

**The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami:
Social History and Interaction at the Great Mosque**

by

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ABSTRACT

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The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami provides an important architectural focal point for exploring intercultural and inter and intra religious interaction. The Ulu Cami, the Great Mosque of the city of Diyarbakir in eastern Turkey, has functioned as a place of worship and a centre of civic and community activities since its initial phase of construction in 1091-92, under Sultan Malik Shah of the Great Seljuks. By adopting regional architectural materials and craftspeople, and through the inclusion of pre-Islamic, classicizing spolia, the mosque complex has maintained a connection to the local vernacular. The ethnically, linguistically and religiously diverse population of Diyarbakir has influenced the form and development of the architecture through additions such as a distinct prayer area for Kurdish Shafi'i Muslims. Over the centuries, mosque patrons, including political and religious leaders, made efforts to incorporate architectural symbolism, revealing strength and piety by referencing such edifices as the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“Black are the dogs and black the walls and black the hearts of black Amid,” says the proverb. Since the days when Ammianus Marcellinus took part in the desperate resistance to Sapor, and watched from the towers of Amida the Persian hosts “collected for the conflagration of the Roman world,” the din of battle has never been far from Diyârbekr.

-Gertrude Lowthian Bell, writing of her journey to Diyarbakir, the ancient Amid or Amida, in 1909¹

The history of interaction between people of different religious, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds is often framed in two specific ways: the interaction is either one of conflict, oppression and appropriation, or it is one of the exchange of goods, ideas and traditions across geographical distance. In this conventional pattern of intercultural interaction, one culture, society or religion adopts the material culture and/or practices of another culture, society or religion.² This point of appropriation is the juncture at which the methodology ceases to operate and apply: the exchange or interaction is completed, with a quantifiable end product such as the introduction of new vocabulary, a ceramic technique, a building type, or a philosophical school.

But what happens when the interchange takes place in a situation where the interacting groups share the same urban space for an extended period? How can the material ‘end product’ be studied when it continues to change and evolve, and serves not only the perceived ‘recipient’ of the intercultural interaction, but the ‘supplier’ as well?

In eastern Anatolia, on the banks of the Tigris River, the ancient city of Amida, now known as Diyarbakir, has stood in the midst of fertile plains for several thousand years. A high, thick defensive wall surrounds the old section of the city, evidence of

Diyarbakir's role as an outpost and the continual need for protection from the cycle of invasions that plagued it. The Arabs arrived in 638-39, bringing the faith of Islam to the region. In 1091-92, while the city was under the leadership of the Sunni Muslim empire of the Great Seljuks of Persia, a congregational mosque was constructed, almost at the centre of the city, from the local black volcanic basalt stone. Sultan Malik Shah (1072-1092) was the patron of this early phase of the Great Mosque, the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

This mosque, a place of prayer, study, public announcements, trade, civic activity and interaction between different communities within Diyarbakir, is the subject of this thesis. More specifically, my project is an attempt to examine of the role of the mosque within an urban environment of mixed ethnic, linguistic and religious practice: intercultural and inter and intra religious interaction at the site of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

My approach to the study of this building comes from my interest in the role of architecture in religion and society, and the ways in which interactions in a community are aided and hindered through the buildings people use in their daily lives. I am intrigued by the manner in which the heterogeneous nature of the population of Diyarbakir and the Diyarbakir province is manifested in the structural and aesthetic decisions made for the Great Mosque and its subsequent alterations, restorations and additions. I have sought to use this work of architecture as the focal point of my project for several reasons, the foremost being that the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami is both a *manifestation* and a *cause* of this interaction. Turkey has numerous examples of architecture that has stood in the midst of religious and political flux. The Byzantine churches of cities such as İstanbul, historic Constantinople, were enthusiastically

converted into mosques following the Ottoman conquest in 1453. The churches, in their converted state, reveal appropriation and therefore manifest interaction, but they do not cause continued interaction between Ottoman Muslims and Byzantine Christians when the shift from church to mosque is complete. In contrast, a small piece of historic text adheres to the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami that suggests shared use of prayer space in Diyarbakir between Muslims and Christians. The historian Waqidi (d. 823) wrote that the Arab forces shared Diyarbakir's cathedral with the Christians following the seventh-century conquest. He asserts that two-thirds of the building were used to make a mosque, while the other third was reserved for Christian use. Although the meaning of this passage and its application to the Ulu Cami is not as straightforward as it might initially appear,³ it was a large part of what inspired my attraction to the Ulu Cami as the topic of extended research.

The complex of buildings that make up the Ulu Cami of Diyarbakir incorporates two prayer halls, an arcaded courtyard, ablutions facilities, a *medrese* or school for *Qur'anic* and theological lessons, and multi-purpose areas used for study, contemplation and a library, among other things. These structures, their decoration and the inscriptions upon their walls reveal some of the attitudes towards religion and the practice of religious traditions in the city, responses to the pre-Muslim history of the city and mosque site, the engagement of various linguistic and cultural groups within Diyarbakir, and a community narrative that references other important Muslim architectural works.

To understand the Ulu Cami in this context of interaction, I have used several methodological approaches. Chapter Two, 'Description of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami', focuses on the formal aspects of the architecture through a description of the physical

structure of the mosque. This includes aesthetic and historic details, epigraphic materials, and the nature of the floor plan. Chapter Three, 'The Urban Environment of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami', is a discussion of the mosque within the urban fabric. Beginning with a brief tour of the city, this section moves on to a summary history of Diyarbakir dating to the time of the Arab conquest in 638-39. This establishes the place of the Ulu Cami within the city for an examination and critique of the "Islamic Cities" methodology employed in many sociological, archaeological, and spatial studies of the Islamic world. Chapter Four, 'Intercultural Interaction at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami', lays out some of the data on the diversity within the Diyarbakir community since the construction of the Ulu Cami. These demographics, juxtaposed with the material evidence of the Ulu Cami, suggest a societal situation where the Sunni Muslims lived amongst a silent group of Shi'i practitioners, a strong Christian population, and a Jewish minority. Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian and other languages were commonly used. Within the Muslim populace, the four schools of Sunni law established ways of coexisting, making their mark on the architectural arrangement of the Ulu Cami in the process. Chapter Five, 'Understanding the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami Through Sacred Sites and Community Memory', looks at community narrative and perceptions about architecture by comparing the Ulu Cami in Diyarbakir to other buildings and by exploring the role of Christian spolia and a pre-Muslim sacred site in the symbolism of the mosque. All of these elements —structural, historic, geographic, demographic, political, symbolic and mythological— are essential to the understanding of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

The resources for researching the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir are somewhat restricted. The building is, in the words of Oleg Grabar and other scholars of Islamic

architecture, “well known.”⁴ What this means, however, is that the Ulu Cami is known *of*, not that the details of its history, construction and decoration are understood and documented. Much of the literature treats the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami in a summary or even superficial fashion. The dating of the various sections is questionable and there are many questions but few satisfactory answers about all aspects of the mosque’s construction and history. The authors of survey texts appear to take from each other, perpetuating dating errors and misinformation about the structure.⁵

The key secondary sources in European languages approach the Ulu Cami in greater depth. *Amida*⁶ includes a brief history and epigraphic study by Swiss scholar Max Van Berchem, comparisons between the architecture of Diyarbakir and Egypt by Joseph Stryzowski, and an essay on the Tur Abdin region (located southwest of Diyarbakir and rich with monastic ruins) by Gertrude Lowthian Bell. Only Bell actually visited Diyarbakir and the Ulu Cami; Van Berchem and Stryzowski worked from photographs.⁷ Albert Gabriel included an entire chapter on Diyarbakir in the first of a two-volume publication entitled *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*.⁸ Gabriel includes extensive details regarding the defensive city walls. His main discussion of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, in large part a physical description, is a mere ten pages.⁹ This is supplemented by Jean Sauvaget’s transcription of epigraphic material.¹⁰ Sauvaget includes fourteen inscriptions, two *Qur’anic* and twelve others, from the Ulu Cami, as well as four from the Mesudiye Medrese, a school attached to the north end of the Ulu Cami complex. Like Van Berchem’s work, Sauvaget only records part of the inscriptional programme at the Ulu Cami, much of it from damaged areas.¹¹

In 1969, Mahmut Akok published historical information, an epigraphic summary with translation from Arabic into Modern Turkish, and a series of plans and elevations in conjunction with a restoration project at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.¹² Although the drawings are extensive and detailed as a record of the mosque, the historical information and his estimation of use are often lacking.¹³ This is a clear demonstration of the need to combine a strong knowledge of architecture based on aesthetics and technology with accurate historical assessments.

More recently, Terry Allen has included the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami in his work *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture*.¹⁴ The eastern and western façades of the Ulu Cami's courtyard, which are covered in classicizing spolia, are discussed in relation to what Allen considers the revival of classicism in northern Syrian architecture, primarily during the twelfth century. Allen includes some of the work done by Estelle Whelan in a comprehensive PhD dissertation that looks at figural imagery in medieval Mesopotamian coinage by setting it amongst figural imagery from architectural projects such as the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.¹⁵

The primary sources are even scarcer, but provide greater insight into the Ulu Cami and the Diyarbakir community at various periods in history due to their unfiltered historical perspective.

Nasir-i Khusraw was an eleventh-century Persian writer who composed an account of his travels in a book called the *Safarnama*.¹⁶ He visited Diyarbakir in 1046 and wrote of its splendour, its walls, and the Great Mosque. As his visit took place before 1091-92, what is assumed to be the foundation date of the Ulu Cami, it is likely that he wrote of another place of worship. However, his descriptions are valuable for our

understanding of the site on which the Ulu Cami stands and the type of architecture favoured in the region. The Armenian chronicler Matthew of Edessa (1062-1136) lived in the city of Edessa, now known as Urfa. This Christian writer was not interested in espousing the qualities of the Diyarbakir Great Mosque, but he does record a fire at the Ulu Cami that caused great damage in the early twelfth century.¹⁷ Michael the Syrian (1126-1199), another Christian chronicler in the region, presented valuable commentary on the experience of Christians during the era of the Crusader presence. He does not comment on the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami itself, but mentions other architectural examples.¹⁸

Matrakçı Nasuh was the official artist of the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566) during his campaign against the Safavids of Iran in 1534-35. In 1537-38, Matrakçı Nasuh completed the illustrations that comprise the *Bayan-i manazil-i safar-i 'Iraqayn-i Sultan Süleyman Khan*.¹⁹ This series of topographical studies of cities included a folio of Diyarbakir, entitled 'Kara Amid.' This is an invaluable visual reference to the city and to the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami within it.

