wall fix points from which to reconstruct the north-south dimension of the plan, which was a total of 43.44 meters long. The extension of the building eastward was limited by a road or street that passed between the hanikah attached to the mosque's south face and a large double hammam that is uninscribed, but which was presumably an early part of the complex.[5] This shows that the mosque's plan, assuming it was symmetrical about its centre axis, must have been longer than it was wide. The actual east-west dimension was established by archeological soundings carried out by Karamağaralı in 1974.[6] These excavations revealed that the foundations of the building's original walls were 31.7 meters apart. The east and west walls of the late nineteenth century mosque actually sit on the foundations of the first row of columns inside the former walls. These substantial foundations are continuous, and equal in width to the fragments of outer wall that were uncovered.[7] The excavators did not trench across the full width of the site, but it is reasonable to suppose that footings of this sort were located at each bay.

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[4] Michael Meinike discussed this mihrap in detail in his comprehensive survey of Seljuk faience décor. See *Fayencedecoration Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* vol. 1 Tubingen: Wasmuth Verlag, 1976: 304-324. İlker Mete Mimiroğlu has also recently discussed the origins of the lustre tile spolia that appears in the mihrap. See his article. "Sahip Ata Camii Mimberindaki Lüster Çiniler." *Selçuk Üniversitesi Fen ve Edebiyad Facultesi Dergisi*: 463-471. The fragments are mostly in the form of long rectangular strips in the borders and are notable for including animal figures, including dogs, lions, and dragons in a place where orthodoxy forbids them. İlker Mimiroğlu proposes that the Muheddin Ustad salvaged the fragments from a palatial construction, probably the Konya köskü, and used them to repair the mihrap after the fire of 1871.

[5] The squinches of both the hanikah's central space and the hammam's largest domed room bear an unusual recessed kite-shaped motif, which suggests they were built by the same architect, and thus probably at the same time.

[6] There is some confusion on this matter. O. Cezmi Tuncer's name also appears on the drawings, with the date 1977.

[7] It is somewhat curious that the foundation walls are continuous, since structurally, footings are only needed at the points where the columns stood. The continuous footings probably supported a raised wooden floor. Detaching a wooden floor from the ground would have created an air plenum and increased the comfort of the surface where physical contact occurs during prayer, and reduced the risk of invasion by termite, beetles and dry rot. Raised floors are a common feature of medieval mosques and work on the same principle as the hypocaust floors of hammams.

This information is sufficient to establish the plan. The main hall of the building was 37.64 by 31.7 meters. The portal projected from the façade an additional 5.8 meters. The plan was divided symmetrically into seven bays by six rows of columns. If the bays were only slightly longer than they are wide, then the plan also divides into seven bays longitudinally with six ranks of columns for a total of thirty-six.[8] This arrangement made the building bilaterally symmetrical and left it unobstructed on its main axes, as might be expected. Although Karamarağlı did not find evidence for such features as a central pool and doors on the cross axis, he made the reasonable assumption that they were present. Such a large floor area would have required some form of top lighting, probably via a raised lantern of the sort used in some Seljuk madrasas, mosques and even caravanserais.[9]

Fragments of two pilasters remaining in the kibla wall flanking the mihrap reveal that the mosque had a maqsura dome. Shaped as coupled stars in plan, they are made of reddish sandstone and stand just over two meters tall. The pilaster's intercolumniation reveals that the dome was six meters in diameter. By comparison, the dome in the Eşrefoğlu Cami is 5.68 meters in diameter, that of the Tahir ile Zühre mesjid is 6 meters, and the one in the Alaeddin Cami is about 7.5 meters in diameter. The dome was large enough to contain the mimber, an arrangement also seen in the Alaeddin Cami, the Eşrefoğlu Cami, and elsewhere. The combination of a relatively large dome and a moderately sized mihrap permitted a fully symmetrical arrangement, in contrast to the displacement of the mihrap seen in the tightly planned Eşrefoğlu Cami. Knowing how the maqsura dome was decorated would help in interpreting the interior, but nothing more can be said about this matter than that it was done in the very decades when ceramic revetment technique flourished in Anatolia, and must have matched the high quality of the mihrap revetment and the lavish décor of the adjacent turbe.

Restoration work in 2007 exposed fragments of charred wood embedded in the kibla wall. The size and position of the fragments suggests the lintels of former

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[8] Tuncer's reconstruction (in the Vakiflar Genel Müdürlürğü archives) gives the mosque eight bays in the north-south direction and seven ranks of columns for a total of 42.

[9] Unfortunately, these features are rarely, if ever, seen intact. The Eşrefoğlu Cami, for example, has a large hole in its roof (presently covered with a sky-light) where a lantern must have been found.

window openings, but if the wall did have openings at one time, they would have been blocked up early on, when the tomb was built between the hanikah and the mosque, tight to the kibla wall. The rubble masonry patterns are so confused that the sequence of construction is not discernable, and in any case, they have been covered over once again, apparently without detailed records being made. Any notion of the building's fenestration remains entirely speculative, but it is reasonable to assume that windows would have been located high on the walls, perhaps just under the ceiling, as they are in Beyşehir.

Karamarağlı's reconstruction appears to be substantially correct and complete.[10] In a few minor points he has drawn too heavily from the Eşrefoğlu Cami, as for example when he supplies the building with a full set of merlons for which there is no evidence, and in the proposal for both upper and lower windows on the north façade, which seems to copy the unusual case of the angled façade at Beyşehir. Karamarağlı also located a *hunkar mahfil* in the southeast corner; in this case, he would have done better to follow the example of Beyşehir and place it in the southwest corner. This seems almost to be the canonical position for this feature, with the only exception being at the Ulu Cami of Divriği, where its position was determined by the topography. Given that the aim of the *mahfil* is to create privacy, it also makes more sense for it to have been accessed through the western door, not off of the busy street on the east. These are, however, mere quibbles, and a matter of judgment without any concrete basis.

Early documentary evidence for the building is frustratingly limited. The inscription is intact, and gives basic information about the foundation, including the reigning sultan, the founder's name, and the date, 656/1258. The portal's inscriptions have been read, recorded, and translated by a succession of scholars and epigraphers including Huart, Sarre, Ferit and Mesut, Konyalı, Rogers and others.[11] The inscription is canonic for Anatolia, so much so that Michael Rogers chose it as an

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[10] Karamarağlı showed an admirable restraint compared to Tuncer, whose 1977 project for a complete reconstruction of the mosque (preserved in the Vakiflar archives) would have laden the building with the features of every wooden mosque in Anatolia.

[11] See, for example, Friedrich Sarre, *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmaler*. Berlin, Verlag von Ernst Wasmuth, 1921: 23-24.

example to explain the form.[12] The portal is also inscribed at two places with the name of the architect Kaluk ibn ‘Abdallah. The precise form of this name and the architect’s ethnic origin has been much debated, without producing a consensus.[13]

Charles Texier was the only Western observer to record the building prior to its ultimate destruction. His 1849 book, *Description de l’Asie Mineure,* includes an engraving of the mosque but unfortunately, it illustrates just the building’s façade, and then only the main portal.[14] This was a natural choice, since the portal must have been both the most visually compelling part of the building and also the one most easily represented in a drawing, but it may also indicate that the main body of the building was already destroyed in the earlier fire.[15] In any case, Texier revealed nothing about the building that cannot be known from its present state.

An undated photograph published by Ferit and Mesut in 1934 is the only other significant early document of the building.[16] It shows the entrance to the hanikah and reveals that at one time it had a porch, which must have been lost to road widening at some point in the twentieth century (Fig. 20 – note that this is slightly different point of view from the one published by Ferit and Mesut).[17] The high, shallow porch had a small pediment resting on two tall and rather spindly wooden columns that sit on antique marble capitals. The columns had faceted surfaces and tall wooden *muqarnas* capitals. Other photographs, presumably taken at the same time and presently on display in the new museum entrance, are detailed

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[12] Rogers, “Waqf and Patronage”, 71-72.

[13] See, for example, B.O. Celal, “Mimar Kelük bin Aptullah.” *Mimar* No. 20, (June, 1932): 181-182. Leo Mayer offers a complete bibliography under his entries “Kâluk” and “Kâlûyân” in *Islamic Architects and their Works*. Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1956: 77-79.

[14] Charles Texier, *Description de l’Asie Mineure, vol. II.* Paris: Typographie de Firmin Didot Freres, 1849.

[15] Interestingly, Texier mistakenly attributed the mosque to the patronage of Alaeddin Key Kubad I. This misidentification reflects that general over-estimation of royal patronage that Crane and Rogers have taken pains to correct, but it also tacitly recognizes the challenge the building presented to Sultanic hegemony.

[16] M. Ferit and M. Mesut, *Sahip Ata ile Oğullarının Hayat ve Eseleri.* Istanbul: Türkiye Matbaasi, 1934. Fig. 15. There must have been several variants of this photograph made, probably at the same time, since the version displayed in the entrance foyer of the restored hanikah shows an elevated point of view.

[17] Vakiflar documents indicate that the hanikah façade was partially restored in 1982 and no mention is made of the wooden porch at that time.

enough to reveal that the projecting roof was not structurally integrated with the hanikah portal.

There is no other thirteenth century example in Anatolia of a portal with a pediment on columns, so it is reasonable to conclude that it is a later addition. Is it possible that the columns were salvaged from the original building and incorporated in a hasty and impromptu invention after the fire? The columns had the kind of octagonal section preserved in the mosques of Çarşamba and Beyşehir and their tall *muqarnas* capitals resemble those in Afyon and Beyşehir. In a roundabout way, the interior of the mosque as rebuilt in 1871 by Muheddin Usta provides the best argument for these being salvaged original columns. The interior constructed after the fire had round wooden columns and boldly curved brackets that were evidently intended as a highly stylized rendering of masonry arcades. [18] The work was realized in the naïve style typical of nineteenth century Anatolia and evinced no trace of the craftsmanship that must have been embodied in the original building. It follows that if its builders did not attempt the intricate work of making large *muquarnas* capitals in the mosque, then it is even more unlikely that they would have embellished the hanikah porch with newly built columns in canonical, historical forms.

The reasonable conclusion, made also by Ferit and Mesut, Karamarağlı and others, is that the photographs show the building's original wooden columns. They offer a most tantalizing glimpse of what has been lost. The columns are noticeably more slender than those in the other wooden mosques. The proportions are further attenuated by the surfaces having been spokeshaved to an octagonal section. This reduction of the section occurs in the upper part of the columns at Çarşamba's Gökçeli Cami, but the only other place where it appears is in the Eşrefoğlu Cami, where 22 of the 39 columns have octagonal plans. The narrow diameter of the columns is emphasized by the way they sit on the marble bases, well inside the perimeter of the salvaged stones. The practice of placing wooden columns on inverted reclaimed capitals is attested in Sivrihisar and other Beylikler era buildings, but since the hanikah porch is a later reconstruction, it does not allow it to be said that the mosque's columns were also placed on spolia bases.

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[18] The 1871 interior was destroyed and entirely re-fabricated in 2007-2009.

The capitals are the most important detail revealed by the photographs. They confirm that, even in its first appearance at the Sahip Ata Cami in Konya, the wooden mosque type had fully developed *muqarnas* capitals. Since nothing like them appears in the few earlier wooden mosques, the Sahip Ata Cami should be credited with introducing this important motif to Anatolia. The building was probably also the source of many other details that became more or less standard features of the wooden mosques, such as the ogee profile on joists and brackets, the so-called lambrequins applied to the ends of joists where they meet the beams, the consoles used to fill interstitial joist spaces, the battens applied to conceal the joint on the underside of paired beams, etc.

Despite uncovering this surprising remnant of the original wooden building, this reconstruction leaves many questions unanswered. Many of the building's details can be interpolated from those in the other wooden mosques, but numerous features must have been unique. The mode of roof construction is the most important of these missing features, from both a constructional and a spatial perspective. Was the ceiling flat, with only the central aisle emphasized, like the mosque in Afyon; did it step upward on brackets in the rational order seen in Ankara, or was it actually curved in two directions, like the close imitation in Beyşehir? Even were it possible to calculate the approximate height of the reused wooden columns from the photographs, the subtleties of this matter are irrecoverable.

So far, this analysis has focused on concrete, physical aspects of the building and the scant documentary evidence. The following will interpret the context and circumstances of the building's realization. To do so, it compares the mosque with other buildings and relies on knowledge of cultural conventions and spatial practices. While this approach is not empirical, it has the advantage of getting somewhat closer to how the building might have been understood by historical subjects.

This approach is similar in some respects to the 'political topography' that Richard Krautheimer pursued in his book *Three Christian Capitals*.[19] Krautheimer's

[19] Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983: 3.

method, which is essentially an extension of the traditional discipline of locating archeological sites via references in literary sources, involved studying a broad range of historical symbolic and signifying spatial relations to arrive at a synthetic political comprehension of the built environment. It is the sort of investigation that is required to appreciate the innovations introduced at the Sahib Ata Cami.

While many of a monument's most recognizable signifiers are iconic, material or stylistic, political topography primarily investigates qualities of space and social phenomena that are not so easily analyzed, such as orientation, proximity and hierarchy. Spatial syncretism is one such quality, and the Seljuk occupation of the Alaeddin Hill is a prime example of this practice. The hill at the centre of Konya is the type of mound, known in Turkish as a *hüyük,* that is created by continuous occupation of a site over time (Fig. 14). By taking this *hüyük* for the symbolic centre of their empire, the victorious Seljuks not only claimed a former seat of Byzantine power, they also positioned themselves as the successors of all the civilization that had accrued on this site over the course of millennia. The topographical symbolism of the artificial hill is rendered particularly acute by contrast with the surrounding Konya plain, which is entirely flat. The citadel is the only place in the city that affords a view. The site has a prospect that is as much symbolic as it is tactical- a sovereignty of the eye, so to speak. The zone of the city north of the citadel, around the Karatay Medrese, was the preferred location for the city's elite. There they would have enjoyed propinquity with the site of power, and would also have been subject to the surveillance implied by the watchtower that is all that remains of the palace complex on the Alaeddin Hill's edge.

Krautheimer took care to show that not all political topography is affirmative. Using the example of the Constantinian *renovatio* of Rome, he demonstrated that a new regime often takes measures to distinguish itself from the spatial order of its predecessor.[21] This appears to have been the case with the Sahip Ata Cami (Fig. 15). The mosque is located at a considerable distance from the old centre of power; in fact, it is about a kilometer from the Alaeddin mosque, which is as far away as it could have been and still remain engaged with the city. The new mosque eschewed

[21] Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 2.

the value of proximity to the established spatial centre of the Seljuk city and posed itself as a new order, implicitly in contrast to the old.

The mosque's eccentric position in the city starkly demonstrates the break in Seljuk authority and systems of prestige. The mosque's extra-mural location is even more significant than its distance. It is tempting to interpret the choice of a site as a rejection of the protection afforded by the city walls, but the reality is more complex (Fig. 9 – note that Karamarağli's reconstruction assumes the walls remained intact). On the basis of their general practice when conquering cities, it can be assumed that the Mongols probably demanded that the Seljuks demolish their fortifications, but it is not clear if this was carried out. At the very least, the walls of Konya, erected at great cost around 1221, must have remained intact, because the Mongol general Baiju ordered their demolition when he arrived at the Seljuk capital after subduing the rebellious brother Sultans in 1256-57.[22] The removal of the fortifications would have strikingly transformed the city, and more on its margins than at the centre, where the citadel walls were spared. The Sahip Ata mosque was thus erected on the very site of a symbolic humiliation imposed by the conquerors, and quite likely also benefited from a ready source of rubble.[23] The area in which it was built, being just outside the Karaman gate, would have lost its liminal character as a result of the demolition, and returned in some measure to being the type of open, isotropic suburban space it must have been prior to the wall's construction. As a consequence, the Sahip Ata mosque, in contrast to the Royal mosque in the citadel, would have been exposed to all the Turkmen raids, internal warfare, and strife that came in aftermath of the city's occupation. The vulnerability this entailed complied precisely with the Mongol's over-riding demand for submission, a gesture they were sure not to miss.

Direction is another major signifier in topographical analysis. The new mosque was located on the south side of the city. It may be coincidental in the case of the mosque, but it is worth noting that among the Mongols, south was regarded as

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[22] Sara Nur Yildiz, email correspondence, May 23rd, 2010.

[23] I am indebted to Muratkenan Şentürk for suggesting this last point.

the most honorable side.[24] This bias was manifest in the hierarchy of military positions, in state pageantry, in the placement of the doorways when pitching tents, and in the practice of worshipping Genghis Khān's spirit by bowing to the south, as John of Plano Carpini observed. [25] The new mosque was located in a quarter of the city that may have been auspicious to the Mongols, but Aflākī, writing some time between 718/1318 and 751/1350, describes the direction of Karaman as a source of disturbance and ruin- apparently an allusion to the Seljuk's Turkoman rivals and successors, the Karamanids. [26] These comments, made well after the decline and disappearance of the Seljuks, were put into the mouth of Rumi in order to make them seem prognostication, but when the mosque was built in 656/1258 the Karamanids were just emerging as a serious threat to the Seljuks under Mongol suzerainty. Nevertheless, it reveals the sensitivity to orientation in Konya.

Further support for the symbolism of directions and quarters of the city is offered by the parallel example of the Gök Medrese in Sivas. Built by the Sahip Ata in 670/1271-72 it, too, was located at a significant distance south of the existing city centre.[27] Even if it is not possible to attribute a consistent aversion to the established centers of culture and power to Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, it can at least be said that on more than one occasion, his choice of site demonstrated that he felt no pressing need to be close to the old centers of power.

Hierarchy is a system that links physical and symbolic standing. In medieval societies hierarchy was both explicit in the form of sumptuary laws and internalized as conventions and codes of behaviour.[28] Jalal al-Dīn Rumi revealed this aspect of the reification of Seljuk society when he said, "In this city of Konya, look at how many thousands of houses, villas, and mansions there are which belong to the commanders, prominent men, and grand nobles. The houses of the *khvajas* and

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[24] Linda Komaroff and Stefan Carboni, *The Legacy of Genghis Kahn,* 89.

[25] Vasily Vladimirovich Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion.* Third Edition. London: Messrs. Luzac &Co. Ltd., 1968: 386.

[26] Shams al-Dīn Ahmad-e Aflākī. *The Feats of the Knowers of God (Manāqeb al-'arefīn).* Translated by John O'Kane. Brill: Leiden, 2002: 164.

[27] Ethel Sara Wolper has made considerable use of this point in her discussion of Sivas; not all of her terms seem theoretically sound, but they are suggestive.

[28] The office of the *muhtasib*, for example, existed to control market practices.

akadesh are higher than the houses of the artisans, and the mansions of the commanders are higher than the houses of the *khvajas*. Likewise the arches and palaces of the sultans and rulers are a hundred degrees loftier and more splendid than all the others."[29] The passage that follows predictably asserts the superiority of the heavenly home, so it cannot be known from this statement alone whether Rumi was making a gimlet-eyed observation of the existing social order or affirming it as an ideal, but in the last instance, he described a society acutely aware of the symbolic manifestations of rank. Rumi's father, Bahā' al-Dīn, expressed similar values when he reportedly refused Sultan Kay Qubad's offer to stay in his palace. The sufi expressed disdain of the privilege by asserting that, "A *madrasa* is appropriate (lodging) for imāms, a *khānaqāh* for shaykhs, a palace for commanders, a caravanserai for merchants, lodges (*zavāyā*) for rogues (*ronūd*), and the *mastāba* (bench) for foreigners."[30] Actual lived experience might not have been as stratified as this statement asserts, but it is nevertheless a powerful expression of a social order in which each station in life has its assigned and appropriate place.

Father and son together described a society rigidly structured by class and caste, one where propriety is not just enforced, but also internalized. In such a society, the type, size, position, and degree of loftiness of buildings was generally recognized as a mode of social expression and governed by strict codes.[31] It was in this society of highly regulated consumption and conspicuous display that the sufis pursued their famously antinomian behaviour. An acute sense of hierarchy was the grounds and prerequisite of their extravagant acts, and made even small and subtle gestures legible and meaningful, as Aflākī showed throughout the *Manāqeb al-'arefīn.* Transgression, a thoroughly dialectical practice, thrives when signs are presumed to have fixed, unchanging values, because it makes them susceptible to inversion and other distortions. This dialectic institutes a symbolic language of gestures and acts, and the Sahip Ata must have been one of its masters, if the

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[29] Aflākī, *The Feats,* 43.

[30] Aflākī, *The Feats*, 23.

[31] For height as a signifier, see Jonathan Bloom, "The '*Qubbat al-Khadrā'* and the Iconography of Height in Early Islamic Architecture" *Ars Orientalis,* v. 23. Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces (1993): 135-141.

enduring reputation for generosity he secured via his acts of patronage is any measure.[32]

The novelty of the Sahip Ata Cami would have been immediately apparent to a society attuned to hierarchy, transgression, and scandal to the degree suggested by Rumi and his father. The huge size of the Sahip Ata mosque – it enclosed an area of approximately 1250 square meters - contrasted sharply with the pattern of patronage in Konya, where the single-domed cubical brick mesjid was the normal form of private mosque building.[33] At least eighteen securely dated mesjids predate the construction of the Sahip Ata Cami in 656/1258.[34] These mesjids are consistent in size, ranging usually between six and eight meters square, or from about thirty-five to sixty-five square meters. Their size is physically limited by the technical demands of building domes, the complexity of which increases exponentially with the diameter, but the final area of a cubical mesjid depends largely on the number and size of anterooms and porches.

The physical limits of the Seljuk mesjid reveals the limits imposed on private mosque building. This limit was presumably enforced – at least on the symbolic plane -by the Sultan, but might have been actually regulated through internalized constraints, or perhaps through the *ulama* via the granting of *wakfs*. A patron from the ruling strata who wanted to display his wealth, power and piety was allowed to establish a *madrasa* or some other major building, but he was apparently not free to build a bigger mosque. This was an unwritten rule, but the record of actual building practice shows that it was effective nonetheless.[35]

Only two mosques in Konya can be compared with the Sahip Ata Cami for size: the Iplikçi Cami and the Alaeddin Cami itself. The Iplikçi Cami is located

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[32] On this matter, see Ethel Sara Wolper, "Understanding the public face of piety: philanthropy and architecture in late Seljuk Anatolia." *Mésogeios* 25-26: 311-336. Wolper's account of the establishment of medieval Anatolian reputations, however, seems excessively constructivist.

[33] See Crane, *Muslim Patronage in Saljuq Anatolia,* 8.

[34] This number is derived from the survey published as an appendix in Michael Meinecke's *Fayence-decoration Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* 2 vol. Tubingen: Wasmuth Verlag, 1976.

[35] Crane notes that, "If mosques built by amirs and important notables tend to be modest in both scale and ornament, such is not the case with medreses and khans built by the same group." *Muslim Patronage in Saljuq Anatolia,* 9. I am trying to go beyond such an empirical statement by suggesting that it was a culturally determined mode of artistic production.

outside the inner citadel walls about three hundred meters from the eastern face of the Alaeddin Cami.[36] It is little discussed by architectural historians, probably because it has been entirely reconstructed on the original foundations. Built by Shams al-Dîn Abu Sa'îd Altunbay ibn 'Abd Allâh in 598/1202, it is a hypostyle hall with stout masonry piers and a floor area of approximately 775 square metres. Its proximity to the Alaeddin Cami suggests that the mosque was built to increase the capacity for worshippers near the citadel. This mosque is the only example in Konya of a large, congregational-type mosque built by a non-Sultanic patron. Its builder, known generally as Altun-aba, was the *amîr al-isfahsalâr,* a position just subordinate to the atabeg. The relatively early date of this building may partially explain its exceptional status and size; prolific builders of a later date, like the powerful *nâ'ib* and later *atabeg* Jalāl al-Dīn Karatay, did not build anything resembling a congregational mosque.

The Alaeddin Cami was of course the pre-eminent mosque in the city, but historians have often noted that it is not as distinguished as expected, given its place as the Royal mosque of the Seljuk Empire.[37] The mosque was built incrementally starting around 550/1155 (the date on the ebony mimber inside) and its awkward location on the side of the Alaeddin hill caused numerous structural problems. Tall retaining walls had to be built on the mosque's southern face, where it is cut deep into the hillside, and a high podium had to be built on the north, where it projected out of the hill. The sequence of construction is still debated, but the western part amounted to around 575 square meters, and there is another phase of the same or slightly larger size, centered on the mihrap and built possibly in the reign of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II, around 616-619/1219-1222. On the east side there is also a large hypostyle hall built of spolia with a wooden roof, providing a total of over two thousand square meters. The mosque's generous interior area was supplemented on its north side by a large walled courtyard containing the Seljuk dynastic tomb and the

[36] Osman Turan, "Şemseddin Altun-Aba, Vakfiyesi ve Hayat (Selçuk Devri Vakfiyeleri I)" *Belleten,*XI/42 (1947): 197-235

[37] See, for example, Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered" *ArtibusAsiae*, Vol LI, ½ (1991): 54.

white marble tomb begun by ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II but left incomplete upon his death.

The difference in size of the mosques in Konya had profound social implications. The current Imam of the Şekerfuruş Mesjid (617/1220-21), which is probably the smallest of the early mesjids, reports that it accommodates only forty-five worshippers. The very largest brick mesjids were not likely to have space for much more than twice that number - they might have housed a hundred people with their porches fully occupied. The brick-domed mesjids were distributed throughout the urban fabric and each must have been frequented by a select group of local inhabitants. The decentralized mesjid system had an obvious practical basis in providing neighborhood residents with convenient places of worship, but it also had the effect of privatizing worship to a remarkable degree.

The Alaeddin mosque’s location on the hill inside the inner city walls and adjacent to the palace, indicates that it was originally conceived as a kale cami, designated primarily if not exclusively for the use of those with access to the inner sanctum, in this case the Sultan, his family and the court. Mosques of this type did not have to accommodate a large congregation. Regardless of its substantial increase in size by the addition of the hypostyle hall, the Alaeddin Cami must have always retained something of the exclusivity of its first iteration.

In contrast to the norm in Konya, the new Sahip Ata Cami would have permitted extraordinarily large numbers of worshipers to assemble. In fact, the maqsura dome that stood in front of the mihrap of the Sahip Ata Cami was alone as large as a typical Konya mesjid. The mass of people the mosque could accommodate would have greatly increased the scope of the patron’s constituency. The mosque’s size boldly asserted universal accessibility, which would have contrasted strongly with the social usage of the Alaeddin Cami, which if it did not remain the exclusive preserve of the court, must at least have remained identified with the *iç kale* elite.

In addition to the number of people the new wooden mosque could accommodate, it can be assumed that the congregation’s composition and social stature differed from the norm. The new mosque catered to the inhabitants of the city’s margins, not those at the centre. The building must have served to bring

together factions and disparate constituencies, from *sufis, ahis* and *ikdişis* (converted Greeks and people of mixed ethnicity) to mendicants, soldiers, merchants and perhaps even the *runud* (street gangs). The role of the mosque as a 'social condenser' was confirmed by the addition of the *hanakah* on the south side.[39] This building formalized the notion of a community dwelling in proximity to the mosque, and may well have by-passed the elite sufis who were associated with the court.[40] The mosque would have made congregational worship available to people who were excluded or marginalized by the prior order of the state. It presented the vision of an ideal Muslim unity of worship to reassure a city wary of its new overlords and console a nation uncertain of its future.

The matter of size intersects with the question of stature most explicitly in the distinction drawn between mesjid and mosque.[41] In early Hanafi law, each city was permitted only one cami, presumably to maintain clarity and unanimity of the message delivered in the Friday sermon, or *khutba*, which was one of the primary manifestations of sovereignty. Requiring the caliph's permission to establish a mosque enforced this regulation. Over time, this restriction was relaxed so that a congregational mosque was eventually permitted in each urban district, or *mahalle.* By the thirteenth century the distinction between mesjid and *mesjid i-cuma* was no longer strictly maintained, but the Sultanic prerogative of controlling the building of congregational mosques likely persisted. Jealous control of privileges was a general preoccupation of rulers; Nizām al-Mulk, for example, advised the Sultans to restrict the number of judgments they made, lest their proclamations become weakened by familiarity.[42] The Seljuks of Rūm were assiduous in pursuing close relations with the

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[39] For the hanakah itself, see Mahmut Akok, *Konya'da Sahib-Ata Hanikāh, Camiinin Röleve ve Mimarisi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Basimevi, 1972. For the hanakah as an institution, see Sheila S. Blair, *The Ilkhanid Shrine Complex at Natanz, Iran*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1986: 25.

[40] This is an extrapolation from the decidedly negative attitude that Aflākī held toward the Sahip Ata, who had tried to persecute Mevlana's followers. See Aflākī, *Feats*, 92.

[41] On the historical development of this matter, see the entry by M.Th. Houtsma under Architecture in Brill's First Encyclopedia of Islam, p. 422.

[42] Nizam al-Mulk. *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk.* Darke, Hubert, trans. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edition, 1978: 119

Caliph and cultivating the legitimacy he conferred.[43] Further research is need to determine if it was the Seljuk Sultan's practice to seek out the Caliph's authorization each and every time he sought to build; if it was the case, it may help explain the Seljuk's parsimony in founding congregational mosques.

There seems to have been only one congregational mosque ever built by a non-Sultanic patron in the Seljuk era, and it offers a cautionary tale. The city of Niğde was given as an *iqta* to the wealthy and powerful *amir akhur* Zayn al-Dīn Bashara ibn 'Abd Allah al-Ghalibi in 608/1211-12. This amir had already built a tower in Sinop and the Besarabey Mesjidi-Ferhuniye Mesjidi (616/1219-20) in Konya. In 620/1223-24, the amir built the Alaeddin Cami in Niğde's capacious citadel. The building has a hypostyle plan with large square stone piers and a light well on the central axis. It is one of only a few Seljuk era buildings to have groin vaulting in stone. The building's scale and form and the late date of its foundation makes it clear that it was not conceived as a *kale* mesjid, but as a *mesjid-i-cuma*, or Friday mosque. A three-line inscription on the niche says its architects were Siddik bin Mahmut and his brother Gazi. Shortly after Bashara completing the mosque in 620/1223-24, he was executed on the order of Sultan Alā' al-Dīn Kay Qubād I. The precise circumstances of this event were not recorded, but it was clear that the amir had attempted to usurp power from the young Sultan. The coincidence in dates suggests a link between the amir's fate and his last major act, the construction of the mosque. After the amir's demise, the mosque was named for the Sultan and assimilated to his glory.

It is quite possible that under other circumstances, the building of the Sahip Ata Cami would have been regarded as *lese majeste*, but the Sultans, as a result of their defeat and their often-tenuous control of their own court, were in no position to object. Even more profoundly, however, than the Sultan's straightened circumstances, Hülegü's deposing of the Caliph in 656/1258 brought the entire symbolic system of legitimation to a sudden halt. The trauma of this event

[43] Cahen, *Formation,* 162. Note also the embassy to Baghdad purportedly made by Karatay around 649/1251. See Crane, *Muslim Patronage in Saljuq Anatolia,* 35.

reverberated throughout the Islamic world.[44] It was severe enough that the Mamluks even sought to re-establish the Caliph under their authority in Cairo, all the better to defy their Mongol enemies. In Anatolia, however, the Fall of Baghdad unfettered the restricted economy of mosque building, eventually making it possible for all and sundry to build as they liked.

The Patron and the Historical Moment

The Sahip Ata Cami was significant simply for being the first large mosque built in the capital after the Conquest, and thus demonstrating the Mongol's policy of permitting the free expression of religious convictions. Of course, this would have been a matter of no small concern to a Muslim populace anxious about the status of Islam after the arrival of infidel victors who brought with them a cadre of Buddhist priests, who still followed some shamanistic practices, and that – despite their heretical Nestorianism - might be suspected of favouring Christians in Anatolia.

The meaning of the Sahip Ata Cami is ultimately connected to the patron's status as an intermediary between the Seljuks and the Mongols. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī attained the position of *amir* (commander) some time after the Mongol's victory and was made *amīr-i dād* (comptroller of judicial administration, the position known in Europe as chief justiciar) in 657/1250-51. Sultan Kay Kāwūs II elevated him to *nā'ib* (viceregent) in 657/1258-59 and in 659/1259-60 he became *vizīr*, first to Kay Kāwūs alone and then shortly afterward for the whole of the Rūm Seljuk state. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī' maintained this ultimate position even after the Mongols assumed direct control of Anatolia in the chaotic aftermath of the Mamluk invasion of 675/1277, and though he lost his two sons in the subsequent Turkmen revolt, he effectively gained in power when the Mongols executed his only equal, the traitorous Pervane Muin al-Dīn. At the time of his death in 687/1288, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī' had been *vizīr* for almost thirty years, and wielded greater power than the Sultan himself. One of the few constant figures in a turbulent era, he was also the most significant patron of architecture in Anatolia under Mongol suzerainty. Eleven buildings are directly attested to his

[44] The effect of this event was likely compounded by the nearly simultaneous burning of the Prophet's mosque in Medina.

patronage and a number of others can be safely attributed to him. These generous endowments won Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī’ renown as a public benefactor and the honorific titles, *Abu al-Khayrāt* (Father of Good Works) and *Sahib Ata* (Lord of Giving).

Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī ‘s steady rise to prominence - in fact, his entire long and brilliant career - took place under Mongol suzerainty. This political engagement attained a high level at a relatively early point. Around 652/1254, the young *amir-i dad* was entrusted by Jalāl al-Dīn Karatay and the *vizier* ‘Izz al-Dīn with leading an embassy to Batu Kahn, leader of the Golden Horde that dominated Anatolia.[45] This decisive symbolic mission propelled him physically to the centre of the Mongol camp, and politically to the innermost circle of trusted Mongol agents. If his subsequent steady elevation in rank is a valid measure, the mission can also be regarded as the key to his later success. This journey also qualifies as a pivotal event in Anatolian architecture, for it was just shortly after returning that Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī’ introduced wooden construction to Anatolia.

The timing of Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī’s construction, just after returning from his mission makes it seem likely that he was inspired to build in this novel way by buildings he had seen while abroad. While this is difficult to substantiate, architectural history offers numerous instances of travel as an agent for generating novel forms of buildings.[46] Perhaps the most important aspect of this case is that the innovation appears to have been lead by the patron. There are many documented cases of craftsmen arriving in Anatolia from the unsettled East with novel skills and ideas,[47] but this is the only example of a deliberate innovation of monumental scale that can be traced to an architecturally sophisticated patron.

The need for contacts between the Seljuks and the Mongols must have been clear immediately after the defeat at Köse Dağ, but actual contact progressed by

[45] Not, as Cahen would have it, to Karakorum; *Formation,* 181-188. Crane makes it clear that Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī’s embassy to Batu had not yet returned when the Mongols demanded an audience with the Seljuk prince at the Mongol capital. See *Muslim Patronage in Saljuq Anatolia,* 35-36. I am grateful to Dr. Sara Nur Yildiz for clarifying this important point, which will be explained in her forthcoming book on Ibn Bibi’s history.

[46] There is an extensive and growing literature on this theme, but rather than trying to cite it, it is more concise to simply point to one of the best known examples, Hadrian’s Villa in Tivoli.

[47] To give just one famous example, Ahmed of Tus’, artisan of the ceramic revetment at the Sirçali madrasa ca. 1242.

stages. Following the battle, the *vizier* Muhadhdahab al-Dīn approached Baiju, the Mongol's chief military commander for western Asia, who took him to the Mongol commander Chormaghun to negotiate terms for peace. This first meeting was followed by an embassy to Batu, the chief of all the Mongols of the West, who was then camped on the steppe between the Don and the Volga. Lead by the *na'ib* and acting *vizier*, Al-Isfahani, the meeting resulted in a decree appointing Kay Khusraw as Batu's lieutenant in Rum.[48] Following Kay Khusraw's death at the end of 642/1245-1246, his son, Rukn al-Dīn Kılıc Arslan IV, (aged nine at the time) was sent to Batu, accompanied by his *atabeg*, Baha al-Dīn Yusuf bin Nuh Erzincani and the *qadi* Kamal al-Dīn al-Khutan.[49] The uncertainty of the Seljuk administration was such that even amirs made journeys to Batu seeking confirmation of their status.

The Seljuk historian Ibn Bibi claimed that the embassy lead by Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī was convened by Jalāl al-Dīn Karatay and the *vizier* 'Izz al-Dīn to protest Baiju's excessive exactions and to negotiate concessions or a limit on the tribute payable by the sultans. The conditions of the Seljuk tribute to the Mongols vary in different accounts, but it is clear that Mongol demands constantly increased.[50] There were also frequent exactions to support the Mongols stationed in Sivas and other Anatolian cities. The burden must have been exacerbated by a decline in revenue, since the Seljuk's loss of autonomy probably encouraged the already rebellious Turkmen to shirk their taxes. The administrators of the Seljuk state, hard pressed to meet the Mongol's endless demands, must have feared the depletion of the state coffers, if their wealth had not already been simply confiscated.

The Seljuks were not the only polity to discover the high cost of Mongol overlord-ship at this moment. In the fall of AD 1255, Möngke responded to the pleas of an embassy from China by reducing the tax schedule recently established there. This was followed by the failure to collect the full tax quota of Khurasan in 654/1256, which, two years later, again led Möngke to announce new rates.

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[48] Cahen, *Formation*, 174.

[49] Cahen, *Formation,* 177.

[50] According to Ibn Bibi, the amount of tribute had been set from the start of Mongol rule, but according to Simon of St. Quentin, it was not fixed until 1246, after the death of Kay Khusraw. See Cahen, *Formation,* 177.

Möngke's general strategy for calibrating the new taxes was to ease the burden on the poor, but to increase the maximum rate for the wealthy, which had little difficulty in paying.[51] Thomas Allsen credits Möngke with a pragmatic willingness to adjust taxation to suit the disparate regions of the vast empire. Allsen has also shown that the Mongols had an overriding interest in moneterizing taxes. The traditional practice of taking a share of crops and herds was useful when the most pressing need was to support locally stationed troops, but it was not sufficient to meet the demands of a vast empire; revenue had to be made to flow directly to the capital and court. It was thus Mongol imperial policy to establish and promote a cash economy throughout the empire.[52] The basic instrument of Mongol taxation was a poll tax, known as *qubchur*, which had to be paid in cash. In order to implement this tax efficiently, the Mongols conducted censuses between AD 1252 and 1254 in the newly conquered regions of Armenia and Azerbaijan, and in the Rus principalities. The same procedure was applied to Anatolia, and though the dates are somewhat obscure, it is known that the amir Shams al-Dīn Qazvīnī was put in charge of conducting a census (*sar-shumāra*) of Rūm.[53]

The aim of the embassy lead by Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī was to protest and resist abuses by Mongol military chiefs that Batu could or would not limit, but the embassy was conducted at precisely the point when the Mongol administration of Anatolia shifted from Batu of the Golden Horde to Hülegü, who was just then setting out to execute the policy of total domination of Iran and Iraq that had been decided upon at the *quriltai* of AD 1249.[54] It was not until after the success of his mission – by some

[51] Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, 165.

[52] Charles Halperin opines, "The Mongols wanted to extract maximum benefit at minimum cost; any interpretation of their actions that does not proceed from this assumption is probably misguided." *Russia and the Golden Horde*, 30.

[53] Charles Melville, "The Early Persian Historiography of Anatolia." in J. Pfeiffer, S. Quinn and E.Tucker (eds) *History and Historiography of Post- Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in honour of John E. Woods*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006: 144.

[54] The delay in Hülegü's departure and the slowness of his procession across Iran is well described by John Masson Smith Jr., "Hülegü moves West: High Living and Heartbreak on the Road to Baghdad" in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 111-134.

accounts AD 1259 at earliest – that there existed anything like an Ilkhanid division of the Mongol Empire.[55]

Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī's role in the embassy boosted his status in the Seljuk state, and set his later direction. The journey gave him direct experience of the Mongol system of administration, personal familiarity with its political dynamics, and the opportunity to gain the Mongol's confidence. The Mongols were renowned for the devotion that they displayed to their most trusted agents and their correspondingly harsh treatment of dissenters. Mongol approval of Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī was demonstrated by granting him a *piasa*, an inscribed oblong plaque that was the physical sign of official authorization and a *yarligh,* a decree or pronouncement made by the Mongol administration, with the effect of an ordinance. These two official instruments would have placed him under the care of the Mongol overlords, and given him benefits such as access to audiences with officials, use of the Mongol's exclusive postal system, and the right to collect taxes.

Fakhr al-Dīn's ʻAlı's embassy positioned him as a key intermediary of the Seljuks and the Mongols of the Golden Horde, and he seems to have skillfully negotiated the transition to the Ilkhanids when they eventually established their *ordu* in Azerbaijan. His return to Anatolia coincided with his promotion to *na'ib* (viceregent), and in his new position he would have had greater command of the Seljuk state apparatus; soon, his position was equal to that of the Pervane, Mu'in al-Dīn. Indeed, the comparison is more than apposite, since the Pervane's prestige and position was effectively inherited from his father, the Seljuk *vezier* Muhadhdhab al-Dīn. Cahen notes that, as the first Seljuk representative to negotiate with the Mongols, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn, "stood in a kind of personal dependence on them (i.e. the Mongols), which made him their representative as well as the sultan's."[56] Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī attained his similar position in the state by precisely the same direct exposure to the Mongols.

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[55] See Reuven Amitai, "Evidence for the Early Use of the Title īlkhān among the Mongols" in *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate* (pagination irregular). Indeed, the very name that Hülegü gave his realm demonstrated his obedience to the Mongol hierarchy: Ilkhan, according to the most likely interpretation, meaning subservient khan.

[56] Cahen, *Formation,* p 174.

The endorsement of the Sahip Ata was an example of the Mongol's need to utilize local agents in the administration of their empire. Ibn Bibi records that Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī met with Baiju upon his return, but gives no hint of the results of their meeting. This must, however, have been the occasion when he would have reported whatever concessions he had won with respect to the complaints he had represented. At the same time, a ruling came from Möngkë Khan declaring the division of the state between the two ruling princes. The time of this meeting might then be understood as a moment of negotiating a new *modus vivendi* between the two powers. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī naturally continued to represent Seljuk interests upon his return, but he began to also represent Mongol concerns. In short, the Sahip Ata became something like one of Allsen's 'intermediary figures,' a high-level cultural diplomat, transmitting cultural ideas and impulses, and making the best of a situation that was disastrous to less adroit men.

The 656/1258 date of the mosque's inscription raises some questions about timing vis-à-vis the embassy, since it appears to leave little time for Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī to go to the steppes of Russia and return and to also build a major building. The solution to this problem is actually rather simple. Michael Rogers notes that in Anatolia, the date of a building inscription, "referred as a matter of course not to the completion but to the foundation or to the time that it was ordered."[57] Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's decision to build the mosque was presumably taken just before he became vice-regent in 657/1259 The construction may have taken some time to complete, but considering 656/1258 as the inaugural date makes the timing more plausible.

It is also natural to ask how the building was funded, even if concrete answers cannot be obtained. Fakhr ad-Din 'Alī had already built several buildings within or *en route* to his *iqta*, but after returning from his mission he built more extensively, at a new scale, and in the capital. At some point, he must have become quite rich. It is possible that he gained an outright monopoly over the alum trade in his frontier *iqta* when a new round of appropriations occurred in the chaotic decline of the state. This was probably not, however, sufficient to carry out the largest programme of patronage of the times. The new scale and location of his endeavors, along with his

[57] Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage," 72.

later appointments, suggested that Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī had gained access to funds formerly under Sultanic control. Perhaps the *yarligh* he was granted entitled him to discretionary use of the taxes he administered.