Evliya Çelebi was an official of the Ottoman court during the seventeenth century. Çelebi was born the son of a jewellery designer for the Ottoman court in 1611. He was well educated in İstanbul, and began his travels in 1640, recording his observations along the way in a ten-volume work called the *Seyahatname*. The sections that pertain to Diyarbakir are the single most important written record of urban life in Diyarbakir and the Ulu Cami for the parameters of this thesis project. Although several scholars have expressed concerns about the accuracy of some of his observations,²⁰ Çelebi has provided an expansive and fascinating record of Ottoman Diyarbakir. In 1988, Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten translated the sections of the *Seyahatname* regarding

Diyarbakir, and published them along with accompanying essays on cultural, linguistic and urban issues in this Ottoman city.²¹

The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami itself is, of course, the most important historical record. The formation, development and plan of the architecture, the design of the space and allusions to other architectural works, and the epigraphic materials inscribed in stone on the walls of the mosque are texts in and of themselves.

Several languages have been used in researching and writing about the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami and its setting in the Jazira, the “island” between the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers. There are a number of places where vocabulary, including architectural terminology and words pertaining to the social and governmental organization of Diyarbakir and the Ulu Cami, has been transliterated. Due to the nature of the field of Islamic architecture and the multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic heritage of Diyarbakir, consistency has been challenging. I have applied the principle of majority use to this issue. Terms that are generally used in the lexicon of Muslim architecture, such as *mihrab* and *qibla*, I have written in widely accepted transliterations. Proper names in Arabic are transliterated based on the system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, but without the use of diacritical marks. The city of Diyarbakir is currently located in the Republic of Turkey. Therefore, terms that pertain to places, such as Hasankeyf, and descriptions of architectural purpose and building types within Turkey, such as *medrese* and *hamam*, have been written in the Modern Turkish form. The exception is the name of the city of Diyarbakir itself. Because of the frequency of use, I have used the common English spelling “Diyarbakir,” using the letter i, rather than the Turkish “Diyarbakır,” which uses

the Turkish letter *ı*. The article in Turkish is created with a suffix. To indicate the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir, one would write “Diyarbakir Ulu Camii”. To avoid confusion over the use of both English and Turkish article forms, I have used “Ulu Cami”. The language of political organisation, particularly during the Ottoman period, including the terms *ocaqlik* and *atabey*, are transliterated in the system used for Ottoman Turkish.²² Turkish pronunciation is phonetic. The letter *c* sounds like “j”, as in jump; *ç* is “ch” as in chair; *ş* is “sh” as in shirt; *i*, as in İstanbul, is a separate letter from *ı*, which is pronounced “uh”; *ğ* is always placed between two vowels, silent itself but extending the vowel sounds.

This project is an exploration of a particular place of worship in a specific geographic and cultural setting. It is also a discussion of how social and religious life is manifested in the design and plan of the Great Mosque, and a look at the interaction of Muslims and Christians at the site over a span of approximately 900 years of the building’s history. Invasions and sieges were almost unceasing, the Christian population was close to fifty per cent throughout the Ottoman period, and the Kurds were a significant presence with religious and cultural expectations that often differed from others in the community. The architectural decoration combines figural sculpture, classical spolia, and regional stone carving and masonry traditions. The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami is a unique structure in a unique urban setting that raises questions about perceptions of human interaction in times of peace and conflict.

¹ The account of this journey was published in *Amurath to Amurath* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited). The first edition was published in 1911, the second in 1924.

² There are many scholars working in this area with thoughtful and interesting results. Rosamond E. Mack published *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600* in 2002 (Berkeley: University of California Press). By focusing on a variety of subjects (painting, textiles, trade and diplomacy), the oversimplified notion of "East-West" Mediterranean and Asian trade is expanded.

³ See Chapter Five for further discussion.

⁴ Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 300.

⁵ For example, Ara Altun states that: "The names of Abu Shuja Muhammed, son of Malikshah; and Hibat Allah al Gurgani, the architect are mentioned alongside a foliated Kufic inscription of Malikshah dated 1091." This confusing summary of the extensive inscription programmes at the Ulu Cami merges the epigraphy from two different inscriptions on two different buildings. Ara Altun, *An Outline of Turkish Architecture In the Middle Ages* (Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications, 1990), p. 174.

⁶ Max Van Berchem, Joseph Stryzowski and Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910).

⁷ Mehmet Mehdi Ilhan, 'Studies in the Medieval History of Diyarbekr Province: Some Notes on the Sources and Literature', *Bellesten*, vol. LIII (1989), p. 217.

⁸ Albert Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), pp. 83-205.

⁹ Albert Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), pp. 184-194.

¹⁰ Jean Sauvaget, 'Inscriptions Arabes', *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), pp. 287-356.

¹¹ Both Van Berchem and Sauvaget translated their transcriptions into French. It is this translated text that I have used here, which I have translated yet again into English. At this time, their work contains the 'best' version of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami's inscriptions, for the stone text has continued to deteriorate and is less legible now than during these studies. There are assertions that terms have been misread or misinterpreted. This statement is made by, among others, Mehmet Mehdi Ilhan, 'Studies in the Medieval History of Diyarbekr Province: Some Notes on the Sources and Literature', *Bellesten*, vol. LIII (1989), p. 218. Ilhan adds (p. 219) that further records of the inscriptions, for example in E. Combe, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet, eds., *Repertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arab* (Cairo: 1930-1964), copy these previously published works.

¹² Mahmut Akok, 'Diyarbakir Ulucami Mimari Manzumesi', *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. VIII (1969), pp. 113-139, with plans.

¹³ I am very grateful to my colleague Csenge Szabo for her generous help in translating Akok's work and applying her knowledge of Ottoman architecture to an evaluation of his text. Akok repeatedly misprints dates and interchanges terminology, for example *harem* and *harim*, in spite of previously expressing a preference. This lends to the confusion of interpreting his writing.

¹⁴ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986).

¹⁵ Estelle Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (N.Y.U. PhD. Dissertation, 1979). The figural sculpture that is part of the programme at the Ulu Cami is discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis.

¹⁶ Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama or Book of Travels*, W.M. Thackston Jr., trans. (New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1986).

¹⁷ Ara Edmond Dostourian, trans., *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham: National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, 1993).

¹⁸ This text was translated into French by J.B. Chabot, ed. *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910).

¹⁹ İstanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi MS 5964

²⁰ See Chapter Five

²¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, transliteration and translation. Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

²² This is as used in the transliteration and translation of the *Seyahatname* and accompanying essays by Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, published as: *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

CHAPTER TWO: DESCRIPTION OF THE DIYARBAKIR ULU CAMI

Like the Great Mosque of Aleppo, the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem the Noble, the al-Azhar Mosque of Cairo and the Great Aya Sofya of Istanbul, this Great Mosque of Diyarbakir is one of those where God grants all requests made in it.

- Evliya Çelebi, writing in his seventeenth-century
Seyahatname¹

The Great Mosque of the city of Diyarbakir, the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, rises from the midst of a black basalt fortification constructed on the banks of the Tigris River. The appearance of the mosque is a product of its own history, of the succession of ruling dynasties in Diyarbakir, and of the local environment. The readily available porous black volcanic stone and the classical and Christian spolia to be found within the city and its environs were combined to create a Great Mosque with ties to the sublime architectural achievements within the Islamic and Christian worlds, but with qualities unique to Diyarbakir.

The nature of the floor plan (Figure 1) clearly demonstrates how sections of construction were added over time, but also how they were designed to integrate harmoniously with the pre-existing structures. The mosque sits to the south of a complex comprised of two prayer halls and an arcaded courtyard. The *qibla* wall forms the southern boundary of the Ulu Cami in a direct line with the direction of prayer towards Mecca. This prayer space measures 72 metres in length, and 16 metres in width, creating a floor plan area of 1152 square metres. Although these measurements are the basis for the oblong arrangement of the other structures of the *sahn*, the courtyard, which measures

70 x 30 metres, the western façade is not perpendicular to the mosque's walls, nor have the other buildings adhered to a rigid set of ninety degree angles. The eastern and western façades of the courtyard are created by arcades, which front narrow buildings used as multi-purpose commercial and study spaces. To the north, an arcade of low stature with a matching set of columns and capitals separates the Mesudiye Medrese, a single-*eyvan* school, from the mosque courtyard. To the north-west sits a Shafi'i prayer hall, which is structurally independent from the Great Mosque hall, yet maintains a physical relationship to the mosque courtyard.

Prayer Hall

The prayer hall of the Diyarbakir Great Mosque (Figure 2) is thought to be the oldest extant great mosque constructed in the region of Anatolia, now included in the Republic of Turkey.² The commemorative inscription of the façade (Figure 3) states:

There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet. As ordained by the magnificent sultan, the most great King of Kings, the lord of the kings of the nations, the conqueror of the Arabs and the Persians, Mu'izz al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, Jalal al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Fath Malik Shah, son of Alp Arslan, may Allah keep him! Has ordered to be made, under the government of the vizier, a lord of great majesty, Sharaf al-Din `Amid al-Dawla, the crown of viziers, Abu Mansur Muhammad, son of Muhammad ibn Jahir, may Allah prolong his days! And this work has been placed by hand by the very distinguished judge Abu Nasr Muhammad, son of `Abd al-Wahid and of his delegate Ahmad son of Muhammad al-Qadisi, in the year 484 (1091-92).³

The Seljukid Sultan Malik Shah (1072-1092) appears to have ordered the construction of this late eleventh-century mosque shortly before his death. Its shape is utilitarian, rectangular in plan and unembellished, yet not without aesthetic

understanding. The building could not have been said to dominate the skyline of the city at the time of its construction, surrounded as it was by churches and the great walls of the enceinte. The visual references to the Umayyad mosque of Damascus are immediately apparent, as are the allusions to the Christian architecture of the Jazira and Syria. Over the centuries, these recognizable, historicizing features have been an aspect of how Diyarbakir residents and visitors form an understanding of the building and the site. However, the building did not simply adhere to the plans of these other structures, as to a pattern, and many unique features were incorporated into the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

The mosque's façade is uncluttered, and the design relies on symmetry and reserved, ashlar masonry (Figure 4). A wealth of detail and unexpected decorative elements are revealed upon closer inspection.