Building the mosque was undoubtedly an expensive undertaking, and the Mongols could not have been unaware of this large expenditure by their protégé. They were evidently willing to permit it, thus setting up a sharp contrast in privilege with the Sultans, who were forbidden to undertake any new building. Although Fakhr ad-Dın ʻAlī observed the convention of crediting the building to the reigning Sultan, there is nothing about the building to suggest that he built it as a proxy for the Sultan – quite the opposite, under normal circumstances it would have violated the convention of Sultanic control over building congregational mosques. The Sahip Ata took skillful advantage of Sultanic prerogatives that had been abrogated by the Mongol Conquest; he used them to secure his own position, and presumably extended those privileges to his family and clients.

Although Konya was distant from the centre of Mongols activities at Maragah in Azerbaijan, it has to be assumed that the entire resources of Anatolia were at Mongol command. In 1257, for example, Mongol *tümens* were mustered in Anatolia in preparation for the assault on Baghdad, thus displacing the local population from traditional grazing lands and causing them great hardship.[58] It is difficult to imagine the Mongols would have been indifferent to the Sahip Ata's expensive undertaking in the former capital of the Seljuks at this very moment. The Mongols must have approved the building of the mosque, either explicitly or implicitly, and this raises the question of their motives, however indirect they may have been.[59] Did they want to encourage the ambitions of their newest and most promising protégé, or to appease some faction that the mosque would benefit, such as the *ulama*, who would gain sinecures? These are all plausible, practical aims, but they seem rather feeble. It is more likely that the Mongols needed to demonstrate that they would permit mosques to be built, and by not interfering in the conduct of religion, thus sought to qualify as just leaders and avert becoming the object of a

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[58] Sara Nur Yıldız, Email correspondence, 19 May 2010.

[59] Peter Jackson, `The Mongols and the Faith of the Conquered', in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the sedentary world*, R. Amitai and M. Biran (eds.), (Leiden, 2005): 245-290

compulsory resistance, or *jihad*. The mosque building appears to have been a substantive, material corollary of the Mongol strategy of insulating themselves from religious conflict by maintaining a multi-layered hierarchy of Muslim functionaries between themselves and their Muslim subjects.[60] The fictional Seljuk Sultans, the Pervane, the Sahip Ata, and in particular, the Juvayni brothers, all played a part in legitimizing Mongol rule and rendering it palatable.[61] The sophisticated, urbanized state functionaries had more interest in accommodating the Mongols than did the unruly Turkmen masses, which quickly emerged as a threat to both groups. The Sahip Ata's mosque cannot be seen strictly as a response or reaction to the Mongols, for that would grant him too much autonomy. At the very least, the approval of its construction must be regarded as the Mongol's concession to intractable religious sentiments, a measure designed to ward off scandal and avoid conflict.

It is fully possible that other, less calculating, motives may have been at play. The Mongols, not being bound by the monotheistic ethos, were fundamentally eclectic and ecumenical in their religious beliefs. The Khans, for example, occasionally staged public debates between clerics of different religions and often managed to convince exponents of various mutually incompatible religions that they had won a partisan.[62] Throughout their campaigns, the Mongols rarely persecuted religious figures as such, and on the contrary, often spared them along with other subjects they viewed as useful to their enterprise. They even followed a policy of exempting holy men from taxation.[63] As has already been mentioned, they also recognized the inviolability of *wakfs* in Anatolia. It may run counter to present sensibilities, but all evidence indicates that Mongol imperial ideology was sufficiently encompassing as to welcome the spiritual benefits available from all religions. They may well have hoped to harness the spiritual endeavors of their

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[60] Note Aflākī's harsh personal condemnation of him in *The Feats,* 380.

[61] This idea reflects suggestions made by Dr. Sara Nur Yıldız of Bilgi Üniversitesi, in e-mail correspondence, May 19, 2010.

[62] Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, 200.

[62] Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, 200.

[63] John Masson Smith Jr., "Mongol and Nomad Taxation." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol 30. (1970): 50

subjects to their imperial project. The system of prerogatives that the Seljuks had guarded so jealously was alien to the Mongols; any spiritual undertaking that did not challenge their imperial ideology was permitted, and potentially even welcomed. This is probably the context in which they received and approved the proposition to build a new mosque.

When the Mongols converted to Islam and began to build in the early eighth/fourteenth century, they renounced their earlier tolerance, abolished the many Christian foundations they had propagated in cities such as Tebriz and Maragah, and immediately embarked upon numerous new constructions of an unprecedented monumental scale. Tegüder's rebuilding of Takht-i Sulaiman, the mosque of 'Alishah at Tabriz, and the Tomb of Öljeitü (1315-1325) are all immediately notable, among other things, for their ostentatious scale. These and later Timurid buildings, like the palace at Şakrisabz and the giant mosque of Bibi Khanoum in Samerkand, suggest that when it came to building, the Mongols were consistent in valuing audacity and sheer size. Once they began to build, they did so as if to compensate for the absence of monumentality in their former nomadic life.

In light of these subsequent examples, it might not be unreasonable to surmise that the Mongols may have admired or even encouraged the grand, ostentatious scale at which the Sahip Ata conceived his new building. What can be said with certainty is that the Mongols must have seen some advantage in building the new mosque, for it was well within their power to prevent it. The explicit or even implicit license the new building offered was all that was needed to encourage those with pent-up and unrealized aspirations for religious reification to take matters into their own hands and build for themselves. The wooden hypostyle mosque type had been at least tacitly sanctioned by the new order in the state, and this was sufficient to liberate the mosque-building urges that had been suppressed by the Seljuk Sultans.

Fig. 13. Ariel view of the Allaedin Hill, Konya. The privileged administrative district was north of the hill, at the top of the photograph. The Sahip Ata Cami is about one kilometre south of the hill, outside the former city walls.

Fig. 14. Map of Konya (after Meinecke). The Sahip Ata Cami is located at No. 70; the Alaeddin Cami is the dark rectangle marked No. 5; and the Iplikci Cami is located at No. 40. The dotted lines indicate the former city walls, outer and inner.

Fig. 15. Interior of the Sahip Ata Cami as reconstructed in AD 1871 by Muheddin Usta (now demolished). The mihrap is original, and the window between the mosque and the Sahip Ata's tomb can be seen east of the mihrap.

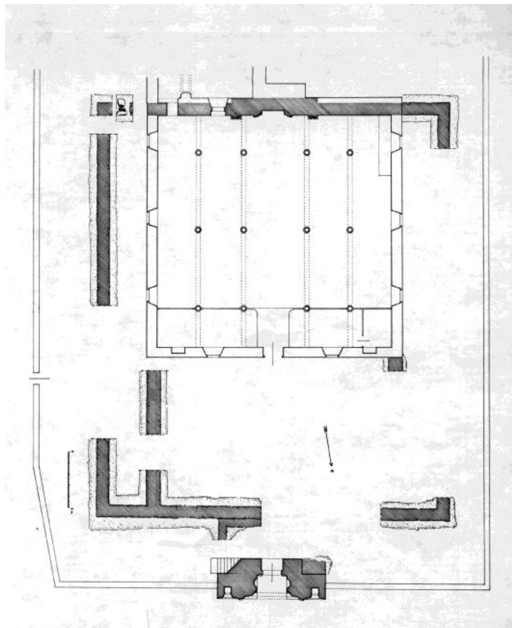

Fig. 16. (Left) Plan of the Sahip Ata Cami (after Karamarağli). Surviving portions of the original building are shown, with results of archeological soundings and the mosque constructed in 1871

Fig. 17. (Right) Surviving pilaster from the original maqsura dome.

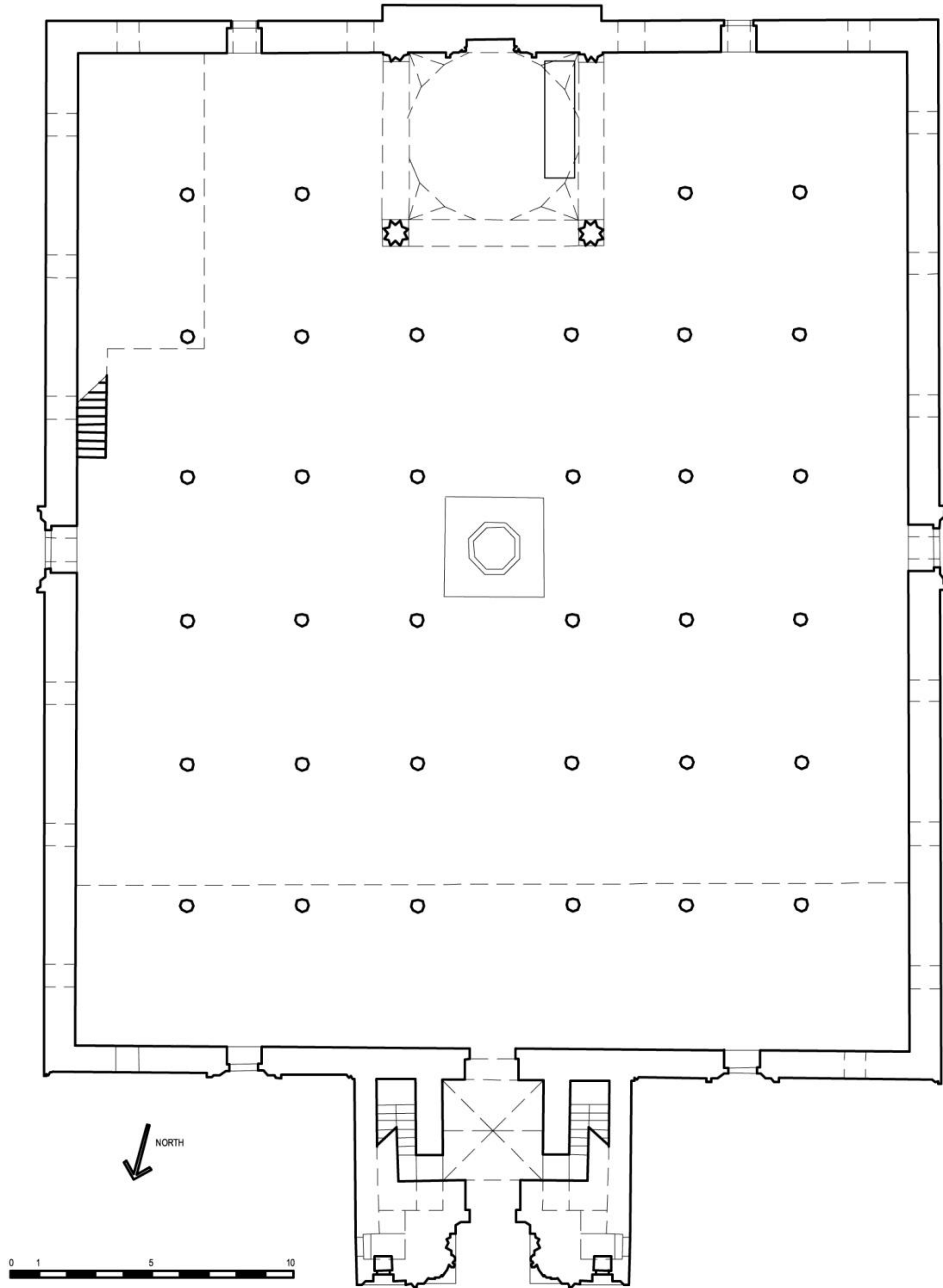

Fig. 18. The Sahip Ata Plan, reconstruction (redrawn by the author after Karamarağli)

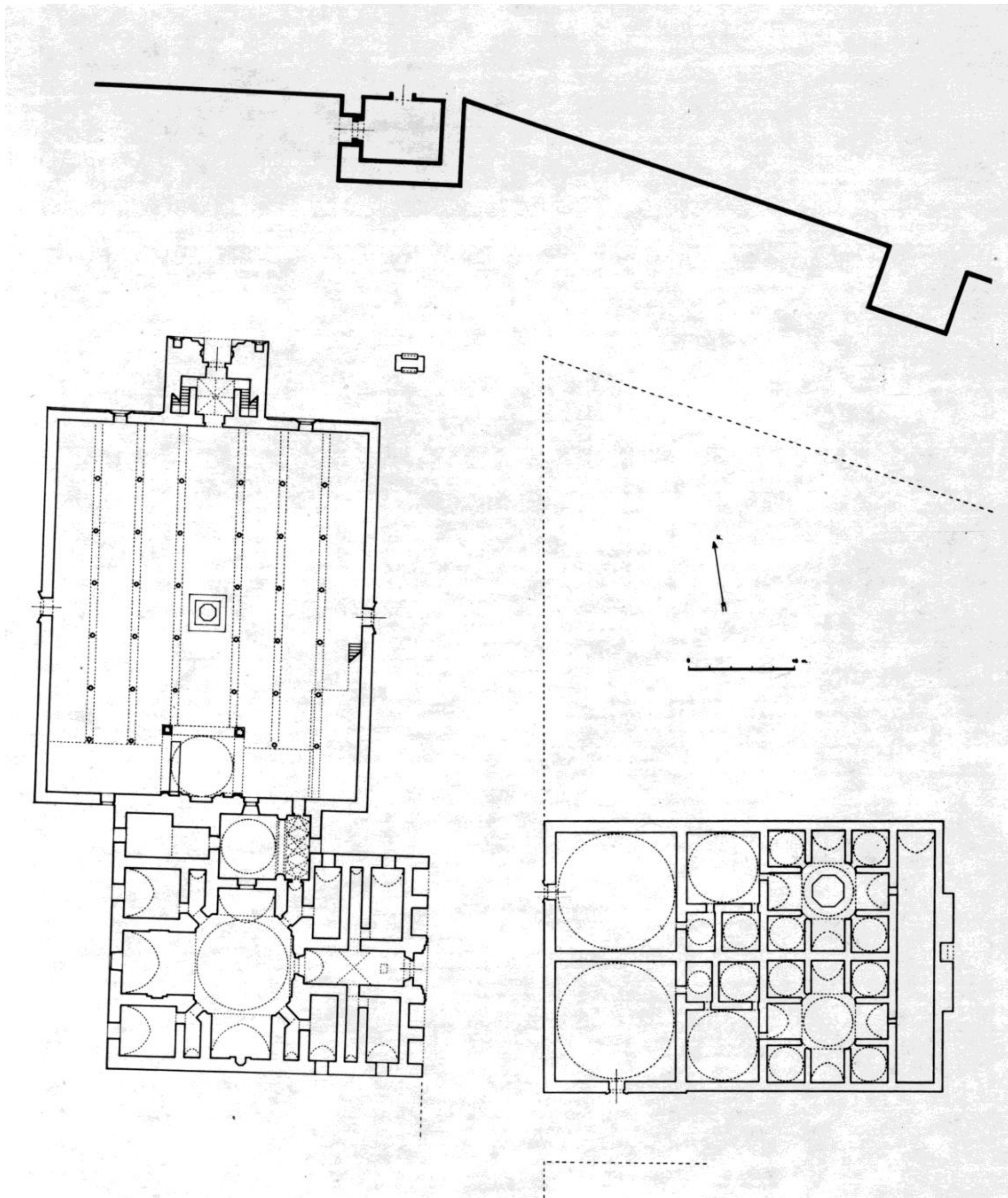

Fig. 19. Urban Context of the Sahip Ata Cami, Konya (after Karamarağli). The city wall north of the mosque was probably demolished shortly before construction began. The hanikah dates from 678/1279-80 and the türbe (the small domed room south and east of the mihrap) was added in 682/1283-84. The double hammam at the right has no inscription, but must have been built as part of the complex, possibly along with the hanikah.

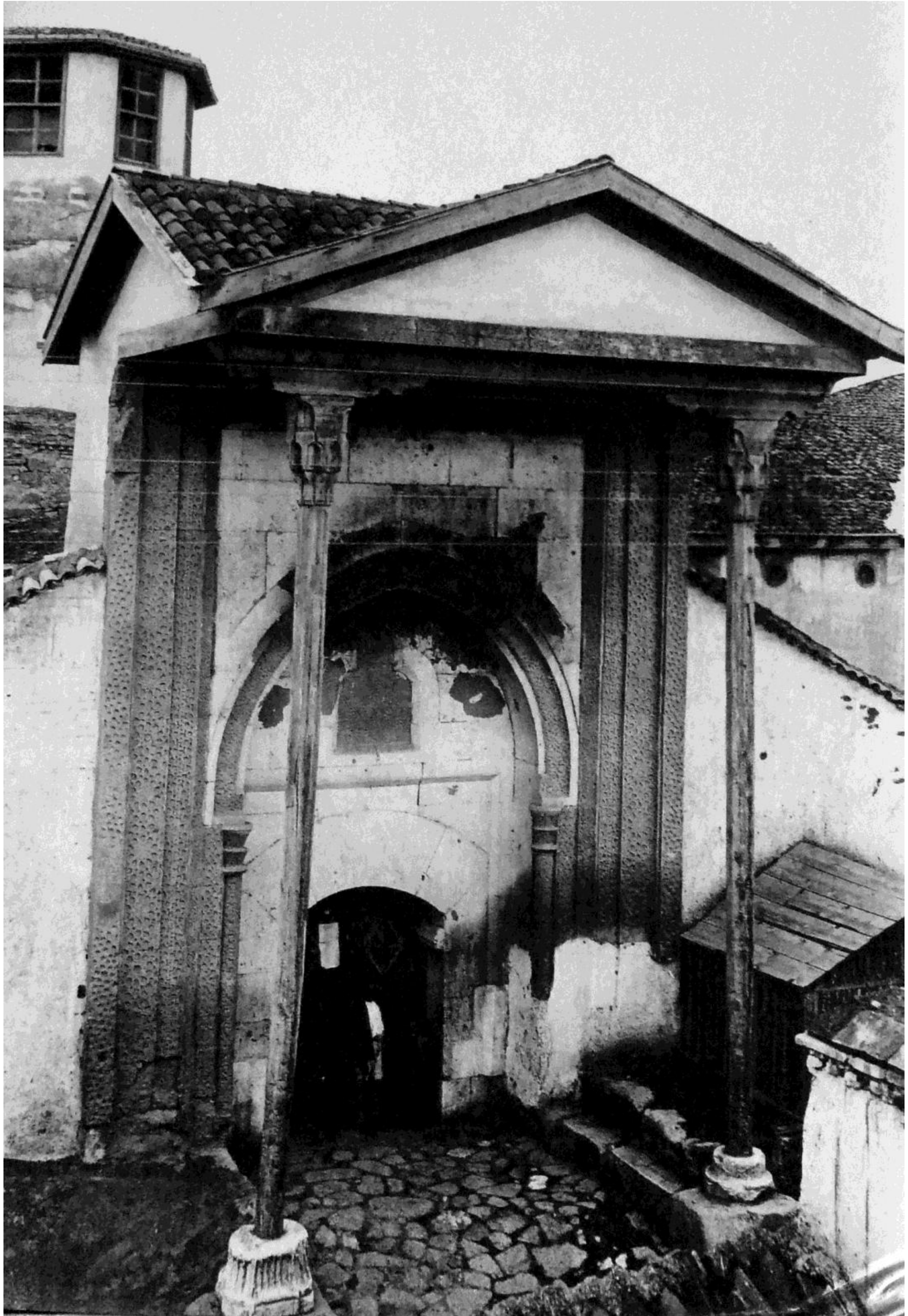

Fig.20. Wooden Columns at Sahip Ata Hanikah entrance. (Photo by author of archival image in Hanikah Museum.)

CHAPTER 3

The Ulu Camis of Afyonkarahisar and Sivrihisar: Building an Administrative Iqta

The aim of this and the following two chapters is to examine the surviving wooden hypostyle mosques individually, contextually, and in chronological order. There are, however, good reasons to consider the Ulu Camis of Afyonkarahisar and Sivrihisar jointly. The two buildings are proximate, they were built in tandem – the first in 671/1272, the second in 673/1274-75 - and they have many obvious formal similarities. More importantly, they were produced by builders with close ties to the Sahip Ata: the first by Amir Nureddin Hasan, one of his two sons, and the second by Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl, the Sahip Ata's successor as *na'ib*. Together, the mosques constitute the first stage in the dissemination and assimilation of the wooden-columned mosque prototype introduced by the Sahip Ata fifteen years earlier.

The wooden mosques in Afyon and Sivrihisar appear to have been conceived as confirmation of the possession of administrative iqtas.[1] Politically, they were clearly designed to rally and consolidate local support, but the meaning of this gesture is ambivalent, given the builder's historical circumstances. As figures belonging to the highest echelon of the Seljuk state they necessarily defended that beleaguered state's identity and legitimacy, but by staking a bold symbolic claim on a sultanic prerogative, they effectively declared a new measure of local autonomy. Taking advantage of the Seljuk sultan's incapacity and the Mongol's permission to freely exercise their religion, the builders acted to establish the basis for new states within the disintegrating Empire. The mosques' founders tried to hedge their bets on the eventual outcome of the Seljuk's decline, but could not escape the cataclysm that

[1] Anne Lampton says that the administrative *iqta* was distinguished by "the delegation to the *muqta'* of some aspect of the authority of the sultan." This differentiates it from the military *iqta*, which was conceived simply as a means to streamline both tax collection and payment of the army. See *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th-14th Century.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988: 104.

was engulfing them; in both cases, they were dead within a few years of their mosque's foundation, both victims of Turkmen revolts.

Afyonkarahisar and Sivrihisar belong to what could be called the mid-sized cities of Anatolia. They are topologically similar in a number of respects. The cities occupied strategic defensive points in the foothills that line the western edge of the Central Anatolian plain. They are located, respectively, on the southern and northern branches of the diagonal road that departed from Constantinople, diverged at Dorylaeum (Eskişehir), and passed through either Konya or Ankara to eventually converge again at the Cilician Gates.[2] Both towns are the first major stage on their respective routes out of Eskişehir. Only one hundred and twenty kilometres separates the two towns, and they are connected by a more or less straight road that must have existed at least since the Roman era. Both towns are rich in spolia and traces of prior civilizations. Despite the importance of the two towns, neither appears to have been endowed with a congregational mosque by the Seljuks.

Afyon

Afyon is the larger and more prominent of the two towns today, as was likely the case in the seventh/thirteenth century. A nearly impregnable fortress, the *Karahisar* (Black fortress) of its old Turkish name, is Afyon's distinguishing feature and the source of its strategic value. This fortress sits atop a novel geographic feature called the *Kocatepe* (Great Hill), a promontory that stands at the centre of a natural half torus-shaped crater a bit more than a kilometre in diameter. This curved valley is open to the Konya plain across most of the eastern half of its circumference. The natural stone tower at its centre raises some two hundred and twenty-five metres above the plain, and its walls are so steep that in parts they are quite vertical, and sometimes even overhang. The great hill must be the throat of an extinct volcano; at one time it would have been surrounded by soft volcanic ash; when this eroded away, the solidified vent was exposed and left with faces steeper than the surrounding hills.

[2] For the strategic value of these locations, see David Winfield, "The Northern Routes Across Anatolia" *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977): 151-166.

While the Kocatepe's form made it valuable as a defensive point, it also made it difficult to inhabit. The fort's capacity was strictly limited by the amount of water that could be collected and stored within. There are two large cisterns cut directly down into the hill's hard stone crest, likely in the Byzantine era or earlier and intricate rainwater channels etched into the stone throughout the kale attest to the measures taken to conserve even the slightest precipitation. The fortress must have acted essentially as a refuge in case of attack, and probably only the city's elite occupied it during sieges. Most of the historic settlement was naturally at the tower's more habitable base, primarily on its south and east slopes, and in the valley itself. There were apparently other walls at this lower level, but no trace of them remains.[3] The new Ulu Cami was constructed in the centre of the valley floor on the tower's south side, opposite the ancient stone-cut stairs up to the fortress gate (Fig.21/22).

The volcanic activity that shaped the city's dominant feature was also the basis of its historical economy. Afyon is rich in alum, formed naturally where the region's many hot springs dissolved the local marble and deposited purified acidic salts. *Practica della mercatura*, the handbook written by the Italian merchant Pegolotti in the first half of the fourteenth century (ca. AD 1340), identifies Afyon as the source of the best alum in Asia Minor.[4] This 'white' alum was in great demand as a mordant in dying wool, especially in England. Genoese and Venetian merchants like Pegolotti dominated the medieval alum trade, which passed through the port at Antalya.[5] The name of Boyalıköy, a village about twenty-five kilometres west of Afyon, is probably a legacy of the alum trade, since it means "the village with dye." A türbe and madrasa hint at the wealth this trade generated in the town.[6] The Kureyş Baba türbe is dated 606/1210, and Peter Ian Kuniholm has dated construction of the

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[3] In one of his few first-person anecdotes, Aflākī mentions the existence of a lower fortress at Afyon, *The Feats of the Knowers of God (Manāqeb al-ʻarefīn).* Brill: Leiden, 2002: 620-621

[4] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercatura.* Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1936. 369-370.

[5] For an example of the Seljuk cultivation of maritime trade see M.E. Martin, "The Venetian-Seljuk Treaty of 1220." *The English Historical Review* (April 1980): 321-329.

[6] The complex is described by Emre Maden, "Afyon – Sincanli, Boyaliköy Yapı Grubu," *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi* 1 (1974): 145-166.

uninscribed medrese to AD 1206 on the basis of its oak tie beams.[7] The village may have seen Turkish occupation at an even earlier date, since its cemetery was the source of an interesting group of gravestones carved in an atavistic, figurative style that resembles early Turkish stele of Central Asia.[8]

Afyon was known in the early Byzantine era as Acreonus, and it lay on the route of early Arab invaders intent on the conquest of Constantinople. In AD 740, the Byzantine emperor Leo III defeated Arab invaders in a battle nearby and renamed the city Nikopolis (city of victory). Sayyid Battal Ghazi was the most famous Muslim martyr of this campaign, and the Seljuks, aware of his historical stature and eager to historiate their new territories, 'discovered' his grave a few kilometres south of Eskişehir and fostered its development as a pilgrimage site.[9] The Battle of Myriocephalum occurred on 13 Rabi 572 /17 September 1176 not far south of Afyon, in the direction of Denizli. The Byzantine army's defeat there is sometimes called a second Manzikert because it effectively cost the Empire its claim to central Anatolia. Actually, its effects were even broader; by severing the land route to Syria, the defeat ultimately signaled the Byzantine's loss of contact with the Holy Lands.

Cahen describes Karahisar's history in the early Turkish era as being almost unknown, and notes that understanding it is complicated by the existence of other places with the same name.[10] He says only that the governors of Karahisar were probably Şābiq al-Dīn Abu'l-Wafā'' Ilyās bin Uğus before 606/1209-10 and then his son. This would have been either Badr al-Dīn Abū Hamīd Muhammad, who restored his father's bridge in 606/1209-10,[11] or Qarātāsh ibn Ilyās ibn Oğuz, who built a caravanserai near the village of Karacaviran, dated 607/1210-11.[12] Crane notes that the elder governor's title includes the phrase *ibn al-muluk wa'l-salatin*, which

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[7] Kuniholm, "Dated Ottoman Monuments," item 46, 128.

[8] See Musa Seyirci and Ahmet Topbaş, *Afyonkarahisar Yöresi Türkmen Mezar Taşlari.* Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları Arastırma, İnceleme ve Belgeleme Dizisi 2, 1985.

[9] Wolper, *Cities and saints,* 97. The process of historiation is similar to that which Oya Panceroğlu described in "Caves, Borderlands and configurations of sacred topography in medevial Anatolia." *Mésogeios*, 25-26 (2005): 249-282.

[10] Cahen, *Formation,* 154.

[11] Crane, "Patronage," item 20; RCEA item 3658, 42.

[12] Crane, "Patronage," item 81, 31.

suggests descent from a princely family.[13] This status is consistent with a prestigious and lucrative holding –one that was simultaneously on the frontier, relatively close to the centre of power at Konya, and probably a significant source of wealth.

After these two generations, control over Afyon seems to have reverted directly to the Seljuk sultans; at least, there is no record of a governor being appointed. ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn Kay Qubād I reinforced the city’s walls as part of an ambitious campaign that also up-dated the defenses of Kayseri, Sivas, Konya, Niğde and Beyşehir. An inscription circa 634/1236 shows that he reconstructed the citadel, which is described as “the high dwelling.”[14] The reconstruction of Afyon’s walls and citadel might have been a rare instance in which the Sultan built defensive walls of his own accord.[15] There are none of the amir’s inscriptions that are found in Sinop and that are known to have been in Sivas and Konya, but then again almost no evidence of the lower wall remains so if they existed, they may have been lost.

While the Seljuk’s hold on Afyon was not exactly precarious by the time of Kay Qubād’s reign, it remained the edge of the empire and presumably was populated largely by Greeks, and perhaps some Armenians[16]. Afyon was too close to the capital to describe it as a frontier garrison, but the historic borders of the Seljuk Empire were never far away. As a territory, it was both strategic and lucrative, and the Kocatepe appears almost as a natural symbol of its not inconsiderable status.

Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī seems to have gained effective control of Afyon at some point early in the Mongol suzerainty; there is no record of the iqta being granted, but he and his sons clearly ruled the city in the following decades. Cahen notes a tendency during the Mongol era for Seljuk state trade monopolies to become the private enterprises of individual notables, who also often undertook the upkeep of institutions hitherto funded by the state.[17] If this were the case with Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī

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[13] Crane, “Patronage,” item 81, 31.

[14] RCEA item 4132, 86.

[15] For the Seljuk Sultans’ practice of delegating responsibility for fortifications, see Howard Crane, *Materials for the Study of Muslim Patronage in Saljuq Anatolia: The Life and Works of Jalal Al-Din Qaratai.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1975: 6.

[16] There are Greek and even a few Armenian gravestones in the Afyon museum. They probably date from the 19th century, but furnish at least some evidence of Christian communities in the city.

[17] Cahen, *Formation,* 238.

and the alum trade of Afyon, it would explain one source of the wealth he so conspicuously expended in building.[18] It is impossible to determine precise boundaries for the iqta but it almost certainly extended northwest to Kutahya and south and east around Akşehir and Ilgin, which meant that it would have superseded the one granted by the Seljuks to the princes of Erzincan when they were defeated and incorporated in the Empire. The Mongols recognized the territory as an important *yayla* (summer pasture).[19] It stretched westward of Konya north of the Sultan Dağlari and incorporated the chain of lakes that begins with Akşehir Gölü and peters off into streams and swamps to the west of Eber Gölü. The rich clay soils there are now the basis of major brickworks, but in the seventh/thirteenth century the district was likely valued more as hunting grounds for waterfowl and other game.

Insofar as the epigraphic record shows, Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī did not build in Afyon itself, but this curious lapse in his otherwise prodigious patronage is more than compensated by the string of institutions he built between his iqta and the capital, where he would have primarily resided. A gentle and more-or-less level route runs northwest from Konya to Afyon along the foot of the Sultan Dağlari, passing en route through Kadınhan and Ilgin and going just south of Akşehir before skirting around the Akşehir and Eber lakes to arrive at Afyon itself. Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī built a *kaplıca,* or bath house, at the site of hot springs in Ilgin, (666/1267-68, present building modern)[20] and he is also credited with building a han there (c. AD 1265, no longer extant). In Akşehir, he built the Taş Medrese (648/1250-51), a mesjid (c. AD 1250, no longer extant) and a hanekah (659/1260-61). Midway on the Afyon-Akşehir road he built the İşakli Han (647/1249-50) and possibly its associated buildings, such as the nearby hammam (present building a late Ottoman reconstruction). These efforts seem to have been designed to make travel between the capital and the iqta as secure and comfortable as it could be, and probably to ease and promote trade.[21] This

[18] Cahen, *Formation*, 239.

[19] John Masson Smith, Jr. "Mongol Nomadism and Middle Eastern Geography: Qishlaqs and Tumens" *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*. Leiden: Brill, 2000: 49-51.

[20] For this and the following items, see M. Ferit and M. Mesut, *Sahip Ata ile Oğlullarının Hayat ve Eseleri.* This catalogue is conveinently organized by location, and thus provides a good geographical picture of the vezier's construction programme.

[21] Alptekin Yavaş, *Doctoral Dissertation*, 582.

route continued on from Afyon to Kutahya and was also conveniently joined roughly at its mid-point by a road to the Aegean coast that took a relatively moderate pass over the Sultan Dağlari and went north around Beyşehir Gölü.

Although the Sahip Ata and his family held Afyon, it should be noted that various other patrons also built in the city and its immediate vicinity. Shams al-Dīn 'Umar ibn 'Uthmān al-Yusrī founded the Hodali Çeşmesi in 648/1250-51[22] and a Yūsuf ibn Qarāmān founded the Yukarı Pazar Mesjidi in 663/1264.[23] Çay, a town forty-five kilometres from Afyon or about midway to Akşehir, contains a caravanserai dated 676/1278 and the Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb Medrese that Kuniholm dates ten years earlier, in AD 1268.[24] With further research it maybe possible to establish what relation, if any, these patrons had to the rulers of Afyon. It is known, for example, that an *'atiq* (manumitted slave) of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's named Yārtirmish built the Alaca Çeşmesi (677/1278-79) in Bolvedin, which is again midway between Afyon and Akşehir, but north of Eber Gölü.[25]

The Ulu Cami was probably the family's first major construction in Afyon itself. Regrettably, the loss of the foundation inscription stone (probably in a major alteration made in 742/1341) makes it impossible to state this with greater confidence, or to definitively identify the mosque's builder. Local histories attribute the construction to Amir Nureddin Hasan, who was one of the great vizier's two sons, and there is no reason to challenge the conventional wisdom. [27] It is valid by default, since there is no evidence of another patron with the power or ambition to build the large and finely finished mosque.

The strongest evidence for the attribution is ultimately circumstantial – the fact that the mosque imitates the type of wooden construction that had been inaugurated by the progenitor and iqta holder, Sahip Ata. Perhaps the most prudent and realistic attribution might be to the Sahib Ata family as a whole, on the basis that

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[22] Crane, "Patronage," 98; RCEA 4329.

[23] Crane, "Patronage," 122; RCEA 4540.

[24] Kuniholm, "Dated Ottoman Monuments," 123.

[25] Crane "Patronage," 119; RCEA 4770.

[27] Erhan Akyel, "Afyon'da Türk İslâm Anıl Mimarisi." *Tarih İçinde Afyon*. Afyon: (no publisher) 1983: 50-62.

the familial identification leaves open all the possibilities: that the mosque was founded by one or the other of Sahip Ata's sons, both together, or even by the Sahip Ata himself. This last possibility, however, seems quite unlikely, given that the Sahip Ata continued to expand and develop his foundation in Konya.[28] That his son or sons built the mosque is consistent with an ambition to establish a familial dynasty through control of heritable territory. In any case, the decision to build the mosque presumably involved consultation between father and sons. The choice to build in the new wooden technique could have been undertaken at the father's directive, or arrived at by familial consensus. The son might have had an essentially executive role, but any of these means would be sufficient to arrive at a coordinated familial patronage and lay the foundations of a unique dynastic style.

The Ulu Cami's plan measures 25.2 by 36.3 metres at the midpoints of its walls, which gives it a ratio of roughly two to three (Fig. 25). The plan differs fundamentally from its presumed model, the Sahip Ata Cami in Konya, in that its long dimension parallels the kibla wall. It thus hews a bit closer to Islamic tradition, although it should be noted that the tendency for mosques to spread laterally was never ordained, and in Anatolia, it was certainly not followed consistently. The orientation may have simply been due to the plot of land available. The plan is notably irregular: the northeast corner opens 93 degrees, the southeast corner 95 degrees, the southwest – the most acute- is closed 81 degrees, and the northwest corner is the closest to square, at 91 degrees. The kibla wall is 2.2 metres longer than the north wall and the western wall is fully 5.5 metres longer than the eastern one. The mosque has a total interior area of 913 square metres on the ground floor.

The mosque's forty columns are organized in eight rows, four on each side of the mihrap. Each row consists of five ranks. The northernmost rank of columns supports the kadinlar mahfil. This mezannine passes over the main entrance, which is located just east of the minaret's base. Discounting the overall distortion of the plan, the bays were clearly intended to be square. The beams, composed of double squared

[28] Despite the Sahip Ata's widespread patronage, the mosque in Konya clearly stands as the primary locus of his identification, as confirmed by the presence there of his tomb.

timbers, run toward the kibla wall, but none are truly perpendicular to it. The intercolumniation fans out from a minimum of 365 centimetres in the northeast corner to a maximum of 420 centimetres at the southeast corner. The central bay, at roughly five metres column to column, is about one metre wider than the average width of the other bays. The beams guide the columns along them into straight east-west lines, but the columns also align fairly consistently north to south, which they do not do in Sivrihisar.

Errors in calculating the kibla orientation are not unknown in early Anatolian mosques, where the ranks of a modern *saf*-type carpet often betray the deviation of the building's ordinance. That is not, however, the case in Afyon. The kibla wall has an accurate canonic orientation and the rest of the building is somewhat skewed around it. The skewed plan is also found to a lesser degree in the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami, but the distortion in the Afyon mosque actually resembles more closely that of the eastern hypostyle hall of the Alaeddin Cami in Konya.

The plan of the Seljuk imperial mosque is essentially symmetrical with respect to the kibla wall, but tapers toward the north wall. According to Scott Redford, the distortion of the Konya mosque was almost certainly due to incorporating the foundations of a Byzantine building.[29] There is a good chance that the irregularity in Afyon was also due to incorporating a fragment of an existing building. The southwest corner - the one most distorted - has the highest concentration of spolia anywhere in the building. The south end of the west wall is composed of marble blocks and other reused stones from a variety of earlier constructions. The south wall, on the other hand, is largely composed of rubble. That wall is also discontinuous on the south face at the corner; it steps inward by some ten or fifteen centimetres precisely at the point where the corner should be firmly knit together. The southern end of the western wall is also missing the stone cornice, and its absence suggests that there was a different building configuration at this location as late as the alterations of 742/1341, when the cornice was presumably added. The partial incorporation of an existing building in the new mosque's construction is the most likely cause for the plan's distortion. The high incidence of spolia suggests that

[29] Redford "The Alaeddin Mosque Reconsidered," 57.

there was a late Byzantine building at this location; it is not unlikely that the new mosque was built on the site of a church earlier appropriated for Muslim use. This sort of syncretic continuity of sacred sites is very prevalent in Turkey, as the case of the Seljuk Imperial mosque on the Alaeddin hill has already shown.

There is a door high on the mosque's west wall; if it is original, then it probably provided access to a private worship loft, or *hunkar mahfil*. Hunkar mahfils are normally found to the west of the mihrap and mimber,[30] but there are exceptions such as the Mosque in Divrigi, where it is located to the east and has an elevated private entrance.[31] The grade level on the west side of the mosque was evidently once much higher than it is now. Some of the columns near the present stair from the west entrance have notches consistent with a raised wooden platform. It would be hazardous to attempt a reconstruction on this basis alone; in fact, the plan published by Otto-Dorn in 1959 shows a line that seems to indicate an extension of the kadinlar mahfil to fill the western-most bay of space.[33] This raises the possibility that at some point the mosque's entrances were gender segregated, like those of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami in Ankara.

It should not go unnoted that the irregularities in the building fabric occur near the entrance to the presumed hunkar mahfil. It is purely conjectural, but the adjacency suggests that some kind of amirial palace might have been located on this site. The spolia-rich wall would have been the western edge of that building, which must have been largely demolished to make way for the new mosque. Of course, all of this speculation may be entirely wrong, and there may be another explanation, for example, construction began at this corner and quickly exhausted the supply of spolia. This does not, however, explain the discontinuity of the south and west walls at the corner – in fact, it is common practice in masonry construction to build outward in both directions from a corner so that the fresh work is balanced and mutually supported.

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[30] For a discussion of this convention in Indo-Ghurid architecture, see Flood, "Lost in Translation," 102-105.

[31] See Yolande Crowe, "The East Window of the Great Mosque in Divriği" in *Divriği Ulu Cami veDarüşşifası,* Ankara: Vakiflar Genel Müdürlürüğü, 1978: 105-108

[33] Otto-Dorn, "Holzsäulenmoscheen" 60. Given that Otto-Dorn's article was published in 1959, the kadinlar mahfil might date from the restoration of 1947, but it could also be from any time earlier.

The unassuming main entrance is simply framed in white marble. It is situated about two thirds of the way down the building's north face, a few metres east of the minaret's base. The eccentric point of entry causes arriving visitors to look toward the centre of the building for the mihrap, which means that they first see the columns at an oblique angle. Attention thus alights on the columns themselves before the ranks and rows are perceived; this, combined with the slight adjustment in the position of each column to accommodate the irregular plan, produces an effect of disorder or visual dissonance that is more pronounced when experienced than the plan might suggest. This parallax effect is not, however, necessarily negative. The fact of the plan's irregularity is not immediately evident, nor is it easily measured by sight alone, but the systemic distortion gives the building an engagingly limber quality. Following the impulse to walk toward the kibla wall and mihrap causes the building to unfold in perception, which is a strange thing to say of a plan that is entirely open and apparently isotropic. Ultimately, the parallax effect induces in the viewer a heightened awareness of the specificity of perspective and position. It would be folly to attribute high intention to this quality, which is apparently accidental, yet it is worth noting that the building's planning allows a high level of informality. It is quite distinct in this respect from the imposing axial effects of the Sahip Ata Cami in Konya.

The Afyon Ulu Cami has the lowest ceiling of all the wooden mosques (Fig. 23). The total height to the underside of the beams is only 5.4 metres and it is just six metres to the underside of the joists. [34] There is no obvious explanation for the lowness of the ceiling; the columns are as large in diameter as those in Beyşehir, they are only slightly smaller than the taller ones in Ankara and they are much thicker than those in nearby Sivrihisar, which has a considerably higher ceiling. The columns have stone bases twenty centimetres tall, a shaft of about 3.3 metres and grand muqarnas capitals about 1.65 metres tall. There is a finely carved abacus almost thirty centimetres deep on top of each column. The column's proportions,

[34] The short columns and low ceiling recall the low profile of the Khiva Ulu Cami. It is important, however, to recall that the extreme horizontality of the Khiva Cami results from an enlargement of a much later date, and that its original columns might have come from an earlier building where they had tall stone bases.

combined with the great depth of the muquarnas capitals, cause a general visual impression of squatness and weight. While the low ceiling produces an intimate rather than oppressive effect, it also produced some problems for the kadinlar mahfil, which is pressed tightly against the ceiling, and also impinges on the space below it. At some point the space beneath the kadinlar mahfil was evidently judged simply too low; an unused set of stone brackets in the north wall shows that the intermediate floor in that part of the building was raised at some point by about thirty centimetres.[35]

The height of the capitals contributes greatly to the impression of squatness. They are precisely one third of the height of the column as a whole. Added to this, they have an impressive volume. The tops are just a bit short of eighty centimetres square, which makes them twice the diameter of the base. The refined work and engaging design of the capitals is all that distracts attention from their sheer mass.[36] The columns in Afyon appear to be governed by a system of simple proportions. Is that because they are governed by a proportional system? The Eşrefoğlu Cami is the only other mosque with extant muqarnas capitals, and it has a ratio almost double that of Afyon – six to one. The salvaged columns reused at the Sahip Ata hanikah are even more attenuated – they appear to approach almost ten times the height of the capitals. The very small number of examples admittedly limits the value of this comparison, but it reveals a huge variation in the column to capital proportions. The Afyon columns are at one extreme and the Sahip Ata columns at the other. It is hard to imagine a canon of proportions that might link these two points.

While the intercolumniation, depth of beams, the diameter and spacing of the wooden joists in the Afyon Ulu Cami are all similar to the other examples, the fact that they are viewed with greater proximity makes them seem more immediate, as if they were slightly magnified. Details of the individual wooden capitals are visible that distance obscures in Beyşehir. The immense variety of the capitals in Afyon seems to acknowledge this visibility. The capitals are not uniform or generic; instead, each variant is put forward like a proposition for how a capital could be composed

[35] The reconstruction of 1946-53 is the obvious candidate for this alteration.

[36] The Afyon Museum has four original capitals in its storage yard so at least that number are reconstructions, but it is not clear how many in total are original and not.

within the very tight parameters of muqarnas forms. The impression created is of infinite variation, which is not inconsistent with the parallax spatial effect that characterizes the building's plan.

The flat and level ceiling is another major feature distinguishing this building spatially. The other three extant wooden mosques all have ceilings that step enough in each bay to produce an overriding spatial schema perceptible from the interior. Afyon is the exception to this hierarchical order; the only variation in its ceiling is that the central aisle is taller by the height of one joist – about twenty to twenty-five centimetres. This minimal inflection contrasts strongly with the general severity of the flat ceiling, again producing a greater-than-expected effect.

The Afyon Ulu Cami is the most richly painted of the surviving wooden mosques. Traces remain that show the capitals were highlighted with colour, and the abaci were clearly covered in rich geometric, floral and pseudo-epigraphic patterns.[37] Patterns were also painted on the underside of the beams, on the decorative lambrequins at the ends of the joists, and on the consoles that fill in the gaps between the joists. One of the unique features of the mosque is the presence of bird images among its decorations.[38] It is probably fair to say that the painted ornament in this mosque reveals the sort of finish that must have been found in the Sahip Ata Cami, which was undoubtedly more prepossessing in all respects.

After all this embellishment, the white marble mihrap is somewhat disappointing. The carving is shallow and the surface suffered considerable abrasion at some point, most likely during the major restoration in the nineteen-forties. The mihrap has a fragmentary inscription that identifies it as the work of Ali bin Siwastus, following an inscription by Hajji Murad.[39]

The mimber is also quite ordinary, or at least typical of late seventh/thirteenth century work. Its door was signed by Amir Hajji Bek and dated 1 Rabi II 671/26

[37] The abaci are composed of three or four elements, all expertly cut to the same profile. Only the disorganization of their painted surfaces reveals that they have been taken apart and were improperly reassembled.

[38] See Zekiye Uysal, "Afyon Ulu Camii'nin Ahşap Üzerine Boyalı Nakışları." *3. Afyonkarahisar Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri.* Afyonkarahisar: Afyon Belediyesi Yayınları 6 (1994): 245.

[39] Cahen's identification of Fakhr al-Dīn Siwastus as "perhaps a former freedman of Kay Khusraw II's Greek mother, one of Rukn al-Dın Suleyman II's emirs," on the evidence of RCEA 4668, which he claims is by his son, seems uncertain to say the least. Cahen, *Formation*, 129.

October 1272.[40] In the absence of the original foundation inscription, this can be taken as the date of the building, or at least as a *terminus ante quem* for its furnishing. The craftsman's *nisba* identifies him as *an-najjar*, the term most commonly used in Anatolia to name a carpenter.[41]

It is ironic, given the lack of a patron's inscription, that the Ulu Cami retains the names of three craftsmen. Unfortunately, aside from a glimpse of an artistic milieu in which credit for craftsmanship was dispersed quite widely, meticulously recorded, and prominently displayed, this relative plethora of sources offers little real information. It is worth pointing out, however, that the titles of two of the three craftsmen identify them as having performed the haj, which suggests a high level of religious devotion among Anatolian craftsmen and a not inconsiderable mobility.

The date on the mimber has been confirmed by Peter Ian Kuniholm's investigations.[42] Working on sections taken from the three capitals preserved in the Afyon Museum, Kuniholm determined that the columns were pine, and found a terminal ring dated AD 1273. A close examination of the imposing capitals in the museum reveals something that could not be learned by studying the building, namely a joint affixing them to the shafts, which is concealed by the last rank of applied muquarnas elements.[43] The capitals, it seems, were carved separately from the columns, which makes sense in terms of the coordination of the trades, but undermines the structural integrity of the whole. Fortunately, the columns were simply loaded, so they had no real shear forces to resist. Only by inspecting the top face of the capitals would it be possible to determine if the wooden core visible at the narrow end continues through the whole capital, but the size and fragility of the capitals precludes it.

Discovering precisely what changes were made to the building in 742/1341 is essential to understanding the construction of 671/1272. This restoration was,

[40] RCEA 4667.

[41] Mayer, *Islamic woodworkers*, 37.

[42] Kuniholm, *Ottoman Monuments*, item no. 38, 123.

[43] This two-part construction is also seen in the oldest columns in the Khiva Ulu Cami. See the appendix to this dissertation.

however, complex, thorough and early, which complicates the task of interpretation. Further uncertainty arises from the fact of numerous subsequent changes, mostly modern ones. The mosque had a major restoration in 1946-1953, at which time a new sheet metal roof was installed; the building gained its present copper roof in 1978. Published photographs of the work in progress show that all the roof joists were removed, and it must have been at the same time that at least four of the column capitals were reconstructed, if not many more (Fig. 24).[44] The west and south sides of the mosque were cleared of adjacent houses in 1995-2000, out of concern that the mosque was being damaged by leaking water.[45] These spaces were recently rehabilitated by inserting new service facilities and creating a garden in the area cleared behind the kibla wall.[46] For interpretive purposes it is important to distinguish the motive of the first major restoration, which was not just to preserve the building, but also to willfully change or improve it. Respecting this distinction, the work done in 742/1341 will be referenced as the building's 'alteration.'

As far as can be discerned, the first major alteration focused on the exterior. It appears to have included a new ashlar stone cladding over part of the building's perimeter, new windows and a new entrance on the east side, a continuous cornice, and possibly a new marble frame to the north entrance. The alterations were complemented with a new minaret situated just west of the old north entrance. The alterations were evidently intended to make the build appear more refined, and to re-orient the building to address the approach from the east. The windows and new entrance on the east wall command the attention of anyone approaching from the main thoroughfare through the old town, and the bright white marble inscription panel above the new entrance catches the eye from a distance. In fact, the new dark volcanic stone cladding ends abruptly at the southeast corner of the building and in the other direction it does not extend past the minaret. The bulky square base of the minaret conceals the discontinuity in the stone pattern, which returns to rubble for

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[44] See Mustafa Karazeybek, Zelkif Polat and Yusuf Ilgar, *Afyonkarahisar Vakif Eserleri.* Ankara: Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 2005: 153.

[45] Karazeybek et al, *Vakif Eserleri,* 153.

[46] The urban rehabilitation scheme was designed by Atelye Bilsel. Details can be found in the unpublished document "Mimarlik ve Kentsel Tasarım Çalışmaları" produced by the Atelye.

the remainder of the wall, and has a corner composed of larger salvaged material. All counted, the new façade covered less than half the building's surface, and yet the strong dark stone stringcourses suggest a greater continuity. The new cornice, on the other hand, extends further around, ending just south of the raised entrance on the west wall. The abrupt end to the cornice, combined with the smaller scale rubble in this part of the wall suggests that the original building was built adjacent to and incorporated the corner of an earlier building that was still in situ in 742/1341.

The alterations mark an increased concern for the building's exterior appearance. The Ulu Cami's new façade was a relatively smooth and thin layer of ashlar stone. It is unfortunate from the point of view of tracing trades and labour, that it does not display any of the mason's marks that are prominently displayed on the Kubbeli Mesjid, which was built ten years earlier and only a couple of hundred metres away. It is impossible to say if this was because it was built by a different group of masons with different practices, or if the building's greater prominence precluded the display of such marks.

The historical status of the 742/1341 alteration is assured by the fact that it was a strong manifestation of familial continuity. The marble plaque over the newly created or enlarged east entrance states that the restoration was the work of Mughith al-Dīn, amir 'Isā, who described himself as the son of the late Amir Muzaffar al-Dīn (died 10 Safar 734/21 October 1333).[48] The patron was thus the great grandson of the Sahip Ata.[49] In sharp contrast to the conventional form of salutation that dedicates the work to the reigning sultan, this inscription begins with a Koranic passage and only mentions the ruler after the patron names himself and references his father. Nusrat al-dawla wal-Dīn Ahmad, the great master mentioned here and identified as being of a line of magnificent viziers, was the son of his paternal uncle, i.e. his cousin. The building is inscribed with a veritable genealogy that reveals a familial identification with the wooden mosque type that spans more than eighty years (656-742/1258-1341) and covers four generations. The building itself was sixty-six years

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[48] RCEA 5952. Muzaffar al-Dīn's epitaph is RCEA 5656.

[49] For a genealogy of the family, see Ferit and Mesut, *Sahip Ata*, 142.

old at the time of the restoration and had already survived the fractious history of Afyon and the Sahip Ata's iqta.

A close look at the carving of the inscription panel reveals an interesting detail, namely that the final two lines of the text have been re-cut. The stone seems to have been reused, and merits further examination by philologists. Knowing why the original stone was replaced would be as interesting as knowing the contents of the original inscription.[50] It is not impossible to consider this effacement, and if it was, it raises the question why it happened within the family. Sivrihisar provides a counter example of how these stones were generally conserved; there is a small chance that the original inscription stone is still in place, concealed by the later veneer. Unfortunately, there is no non-invasive way to discover if this might be the case.

Given that Afyon was the iqta of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī and that the Ulu Cami was almost certainly built by his son, it would be reasonable to conclude by inquiring into the relationship between the Sahip Ata Cami and the Afyon Ulu Cami. It is probably correct to see the Ulu Cami as an attempt to consolidate a dynastic style by building in the same manner as the innovative mosque in Konya. While the wooden construction provides an indisputably common base, enough is known about the Sahib Ata Cami in Konya to reveal large differences between the two buildings, both in planning and craftsmanship.

Most obviously there is the difference in the general orientation of the plan, which has profound consequences for the spatial experience of the whole. Perhaps this difference was conditioned by the qualities and orientation of the relative sites that were available, for example the presence of an existing building hypothesized at the south west corner of the Afyon Ulu Cami. On the other hand, it is best not to make too much of this matter, since there was no orthodoxy in the predominant orientation of mosques in seventh/thirteenth century Anatolia.

On the basis of the muquarnas capitals of the hanikah porch adjacent to the Sahip Ata Cami, it has been proposed that the inaugural wooden mosque had wooden muqarnas capitals throughout. If the porch columns (and not just the capitals) were

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[50] Michael Rogers has discussed the matter of appropriation of foundations in great detail in "Waqf and patronage in Seljuk Anatolia: The Epigraphic Evidence" *Anatolian Studies* vol. XXVI, (1975-76): 69-103.

the original ones, then two other differences can be noted – the columns in Afyon are considerably squatter and they are not shaved down to an octagonal plan. Perhaps the round columns were used to save time and labour, but there is no evidence of cost-cutting measures in making the capitals. On the contrary, a column on an octagonal plan is already closely adapted to the muqarnas system, which usually starts by chamfering corners to produce eight equal facets. Circular columns generally require more than eight facets if a smooth transition is to be made between the shaft and the capital. Several of the Afyon capitals start with twelve facets, and thus develop even closer approximations to a circular plan. Far from being a labour-saving measure, the decision to have round columns at Afyon seems to have been lead by the ambition to make more finely finished and elaborate capitals.

While a relationship can be hypothesized between the carving and painting of the Afyon Ulu Cami and the lost interior of the Sahip Ata Cami (on admittedly slight evidence), there are no similarities whatsoever in the execution of the stone enclosure. The portal in Konya is a *tour-de-force* of carving technique. The Afyon walls are composed, in contrast, of the sort of rough rubble called *moloz*. They contain large patches of spolia and obvious discontinuities in the work. Much of the latter is undoubtedly due to reconstruction work, but some appears to be original, and it indicates that there was no great level of skill or oversight exercised in building the masonry shell. Even more significantly, the builder completely eschewed those elements for which stone-carving skill would have been required, for example, in making a portal or minaret. The marble mihrap is the only carved stone element, and despite damage caused by modern restorations, it is evident that the original work was shallow, irregular, and generally poorly executed. Even the fact that this feature is stone can be interpreted as a sign of the building's restricted masonry craftsmanship, since the most ambitious thirteenth century mihraps invariably had polychrome faience revetments of one type or another.

The low quality of the mosque's stonework alone is likely sufficient to rule out both Kaluk, architect of the Sahip Ata Cami, and Kalaun, the other architect known by association with the Sahip Ata's buildings.[51] In any case, Kalaun was

[51] Leo. A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and their works*, 77-79.

working on the Gök Madrasa in Sivas in 670/1271-72, which is to say at precisely the moment that the Afyon Ulu Cami was executed. In fact, it may be possible to go one step further to argue that the powerful contrast between Afyon's high-quality woodwork and its utilitarian stonewalls is evidence that there was no correlation between stonemasons and wood-carvers. This may imply that Kaluk should be considered primarily as the stonemason of buildings where his work or signature appears, and not necessarily as the architect of the whole in the modern sense that designates a single figure coordinating all the trades through the plan. Too much is still unknown about how design and building production occurred in medieval Anatolia to come to firm conclusions about such matters.

Some of the differences discussed here can be attributed to the relative status of the two buildings. The Afyon Ulu Cami is not part of a complex of buildings, and it does not have a portal, nor in fact did it have any conspicuous exterior features. Its character is considerably more utilitarian than the mosque in Konya. The Afyon Ulu Cami is neither a copy of the Sahib Ata Cami nor simply an imitation of it. Only fourteen years separates the two mosques, so it is not unlikely that some builders of the Sahip Ata Cami remained active, and could have brought their skills to the new mosque. The high quality of the woodwork at Afyon suggests that an atelier of trained wood-carvers executed it. The production of forty monumental muquarnas capitals, which was surely the most craft intensive part of the building, must have required the labour of quite a large number of skilled craftsmen. On the other hand, the substantial differences in the two buildings suggest that late-seventh/thirteenth century Anatolia accommodated more than one architect capable of designing a large wooden mosque.

Sivrihisar

Sivrihisar is situated about one hundred and twenty kilometres northeast of Afyon. It is essentially midway between Afyon and Ankara, and it is also midway on the important route that connected Ankara and Eskişehir, the ancient Dorilaeum. Located

at the point where these two routes meet, it stood guard over the most important connection between the Byzantine capital and Central Asia Minor. As a way station, it was never of the first importance but its position was always assured, and in distant antiquity it was quite close to the Phrygian capital of Gordion.

The town is located in a small, sheltered plateau a third of the way up the south face of a hill in the Sivrihisar Dağlar, which forms the western edge of the Polatlı Basin. The town's name, which means 'slender (or sharply-pointed) fortress,' must have come from a unique geographic feature - a local type of granite that erodes into distinctively jagged peaks. The citadel itself is located high in the spiky outcrop, near the summit of one of the hills north of the centre of the town. Like the fortress in Afyon, it is too inhospitable to have been permanently occupied, so it must have been used as a refuge or to house a small garrison. The superb southern slope on which the town is built gives it a perfect solar orientation in addition to a commanding view of the routes intersecting below. The modern population is around ten thousand people. Historically, it must have been considerably smaller.

Even less is known of Sivrihisar's early Islamic history than Afyon's. The earliest inscription in the town, dated 629/1231-32, identifies Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī Beg and his father, Ismā'īl ibn Akça Beg, as the founders of a building described only as an *'imarâ*.[52]This foundation is probably the one incorporated in the Ulu Cami, and it will be discussed further below. Then there is nothing until the construction of the Ulu Cami. It is worth noting, however, that there are a few monumental buildings in villages surrounding Sivrihisar. The most prominent is an interesting mesjid built in the village of Mülk for Doğan Arslan in 646/1248. The building, a simple square chamber, has a shallow dome roofed in the steeply sloped, facetted manner typical of a Seljuk tomb. The building combines both the forms and the functions of a *türbe* and a mesjid, and it sits in a unique situation on top of a hill, at least part of which may be artificial.[53] The name of the town, which literally means "Freehold Property," raises the possibility that it was at some point held as appanage, and the date so soon after the defeat of 641/1243 suggests a relationship to those events. Cahen also

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[52] Crane, "Notes," 34.

[53] Neşet Çağatay, "Sivrihisar'in Mülk Köyü'ndeki Doğan Arslan Mescidi." *Yıllik Araştırmalar Dergesi* III, (1981): 21-39.

mentions that there is a deed extant from 657/1259, when Kay Kāwus II sold a village of Sivrihisar.[54] The amir Seyf al-Dīn Kızıl built a mesjid in Hammamkarahisar that same year, which is likely not unrelated to the land transfer. A tendency for small parts of the region to pass into the hands of amirs and other minor figures can be inferred from these examples. The fact that the new property holders built monumental buildings on the land indicates that they were not just typical military iqtas, but appear to have been real property alienated from the Sultanic demesne. This divestment of land was very infrequent before the Mongol Conquest and its occurrence afterward suggests that the Sultans were taking desperate measures to raise funds to meet the Mongol's ever-growing demand for tribute and frequent levies. This sort of property disbursement heralded and hastened the ultimate disintegration of the Seljuk Empire by undercutting its real basis in the control of land.

The Sivrihisar Ulu Cami appears to have had the least accomplished construction of all the wooden mosques, though it is not possible to say this definitively since it has clearly suffered more damage over time than the others (Fig. 28). The building's condition clouds many of the original details, but the main facts of the case are still readily apparent. The mosque consists of a large wooden columned hall with entrances on its east, west and north faces. There is a significant anomaly incorporated into the southeast corner of the mosque, near the minaret. This consists of a five-metre-square brick domed room with a roughly equal-sized domeless shell of a second room on its north side. The interior of this distinct part of the building has a floor about a metre above the general floor level of the mosque, and the open part looks out like a loge over the mosque's prayer area. The orientation of the incorporated building diverges from that of the main body of the mosque by eleven degrees.

The plan of the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami is much wider than it is deep; in this respect it resembles the Afyon Ulu Cami and differs from the other wooden mosques (Fig. 30). The internal dimensions of the plan at the mid-point of the walls are 42.6

[54] Cahen, *Formation,* 246. See also Osman Turan, "II. İzzeddin Keykâvüs'e Aid Bir Temlîk-nâme." In *Zeki Velidi Togan'ın Armağanı.* Istanbul: Ma'arif Basımevi, 1950-55: 158-184.

metres east to west, and 23.9 metres north to south. The proportions of the main hall thus approach two to one, and they exceed that ratio if the annexed loge at the east end is included. The Sivrihisar Ulu cami is somewhat larger in area than the Afyon Ulu Cami. Including the kadinlar mahfil, it has a total of 1319 square metres of interior space, compared to the 1045 square metres in Afyon. Even discounting the part of the Sivrihisar mosque that may have already existed before the wooden hall, it still remains larger than the Afyon mosque by 138 square metres – over ten percent.

There are sixty-four columns in the main part of the building and four additional columns in the elevated platform at the mosque's east end. The five lines of beams that held up the earthen roof run parallel to the kibla wall. This is the only example of this orientation among the four wooden mosques about which there is certain knowledge. This arrangement creates six bays, which means that the plan's latitudinal section is centred on a column, not a bay. This hardly matters, however, because the mihrap is not at all centred on the kibla wall. The ceiling's joists run north south and slope up from the long perimeter walls to the middle line of columns. Each rank of joists laps over the last to produce a water-shedding slope. It is, however, the fourth bay from the kibla wall that has the highest ceiling, at 5.7 metres. This makes the interior volume of the building profoundly asymmetrical. While this profile makes some sense from the point of view of the major entrances on the east and west faces, the bulk of the building's interior volume is awkwardly biased away from the kibla wall. In fact, it means that from most of the interior, the kibla wall is seen in a kind of reverse forced perspective, with the roof tapering down toward it. Thirteen columns support each beam, but their placement is so haphazard that it is difficult to say that they are in rows. In contrast to Afyon's systemic distortion of the plan, Sivrihisar's columns appear disorderly simply because the builders neglected to align the columns and to space them equally.

There is in fact a surplus of columns over what might be expected for the size of the floor plate. This is because there are columns located almost against the east and west walls at the ends of the beams and smaller prop-like members against the north wall. Structurally, these additional columns are almost redundant, since the perimeter wall should be sufficient to bear the beam-ends. The exception is where

the hypostyle hall abuts the open loge in the middle of the south wall. There the columns bear beams, allowing the spaces to be open to each other. Elsewhere, the duplication of structure betrays the builder's failure to distinguish between trabeated and mural bearing conditions. This elementary error betrays a considerable degree of naiveté on the builder's part, or perhaps a general inexperience in building with wood. It must be allowed, however, that the additional columns might have been added in a later reconstruction, perhaps as early as 844/1440. Dendrochronological testing could confirm the sequence of construction, but as it is, the extra columns serve to increase the impression of disorderliness that is witnessed at quite a few points throughout the construction.

The columns are round in section and, at an average of thirty centimetres in diameter, considerably thinner than those in any of the other wooden mosques. The columns are also the roughest of any in the wooden mosques; many are practically unaltered tree trunks with just their limbs and bark removed. One explanation for this is that the roughest columns are later replacements. In fact, Aslanapa says that only four of the columns are original; he did not specify which ones, nor did he disclose the source of this information. He seems to have regarded only the few ornamented columns to be original, especially those nearest to the mihrap. [55] There is evidence of extensive reuse of earlier timbers throughout the mosque in the form of joists displaying residual slots that had once held the infill panels inserted between joists. It should be assumed that the mosque was substantially reconstructed, possibly when it gained its modern copper roof. Over the west door there is a plaque commemorating the buıldıng's reconstruction in 844/1440 by the famous Ottoman kadi, Hızır Bey.

In the place of capitals, many of the columns are crowned with antique spolia – mostly re-claimed column capitals, but also some column bases, and in several cases, simple blocks of marble that are rectangular in plan and wedge-shaped in section, so they look like crude versions of Byzantine double capitals. The large number of columns in the mosque guaranteed that the spolia used for capitals would be highly eclectic, and the builders seem to have quickly exhausted the available stone capitals. A large number of the columns, perhaps a majority, are capped with

[55] Oktay Aslanapa, "Seljuk Masjids and Wooden Mosques in Anatolia," 121.

stout, wedge-shaped wooden blocks. The form of these wooden capitals imitates the simplest 'double-capital' type of spolia block and in some cases their lower corners have been embellished with an inscribed volute profile similar to that found on one of the stone blocks. The wooden capitals are set perpendicular to the beams and protrude forcefully into the bays. Above the capitals, the abaci are quite long and surprisingly carefully worked. Their profile is quite refined, and because the columns are placed irregularly on the beams, when seen from the kadinlar mahfil, they resemble overlapping waves at sea. The abaci present a tantalizing glimpse of a much more finely finished mosque than the one that now exists. The columns sit on a wide variety of reclaimed stone bases with no obvious pattern of distribution. It is certainly possible that some of the bases are not spolia, but were cut for the job.

Near the mihrap there are two columns with carved ornamentation. The simplest has just a few bands of braid molding carved below the capital and a series of rosettes. The more elaborate one east of the mihrap has relief-cut diamonds and chevrons on the upper third of its height, with a band of sharp, teardrop shaped motifs below (Fig. 31). Oktay Aslanapa describes these columns as painted, which they are, in red and green. [56] Nevertheless, some of the green tints that appear on these two columns are in fact inlaid sheet metal with a verdigris patina that developed over time (Fig. 32). These metal appliqués have not been previously observed and they are probably a unique occurrence in Turkish medieval architecture.[57] The thin metal plates are held in place by tacks and the tack heads bear a small star pattern that appears to have been produced by hammering a slightly thicker sheet metal into a mold, or by use of a patterned punch.[58] A sample of the metal should be analyzed to determine the composition of the alloy. The ornamental technique seems to be related to the bronze plating of doors, and raises the question of what the building's lost doors and window shutters might have looked like.

The rather undistinguished mihrap is constructed of carved stone and remains painted. The niche is very shallow and has eight facets. All of the carving is very

[56] Oktay Aslanapa, "Seljuk Masjids and Wooden Mosques in Anatolia," 121.
[57] On a cautious note, it should be allowed that the decoration could be an Ottoman embellishment.
[58] For the decorative use of nail heads, see Yılmaz Önge, "Türk Mimarisinde Çivili Tezyinat" *Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji-Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, vol. IV, 1988: 79-87.

superficial and rather decorative, with the exception of the sharply carved zigzags on the corner colonettes, which are cut deeper than the other motifs. The work is very similar to that in Afyon, and the resemblance would probably increase if the whitewash was removed. The mihrap is notably off-centre in the kibla wall. It stands about 14.25 metres from the east corner and 26.5 metres from the west corner. The position appears arbitrary, except that it strongly biases the mihrap toward the loge on the east side. Be that as it may, the placement of the fixture shows a very low level of design integration with the architecture of the building. The way that the ceiling slopes down to the mihrap and bears on it visually is further evidence of this. The mimber is original, but it is similarly perfunctory in its execution and indifferently situated. There is a row of nine windows on the mosque's south façade. They are in two ranks, with large windows at floor level and smaller ones above them. There are a few high windows on the west face, a couple near the eastern entrance and none on the north face. None of the window finishes are original, and it is also possible that the openings were enlarged some time after the original construction.

Leveling a sufficiently large area to build the mosque was evidently quite a challenge. Steps at the various entrances betray the effort. Only the western entrance is more or less at grade; the floor is several steps down from the northern door, and the one in the eastern face (which probably dates from the Ottoman restoration) has a small cascade of interior steps (Fig. 29). This entrance is located at the inside corner where the extant building and the new one join. The same steps also provide access to the open part of the loge. Outside, in the southeast corner, there is a small flight of marble stairs leading up to a door to the domed room, quite near the base of the minaret. The western and northern doors have modest white marble surrounds. The north one is presumably original, since it has the building inscription, which is flanked by a pair of carved marble bosses and surmounted by a panel with a row of rosettes similar to the ones carved on the columns. Its position facing uphill seems incongruous, but the south face was obviously not acceptable, and at the time of construction, the town was probably oriented quite differently than it is now.

The mosque's exterior walls are all parged and painted. This modern effort to render the surface uniform probably means that the walls were originally constructed of simple rubble. There is, however, one small point that makes it impossible to say this definitely. A small section of the southwest corner of the building, about ninety-five centimetres wide, is chamfered off diagonally, and high above the ground the corner returns to its orthogonal shape through a set of *muqarnas* forms that must be made of brick. In fact, the entire roof has a much reduced version of the typically Ottoman serrated type of cornice composed of rotated bricks. At present, it is impossible to know how extensive the various Ottoman repairs might have been, but such details suggest that they were major.

Only a few small pieces of obvious spolia were spared from being covered. These are mostly around the incorporated *'imarâ* in the southwest corner, but it can be assumed that the builders would have made use of any existing building material that was available, so there is probably more. There is a small carved panel of Byzantine design adjacent to the inscription panels above the northeast entrance. The symmetrical abstract winged design could be interpreted as an angel, so it has sometimes been interpreted as an emblem of Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl, as if it was a kind of visual pun on his name.[59] If this was indeed the intention, then the pun must have had an extraordinarily long life, for the panel was clearly installed as part of the Ottoman restoration of 844/1440. The panel is likely no more significant than the small Byzantine funeral stele that is incorporated in the mosque's eastern wall.

The southwest corner of the mosque incorporates the remains of a small brick-domed building, near the minaret. This fact is clearly evident in plan, despite the fact that most published plans are quite inaccurate in how they depict this area. On the interior, this space appears as a closed room in the corner (reportedly used until recently as a place for lessons) opening off the loge-like space raised more than a metre above the main floor and screened off as part of the women's prayer area. The inscription stone, which carries a Persian verse and is dated 630/1232, is located near this part of the building, above the entrance to a small L-shaped room at the base of the minaret. The building remnants agree in scale and form with the other

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[59] Oktay Aslanapa, *Anadolu'da İlk Türk Mimarisi.* 65.

constructions that preceded the Ulu Cami in the Sivrihisar area, like the mesjids in Mülk (646/1245) and Hammamkarahisar (657/1259). The dome is five metres in diameter, which makes it absolutely typical of the small mesjids built before the Mongol Conquest.

Although it seems quite likely that the corner fragments are the remains of the *'imarâ* of 630/1232, it is impossible to say so definitively. The main problem is that the inscription stone has been relocated, possibly more than once. Studying the fabric of the building reveals that the minaret, now attached to the building, was once freestanding. The minaret is precisely dated 2 Rajab 812 / 9 November 1409, and the wall enclosing its base was evidently built at some later date, although it could have been soon after. If the 630/1232 inscription stone was in part of the *'imarâ* demolished to expand the mosque, say on the east or north wall of the northern room, then it would have had to have been removed in 673/1274-75 and either stored or placed elsewhere until some time after the construction of the minaret. This means that the inscription stone was preserved for over two centuries and moved at least twice in that time.

It is possible that the *'imarâ* functioned as a *hunkar mahfil* after the major expansion of the building. The enclosed room would have provided the combination of privacy and display that historically defined the *hunkar mahfil* as a spatial type. If Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl appropriated the small, domed masonry building into his foundation, it probably functioned essentially as a private mesjid, attached to, but separate from the main hall of the mosque.

If there were other buildings associated with the mosque, it is no longer clear which ones they might have been. Small shops now line the mosque's north wall and there are some larger commercial spaces at the west end, around the entrance (Fig. 26). The latter group of auxiliary buildings forms a small entrance court, which is furnished with a catafalque made of spolia, but these additions could have been made at any later date. There is a ruined Seljuk-style hammam about forty metres south of the mosque, but it has no inscription stone, so it is impossible to say how it might relate to the mosque. Interestingly, its rectangular main room has a timber roof and a single wooden column. It should be dated to discover if it might be contemporary

with the mosque. The Alemşah Kümbeti, a large white marble tomb located about twenty metres north of the mosque's north entrance, was built in 727/1327, fifty years after the mosque.[60] The open space around the tomb may have been a cemetery; in any case, the tomb was evidently situated to gain in sanctity by association with the mosque, further evidence that the north side was more important in the past (Fig.27).

The inscription on the Ulu Cami dated 673/1274-75 identifies it as a restoration by Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl ibn 'Abd Allāh.[61] Of Greek origin, Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl was raised a ghulam by Sa'd al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ardabīlī, the grandfather of the Pervane Mu'in al-Dīn Sulaymān.[62] Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl had been the *mustawfi*, "a position that had been known throughout the Muslim East as *sahib al-zimam*, the chief accountant. He checked the actual returns of taxes and expenses, and his assistance was indispensable to the vizier who chose him, sometimes until he himself became vizier."[63] He succeeded as *na'ib* when Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī was appointed vizier.[64]In his role as *na'ib*, Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl was the Sultan's deputy, especially during his absences, and thus could have wielded considerable power at times.

The name Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl ibn 'Abd Allāh tells quite a bit about this historical figure. His patronymic is the one conventionally given to Christian converts, but the fact that he also bore a common Christian given name suggests that his father converted as an adult, or at least some time after his son's birth.[65] The fact that Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl was a *ghulam* confirms this, since Islamic law forbids the enslavement of a freeborn Muslim. The most likely scenario then is that he was taken as an infant with his father and thus retained a Christian name. His rise to a prominent position demonstrates the possibilities for advancement that existed for

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[60] See Hamza Gündoğdu, "Sivrihisar Alemşah Kümbeti'nin Mimarisi, Geometrik ve Figürlü Plastik Süslemeleri Üzerine." *Vakıflar Dergisi* XVI (1982): 135-142.

[61] Crane, "Notes," item 14; RCEA no. 4695.

[62] A ghulam is a personal slave, who could accrue considerable power; manumitted, they were known as 'atiq. See Crane, "Notes," item 14.

[63] Cahen, *Formation*, 140.

[64] Cahen, *Formation,* 190.

[65] The name Mīkā'īl is not exclusively Christian; it is the name of an angel in the Koran (II:97).

ikdişi – Greek converts to the Seljuk cause.[66] He occupied the very centre of power in the home and court of the Pervane, so his assimilation must have been complete.

If Sivrihisar was indeed an administrative iqta belonging to Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl, it was probably established around 658/1260, when he succeeded Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī as na'ib to Kay Kāwūs II,[67] or it might have come about with the general re-organization of the realm carried out by the Pervane around 663/1265.[68] Given the Pervane's long association with Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl, it is not difficult to imagine that he would have favored him in the general distribution of state properties. If this was the scenario, a decade or more elapsed from the time of his promotion before he undertook to build the Ulu Cami.

Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl was the Sultan's agent, but he was also responsible to the Mongols when called upon. In 671/November-December 1272, he was required to demonstrate his loyalty by participating along with other Rūm Seljuk commanders in a Mongol raid on al-Bira, a Mamluk-held fortress town on the Euphrates River midway between Antep and Urfa (modern Birecik).[69] The first assault was unsuccessful, and a second siege was conducted three years later, from AD 29 November to 8 December 1275.[70] Since the Ulu Cami is dated 673/1274-75, it was probably during the interim between these two tours of duty that its construction was inaugurated. Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl joined a conspiracy to ally with Baybars against the Mongols after the failure of the second siege. The coincidence of these dates can be interpreted as showing how closely the construction of the mosque was tied to the context of rebellion against the Mongols.

The laconic inscription of 673/1274-75 contrasts with the lengthier poetic inscription of 630/1232, yet for all its brevity, it says rather a lot about the circumstances of the new building. The salutation hails a "Sultan" without naming one in particular – perhaps the leadership was so confused as to make any definite

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[66] His personal history almost perfectly parallels Jalal al-Dīn Karatay's. See Crane, *Muslim Patronage in Saljuq Anatolia,* 21.

[67] Cahen, *Formation*, 190.

[68] Rogers, "Wakf and Patronage," 87.

[69] Amitai-Preiss, *Mongol-Mamluk War,* 160. Cahen places this event in September-October 1271. *Formation,* 197

[70] Cahen, *Formation,* 199.

assertion impossible, but coming from the man who was charged with executing the Sultan's orders, this generic appellation is *lese majeste* in all but fact.[71] Greater consideration is shown to Islamic propriety by asserting the fact that the mosque is a restoration, which had important implications for its legal status.[72] Despite the fact that the restoration increased the area of the building more than tenfold, formal priority goes to the established *wakf*.

As Michael Rogers has shown, Anatolian dedications give a strict preeminence to the reigning Sultan, so the failure to mention his name gives an impression of the chaos prevailing in the state under Mongol domination.[73] Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw III ruled from 663/1265 to 681/1282 and even if he was viewed as a puppet of the Mongols, it is surprising to see his irrelevance proclaimed by omission from the dedication. Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl was, after all, nominally his deputy, even if in reality his position was due to the favour of the Pervane and the vezier. The diffident and laconic inscription, combined with the temerity of building a mosque that was in effect a prerogative of the Sultan was tantamount to a proclamation of independence. As a gesture, it parallels Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl's decision to join the rebellion against the Mongols.

The fact that the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami was built so soon after the one in Afyon raises the possibility that the buildings were built by the same itinerant crew of laborers. The gap in dates of two years between the two wooden mosques at Çarşamba provides a good analogy for the situation envisioned here. Shortly after completing the mosque in Afyon, the construction crew could have moved on to Sivrihisar. If it were assumed that unskilled laborers could have been mustered locally, then only a small number of executive directors would be needed to design and direct the work. The skilled trades - painters, fine carpenters and mihrap -makers - could apply their work any time after construction was complete, and may have come along afterward.

[71] This interpretation should, however, be checked against Michael Roger's long discussion of the term in "Royal Caravanserais and Royal Inscriptions in Seljuk Anatolia." *In Memoriam Gabriel*, ed. R.H. Ünal, Atatürk Üniversitesi Araşterma Dergesi, (1977-78): 397-431.

[72] Michael Rogers has shown that it was easier to alter or supplement an existing wakf than to establish one anew, "Wakf and Patronage," 71 and 75-76.

[73] Rogers, "Wakf and Patronage," 87.

This case may offer a rare scrap of evidence about the actual modes of building production in Anatolia, but there is little hard evidence to examine.[74] The plans of the two buildings display a basic agreement, but there is a wide divergence in both section and tectonics. The strongest argument against the builders being the same is that it is difficult to imagine the skilled craftsmen and builder of the Afyon Ulu Cami erecting a building as tectonically deficient as the one in Sivrihisar. Even allowing for considerable damage done in restorations, the second mosque comes nowhere near to equaling its neighbour in any measure of design quality or execution. The two mosques in Çarşamba are much more consistent in design than the two wooden mosques in the neighbouring cities.

It seems that the Ulu Cami of Sivrihisar is a case of imitation of a successful new type by rather lesser skilled craftsmen and builders, probably working on a smaller budget and possibly a shorter timeline. The mosque aims to enclose maximum volume with the minimum expenditure, and it likely still tested the resources of a small town to carry it out. But it is the very fact that the building has a hasty, provisional quality that supports the thesis about the wooden mosque as a kind of emergency measure, a sort of grand project designed to rally support and build identification. Considered in social and political terms rather than as a masterpiece for art-historical delectation, the mosque is powerfully evocative of desperate and hopeful measures taken in response to a moment of crisis.

The large new mosques must have transformed the conditions of worship in the two towns. Simply by its much greater capacity, the wooden hypostyle type of mosque afforded easier access to formal Islamic prayer lead by an Imam. The large halls provided the ideal, communal condition for prayer, thus facilitating the preference expressed in the Koran for collective prayer. Its sheer scale would have overcome the tendency to exclusivity in worship that must have been a prominent feature of Seljuk

[74] The best documented case is the ceramic atelier that evidently operated in early Ottoman Anatolia, see Michael Meinecke, *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions versus Migrating Artists* New York: New York University Press, 1996.

towns.[75] The endowment of the building would have provided the community with new religious personnel, including at least an Imam and presumably also the many other staff needed to service such a large building and congregation, from *khatibs* to Koran reciters. There is no record of either town having had a *madrasa*, so the mosques' would have also provided a suitable place for religious instruction.

The *wakfs* of each foundation must have endowed the new building with the revenue of various institutions like markets, shops, hammams, fields or other land holdings. The assurance that the *wakf* would be established in perpetuity protected these holdings from the uncertainties of the political situation, such as arbitrary extractions or confiscation. It also ensured that the benefits conferred would continue in the way specified by the patron, thus acting like a will and testament. In effect, the *wakf* made some holdings, possibly part of the iqta, into inalienable property, albeit in a form that was permanently encumbered. Nevertheless, this would have guaranteed a stable income for a staff that would also be permanently indebted to the patron. Hanefi law permits one's family members to be the permanent beneficiaries of the provisions of the *wakf*, thus providing a way to entrench and perpetuate a familial dynasty by giving it a real material basis. In Sivrihisar, the mosque presumably absorbed the functions of the *'imarâ* it replaced.

In addition to these institutional transformations, the buildings brought a radical new scale that can be measured in concrete physical terms. Assuming that the proper conduct of *salat* (ritual prayer) requires a minimum area of fifty by eighty centimetres or about four tenths of a square metre per person, and given that Afyon Ulu Cami has a usable area of approximately eight hundred square metres, the main floor would have been able to accommodate about two thousand worshippers and the women's balcony at least three hundred. The somewhat larger mosque in Sivrihisar would have accommodated about 2,375 people at prayer. Even if the extension of the kadinlar mahfil along the west wall is discounted as modern, and the area around the domed room is assumed to have been reserved for the use of the amir, the balcony

[75] The Seljuk tendency to build small mescids parallels the late Byzantine practice of maintaining private chapels. For a brief description of the Byzantine practice, see Thomas F. Mathews and Annie-Christine Daskalakis Mathews, "Islamic Style Mansions in Byzantine Cappadocia and the Development of the inverted T-Plan." *JSAH* 56:3 (September 199): 294-295.

still accommodated as many as four hundred women. Being somewhat cautious in this estimate and rounding down by fifteen per cent in Afyon and ten percent in Sivrihisar still indicates a maximum capacity of two thousand people for the Afyon Ulu Cami and two thousand five hundred for the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami.

These were great mosques indeed. It is worth noting that the later figure amounts to a full quarter of Sivrihisar's modern population, which is almost certainly larger now than at any time in the city's history. Simply put, the capacious new buildings incorporated religion in the community in a more conspicuous and public way than ever before. It would have been impossible to ignore the dramatic new status of Islam in the community and the corresponding improvement in the status of the towns. For the first time, the new mosques provided the communities with a monumental symbolic representation of their collective faith. If later practice were any indication, then community members would have donated carpets and kilims to furnish the buildings, thus giving them the opportunity to contribute to the mosque and claim a place within it. In light of the Mongol domination, this bold and brave assertion of religious orthodoxy would have provided succor to the community and a modicum of security.

If the supposition were correct that the mosques had hunkar mahfils, then the patron's assertion of administrative power would also have had a concrete manifestation. In addition to the gross fact of patronage, class and patron relations would have been made physically explicit within the building. The buildings instituted nothing less than a new topography of power and piety, one that both declared the autonomy of the place and its connection, through Islam, to the proper forms of religious observance. It would have elevated the towns into the ranks of those in which the khutba was pronounced, giving them more direct access to the symbolic and symbiotic relationship between the mosque and the state.

The Sivrihisar Ulu Cami stripped the new model of the wooden mosque of many of the conventional architectural and artistic embellishments to reveal its pragmatic core, which was the ability to efficiently support mass worship. The building had a clear ideological agenda. It sought to take advantage of the new permissive atmosphere of Mongol suzerainty to rectify the Seljuk's neglect of

religious building in smaller cities, and declare a collective faith in the face of the Mongol threat. The capacious and hastily built mosque was the prime instrument – or symbolic manifestation – of the determination to hold Anatolia for Islam in the face of the present challenge. It was rhetorically large and sufficiently inclusive to institute a new symbolic order and as a type that formerly required sultanic privelage to establish, at the same time implicitly prepared the foundations for a new state.

At the time the new mosques were built, both Afyon and Sivrihisar almost certainly had a status as administrative iqtas.[76] This type of land or territorial grant had evolved out of the military iqta, which was simply a means to facilitate payment of a standing army; it was distinguished not just by the right to collect taxes, but also to exercise local political power. In contrast to the military iqta, which was unquestionably temporary, the administrative iqta had long-term implications for the entailment of property, including that of being heritable. It was in itself a type of suzerainty, one that maintained the symbolic unity of the state while pragmatically acknowledging the pressure towards and value of localization. The administrative iqta thus anticipated the formation of emirates, especially in its tendency to become hereditary; the only real difference is that it retains the continuity of symbolic legitimation.

The administrative iqtas of Afyon and Sivrihisar must have developed out of the remnants of Seljuk state order, but would presumably have required the consent of the Mongols. Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl's ambition to control a personal territory can be understood as the emulation of the successful strategies and model of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī. It went so far as to include propagating the type of mosque he had introduced. This radical new form of building was conceived in response to the crisis that faced the Mongol-controlled Seljuk Empire, which was most acutely felt on its Western border. The movement to build congregational mosques in Western

[76] Anne Lampton, *Continuity and Change,* 104. Lampton generally describes Persian practice under the Seljuks, but this seems to have been the precedent for the Seljuks of Anatolia. For the details of the Turkish case, see Osman Turan, "Le Droit Terrien sous les Seljoukides de Turquie." *REI*, 16 (1948): 25-49.

Anatolia was the corollary, and as fate would have it, the prelude to the movement to entrench the Sufi orders in a decentralized network of small, self-sustaining communal dwellings that Ethel Wolper has identified in the cities of the Eastern part of the empire.[77] As the political situation devolved further after 700/1300, that tendency would spread across all of Anatolia, but for a brief moment, through the expedience of wooden construction, in a few places like Afyon and Sivrihisar, it must have seemed possible to maintain a vision of Islam in the grand tradition.