The centralized feature of the mosque design is its transept. This gabled section is not used to frame the main entrance to the building, but, instead, houses an exterior *mihrab* (Figure 5) for the use of worshippers in the *sahn*. This *mihrab* is formed by a lobed arch, *muqarnas* work, and plain, black masonry for the niche. Above the *mihrab*, a small, screened porch (Figure 6) constructed of wood cantilevers out from the interior, where it takes the form of a tiny gallery. This wooden structure is visible in the photographs taken by Max Jaffe for the 1910 publication *Amida*,⁴ without the present screen.

This masonry surrounding the porch structure and the exterior *mihrab* is rough in texture and finish, compared with the other façade masonry, and a pointed arch proportional to those used for the window bays is visible behind the wood. This may

suggest that, at some point, this zone was configured for fenestration or a portal, and was filled in at a later date.

Two tall windows, comprised of a rectangular segment and a slightly pointed lunette, separated by a thick lintel, are paired in the transept area. They are flanked by panels of black and white stone, chequered in a repeating, herring-bone-like pattern, in the upper zone beneath the roof brackets.

The upper transept is set into the roof line of the mosque. A simple gable with three windows caps the second storey, simply fenestrated with three windows on the main façade. More windows are inserted into the eastern and western faces of the transept; five openings are visible as a clerestory from the mosque's interior, but only two full and two half-length windows appear from the exterior as the transept meets the roof's slope.

The exterior of the roof is formed of sheet metal. This material has evidently long been in use.⁵ A system of timber trusses is used to support the roof. These structural elements appear as brackets that protrude beneath the roofline, just above the masonry (Figure 7). As a flammable material in a structure lit with oil lamps, these trusses have been lost and replaced a number of times. The chronicler Matthew of Edessa (1062-1136) records the destructive forces of a fire in 1115-1116, the year 564 of the Armenian era. He writes dramatically, perhaps exaggerating the extent of the damage, explaining that, due to the

increase of evil wickedness and abominable crimes among their people [in Amida/Diyarbakir], fire from heaven suddenly fell upon their chief mosque during the night. This fire was of such intensity and flared up with such dynamism that it voraciously consumed the stone walls as if they were made of wood. All the men of the town tried to put it out, but were unable to handle this unextinguishable fire.⁶

In the original design, the façade covering the naves, the aisle zones to the east and west of the transept, displayed seven bays each (Figure 8). An arcade formation was used for this series of windows and portals. Slightly shorter than the arches of the transept zone, but with the same use of voussoirs over the lunettes, a lintel below, and a rectangular window, the aisle fenestration does not reach to the ground, but is fitted with a base of stone about two blocks in height, or half the width of the lintels. Three portals have been worked into this arrangement, by placing full-length wooden doors instead of glass panes in the eastern-most bay, and the two bays flanking the transept zone. The western-most bay was concealed from the courtyard when the western arcade was added to the Ulu Cami complex during the twelfth century.

The spandrels of the western wing of the mosque's façade are finely cut volcanic basalt. These surfaces, along with the lintels and many of the zones between the window bays, remain without epigraphy. The long course of floriated Kufic Arabic text noting Malik Shah's patronage spans the length of this area. It is set just atop the peaks of the window's arches. The warm patina of the stone used for the inscription band, mellowed to a tea-stained ivory, is in handsome contrast to the dark stone of the architectural surrounds.

The eastern wing is actually not a matched pair to the western section. The inscription band runs atop the windows, balancing the course to the west. The spandrels, however, are not the black basalt, but are, instead, a lighter, porous stone, closer in shade to the inscription course. The surfaces of the spandrels and lintels are not smooth, but incorporate several sets of decorative sculpted work. The central window bay, the fourth

counting from both the east and west, is framed by two niches, set into the upper wall in the spandrels. These niches are crowned with conches in the shape of scalloped shells (Figure 9), with concave carving that seems to cup the sunlight and reflect it back out into the courtyard. The lintel between these niches (Figure 10) is itself carved with a series of motifs, including a set of forms representing shell-crowned niches. Like their spandrel-set counterparts, these niche motifs are in a cream coloured stone, and are set atop colonnettes. The three inner motifs of the lintel set include, from the west, a three-leafed plant design, much like a clover, set within a raised box, a textured boss that may once have held another image, no longer distinguishable, in its centre, and a cube with a geometric key pattern on its surface.

On the southern face (Figure 11), the masonry is rusticated, formed of untrimmed stone, with thick mortar to compensate for the uneven joins formed between the blocks (Figure 12). This organic pattern is interrupted by window grilles, and several sections appear patched, with the uneven outlines of different masonry techniques clearly evident (Figure 13).

Prayer Hall Interior

The interior arrangement of arcades and the substantial piers from which these arches spring (Figure 14) gives a sense of monumentality to the prayer space. The manner in which these architectural elements converge and diverge, depending upon one's position within the building (Figure 15), can lead to a sense of monolithic surroundings when standing next to a line of piers, or an open and lofty space, when in the midst of an aisle. The design is essentially a rectangular volume, pierced and

supported by rows of pointed arches. These arches comprise the aisles, the arcade of twenty, truncated blind arches that extend the aisles vertically, the large window bays of the north façade, the smaller fenestration of the transept clerestory and the south wall, and the three arches that open from the transept to the aisles to the east and west.

Three aisles are created in the naves branching off from the transept. Twenty piers are arranged in two rows of ten, parallel to the *qibla* wall. The arches spring from reinforcements in the eastern and western walls of the mosque, and the four piers used in the transept support both lateral and medial arches, in order to make the transition from the naves. The interior masonry is currently plastered and white-washed in many sections, but the cut stone of the piers and the soffits of the arches are revealed in some places. The neatly trimmed basalt used for the piers is adorned with a bevelled lip, a purely decorative concession.

In the article 'Diyarbakir: A Rival to Iznik,' Julian Raby explores the ceramics industry in Eastern Anatolia, suggesting that, in addition to the famed kilns at Iznik and Kütahya, architectural tiles and other kiln-fired items were produced right in Diyarbakir during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷ There are no longer extant tiles within the great mosque interior. They do not appear in the Ulu Cami description by Çelebi, nor has Raby found any published material on such tiles.⁸ However, he was shown tiles during a visit to Diyarbakir, thought to have been discarded during a refitting and restoration of the mosque some time between 1968 and 1970. Raby notes that the ceramics included fragments, a main tile and a border tile that were produced in a local style.⁹ A number of Ottoman-period structures in the city were embellished with such local ceramics production, and it was only fitting that the largest mosque in Diyarbakir

should receive the latest in decorative trends. This is a common theme in the history of the building, as the numerous additions, reparations and renovation-restorations reveal: although a historicizing precedent was established with the main prayer hall design, a building of such prominence would always be subjected to fluctuating local aesthetics and technology¹⁰ in an attempt to maintain the visual relevance of the building for its community, however inspired or unfortunate those changes might be.

Raby's article also mentions eighteenth-century blue and white Kütahya tiles among the remnants, which he believes indicates the presence of tiles used to repair the mihrab during the eighteenth century.¹¹ Metin Sözen's brief history of the mosque indicates that the mihrab section of the building was rebuilt or repaired under Maktulzâde Vezir Ali Paşa's governorship in 1712.¹²

The current appearance of the *mihrab* incorporates gleaming, white surfaces (Figure 16). Its lower niche is created by three bevelled sides, its conch by *muqarnas* work. A high, rectangular frame, also in white, is also created with a *muqarnas* motif, in a linear rather than semi-domed format. A scalloped arch springs from slender, attached columns with slight, Corinthian capitals, and an inscription band of text in gold is set at the level of the spring on a green background. It is no longer possible to know the nature of the *mihrab* at the time of the Seljukid construction project. It has been replaced and refurbished a number of times over the centuries, and it is possible to conclude that when the Ulu Cami complex had expanded to completely surround the courtyard, all that was left for new patrons to leave their mark on the structure came in the form of refurbishing the *mihrab*.

Evliya Çelebi's comment that the mosque's "mihrab and minbar are in the old style"¹³ is vague; the compilers of his writings on Diyarbakir take this to mean pre-Ottoman wood carving in the case of the *minbar*.¹⁴ Perhaps speculation on its original form is not a fruitful exercise, but it is likely that the black stone of its walls was used, perhaps in tandem with white Mardin stone, as in the secondary *mihrab* to the nave to the east of the transept *mihrab* (Figure 17). The local *mihrab* closest in date to the Ulu Cami *mihrab* is that of the Mesudiye Medrese, built between 1198 and 1223. This niche uses a pair of thick, inset columns with carved bases and capitals, behind which black masonry creates a concave form (Figure 18). The conch is shell-like, and fans upwards towards a lobed arch in alternating black and white voussoirs in *ablaq*, reminiscent of the Great Mosque of Cordoba. Although this *mihrab* dates from 100 years after the Ulu Cami's construction date, it is possible that the Great Mosque inspired the *medrese's mihrab* form. The *mihrab* may, conversely, be understood as part of a wider approach to masonry, consistent in the region.¹⁵

On the interior, the ceiling is fitted with wood panels overlaid with a grid pattern (Figure 19). The ceiling of the sanctuary area has been ornamented with sumptuous Ottoman paintings, dated to 1124 AH/1712,¹⁶ making them contemporary with Ali Pasha's eighteenth-century *mihrab* embellishments. The rich pigments and gold are among few surface decorations employed in the mosque's interior. This acts as a demarcator of space, helping to take the place of the *maqsura* dome often found before the *mihrab* in other Great Mosques. The delicate tracery of the wood overlay is like a thin *mashrabiyya* screen. The arrangement of patterned surfaces within textured borders is reminiscent of textiles and makes an interesting companion to the carpets on the floor.

This ceiling area is bound by text in mother-of-pearl inlay set in ebony.¹⁷ A wide band set with two rows of inscriptions is lined up below ceiling level, on the south wall just above the tops of the *mihrab* and the *minbar* (Figure 20).

The tiny gallery platform of the north transept area is also an exemplary piece of painted woodwork. A simple banister encloses the space, but it is best viewed from beneath, where a geometric overlay creates a pattern of stars that would continue on infinitely, were it not for the boundaries set by the mosque. The undersides of the supporting beams and the borders around the overlay panel are painted with sprays of colourful flowers (Figure 21). Stylized blue and red blooms with yellow details are made to grow in a regimented garden of healthy, green leaves. Three fluted columns with knot-work to re-direct the pattern mid-way support the structure (Figure 22). Like the area before the *mihrab*, the floor is slightly raised beneath the platform.

West Façade

The eastern and western façades of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami's courtyard have intrigued and confused observers of the mosque complex, for they are showcases of spolia and libraries of inscriptions and dates, seemingly incongruous with the sedate design of the façade of the main prayer hall. Arranged as *riwaqs*, arcades open to the courtyard on one side, these façades manage to be permeable, allowing people to move through the spans of the arches, while simultaneously protecting worshippers and students from the noise, light and heat of the exterior world. The aesthetic is pleasing to some, distasteful to others and so classically inspired that even the astute Gertrude Bell, who felt the mosque to be the greatest feature of the city next to its walls, thought that its

courtyard “occupied by gorgeous colonnades, two storeys high to the east, the west, and every inch covered with an incredible wealth of decoration” might “stand on one side of a huge court that must have belonged to a palace (or possibly a church?) of the 5th-6th centuries ... perhaps even late 4th.”¹⁸

The ground level traverses the width of the courtyard with nine arches. The first (Figure 23), the last and the centre arch use a flat break at the top, in a form that is commonly recognized as a “Bursa arch” after the common use of that style of arch in the early Ottoman architecture of that city over two centuries later. The remaining six arches are of the pointed type (Figure 24). In actual fact, it is the decorative moulding that gives the arches their ostensible form. The supporting masonry, built in the twelfth century of the same basalt material used in the other parts of the mosque complex, is here used to create functional, supporting, pointed arches with an average span of 2.4 metres (Figure 25). They are sprung from thick basalt piers, with a slight jog where the technique shifts from ashlar voussoirs to rougher material for the piers. From the rear, this arcade looks fortified, if not cyclopean.

From the courtyard there is a different view altogether. Ten marble columns, reaching the required height through the splicing of shorter columnar fragments, stand in front of the piers. They are mounted just in front of the supporting masonry (Figure 26), pushing their aesthetically pleasing proportions forward as the heavier structural stone recedes into the background. Each column is surmounted by a Corinthian capital, the fecund leaves spilling out from the stone.

An intricate architrave comprised of a reused antique entablature articulates the horizontal division of the façade and acts as a cornice for the first storey (Figure 27). The

stacking of mouldings of varying widths and different motifs achieves a rich, layered effect. The first band is made up of stylized floral designs. A wide course of grape vines, with their distinctive wide, flat leaves, spreads along the wall, but as the architrave makes the transition up towards the fenestration on the second level, a greater number of thinner courses are employed: a bead pattern, egg-and-dart, and an undulating vegetal scroll with small, dangling clumps. The entablature undulates across the middle of the façade, making sharp corners around the abacus blocks sitting above the capitals of the columns. This arrangement further encourages the illusion that these slender columns are bearing the weight of a building, and not just of the decorative elements of the façade.

The architrave is made wider and more site-appropriate through an inscription band on the flat of the wall beneath. This appears to merge with the Corinthian capitals, whose leaves “grow” out into the Arabic script. There has been debate about how these façades and their elaborate decorative schemes reached their present form.¹⁹ If we place our faith in the façades’ epigraphy as an accurate dating mechanism, then two elaborate Kufic inscriptions running across the west façade, a band on the lower storey dated 511 AH /1117-8, and a similar course on the upper storey dated 518 AH/1124-5, indicate that this section was erected by the atabeys²⁰ the Inalids, along with Abu Shuja` Muhammad, son of Malik Shah. The lower inscription refers to the “eastern” rather than the “western” façade, upon which it is placed. This has resulted in speculation about the movement of the inscribed masonry, as well as basic issues of translation.²¹ The arcaded structures of the Ulu Cami courtyard are each labelled as a *maqsura*, a term to be understood here as a divided, demarcated space of multiple purposes:²²

In the name ...the majestic amir, the lord in assistance of Allah, the victorious Fakhr al-Din, Sa'id al-Dawla, defender of the faith, beauty of the community, aid of the empire, the glory of the amirs, Abu Mansur Ilaldi, son of Ibrahim, the sword of the Prince of the Believers -May Allah prolong his existence!- has ordained the building of this [eastern/western] maqsura and the open maqsura, under the reign of the magnificent²³ sultan, the great king of kings, the leader of the nations, who holds the nape of the Arabs and the Persians, Ghiyath al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, the king of Islam and the Muslims, Abu Shuja' Muhammad, son of Malik Shah, associate of the amir of the Believers. And this has been laid here by the hand of a distinguished judge ...In the year 511.²⁴

The inscription of the upper storey reads similarly, with a formulaic sequence of phrases that pay tribute to the patrons, and which highlights their genealogical connection to the Seljukid Sultan Malik Shah. It was executed seven years after the lower programme.

As ordained, the making of this, by the majestic amir, the marshal Fakhr al-Din Sa'id al-Dawla, defender of the faith, the crown of kings, the strength of amirs, Abu Mansur Ilaldi, son of Ibrahim, may Allah strengthen his monarchy, under the reign of the magnificent sultan, the most high king of kings, who holds the nape of the nations, the leader of the Arabs and the Persians, the aid of the servants of the faith, the assistant of the Caliph of Allah, Mughith al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, the king of Islam and Muslims, Abu 'l-Qasim Mahmud, son of Muhammad, son of Malik Shah, the right hand of the amir of the Believers. And this has been laid here by those who have need of the mercy of Allah, 'Abd al-Wahid, son of Muhammad, in the year 518.²⁵

These inscriptions are not simply placed on the façade as an afterthought following the completion of the overall design: they are an integral part of the arrangement of this two-story arcaded project, artfully and proportionately incorporated into the scheme. The second storey inscription programme is mounted above the lintels of the windows, increasing the depth of the cornice as the lower programme widened the architrave.

The open arcade of the ground floor is balanced by the fenestration of the second level. People moving through the dim, semi-enclosed space behind the arches can ascend stairs at the north end of the arcade to rooms in the interior. Nine windows hover over the nine arches. The windows sit in rectangular frames, with a piece of stone cut to fit in the upper corners, with a forty-five degree angle, creating a bevel. Ten columns are mounted on the abacus blocks of the level below, extending the rhythm and the verticality of the design. The capitals of these columns are properly proportioned and may be the Corinthian capitals originally belonging to the shafts. The shafts of these capitals are singular pieces, carved with a lacy net of foliate and geometric patterns, all ten of them different (Figure 28). From north to south, these patterns appear as: 1) linear diamonds emanating from central spirals, 2) tiles of floral medallions interspersed with cruciform patterns, 3) cross-hatched "I"s, creating a basket-weave effect, 4) repeated and overlapping wavy lines, 5) cruciform checks, 6) elongated swastikas interspersed with splayed leaves, 7) fish scales, 8) geometric interlace of small squares and octagons, 9) interconnected keys forming swastikas at their intersections and bossed with flowers, 10) diagonal lines, striping from the upper left to the lower right.²⁶

The cornice band that crowns the façade is nearly a repeat of the architrave composition, beginning with strip moulding, a stylized foliage band, the grape-vine panels, a dentil band, egg-and-dart, vegetal scrolling and so forth until the layers reach the top of the façade. Abacus blocks are mounted atop the columns to facilitate the cantilevered effect of the protruding decorative work along the cornice.

The western *riwaq* currently fronts a building that includes rooms on the second storey and extends west of the Ulu Cami's courtyard. This is a twentieth-century addition

addition to the mosque, as it is clear in photographs from the 1910s²⁷ that the structure was not present at that time, likely burned out and collapsed.

East Façade

The east façade of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami courtyard (Figure 29) is a companion to the western *riwaq*, but it dates from over forty years later and relies less on spolia and more on contemporary masonry. Its decorative additions are less insistent in their presentation, less layered in their organization. An inscription on the lower storey of the east façade dates it to 559 AH/1163-4. Mahmud bin Ilaldi, who had formed an independent state in Diyarbakir, the Nisanids, constructed the eastern arcade. In an unusual example, the architect Hibat Allah Gurgani,²⁸ of Gurgan, a region southeast of the Caspian Sea, signed this project. This signature not only provides historical information about the building, but it may also indicate that the inscription is contemporary with the construction.

As ordained, the making of this to win the favour of Allah, al-Hasan, son of Ahmad ibn Nisan, may Allah have mercy on him who implores Him for mercy, and that under the reign of our leader the amir, the most majestic marshal, the great lord, the servant of Allah, the victorious one, the knowing, the just, Jamal al-Din wa 'l-Dawla, the brilliance of Islam and Muslims, the fortune of the faith, the sun of kings (Shams al-Muluk) and of the sultans ... Mahmud, son of Ilaldi, aid of the amir of the Believers, may Allah give strength to your reign and grant victory to your helpers. And this was here in the year 550. In charge of this work is ... the architect Hibatallah of Gurgan.²⁹

Nine bays are created by arranging grained marble spolia columns with the masonry structure behind. As in the western work, shorter columns of grained marble are

fitted together to create the height needed for the arcade (Figure 30). The spans of the arches have been filled in to create rooms behind the arcade, and the eight pointed arches, four to the north and four to the south, appear now as window bays. A broken arch, the portal to the courtyard, is set in the midst of the arcade. Strip moulding runs around the portal arch while flat voussoirs with an unarticulated keystone are employed in the other arches.

The Corinthian capitals of the ground floor columns do not reach to the architrave, and the carved leaves remain below the epigraphic course, running across the façade in Kufic script. The abacus blocks interrupt the Arabic lines; they are given ornamental surfaces and do not continue the inscription around their angles. A plain course sits above the inscription band before the architrave begins, with vegetal moulding, grape vines, strip moulding and dental work. It is a less organic and more sedate assortment of entablature spolia than on the west.