The Ulu camis of Afyon and Sivrihisar may represent the temptation for iqta holders to encroach on the public demesne in times of troubles, but in neither case was the builder to enjoy the fruits of his labours for very long. When the sons of the Sahip Ata learned of the fall of Konya, they gathered forces at Karahisar for a counter-attack. Amir Tacettin Hüseyin and Amir Nasrettin Hasan were both killed in a battle against the rebellious Turkomen at Tuzağac, in the district of Altintaş, just west of Karahisar on AD 29 May 1277. An attack on Karahisar followed and the city was occupied in either AD 20 or 31 May 1279 by the forces of the pretender Cimri. An alliance with the Germiyans was needed to expel the intruder, at the risk of inflaming their ambitions to take possession of the iqta.[78] The territory was eventually regained by the Sahip Ata's grandson Sa'd al-Dīn Çelebi, who then sought to defeat the family's erstwhile allies. Unfortunately, this engagement resulted in his death at the hands of the Germiyan chief Barguş Bahadır in 686/1287. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī moved with the Sultan and a Seljuk-Mongol army to avenge this outrage; they failed and he returned to Konya on 7 Shawwāl 686 / 15 November 1287. [79] The Sahip Ata's death followed shortly thereafter. Later, however, his descendants regained control and sustained it for several decades.

Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl fared no better. He joined the conspiracy to ally with Baybars in 1275, but as late as June 1276 he also engaged in an embassy to Abaqa

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[77] Wolper, *Cities and Saints,* 2003.

[78] Cahen, *Formation,* 206. Rudi Poul Linder gives a rather more detailed account of the complex relationship between the Sahipataoğlullari and the Germiyans in *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory.* Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press, 2006: 76-77.

[79]Cahen, *Formation,* 215.

with the Pervane and Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī.[80] He was present at the Battle of Elbistan on 12 Dhul-Qa`dah 675 / 16 April 1277, but escaped or avoided the battle and retreated to Tokat with the Pervane and Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī. Baybars entered Kayseri in triumph on 21 April 1277 and departed just a week later. As na’ib, Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā’īl had an important role in seeking to quell the Turkomen uprising threatening Konya in the aftermath of the Mamluk incursion. He sent reinforcements, for example, to liberate Badr al-Dīn, who had been captured by rebels.[81] He perished in Dhul-Hijjah 675/May 1277 while defending the capital from the assaults of Cimri and the Karamanids. Baybars died suddenly on the first of July that year, effectively ending any further prospect of a Mamluk alliance for the defense of Anatolia, and the Mongols executed the Pervane for treason on the second of August. It was at this point that the Mongols imposed direct control on Anatolia.[82]

Despite its trials and tribulations, the Sahib Ata iqta made the transition to being an emirate as such. The Sahip Ata lost his sons, but emerged from the crisis of 675/1277 politically stronger. His iqta went through dispossession and various travails, but eventually regained the stability afforded by a vizerial dynasty and even if under siege, persisted at least until the middle of the next century, as the refurbishment of the Ulu Cami shows. Sivrihisar, on the other hand, did not become the emirate it had been positioned and prepared to be. Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā’īl may not have left an heir sufficiently strong to retain control, or maybe his association with the treasonous Pervane was too damaging for his successor to weather. In August or September of AD 1285, the Mongols appointed Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Kushraw III’ as governor of Sivrihisar, signifying the reversion of the territory to nominally Sultanic control.[83] The Ulu Cami remained a monument to the aspiration to secure a territory and covertly found a new state under Mongol suzerainty.

[80]Cahen, *Formation,* 200.

[81]Cahen, *Formation*, 203.

[82]Strictly speaking, Mongol suzerainty came to an end at this point and a new phase of complete Mongol domination began. It is difficult, however, to discern all of the changes this entailed; some former liberties must have remained, or even expanded.

[83] Cahen, *Formation*, 214.

Fig. 21 Urban Context of the Afyon Ulu Cami (photo by the author from placard at site; drawing by Atelye Bilsel). The main approach is from the east, which is the side where the new door was added in 742/1341. The stairs leading up to the fortress begin in the cross-hatched area at top right.

Fig. 22 The Afyon Ulu Cami seen from the Kocatepe (photo by the author). To the south of the mosque can be seen the large open space created by demolition of surrounding fabric; it has now been made into a garden.

Figure 23 Interior of the Afyon Ulu Cami (photo by the author.) View looking toward the mihrap from a point near the north entrance; the elevated ceiling of the central aisle is just visible near the mihrap.

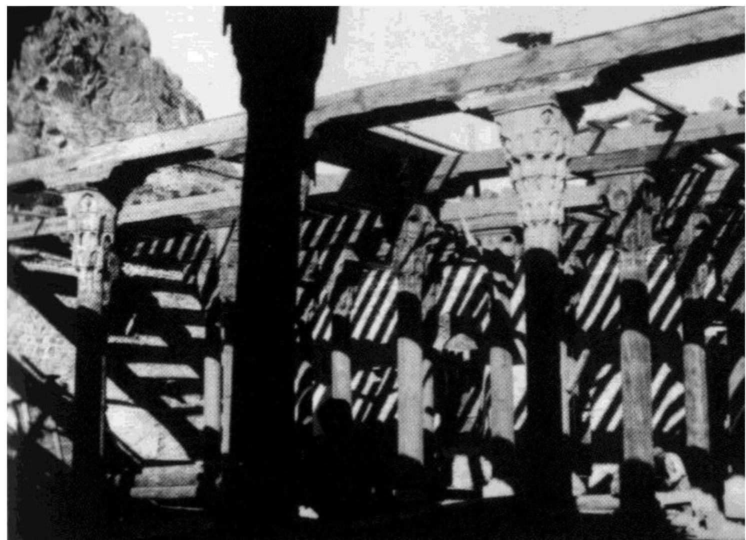

Fig. 24 The Afyon Ulu Cami being reconstructed, circa 1947.(photo after Karazeybek et al.). Although the intervention seen at this stage seems extremely radical, the work must have been even more extensive, since the few cases where abaci were put back in an incorrect order suggests that the beams were also entirely removed, and numerous capitals were reconstructed.

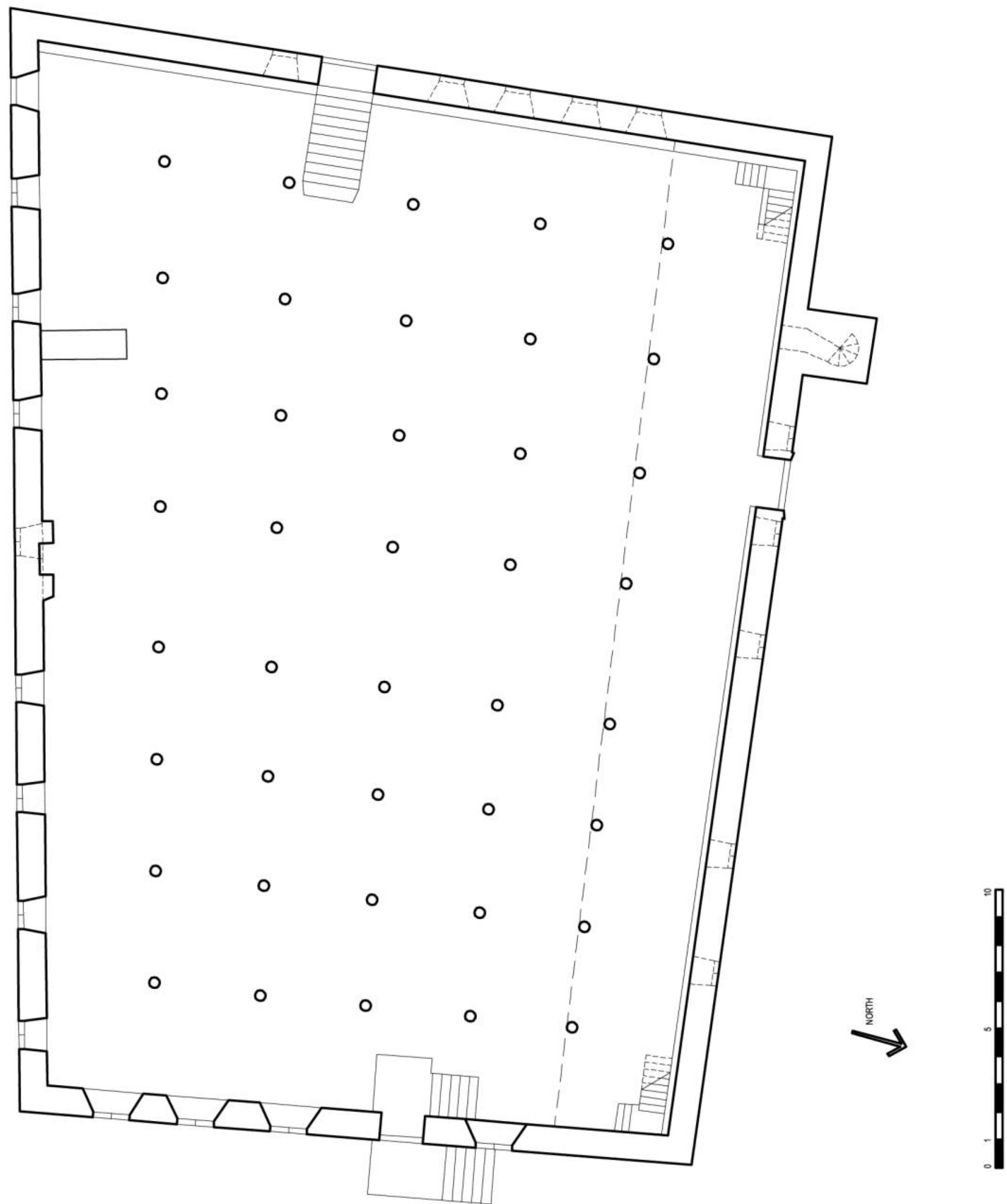

Fig. 25 The Afyon Ulu Cami, Plan (drawing by the author from site measurement).

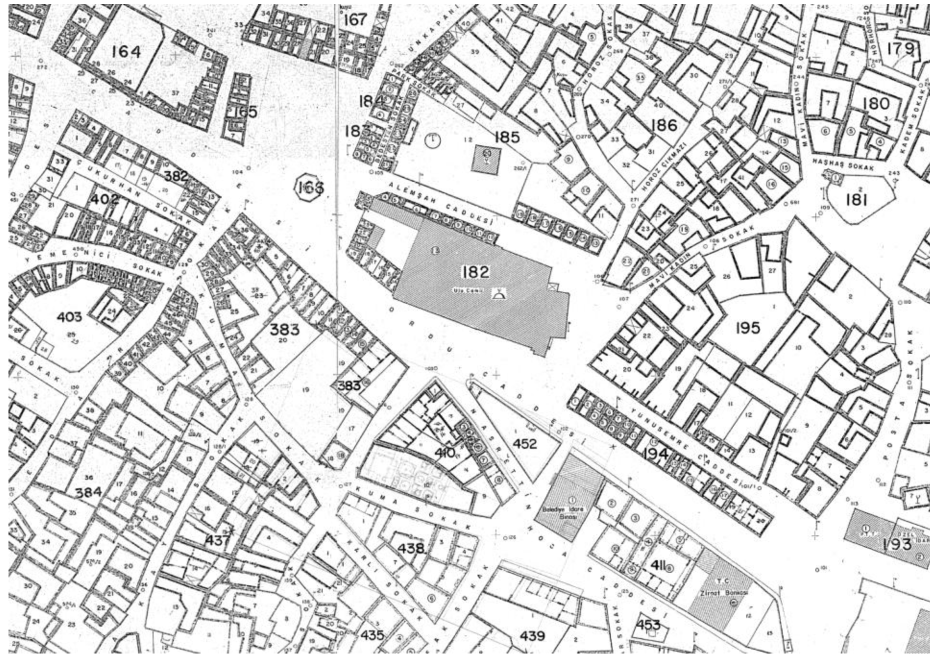

Fig. 26 Urban Context of the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami (marked 182). The mosque occupies the north edge of a readily defined cleft in the urban fabric, likely the site of an ancient road.

Fig. 27 View of Sivrihisar Ulu Cami from the route up to the hisar. The mosque is barely discernable in the middle ground, between the roof of the kumbet and the minaret. The building has very little urban presence, and is in fact surrounded by buildings on two sides. The Central Anatolian plain is visible in the distance – Afyon is about one hundred and twenty kilometers southwest.

Fig.28 Interior of the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami. The ceiling peaks in the bay at the left and slopes down toward the kibla wall. Directly ahead is the elevated floor of the imaret incorporated in the mosque.

Fig. 29 Entrance Doors. Left: to the base of the minaret, with relocated dedication stone. Right: North entrance with inscription describing the mosque as a restoration.

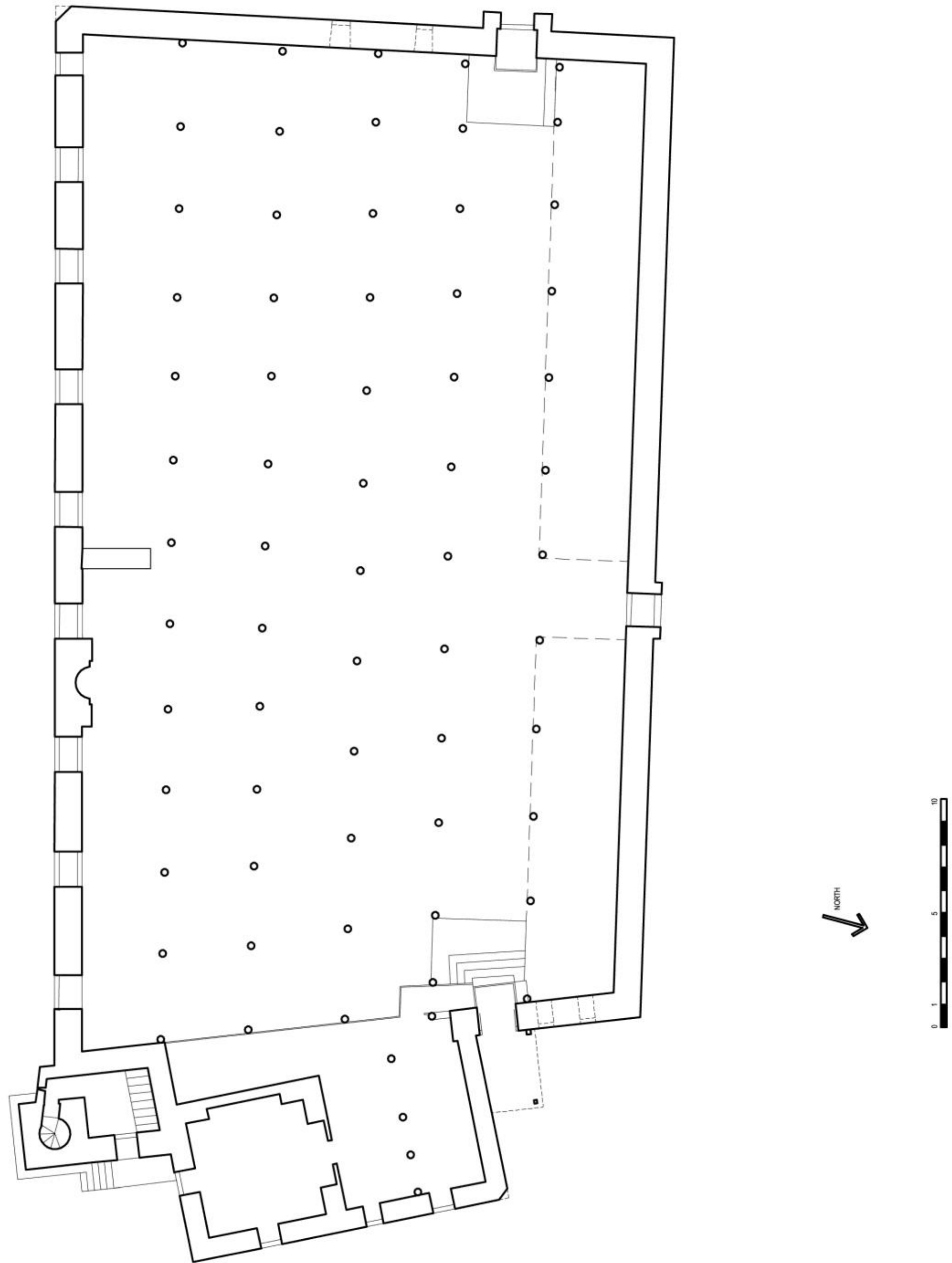

Fig. 30 The Sivrihisar Ulu Cami, Plan (drawing by the author from site measurement).

Fig. 31 Ornamented column near the mihrap, Sivrihisar Ulu Cami.

Fig. 32 Applied sheet metal ornament, Sivrhisar Ulu Cami.

CHAPTER 4

The Ahi Şerefettin Cami: Architecture, *Futtuva* and *Mürüvvet*

The Ahi Şerefettin Cami, built in Ankara in 689/1289-90, was a monumental manifestation of the social movements that came to the forefront in Anatolia under Mongol suzerainty. The new wooden mosque demonstrated the capacity of an emerging social group, the *Akhiyat al-Fityan* (Brotherhood of Youth) to organize, finance and build a congregational mosque. Prompted by historical circumstances to rely on themselves, the citizens of Ankara discovered that collectively they had more constructive potential than the Sultans, for whom Ankara remained a secondary city. In the unique conditions of Ankara, the wooden mosque took the particular form of an instrument of resistance to the emergence of a state apparatus. By vesting control of religious authority in a communal organization and thus robbing any contender for authority of a major symbol, the mosque helped to avert the rise of a despotic, amirial power. In fact, the building suggests that the community fared better, in terms of autonomy and self-determination, in the absence of central power and imperial systems of social control.

To appreciate the innovation that the Ahi Şerefettin mosque represented in both its general seventh/thirteenth century and a local context requires a review of some features of Seljuk patronage and an account of Ankara's political history and topography. Fortunately, the first project is facilitated by Howard Crane's, "Notes on Saldjūq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia." [1] One of the major observations that Crane made in this comprehensive assessment of the features of Seljuk architectural patronage was that, "almost all architectural patronage came from the ranks of the Seljuk ruling institution, that is, from members of the royal house and from the upper ranks of the military-bureaucratic elite attached to it."[2] He

[1] Howard Crane, "Notes on Saldjūq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* vol. XXXVI: 1-57.

[2] Crane, "Notes," 5.

went on to put this fact in stark quantitative terms, saying, "Indeed, of the 203 thirteenth century foundations for which the identity of the patron can be established, only four can be assigned with any assurance to founders who stood outside of the royal institution."[3] There are so few exceptions to the pattern of Seljuk patronage that the cases can be identified individually: an imam named Qutb al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Ibrāhīm contributed a minaret to the Ulu Cami of Akşehir dated 610/1213-1214; a shaykh known only as Alamān built an unspecified building, probably a mescid, in Konya before 687/1288; a sugar dealer named Hasan ibn Sha'bān, built a mescid in Konya in 617/1220-21; and finally, the Syrian Christian arch-deacon and physician named Abū Sālim ibn Abi 'l'Hasan al-Melitinī, built the Hekim Han on the Malatya-Sivas road as a commercial venture in 615/1218-19.[4] Two of these patrons were members of the *ulama*, one was a merchant, and one is non-Muslim.

Even by his own standards, Crane has probably slightly underestimated the number of patrons without royal associations. His roll of patrons includes, for example, an ahi who surely did not have a royal association, but this person does not appear in the tally.[5] There are also a few anomalies, such as the Ahi Şerefettin Cami itself, which Crane did not mention because its inscription does not cite proper names. In addition, some allowance should be made for the many patrons for whom titles are not recorded. Further research may make it possible to identify these people's status, though it is probably safe to assume that the omission of titles means they did not have them. Finally, there is uncertainty in how to regard some classes of patrons, most importantly, *'atiqs* (manumitted slaves.) In this case, Crane's criterion of royal association is likely the best guide, since the freed slave inevitably retained an association with his former master.

Even allowing for some increase in the number of non-royal patrons, it remains clear that the act of building in Anatolia was striking exclusive. The dimensions of this exclusion are underscored by the fact that the few non-royal patrons of the Seljuk era tended to found modest buildings like *çesmes*, or to donate

[3] Crane, "Notes," 5.

[4] These four are, in order, numbers 83, 11, 42 and 9 on Crane's alphabetical roll of patrons.

[5] Crane,"Notes," 33.

parts of buildings, like minarets. It goes almost without saying that the class of small patrons did not build major institutions like madrasas, which, in addition to construction costs, required extensive *wakf* properties to maintain and operate.

It might be natural to respond to this claim of exclusivity by supposing that the *ulama* and lower social classes simply did not have the wealth required to build and endow foundations, even modest ones, but the evidence of patronage in the subsequent century invalidates this argument. Ethel Sara Wolper has elucidated the dimensions of a popular social movement in which sufis, ahis, merchants, and other minor personages built frequently, and in ways that even transformed urban spaces.[6] There is no survey as convenient as Crane's to demonstrate the facts for the eighth/fourteenth century, but if one were to be made it would undoubtedly show a much broader dissemination of building across classes.[7] This was an inevitable consequence of the protracted collapse of Sultanic institutions after their defeat. The Sultans themselves had been removed from any role in building by 641/1243 and after 706/1307 there simply was no Sultan to anchor the imperial system of privileges and restrictions. Amirs, citizens, and strongmen alike were left more or less to their own devices and build they did, however modestly.

In effect, the pattern of seventh/thirteenth century patronage reveals the workings of a system of sumptuary regulation. In pre-modern Islamic society, as in all other pre-modern societies, it was not a matter of general indifference who built what. Building religious buildings was a primarily symbolic act and thus a vested interest; it was a socially determined prerogative, not a right. Patronage was regarded as sign of authority, and all authority had to be legitimated by tradition, or signs of divine sanction, or both; wealth was never sufficient in itself to build, at least not to build public and sacred buildings. The Ahi Şerefettin Cami is proof of the existence of sufficient *collective* means to build, but also shows that the political system of Seljuk building offered no opportunity to do so. In fact, the class/patronal system

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[6] Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and saints: Sufisim and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia.* University Park, PA.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

[7] Unfortunately, the century used by Crane is an artificial period, one that does not correspond with historical events that affected patronage. The devolution of patronage occurred in two stages – Sultanic patronage halted after 1243, and the subsequent building activities of the viziers concluded with the death of Fakhr ad-Din in 1288.

precluded such an occurrence, and it was highly effective in maintaining a symbolic monopoly. The entire preceding century offers no precedent or parallel to a group like an ahi association building a congregational mosque. By incapacitating the Sultans and depriving them of the control over building, Mongol suzerainty effectively liberated this class to build.

The emergence of the ahis as a major social force and ultimately as patrons of building in Ankara can be explained in part as a result of the city's unique political history, which requires a somewhat longer exposition. Ankara was undoubtedly a larger, more important city in the seventh/thirteenth century than either Afyon or Sivrihisar. Its history is also better recorded. It is Ankara's kale that guaranteed the city's perennial status; though perhaps not as unassailable as Afyon's Kocatepe, it was more heavily fortified and significantly larger than many other forts.[8] The inner fortress walls, built in the seventh century by the Byzantines on foundations of much greater antiquity, enclose an area about three hundred and fifty by one hundred and fifty metres.[9] This sanctum is supplemented by a second, outer precinct, somewhat less fortified but still securely walled, that wrapped around the west and south faces of the citadel hill. The great *hisar* could thus accommodate more than just the ruling and military elite; a large part of the populace presumably either lived in the walled city, or could shelter inside it during raids and sieges.

The region around Ankara came under Turkish control shortly after the battle of Manzikert, when the Turkmen leader Artuk advanced as far as the Sangarius (Sakarya) River. In AD 1073, Alexius Comnenus, a brother of the Byzantine emperor Isaac, encountered great difficulties retreating westward of Ankara, and was even refused admission to the city because its citizens feared that the Turks camped nearby would invade if the gates were opened.[10] The Danişmends were the first

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[8] Figures for these areas are not readily available, but Ankara kale is obviously larger than ones like Erzurum and Kayseri. Perhaps the best comparison for size is with Sivas or Niğde, but the Ankara hisar had both a better natural situation and more significant ancient foundations than those cities.

[9]C. Foss proposed AD 656-661 for the construction, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara." Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Vol. 31. (1977): 75. For a comprehensive history and description, see Ömür Bakırer, "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler."In *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, (2001):173-202.

[10] Cahen, *Formation*, 7.

Turks to occupy Ankara more or less regularly. Their capital was at Malatya, and their domain extended from Sivas to Cappadocia. Ankara was their frontier, and the city was probably no more than a garrison post, since it was easily overcome on AD 22 June 1101 by a crusader army intent on liberating the crusade leader Bohemond, who had been captured by the Danişmend Amir Ghazi. The crusaders briefly restored the city to Byzantine rule, but after they departed, Amir Ghazi retaliated by slaying them en masse and reclaimed the city. His successor, Gümüştekin, was reportedly established at Ankara after 497/1104.[11]

Malik 'Arab, the brother of Sultan Mas'ud I (ruled 510-550/1116-56) was the first Seljuk to rule Ankara. 'Arab also held Kastamonu, and henceforth, the two cities often constituted a territory that extended toward but did not quite reach the Black Sea coast, which remained under Byzantine control. From his base at Ankara, 'Arab marched in 520/1126 toward Konya to contest the Seljuk throne.[12] His defeat returned the city to the Danişmends, who assigned Malik Yağibasan as governor. Mas'ud I seized the opportunity presented by disorder and conflict among the Danişmends after the death of Melik Muhammed Gazi around 535/1141 and retook the city, along with Çankırı and the Byzantine frontiers.[13] It was in the context of the struggle with the Danişmends that one of the followers of Kiliç Arslan II named Konoş invited a distant ancestor of Ahi Şerefettin named Seyit Hasan to Ankara from Iran.[14]

Ankara nominally passed to Kiliç Arslan II upon his accession to the throne in 551/1155 but, along with Çankırı, the city remained effectively in the hands of his uncle Shāhānsāh, who had allied against him with Yağibasan and the Danişmends.[15] Kiliç Arslan, faced with enemies on all sides, allied with the Byzantine emperor to

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[11] Cahen, *Formation*, 11.

[12] Osman Turan, "Anatolia in the Period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks." *The Cambridge History of Islam Vol. 1: The Central Islamic Lands.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970: 24

[13] Paul Wittek, "Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter." *Festschrift für Georg Jakob sum Siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Theodor Menzel. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1932. 340. See also Cahen, *Formation*, 21.

[14] M. Zeki Oral, *"Ahi Şerafettin Türbesi ve Sandukası."* Milletlerarası 1. Türk Devre Sanatları Kongresi. Kongre sunulan tebliğler *(1962): 318.*

[15] Cahen, *Formation,* 24.

gain security from attack on his western front, thus permitting him to concentrate on his old foes. This strategy effectively prepared the way for Seljuk hegemony over Anatolia. In 558/1163 Kiliç Arslan overwhelmingly defeated Yağibasan and deposed his uncle.[16] This was not, however, the final word, since after 568/1173 Ankara was again restored to Shāhānsāh, who died only a year later. These shifting alliances caused the Byzantine emperor to distrust his ally; he massed an army and moved against Kiliç Arslan in the battle of Myriocephalum, where the Byzantines were soundly defeated. Cahen credits this victory with confirming Turkish domination of Anatolia. "Henceforth," he notes, "there would be a permanent and completely independent Turkish state in Anatolia."[17] In the very same year, Michael, the metropolitan of Ankara, petitioned to be transferred, indicating that the Christian population of the city had been almost entirely dispersed.[18]

Ankara became the seat of Muhid al-Din Masudshah in Kiliç Arslan's eleven-part division of the state in 582/1186. The partition triggered a decade of internecine struggle, with Malik Rukn al-Din Suleyman II eventually occupying his father's seat in Konya. Masudshah was one of the few brothers who did not capitulate to Rukn al-Din's expansionist ambition, and he extended his own domain as far as Bolu. In 593/1197-1198 - a year after his brother claimed the throne - Masudshah reaffirmed his possession of Ankara by building a mosque inside the kale. The building, now known as the Alaeddin Cami, is located in the southwest corner of the inner kale, adjacent to one of the major gates to the outer precinct. In fact, it uses the kale wall for its south face. The building is notable for its remarkable clear span interior of 12.85 by 15 metres, its porch of antique columns, and an important early wooden mimber.[19]

Masudshah's determination to build a mosque can be interpreted as a gesture of defiance as much as a sign of confidence, for Suleyman continued to pressure his brother and took the city after two years of hostilities. He died shortly thereafter, in

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[16] Turan, "Anatolia," 243. Cahen says this victory took place in AD 1169, *Formation,* 27.

[17] Cahen, *Formation*, 31.

[18] Vryonis, *Decline*, 206.

[19] The mosque has been restored numerous times, both in the early Ottoman era and in the mid twentieth century. In the process, all interior details were lost.

600/1204.[20] In any case, the mosque inside the kale was the first permanent architectural sign of Turkish settlement in Ankara, and it should not go unnoticed that it was raised more than a hundred and twenty years after Turks first occupied the city. Although it is one of only a few Seljuk mosques founded in the sixth/twelfth century, it was by no means a gesture of central control and imperial will. Quite the opposite, it was a dissenting assertion of local autonomy, if not outright rebellion, and implicitly a monument to the Seljuk's failure to devise a stable means of succession.

After Suleyman's death, Kay Khusraw I returned to power. His second reign laid the foundation for Seljuk supremacy and prosperity. Although his three sons bitterly struggled for succession after his death, there was less general disorder because the rival Turkish states had been subdued. The fraternal power struggle resulted in another monument in Ankara, though not a lasting one. ʻIzz al-Din Kay Kawus I was the first of the three contenders for the throne to gain the support of the great amirs, which led his brother ʻAlā' al-Dīn Kay Qubād I to launch an assault on him from his base in Tokat. After the defection of his allies, Kay Qubād retreated to Ankara. There he mustered the support of Sayf al-Din Kızıl and Husam al-Din Amir Çopan, who were Turkomen chiefs of the province of Kastamonu, and prepared for his elder brother's return. The historian Ibn Bibi records that during the ensuing siege, Kay Kawus I or one of his amirs, built and endowed a madrasa outside the city as a gesture of confidence in the inevitability of his victory. That victory soon came; Kay Qubād I was imprisoned and the *chasnigir* Sayf al-Din Ineh placed in charge of Ankara. As fate would have it, however, the new sultan died of an illness in 617/1220 and Kay Qubād inherited the sultanate for which he earlier fought. Not forgetting the trials he endured at his brother's hand, Kay Qubād had the new madrasa in Ankara demolished. As a further gesture of posthumous revenge, he also discontinued construction of the solid marble tomb his brother had been building for himself in the courtyard of the royal mosque in Konya and instead interred his body in the east iwan of the hospital he had built in Sivas, making him the only Seljuk sultan buried elsewhere than at Konya.

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[20] Cahen, *Formation*, 42; Turan, "Anatolia," 245.

‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay Qubād’s reign is generally recognized as the height of Seljuk state power. Wealth and building flourished in his reign, but Ankara saw little activity. In a bid to impose his identity on the city, Kay Qubād had the mosque built by Masudshah renamed in his own honour. Normally, to usurp a building of this sort required at least some act of restoration, but there is no obvious sign of major change.[21] It has to be admitted, however, that it is only the mosque’s mimber that is decisively dated to the reign of Masudshah, and this has lead to the suggestion that the building was in fact built by Kay Qubād. [22] It is, however, impossible to reconcile the building’s archaism with the new Sultan’s architectural agenda, which was definitely oriented southward to Syria.[23]

The Akköprü over the Çubuk River on the route to Beypazari, dated 619/1222, is Ankara’s only clearly attested building activity in this period.[24] The bridge was likely the work of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s beglerbegi, Sayf al-Din Kızıl, who had been rewarded for his loyalty with the governorship of Ankara. Sayf al-Din Kızıl also built a mescid, but its date of construction (before AD 1235) and details are obscure, since it was demolished in AD 1926 in order to widen Atatürk Boulevard.[25] The building was located at the present site of the Ziraat bank headquarters, which are about five hundred metres west of the outer kale wall. This location shows that the city had grown quite far to the west in this prosperous period.

Like his father, Kay Qubād left three sons, and though he favoured his second, the eldest, Kay Khusraw II, came to power through the support of the amirs. Among them was the *amir-i mimari* Köpek, who conspired with the Pervane Tāj al-Din to bring about the execution of the young Sultan’s atabeg, Altinbay. After this coup, Taj al-Din retreated to Ankara, which he had been granted as a military iqta in

[21] Michael Rogers explained this point in detail in “Wakf and Patronage,” 70-71.

[22] The building is an excellent candidate for dendrochronological analysis due to the (presumably original) beams in the attic, which could be sampled with no visible or structural effect.

[23] For example, he employed the Syrian architect Muhammad ibn Khalwan al-Dimashqi to extend the Sultanic mosque in Konya. See Crane, *Muslim Patronage in Saljuq Anatolia,* 109.

[24] RCEA item no. 3878:190.

[25] Fragments of its mimber, a later addition dated 1299, is all that remains of the mesjid. See Ergül Uğurlu,"Ankara Kızilbey Camii Minberi"*Türk Etnografya Dergisi* X (1967):75-88.

632/1235.[26] His conspiracy discovered, he was tried in Kayseri, returned to Ankara and publicly executed in 635/1237. He was followed shortly thereafter by the mother of the Sultan's two younger brothers, who was incarcerated in Ankara and then strangled.

Ankara returned to the royal domain after this bloody transition, but did not remain there long. The second Kay Khusraw proved quite ineffectual as a ruler. Already exhausted by attempting to suppress the Turkmen revolt of Baba Rasul, he was defeated by the Mongols at Köse Dağ on 3 Safar 641/26 June 1243. Acting in desperation, he fled to Tokat to retrieve his treasure and, avoiding the capital because he anticipated a major Mongol attack there, retreated to Antalya. Fortunately, his vizier Muhadhdhab al-Dīn opened a timely negotiation with the Mongols and won a reprieve from pillage and plunder. Kay Khusraw II eventually returned to his throne, becoming the first Seljuk sultan to rule in name only under the Mongols. He died shortly thereafter, in 644/1246.

The Mongols did not inflict any obvious damage on Ankara after their victory, and the ramparts were perhaps even restored; an inscription records that the *djandar* Muhamad ibn Qutaiba constructed a portal in the citadel in 649/1251-52.[27] To further their domination, the Mongols divided the country's rule at first between two Seljuk brothers and later, three, all of whom were minors. Coins struck in Ankara show that Kay Kawus II ruled the city in 655/1257.[28] The city's strategic value was demonstrated again almost twenty years later when Fakhr al-Din 'Alī chose it as a base from which to muster troops to confront the pretender Cimri.

Ankara's great kale gave it unquestionable value as a defensive stronghold, but the city was never as important as the more exposed cities on the plains, like Kayseri (which was razed by the Mongols) or Konya. Its historical place in the Seljuk Empire was always secondary. It had a long history of being used as a site for rebellion and revolt, as a refuge from strife, and as a base in which to regroup. Characteristically, when Anatolia fragmented into emirates in the fourteenth century,

[26] Cahen, *Formation*, 152.

[27] Crane, "Notes," 69.

[28] Cahen, *Formation*, 187.

Ankara was bypassed once again. A local power developed at Kastamonu instead. In the long period between the Mongol conquest and the capture of the city by the Ottoman Sultan Murad I, the ahis appear to have been the city's dominant political force.[29]

The Ahi Şerefettin Cami

If anything in the history of Ankara presaged the construction of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami in 689/1289-90, it was the prior neglect of significant communal religious construction. The Alaeddin Cami was the city's largest mosque, but its sheltered position in the city, its association with the secure and powerful, and its size all show that it was essentially a kale cami. Although it has an impressive clear span and is significantly larger than the type of brick domed mesjids built by Seljuk amirs and other notables for their own use, it is still a relatively small building, with an area of only 193 square metres. The Alaeddin Cami was presumably used primarily by the ruling elite who dwelt within the kale, such as the governor appointed from Konya, or whichever dissenter gained control of the city. The mosque was a product of Sultanic patronage, but it had the lingering distinction of having been built as a gesture of rebellion, and 'Alā' al-Dīn Key Kubad rehabilitated it in name only. The Kızıl Bey Cami was probably a small, single-domed brick building conforming to the limits on mosque building by amirs.[30]

The Seljuk's failure to build a congregational mosque in Ankara was the precondition for the ahis taking the matter in hand. By the time it was built, Turks had occupied Ankara for more than two hundred years with surprisingly little to show for it by way of formal religious institutions. The new building not only far

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[29] For Ankara's ahis, see G.G.Arnakis, "Futuwwa Traditions in the Ottoman Empire: Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes and Craftsmen." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Vol. 12, No. 4 (Oct., 1953): 232-247; also Mehmet Ali Hacigökmen, "Selçulular ZamanInda Ankara Ahileri HakkInda Bir Araştırma" In *I. Uluslar Arası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyet Bildirlier I.* Konya, 2001, 373-387. Note that the Germiyanids also had a role in the city around AD 1299, according to Linder, *Studies in Ottoman Prehistory*, 77.

[30] This cannot be ascertained with certainty because the building was destroyed by earthquakes in AD 1596 and 1600 and later rebuilt. See Abdülkerim Erdoğan, Gökce Günel and Ali Kılcı, *Tarih Iiçnde Ankara I.* Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediysi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2007: 144.

exceeded in size and architectural ambition any mosque previously built in the city, it had the distinction of having been produced by the citizen's own resources and will. Upon its completion, the Ahi Şerefettin Cami effectively became the city's Ulu Cami and it retained its pre-eminence for centuries.[31]

Ahi Şerefettin Cami has a uniquely visible and prominent place in the city. It is located outside the outer kale walls, about ninety metres south and a hundred and forty metres east of the main southern gate (Fig.33). Due to the mosque's position on the crest of the long south slope that leads up to the kale, its minaret is visible in profile from a distance of many kilometres, both east and west. Conversely, when leaving the kale and approaching the mosque from the north, its façade is viewed from slightly above and against the vast space of the valley below (Fig. 34). The provision of a formal façade with a minaret and a portal – features not seen at first in Afyon or Sivrihisar - seems to respond to the dramatic opportunity presented by this prominent viewpoint.[32] The downward slope conceals most of the building, making it appear to be a single, low story. This effect must have been even more pronounced when the mosque retained its earthen roof.[33] The building's real mass is only visible from below on the western side. From that vantage, it can be seen that the mosque sits on a monumental substructure almost four metres tall that is largely concealed by a single story modern building abutting its foundation. The roof of this new building has been rendered as a terrace and the datum it establishes artificially normalizes the building's position on the slope.

The sloped site determined the building's general form and many of its features. The plan measures 21.4 metres east to west and 24.1 metres north to south, for a total area of five hundred and seventeen square metres (Fig. 39). The plan is thus essentially square, and the wooden roof is supported by four rows of columns

[31] It was, however, eclipsed in religious importance as a cult site by the Haji Bayram Veli Cami, built into the ruins of the Temple of Augustus in 830/1427.

[32] The historical view was probably not so directly axial. The earliest maps of Ankara suggest something more like a direct line from the kale gate to the mosque, which would have made the approach rather more oblique.

[33] The mosque would have been surrounded by single story houses at most; Suraiya Faroqhi makes it clear that the multiple story houses now considered traditional in cities like Ankara date from the seventeenth century at the earliest. See *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth Century Ankara and Kayseri.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987: 94.

forming five aisles. There are six ranks of columns in each row. Additional length could only have been obtained by building an even greater substructure at the south end or by excavating further into the hillside at the north, and either option would have entailed great effort and exacerbated technical problems. Greater breadth could have been attained without facing such difficult problems, but it would have required either the use of longer joists, or, if the centre aisle was to remain clear, the addition of two full bays. The building’s nearly square plan is in happy equilibrium between topographical restraints and ideal form.

The fact that the building is cut into the hillside on its north face had particular consequences for the minaret and the portal, and more widely, for all the entrances. For one, it made the minaret appear considerably taller than it would have looked if placed in the normal position at the mosque’s floor level. As it is, the base of the minaret, which incorporates several large Roman marble fragments, comes almost to the eaves line and the *pabuç* (transitional zone) extends well above it. The portal, which is made of white marble, had to be considerably reduced in scale to fit the attenuated façade. Even so, its top rose, parapet-like, several stone courses above the building’s cornice, and as a result it was sheared off when a ceramic tile roof was added, probably some time in the first half of the twentieth century.

The most remarkable effect of the unusual section is that the northern portal enters on to the upper level, which is to say, directly into the kadinlar mahfil. It is not entirely clear how this unprecedented arrangement functioned. The implication, however, is clearly that the portal was used only by women. The honorific quality of this “*kadınlar kapı*” is further heightened by the fact that the upper entrance arrives almost on axis with the mihrap, which is unusually tall and thus uniquely visible from the kadinlar mahfil.

There are two entrances for daily use on the east and west face of the building, not far from the north corners. The western entrance is located just north of the second rank of columns and thus arrives under the ceiling of the kadinlar mahfil. The eastern entrance is in the next bay south. It has been displaced to clear the stairs to the kadinlar mahfil, which are located in that corner. The original doors are lost, as are all the interior window shutters. Neither of the side entrances has a portal as such,

but the wall around and above the doors is elaborated with brick surrounds. The designs are different on each side and in both cases reach as high as the head of the second course of windows. The eastern door surround has suffered some damage that makes its original form unclear.[34] There are three corbelled brick consoles above the door; the centre one is wider than the others and it is divided in half vertically by a recessed channel. There is a square hole between the centre and southern brick consoles that was clearly a socket for a beam. The corresponding spot on the door's other side is damaged, but it seems likely that the eastern entrance originally had a projecting construction of some sort. Judging by the size of the socket, it must have been made of wood, but it is impossible to say anything more about this lost feature.[35]

The western entrance is more decoratively embellished than the eastern one. Its general arrangement resembles the composition of contemporary mihraps. The main feature is a brick relieving arch above the door. Its tympanum has a decorative triangle flanked by hexagonal monochrome ceramic tiles, and there are small fragments of original faience in the brickwork, just as there are in the minaret. The brick panel terminates in a row of miniature inset arches – a full one in the centre, bifurcated ones at the edges.[36] The western entrance is three large steps below the floor level and the eastern one is three large steps above it, so the size and scale of the western portal is significantly larger than the eastern. It also happens to be the side closer to the main thoroughfares leading to the kale gate, so it tends to be used quite heavily.

[34] Photographs in the Vakiflar Genel Müdülürü archive show two small modern additions occupied the irregular spaces north and south of the east entrance. They were presumably removed in the restoration in the mid-sixties.

[35] One of the reconstruction drawings proposed a porch that was not realized. Perhaps the architects at that time knew more about an eastern porch than I have been able to discover. It should be noted that the panel above the entrance has two circular concavities about 30 centimetres in diameter with mortar beds. At some time, these must have held shallow round ceramic ornamental platters. There is, however, no evidence of the practice of embedding vessels as decoration before the middle of the fourteenth century. This might be evidence for a later date for the entrance, but it is admittedly slight, especially given the fact that the masonry is structural and clearly original.

[36] The profile and scale of the small arches also resembles merlons, a motif sometimes also found terminating mihraps, for example, the Külük Cami in Kayseri and the Arap Baba Mescid in Harput.

All the portals are anepigraphic. There is, however, a coarse granite block 175 x 50 centimetres with a single line Arabic inscription incorporated in the masonry on the right-hand side of the western entrance.[37] It is clearly spolia from an earlier building, but the text is badly eroded and its message is probably irrecoverable. In any case, the inscription may have been incomplete from the beginning, since the stone has room for two lines, but only the upper half is inscribed. Paul Wittek examined the stone and dated it to the early seventh/thirteenth century on the basis of the calligraphic style.[38] The only content he managed to salvage was the name Seifeddin. This probably indicates the name of the *chasnigir* Sayf al-Din Ineh, which suggests that this is the dedication stone of the madrasa built under 'Izz al-Din Kay Kawus I and demolished by his brother, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay Qubād I.[39]

The placement of the inscribed stone suggests that it was treated as more than a mere curio. The stone might have been included in the new mosque out of the belief that it had some legitimizing value, for example in reviving an earlier foundation wakf that had been abrogated. There is, however, nothing about the mosque's plan to suggest its configuration has been determined by the presence of an earlier building, but it is quite possible that the podium dates from the earlier construction - a site already provided with a monumental foundation presents a major saving in labour, and it could have determined the building's location. Even now that the stone is illegible, its inclusion appears to have been a pointed gesture, as if it silently mocked the destructive vanity of Sultans, and perhaps implicitly warned of their interference in religious matters.