Some interesting figural sculpture, in the form of bull's heads in high relief, may be found on the eastern façade. The bull's heads are not entirely clear in their forms, but protrude from above the capitals of the columns flanking the eastern portal arch, the rings through their noses and their horns softened by the elements. It appears that these bovine heads emerge from the carved work of the abacus blocks of the lower storey, so it is difficult to determine whether these creatures were added by the Nisanid patrons or taken from the remaining available spolia.³⁰

Ledges formed by the masonry extensions to the columns support the variegated marble shafts used for the second storey columns. This row of ten members of the Corinthian order divides nine window bays. The rectangular fenestration with bevelled

corners is slightly smaller than that seen to the west of the courtyard, but extra height is added by lunette transoms (Figure 31). Unadorned basalt lintels and arches are used, with the exception of the central window, overlooking the portal, which employs a double lintel for lack of a transom.

The height difference between the columns of the upper storey and the roof line is compensated with a pile of alternating black and white stone blocks, maintaining the undulating quality of the design while supporting the overhang of the roof structure. The uppermost block is slightly flared and contains a small amount of detailing, but the east façade bears no cornice, as such. The second storey does not support an inscription band³¹ save for a passage above the centre window, but rather incorporates a plain course of white marble over the windows.

The east *riwaq* is shown in the drawings made by Mehmet Akok³² for the restoration of the building in the late 1960s to be a *Kütüphane*, a library. A sign over the portal from 1909 in Gertrude Bell's photographic records also indicates this use.³³ It is likely that the building behind the façade took on a number of uses, but as the main portal of the Ulu Cami was constructed under the edifice some time before 575AH/ 1179-80, it has long been a more substantial structure than simply a façade.

Minaret

The minaret (Figure 32) was constructed during the mid-twelfth century. Oktay Aslanapa believes that the minaret was built at the same time as the east façade, under the Inalid Mahmud bin Ilaldi, in 550 AH/1155-56.³⁴ Metin Sözen echoes this dating, by placing the minaret under Mahmud bin Ilaldi and the Nisanid vizier Mu'ayyad al-Din

Abu `Ali Nisan.³⁵ Albert Gabriel suggests that the minaret was in keeping with a regional style at that date.³⁶

A Kufic inscription band wraps around the tower. Giving an earlier date of 535 AH/1141, it reads:

In the name of ... Our master, the amir most considerable, the Lord Fakhr al-Din, the glory of Islam, Sa`id al-Dawla, the splendour of the faith, the majesty of the community, the crown of princes, Abu Sa`id Ilaldi, son of Ibrahim, the sword of the Prince of the Believers, ordered to be made two *maqsuras* and the portico that is in front of them; the works were directed by our master the vizier most considerable, incomparable, the grand sadre, Mu`ayyad al-Din, the glory of Islam, the educator of the dynasty, the sincere friend of the empire, the honour of ... the ... of the two Majesties, Abu `Ali al-Hasan, son of Ahmad, son of Nisan (may Allah prolong his life!), in the month of Ramadan 535 (April-May 1141).³⁷

The epigraphic evidence and the assertions of scholars who doubt the accuracy of the inscriptions as historical documents place the original construction between 1141 and 1155-56, the era of the Inalids and the Nisanids.

The minaret is located behind the *qibla*, affixed to the southern wall of the main prayer hall. The masonry base measures 30 metres in height, and with the inclusion of the conical cap perched on the top, its height is 40 metres. This verticality is emphasized even further due to the higher ground on which the minaret was raised, in comparison to the level of the mosque and its courtyard. Although I have mentioned above that the Ulu Cami was not an imposing edifice in the Diyarbakir skyline before the mid twelfth century, it is certain that the erection of the minaret changed the stature of the building as a landmark.

The structure is entered on the western side through a small, exterior door with a

pointed portal (Figure 33). A scant number of lancet windows illuminate the path of the muezzin as he ascends the stairs to the platform, in Turkish *şerife*, for delivering the Call to Prayer. A white, conical cap with a finial rests on the *şerife*. A simple cornice of a row of basalt blocks caps the square minaret. The ashlar masonry is battered, with each level decreasing slightly in volume towards the top, and articulated with moulding that divides it into five sections. The uppermost incorporates four concentric bands of white marble, striped with the basalt. A blind arch is inset into the striped building material on each side, with a small square opening in which the modern PA system is now mounted on each side of the tower. The next level uses another course of white set into the black stone, and is inset with a square containing a carved medallion of white marble on each face. The section below supports a running course of floriated Kufic text in an inscription band mounted just beneath the articulation line. Descending towards the base, the next level is comprised of plain stonework, while the ground level, in addition to containing the door, affixes the minaret to the mosque's *qibla* via its northern face.

This form is familiar in the region's Islamic architecture, as can be seen in the great mosques of Damascus and Aleppo,³⁸ as well as the congregational mosque at Harran. The square design was often used in the bell towers³⁹ of Christian architecture in Syria and the Jazira, causing many observers to assume that this was a re-fitted Christian edifice. Çelebi noted that, "since its minaret is quadrangular, it obviously was the bell-house when [the mosque] was a church of old."⁴⁰ The sixteenth-century miniature painting 'Kara Amid,' by Matrakçı Nasuh,⁴¹ depicts the minaret of the Diyarbakir Great Mosque with a zig-zag *ablaq* base, and with a large chamber on the top, which opens up at the sides through large portals. The minaret structure is capped with a sharply pointed

green spike. In comparison to the other minarets, painted in a characteristically Ottoman fashion with a round base, a *serife* and a pointed cap, the Ulu Cami minaret is strikingly “Christian” in its composition. In later periods in Diyarbakir, the minarets of the İç Kale Cami or Citadel Mosque,⁴² the fifteenth-century Nebi Cami, and the Şeyh Matar Mosque⁴³ followed the use of the square form.

Portals

The mosque may be entered through three portals: one to the east, which faces the main north-south running street or the *Cardo Maximus* of ancient times, one in the southwest corner, and one to the north of the Ulu Cami’s courtyard. These perforations in the fabric of the structure are inconspicuous from the interior of the courtyard, but are effective conduits that allow people to enter the mosque from all directions in the city. The building is negotiated and utilized from all sides, and although the eastern portal is the largest and most ornate entrance into the courtyard, there is little formality in the flow of traffic through this architectural space.

Visitors coming from the public area off the *Cardo* (Figure 34) pass under a low barrel vault that opens cave-like in the lower storey of a gable-roofed building. This low-slung portal is created with basalt voussoirs and ashlar masonry. An inscribed strip runs atop the pinnacle of the arch:

Amongst those who have freely undertaken to do and to pay under the fortune our master the amir, the very majestic marshal Kamal al-Din, the prince of Islam, Jamal al-Dawla, the radiance of the religion, the ornament of the nation, the charge of the armies, crown of amirs, the glory of the highest qualities, Abu 'l-Qasim 'Ali, son of al-Hasan ibn Nisan, the approved of the amir of the Faithful⁴⁴

The text effectively reminds visitors to the mosque of the wealth and power of the Nisanid leaders of Diyarbakir, and the freely-given allegiance granted to them. This inscription is not dated. However, Van Berchem notes that `Ali died in 575 AH/ 1179-80 and that therefore the structure was likely erected slightly before this date.⁴⁵

This mosque portal features some interesting figural sculpture, mounted between the inscription band and the haunch of the arch (Figure 35). This takes the form of a lion perched on the back of a bull, poised to attack the jugular; the mirror image of this pair of combating beasts is carved opposite. The lion faces the viewer head-on, with a somewhat more whimsical than terrifying expression, carved in relief, but its body is depicted in profile, taut with the action of assault. Its tail curls upwards, its claws begin to enter the flesh of the bull, and its powerful flank bursts forth from the stone. A more frantic posture is suggested in the depiction of the bull. His limbs flail in an angular manner as he flees his assailant, his small horns are useless as a defense, and his single eye in a profile head bulges out in fear. Wrinkles of skin collect at his neck, and ribs show through a heaving chest.

Much like the discussion about the rest of this building, the published comments regarding this sculpture make note of its unique quality, but fail to elaborate on its meaning. R.J. Garden, writing for the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* in 1867, observes that, above the entrance archway “are carved figures of lions destroying other animals, but rudely executed.”⁴⁶ The sculptures do appear to have caught the attention of some of the students of the arts of Islam, however, as they break the misinformed perception that figural representations are expressly forbidden by Muslim

law.⁴⁷ Jean-Paul Roux, in an article titled 'Mosquées Anatoliennes A Décor Figuratif Sculpté', feels that these are "en effet un des plus magnifiques morceaux de la sculpture de l'Orient medieval."⁴⁸ Certainly these reliefs are powerful motifs to place at the entrance to the Ulu Cami, so what might these battling creatures mean?⁴⁹ The most obvious suggestion would be a theme of power and the struggle for supremacy. If text and image are working together as part of a contemporary programme, then the beasts were commissioned by the Nisanids during the later part of the twelfth century. At this time, smaller principalities existed autonomously from larger imperial powers, or as vassal states. The Artukids were ruling nearby in Mayyafarikin and would soon control Diyarbakir. The Anatolian Seljuks were on the horizon. The lion only gave the bull a flesh wound before it was thrown to the ground.

The eastern portal was not merely a passage, but a covered space creating what little transition from city to mosque there exists with the Ulu Cami. Today, *Qur'ans*, along with other texts, *tesbih*, the strings of prayer beads, and other assorted items can be found for sale here. The light from the *sahn* streams in under the portal through a Bursa arch set in the centre of the courtyard's eastern arcade, and visitors step through to emerge not on axis with the main prayer hall, but rather with the ablutions fountain in the centre of the courtyard. A sharp left-hand turn is required to enter the main prayer hall, a right turn to head to the Shafi'i prayer hall and the Mesudiye Medrese.

To the west of the northern arcade, a pointed arch of alternating black and white voussoirs, and above the arch black and white masonry courses, joins the separate sections of the north courtyard façade, and demarcates the northern portal (Figure 36). The joins, both to the off-white masonry of the arcade and to the alternating black and

white *ablaq* and inscription composition of the Shafi'i prayer hall, are not cleanly executed, making little attempt to appear harmonious, or contemporary, with the other phases of construction. The interior of the arch is fitted with a narrow column, worked with a spiralling texture and finished in a plain capital. This arch leads to a simple passage leading north from the courtyard, bound by the extremities of the Shafi'i prayer hall on the west and the Mesudiye Medrese on the east, opening onto a small street in the busy mosque precinct.

The portal in the south-western corner of the Ulu Cami's courtyard is less exposed to the bustle of the city. A path paved in basalt blocks slopes down from the south side of the Ulu Cami complex and past the west end of the basilical structure (Figure 37). The back wall of the western arcade of the courtyard abuts the prayer hall, creating a dead-end that appeals to children playing soccer and in need of a place to tend goal. The architects of the mosque have created a rectangular gate in the wall for this portal, between jambs of evenly laid masonry and a wide lintel (Figure 38).

The dark stone of this lintel, almost brown in the bright Anatolian sunlight, is alive with carved images (Figure 39). The central motif is a fluted basin that appears to be spouting water from a fountain at the top. Two birds, their feathers in relief, face the cascading water as vines, heavy with bunches of round, ripe grapes, grow below the bird on the left, above the bird on the right. The flanking images are difficult to make out as they are worn by time and the elements.⁵⁰ The style and subject matter does not bear comparison to the beasts carved over the eastern portal. This makes it logical to assume that the lintel is spolia.⁵¹

This portal is not inscribed. As a secondary entrance, albeit one likely frequented by students using the Zinciriye Medrese directly down the path, it was not given epigraphic detail. However, it must have been put in place during the phase of construction that saw the erection of the western arcade and its accompanying masonry.

Medrese

The Mesudiye Medrese, constructed between 1198 and 1223, is attached to the north arcade. Built for the Artukid Sultan Sokmen II by the architect Ja'far ibn Muhammad of Aleppo, it was intended for all four rites, but has only one large *eyvan* or open area. The school consists of two storeys; the upper level is arcaded with pointed arches, the ground level with variegated arches resting on piers. An inscription band runs between the two storeys. The elaborate stonework of the *mihrab*, discussed above, comes into view immediately upon entering the *medrese*.⁵²

North Arcade

The north arcade (Figure 40) is comprised of ten arches, springing from nine spolia columns, a pier at the western end and a capital embedded in the corner masonry on the eastern end which merges with the eastern arcade. The arches meet in gentle points at the apex, with the exception of the arch second from the east end, which takes a rounded form. On the courtyard side, the arches and their spandrels are trimmed with a continuous moulding, detailed by two parallel ribbons framing a wider string of stone work in their midst. This moulding begins just prior to the spring of the western pier and terminates as the arcade dives into the eastern corner. The masonry of the arches is

faced in a light stone, like that of the nearby city of Mardin, while the structural masonry behind is of darker stone blocks.

The base-less shafts of the supporting columns are thick and taper only slightly towards the top, where they are completed by a plain bevel. The Corinthian capitals (Figure 41), worked with upwards-turning acanthus leaves that circle once at the base and encircle more widely in an upper layer, appear to be matching; if they are not in situ, they are obviously spolia taken from a single building project.⁵³ The platform created by the top of the capitals is much too large for the current arch springs, which they support, including the support created by the pier. The capital of this pier repeats the acanthus motif in a formation that accommodates the square sides. Ashlar stone blocks laid with sharp corners create the current base, which is filled in at the centre with a series of epigraphically inscribed stone.

An open space is created between the northern arcade and the southern wall of the Mesudiye Medrese. The spaces between the arches have been filled with slim iron bars and the floor covered with carpets to create another prayer space within the mosque complex (Figure 42). This arcade is situated behind a large porphyry slab, set in the courtyard (Figure 43). I am told by the custodian of the Shafi`i prayer hall of the Ulu Cami that this is for funerary purposes, but I cannot be certain how long this slab, of ancient origins, has been present in the courtyard, nor whether the use of this space relates to funerary practices.⁵⁴

Shafi`i Prayer Hall

Tucked into the north-western corner of the courtyard (Figure 44, far left), the Shafi`i

Prayer Hall was constructed as a space separate from the main, primarily Hanafi mosque.⁵⁵ An inscription band on the façade indicates that in 935 AH/1528-29, about fourteen years after the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1515, the structure underwent construction. In the formal and flowery style used in Ottoman inscriptions, it reads:

Under the justice of the Great Sultan and honoured king of kings, leader of the king of the Arabs and Persians ... conqueror of the religion of Allah, warrior in the sight of Allah, who holds on high the signs of justice and impartiality, who detests the marks of irreligiosity and injustice ... the sultan, son of the sultan, son of the sultan, the Sultan Süleyman, son of Sultan Selim, son of Sultan Bayazit-Bahadur-Khan, whom Allah has made eternally king and whom He has made to evolve floating in the sea of the Sultanate! He has made prosperous and restored this mosque blessed in the glory of the noble amirs, the Amir Ahmad, son of the Amir Muhammad al-Ruzziqi al-Husayni, Amir of the place of the fort of Ataq⁵⁶ of the province of Diyarbakir, may Allah increase his reward and augment his power in this world and the other! In the year 935 (1528-29)⁵⁷

It may be that this inscribed date indicates the inception of the building, or simply that a pre-existing prayer edifice was restored for the use of Shafi`is in the Ottoman period. In any case, the western end of this façade overlaps the eleventh-century western façade where they meet at the corner join, indicating that the prayer hall antedates the western façade: the masonry protrudes from the lines established by the western façade's columnar rhythm, with the roof brackets extending to the middle of the northernmost column and capital pairing, obscuring part of the carefully arranged spolia materials. The western end of the Shafi`i hall dovetails with the Ulu Cami's western arcade, where a diminutive door with an elaborate frame has been built beneath a set of stairs (Figure 45). The stairs are made of black basalt, over a demi-arch that terminates in the masonry of the western arcade. A lobed arch of black basalt and white marble is draped over a flattened arch, also in *ablaq*, that may be used to access the hall, perhaps at one time

creating a direct path from study space in the western wing, or the nearby Zinciriye Medrese (1198).

The façade of the prayer hall is almost inconspicuous, facing the larger, grander main prayer hall and juxtaposed with the ornamental splendour of the eastern and western courtyard façades. The design has been worked within the constraints of space and pre-existing façade arrangements, resulting in an amalgamation of stone types, and a fenestration style and overall arcade-like rhythm that relates the hall's façade to its surroundings (Figure 46).

The mosques of Diyarbakir are recognized not only for their use of the same black basalt found in the Ulu Cami and the city walls, but for the inclusion of lighter masonry, alternated in the black and white courses used in *ablaq*. The Nebi Cami (The "Prophet's Mosque") (Figure 47), built in the fifteenth century by the Ak Koyunlu, welcomes visitors through its striped narthex a short distance from the Ulu Cami on the *Cardo Maximus*. The Iskender Paşa Cami, built in 1551 by the Ottoman governor of the city, also employs these alternating bands of black and white stone. Although the other features characteristic of Diyarbakir's Ottoman edifices, such as a narthex, a domed interior over a centrally planned structure, and painted decorative work, are not present at the Shafi'i prayer hall of the Ulu Cami, the striped courses above the window bays clearly reflect the aesthetic of the period. In addition, these bands of trimmed stone continue the layered effect of stone spolia work and bands of Arabic inscription, so integral to the eastern and western façades.

The interior of the Shafi'i prayer space adheres to the simple functionality of the main Diyarbakir Ulu Cami prayer hall, predominantly used by the Hanafis. There are two

arcades (Figure 48) of six arches, dividing the longitudinal plan into three aisles. These arches rest on two rows of five columns, ten in total, with simple, Doric-like capitals and no bases. A raised gallery is positioned at the back of the hall, facing a niche carved into the stone of one of the spandrels (see Figure 48). The wooden beams used to support the ceiling are left exposed (Figure 49); the interior surfaces are currently whitewashed, with bead-board wainscoting on the walls between the window bays.

The *mihrab* (Figure 50) is similar to that currently in the main prayer hall, using a lobed arch sprung from slender columns, a conch with *muqarnas* work and a bevelled niche, all in white marble. The *mihrab* is spaced to fall into the arcade pattern set by the fenestration. On the exterior, the niche is articulated as an apse-like formation in black, porous masonry. However, in photo of this façade taken by Gertrude Bell in June of 1909,⁵⁸ the exterior view of the *mihrab* reveals a flat surface of white masonry, detailed in black. This area sits beneath an arch and appears to be flush with the façade.

Şadırvan

A source of running water is essential to a mosque foundation in order that ablutions may be performed for purification before worship. At the site of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, the ablution pool was a fixture in that location long before the current mosque structure was built. The Persian writer Nasir-i Khusraw visited Diyarbakir in 438 AH/late 1046, forty-five years before the date of construction inscribed on the current Ulu Cami. He records in his *Safarnama* or *Book of Travels* that:

In the courtyard of the mosque is placed a large stone atop which is a large, round pool of stone. It is as high as a man, and the circumference is ten ells. From the middle of the pool protrudes a brass waterspout from

which shoots clean water; it is constructed so that the entrance and the drain for the water are not visible. The enormous ablution pool is the most beautiful thing imaginable.⁵⁹

This wondrous pool, perhaps now in a different form but likely taking its water from the same source,⁶⁰ is described in less admiring language by Evliya Çelebi, who records that “[t]he outer courtyard, too, is paved with pure white marble. Exactly in its centre is a basin for ablutions, from all of whose faucets worshippers renew their ablutions before they approach the Almighty Lord in prayer.”⁶¹

The current *şadırvan*, the ablutions fountain (Figure 51), was also built in the centre of the courtyard. It is dated to 1849. A steeply pitched roof of eight segments sheathed in sheet metal is designed as a cone, coming to a point at the top and forming a protective brim at the base. Eight marble columns, set into the ground at the points of an octagon, support the roof structure. The holding tank is plumbed with faucets on each of the eight sides, before which are positioned small stone benches to be used during washing. The upper portion of the tank is surrounded by a metal grille.