The mosque has two rows of windows in all of its walls but the north, which has just two small windows high on the wall to illuminate the kadinlar mahfil. The lower windows on the west face are 125 x 180 centimetres, but the sills of those on the east face were raised at some point, probably to accommodate the higher level of

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[37] It is apparently on the basis of this inclusion that Gönül Öney refers to the building as a renovation. See *Ankara Arslanhane Camii*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990: 3.

[38] Paul Wittek, "Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter." *Festschrift für Georg Jakob sum Siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Theodor Menzel. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1932: 344.

[39] It could also indicate the name of 'Alā' al-Dīn's *beglerbegi,* Sayf al-Din Kızıl. It is doubtful, however, that he built anything that was in ruin by 1289.

the ground on that side. The upper windows are considerably smaller, as they are on the south wall of the Sivrihisar Ulu Cami. The south wall has two lower windows and four upper ones. The east and west walls both have two lower windows and three upper ones. The lower windows on the east and west walls are framed on the interior by a projecting enjambment, and the wall's thickness is reduced by about fifty centimetres at the level of the kadinlar mahfil, which is also near the base of the upper windows. A close examination of the mosque's exterior masonry reveals that this shift in the wall's section coincides with the maximum height of the part of the western wall that is built primarily of spolia. Above that datum, the construction is mostly rubble. This examination also reveals wooden stringcourses and traces of a third, higher rank of windows on the east and west sides. These windows, which were smaller again than the upper ones, were aligned above the largest ones in the lowest course, thus producing a syncopated rhythm of openings on the wall. In fact there was one of these windows directly above the miniature arches over the western entrance. The presence of high windows in the lateral walls is consistent with the design of the Eşrefoğlu Cami, and seems to have been devised to admit light deep into the building. While the resultant natural lighting can hardly be called abundant, the building's relatively small floor plate permitted light to penetrate to the centre of the building, especially from the south and west.

The visitor to the Ahi Şerefettin Cami arrives off-centre, as happens at both Afyon and Sivrihisar, but the smaller, more highly ordered interior does not produce the sort of parallax effects experienced in the earlier mosques. The beams run perpendicular to the kibla wall, and there is no atrium or maqsura dome to confuse the interior, as there is at Beysehir. The very interesting and beautiful mihrap is unusually large. At 3.65 metres wide and 6.5 metres tall, it amply occupies the central bay, which is 5.5 metres wide from center of column to centre of column. The mihrap is a noble and profound presence in the space, and it is noted by art historians for being the only mihrap from seventh/thirteenth century Anatolia to mix ceramic revetment and carved plaster. Katharina Otto-Dorn,[40] Ömür Bakırer,[41] and Micheal

[40] Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Der Mihrab der Arslanhane Moschee in Ankara." *Anatolia I*, 1965: 71-75.

Meinecke[42] have all analyzed and documented the mihrap, and it will be further discussed in an appendix to this thesis.

The building's wooden construction is the other main determinate of its form. The building is evidently conceived on the basis of its roof structure, which determines the plan.[43] This is true of the other wooden mosques as well, but not to such a degree. In the Ahi Şerefettin Cami, each bay increases toward the centre in width and height by the length and height of a pair of the brackets that sit on the beams (Figs.35/36/37). That is to say, the outer bays have a single course of brackets; the second bay has two, and the centre, three. The greater width of each bay toward the centre is artfully balanced by the increasing height of the ceiling. The taller central aisle is fully integrated in the total spatial order, rather than appearing exceptional in the way it does at Afyon.

Functionally, this arrangement provides the slight slope need to drain the earthen roof. Nevertheless, the roof structure decayed over the course of centuries, and was extensively repaired under the direction of Yılmaz Önge in AD 1963-65. Fortunately, Önge's careful work left a telltale means to identify the repairs; all of the original joists are round poles and the new joists are trimmed to an octagonal section. With great discretion, Önge omitted lambrequins from the octagonal joists,

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[41] Ömür Bakırer, *Onüç ve Ondördüncu Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Mihrablari*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi 1976: 15-22.

[42] Micheal Meinecke, *Fayencedecoration Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* 2 Vol. Tubingen: Wasmuth Verlag, 1976: 66-74.

[43] The original roof was very slightly sloped down from the centre line to the east and west. It was undoubtedly covered with a thick layer of earth, like all the wooden mosques, and many others in Anatolia. The building's present metal roof was constructed between 1963 and 1965. It was not, however, the first reconstruction, since a peaked tile roof of essentially the same form can be seen in earlier photographs, and it surely was not original. Nevertheless, careful drawings made in 1963 are detailed enough to map out the elements that are original and those that are not. In fact, this task is made relatively simple by the fact that no effort was made to supply decorative lambrequins for the newly installed joists. While most, but not all of the round joists have lambrequins, not one of octagonal joists does. The few lambrequins missing from round joists can be explained as inevitable losses over time, whereas all of the octagonal joists are clearly new. They probably date from the mid-sixties renovation, although it is also possible that they were changed earlier, when the tile roof was installed. This clue helps to identify changes. It reveals that almost all of the joists in the two outside bays have been replaced, except for a few in the northeast corner. On the other hand, the centre bay is almost entirely intact, except for four joists at its south end. The intermediate bays contain an almost equal number of old and new joists. This pattern of replacements is consistent with a technical failure from the outside inward – the building's most compromising problem was in shedding water once it arrived at the east and west edges of the essentially flat roof.

so that the extent of the new work is easily recognized. All of the central aisle but for a short length above the kadinlar mahfil is original, the internal bays have a mixed construction, and the outer bays have been entirely reconstructed, except for three joists in the northeast corner.

The roof's highly rational tectonic order is underscored by a detail that is not structurally necessary, namely the fact that the brackets that sit on the beams return where they meet the masonry end walls (Fig. 37). This elaboration is not connected to the structure, since the joists continue running east-west all the way to the wall, or rather to the point where they disappear above the brackets. Nevertheless, this gesture avoids having an awkward or brutal confrontation of the beams and joists with the north and south end walls. Overall, it provides the space with a greater degree of finish; instead of revealing the sectional determination of the building, the returns make each bay feel more finite, like a closed unit of space.

The cumulative effect of this careful calibration permeates the building with a feeling of organic unity. That is to say, every part of the building appears to be connected to every other part not in a mechanical way, but as a result of a rational, tectonic order. There is, for example, a one-to-one correspondence between joists and brackets, even though the brackets are not literally the projecting ends of the ceiling joists, as they are for example in the central bay of the Afyon Ulu Cami. The builder strove to make the design axiomatic, and those few elements that are not structurally self-evident tend to heighten the phenomenal sensations of order and clarity. The clear, hierarchical tectonic order makes this the only one of the wooden mosques to resemble the sophisticated ancient Chinese wooden construction system known as *dougong*.[44]

A comparable level of design is evident in the disposition of the spolia capitals. The capitals on the row of columns forming the west side of the main aisle are consistently Corinthian in style, and all appear to have been salvaged from one building. The capitals on the eastern row of columns come from a couple of different buildings, but all but one of them has a distinctive late-Roman type of scalloped

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[44] For an excellent exposition of this system, see Lothar Ledderose, "Building Blocks, Brackets, and Beams." *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000:103-137.

fluting. The capitals in the next row to the east are all characterized by simple torus mouldings; only the westernmost row of capitals does not have an obvious principle of stylistic coherence. The whole is admittedly bricolage, but it is bricolage of the most rational, orderly sort. Ankara was a notable city in the Roman era and abounds in classical fragments. The presence of so many classical buildings seems to have generated a persistent appreciation for classical order, and even to have preserved something of a memory of classical building types. The Alaeddin Cami, for example, has a porch of classical columns installed in a way makes the building remarkably evocative of a prostyle temple. This local architectural culture culminates in some sense in the design of the Haji Bayram Cami (830/1427), where the clear span of the interior is remarkably evocative of the cella of the Temple of Augustus into which the mosque is built.

The Ahi Şerefettin Cami has the fewest columns of all the wooden mosques, but they are most monumental of all. The twenty-four columns range from fifty-five to sixty centimetres in diameter, and are about 6.75 metres tall. This means that they are almost half as large again in diameter as the columns in Afyon (40 centimetres) or Beyşehir (43 centimetres). By comparison, the columns of the Afyon Ulu Cami are only 5.15 metres tall even if the tall *muqarnas* capitals are included and Beyşehir has the tallest columns at 7.5 metres – but they are not as large. Even though the columns in Ankara are not the tallest, the effect of the stepped brackets is to make the ceiling somewhat loftier than the column heights suggest, especially in the central aisle.

The Ahi Şerefettin Cami is notable as the only one of the remaining wooden mosques that was apparently never painted in any way. It is not possible to be definitive about the columns because they have been covered in modern oil paint, but there are no traces or signs of paint anywhere on the ceiling, and it is improbable that the columns were painted when nothing else was. The ceiling's careful design and intrinsic tectonic interest might be thought to compensate to a degree for the embellishment of paint; in any case, the ceiling does not seem unfinished or incomplete. The lambrequins applied to the joists where they meet the brackets are the building's only explicitly decorative flourish. Otherwise, the wood is finished

with most of the typical details of medieval wooden construction, such as caps between the joists, ogival profiles on the brackets, etc. One omission that should be noted is the absence of the plaque that normally conceals the joint in the double beams; the building appears not to have been endowed with these parts.

If the timber construction determined the plan, then it also liberated the building's sectional development. Medieval masonry construction, regardless if it was spolia or new, only rarely permitted ceilings high enough to provide intermediate levels in a single open space. Wood columns, however, were naturally tall enough that a second story balcony could be accommodated without crowding the space below. The monumental wooden columns in the Ahi Şerefettin Cami left the development of the kadinlar mafil unimpeded. The kadinlar mafil consequently occupies two full bays, and is 154 square metres in area, which is almost equal to one third of the ground floor area. The builders may have judged that a balcony a single bay deep would have been incongruous with the marble portal, even if that feature were primarily addressed to the exterior.

The construction of the kadinlar mahfil is particularly interesting. The builders faced the problem of inserting an intermediate floor bearing on the large, continuous wooden columns. They solved this problem by attaching brackets onto the columns to seat the beams. It is possible that the beams are also notched into the columns, but if they are, it is not visible. The brackets are roughly ornamented with muquarnas details, thus revealing that the builders were not entirely unaware of this system of ornamenting wooden members, even though they choose not to use it in making capitals. Given the low standard of the work, it may be fortunate that the columns did not have muquarnas capitals. The front edge of the mahfil reveals the general construction very clearly when viewed from the general prayer area. The two outer bays have a very narrow profile because the joists must run east to west and bear on the ledge created by the step in the masonry perimeter walls. The floor plate in the inner three bays must sit on concealed beams, since the mahfil's face is twice as deep for that part of its edge.

The underside of the kadinlar mahfil is clad with boards and battens. The dimensions and details of these elements are almost identical to those of the ceiling

of the Alaeddin Cami, which is undoubtedly a later reconstruction, and it is also essentially the same as ceilings seen in early twentieth century commercial interiors nearby. It is probably impossible to date such a generic feature, but it is worth noting that it is located in one of the most sheltered spots in the mosque, and should have suffered the least environmental damage of any of the building's features. If the work is original, or even a faithful copy of the original, then the mosque presents a unique conjuncture of the two main types of ceilings used in thirteenth century mosques, as defined by Yılmaz Önge – the suspended ceiling, and the coffered joist type.[45]

The mosque contains a fine walnut mimber that is signed by Muhammad bin Abi Bakr and dated in its dedication 689/1290.[46] It is considered one of the best examples of the woodworking technique known as "false kundekari."[47] This technique imitates kundekari-style joinery but uses continuous boards instead of separate wooden elements. The mimber is built of vertical planks of various widths in the triangular gables and horizontal ones below the seat. These boards are deeply carved with a pattern of medallions without regard for the edges of planks. The channels between the medallions are filled with spacers nailed in place to join the planks and (partially) conceal the joints in the boards. The technique is not entirely satisfactory, since the planks shrink and/or warp over time, causing deep cracks to pass randomly through the medallions and displacing the inset connectors.

Aside from the mimber's qualities as an artifact, there is an important and revealing detail in how it relates to the building fabric. The east edge of the mimber's doorframe is tangential for most of its height to the first column in the row west of the mihrap. The perfect fit is not merely fortuitous, nor, however, was it arrived at by shifting the mimber eastward as far as possible against a column already in place. A close examination of the plan reveals that the column itself has been displaced by

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[45] Yılmaz Önge, "Selçukluda ve Beyliklerde Ahşap Tavanlar." *Atatürk Konferansları V* 1971-1972. Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 1975: 179-195. To my knowledge, no thirteenth century example of the suspended ceiling type remains intact, but there is a small fragment of the type preserved in the Eşrefoğlu Cami, and Texier made a drawing of such a ceiling in the Konya Köskü before it disintegrated.

[46] RCEA 4934, 91. This same craftsman carved the mimber of the Kızıl Bey Cami a decade later, in 699/1299-1300, see RCEA 5080, 194-195. Note also Leo A. Mayer, *Islamic Woodcarvers and their works.* Geneva, Albert Kundig, 1958: 53-54.

[47] Woodworking techniques are categorized in Gönül Öney's "Anadolu'da Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devri Ahşap Teknikleri." *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* III (1970): 135-149.

about forty centimetres northward from the others in the first line to provide the perfect fit to the mimber. The accommodation of the column to the mimber leaves no doubt as to the apparently inverted sequence of operations. The mimber came first, and either its precise length was already known, or it was already in place when the column was erected. The later situation seems highly improbable since it would have left the delicately carved mimber exposed to the elements during construction. It must be the case that at least this one face of the mimber was complete before the column was erected.[48] It also confirms that the masonry walls were in place before the columns, as is to be expected.

One other feature of the building is executed in wood, and it is very unusual. A wooden chain at least three metres long including a wooden openwork ball about forty centimetres in diameter hangs from the centre of the ceiling (Fig. 38).[49] The links of the chain have been carved from a single timber. This ornament participates in a long tradition of wonders that consist of the transformation of rigid materials into flexible forms. One prototype of such things is the stone chain and ornament built into the niche of Khirbat al-Mafjar in Syria, a palace built by the Umayyad sultan al-Walīd II (reigned AD 743-44).[50] Hillenbrand identifies, "a deliberate intention to equate the decoration of key niches in these palaces with the princes who sat in them. Thus when the prince himself was not there he would be represented by an appropriate image." [51] The ornament in the Ahi Şerefettin Cami has none of these imperial pretensions, nor does it have such a deliberate architectural setting; it may instead somehow signify the transformative power of the craftsman.

There is no non-destructive way to establish the date of the wooden chain, and thus to determine if it was an original part of the building or a later addition. The balance of probability would normally rest with it being an addition, if not for a few

[48] The lateral faces of mimbers sometimes do not match. While such large and labour intensive furnishings were presumably always commissioned, is there some chance that parts of them were built in advance, or in anticipation of a commission?

[49] The chain and ball should be examined in detail for any signature, but under no circumstances should this be taken as a pretext for removing it to a museum. The artefact must be considered essential to the meaning of the space.

[50] Described by Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* vol 1 part 2, 565. Illustrated, pl. 103 f.

[51] Robert Hillenbrand, "La Dolce Vita in Early Islamic Syria: The Evidence of Later Umayyad Palaces" *Studies in Medieval Islamic Architecture vol 1*, 80 illustration no. 11, 84.

small details of quite uncertain significance. The chain hangs more or less in the middle of the central aisle and the lambrequins on four joists to either side of the chain are longer and more elaborate than those elsewhere.[52] These decorative elements deliberately frame the chain and highlight its presence. As noted above, the central aisle has preserved all but a few of its original joists, so this subtle inflection may indicate that the ornament's placement was coordinated with the original construction. The one other corroborating feature is a curious detail of the mihrap. On either side of the muqarnas hood a single band of the lattice pattern has been picked out in a darker colour to produce a diagonal line that looks distinctly like a set of links. This line reflects the catenary curve of the chain. Likewise, the prominent plaster rosette in the middle of the mihrap resembles, in a general way at least, the ball hanging in the chain. The ball is carving in a manner quite similar to the high-relief bosses often carved on Anatolian portals and mihraps. While a mosque's mihrap is normally regarded as a near-autonomous work of art, there seems in this case to be some dialogue between these elements of the building. Of course all of this is quite speculative, and probably ventures beyond the bounds of reasonable interpretation.

Regardless whether it is original or not, the chain is an interesting, even essential part of the building. If other examples of this sort of ornament were found in medieval Turkish mosques, they have been removed or lost over time. A couple of marble examples are displayed at the Mevlana Museum in Konya and perhaps there are more in other museum collections. It is quite unclear how widespread these artifacts were and what they meant. Their meaning is probably conventional, esoteric and not susceptible to precise articulation.[53] It may be worth noting that until the

[52] They are not the only use of this lambrequin type, but there is no pattern discernable in the distribution of the few other examples.

[53] The wooden chain may have associations with symbolic belts called kemer. Hanging wooden ornaments appear in the wooden mosques of Northern Pakistan, where they are generally attributed to the influence of Tibet. See Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Islamic Architecture: The Wooden Style of Northern Pakistan.* Islamabad: National Hijra Council, 1989.

early twentieth century, the mosque also held an original scroll genealogy of Ahi Şerefettin, now sadly lost, and a ceremonial mace said to have belonged to him.[54]

Ahi Architecture

As noted above, none of the mosque's portals have a foundation inscription. Instead, an inscription above the mimber door – brutally removed, and now stored in the Ankara museum – provides the conventional foundation inscription. It says:[55]

> In the time of the great sultan Mesud, son of Key Kavus II, guide of the world and religion, conqueror of countries – may God make his reign eternal - by the help of the great God, Allah, the creator of all living beings, the proud and noble (*fütüvvet ve mürüvvet*) brothers, – may God let them live long - pure of will and seeking God's approval, built this blessed mosque in the months of the year 689. May God approve their good deeds and overlook their sins.

This inscription is unusual because it defies one of the strongest conventions of Anatolian foundation inscriptions, which demands a highly public presentation, usually above the building's most prominent entrance. The interiorisation of the statement has a cautious, somewhat a-political character that is consistent with Zeki Oral's observation that none of the ahi inscriptions in Ankara make any claim to power as such.[56] The inscription is circumspect in acknowledging the Sultan according to the conventional formula, but it is deliberately ambiguous about the identity and even the number of its founders, who are not named, but only humbly identified as brothers. Otto-Dorn deduced that the two were Husameddin and Hasaneddin, respectively father and uncle to the Ahi Şerefettin after whom the mosque is named.[57] The father died in 695 aged 72, shortly after building the mosque. Regardless of this nomination, the possibility must be left open that this was a collective, anonymous enunciation – brothers in the universal sense, rather than

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[54] Oral describes the terrible loss of this document in "Ahi Şerafettin Türbesi," note 15, 317. I have not been able to discover the fate of the mace, or even to confirm its existence.

[55] Öney, *Ankara Arslanhane Camii,* 7-8. Translation assisted by Muratkenan Şentürk.

[56] Oral, "Ahi Şerafettin Türbesi,"320.

[57] Otto-Dorn, "Holzsäulenmoscheen," 69.

two brothers as such. This accords with a spirit of fraternity and may even cryptically credit the mosque as a sort of collective labour.

The *futuwwa* and *mürüvvet* claimed in the foundation statement are central to interpreting the building. The terms are statements of values that moved the creation of the building. *Futuwwa* is the wider ranging of the two concepts, and *mürüvvet* the more difficult. *Mürüvvet* is the pride felt at an achievement, now most often used to describe the satisfaction of parents who witness a momentous event in the life of their child, such as a coming of age. In the context of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami, it appears to refer to satisfaction or even joy in successfully building the mosque. The creation of a congregational mosque was a significant undertaking for the community, one that might be said to mark a sort of coming of age of the city. The united community was able to achieve a cherished goal that the Sultans, their amirs, and the city's governors had neglected, literally over the course of centuries. The reference to *mürüvvet* expressed the community's pride in achieving an immense undertaking.

Futuwwa is the central concept or value of the ahi associations.[58] The *futuwwa* (Turkish *fütüvet*) is the aggregate of all those virtues that distinguish the chivalrous young man, especially generosity and nobility of manner. The *Akhiyat al-Fityan* (Brotherhood of Youth) was a voluntary association with religious, socio-economic, and political aspects; it was a precursor to the guild system in that it has some features of a labourer's association, but it was never a purely professional organization.[59] The origins of the *Akhiyat al-Fityan* are obscure, but the institution is known to have been revived by the Caliph Nasir (1180-1225) and promulgated in Anatolia by his Sufi envoy, Suraverdi.[60] It clearly took root, and seems to have developed in response to Mongol suzerainty, or at least in the context of disorder and political uncertainty it caused. In practical terms, this ideal functioned like a mutual assurance society. It was self-regulating, provided companionship, assured the

[58] Arnakis, "Futuwwa Traditions," 232-247.

[59] Gabriel Baer notes that professional guilds in the modern sense did not exist before the sixteenth century, see "The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds" " *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 1 No. 1 (Jan. 1970): 29.

[60] Vryonis, *Decline*, 397.

welfare of its members, and coordinated protection in case of attack. Its presence suggests that the community felt the need to supplement the protection offered by the Mongol governor and/or garrison, or possibly to organize protection from them and their depredations.

The traveller Ibn Battuta is one of the main historical sources on the culture of the ahis in Anatolia.[61] His travelogue frequently described being greeted by ahi leaders upon his arrival at a city and routinely commends their noble manners and simple hospitality. His tour of Anatolia began around 1330, and though he bypassed Ankara on his route, he recounted experiences with ahis in more than a dozen other Anatolian cities. This provides a sound basis for concluding that the ahis existed in most, if not all, cities by the early fourteenth century. He notes at one point that in towns where there was no resident prince, one of the ahis acted as governor, having the same authority and enjoying the same prestige as a ruler.[62] The ahis of Ankara were not alone in having a sort of para-governmental role; Ibn Battuta reports, for example, that an ahi named Sherif Hüseyin held power in Aksaray and that an Ahi Emir Ali 'ruled' Kayseri.

It seems that the ahis came to the fore and took a leading role when- and whenever civil government was weak or inadequate. [63]Where both ahis and amirs co-existed, the ahis must have acted as a check on their absolutist tendencies and arbitrary exactions. While antagonism was a common feature of relations between guilds and governments all over the medieval Muslim world, in Anatolia relations were not entirely hostile. Ibn Battuta reports numerous experiences that involved the collaboration of the Fityan with the local amirs and shows that cordial rivalries might have been the normal mode of co-existence. At the other end of the social spectrum, the ahis could be considered the virtuous counterpart to the *rinds* (street gangs) in the

[61] Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, v. 2.* H.A.R. Gibb, trans. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Haklyut Society, 1958-1994. The description of Asia Minor is on pp.413-468.

[62] Cahen, *Formation,* 253.

[63] For an analogous development of urban autonomy, see Axel Havemann, "The Vizir and the Rais in Saljuq Syria: The Struggle for Urban Self- representation." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (May, 1989): 233-242.

balance of factions in the Anatolian urban social order.[64] Historical accounts of the conflicts in Konya suggest that in times of chaos the rinds ruled the streets. [65] Their support could be crucial in maintaining power, so they were alternately courted and suppressed by successive leaders. In a similar, but more virtuous way, the ahis held the balance of power and stabilized social life.

Arnakis notes that the "Akhis of Ankara are by no means typical of the Fraternity." [66] He was referring to a uniquely patrician development of the institution in Ankara due to the leading family's exalted status as *Seyyids*, or descendents of the Prophet. Seyit Hasan, invited with the explicit intent of helping defend the city, probably arrived with an extended family structure and possibly an entourage of clients and followers. They must have brought with them a strong creed, prestige and religious legitimation, and probably considerable organizational skills. The early date of their arrival means that at the time of building the mosque, the noble family had been present in Ankara for a century and a half; more than time enough to have become established, consolidate power, and flourish. There is little or no information on how the family and the ahi organization interacted, or how they related to other agents in the city. Franz Taeschner offers the opinion that the ahis exercised power through the agency of the *kadi*.[67] Few ahi organizations had such exalted lineages, and the secure position held by the Ahis of Ankara may explain the precociousness of their construction, and the confidence with which they pursued an architectural agenda.

Zaviyes were the normal architectural/institutional manifestation of sufi brotherhoods and the ahi group-consciousness. These lodge-like buildings were usually rather modest spaces in which to gather, hold rituals, and provide hospitality. Often they were no more than a few small rooms in the vicinity of the tomb of a

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[64] Robert Irwin describes the convertibility of these two poles in the case of Cairo. See, "'Futuvva': Chivalry and Gangsterism in Medieval Cairo" Muqarnas, Vol. 21 (2004): 161-170.

[65] Cahen describes, for example, their role in Konya, *Formation,* 251-252.

[66] Arnakis, "Futuwwa Traditions," 238. Arnakis is speaking about Akhi attitudes toward celibacy, but it is clear that this is a general judgement.

[67] Franz Taeschner, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Achis in Anatolia (14.-15. Jhdt) auf Grund neuer Quelle," *Islamica* (1929): 11.

revered figure, which explains why they are often overlooked by architectural historians. While they may have been architecturally modest, these convivial institutions formed the fabric of communities and congregations. The succor and shelter they promised must have gone a long way to easing cares and increasing social welfare.

Ankara was unique in Anatolia in having a congregational mosque built by the ahis, but the Ahi Şerefettin Cami should be considered a supplement to the zaviye, not a substitute for it. The mosque must be regarded as part of a complex of buildings in which each extended the other's functions and conditioned its meaning. This fact is reflected in the mosque's alternative appellation, the Arslanhane Cami, a name that derives from a building opposite the mosque's east face, or more specifically, the two antique marble lion sculptures salient amid the assorted spolia incorporated in its foundation wall. The porch of the Arslanhane, which will be discussed presently, stands no more than ten metres away from the mosque's east entrance, which is the one that may have had some projecting entrance porch of its own (Fig. 40).

The Arslanhane is now a rather indeterminate complex of buildings due to the natural decay over time, but the zaviye probably always blended into the fabric of the city, partly due to its physical modesty, and perhaps also by design. The complex is clearly defined at only two points, one being the prominent entry already mentioned, and the other a tall conical roofed tomb that stands north of the main complex, at the southern edge of a large open area that was once a graveyard (Fig. 41).

Despite the loss of original buildings and the absence of any independent confirmation through documents, it can be inferred on the basis of their form that these buildings constituted a zaviye, and functioned as an annex to the mosque.[68] Judging by the later addition of a tomb, the site slowly developed as a cultic centre, gaining form and probably increasing in size over time. Given the family's long history in Ankara, it is conceivable that the zaviye's foundation pre-dated the mosque and could have played some role in determining its location. Whether the mosque followed or preceded the zaviye, the community eventually accrued a set of facilities

[68] The existence of a zaviye is assumed by Abdülkerim Erdoğan, Gökce Günel and Ali Kılcı. *Tarih Iiçnde Ankara I.* Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediysi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2007: 186-187.

exactly parallel to those that comprised the Sahip Ata complex in Konya: a wooden mosque, a nearby hanikah/zaviye, and the tomb of the founder and figurehead.

The türbe built of brick and spolia bears an inscription that identifies it as the work of Ahi Şerefettin, and gives the date 731. The tomb once contained eight cenotaphs; prominent among then is the sanduk of Ahi Husam ad-din, the father of Ahi Şerefettin. It is ornamented with plaster, and at its head, there is a cone that symbolizes the *kalensübe,* a cap typically worn by the ahis. The collection includes several women's cenotaphs, such as that of Devlet Hatun dated 673 and Ayşe Hatun, the daughter of Ahi Huseyn, dated 833. While the presence of women's tombs is not unusual for Anatolia, they take on a particular significance here with respect to the Alid lineage. A large wooden sanduk dedicated to Ahi Şerefettin remained in the türbe until it was moved to the Ankara Museum in 1933. The sanduk dates from 751/1350, and the gap of two decades from the construction of the tomb suggests that the building was conceived as a family memorial more than a personal edifice. The sanduk is second only to that of Mevlana in size and the quality of its workmanship. Its extensive carved inscriptions have been transcribed and translated by Zeki Oral. They reveal that the *najjar* or wood carver who made the cenotaph was one Abdallah b. Mahmud, who is known to have carved several doors in the Kastamonu area, including, significantly, the one at the Kasaba Köy Cami.[69]

It is clear that this tomb was a major cultic site memorializing several venerable figures, but the tomb itself has many unusual features, independently of its contents. Its general form, a square chamber built largely of spolia with a brick drum, would make the building seem on the whole more like a mescid than a türbe, if not for the conventional steep facetted roof made of brick, which was originally finished with plaster. The resemblance to a mescid is furthered by the fact that the tomb does not have an evident lower chamber. Instead of sitting raised on a socle, the inner chamber is accessed more or less at ground level. The entrance is on the north side, through an arch surrounded by white marble jambs. The white marble inscription panel is not found in the normal place above the door; instead, it is on the building's opposite face, above a large window. There are similar windows in the east and west

[69] Meyer, *Islamic Woodworkers*, 22-23.

walls. The top corners of the square chamber have simple conch-type squinches, alternating with blind windows on the square faces. The drum is pierced by eight small windows, which is a feature more commonly seen in Byzantine buildings. The building is thus provided with a quantity of natural light that is unusual for a Seljuk-type tomb. There is no hemispherical inner dome as expected in grander tombs. Instead, the inner face of the brick roof is exposed, albeit plastered, and it is inscribed with a pattern of eight long, thin recessed triangles with rounded bases.

The form of the tomb connects it strongly to its social setting. In contrast to being conceived as a monument, aloof from everyday life, the ground level placement and the large windows make the interior both physically and visually accessible to those entering the courtyard. The windows seem to solicit prayers by displaying the contents within, and the inscription panel has been placed to address the interior of the courtyard. In fact, it is immediately visible from the entrance to the zaviye. The well-lit interior space seems designed for regular use. It is not a space to be contemplated from afar, like those monuments that function as markers in the open countryside, but one to be entered and used. The entire tomb is diametrically opposed to that tendency to impenetrable sculptural perfection that is characteristic of Seljuk tombs.

A complex and architecturally remarkable porch is the zaviye's strongest public manifestation. It is approached from the south by passing along the aforementioned wall laden with spolia, including the iconic marble lions that give the building its name. It sits atop a short flight of stairs that negotiates the small but steep slope that runs in a north to south direction just east of the mosque. The *zaviye* occupies the top of this slope, and its foundation wall continues south of the porch. The base of the porch, which is about two metres tall, was a *çesme* or possibly the *şadrivan* used for ablutions at the mosque.[70] The porch is presently blocked on its north face by an adjacent building that probably dates from the nineteen-thirties or

[70] The genesis of this monument is exceedingly complex and unclear. The şadrivan, for example, bears floral patterns that date from the seventeenth century at earliest, and could have been carved any time up to and including the Republican era. Much more work is needed on this site to determine the sequence and phases of construction and reconstruction.

even later.[71] Originally it was open, making the act of entering the building even more conspicuous. The entry space is defined by two freestanding antique columns that are spanned with a large wooden beam, and a red stone wall with a portal that shows faint signs of once having been plastered and painted in imitation of marble. Exposed wooden joists span between the frame made by the columns and beam and the wall with the gate.

There is a small open vestibule inside the portal with an exposed column comprised of almost equal lengths of marble spolia and timber on its northeast corner. The column has a wooden abacus composed of several smaller pieces and bears a large wooden beam that extends westward to intersect the entrance wall and eastward to meet another antique stone column, beyond which it cantilevers well over a metre. Most of these elements are now embedded in later walls, but it seems that the beam and columns essentially form a symmetrical frame that bears in part on the entrance wall. The roof above the beam appears to have had a truss, but the situation is very confused and difficult to ascertain. Viewed from the minaret, the situation is a bit clearer (Fig. 41). It is possible from that vantage to discern that the structure must have been a columned loggia open to courtyards on both the north and south faces. The only comparison to this highly ceremonial entrance is possibly the courtyard entrances of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, which are, however, both much earlier and incomparably better executed.

The vestibule directs movement to the north, though it may once have had openings directly ahead or turning into the building, the bulk of which lies south of this entry point. This may not have been the original arrangement, but it makes sense as a sequence that directs the visitor's attention to the türbe in the courtyard. As mentioned before, the inscription stone is on the tomb's south face, where it addresses visitors arriving from the porch. From this point, the tomb had to be circumambulated to gain entrance. An entrance here to the large open *mezar* (graveyard) north of the tomb would make sense, but no trace remains of a gate in the low enclosing wall.

[71] The building is absent from a photograph by Sébah and Joailler published by Ernst Mamboury in *Ankara: Guide Touristique.* Ankara: Ministère Turc de l'Intérieur, 1933: 212.

There is no way short of destructive excavation to know what the plan of the *zaviye* might have been. All that can be said with any certainty is that, because a street runs between the zaviye and the east face of the mosque, the bulk of the enclosed space must have been located south and east of the tomb's courtyard. The houses that presently occupy the northeast corner of the site have plan dimensions conspicuously larger than those of other local houses, and might well occupy part of the zaviye, or at least sit on its former foundations. There is, however, no sign of symmetry or any other formal order on the site.

The courtyard contains one of the largest collections of white marble spolia outside of the city walls. There seems, for example, to have been some effort to pave the entire courtyard in white marble. It would be difficult to assert that this or any of the other surrounding walls was original except that the southeast corner of the tomb has several courses of stone that interlock with the base of the wall that runs east of the türbe and which form a small set of steps leading up to an opening in the wall, lined with white marble entablatures. This wall has a second monumental window or door a few metres further east, again lined with fragments of a monumental white marble entablature. Between the two openings there is a small niche in the red Ankara stone wall. There is no doubt that a major building once stood on the east side of the türbe, and it is probably the case that the courtyard was lined by buildings of a relatively monumental construction.

The zaviye would have been the site of communal gathering and dining, pious instruction and rituals like recitations from the Koran. It could also have hosted events like *zikir* and *sema* that were not appropriate to conduct in the mosque itself. It may have comprised a communal dwelling, a meeting place for guildsmen, a forum for discussion of communal interest, and a secure storage place for records and ritual implements. Judging by the presence of numerous grave stones, the courtyard probably had a *musallah taş* (catafalque) for communal witnessing of the deceased prior to interment. The mosque surely conferred dignity and prestige on the community, but the zaviye was probably the true focus of communal sentiment.

By giving architectural expression to a social class that had not previously had access to symbolic representation, the mosque showed that new social

institutions could flourish under the benevolent indifference of Mongol suzerainty. Aside from a late inscription in the kale wall, there is little direct evidence for the presence of the Mongols in Ankara, and as long as taxes were paid, they may have had little to do with the internal affairs of the city.[72] Zeki Oral offers the proposition that the Mongol governors of the city like Devlet-Şah did not urbanize, and choose instead to maintain their traditionally nomadic way of life in the numerous bountiful *yayliks* (plateaus) that surround the city.[73] It is thus impossible to discern the actual relations between the Mongols and the community, but there was obviously a situation that permitted the construction of a large new mosque. The Ahi Şerefettin Cami is a remarkable and unprecedented example of a social organization taking the initiative and opportunity to build where no one had done so before. It cannot be said definitively that the construction of the mosque helped forestall the emergence of an emirate in Ankara, but it remains true that one did not develop in the city. Instead, nearly twenty small wooden mescids were constructed over the course of the next two centuries, testifying to an intense localization of religious building in the city.

[72] Paul Wittek, "Ankara'da bir İlhani kitabesi." *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecentimetresuasi* 1 (1931): 161-164.
[73] Oral, "Ahi Şerafettin Türbesi," 320.

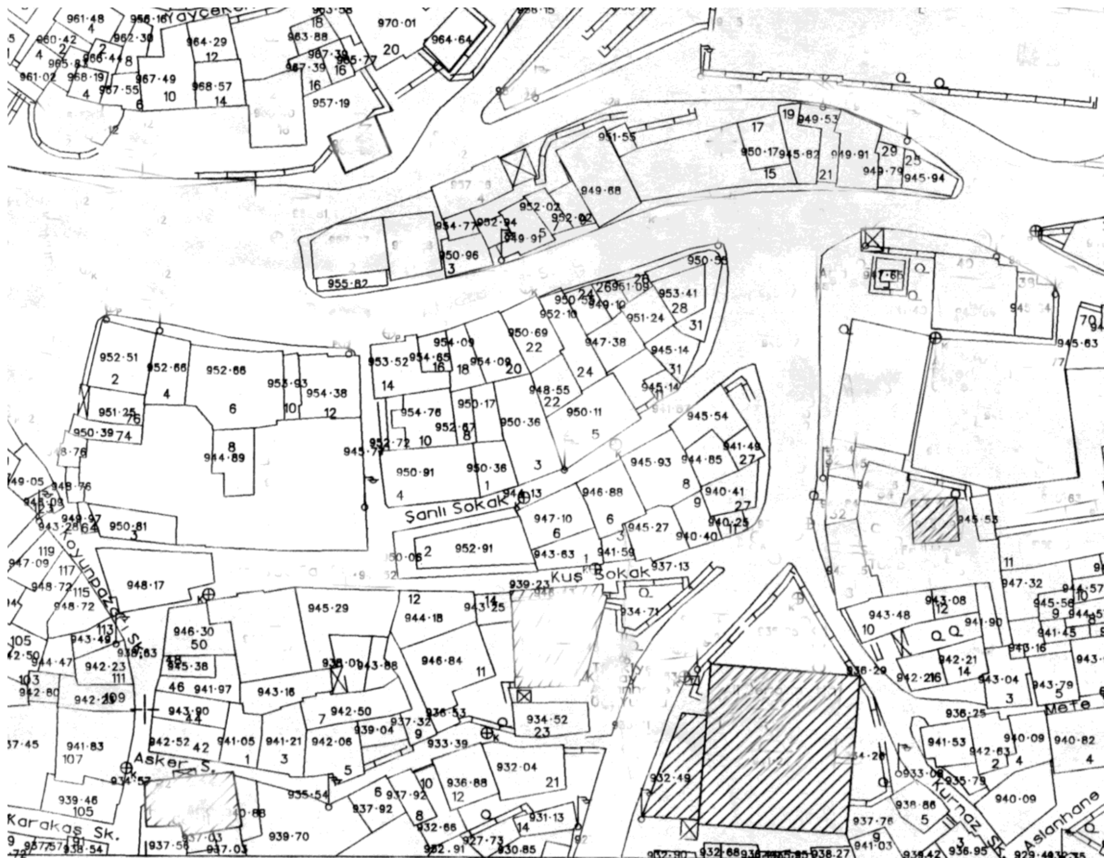

Fig. 33 Urban Context of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami, Ankara. The mosque is the hatched square at the bottom right; the turbe is the smaller hatched square to the right above it. Earlier maps suggest that the approach was not axial, but passed diagonally from the citadel gates (the semi-circle at top right).

Fig. 34 Façade of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami. Note that the portal and windows open on to the kadinlar mahfil. The zaviye's entrance is to the left of the building in the foreground.

Fig. 35 Interior, Ahi Şerefettin Cami. The column capitals are antique marble spolia, and the very large tile and plaster mihrap fills the wall of the central bay.

Fig. 36 View upward to a beam. There is an additional set of brackets for each bay in toward the centre. Note that the brackets are independent of the joists, and that the gap between the paired beams is not covered.

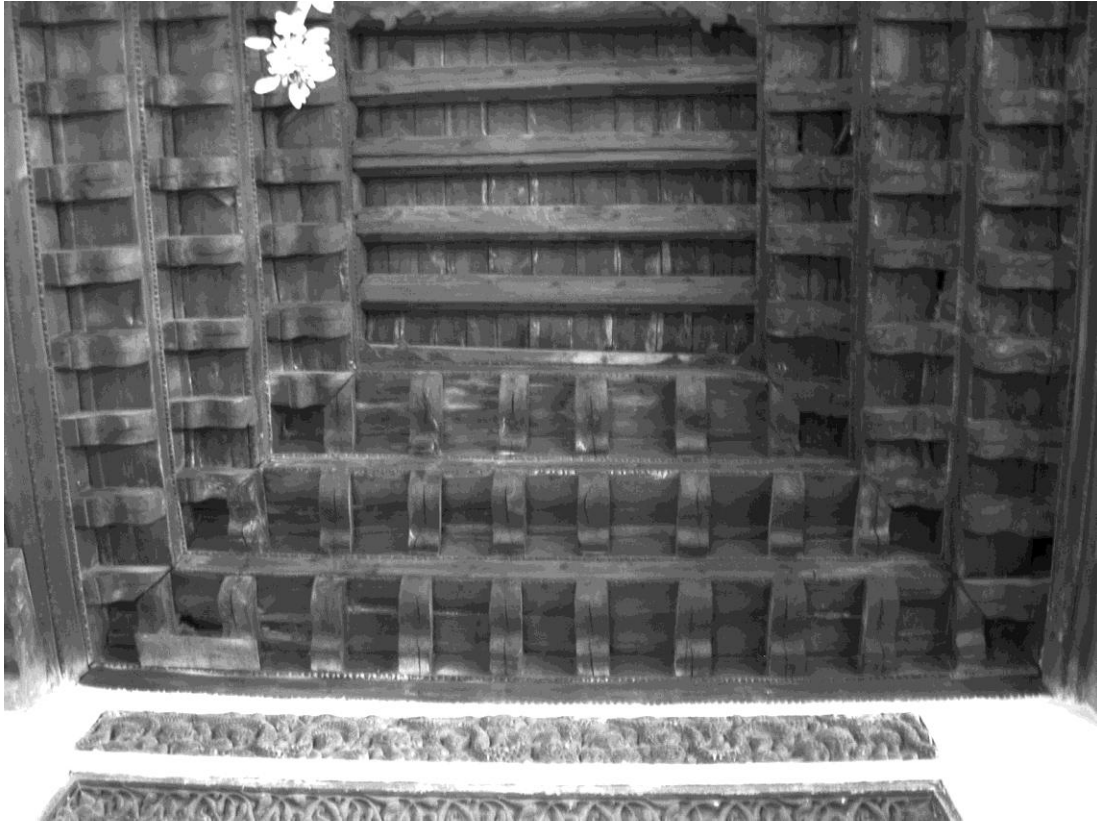

Fig. 37 The ‘return’ of the brackets in the central bay above the mihrap. These brackets have no structural function, but help to define each bay as a distinct, enclosed space.