To the west of the *şadırvan* is the *namazgah* and the *havuz* or pool (Figure 52), constructed in 1266 AH/1887. The *havuz* sits above ground, contained by basalt-block retaining walls. It is also plumbed with faucets on its sides, where, open to the sky, the people of Diyarbakir may take water. The *namazgah* is a covered structure, similar in materials and appearance to the ablutions fountain. In Turkish and Persian settings, the *namazgah* was often used by the military as an open-air place of prayer.⁶² Like the *şadırvan*, this structure, used as a transitional space between interior and exterior activities, is supported by eight columns. Rather than an octagonal arrangement, the

design employs a square plan, with a column at each of the corners and sides. The roof is constructed as a pyramid, with the four sides rising to the summit.

*Waqf*⁶³ was often employed to control the edifices built for holding water for ablutions and refreshment. An inscription comprised of five lines of Ottoman *Naskhi* is to be found on the east façade of the main prayer hall of the mosque. It pertains to the service of supplying sorbet,⁶⁴ a public act that manifested itself in Ottoman architecture through the creation of beautiful *sabils*, seen in many forms throughout the streets of the imperial city of İstanbul. The construction of “the fountain that needs placing in this mosque,” a *sabil* for the distribution of these chilled products, is specifically mentioned. Unless an existing structure in the mosque complex was utilized for this task, it may be assumed that some sort of Ottoman fountain was built in the Ulu Cami courtyard, but is no longer extant. This detailed document in stone reads:

Constituting *waqf*: the very powerful, very noble lord Ibrahim, son of lord Shams al-Din of Amid: the totality of this shop, situated on the Long Market of the city of Amid, and the sum of twelve thousand pieces of money minted in silver, that is here called *para*, so that the rent of the store and the product of the sum will be used for the purchase of a fund suitable for the *waqf* in favour of the fountain that needs placing in this mosque, in order that there one may drink the waters chilled by ice and snow during the days of the summer, from the first of June to the end of August. And the bursar (of the *waqf*) is to be the Imam of the mosque; and the amount of the price of the ice and snow, therefore of the salary of the bursar and the porter of the water, is fixed in the deed of the foundation. Would that Allah take pity on those who drink of this water of the mosque. And (it is stipulated that) they are not to remove it and that the bursar will be zealous in his service, that he will there be applied with care and that he will not be beneath this task.⁶⁵

The complicated history of patronage and construction at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami has resulted in a fascinating and eclectic building with meaning and dynastic ties to a series of leaders in the city. The Seljuks contributed the main prayer hall in 1091-92. The Inalids erected the western courtyard façade and the minaret in the twelfth century, with the assistance of their Nisanid viziers, who themselves were responsible for the eastern courtyard façade. The Ottomans made additions and restorations, but few major contributions to the structure, save the Shafi'i prayer hall of the sixteenth century. From the floor plan to the smallest sculpted detail, this building is a textual record of religious life, aesthetic expression and political determination in Diyarbakir.

¹ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), section I.9.1., pp. 133 and 135.

² John D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* (Milan: Electa, 1975), p. 110. Hoag suggests here that the ruins of the Great Mosque at Ani may in fact be older, but not enough is known about the history of that site. He does not mention the ruins at Harran, Turkey, which may date to the eighth and twelfth centuries. The debate regarding the history and dating of this first section of the building is complex, and will be addressed in a subsequent section of this work, in connection to the discussion of its potential Christian foundations.

³ My translation, from the French version printed in Max Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 53., and Jean Sauvaget, 'Inscriptions Arabes', *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), p. 327, #82.

⁴ Max Van Berchem, Josef Strzygowski and Gertrude Bell, *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), Plate. VIII.1

⁵ Evliya Çelebi records that all of the Ulu Cami's "architectural elements and all its vaulted domes are covered with lead of fine quality". Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), section I.9.1., p. 135. This, of course, exaggerates the point, as the design does not incorporate domes of any kind, sheathed in sheet lead or otherwise.

⁶ Ara Edmond Dostourian, trans., *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham: National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, 1993), p. 218.

⁷ Julian Raby, 'Diyarbakir: A Rival to Iznik', *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, vol. 27-28 (1977/78), pp. 429-459.

⁸ Julian Raby, 'Diyarbakir: A Rival to Iznik', *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, vol. 27-28 (1977/78), p. 438.

⁹ Julian Raby, 'Diyarbakir: A Rival to Iznik', *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, vol. 27-28 (1977/78), p. 439. He refers to these as being in the "Behram Paşa type, without, however, the usual relief-red colour" seen in other Diyarbakir tiles.

¹⁰ The dynastic leaders of Diyarbakir were generally not native to the area and brought their traditions and expectations of monumental and impressive architecture with them. Many developments took place in Diyarbakir itself, and were incorporated into the Great Mosque; *ablaq* and the use of spolia may be examples of this. In the world of technology, Diyarbakir was a leading centre. Al-Jazari compiled *The Book of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*, the *Kitab fi ma`rifat al-hiyal al-handasiyya*, often referred to as the *Automata*, some time in the last years of the twelfth or the early years of the thirteenth century. At the time, he was located in Diyarbakir, in the service of Nasir al-Din, the Artukid leader. This manuscript, created for the Artukid court, survives in fifteen copies. Al-Jazari recorded, in text and detailed diagrams, the inventions he created for the Artukids, including water clocks, bolts, a combination lock, cast brass doors, a protractor, and amusing automata. These inventions would have been complex and elaborate technological works. For discussion on al-Jazari's paintings, see Rachel Ward, 'Evidence for a School of Painting at the Artukid Court', *The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1250*, Julian Raby, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 69-85. For a look at the technology of his works, particularly his combination lock, see Francis Maddison, 'Al-Jazari's Combination Lock: Two Contemporary Examples', *The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1250*, Julian Raby, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 141-157.

¹¹ Julian Raby, 'Diyarbakir: A Rival to Iznik', *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, vol. 27-28 (1977/78), p. 439.

¹² Metin Sözen, *Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi* (İstanbul, 1971), p. 30.

¹³ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), section I.9.1., p. 135.

¹⁴ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 135, footnote 73.

¹⁵ The elaborate stone-work of the spandrel and the *ablaq* design, for example, is visible in the Ayyubid-period mosque and *medrese* architecture of Aleppo, Syria.

¹⁶ Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 45.

¹⁷ This reference to specific materials is used in Bernard McDonagh, *Turkey: The Blue Guide* (London: A & C Black, Ltd., 2001), p. 577. I have found no other references to these materials.

¹⁸ Personal correspondence of Gertrude Bell to her mother, June 6, 1909, at: <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/home/index.htm>, visited May 10, 2003.

¹⁹ It is presumed by Strzygowski and Creswell that the spolia comes from the Byzantine Cathedral of the city. This is discussed in greater detail below.

²⁰ "Atabey" translates as "father-chief." The atabeys were the rulers of regional dynasties. The Inalids

governed Diyarbakir from 1097 to 1142 with the help of their viziers, the Nisanids. Eventually, the Nisanids took over as atabeys, governing from 1142 to 1183.

²¹ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), pp. 50-52, has outlined the theories on the curious use of “*maqsurah al-sharqiyah*,” the eastern *maqsura*, instead of the correct “*maqsurah al-gharbiya*,” the western façade, in an extensive footnote. While Van Berchem simply corrected the locative error in his translation, Sauvaget was inclined to think that the inscriptions had been moved from a position opposite the courtyard. Gabriel felt the inscription had been taken from another *maqsura*, while Estelle Whelan, in *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (N.Y.U. PhD. Dissertation, 1979), felt the inscriptions to be in-situ. This is one of the many anomalies at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, perhaps one for which the real explanation will never be known. The issue does not have a great bearing on understanding the building in its physical and historic context for the purposes of his thesis.

²² The *maqsura* was developed as a response to the needs of rulers defending themselves from attack during prayer, taking the form of an enclosed “box or compartment for the ruler near the mihrab.” Robert Hillenbrand, ‘Masjid, Part I: In the Central Islamic Lands’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 661. *Maqasir* were later used for purposes other than protection. The Hanafis performed *salat* and gave lessons in the *maqsura* of an Umayyad mosque, and it appears that this teaching function of *maqasir* in other mosques led to the interchangeability of *zawiya* and *maqsura*; the Al-Aqsa mosque created three teaching *medreses* labelled *maqsuras* for women through dividing the buildings into compartments with ballustrades during the early tenth century (p. 662). It is interesting to note that Terry Allen translates the word as ‘arcade’, a meaning or suggestion that ‘*maqsura*’ does not traditionally have. Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), p. 50. The aspect of the *maqsura* in the demarcation of space for prayer and learning is appropriate in the context of form and function beyond the visible arcades in the Ulu Cami *sahn*.

²³ According to Sauvaget, this reads as “...the *respected* sultan...”

²⁴ This is my combination of the French translation in Van Berchem, ‘Materiaux Pour l’Epigraphie et l’Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr’, *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 56; Jean Sauvaget, ‘Inscriptions Arabes’, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), p. 327 (#83); and the Turkish translation in Mahmut Akok, ‘Diyarbakır Ulucami Mimari Manzumesi’, *Vakıflar Dergisi* vol. VIII (1969), p. 134.

²⁵ My translation from the French in Van Berchem, ‘Materiaux Pour l’Epigraphie et l’Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr’, *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 59.

²⁶ Josef Stryzowski, ‘Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien, Hellas und dem Abendlande’ *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), pp.131-380., goes to great length to demonstrate the Egyptian parallels to this columnar design work, with numerous examples pp.153-163.

²⁷ Those from Gertrude Bell’s collection and those used to illustrate *Amida*.

²⁸ This architect does not appear to have been well known in his time, and there are no other recorded examples of his work, based on a search of available historic and architectural resources. The ‘Red Tomb’, the tomb of Muhammad b. Dja’far al-Sadik, is one of the few extant pieces of the historic architecture of the Gurgan region. R. Hartmann, ‘Gurgan’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* vol. II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), p. 1141.

²⁹ My translation from the French in Van Berchem, ‘Materiaux Pour l’Epigraphie et l’Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr’, *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 61, with clarification from Akok, ‘Diyarbakır Ulucami Mimari Manzumesi’, *Vakıflar Dergisi* vol. VIII (1969), p. 135.