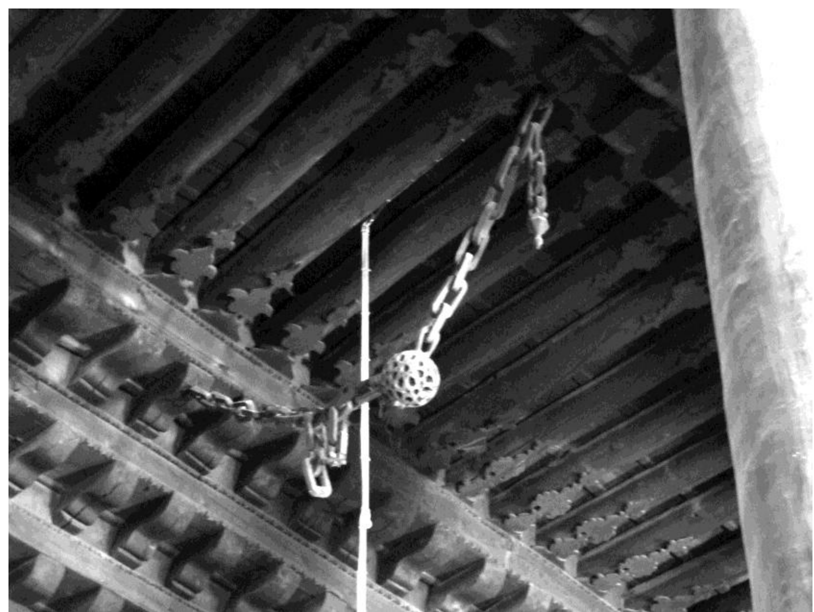

Fig. 38 The wooden chain hanging from the ceiling. Note the elaborate lambrequins that frame the place of the ornament.

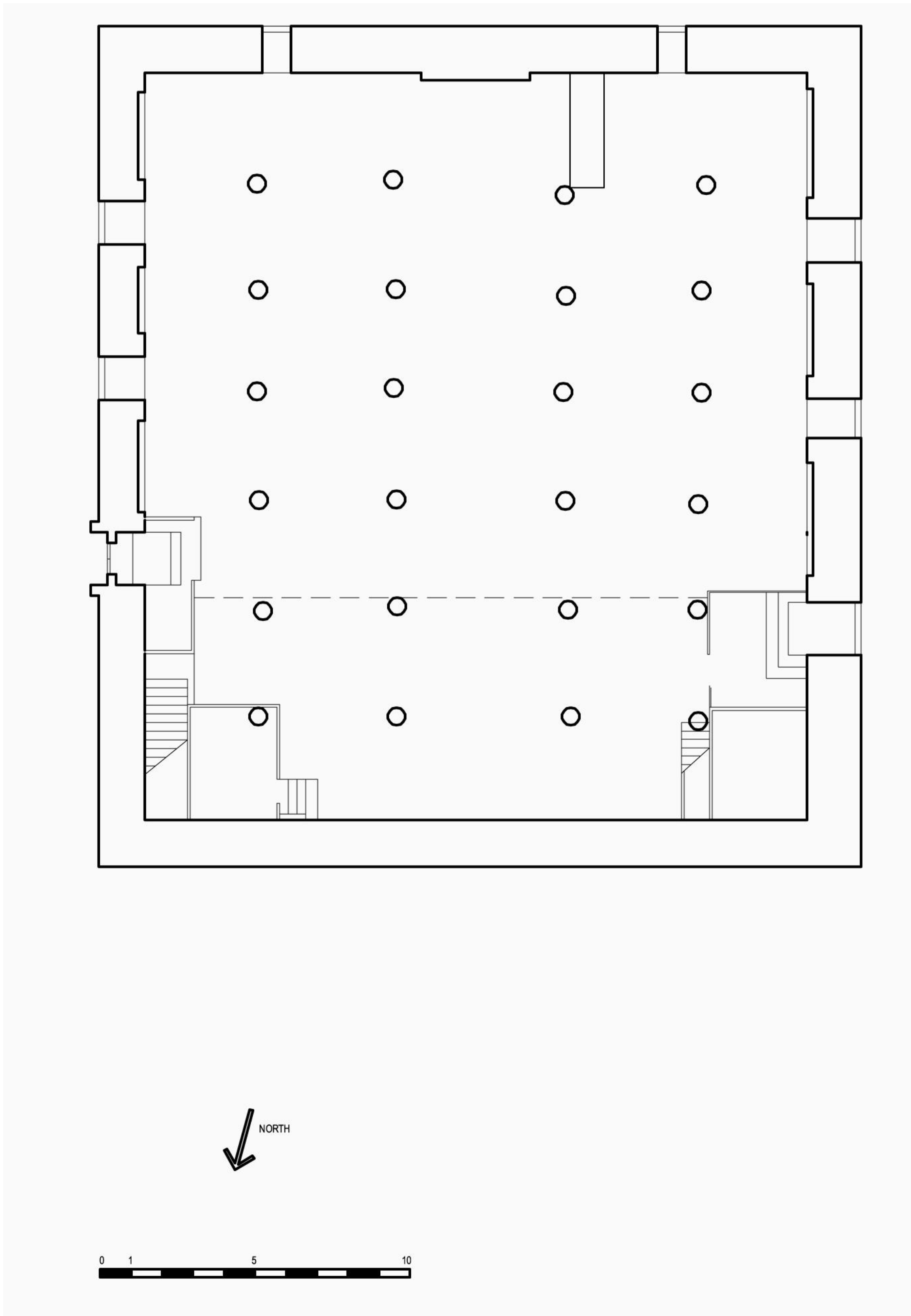

Fig. 39 Ahi Şerefettin Cami, Plan. The walls of this mosque are thicker than any of the other wooden mosques; note the displacement of the column at the east side of the mihrap.

Fig. 40 Zaviye entrance. This view is from a point opposite the mosque's east entrance. The stone lion from which the building gets the name Arslanhane is visible in the wall near the top of the steps. The building on the north side of the porch dates from the early Republican era.

Fig. 41 Zaviye as seen from the minaret (under restoration). The türbe is visible in the upper right hand corner. Its inscription stone faces south in to the courtyard, i.e. toward the entrance door.

CHAPTER 5

The Eşrefoğlu Cami: Foundation of an Emirate

In a study of the Qara Khitai Empire, Michal Biran observed that, "when advanced tribal unions were in the process of transforming themselves into a polity, a new religion could function as a unifying force, a means of ideological distanciation, and a sign of independence, all of which aided the process of state formation."[1] The mosque that Süleyman Eşrefoğlu built on the shore of Lake Beyşehir can be said to have had all the same functions for the emergent Eşrefoğlu emirate: the mosque provided a Turkomen tribal group with a symbolic representation of its transformation into a state, it established the position of the Eşrefoğullari *vis-à-vis* both the Seljuks and the Mongols, and it made explicit the ambitions, capabilities and terms of the new ruling family. The building fulfilled the expectation that a legitimate ruler would support religion, publicly declare the nature and orthodoxy of his faith, and promote his claim to authority.[2] The new mosque was the central building of a broad programme that included new public facilities and spaces that both rhetorically and practically demonstrated the role of civil institutions in producing wealth and benefits for all. As the nucleus of a new state, it generated legitimacy, prestige, and stability. The building's features, from its imposing size and unusually articulate urban situation to its elaborate interior arrangement and numerous unique details, were all calculated to impress visitor and community alike with the potency of a new emirate.

The Eşrefoğlu's adoption of the type of wooden hypostyle hall introduced by Fakhr al-Din 'Alī is the *sine qua non* of the mosque's effect. A utilitarian building would not have satisfied the Eşrefoğlus' unique symbolic needs; their ambition to

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[1] Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. p 198.

[2] Howard Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," in I.A. Bierman, R. A. Abu-el-Haj, D. Preziosi (eds.), *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, New York, 1991: 193.

found a new state required the largest, most lavish mosque that they could build. Wooden hypostyle construction provided the means to build more expansively than any other technique available. It was a relatively practical and, perhaps, economical way to build a monumental mosque at a moment when size mattered. Eşref, the emirate's progenitor, had lead one of the Turkmen groups that caused the Seljuks many difficulties in the course of their decline, and thus his son had to take particular care in sedentarizing, in negotiating a new civil identity and in claiming a new rank. The wooden hypostyle mosque was the ideal instrument to achieve this transition. Due to the circumstances of its introduction to Anatolia and subsequent proliferation, the type was already established in the new political and cultural condition of Mongol suzerainty. In fact, the Eşrefoğlu Cami is the wooden hypostyle hall that hewed closest to the model of the Sahip Ata Cami, a great deal closer even than the mosque built by Fakhr al-Din's son.

Foundation of the Emirate

The Eşrefoğlu emirate emerged, alongside the Karamanids, from the crisis of 675/1277. The Mamluk Sultan Baybar's victory in Elbistan and brief, triumphant occupation of Kayseri demonstrated that the Mongols were not invincible, and it must have done a great deal to diminish the aura of absolute supremacy they zealously promoted. The disturbances that followed Baybar's sudden withdrawal were severe enough to cause riots in Konya, and there was probably an even greater degree of disorder on the state's periphery. Cimre's retreat to Afyon, already noted, is evidence of this. The general decline in confidence in the centre must have encouraged rebellion in less securely held places, where Turkomen groups held sway. Beyşehir, a town removed from the central Anatolian plain by a small mountain range, was just sufficiently distant from the capital to constitute its own administrative district, and thus it already had the makings of an autonomous territory.

The topography of the region was probably the largest single determinate of the emirate's early formation. Beyşehir is situated approximately eighty kilometres

from Konya on the shore of Beyşehir Gölü, which is the largest freshwater lake in Turkey. It is located roughly in the middle of a two hundred kilometre long valley bound by the Taurus Mountains on the west and south and the somewhat gentler Sultan and Konya Mountains in the north and east. The lake is formed against the steep hills on the west and on its east there is a broad, fertile plain, rich in springs, including the Hittite sacred spring known as Eflatun Pinar.

The Byzantines knew the lake by the name Karalis.[3] They retained some control of the district in AD 1140-41, when it is recorded that John II Comnenus paused to reinforce the borders near Lake Karalis while on his way to Antalya.[4] The succeeding emperor, Manuel I Comnenus, renewed the fortifications again around AD 1174, but by this time, the frontier passed north of the Lake from Laodecia (Denizli) through Apamea (Dinar) to Amorium (Emir Dağ).[5] After his defeat at Myriocephalum (modern Karacaoren) in AD 1176, Manuel was obliged to dismantle his fortifications and the Seljuks secured permanent control over the region.[6] When Frederick Barbarossa marched through the region in AD 1190, he reported that Laodicea ad Lycum (near the modern Denizli) remained as a Greek outpost, but border Turkmen controlled the territory.

The Seljuks knew the site where Beyşehir developed as Viranşehir (ruined city). It was not, however, precisely on the site of the ancient city, but rather on the south bank of the lake's outlet. It sits on a slight prominence of land that is probably a natural feature, but which may also have been built up by ancient settlements. [7] The modern city centre is located on the opposite side of the lake's outlet. Friedrich Sarre, the German orientalist who visited Beyşehir in AD 1895, photographed a stone bridge with seven arches but he described it then as muddy and nearly

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[3] Richard A.J. Talbot, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000: 996. There is, however, some confusion over this name in various sources.

[4] Cahen, *Formation,* 20.

[5] G.R.H. Wright, "Beyce Sultan – A Fortified Settlement in Byzantine Phrygia." *Anatolica* XXXIII (2007): 155

[6] The pass of Myriocephalum is located just south of the main route along the southwestern edge of the central Anatolian plain, in the foothills of the Sultan Dağlari. It was one of the elevated, though hardly mountainous passes that linked this route to the road, twenty-five to thirty kilometres farther south, to the coast.

[7] Cahen, *Formation*, 113.

impassable.[8] Unfortunately, all trace of the bridge was removed when German engineers built a combined bridge and dam on the site between AD 1908 and 1914. There is no record of who built the old bridge, or when.

The Kiziloren Han on the Konya-Beyşehir road was the first architectural sign of the importance Beyşehir would gain due to its strategic position as the first major stage en route from Konya to the coast.[9] Founded by the amir Qutlug in 602/1205-06, the han's construction anticipated the Seljuk campaign for access to the Aegean coast that succeeded with the conquest of Antalya in Sha'ban 603/March 1207. The han was needed to accommodate the increased traffic and communication between the capital and the coast, and though it is far inland, in practical terms, it marked the Seljuk's emergence as a maritime power.

Beyşehir Gölü's natural attractions made it an important place in the state's spatial system, as manifest in the construction of the Kubadabad palace in the reign of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay Qubād I.[10] The palace was built on a remote promontory on the lake's rugged western shore. Construction of the large complex was likely underway by 623/1226, and Kuniholm has dated some juniper pilings excavated at the site to AD 1231.[11] The amir Köpek, who has been identified as a kind of imperial architect, supervised the construction; his later role in Ankara has already been noted. The site, difficult to approach by land from either the north or south, must have been primarily accessed by water. Remnants of wharfs at the lake's edge near the complex suggest as much, and if this was the case, then the present site of Beyşehir was a natural landing point on the opposite shore. At the very least, it probably functioned as a staging area for construction across the lake, and must have been part of its defensive system.

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[8] Freidrich Sarre, *Reise in Klienasien.* Berlin: Geographische Verlagschandlung Deitrich Reimer, 1896. Turkish translation, 157. This must be the bridge shown in a photograph used as a frontispiece to the chapter on Beysehir, 145.

[9] Crane, "Notes," item 82. Also Ali Baş, "Konya-Beyşehir-Derebucak Keravanyolu" *Konya Kitabı X* (2007): 129-142.

[10] See Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Önder, "Kubad-a-bad Kazilari 1965 Yili On Raporu." *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi.* Sayi XIV-1-2 (1965): 237-248; and Rüçan Arık, *Kubad Abad: Selçuklu Saray ve Çinileri.* Istanbul: Türkiye İ Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2000.

[11] Kuniholm, "Dated Ottoman Monuments," 127.

Grand imperial caravans arriving at the Lake Palace or headed to Alanya must have been a frequent spectacle in Beyşehir, but the palace was probably one of the first places to fall into disuse after the Mongol Conquest. The real importance of the site is that it marks the fork between northern and southern routes around the lake to the coast. The northern route passed through Denizli, Isparta and Borghulu (modern Uluborlu) en route to Antalya and appears to have been favored earlier, since Borghulu was an administrative centre on the frontier well before the Seljuk's conquest of Antalya. The southern route, which is somewhat more direct and less mountainous, was particularly developed after the conquest of Alanya, when the Sultans lined the route with five caravanserais. Control of trade routes and collection of tariffs on goods en route to the capital was probably the economic base of the city in the Seljuk period.

The early political history of the Eşrefoğullari is obscure, as is generally the case when a new power makes its way into history. The anonymous historian of Konya refers to a group of "Gurgurum Turkmen," and it is probable that the emirate's first seat was a small village called Gurgurum (modern Gökçimen) just over ten kilometres downstream from Beyşehir.[12] This insignificant village was in fact the site of the ancient city of Gorgorum. The Turkmen camped there likely controlled the river valley between Beyşehir and Seydişehir and probably moved up the hillsides in either direction in the summer. Uzunçarşili speculates that Eşref may have been a "Vazifeli Emir" with a particular assignment to protect Seljuk interests in the vicinity of Kubadabad.[13] At some point this obscure patriarch was succeeded by his son Süleyman, who likely continued as a frontier warlord through the reign of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw III. After that Sultan's death, Süleyman became involved in the intrigues in Konya surrounding the succession, but eventually established an understanding with Sultan Mas'ūd II.[14] In 1286 Fakhr al-Din 'Ali' fled unsettled conditions in Konya and sought refuge in Beyşehir instead of turning to his

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[12] Kate Fleet, *The Cambridge History of Turkey* vol. 1, 89.

[13] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1969: 58-61

[14] Mehmet Akif Erdoğru, *Turk Encyclopaedia,* "Beyşehir"

iqta at Afyon, which may still have been plagued by the Germiyans. The city likely provided the most secure site, closest to Konya, where he could expect a good reception and find safety. This event may have provided the opportunity for Süleyman to negotiate a new relationship to the official administration of Konya. In any case, this was probably the occasion on which it was agreed to build, or more probably, reinforce, the city walls.

A gate on the north side of the city and a fragment visible behind the modern primary school that is southeast of the mosque are all that remains now of Beyşehir's walls. The city's small, almost miniature scale was closer to that of a medieval kale than a city as such. The whole *iç şehir*, or inner city, is roughly circular and no more than four hundred metres in diameter, with an area of about one hundred and twenty-five thousand square metres.[15] A marble inscription panel on the city gate is the earliest documentary evidence of Süleyman's ambitions.[16] The Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I rebuilt this entrance in 1031/1604, but the earlier inscription stone was preserved and replaced and a new one added to it. The stone, located at the left side of the panel, is only seventy by sixty-five centimetres, but it has four lines of text that state:

> This district named Süleymanşehir, in the time of that succorer of religion and the world, the great Padişah Ebulfeth Mes'ut Keykâvus (may he prosper eternally), the great emir Eşrefoğlu Seyfetin Süleyman (may God sanctify those who aid him) in the year 690, (Hijra month) he ordered it built.

The dedication follows the conventional protocol of prioritizing the reigning sovereign, but Süleyman's official subservience is boldly undercut by the gesture of naming the city after himself. The temerity of assuming this Sultanic prerogative is magnified by the fact that auto-eponymy was not common even for the Sultans.[17] In the context, the name resonates with the name of the palace Kubadabad, as if it sought to put the two places - and by implication their two builders - on an equal

[15] These figures are based on site observations and arial photography (Google Earth). They should be confirmed by a proper archaeological survey, but that is beyond the scope of this study.

16 Yusuf Akyurt, "Beyşehir Kitabeleri ve Eşrefoğulları Camii Türbesi." *Türk Tarih Arkeologya Etnografya Dergisi* IV, (1940): 91-129. The rough translation that follows was aided by Oncu Güney.

17 Indeed, it is even uncommon for cities. The naming of 'Alā'iyya to celebrate the first major victory of Ala-din Key Kubad is the only known instance of this practice. See Seaton Lloyd and D. Storm Rice, *Alanya ('Alā'iyya)* London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1958: 4.

footing. In addition to its obvious self-glorification, the name hints further at identification with the mythic figure of Solomon, who stood in medieval Islamic culture as the paradigm of the wise ruler and great builder.[18] The naming declares the degree of identification that would direct Süleyman's activities in building his city.

Despite the recently reinforced city walls, Güneri Beg of the Karamanids took Beyşehir in 690/1291 and imprisoned Süleyman. The Karamanids also disturbed the approaches to Konya, which Cahen interprets as evidence of an alliance between the Eşrefoğlu and Konya.[19] The Turkomen regrouped around Süleyman's son and drove Güneri back, but it is not known how long Süleyman remained captive. Cahen says that the inscriptions prove Süleyman was released circa 1295.[20] By this date he seems to refer to the inscription on the mosque, but if Süleyman was detained for so long, it is hard to see how he could have built or otherwise come to possess numerous buildings and to expand his territories south as far as Seydişehir and Bozkır and north as far as Doğanhisar and Şarkikaraağaç, as he seems to have done by the end of the decade. The setback was probably only minor, since by 695/1296, Süleyman's position was sufficiently secure to build a great mosque.

The Eşrefoğlu Cami is the most important of a complex of buildings located more or less at the geographical centre of the inner city (Fig. 42). It is located about one hundred and seventy-five metres south of the ruin of the gate in the city wall and about two hundred metres from the lakeshore. Visitors arriving from the direction of Konya would have come through the gate and, proceeding up a slight incline, would have seen the looming mass of a bedestan with shops surrounded its base and the mosque's minaret appearing to its left. There is a large double hammam to the right

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[18] For Solomon as model, see Rosemary Hagg Bletter, "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream: Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* XL/1 (March 1981): 22-25. For an example of how this identification functioned in Ottoman Turkey, see Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3, (1985): 97-112.

[19] Cahen, *Formation*, 219.

[20] Cahen, *Formation*, 219.

of this point, just before the narrow northern end of the bedestan.[21] Passing by the bedestan’s northeast corner reveals an almost frontal view of the mosque’s façade (Fig. 44). This ‘façade’ is the formally composed and highly finished face of a large corner that has been chamfered at almost forty-five degrees off of the rectangular body of the mosque, which of course has the kibla orientation. This façade comprises, from left to right, a wall of finely cut white limestone thirteen and a half metres long with an elaborate window at its centre and two smaller ones above; a monumental stone portal with a muqarnas hood;[22] a minaret with a sebil adjacent to its base; and a five metre length of a finely cut white limestone wall with a window and a door opening.[23] The angled façade is capped by a row of thirteen merlons, each about a metre tall. These have a profile that matches those found on the city gate, and which might have also run all around the city wall. The mosque’s other perimeter walls are all built of exposed rubble standing on somewhat larger squared foundation blocks. Two continuous wooden stringcourses run near the top of the wall, framing the top and bottom of a row of windows. The Eşrefoğlu dynastic tomb, a slightly later addition, stands just past the east end of the façade. To the south, beyond the mosque’s kibla wall, there is a large open area that, until the early twentieth century, was probably a graveyard.[24]

The building has a rectangular plan roughly 29.25 metres east to west and 43.9 metres north to south with a gross interior area of 1187 square metres on the

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[21] It dates from 730/1329, and is notable for its moulded plaster frieze. See Yılmaz Önge, "Konya Beyşehir Eşrefoğloğlu Süleyman Bey Hamamı", *VakıflarDergisi* VII (1968): 139-154. There is, however, some discrepancy in this matter, since a large hammam is mentioned in the wakf inscription on the mosque, and if it is not this one, then it is hard to know where it would have been.

[22] The Eşrefoğlu Cami portal was the model of the one at the Hatuniye Medrese in Karaman, built by Nefise Sultan, the daughter of Murad I and the wife of Karamanoğlu Alaaddin Ali in AD 1382. I noticed this similarity just before discovering that Sarre had too. See his *Konya*, 24. Not only is the general schema almost identical, there are many stylistic similarities, such as the combination of *ablaq* and deeply carved foliate emblems at the mid- and spring points of the entry arch, and the unusually shallow niches with pointed ribs, and even identical tectonic practices, like the use of a course of darker, harder stone at the portal’s base. Given that four score years separates the construction of the two buildings, the similarities are remarkable.

[23] The freestanding wall is consistent in detail and construction with the larger façade, and though it is not as tall, it displays the same change in coursing. The wall was thus probably planned and constructed at the same time as the larger façade. Its use must have been preponderantly symbolic, since the door it contains leads only into the cramped, acute angled space behind the *son cemaat yeri*.

[24] Konyalı mentions gravestones displaced by road building projects.

ground floor (Fig. 46). This makes it the largest of the remaining wooden hypostyle mosques, enclosing over twice the area of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami (517 square metres) and just surpassing Sivrihisar (1120 square metres). Significantly, the Eşrefoğlu mosque is only marginally smaller than the Sahip Ata Cami (1250 square metres, according to Karamağrali's reconstruction). The mosque's plan configuration, a rectangle considerably longer than it is wide, is also closer to the Sahip Ata Cami than is any other iteration of the wooden hypostyle type.

The mosque's roof is supported by six rows of columns perpendicular to the kibla wall, with seven ranks of columns in each row. There are a total of thirty-nine columns, three less than expected; the piers of the maqsura dome replace two, and one is lost to the sheared corner. The columns form three aisles (averaging 3.6 metres wide) on each side of a central aisle that is 1.2 metres wider. The columns average around 7.5 metres tall and all have elaborated wooden muqarnas capitals. Seventeen of the columns are circular in plan, twenty-two were shaved to an octagonal plan; there is no obvious rationale for the distribution of the circular versus octagonal columns. There are three additional rectangular pilasters in the face of the son cemaat yeri. The beams, which are the double-timber type with a central placket used in all the wooden hypostyle mosques, are oriented north south. They end one bay before the north and south end walls. The joists in these northern- and southern-most bays run perpendicular to the kibla wall, while all others run parallel to it. The ceiling slopes gently up from the east and west walls to the central aisle, which has a flat ceiling that is additionally raised by one course of brackets. The ceiling also slopes up, less perceptibly though perhaps at no less an angle, to the centre bay from the north and south walls.[25] The ceiling of the central aisle is presently open its full width for a length of three bays in the middle of the building. This opening reveals modern roof construction with a skylight the size of one bay in the centre. Beneath the ceiling opening there is a deep stone-walled pit generally referred to as the *karlik*, or snow pit. It occupies a single bay, but presents an obstacle that impedes the plan's implied basilical movement. There is a modern *imam mahfil* to the left inside the

[25] Howard Crane notes that the same phenomenon occurs in the Bursa Ulu Cami, although there it is even less readily observed, "Art and architecture," 288.

entrance and a raised *muezzin mahfil* in the final full bay of the centre aisle. Donated by the son of the vizier Mustafa Bey in 978/1571, this rather unfortunate addition disrupts the axial view of the brick maqsura dome and mihrap.[26] Finally, an elaborate *emir mahfil* (private prayer chamber of the emir) is prominently displayed in the mosque's upper southwest corner. It is two bays long and one bay wide, and protrudes through the mosque's roof to attain a ceiling height of almost five metres. There is also a *çilehane*, a kind of Sufi retreat or anchorage concealed under the floor below the emir mahfil.

The mosque's chamfered corner has a powerful and unexpected spatial effect. It caused the monumental portal to be shifted northward and thus eliminated almost half the length of the son cemaat yeri; as a result, the point of entry almost intersects the mosque's central axis. This means that, upon entering, attention is immediately drawn to the left by the large open space of the central aisle, which is flooded by light from above. The elevated emir mahfil in the southwest corner, viewed diagonally, is in effect the first thing seen inside the mosque. Squaring to the general kibla orientation of the building reveals the broad and tall central aisle and, in ascending order, the karlik, the muezzin mahfil, and through the arch of the maqsura dome, the large ceramic-tiled mihrap with the tall walnut mimber on its right. This whole compelling tableau is framed by an arched opening in an unusual wall of small bricks inset with gazed tiles that sits just inside the entrance portal (Fig. 45) In effect a second, interior portal, the short wall aligns with the wooden screen and line of rectangular piers that defines the son cemaat yeri. It negotiates the transition from the angled façade of the mosque to the building's interior ordinance and structurally, it supports part of the kadinlar mahfil above, stairs to which are wedged into the acute angle behind the portal. [27] An inscription set in finely cut ceramic mosaic letters against a background of vine-like spirals directly above the arched opening reiterates the credit due to the emir who constructed the spectacle within and gives the date of the mosque's completion as 698/1299.

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[26] It is described at length by Erdemir, *Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii,* 51-55.

[27] These bricks are very refined in manufacture and highly distinctive; more so than the tile work. They might provide a key to relating this work to other buildings in Anatolia, but I have not found any similar examples.

Architecturally, the interior arrangement that results from the chamfered corner is most fortuitous, but it begs the question of what occasioned this gesture. The encroachment of existing buildings on a site is the usual explanation for plan features of this sort in medieval buildings, but urban conditions in medieval Anatolia rarely constrained monumental buildings so obviously. The corpus of Anatolian mosques presents numerous examples of irregularity in construction, but they are usually systemic rather than accidental – the pervasive distortion of the plan, not a deliberate or conspicuous gesture. Of course, it is possible that some obstacle existed at the time the mosque was built, but if so, there is no evidence of it now and it seems improbable that a major project sponsored by a powerful ruler in the centre of the city would have been compelled to defer to another property. On the contrary, the diagonal corner sheared off the Eşrefoğlu mosque appears to have been designed to reconcile the position and form of the mosque with the public square in front of it. The sheared surface was rendered as a monumental façade addressing the open space. The slice, which runs more or less perpendicular to the long side of the bedestan, makes the mosque work together with that building to define a public space that remains formally powerful even now that the surrounding urban fabric is badly eroded. Had it not been for the slice, the mosque would have been viewed awkwardly from a corner, especially from the route passing by the bedestan's long face. The arrangement of buildings, with the bedestan occupying the more prominent site and planned so as to be viewed axially from the city's main entrance, almost certainly indicates that the bedestan was built before the mosque. The mosque must have been a subsequent undertaking and considerable ingenuity had to be applied to integrate it with the urban plan. The careful placement of the dynastic tomb, which is located in the precise position where one of its eight facets is parallel to and aligned with the slice, reinforces the idea that these urban considerations were the ultimately determining ones for the plan. In fact, the chain of forms appears to gesture back as far as the city gate, to which the mosque's façade is almost square, though not axial. The mosque is further associated with the city wall by its material, white limestone, and even more directly by the merlons, which have a militant and emblematic power. As a whole, the mosque demonstrates a degree of coordination with public space that

is rare in medieval Anatolian architecture and that was not consistently attained by the Ottomans until well after they had occupied Constantinople.

By focusing attention on what is ultimately a very small part of the building's exterior, the façade condenses and intensifies the mosque's urban presence and at the same time literally masks its imposing size. This in turn causes the already voluminous interior to seem even larger when first entered. The combination of a large floor area and a high ceiling gracefully accommodates the mosque's many parts and elements. The building's plan has none of the casual, haphazard qualities of Afyon or Sivrihisar, where columns never exactly align and beams create visual confusion by running parallel to the kibla wall. The Eşrefoğlu Cami plan is closer to that of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami in the sense that it is fully symmetrical about its longitudinal axis, but where, in Ankara, the informality of the ground floor's lateral entrances undercuts the basilical effect, in Beyşehir, the unexpectedly direct arrival on the central axis heightens the sense of formal order and significant procession through space.

The ceiling configuration, along with the light coming from above, contributes a great deal to the building's overall spatial effect. The gentle upwelling toward the centre gives the building buoyancy that is immediately noticeable upon entering, though its source is not at all obvious. In practical terms, the slopes were necessary to drain water from the earthen roof, but a simple two-way shed could have satisfied that task.[28] The slope in the ceiling is not achieved through a deliberate, tectonic and rationalized stepping of bays, as in Ankara, nor could simple steps have produced its complex, two-way curve.

The Eşrefoğlu Cami has the highest ceiling and tallest columns of all the wooden mosques; at nearly eight metres, the ceiling is higher even than that of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami and it is almost a third higher than the one in Afyon. The Eşrefoğlu mosque perfectly illustrates the capacity of wooden construction to produce a ceiling height commensurate with a large plan. Wooden construction also

[28] Technically, drainage could have been impluviate instead of displuviate. This might have made sense with the central pool, but it would have produced an entirely different spatial effect. The fact that the roof is displuviate prompts the whole idea of a karlik – snow could be shovelled up the slight slope and dropped into the pit, but it is obvious that water flows away from the opening.

facilitated the planning of generous places for women and latecomers to the mosque; the mosque's section made it possible to have a spacious son cemaat yeri without pressing the kadinlar mahfil against the ceiling, as happened in Afyon. The Ottoman-era insertion of a muezzin mahfil also responds to the possibilities of height liberated by wooden architecture. Only for the emir mahfil was the ceiling height deemed inadequate. The mahfil was rendered suitable for its privileged occupant by giving it a ceiling height of over five metres and a double level of windows. This was achieved by breaking through the roof line; the height may, however, have had less to do with any real deficiency in headroom and more with the desire to signify the mahfil's presence on the building's exterior.

Wooden columns liberated the building's section, producing volumetric results impossible with masonry construction. In plan, the Sivas Ulu Cami is also a hypostyle hall and it even has a wooden roof, but the building's heavy stone piers and low stone arches are the antithesis of the Eşrefoğlu Cami's lofty wooden ceiling (Fig. 47). Even the Alaeddin Cami in Konya did not achieve a similar effect, despite its use of marble columns that have a smaller section for their height than could be obtained with any other form of masonry construction (Fig. 12). In addition, the wooden beams of the Eşrefoğlu Cami have only a minimal directional effect; their orientation does not define the building's space the way that arcades generally do in masonry construction.

Management of light is crucial to the mosque's spatial qualities. The mosque has only four windows at the ground level, but there are twenty-five windows just below the ceiling level and six slightly smaller ones in the emir mahfil. The upper level window openings are probably original, since wooden lintels and sills remain embedded in the perimeter walls all around the building at the appropriate levels. The tall windows on the kibla wall to either side of the maqsura dome are the only ones to retain their original shutters; the plaster screens in the windows and the coloured glass in the other south-facing windows are obviously later changes.[30] The

[30] However, Konyalı notes that the inscriptions are not continuous, which means that the shutters have been relocated or reordered. See *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 230. See also Muzaffer Batur, "Beyşehiri'nde Eşrefoğloğullarina Ait Ağaç Oyma Pencere Kapakları Hakkinda." *Arkitekt* vol. 7, (1949): 199-201.

windows in the emir mahfil - at least those on the kibla wall - probably also had shutters to protect against the southern light, but they too are lost.

The number and regular placement of the high windows demonstrates a real effort to provide even day lighting, but given a plan so expansive, the perimeter windows were not adequate as the only source of natural light. Unfortunately, the mutilation of the building's centre aisle makes it impossible to determine the original light condition. There was probably a central daylight source of some sort, but the evidence for its form is scant. Friedrich Sarre saw the building shortly before major repairs in 1900, and described it then as having a dim and dreamy atmosphere.[31] His description does not agree with the amount of light that is now admitted by a skylight the size of a full bay, so it is doubtful that he saw a completely open oculus over the karlik. The ceiling of the bay in the middle probably had a type of wooden lantern consisting internally of a flat roof surrounded by clerestory windows. This feature is familiar from various madrasas and caravanserais, and was probably found in the Divriği Ulu Cami and the Alaeddin Cami in Niğde, though predictably, no medieval wooden example has survived intact. Whatever the case, the building must have been conceived with an aesthetic of shadows. This for example, is probably the context in which the large Kufic emblem over the mimber door functioned, and the traces of gold leaf on its inscription. The paintings on the ceiling may have created a general atmosphere of sumptuousness, but they must have never been very clearly visible.

Declarations of Sovereignty

The integration of the mosque with the surrounding buildings was not just a matter of their formal, physical configuration. The mosque's dedication inscription makes it clear that the building was conceived as the centre and fiscal beneficiary of a network of buildings. The inscription, located unusually high on the entrance portal, is one of the Eşrefoğlu Cami most revealing features.[32] It says:

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[31] Freidrich Sarre, "Beyşehir." *Reise in Klienasien.* Berlin: Geographische Verlagschandlung Deitrich Reimer, 1896: 156.

[32] It should be noted that there is a completely blank white marble panel, about 2.5 metres wide and sufficiently tall for two lines of script, located directly above the mosque's entrance door, i.e., in the

> The builder of this blessed mosque, the just and good emir, Saif-al Dīn Sulaimān ibn Eşref – may Allah be pleased with him (this work) - has constituted as wakf: the cloth maker's khān; the shops that are nearby and those around the great mosque; the large hamam; - twenty xxxx (?) of a total of xxxx (?); - and the following mills, which are the mill of xxx (?) the mill of xxx (?) the mill of xxx (?). The total revenue of these properties is 12 thousand dihrems. The founder has stipulated that one fifth of all these revenues shall be reserved for the support of his children, who are the very glorious and prosperous Muhammad, and Ashraf Bak, and every generation, each after the other. This is a true and legally binding Wakf. xxx at the date of the year 696 (1297).[33]

Howard Crane says that Anatolian foundation texts "are generally characterized by a formal and stereotyped language and a standardized sequence of ideas. Typically they begin with a statement of construction and designation of the type of foundation… followed by the name and an abridged protocol of the sultan ruling at the time of the foundation's completion and the name of the actual founder, sometimes accompanied by an abridged list of his or her ranks and titles…most inscriptions conclude with a date, expressed in words."[34] Exceptions are mostly royal foundations and tombs, where the inscription often takes the form of an epitaph. The Eşrefoğlu Cami's inscription clearly does not follow this formula; it is, instead, an excerpt from a wakf. Michael Rogers declares that, "In 13th century Anatolia, unlike contemporary Syria and Egypt, it was exceptional to inscribe extracts of *waqfiyyas* on buildings." [35] This, then, is one of a very few surviving seventh/thirteenth century inscriptions to incorporate elements of the wakf documents.

This exotic feature could be interpreted as evidence that the legal arrangements for the mosque's foundation were prepared by a religious authority

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conventional location for a dedication inscription. Indeed, an inscription there would be considerably more visible than the one placed at the top of the portal. It could be that the panel above the door was installed during construction in the expectation of a conventional inscription, but that a decision was taken to write the much longer wakf excerpt. The reason for this blank cannot be discerned now, but the plaque's place in the construction certainly suggests a change made in the course of construction.

[33] This is my translation from the French edition in the RCEA, item 5037 (with the assistance of Janine Debanné.) Konyalı discusses the missing names of the mill towns at some length in *Beyşehir Tarihi,* 222-223.

[34] Crane, "Notes," 3.

[35] Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage," 70.

from Syria or Egypt, but it more probably indicates the impossibility of continuing the old formula under Mongol suzerainty. After the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw III in 681/1282, the Mongols willfully and strategically alternated designated rule between 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay Qubād III and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ma'sūd II. It was the latter who nominally ruled in the year dated on the mosque, but he was in his third reign, and must have appeared anything but a legitimate sovereign. Still, it must have taken considerable temerity to abandon the conventional forms of legitimation, since doing so was tantamount to a declaration of independence. Yet given the political circumstances, the inscription was probably only realistic. Even if the Mongols were politically anathema, they were the *de jure* rulers of Anatolia. The conversion of Ghazan only two years earlier likely did little to change the trajectory toward autonomy. Saif-al Dīn Sulaimān ibn Eşref's inscription identifies him as emir and justifies his foundation through his personal qualities, not by titles, and it eschews any gesture of subservience. The inscription is frank in its declaration of self-interest and almost boastful in tone. It declares the munificence of the patron, his liberality and implicitly, his concern for bringing about all the good things that could be expected of a new state. The list of foundations reads like an inventory of the benefits of civilization and industry, and contributes to the atmosphere of a charmed, ideal city that lingers about Beyşehir.

The emir's signature appears two more times in the mosque. A second foundation inscription is laid in tile mosaic above the arch in the small brick wall inside the main door, as mentioned above. It states: "This blessed mescid-i-cami was built by that sword of religion and the state, the very charitable Eşrefoğlu Emir Süleyman, in the year 699."[36] Süleyman goes one more step toward autonomy here by assuming a familiar honorific title, proclaiming his dual commitments as protector of religion and founder of the state. The date reveals that the mosque's construction was complete just three years after the wakf was declared. The final inscription is on the mimber and simply declares that it was built by the "the just and hearty" Emir Süleyman.

[36] This is my translation from RCEA, item 5082 (with the assistance of Janine Debanné.)

Something more of Süleyman's attitudes can be gleaned from the inscriptions above the elaborate window on the façade and on the Emir's door. They are hadith that praise donations to mosques and declare the rewards that will come of them in the afterlife. In fact, both hadith allude to small donations conferring inversely proportionate benefits. Placed on an undeniably grand building, these expressions of conventional modesty underscore the magnitude of the donation and the credit due to the donor. This credit is presumably to be gathered in the afterlife, but there is a clear suggestion that gratitude is owed the donor in this one, too; at the very least, the stylized humility reads as a pious justification for the extravagant building. [37]

The wakf inscription is remarkably frank about the sources, size, and disposition of the family's income. There is relatively little economic data like this from medieval Anatolia, and it should be evaluated by experts in historical economic matters; it is obvious enough, however, that textile production –and presumably, trade – was the basis of the state's wealth. [38] Given that the original wakf document has not been preserved, it is unfortunate that the inscription does not include more details of the financial support for the mosque and its staff. [39] The inscription emphasizes instead the income and resources needed to support an amirial family of some pretensions and the aim of securing it by converting commercial enterprises into inalienable wakfs.[40] Of course the choice to excerpt and inscribe this particular passage from the wakf reveals the priorities at the origins of the foundation.

The dynastic türbe adjacent to the mosque was a further measure to entrench the family's place in history.[41] Completed in 700/1301, the tomb and its tall and perfectly conical roof were constructed in the same soft yellow stone as the portal, and they have been heavily restored. While the octagonal plan of the tomb is quite

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[37] Rhetorically, it is a kind of litotes.

[38] For a general introduction to Mongol era economics, see Zeki Validi Togan, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period." *Annales Islamologiques*, 25 (1991): 203-240.

[39] For the later *wakf* documents, see M. Akif Erdoğru, "Eşrefoğloğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey Camii'nin Vakıfları", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* VI (1991): 91-109.

[40] This is the type of foundation known as a 'wakf ahli,' designed and permitted under Hanefi law to provide support for a family. See Michaeal Rogers, "Royal Caravanserays," 405.

[41] Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri 2 ve 3: Beylikler ve Osmanlı Dönemi.* vol. 3. Ankara: Adalet Matbaacilik Tic. Ltd, 1992: 82-86.

typical, the hemispherical dome inside has one the most elaborate faience mosaics in Turkey.[42] Its radial arabesque pattern, which was executed on an ingenious sequence of interlocking plates, is far more splendid than the decoration of the mosque's maqsura dome.[43] The tomb is situated at the precise point on the mosque's east side to make one of its eight facets align with the chamfered stone façade. At the same time, the türbe communicates directly with the mosque through an opening in the face where it is attached. This link was clearly intended to solicit blessings from worshipers, and to foster a cult of the local dynasty. Even today, newly arriving worshippers (though not the regular congregants) commonly make their way directly to the türbe window where they perform a *fātiha* (prayer for the dead) before proceeding to *salat*. Such direct communication between mosque and tomb was first established at the Divriği Ulu Cami and appears again in the Sahip Ata complex, where the dynastic tomb was inserted between the mosque and the hanikah on its south side, and a window opened between the mosque and the tomb through the existing kibla wall. The result of this gesture is that worship oriented to the kibla is also implicitly directed to the deceased patron. The Eşrefoğlu tomb is not quite as bold, but it could be said to advance the cult of the leader in medieval Turkey in another way. Where the Sahip Ata türbe (like the Divriği example) was hidden between buildings, the Eşrefoğlu türbe is prominently displayed along the mosque's façade. The tomb thus achieves a monumental representation directed outward to the public space at the same time as it forges an intimate, symbolic link to the mosque's interior. This dual connection makes the presence of the dynastic tomb pervade the space, and reinforces its claim that credit and even reverence is due to the mosque's founding family.

The emir mahfil in the mosque's upper southwest corner renders the presence of the ruler in the mosque even more legible and immediate (Fig. 48). The mahfil occupies two bays with a net area of about forty-four square metres, divided almost in half by a step forty-five centimetres tall. The ceiling is just over five metres high

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[42] Micheal Meinecke. *Fayencedecoration Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* 2 Vol. Tubingen: Wasmuth Verlag, 1976. pp 91-94.

[43] Meinecke made a diagram of this intriguing system. It is also published by Erdemir, *Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii,* 85.

and rises about two metres above the surrounding ceiling. The joists in the mahfil run perpendicular to the others in the southernmost bay. The ceiling of the bay between the emir mahfil and the maqsura dome has been raised by a single course of brackets all around, apparently in order to improve the sight line toward the mihrap, which remains largely obscured by the interposed mimber. In any case, the mahfil has its own mihrap that, like the main one, is flanked by two windows and surmounted by another. The west wall has one more window near the floor and two near the ceiling. These windows have exposed heads consisting of roughly hewn logs, but must originally have had finer finishes, in accord with the space. The mahfil is defined on its inner faces by monumental arches with a negative keystone - a profile that is often called a Bursa arch. This shape is foreshadowed in the frame of the window on the building's facade, and in the row of miniature versions that decorates the inside face of the central aisle beams just below the painted consoles. The mahfil's large arched openings are filled with low handrails and taller wooden screens that are slightly finer than those found elsewhere in the mosque. Konyalı mentions decorations on the walls in these areas, but none have survived, unless he is referring to the painted decoration, which is particularly copious and fine. There is a 7.6 metre long shelf or *raff,* mounted high on the west wall of the bay below the emir mahfil. It was presumably used to store a library of religious texts, and possibly also liturgical instruments or small furnishings, such as lamps, incense burners, and candle holders.

A door in the mosque's west wall not far from the foot of the stairs that lead up to the emir mahfil was obviously used as the emir's private or ceremonial entrance. No evidence remains of palatial architecture in Beyşehir, but the location of the door in the west wall may point to its former location. It is important, however, not to read too much into this, since it seems to have been quite conventional to have the emir's entrance to the right when facing the mihrap. This door would have spared Süleyman and his successors the indignity and hazard of passing through a throng of assembled worshipers. Oleg Grabar has explained features like these in Islamic palatial architecture as manifestations of, "a ceremonial order of progressive

remoteness."[45] Aloofness is a standard feature of Islamic political culture; the great Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk, for example, advised the sultan against being too accessible, lest it diminish his aura of power.[46] The emir mahfil is the architectural manifestation of this political sensibility where it intersects religious affairs. Its presence recalls the social tensions and grievances that could make the ruler a target of deadly resentment. It is a dialectical structure, designed to render the ruler present and aloof all at once – his arrival is the cynosure of all eyes, yet he remains theoretically invisible as he privately worships.[47] Awareness of this separate presence hovers over the entire structure, belying the congregation's ideal equality.

In fact, the mosque's open space is striated and articulated by wooden screens of various sorts that suggest a pervasive consciousness of rank and place. In addition to the necessary handrails, like those in the kadinlar mahfil, on the stair to the emir mahfil and around the karlik, the son cemaat yeri is defined by a full height screen; the kibla bay of the mosque on either side of the maqsura dome has a sort of fence with door openings in the outer bays, rather like the Byzantine chancel screen known as a *templon*; the imam's platform to the east of the entrance has a low handrail; and the emir mahfil has tall screens around its two faces. The screens are all joinery work without mechanical fastenings or secondary carving. They are robust, generally around six centimetres thick, and feature various interlace patterns, including interlocking twelve-sided circles, hexagons, stars, interwoven grids and a type of miniature colonette with a strongly scalloped profile.

Besides the screens that have been preserved, there are signs of others having been used at one time or another. This evidence is largely in the form of notches cut into column bases to support the screens, but there are also a few early archival photographs. Though it is not possible to be certain that the notches are original with

[45] Oleg Grabar, "Palaces, Citadels and Fortresses" in *Architecture of the Islamic World*: *Its History and Social Meaning.* George Michell, ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978: 72.

[46] Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk.* Darke, Hubert, trans. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edition, 1978.

[47] The effect is like that of the *mashrabiy'ya* brilliantly analyzed by Bechir Kenzari and Yassar Elsheshtawy in "The Ambiguous Veil: On Transparency, the Mashrabiy'ya, and Architecture." *Journal of Architectural Education* (2003): 17-25.

the building, they reveal spatial divisions that show, for example, that at some time wooden rails enclosed the first bay inside the main mosque entrance. A documentary photograph shows that this was a simple, low screen, about the height of the adjacent raised imam mahfil. This pen-like structure may have controlled or directed admission, or it might have simply formally delimited the area where shoes had to be removed. There are further notches in the two column bases in front of the maqsura dome. Screens there would have expanded the space under the dome by a partial bay; perhaps they worked in conjunction with the southern screen, though they are not co-linear with it. Finally, there are notches in an extensively carved column base near the western door. Again, an historical photograph shows another screen installed there, including the portable wooden mihrap that is now located in the son cemaat yeri.[48] In fact, the high rails in the picture raise the possibility that the mosque's interior spaces were also divided at various times by hanging curtains.

The Eşrefoğlu Cami abounds with screens, gates, pens, barricades and barriers. These structures not only provide distinct stylistic features, as an art-historian might have it, they also indicate a high concern for managing and delimiting space. The screens raise numerous questions. Who was allowed beyond the southern screen, and who was excluded? How were such distinctions practiced? Was a sense of caste or rank internalized or somehow enforced? Was it fluid or rigid, and how did it function over time, for example daily, weekly, and annually? Were these divisions a normal attribute of late seventh / thirteenth century mosques, seen here in a better state of preservation, or was this a specific spatial manifestation of this emirate, indicative of a unique religious and social practice? At this point, it is no more possible to answer these questions than it is to know which screens are original. The one thing that can be said is that the heightened interior spatial articulation is consistent with the carefully developed exterior space, and that Anatolia has no more fully preserved set of mosque fitments.

The invisible presence of a çilehane below the mosque's floor reveals at least one aspect of religious practice in the mosque. The çilehane, like a Christian

[48] The Imam reports that the wooden mihrap was brought to the mosque from another building. It is, however, present in photographs from the early twentieth century. See Erdemir, *Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii,* Resim 19, 33.

anchorage, is a retreat in which to endure the physical and spiritual trials of inclaustration. If it is indeed original, it indicates that Süleyman supported some of the more extreme manifestations of Sufi spirituality and incorporated them directly into the mosque. The çilehane's position beneath the emir mahfil associates the spiritual trials of adepts with the emir's presence and patronage. The arrangement could even be understood as forming a corollary in which the emir and sufi have reciprocal and complementary positions – two *tarikats*, or spiritual paths, equally difficult and virtuous in due respect. The space of the ulama, as indicated by the raff, mediates them.[49] The mosque's pervasive horizontal compartition is matched here with a vertical spatial striation. The most radical interpretation could see this as a veritable ascension narrative in which an axis links the çilehane through the liturgical instruments and texts to the pinnacle of rule. It is a powerful affirmation of the religious foundation of rule and the state.

A lavishly painted interior contributed a great deal to the Eşrefoğlu Cami's general aesthetic appeal. In the course of centuries the paint naturally grew hoary, but until restorations carried out a few years ago, it was still possible to faintly discern the glorious effect of the painted patterns, which were focused primarily on the consoles between the brackets in the central bay. As mentioned earlier, the painting of the wooden mosques is best handled as a separate topic, but it is worth noting one motif that may have specific imperial associations. All of the mosque's octagonal columns and a couple of the round ones display traces of alternating courses of red and white zigzags over their full height.[50] A slightly finer version of the pattern appears inside the emir mahfil, and a carved version is seen on the corner colonettes of the window on the façade. This motif is found in several Seljuk palatial foundations, for example in the Alanya Kale and at Aspendos, among other places. It is invariably rendered in red and white, and often accompanied by checkerboard grids in the same colours. The heavily painted Kasaba Köy Cami features a slightly more elaborate version that

[49] The wall shelf in the Sirçali Mescid in Konya, built in 1203-1210, is another example of this rare feature.

[50] It is interesting to note that there is a very close, but not perfect, correlation between the painted zigzags and the octagonal columns; the octagonal plan made it much easier to paint the pattern because its vertices can be used as guide lines.

includes an inverted teardrop shaped pendant. The same motif is often depicted in Ilkhanid paintings of rugs and tents (Fig. 11). Scott Redford has argued that the zigzag pattern has specifically imperial associations,[52] and if so, its presence in the Eşrefoğlu Cami is another instance of appropriation of imperial motifs by the ambitious emir.

In addition to the painting, there is evidence that the mosque was richly furnished. The elegant mimber is of the very best 'true kundekari' woodwork inlaid with ivory, and there must have been matching *rahles* (Koran stands), and *kursis* (lecturns).[53] The inscription over the emir's door alludes to the act of patronage, and it makes specific reference to lanterns and carpets; interestingly, these are among the artifacts that were found in the mosque in the early twentieth century and removed to museums. In 1929, Rudolph M. Reifstahl found fragments of several very old carpets still in situ.[54] These large carpets, now in the Konya Ethnographic Museum, consist mostly of fields of repeated patterns with broad 'pseudo-kufic' borders. They are consistent with what is known of other presumably Seljuk carpets found in Konya's Alaaddin Cami and turbe, and despite Reifstahl's protestations, there is no real reason to doubt that they are from the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century. Indeed, the painted patterns on the consoles and elsewhere must have been closely related to the sorts of patterns found on the carpets, and vice versa. In effect, the carpets and the paintings would have made the floor and ceiling reciprocal, at least in terms of colour and pattern.

The Eşrefoğlu mosque was also the repository of the only fully inscribed and dated Seljuk-era metal lamp, which is now in the Ankara Ethnographic Museum

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[52] Scott Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia: Sejuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey.* Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000: 49.

[53] For the mimber, see Erdemir, *Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii,* 46-51. There is one kursi in the mosque at present and another that is said to have come from Beyşehir is displayed in the Sahip Ata Museum in Konya. Neither one appears to date from the original furnishing of the mosque. Ottoman patrons could have added them in 1571 or 1604, but the workmanship is surprisingly poor.

[54] Rudolph M. Reifstahl, "Primitive Rugs of the 'Konya' Type in the Mosque of Beysehir." *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 13. , No. 2, (Jun., 1931): 177-220. See also Şerare Yetkin, *Historical Turkish Carpets.* Ankara: (no publisher), 1991.

(item no. 7591).[55] D.S. Rice, who discussed the lamp at length, translated the inscription as, "Work of ʻAlī ibn Muhammad an-Nisībīnī, in the city of Konya, in the year 679 (1280-81)" and declared that the Konya lamp, "presents the first example of large bronze surfaces decorated with intricate arabesques in repousse."[56] The work was locally manufactured, but the artist's nisba indicates he came from the North Mesopotamian city of Nisībīn, which had been devastated by Hülegü's troops in 675/1259.[57] M. Zeki Oral has pointed out that the unpointed date can also be read as AH 699, and it makes more sense to suppose that the luxurious lamp was a commission than to imagine that it was randomly produced almost twenty years before the mosque was built and made its way there haphazardly. [58]

Other aspects of the Eşrefoğlu's cultural patronage show that they sought to assume the conventional role of Islamic leaders as patrons of learning. Mehmed was the subject of the dedication in 709/1310 of an Arabic philosophical treatise titled *Fusulu'l-Eşrefoğluiyye* by a certain Şemsüddin Mehmed Tushtari, whose *nisba* indicates that he originated in Tushtar, in Khuzistan.[59] A book on civil engineering titled *Tekarirü'l-menasib* by Kemaleddin of Konya was also dedicated to him in 720/1320.[60] The raff under the emir mahfil suggest the presence of other books; certainly it would have held copies of the Koran, and probably also the typical hadith and legal works, etc. It is sometimes claimed locally that the wall with a door and window adjacent to the minaret is the remains of a library. Konyalı made a valiant but fruitless effort to track down a cache of ancient books reported to have originated in either the mosque or medrese.[61] Nevertheless, it is clear enough that the emirs

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[55] D.S. Rice, "Studies in Early Islamic Metalwork V" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* University of London, vol. 17, No. 2 (1955): 206-231.

[56] Rice, "Studies in Early Islamic Metalwork V," 209.

[57] Rice notes that only eight other metal artefacts (other than astrolabes) made before AD 1350 are inscribed with the place of their manufacture, see "Studies in Early Islamic Metalwork V," 206.

[58] M. Zeki Oral. "Eşrefoğlu Camii'ne Ait Bir Kandil", *Belleten*, C:XXIII, Sayı:89 (1959): 116.

[59] Cultural Atlas, 236; Cahen, *Formation*, 263.

[60] Cultural Atlas, 236.

[61] İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Beyşehir Tarihi*. Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Facultesi Yayını, 1991.

recognized learning and literacy as part of the full complement of activities and accomplishments of a wise ruler.

There are a few points at which a religious creed becomes somewhat apparent in the mosque. One of these is at the top of the maqsura dome, which has a circular ceramic mosaic medallion inscribed with a five-pointed star and the names of Muhammed and the first four 'rightly-directed' caliphs. This type of emblem, of which there are perhaps a dozen examples in Anatolia, presents an explicit statement of religious conviction in the form of an esoteric, decorative pattern.[62] The feature is called a *çinili göbek* when in a dome, or more generally, a Seal of Solomon. It comes in either five- or six-pointed versions, the number usually depending whether or not it includes the name of Ali. The first example of the emblem in Anatolia is carved on either side of the entrance to the Mama Hatun turbe in Tercan (588-598/1192-1202); it is found, carved again in stone, in the same place on the Çifte Minare Medrese in Erzurum (uncertain date, possibly between 637-676/1240-1277). Its first use as a ceramic medallion is in the dome of the Ulu Cami of Malatya (621 and/or 645/1224 and/or 1247). The motif was quite popular in Konya, where it is found at the Bey Hekim Cami (7th/13th c.) and in the Şey Alman Türbe (7th/13th c.). The emblem is also present in several of the Sahip Ata's foundations: the Gök Medrese in Sivas (669/1271), the Tahir-ile Zühre mesjid (undated), and his türbe (684/1285).[63] Although the maqsura dome of the Sahip Ata's mosque is lost, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was inscribed there, too.[64]

The presence of the seal proclaimed the Eşrefoğlu's Sunni orthodox faith, but there is a slight discrepancy between what it declares and the unique square Kufic emblem that appears above the mimber door. This second emblem prominently includes the name of Ali, which is omitted above. Measuring almost eighty centimetres square and crafted in the jointed, kundekare technique, it is one of the

[62] The origins of this motif are unknown, but a much earlier example, dated AH 460, is found on the first of the two tomb towers at Kharraqān. See D. Stronach and T. Cuyler Young Jnr. "Three Octagonal Seljuk tomb towers from Iran," Iran IV (1966) Pl. 1X-a

[63] For the Gök Medrese, see Michael Rogers, "The Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum and the Gök Medrese at Sivas: A Contribution to the History of Style in the Seljuk Architecture of 13th Century Turkey" *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 15. (1965): 67-68.

[64] A painted version of the motif also appears in Oljeitu's tomb at Sultaniya, ca. AD 1307-13.

most visually striking emblems in all of Turkish woodworking art.[65] It is particularly notable for breaking the stylistic unity of the mimber; the square is presented like a trophy or a prized piece of spolia, or perhaps more to the point, like the sign of a creed. It would be foolhardy to deduce a doctrinal conflict on the evidence of these two minor points, but the discrepancy is worth noting. In 770/1369-70, a successor to the Eşrefoğlu named Halil Ağa oglu Ismail Ağa built a small courtyard type medrese on the west side of the mosque, close to the emir's door. Generally known as the Taş Medrese, it completed the religious infrastructure of the emirate that the Eşrefoğullari built, but it was added long after their downfall.

The physical proximity of the mosque to the bedestan reveals the important role of commerce and industry in the foundation of the emirate. The presence of a bedestan in a city not only indicated a considerable volume of trade, but also generally raised the status of the city to one with international connections.[66] It was not a common building type; Harold Crane says that," Although bedestans are mentioned in a number of thirteenth-century vakfiyes in such a way as to suggest that they were independent buildings, only one example, dating from the very end of the thirteenth century, the much repaired bedestan of Beyşehir built by Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey as a vakif for his mosque, has survived to the present day."[67]

To legitimize the role he claimed, Süleyman had to demonstrate the virtues of a ruler, which included magnimanity, as displayed through undertaking grand projects of which others were incapable. Building was a way of showing that one had God's sanction to rule; this was particularly important for a new ruler who had only his personal virtues to offer in lieu of titles. The capacity to produce wealth by just means was one demonstration of the legitimacy of rule and the opportunity to secure one's family in perpetuity was one of its rewards. The wakf inscription proclaims

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[65] It should be noted that the emblem's visual prominence has been overstated by the selective removal of the dark patina from its frontal surface during restoration, resulting in much greater contrast and legibility than it must have had earlier.

[66] Halil İnalcık, "The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul," in *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1/1 (1979-80): 2.

[67] Crane, "Notes," 313.

and celebrates the perspicuity that undergirds the dynastic impulse, as ensconced in Hanefi law.

Possession of a congregational mosque and the privilege it conferred of issuing the khutba (Friday sermon) was one of two essential signs of sovereignty in medieval Islamic tradition; the other was *sikke,* the right to issue coins in one's own name. Baybars demonstrated how closely related these two signs were; after defeating the Mongols at Elbistan, he stayed in Kayseri for only six days – just long enough to sit on the Seljuk throne, have the khutba pronounced in his name on Friday 22 April 1277, and to mint coins. The Eşrefoğlu had attained their first goal by building the mosque, and internal crises in the Ilkhanid Empire soon provided them with an opportunity to pursue the other.

The end of the century saw the Mongol Empire enter a deep fiscal crisis. Geikhatu's initiative to introduce paper money in the Ilkhanid realm circa 1291-95 was a response to this problem, but may have exacerbated it. Ghazan's reforms were designed to restore the flagging state revenues, in particular by reviving agriculture and trade. According to Vassaf, in or about 698/1298-99, a *yarligh* was issued for the transfer of land in Anatolia – those who undertook cultivation of these lands were to be supplied with seed, draught animals, implements and advances, and in return were to make payments annually to the diwan.[68] Though there is no evidence that this plan was implemented, it shows both the depth of the fiscal crisis and the novel measures proposed to combat it.[69] In a further act of fiscal desperation, around 698/1298-99, the Mongols also removed all restrictions on the minting of coins and probably even issued a directive that coins be minted throughout the realm. The fiscal deregulation was so general that in 699/1300, coins in Ghazan's name were issued in at least forty-two Anatolian cities, including every one in which wooden mosques were built: Konya, Afyon, Sivrihisar, Ankara, Beyşehir and Samsun. [70]

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[68] Lambton, *Continuity and Change,* 179.

[69] This directive marks an about-face in Mongol attitudes toward agriculture, which had been previously disdained.

[70] Rudi Poul Linder, "A Silver Age in Seljuk Anatolia." In *A Festschrift Presented to Ibrahim Artuk on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Turkish Numismatic Society*. Istanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1988: 267-274.

Counter-stamping Mongol coins had been one of the Eşrefoğlu's earliest assertions of their presence,[71] and it seems that they gradually sought ever-greater autonomy in their finances. The opportunity to officially mint silver dihrems under Mongol suzerainty did not prevent them from also issuing coins recognizing the Seljuk sultan in 697, 699 and 700. This flurry of activity was part of a mass movement, but it was also probably done at least in part in order to finance building the mosque and possibly other new construction. In the Eşrefoğlu's eyes, the new coins must have advanced their transformation into an independent Muslim polity. It was not, however, until 729/1329 that the Eşref were able to mint coins in their own name, and at that point they were in the final days of their rule. [72]

Mongol suzerainty appears to have let new states flourish through permitting gestures that the Seljuks would have viewed with opprobrium, or simply prohibited. It is impossible to discern anything more than the main political features of their interaction with the Mongols and Seljuks, but it is clear that the Eşrefoğullari built their nascent state under the cover of Mongol suzerainty. Shortly after Süleyman's death, his son, Mubariz al-Din Mehmed, briefly extended his dominion to the towns of Gelendost and Yalvaç, but the stronger Hamidoğlus who reigned to the north soon reclaimed them. After the Karamanids captured Konya, Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Beg seized Akşehir and Ilgin. Continuing to expand, he added Sultandaği, Çay, and Bolvadin to his territory before his death in 720/1320. A builder like his father, he provided mosques for Seydişehir, Bolvadin, and Akşehir.

In 714/1314 Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Beg began to pay homage to the Mongol governor Temur-Taş. This legitimized his power within the Mongol suzerainty, but was not sufficient to prevent Temur-Taş, who revolted against his Ilkhanid masters in 726/1326, from taking Beyşehir from Mehmed's son and successor, Süleyman II.[73] The rebellious governor put Süleyman II to death and the dynasty expired with him. Its territory was divided between its old rivals the Karamanids and the

[71] Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 27.

[72] Şerefeddin Erel, *Nadir Birkaç Sikke*. Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaas, 1963.

[73] Melville, citing the anonymous Seljuk historian, gives the precise date 9 October 1326. "Anatolia under the Mongols," 91.

Hamidoğullari, but neither claimed Beyşehir as a capital.[74] In the second half of the fourteenth century, Beyşehir became a place of contention between the Ottomans and the Karamanids. It was taken and restored repeatedly until the battle of Otlukbeli in 878/1473, when the Karamanoğlu territories finally became the Ottoman province of Karaman-ili. The muezzin mahfil added to the mosque in 979/1571 and restoration of the city walls in 1013/1604 indicates that the Ottomans had a continuing interest in the site; later, however, the city fell into obscurity, which probably ensured the mosque's relatively good state of preservation.

Cahen says the Eşrefoğullari never equaled the Karamanids in power, and attributes to them a greater desire for isolation and autonomy.[75] The mosque they built is certainly a sign of this, for it was precocious and thorough in appropriating imperial prerogatives and symbols. The Eşrefoğlu apparently recognized that sovereignty was a matter of symbolic representation as much as military force. Their extensive building practices make it clear that they were acutely aware of the power of architecture in securing prestige, position, and legitimacy. They proved remarkably adept at manipulating symbols and spaces into a coherent statement of their aims. As fortune had it, the emirate survived for just three generations, but the trust it placed in monumental architectural representation secured it an important place in the material legacy of the era.

What kind of architectural values might the Eşrefoğullari have propagated if they had not been defeated? The mosque they left behind suggests a picture of acute awareness of public representation; devotion to grandeur and munificence; cognizance of history and symbolic representation; punctiliousness with respect to station and caste; and generous support for artists, philosophers and poets. The novel building inscription is remarkably perspicuous – it is free of superfluous titles, frank in its expression of materialism, and explicit about the sources of wealth in trade and industry. In the absence of any higher temporal authority, it asserts the rule of sharia. There is a faint but unmistakable iconography of Solomon in the name once given to the town, in its unique position adjacent to a beautiful lake, in the seal of Solomon

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[74] Cahen, *Formation,* 229.

[75] Cahen, *Formation*, 229.

found in the maqsura dome, and in the dedication to architecture as a kind of thaumaturgy. It is tempting to attribute this architectural and symbolic sophistication to the presence nearby of Kubadabad. The lake palace must have set an example of lavish imperial building, and accustomed the local population with monumental construction as an imperial proclivity.

Taken as a whole, the Eşrefoğlu Cami constitutes a veritable treatise in the Medieval Anatolian architectural representation of sovereignty. This makes it quite impossible to agree with Aslanapa's claim that, "The strength and creative power of Seljuk mosque architecture in Anatolia continued right up to the end in wooden mosques as vigorously as in stone or brick mosques or mesjids, and may be said to have produced its finest masterpiece in the Eşrefoğlu Mosque at the very end of the century."[76] While there is no questioning the building's vigour, it is wrong to think of it as Seljuk architecture's swan song. The building was built in defiance of the Seljuks and there is nothing elegiac about it. On the contrary, the building has an architectural exuberance that seems to celebrate the new cultural possibilities of liberation from the Seljuks and the joys of autonomy. The Eşrefoğlu mosque deserves to be seen in its own right as a bold departure in a time of suzerainty, and as the first manifestation of a new era of political diversity in which local initiatives, hopes, and aspirations proliferated.

These new forces had a particular aspiration to architectural representation and produced numerous new foundations before being curtailed by the reality of political fragmentation and anarchy. The privileged place of the Eşrefoğlu mosque on the cusp of this new era meant that it was neither equalled in architectural quality nor surpassed in size until the Ottomans consolidated power and built the Bursa Ulu Cami almost precisely a century later.[77] Politically, the Eşrefoğullari emerged as a quasi-independent power while under Mongol suzerainty; the Mongols must have exacted at least some tribute from them, but this had no apparent detrimental effects on the mosque, nor does it seem to have hindered the Eşrefoğlu's extensive building

[76] Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture,* 123.

[77] The Isa Bey Cami in Seljuk could be considered a rival in terms of quality of design and construction but it has an interior area of only 864 square metres. The Bursa Ulu Cami, by comparison, covers an area of 3150 square metres, making it more than two and a half times the size of the Eşrefoğlu Cami.

activities. On the contrary, Mongol overlordship seems to have spurred the family into action. The Eşrefoğlu Cami presents the clearest example of the important role that bold architectural constructions played in the formation of new states after the Mongol Conquest.

The Mongol's belated understanding of the civilizational programme of Islam permitted several ambitious figures to anticipate the end of Mongol suzerainty and lay claim to an independent future. When Süleyman Eşrefoğlu set out to express his nascent imperial will it was the Sahip Ata that he chose to emulate, not the Seljuk Sultans. This only made sense; the Sultans had been incapacitated for a half century, in which time the Sahip Ata had negotiated a very successful *modus operandi* with the Mongols. The wooden mosque that he introduced became the model for the position of quasi-autonomy Süleyman Eşrefoğlu sought for himself and his Turkomen followers. Its novel architecture functioned, in Biran's words, as a unifying force, a means of ideological distanciation, and a sign of independence.

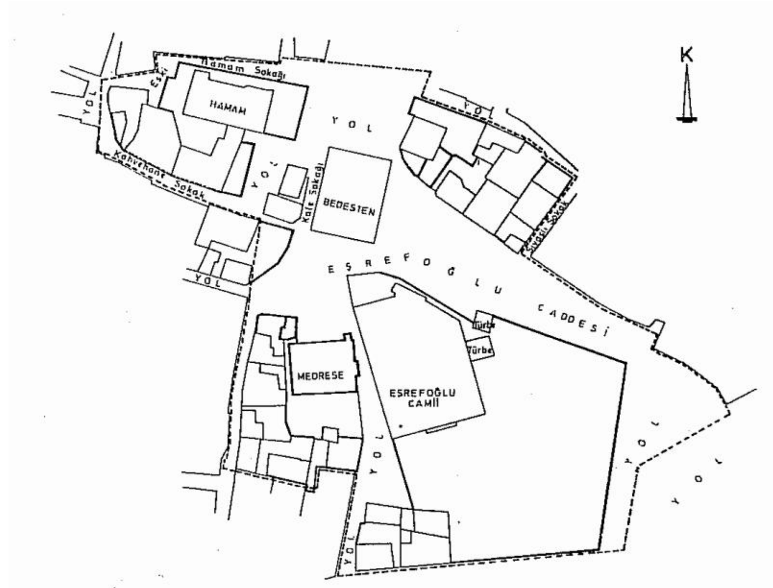

Fig. 42 Urban context of the Eşrefoğlu Cami, Beyşehir (after Erdemir)

Fig. 43 City Gate, Beyşehir. The bedestan can be seen through the arch and the minaret of the Eşrefoğlu Cami is visible at the left. The gate’s original stone is located at the left side of the inscription panel above the arch. The merlons match those on the mosque’s façade.

Fig. 44 Façade of the Eşrefoğlu Cami, Beyşehir. The bedestan is at the right.

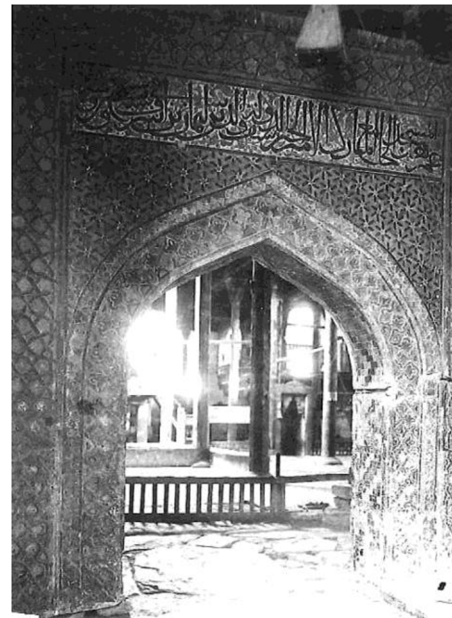

Fig. 45. Inner Entrance Wall. The inscription gives the completion date. The emir mahfil is directly visible in the mosque's upper southwest corner as one enters. (photograph after Erdemir)

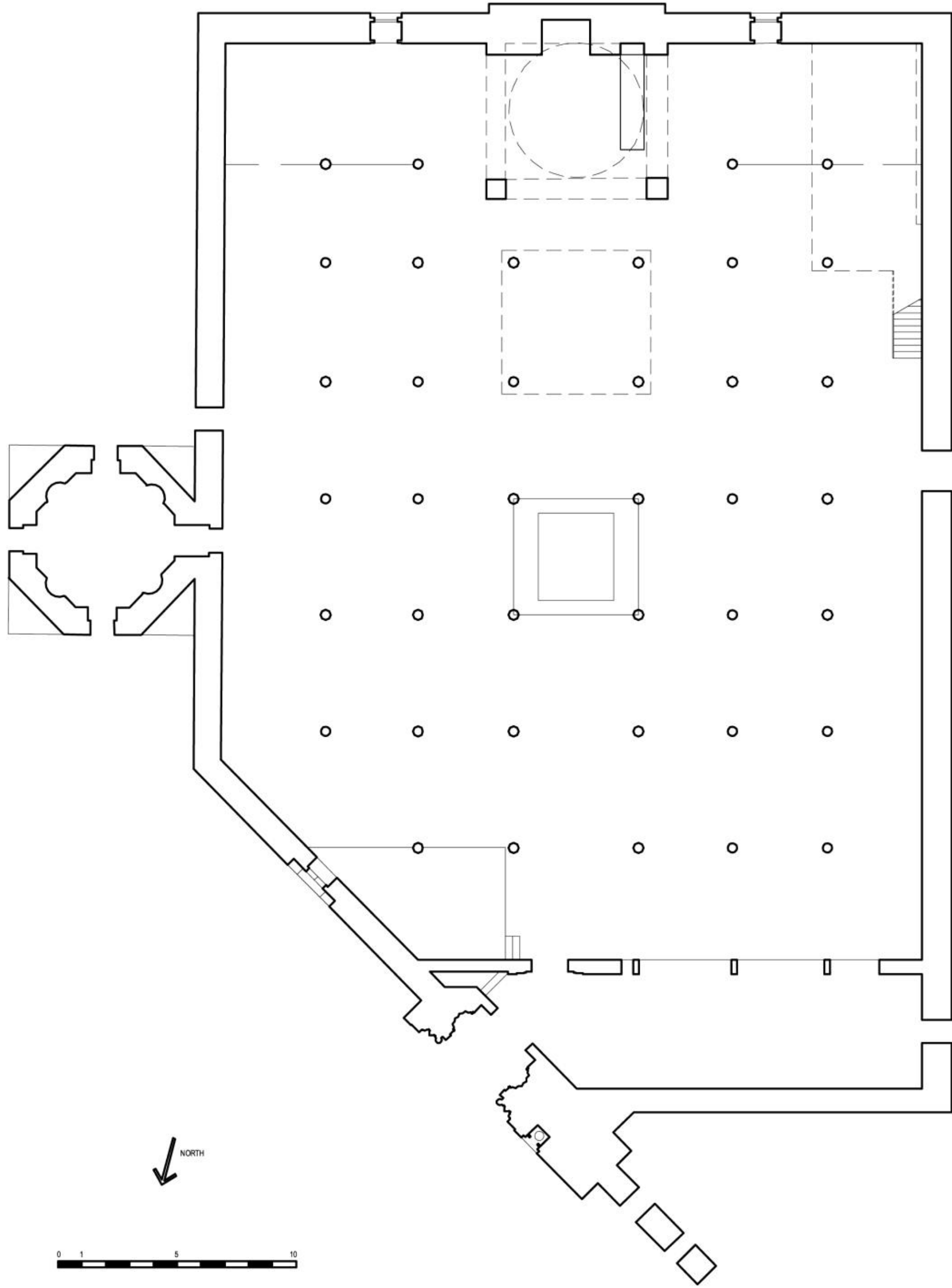

Fig. 46 Eşrefoğlu Cami, Beyşehir, Plan. (drawing by the author from site measurement)

Fig. 47. Interior of the Eşrefoğlu Cami. The muezzin mahfil is a later addition and the skylight above is modern, although some sort of lantern likely always existed there in the past. The well in the centre was allegedly used for storing snow shovelled from the roof in winter. It is now dry.

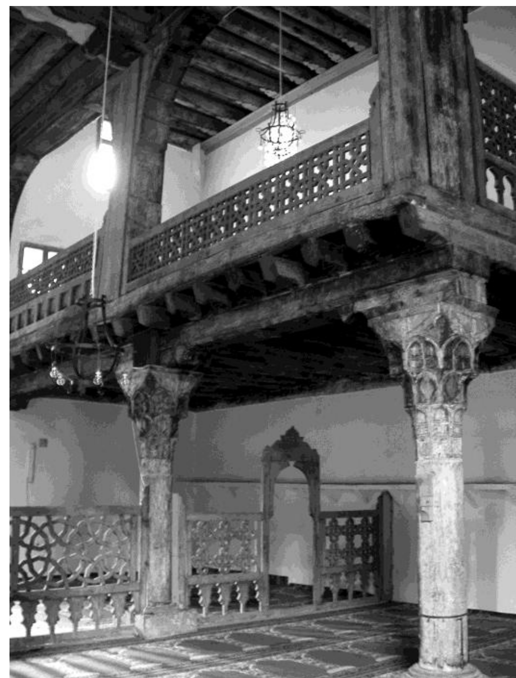

Fig. 48. The Emir Mahfil. Note that the volume breaks through the roof plane, which makes it legible from the exterior. The raff is on the side wall, behind the screen; the çilehane is located under the floor beneath the mahfil. The emir's door is out of the picture to the right, at the base of the stairs.

CHAPTER 6

DISSEMINATION AND DECLINE

The Samsun Ulu Cami: A Lost Example

The case of the Ulu Cami of Samsun underscores the vulnerability of the wooden mosques and the uncertainty it creates in the historical account, but it also further substantiates the notion of a movement to build wooden mosques. The mosque was completely destroyed in a citywide fire in AD 1869 and an Ottoman-style single domed mosque, known as the Haci Ali Effendi Cami, was built on the site in AD 1884. Nothing more is known of the original building than that it was built of timber in 699/1300-1301, and that its builder is claimed to have been an Hıdır (Hizir) Bey. [1]

The existence of a wooden mosque in Samsun has not been noted in any previous discussion of Anatolia's wooden mosques. Despite the very scant information about the mosque, the position and timing of the foundation suggest parallels with phenomena already observed in the five prior cases. In fact, the date of construction neatly coincides with the completion of the Eşrefoglu Cami and supports the scenario of various amirs recognizing the opportunity to build and taking nearly identical actions at the same time.

Samsun's Ulu Camii neither falls into the geographic pattern of the other wooden mosques, nor does it exactly contradict it. The city's position a hundred and fifty kilometres north and three hundred kilometres east of Ankara placed it on the border between anarchic Western Anatolia and the heavily Mongol-dominated East. The coastal area, with its sea-faring ways and links to Byzantium, the Grand Comnenians, and Genoa, was probably not particularly attractive to the steppe-

[1] This information comes from an historical plaque located on the present Büyük Cami of Samsun.

oriented Mongols.[2] For the third quarter of the seventh/thirteenth century, Samsun would have been in the territory of the Pervane, and his sons retained some degree of control over the place after his rebellion in 676/1277 and the subsequent imposition of direct Mongol control in Anatolia. The city was a key to the overland trade in Circassian slaves across the Black Sea and through Sivas, but this trade was disrupted at the time of the mosque's construction by dissention between the Ilkhanids and the Golden Horde of Russia, and by the war with the Mamluks, who were the major market for the slaves.[3] Set somewhat adrift from its normal life by historical circumstances, the city must have been particularly suited as a base from which to bid for local autonomy.

The mosque's position in the city suggests the basic terms of the cultural dynamics. It was built on a level site almost two kilometres south of the citadel, in the old centre of the city. The site, which is the location of the new mosque, is near the front of the city, and in the past the seashore, about two hundred meters away, would have been even closer by. There is no record of any prior mosque in the city, so it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the wooden mosque was the city's first large, congregational mosque. The mosque thus falls readily into the pattern of large, highly accessible congregational mosques built outside of the old centres of power as a means to gain or consolidate local support.

Little can be said with respect to the building itself.[4] Samsun is located only thirty-five kilometres from the site of the wooden Gokçeli and Şey Habil mosques in Çarşamba, and it is thus not unreasonable to ask if the new mosque was a product of a regional wooden building tradition, along the lines of Danişman's inquiry into the history of Bafra, which lays fifty kilometres northwest of Samsun. Is it possible that the Samsun mosque had wooden walls, like the ones in Çarşamba?

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[2] For a detailed exposition of this idea, turning on geography and the distinction between agriculturalists and pastoralists, see A.A.M. Bryer, 'Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception', Dumbarton Oaks Papers 29 (1975): 113-49. For Samsun, see 125-127.

[3] Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Charles Melville also describes this disruption of trade patterns in "Anatolia Under the Mongols," 63.

[4] It may still not be too late to conduct an oral history project in Samsun, with the aim of recovering a few basic facts, for example, the number of columns, where the entrances were located, or if the building's walls were made of wood.

It will be recalled that the Gokceli Cami, at 11.6 by 12.88 metres, has been posited as something of an upper limit for solid wood construction. Barring some radical innovation or entirely unattested technique, it is difficult to imagine that crib-type construction would have sufficed to build the congregational mosque of an important port city. To attain a reasonable capacity and sustain heavy use for over more than five centuries, the mosque probably had to have masonry walls along with a wooden roof and columns. This supposition raises further questions about the structure, in particular, about the form of its roof. The Black Sea coast has much greater rainfall than central Anatolia and a shorter winter. Would a flat or shallow sloped earthen roof like those used further south have been able to resist the warmer, wetter conditions of the seaside? Peaked roofs are typical of the coastal vernacular and are a better choice from the point of view of shedding rainwater, but they also generally limit the size of buildings. The largest known gable roof from medieval Anatolia is that of the Alaeddin Cami in Ankara, which has a clear span of just under thirteen metres. Intermediate columns could have made greater width possible, but the technical difficulty of building trusses still grows rapidly as the plan becomes larger. Did the roof structure limit the size of the mosque, or was there some ingenious development to resolve the problem, for example, by parallel ridges and furrows, or a system of impluvia? Given the present lack of information, it is simply impossible to know.

The information about the lost mosque also causes a disparity between its attribution to Hıdır (Hızır) Bey, and the evidence that at time of its construction, Mujir al-Dīn Amīr-Shāh ruled over all the country from Sivas and Tokat to Kastamonu and Sinop.[5] There is an Hızır Bey who was the son of Isfendiyar, and whose tomb is in Bafra. His period, however, was at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, so either he was not the builder or the mosque's date is wrong.

Mujir al-Dīn was the son of Taj al-Dīn and inherited his duties upon the latter's death in 675/1277. If he was somehow responsible for building the mosque, it was late in his life, since he is known to have died in 701/1302. Mujir al-Dīn was a third generation of the Khwarazmians who had been displaced from their central

[5] Cahen, *Formation,* 247-248.

Asian homeland by the Mongols in 618/1220 and absorbed into the Seljuk state after 625/1227. His grandfather, Mujir al-Dīn Tahir bin Sa'd al-Khwarazmi, had been the Khwārazm-Shāh's chief kadi and was an emissary to the Seljuks in 622/1225; his father, Taj al-Dīn, was an important Mongol agent and an intimate of Sahip Ata. As early as 663/1261, Taj al-Dīn had been awarded control over Kastamonu, the former seat of the dissolute vizier Baba Tuğrai, whose debts he had been sent by the Mongols to collect.[6] Kastamonu is a gateway to the central coast from Anatolia, and Samsun is a natural arrival point. Mujir al-Dīn presumably inherited this territory along with his father's role. As a long-time *na'ib* to the Mongols he was one of the few sources of stability in the last decades of the thirteenth century, but often had to struggle against the sons and grandsons of the Pervane, who claimed the same territory. Mujir al-Dīn's career demonstrates the sort of long-term, multigenerational stability that could be gained in Mongol service. It is ultimately Mujir al-Dīn's high status within the Mongol administration – he was essentially the chief tax collector for the whole of Anatolia - that suggests that this mosque was not a minor affair.

According to Charles Melville, Aksarayi depicts Mujir al-Dīn around 1298-99 as attempting to restore Samsun to order after it had been plundered by one of the grandsons of the Pervane.[7] It is not difficult to see a project to build a major mosque as part of this activity, and he would have had an affiliation with the wooden mosque as a manifestation of his cultural heritage. Although these associations would have provided the conditions for a particular motivation to build a wooden hypostyle mosque, it is not necessary to postulate an original impulse. By the time the mosque was built in Samsun, several major Anatolian cities already had new wooden hypostyle mosques. The movement for the wooden mosque was at its height, and though Samsun is some distance from the primary locus of wooden mosque building in west-central Anatolia, the city's lost wooden mosque can be broadly attributed to the condition of Mongol suzerainty and cultural aspirations that inspired the others. In fact, if Mujir al-Dīn was indeed the builder, it would once again place the wooden mosque at the forefront of political developments in Anatolia, for within a couple of

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[6] Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," 60.

[7] Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," 87.

decades, many of Anatolia's Ilkhanid governors rose in revolt, and claimed control of their territories by building congregational mosques.

The Epigones

The progressive political devolution in the early fourteenth century lead to a rapid and widespread dissemination of wooden mosques - as mentioned earlier, Orhan Cezmi Tuncer references at least a hundred. It also led, however, to the decline of the type. No wooden mosque built after the Eşrefoğlu Cami matches it - or any of the first five - in size, architectural invention, or quality of design and construction. Later mosques were all considerably smaller and always less prepossessing. They often had just two rows of columns, and without the defining matrix of columns, cannot even be properly called hypostyle mosques. The Seyyid Harun Cami in Seydişehir (701/1302),[8] Köşk Köyu Cami (undated, mid-fourteenth century),[9] and Kasaba Köyu Mahmut Bey Cami (767/1365-66)[10] are examples of this reduced plan, which might be called basilical; however, since that term generally connotes a building type adapted to Christian liturgy, it is better described as basilicate.[11]

The numerous basilicate buildings do not have any of the spatial nuances of the inaugural group, and if they are distinguished at all, it is simply by their degree of decoration. The general reduction in architectural invention is strikingly evident in the Ulu Cami of Ayaş, which is a small town about fifty kilometres due west of Ankara. The Ayaş Ulu Cami, which is undated but was probably built in the mid-fourteenth century, follows the model of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami practically point by

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[8] This interesting and important mosque appears to have been heavily reconstructed, losing most original interior details. There is practically no notice of it in architectural literature, but the origins of the city are detailed in Fatih Bayram's excellent article, "A Sufi Saint as City Founder: An Analysis of *Makalat-i Seyyid Harun*." *Turcica* 40 (2008): 7-36.

[9] Yılmaz Önge, "Anadolu'da XIII.-XIV. Yüzyılın Nakışlı Ahşap Camilerinden Bir Örnek: Beyşehir Köşk Köyü Mescidi." *Vakıflar Dergisi,* Vol. CIX (1971): 291- 301.

[10] Mahmut Akok, "Kastamonu'nun Kasabaköyünde Candaroğlu Mahmut Bey Camii." *Belleten*, Sayı:X, (1946): 293-301.

[11] For a discussion of the influence of basilica plans on Seljuk mosques, see Ali Uzay Peker, "Anadolu Bazilika Geleneği ve Anıtsal Mimariye Etkisi," *Anadolu Selçuklu Uygarlığı: Mimarlık ve Sanat*, A. U. Peker – K. Bilici (eds.) Ankara, 2006: 55-65.

point.[12] Not only is its plan nearly identical, if somewhat smaller, the builders even managed to find a steeply sloping site where they could mimic the earlier mosque's distinctive section. Like the Ahi Şerefettin Cami, the Ayaş Ulu Cami has gender-segregated entrances, with the upper level entered on axis. Features that in Ankara constituted real acts of invention were slavishly copied in the smaller town, showing how the dissemination of established models leads to their ossification. Even closer to home, the tectonic sensibility and craftsmanship of the Ahi Elvan Camii in Ankara, built almost a century after the Ahi Şerefettin Cami, in 784/1382, compares poorly with the tautness and rigour of its model, which is located just a couple of hundred metres away.[13] The proliferation of wooden mescids in Ankara during the eighth/fourteenth and even ninth/fifteenth centuries is a fascinating social, political and urban phenomenon, but the extreme localization of worship communities also reduced the buildings to a very small degree of architectural expression.

The decline in design quality is also evident in the development of muqarnas capitals, which became a nearly invariable feature of later wooden mosques. Two changes are evident. The workmanship either became quite crude and sketchy, as in the single column of the Demir Mescid (712/1312)[14] and in the Köşk Köyü Mescid (undated, eighth/fourtheenth century),[15] or it became highly refined and even mannered; the Bayındır Köyü Cami (767/1365) for example, has relatively small capitals with twelve facets and such features as secondary pendants.[16] The Kasaba Köyü Mahmut Bey Cami (766/1367) is much admired for the refinement and variety of its woodwork and for its well-preserved painted interior, but it verges on an effect that in a small building can only be called precious. None of the later muqarnas capitals maintain the degree of integration with the column seen in Afyon or

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[12] See Zehra Gülbadak, *Ayaş'ta Türk Dönemi Yapıları.* Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Sanat Tarhi Anabilim Dalı. Ankara, 1989; and Beyhan Karamağarali, "Ayaş Ulu Camii." *Ayaş ve Bünyâmin Ayaşî.* Ankara: Karıyer Matbaacılık Ltd. 1993.: 53-59.

[13] Erdem Yücel, "Ahi Elvan Camii Pencere Kapakları." *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı,* Vol. VII (1977): 165-177.

[14] Erdem Yücel, "Beyşehir Demirli Mescid ve Çinileri." *Arkitekt* Vol. 328 (1967): 177-179.

[15] Yılmaz Önge, "Anadolu'da XIII.-XIV. Yüzyılın Nakışlı Ahşap Camilerinden Bir Örnek: Beyşehir Köşk Köyü Mescidi." *Vakıflar Dergisi,* Vol. CIX (1971): 291- 301.

[16] Yaşar Erdemir, "Konya- Beyşehir Bayındır Köyü Camii." *Vakıflar Dergisi* Vol. XIX (1986): 193-206.

Beyşehir, nor do they attain the same level of sculptural clarity. This transformation is dramatically revealed in the powerful contrast of the two sets of capitals that sit side by side on the grounds of the Afyon Museum. Those from the Ulu Cami are nearly twice as tall - and probably more than four times the mass - of those salvaged from the Paşa Cami (866/1462) when it was demolished.

A type of recessed portico is the only major feature to be added to the design inventory of wooden mosques in the fourteenth century. This feature is of considerable architectural interest for the way that it reveals the building's section and tectonic order. Functionally, it constitutes an exterior son cemaat yeri, and physically it consists of projecting lateral walls (in Greek temples, they are called *antae*) and columns supporting a projecting roof.[17] The recessed portico appears to have been realized for the first time at the Kasaba Köy Cami.[18] This development was probably related to the basilicate mesjid type, where the much smaller scale made the construction easier. On the other hand, it also seems related to the growth in importance of the son cemaat yeri; the very interesting Ulu Cami in Doğanhisar (955/1548) has a lateral, rectangular plan and a porch with seven wooden columns. The vulnerability of this style of porch to the elements makes it impossible to assess its prevalence, but it must have remained a relatively rare feature. In fact, the porch of the Kasaba Köy Cami itself was completely reconstructed in the nineteen-eighties.

The Samsun Ulu Cami brings to six the number of large wooden mosques built in Anatolia in the second half of the thirteenth century – five of them in little more than a quarter century. The scale of this phenomenon is demonstrated by the fact that this group of mosques is equal to fully one quarter of the total number of congregational mosques built in all of Anatolia in the course of nearly two centuries of Seljuk rule. Considered according to the crude measure of area enclosed for worship, the movement is even more significant than its numerical proportion suggests, because

[17] There is a precedent for this feature in the porch of the Alaeddin Cami of Ankara, which has columns of classical spolia and a kadinlar mahfil within the gable roof over the recessed space.

[18] The reconstructed Sahip Ata Cami of 1871 had a recessed porch, but photographs do not reveal its sidewalls. Photographs of the Alaeddin Cami in Konya from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century show that it also had a porch, but it was clearly a late addition and had a separate, sloped roof.

the buildings were larger than all but a few of the Seljuk stone or brick congregational mosques. The wooden hypostyle type of construction was highly effective in reducing the 'deficit' left by the Seljuks in the religious infrastructure of Anatolia, and the impact of the movement was increased by its localization to western Anatolia and further concentrated by the focus on mid-sized cities.

The wooden hypostyle mosque can be safely said to have dominated religious building in Anatolia in the crucial and tumultuous second half of the seventh/thirteenth century. The remarkable efflorescence of madrasa building in Sivas – three of them were inaugurated in the *annus mirabilus* of 1271 – is the only building activity to rival in scale the movement for building wooden mosques. Not to diminish the significance of that building boom, but it can and has been reasonably explained as a product of rivalry for control of the city. The fact that the buildings were madrasas also marks it as a more conventional phenomenon, since that type was well-established as an outlet for ambitious builders. The act of building congregational mosques has an undeniably greater general significance, especially since it displayed a determination to continue the Islamization of Anatolia in the face of perceived opposition, and in the absence of the traditional Sultanic patrons.

In assessing the significance of this phenomenon, it is perhaps of especial important to note that the first congregational mosque built outside of the ambit of the Seljuk state apparatus, by the Ahis of Ankara, was the wooden hypostyle type. It may not be going too far to detect a hint of reproach in the haste with which the mosques were built – they are at least a *de facto* admission of shortcomings in reifying Islam in Anatolia. The wooden mosques were a stop-gap measure, but the high degree of coordination in the strategy is impressive. From the Mongol Conquest in 641/1243 until the construction of the Birgi Ulu Cami in 712/1312, - a period of sixty years – there was not a single large mosque built except by using the newly introduced constructional technique. The wooden hypostyle mosques not only dominated religious building, they were for a long stretch of time the only form in which new congregational mosques were built.

One more question remains - why did the wooden hypostyle mosque type not persist with its original vigour? Any attempt to answer this question inevitably runs to speculation, but even so, some factors are clear. One obvious point is simply that the newly built wooden mosques had made good on the deficit in congregational mosques left by the Seljuk Sultans. The most important cities without large mosques built them as soon as they could. The wooden mosques of the fourteenth century tend to be in small towns or even large villages. The example of the Seyyid Harun Cami in Seydişehir is instructive.[20] The Eşrefoğlu controlled the small city when the basilicate, three-aisle mosque was completed in 701/1302, which is to say, just a few years after the mosque in Beyşehir. Its construction reflects the importance of the site, but its considerably smaller scale was evidently calibrated to the secondary status of the city within the emergent emirate. The developing system of local representation conferred on each city a new facility appropriate to its size, but thereby also entrenched a strong hierarchy of places. A careful propriety of scale and artistic elaboration was maintained in the process, and in cases where a wooden mosque is particularly large or elaborate, it usually denotes the greater prominence of the site in the past.[21]

The most compelling explanation for the decline of the type after the initial group is the most broadly cultural one: Ghazan's conversion to Islam on 4 Sha'b'ān 694/19 June 1295. Previous Ilkhanid leaders had converted to Islam on a personal basis, but with Ghazan, Islam became the state religion and a rapid mass conversion ensued. This event fundamentally altered the ideological atmosphere of the Ilkhanid territory. Among other changes, it brought an end to all Mongol cultural patronage of Christian foundations in Azerbaijan, and lead to the eventual destruction of all physical evidence of earlier Christian patronage. Ghazan promulgated a famous set of reforms that were designed not only to address the on-going fiscal crisis in the

[20] Fatih Bayram has brilliantly exposited the cultural conditions of the city's refurbishment in his article "A Sufi Saint as City Founder" but unfortunately does not focus on architectural matters. It should be noted that there is an obvious parallel here with the invitation to the ancestor of Ahi Şerefettin to settle in Ankara.

[21] This is the case with the Kasaba Köy Cami, which was built in what was a town of as many as 25 thousand people, but which now houses less than four hundred. See Zühtü Yaman, *Kasaba Köyü'nde Candaroğlu Mahmut Bey Camii.* Ankara, Privately published, 2000: 15. Anne Lambert mentions that the name kasaba was used in the Mongol era to denote the central place in an administrative district.

Ilkhanid territory, but also to bring Ilkhanid practices into conformity with the newly adopted Sharia system. It is not clear how widely these reforms were implemented, but at the symbolic level, they fundamentally altered the cultural situation.

The political and economic burden of Ilkhanid suzerainty in Anatolia was not necessarily alleviated by the Mongol leader's conversion, but the formal, religious motive for resistance and opposition was removed. The Ilkhanids' conversion made it possible to finally drop the conceit of Seljuk continuity, which had been needed to avoid the scandal of infidel rule.[22] Nevertheless, by the time it became acceptable to acknowledge the Mongols in the foundation inscription of a mosque, the Seljuk convention of acknowledging the Sultan as the ultimate source of authority was broken. The early fourteenth century presents isolated instances of buildings formally dedicated to Mongol rulers. The 'Abd al-Muttalib Lodge in Tokat, for example, is dedicated to "the august sultan Abu Sa'id ibn Uljaitū." Regardless of this formality it had become possible to build in one's own name without committing an offence.[23] The process of territorialization that was occurring among the Turkomen of Anatolia was also well advanced among the Mongols in Anatolia by the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century. When Mongol provincial governors like Timur Taş, Çoban, Eretna and Sungur Bey began to stake a claim on independence by building, they hardly found it in their interest to acknowledge the rulers against whom they rebelled, so the inscriptions resolved in favour of self-assertion.[24]

The loss of cultural urgency is likely the single best explanation for the decline of the wooden mosque. The cultural critic Fredric Jameson presents a general claim that art consists in the symbolic resolution of objective conflicts that are not susceptible of a practical, material resolution.[25] In the case of the wooden hypostyle mosques, the initial cultural tensions lead to the creation of new mosques as a

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[22] The Seljuk's decline had been so complete that the chronicles do not record the circumstances of the dynasty's end or even precisely when the last Seljuk sultan died.

[23] Wolper, *Cities and saints*, 24.

[24] Melville gives quite a complete account of these rebels and their insurrections, "Anatolia under the Mongols," 91-97.

[25] This is the basic thesis of Frederick Jameson's book, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981. See especially 87.

symbolic way to resolve the intolerable condition of subjection by infidels. This condition was alleviated by the conversion of the Mongols and their adoption of the constructive and civilizational programme of Muslim culture. Mosques built subsequent to Ghazan's conversion were realized in a context freed of the over-riding circumstances that had justified innovation and austerity measures, such as wooden construction. In the presence of a practical material resolution to the cultural conflict, the significance of new mosques became merely local, and mosque building reverted to its customary status as expression of piety and assertion of sovereignty. In the course of the eighth/fourteenth century, wooden construction became the resort of ambitious villages and semi-skilled builders, which is to say that it increasingly took on the connotation of expediency that had been there from the start. The more prepossessing mosques of the fourteenth century from Birgi to Bursa express an intense rivalry among ambitious local rulers, but the broader ideological crisis of infidel rule did not impel them. The Eşrefoğlu Cami is the hinge between these two periods – it is simultaneously the last mosque of the wooden mosque building movement and the first mosque of the new emirates that entrenched the Turkmen in the towns of Anatolia.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions

Mongol suzerainty over Anatolia upset cultural values and narratives at the broadest level.[1] The Mongols may have been ecumenical and tolerant in religious matters, but, as adherents to a universalistic creed, their new Muslim subjects could not reciprocate on this matter.[2] Indeed, conquest by infidels whose allegiance even to Christianity was uncertain must have provoked a fear that the long and hard-won Islamic domination of Anatolia might be lost.[3] The Mongol's alliances with the various Crusader states and the Armenians of Cilicia, their relations of non-hostility with the Byzantines, and their overtures of alliance to the European powers all underscored the general threat. In many places, the conversion of Anatolian populations was still very much underway, and there must have been a real and ominous prospect of Christian revanchism at the local level.[4]

The Mongol Invasion roused a particularly acute need to build large mosques as a sign of Islamic solidarity and perseverance – in effect, to complete the unfinished project of Anatolia's Islamization by providing communities with the canonical religious infrastructure. The urgency of the need to entrench Islam appears

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[1] For a comprehensive general account of what might be called the Turko-Islamic ideology, see Osman Turan, "The Ideal of World Domination among the Medieval Turks" *Studia Islamica* 4. (1955): 77-90. See also Howard Crane, *Materials for the Study of Muslim Patronage in Saljuq Anatolia: The Life and Works of Jalal Al-Din Qaratai.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1975) 195-196.

[2] Charles J. Halperin has discussed a number of such conflicts. See "The Ideology of Silence: Prejudice and Pragmatism on the Medieval Religious Frontier," *Comparative Studies in Science and History* vol. 26 no 3 (Jul 1984): 442-466

[3] There is little direct evidence for such attitudes, but see A.C.S. Peacock, "Ahmad of Niğde's *al-Walid al-Shafiq* and the Seljuk Past." *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004): 95-107. Note also the decline narrative that Shams al-Dīn Ahmad-e Aflākī, presented in *The Feats of the Knowers of God (Manāqeb al-ʻarefīn).* Trans.John O'Kane. Brill: Leiden, 2002: 34-35.

[4]Speros Vryonis Jr. mentions Byzantine military expeditions to Caria in 1269 and in the Meander Valley in 1278, but makes it clear that disunity in the state thwarted these efforts. See, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971: 137

to have acted as a *force majeure* to justify lifting proscriptions about building mosques, such as the Sultanic control over mosque-building, and certain basic expectations about the permanence and monumentality of mosques. The dire circumstances overturned a prohibition on building major mosques in wood that had remained unstated, but which prevailed through most of the history and extent of Islamic architecture, including early Anatolia. While the existence of such a restriction cannot be proven, it has been shown here that there were no serious precedents for building mosques in anything other than stone or brick. In Anatolia under Mongol suzerainty, wooden construction provided the means, *faux de mieux*, to meet a pressing challenge. The wooden hypostyle mosques appeared as a result of a cultural emergency, and functioned to rally support for Islam and consolidate popular resistance to the Mongols. Wood thus became the emblematic material of this moment in Anatolia's history: it was simultaneously expedient and ideologically charged.

This dissertation has argued that the wooden hypostyle mosques of Anatolia, though not built by the Mongols themselves, were nevertheless one of the most characteristic manifestations of Mongol suzerainty. The Mongols provided no formal models – in fact there is no building in Anatolia directly commissioned by an Ilkhanid Khan, and only a few built by their *noyons* – and though the Mongols remained quite indifferent to the symbolic values of their subjects, their domination nonetheless spurred the development of architecture in Anatolia.[5] It is quite safe to say that wooden mosques would not have appeared if the Seljuk Empire had continued on its path undisturbed. The Mongol's disregard for Seljuk and Muslim proprieties inadvertently liberated a restricted economy of building. Their permission to build mosques - be it tacit or overt, regardless if it was out of magnanimity or mere indifference - acted in the manner of a catalyst, releasing pent-up social energies without being consumed in the process.[6]

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[5] Orhan Cezmi Tuncer examined five major Ilkhanid buildings in, *Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisi ve Moğollar.* (Ankara: no publisher indicated, 1986); not one is directly attributed to an Ilkhanid leader.

[6] Tuncer references the idea of a catalyst at the end of *Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisi ve Moğollar,* 119. My use of this rather obvious analogy was arrived at independently.

Wood, Humility and Sanctity

This investigation of the valences of wood in Anatolian mosque building has left aside a question until now that is interesting but probably not possible to answer: That is, did wood in itself contribute a special quality of sanctity to the mosques of which it was made? Looking at the wooden mosques today, now that they are more than seven hundred years old, it is tempting to assume that they have always had the aura of venerability that they undoubtedly acquired over time. Indeed, for those who have seen the mosques before the current restorations, it is impossible not to prefer their hoary state, but one must be wary of projecting present (and perhaps specifically Western historicist) values on the past. Material hermeneutics are historically determined, but still, is it possible to grasp what the material might have meant at its inception? The section of this thesis' introduction that sought to historicize the place of wood in Islamic building has provided a general framework of values within which to assess this matter, but it seems inadequate to conclude simply that wood's vulnerability associated it with the eschatological sentiments in Islam. Of course, if there had been any direct commentary on this matter it would have been adduced by now, but is it possible, in the absence of any direct statement, to know something of what building a mosque in wood might have meant in the seventh/thirteenth century?[7]

Such matters of historical values are exceedingly difficult to establish beyond doubt, but in this case there is both literary and material evidence to support the inquiry. Sham al-Dīn Aflākī's book *Manāqib al-'afārīn* is a rich source of anecdotal information about cultural values in the era of Mevlana, his contemporaries and immediate followers. It is also an important primary source for the status and meaning of wood in the particular cultural context of Konya. In one of the book's most pertinent and revealing anecdotes, Aflākī reported a discussion that had taken place over the proper arrangement of the funeral of a prominent disciple of

[7] I am concerned here materially with wood, not figuratively with thoughts about trees. For the art historical perspective, see Gönül Öney, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatinada Hayat Ağaci Motifi." *Belleten* XXXII, 1968: 25-50.

Mowlana's. Asked "Should he be buried in a coffin or not?" Mowlana consulted his followers, and one, Karīm al-Dīn, the son of Baktemūr, replied: 'It is better to bury him without a coffin." Pressed to explain his opinion, he stated: 'A son is looked after better by a mother than by a brother. Now a human being's body is of earth and a wooden board is also the son of earth. Thus both are brothers and earth is the compassionate mother. Thus it is more correct to consign him to the mother.' Mowlana applauded this argument, saying, 'This thought is not found written in any book.'[8]

Even if this entire anecdote is a pious fable, it would not discredit the line of reasoning presented. This system of material analogies – it is tempting to call it a homeopathic world view – regards wood as equivalent to flesh, since they are both organic materials, i.e., 'sons of earth.' While the decision on the best method of burial ultimately turns against using a wooden coffin, the reasoning clearly places wood closer than any other material to the state of nature.[9] The value system that Aflākī takes such great efforts to explicate here is ultimately predicated on the Sufi's rejection of arrogance and embracing of poverty.

Humility is the recurring, perhaps even the dominant theme, of the *Manāqib al-'afārīn,* and one of the primary virtues of the *arefin*. There are, for example, several examples of sufis protesting overly monumental tombs from beyond the grave.[10] The book and the culture it describes operated along a semiological axis of arrogance-humility in which monumental architecture was regarded with suspicion and even distaste. The Prophet himself is cited as an authority for the rejection of building and Mevlana repeated invokes his reluctance to either build or hoard wealth, which are actions suitable only for Sultans.[11] Several of the short narratives in Aflākī's work present scenes of a patron's largesse progressing by rejection through a chain of diminishing building propositions to arrive at extremely modest buildings

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[8] Aflākī, *The Feats*, p. 123.

[9] In fact, this sort of naturalism is probably the context in which to understand the very ancient Central Asian practice of burial in the hollow of a log; there is an example inn the Kojand Museum.

[10] For example, Sayyed Borhān al-Dīn, in Aflākī, *The Feats*, p. 51.

[11] Aflākī, *The Feats*, p. 128.

like housing for the poor, or even resolve with donated monies being dispersed directly to those most in need.[12]

The value system predicated on humility accords wood a privileged place precisely because, like flesh, it is perishable. The particularly 'Sufi' value system promulgated through the actions of Mevlana and his followers as depicted by Aflākī regularly puts them at odds with arrogant rulers, or is used to humble their pride. This value system can be seen at work in a further anecdote from the *Manāqib al-'afārīn,* one that is of particular significance to this study because it concerns the status and reputation of Fakhr ad-Dīn, the Sahip Ata. Mahmūd-e Sāheb-Qerān reports that "After Sāheb Fakhr al-Dīn passed away, one of the prominent disciples beheld him in a dream and he was extremely cheerful and happy. The disciple asked him: "They used to call you *Abū al-Khayrāt* (the father of the charitable deeds) How has God Most High *treated you in the other world?*" He replied: "Of the many charitable deeds I undertook none assisted me as much as a tree which was conveyed from my country for the construction of Mowlānā's sepulchral shrine. The tree was used in that place and God Most High has bestowed upon me this amount of goodness and shown me mercy."[13]

While this anecdote does not literally reference the Sahip Ata's introduction of the wooden mosque type, the value system of the *Manāqib al-'afārīn* definitely attributes the Sahip Ata's redemption with the material that signifies humility. It is as close as we will get to seeing contemporary recognition – and approbation – of his architectural innovations.

[12] Aflākī, *The Feats*, p. 128.

[13] Aflākī, *The Feats,* p. 346.

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APPENDIX A

The Colonettes of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami Mihrap

The outside corners of the niches of thirteenth century Anatolian mihraps are typically articulated with engaged columns. Scaled to the mihrap niche, these columns, or rather colonettes are small and normally quite schematic, at least compared to the larger, more detailed columns found in the same relative position on stone portals and their opposed interior niches.[1] In addition to their disadvantageous scale, mihrap colonettes are further limited by the fact that they were frequently rendered in cut ceramic tile mosaic, which tends to diminish detail and stiffen forms. The colonettes thus usually take the form of slim, three-quarter cylinders reduced to eight, or even six sharp facets. Their base is usually a dodecahedron, or would be if it were not partly engaged in the wall. The same abstract form often does double duty to represent the colonette's capital, rendering the whole even more distant from any architectural models. The strongest image of the colonettes is often that of a pair of flat diamond shapes on capitals and bases marking the corners of the niche. In short, these decorative features are usually so reduced that they do not generally merit much analysis.

The colonettes of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami mihrap are an important exception to this rule. [2] This mihrap is generally acknowledged as the only one in Anatolia in which faience revetment is combined with elements of carved plaster (Fig. 49). The novel material permitted the artist to render the corner columns in much greater detail than is possible in tile or stone. Despite being under a metre and a half tall, the plaster columns have a greater sculptural and tectonic specificity than any other

[1] I am not aware of any study specific to mihrap colonettes. There is, of course, a great deal of material on mihraps in general, beginning with Ömür Bakırer's monumental survey *Onüç ve Ondördüncu Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Mihrablari*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976. For a detailed study of the corner columns on stone portals, see Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal, *Osmanlı Öncesi Anadolu Türk Mimarisinde Taçkapılar*. İzmir, (no publisher listed) 1982: 55-68.

[2] For a general analysis of the mihrap, see Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Der Mihrab der Arslanhane Moschee in Ankara." *Anatolia I*, 1965: 71-75; plates XXI-XXX. See also Micheal Meinecke, *Fayencedecoration Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* 2 Vol. Tubingen: Wasmuth Verlag, 1976: 66-74.

example in Anatolia (Fig. 50). In fact, the rendering is precise enough to make it clear that the artist made these colonettes as perfect, miniature replicas of the canonical form of a Kwarazmian wooden column. This column type originated in classical Sogdian architecture and it was fully absorbed into the Islamic architecture of Central Asia.[3] Only a few early examples of this column type remain *in situ*, but further examples are found in museums in Central Asia, and in fact, variants of the highly recognizable form continue to be carved today, primarily in Khiva.

The richly plastic and unusually detailed plaster colonettes merit careful description before being compared to early examples of Central Asian wooden columns. The columns presently stand 144 centimetres tall, and have a spherical base that appears to sit on the carpeted floor. Visually and logically, they should have had some kind of footing but added floor levels that conceal some of the mihrap's base likely cover this.[4] The little columns are 18.5 centimetres in diameter at their base and taper to 14 centimetres just below the capital, making them rather stout for their height. The spherical bases are 16.5 centimetres in diameter and are connected to the column shafts by four elegant petal-like clasps.[5] The spaces between the clasps are deeply excavated to heighten the illusionistic effect of the sphere's autonomy. The bottom of the column's shaft has a 13 centimetre wide band of decorative *sulus* script framed by 6 centimetre borders. The central body of the shaft is ornamented with a 28 centimetre high field of overlapping split-rumi lattices and above this there is another epigraphic band the same size as the one below, this time with pairs of interlocked pseudo-Kufic characters alternating rounded and angular knots. The column's capital is divided from the shaft by a prominent braid moulding, and the capital's base has a ring of comma shaped motifs that flare sharply out and up from the narrowest point (13 centimetre diameter). The capital's design echoes the schema

[3] No example of a pre-Islamic Sogdian column remains, but their unique features make representations of them quite unmistakable. The two main sources for renderings are Zoroastrian ossuaries and silver platters. See G.A. Pugachenkova, "The Form and Style of Sogdian Ossuaries" In *The Archaeology and Art of Central Asia: Studies from the Former Soviet Union,* Bulletin of the Asia Institute 8, (1994): 227-243.

[4] This often happens when mosques are renovated. The Iplikci Cami in Konya is a notable example of the phenomenon. Restoration work conducted there in 2007 exposed about forty centimetres of the original mihrap (otherwise lost) below a new wooden floor.

[5] All such descriptions refer of course to the nominal column. The actual engaged column shows only one full clasp and two halves.

of the two epigraphic bands and borders below, but its 18 centimetre tall main field consists of overlapping ogival lines that form miniature arches. The capital everts toward the top, arriving at a final diameter of 24 centimetres. Otto-Dorn described the capital as funnel-shaped, but it is not conical, but rather gently curved, like an inverted Chinese bell. On top of the capital there is something like an entablature consisting of another inscribed band, this one made of cut tile framed by small bands of repeated plaster ornaments. This form continues, frieze-like, around the inside face of the mihrap recess, linking the two colonettes. The mihrap wall below it steps a few centimetres back, giving this element a strongly architectonic character. All of the column's profuse ornament is cut to a depth of almost two centimetres to produce an effect of bright highlights contrasting with dark shadows. The ornament and script is fully rounded, with no hint of the originally flat surfaces remaining. Close examination of facture reveals signs of carving that was probably carried out when the plaster was still somewhat green. Like most of this sort of work, the mihrap's parts were executed elsewhere and installed in panels. A construction joint can be seen running down the middle of the back face of the niche, but the colonettes appear to have been carved whole.

Every feature of these plaster columns can be directly matched to full-scale wooden columns from Kwarazmia, as seen in the few remaining *in situ* or artefacts now in museums in Tashkent, Dushanbe and Pendjikent (Fig. 51). The curious spherical base is the most consistent and obvious identifying feature of the wooden model. This style of base, which from a structural point of view can only be called mannered, was apparently intended to produce an illusion of weightlessness and elicit wonder at a feat of balance. The sphere had to be rendered as perfectly as possible in order to realize this essentially sculptural idea, and this lead to the daring undercutting of the gaps between the clasps. Later examples sometimes balanced the sphere on a short cylindrical collar, which had to be reinforced with a metal ring, and some type of pin or peg was probably always needed to attach the column to a stone base. The spherical base is the unmistakable sign that the column has been specifically conceived in wood, since structural integrity could only be maintained by carving the entire column out of a single log.

The Great Mosque of Khiva is the largest single repository of historical examples of this wooden column type. The building, which was expanded to its present form in 1203/1788-89, is a 55 by 46 metre hypostyle hall consisting of a three by three metre grid with 212 wooden columns of various dates, all of which have spherical bases. When enlarged, the building incorporated twenty-four columns from a much earlier iteration, and of these, four have donor's inscriptions carved in Kufic lettering. Sheila Blair has translated their inscriptions and on the basis of the style of writing dates them to circa 1010.[6] This makes these the oldest known wooden columns of the Kwarazmian type. There are somewhat later columns in the Hazrati Bobo tomb at Çorkuh. This little building is a flat-roofed wooden peristyle pavilion that probably dates from the twelfth century. Interestingly, its columns are actually pilasters presented to the outside, while their inner faces are rectilinear.[7] Likewise, the one remaining outside corner column is only three-quarters rendered and its inside corner is a regular block. The outward facing pilasters suffered the brunt of weathering, but even in their much-decayed form, the spherical base detail remains clear. The Historical Museum in Tashkent displays other examples of wooden columns with spherical bases from Urgench, Khiva, Shakrisabz and Kojand, dating from the 14th through 17th centuries. Interestingly, none of the columns from the *kişlaq* mosques in the Upper Zerafshan valley appear to have had spherical bases, or at least none are preserved. [8] It is impossible to know the reason for this regional variation, but it may have had something to do with the use of a different mosque type in these very small villages.[9]

Additional minor details of the plaster colonettes also agree with various wooden models. The pseudo-epigraphic bands on the plaster colonettes are similar,

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[6] Blair, Sheila. *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiania.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992: 76-77.

[7] This example indicates that the column was primarily understood as a classical form. That is to say, its value was autonomous, not based in technique or ease of fabrication.

[8] The Russian archaeologists who removed the columns often cut them in half, presumably to make them easier to transport out of the very remote and inaccessible mountain sites where they were found. They seem to have had little interest in the bases, from which it can be inferred that they were quite plain and probably unornamented.

[9] Most of the *kishlaq* mosques have a foursquare plan with a single column, which is why historians say "the column from Kurut" or 'the column from Oburdan." In general, these singular columns have a stronger iconic value than multiple ones would do.

for example, to the donor inscriptions on the four columns from Khiva. This probably indicates that such inscriptions were a common or standard practice, although there are no other examples preserved to confirm that notion. The distinctive 'bell' profile of the plaster capitals matches the wooden profile of the Chorkuh pilasters, although in most other preserved columns the capitals have a single continuous outwardly angled line. The wooden capitals were generally made separately and tenoned onto the shaft with a deep mortise.[10] The joint that resulted from this procedure was concealed in the bands of ornament, which in the plaster columns corresponds to the braided moulding. The combination of a bulging torus-like moulding and a row of scalloped commas is seen on many of the columns from Khiva. Finally, the pattern of interlocking ogival arcades on the plaster column capital closely matches the one carved on the wooden column capital from Kurut, of which M. E. Masson produced a wonderfully detailed rendering.[11] This persuasive and elegant solution might have been a common one, but all other examples are lost.

It is not just in motifs, but also in proportions that the plaster colonette resembles its wooden models in the Ulu Cami of Khiva. Essentially, the plaster models are a one-half scale version of a typical wooden column, deviating only due to the curved shape of the small plaster capital, which follows the Chorkuh profile, while the Khiva example, like all other existing wooden examples, is tapered at one consistent angle. Comparing proportions reveals that the artist of the plaster colonette did not attenuate the column to accord with its reduced height, as might have been expected. This direct transcription is undoubtedly what makes the half-scale version appear stout relative to its model.[12] It is also a characteristic that distinguishes it from almost all Seljuk examples, and even Armenian and Byzantine ones, which are

[10] On May 28, 2008, I witnessed the removal of one of the four inscribed columns in the Khiva Ulu Cami. In the course of the operation, the capital became detached. Despite severe damage by termites, it was clear that it had been made as a separate part. This technical detail corresponds to the construction of the columns in the Afyon Ulu Cami, as seen in the Afyon museum.

[11] This image has been frequently reproduced. The most accessible source is Burkhard Brentjes, "Zu Einigen samanidischen und nachsamanidischen Holzbildwerken des Seravschantales im Western Tadshikistans." *Central Asiatic Journal* 15 (1972): 295-297.

[12] It should also be noted that a few of the older columns in the Khiva Ulu Cami have immense girths for their height. I did not measure these standing columns, but they are easily twice the diameter of the inscribed columns, and being the same height, have proportions far exceeding the plaster colonettes.

always made thinner when they are miniaturized. On the other hand, direct scaling was made at least somewhat aesthetically viable by the fact that the original wooden columns were generally rather short. While damage to their wooden bases over time (and by Russian archaeologists) makes generalization hazardous, no early example of a wooden column seems to have ever exceeded a modest four metres.

There is one last, even more direct comparison to be made. The Behrody Museum in Dushanbe has a complete and remarkably well preserved wooden mihrap that came from the mosque at Iskodar, which is a village in the Upper Zerafshan river valley about eighty kilometres due east of Pendjikent. Carved entirely of birch wood, the mihrap has been dated to about 1010 AD, the same date as the wooden columns in Khiva.[13] The composition of the wooden mihrap has many basic similarities with the one in Ankara, including corner colonettes framing the niche. As might be expected, these are miniature wooden columns, carved in full detail. The spheres here sit on a double pyramidal base, and the clasps and spheres are formally similar, but have been rendered with a dramatic vegetal pattern. The shaft has been ornamented with two equal fields of cables forming interlocking swastikas, the lower one square and the upper angled at 45 degrees. The wooden colonette has a bulging collar of chevrons and the same sort of ring of comma shaped motifs as the base of the plaster capital. The capital has a simple ogival lattice pattern with downward facing trefoils, but where the plaster mihrap has the plain entablature, the wooden mihrap has a full rendering of the classical Sogdian type of intersecting abaci, with sculptural terminals facing both out from the mihrap and in to the niche.[14] The overall size of the wooden mihrap is 327 x 180 centimetres, compared to 365 by 650 centimetres for the plaster and tile one. The colonettes are only 85 centimetres tall, including their double bases, and in this case the artist has reduced the diameter of the column model more proportionally to the miniature size of the colonette.

The evidence presented here makes it possible to say definitively that the artist who designed and made the Ahi Şerefettin Cami mihrap was from Kwarazmia, not from Persia, as Otto-Dorn hypothesized on the basis of the plaster technique. It

[13] Again, on the basis of its epigraphic style. See Blair, *Monumental Inscriptions,*78-79.

[14] As seen, for example, on the column from Oburdan, a console from Sangiston also in the Behrody museum, and the eight well preserved consoles in the Hazrati Bobo monument.

would, however, be folly to conclude on the basis of individual details that the carver was from Kurut or Iskodar, which are small and remote villages, or Chorkuh, where only one partial building remains. The combination of features on the plaster colonette and the limited range of preserved wooden material do not permit a closer localization of the origins of the artist. All that can be said is that the carver was intimately familiar with the Islamic continuation of the classical Sogdian tradition of wooden architecture that is characteristic of the upper and lower Zerafshan river valley.[15]

This positive identification further confirms the widely accepted thesis of the flight of central Asian craftsmen from the Mongols after 1220. In particular, the corner colonettes suggest the particular circumstances of the integration of the Kwarazmian rump into the Seljuk state in the decades following their displacement by the Mongols. This monument adds significant formal confirmation to the known political history. This case confirms that the cultural skills brought by new immigrants continued to be productive throughout the thirteenth century. Indeed, until the conversion of Ghazan and the Mongol's adoption of monumental Islamic architecture by the end of the thirteenth century, there would have been few places where a sophisticated craftsman could be assured of a good reception. Thomas Allsen has increased awareness of the Mongol's employment of craftsmen, but he has failed to consider the fate of those many craftsmen whose particular skills were tied to classical Islamic forms. The skill of textile workers could be readily adapted to Mongol interests, but what became of specialists like carvers of mimbers?

The plaster artisan's facility in designing for wooden construction raises many questions about the organization of trades and the process of design. If the skill to carve a perfect Kwarazmian column in plaster was present at the Ahi Şerefettin Cami, and the mosque itself was built with wooden columns, why then was there no

[15] The potential of using this identification to periodize undated features of central Asian wooden architecture should not be underestimated. The distinctive and anomalous features of the mihrap might also be cautiously inferred backwards from this case as evidence in the reconstruction of Central Asian mihraps, very few of which survived the devastating thirteenth century. The similarity of the Ahi Şereffetin's mihrap's central rosette composition to that of the wooden mihrap from Iskodar would be the obvious starting point in this project, but it is a task for other more knowledgeable historians.

attempt to carve an actual wooden column on the classical model? Was it simply that Anatolia lacked a sufficient pool of skilled labour for such an ambitious undertaking? The high level of woodworking skill applied to doors, windows and mimbers could be interpreted to argue that this was not the case. At least in the case of mimbers, production appears to have been organized as an independent trade with its own special forms, materials, and practices that were related to, but independent of the work of constructing the actual fabric of buildings.[16] Perhaps, given more time and different circumstances, the skills evident in these limited wooden parts of buildings might eventually have been applied to the building fabric, but as it was, the episode of wooden building was too short – it flourished for just over forty years – to allow such a development. In the end, the reason why some methods became established and others did not involves questions of the intersection of economics, labour and culture, or as I have said elsewhere, culturally (not economically) determined modes of production.[17] The same questions about the failure for wood carving to develop could also be posed about why it was that ceramic revetment translated to Anatolia so well, but plasterwork did not develop there to anything like the level that it did in Ilkhanid Iran.

In any case, the matter begs a more general cultural question about the transmission of cultural traditions. Why was there only a partial reception of the Kwarazmian woodcraft tradition, specifically, one that neglected its supreme achievement, the Sogdian model of wooden column? The prestige attached to the Sogdian model may not have been sufficiently persuasive in a new context, where it did not function as a reminder of the preceding cultural order, and thus of the victory of Islam. In fact, the use of classical spolia and even the imposing scale of the columns of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami argue that the builders were intent on evoking their own imagined classical antecedents, which in the case of Ankara, were

[16] Michael Rogers says, "Little though we yet know of the guilds and their organization in Seljuk Anatolia, practice everywhere in Islam regards carpentry and building as jobs for separate craftsmen." Rogers' statement is important but also somewhat ambiguous. The context reveals that he means by 'carpentry' the carved wooden elements of buildings, such as doors, and especially furnishings like mimbers. See "Wakf and Patronage" 101. Note that Rogers' statement is not true of Central Asia, where the intensely carved wooden columns blur the line between 'carpentry' and building.

[17] Thomas Allsen refers to this selection process as 'filtering.' See *Commodity and Exchange*, 101.

predominantly Roman. If the Sogdian audience hall had any resonance in this new context, it was likely through the plan type and mode of construction rather than though its more literate details, which were not guaranteed to be universally recognizable and/or relevant to a new, mixed community. In this context, the miniature columns can be interpreted as signs of the loss involved in displacement, markers of regret for the inevitable diminution involved in adapting central Asian types to new conditions of cultural production and reception, where their status was perforce that of one element in an eclectic new assembly.

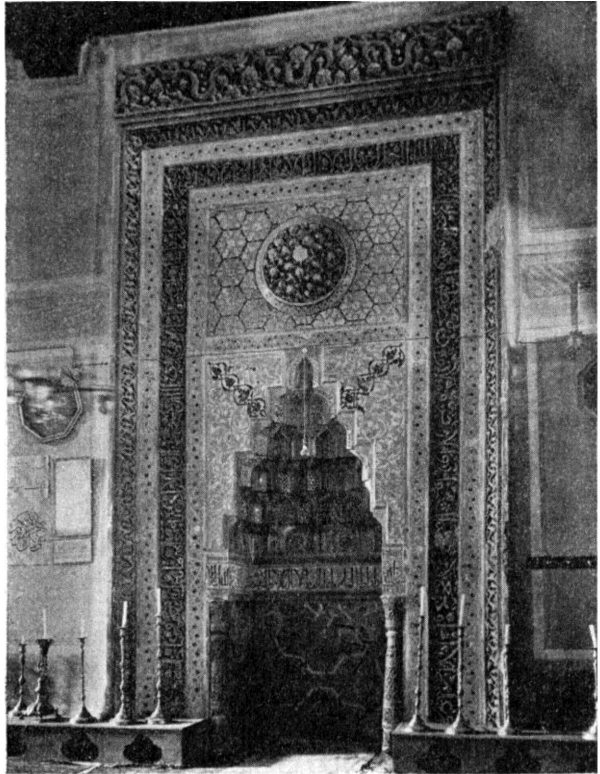

Fig. 49. The plaster and tile mihrap of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami.

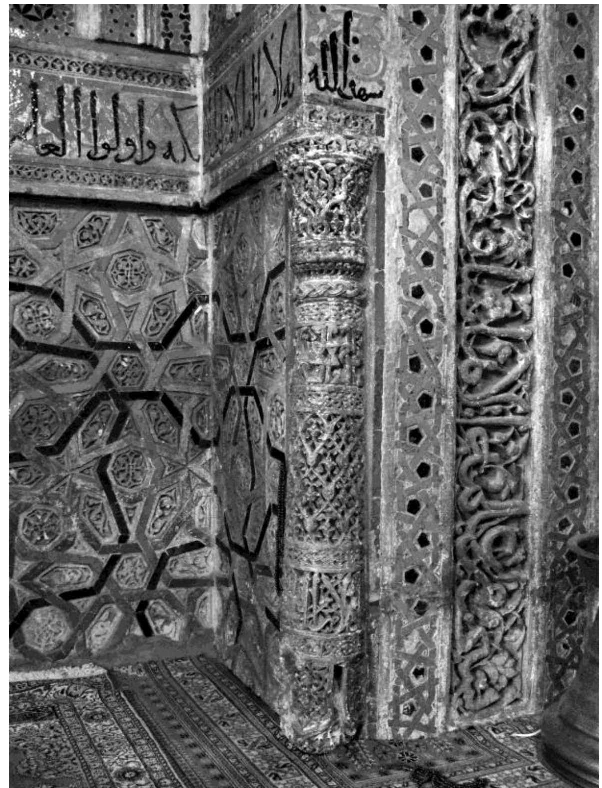

Fig.50. Corner colonette of the mihrap, Ahi Şerefettin Cami.

Fig. 51 Comparison of the corner colonettes of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami Mihrap with selected details of wooden columns from Tadjikistan.

Left Top: Capital of the column from Kurut, after Masson.
Right Top: Capital of the colonette of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami, Ankrara
Left Bottom: Base of the colonette of the Iskodar Mihrap, Behrody Museum
Rigth, Bottom: Base of the colonette of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami, Ankara

CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

06-10	**Middle East Technical University**, Ankara, Turkey Ph.D. Candidate in Architectural History
93-91	**McGill University School of Architecture**, Montréal, QC Master of Architectural History
88-81	**University of Waterloo School of Architecture**, Waterloo, ON Bachelor of Architecture

TEACHING

Adjunct Assistant Professor, Dalhousie University, Halifax

04/09-12	**Arch 6109 Introduction to Islamic Spatial Culture** An elective course on the development of Islamic architecture
03/09-12	**Arch 5001 Design Studio** Study of the Istanbul Biennial with a studio project to convert a failed development into a National Museum of Contemporary Art **Arch 5101 History of Turkish Architecture** Study of Ottoman buildings in Iznik, Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul

Adjunct Assistant Professor, University of Toronto Faculty of Architecture, Landscape and Design

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PUBLIC LECTURES

07/04/21	**Cuneiform Flower Pattern in Turkish Carpets**, ICOC, Istanbul
07/06/02	**Dialogue with Runa islam**, Urban Fields Series, Prefix ICA
01/10/11	**Mies and Exposition**, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal
01/06/13	**Filarete's 'Journey to the East'**, ACSA Conference, Istanbul
99/10/16	**Mies and the Mural**, Cranbrook Academy of Art and Design

PUBLICATIONS AND EDITING

08/10	**Milk and Melancholy**, Prefix and MIT Presses A book-length essay on milk-splash images in photo-conceptual art, 1965-1985. Hardcover, 63 colour illustrations, 206 pages.
07/10	**Agnes Etherington Gallery**, Kingston, ON Lyla Rye: Frank Lloyd Wright's Mother
05/03	**Prefix Photo 11**, Gateshead Revisted (essay on Runa Islam)
04/11	**Azure vol. 21 no. 159,** The Shape of Things to Come
04/05	**York University Gallery** Peter Bowyer: Anachromy as Allegory

CURATION

05/03/28	**Runa Islam Scale: 1/16"=1"-0",** Prefix ICArt, Toronto Curatorial Essay published in Prefix Photo Journal, March 2005
02/04/08-06/08	**Cement, Concrete**, The Eric Arthur Gallery, University of Toronto Curator of a two-person show of Peter MacCallum and Mark West
00/08/12-11/16	**Rec Room**, Pekao Gallery, Toronto Curator of a group show of artists from CANADA Gallery
97/03/28-04/19	**Man-Size** and **Headquarters**, 469 King St. W., Toronto, Ontario Organizer of a group show of architects and sculptors
96/04/4-30	**1:1 Recent Halifax Sculpture,** S.L. Simpson Gallery, Toronto Work of Phil Grauer, Lucy Pullen and Thierry Delva

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

08/12-09/4	**Northern Ontario School of Architecture Steering Committee**, Sudbury, Ontario. Author of curriculum for an architecture school proposed for Laurentian University
01/01-97/05	**City of Toronto Public Art Commission**, Toronto, Ontario Member of Toronto's public art commission