³⁰ These heads are observed by Jean-Paul Roux, 'Mosquées Anatoliennes a Décor Figuratif Sculpté', *Syria Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, vol. LVII (1980), p. 308. He does not comment on whether he believes the sculptures to be Nisanid commissions or spolia. It is very rare to discover figural imagery within religious architecture, mosques and *medreses* included. If the bovine heads were part of the programme of spolia, it is notable that the Muslims who re-used the sculpture would include them, not to mention that they are placed in such a position of prominence, on either side of the main portal, on the courtyard side. If they are contemporary with the arcade construction, then they are exemplary of a unique programme of mosque decoration, perhaps connected with the bulls depicted on the outer side of the eastern portal.

³¹ This is contrary to the notes of Stryzowski, 'Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien, Hellas und dem Abendlande', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), who indicates a "kufique" band above the windows, drawing abb. 254, p. 303. This is not inscription but merely a course of white marble.

³² Mahmut Akok, 'Diyarbakır Ulucami Mimari Manzumesi', *Vakıflar Dergisi* vol. VIII (1969), plan 4.

³³ <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/home/index.htm>, see 'Photograph Album N, Turkey 1909'

³⁴ Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 94. He does not explain his reasons for giving a year that post-dates the inscription. Interestingly, 1155-1160 is the dating span often ascribed to the İç Kale Camii's minaret, which is also quadrangular.

³⁵ Metin Sözen, *Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi* (İstanbul: 1971), p. 30.

³⁶ In a note (footnote 32) in Jonathan Bloom, *Minaret Symbol of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 166., Bloom indicates that, compared to Aslanapa's 1155-56 date, "Gabriel preferred a later date." In actual fact, Gabriel merely suggests that the minaret was at least partially reconstructed in modern times: "Nous verrons plus loin qu'il fut reconstruit, au moins en partie, à l'époque moderne." (p. 187) and that the conical top was incorporated into the structure under the Ottomans (p. 194). Albert Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940).

³⁷ My translation from the French given in Jean Sauvaget, 'Inscriptions Arabes', *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940) p. 328. In Sauvaget's numbering system, the inscription is #85.

³⁸ Jonathan Bloom writes: "Beyond Syria, the square form of the Aleppo tower was copied more or less closely at Diyar Bakr, Mayyafariqin, and Dunaysir." Jonathan Bloom, *Minaret Symbol of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 166.

³⁹ The Stylite towers of the Christians also took this square form. The 14 metre tower in Umm al-Rasas, Jordan, was part of a Byzantine Christian community under the bishopric of Madaba.

⁴⁰ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakır: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.9.1, p. 135. The association of the Ulu Camii with Christian antecedents is discussed in Chapter Five.

⁴¹ Matrakçı Nasuh worked as a court painter for the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman and created a folio depicting Diyarbakır in the late 1530s. See Chapter Five for further discussion.

⁴² The minaret of this mosque is inscribed with a date of 555 AH/1160, but Gabriel believes the square minaret to be a later restoration with a more recent date. Albert Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), p. 195.

⁴³ The minaret of this structure is often referred to as the “Dört Ayaklı Minare”, the Four-footed Minaret, as it stands raised on four columns carved from a single block of stone.

⁴⁴ My translation from the French in Van Berchem, ‘Materiaux Pour l’Epigraphie et l’Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr’, *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 67.

⁴⁵ Van Berchem, ‘Materiaux Pour l’Epigraphie et l’Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr’, *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 67. “Il est probable qu’elle est à peu près contemporaine des precedents.” (p. 67). Jean-Paul Roux situates the date of this entrance between 1163 and 1186. Jean-Paul Roux, ‘Mosquées Anatoliennes A Décor Figuratif Sculpté’, *Syria: Revue d’Art Oriental et d’Archéologie*, vol. LVII (1980), p. 306.

⁴⁶ R.J. Garden, ‘Description of Diarbekr’, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 37 (1867), p. 188.

⁴⁷ Estelle Whelan, in *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (N.Y.U. PhD. Dissertation, 1979), suggests that this use of figural imagery in a religious context was limited to southern Mesopotamia and Anatolia, primarily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (p. 86). She does not uncover such imagery in Seljuk Iran (p. 108), so it does not seem logical to hypothesize that these motifs and the bovine heads of the courtyard were imported from the east. Whelan’s interest in figural imagery is set in the context of her study of Medieval Mesopotamian numismatic iconography, which she situates amongst architectural sculpture and relief.

⁴⁸ Jean-Paul Roux, ‘Mosquées Anatoliennes A Décor Figuratif Sculpté’, *Syria: Revue d’Art Oriental et d’Archéologie*, vol. LVII (1980), p. 306.

⁴⁹ Lions are almost universally understood as symbols of power, strength, and ferocity, and are often employed by royal houses or dynasties as insignia. Usamah Ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), a warrior-gentleman from the Castle of Shayzar on the Orontes river in northern Syria, recorded his hunting exploits in his memoirs. He observed and killed many lions, an animal that once roamed Syria and Anatolia. He said that “The awe which the lion inspires in animals is very much like the awe which the eagle inspires among birds.” Usamah Ibn-Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in The Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh*, Philip K. Hitti, trans. (New York: Columbia University, 1929), p. 138. This is a notable comment, for the eagle also played a great role in the figural imagery of Diyarbakir’s architectural works. The twelfth-century Artukid tower of Yedi Kardeş is graced with the double-headed eagle motif (found throughout Anatolia on Anatolian Seljuk structures) as well as a pair of lions.

⁵⁰ To my eye, these faint carvings resemble tied sheaves of grain, which would be in keeping with the fertility represented by the grapes. Roux suggests that they are two standing persons, arms raised, confronting bird-headed beasts. Jean-Paul Roux, ‘Mosquées Anatoliennes A Décor Figuratif Sculpté’, *Syria: Revue d’Art Oriental et d’Archéologie*, vol. LVII (1980), pp. 307-08, but his suggestion is printed with a “?”.

⁵¹ There is yet another set of figural decorations. In the courtyard, on blocks above the third, fourth and fifth capitals of the western arcade, pairs of indiscernible creatures are carved.

⁵² The *medrese* was not open during my visits and therefore I have no personal experience on which to base my description – I have used photographs and floor plans for this brief entry. I have debated the inclusion of this building in my discussion of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, for, although it is certainly affiliated with the Ulu Cami in structure and use, and I do wish to call attention to its teaching of all four *madhhabs* in this single-*evyan* space, it should also be seen as an independent edifice with its own history and meaning.

⁵³ The dating and history of this arcade is uncertain. It has been suggested by Terry Allen that this arcade remains from an earlier Great Mosque in the courtyard, one mentioned in Nasir-i Khusraw’s *Sajarnama* or

Book of Travels, 438 AH/ late 1046. This issue is discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis, where it ties in to the religious nature of the history of the mosque site.

⁵⁴ This slab was described as a funerary trapping during my June 2002 visit to the site. It is not visible in Gertrude Bell's photographic collection, shot during her visit to Diyarbakir during June of 1909, available for viewing on line at: <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/home/index.htm>

⁵⁵ The Hanafi *madhhab* was the imperial school of the Seljuks and of the Ottomans. The prayer hall of the northwest corner is currently referred to as the Shafi'i Cami. It has been used by the Shafi'i school since at least the seventeenth century, according to Evliya Çelebi's travel accounts. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

⁵⁶ This historical figure played a role in the patronage of this construction/restoration, and was himself a Kurd. His role in the building is discussed further in Chapter Four.

⁵⁷ My translation from the French in Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 117.

⁵⁸ Gertrude Bell's photographic collection is available for viewing at <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/index.html> The photograph mentioned is Image N_093 .

⁵⁹ Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama* or *Book of Travels*, W.M. Thackston Jr., trans. (New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1986), p. 9.

⁶⁰ The Hamrevat Spring is the noted source of this fresh water.

⁶¹ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), section I.9.1., p. 135.

⁶² http://archnet.org/library/dictionary/entry.tcl?entry_id=DIA0487 visited May 20, 2003.

⁶³ A *waqf* is a religious endowment, generally in the form of property that generates financial returns. The contract of *waqf* establishes it in perpetuity; the management may be undertaken by the mosque or foundation that is the recipient of the funds, or by a descendent of the donor.

⁶⁴ Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 119.

⁶⁵ My translation from the French in Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 118. This is not dated. Van Berchem takes it to be from the early period of the Ottomans in Diyarbakir, from the sixteenth century, based on the style of the characters (p. 119).

CHAPTER THREE: THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT OF THE DIYARBAKIR ULU CAMI

I have seen many a city and fortress around the world in the lands of the Arabs, Persians, Hindus, and Turks, but never have I seen the likes of Ahmed [Diyarbakir] on the face of the earth or have I heard anyone else say that he had seen its equal.

- Nasir-i Khusraw, writing in his eleventh century Safarnama¹

If the walled city of Diyarbakir takes the form of a fish, as the turbot-like shape of its fortifications has so often been described,² then the Great Mosque, the Ulu Cami, is its heart, pumping the life force through the urban body. To understand properly the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir, it must be examined not as an isolated architectural work, but as a component of the city, a spiritual and civic vector for the urban environment and the outlying environs. Conversely, the hub that is the Ulu Cami and the site on which it stands requires scrutiny in order to understand the city of Diyarbakir; it was a centre with religious and cultural multiplicity, encompassing both the best and the worst of human interaction over the centuries. A description of the urban environment of Diyarbakir, a brief outline of the city's history with a focus on the period since the Arab conquest, and an exploration of methodologies applied to urban studies in an Islamic context will assist in such an understanding.

The very existence of a Great Mosque, not just in Diyarbakir but in all Muslim communities, is based on the congregational aspect of prayer. Yet the building is nothing but stone and mortar without the community that fills its walls with sound, life and thought; the communal prayer that is the intended reason for a Great Mosque brings the

single closer to the whole, the individual closer to the collective. Thus, creating privacy is not the intent of mosque architecture. In Diyarbakir, the multiple levels of participation at the Ulu Cami involve not only the prayers of those schools of Sunni law favoured by the ruling dynasties, but also a broader range of worshippers. In addition, the building holds a semi-public role in community activities.³ In design and plan, the mosque turns away from the noisy street, offers shelter from searing heat and rain under a covered portico, and encloses visitors in a protective courtyard. In Diyarbakir, the manner in which the architecture of the Ulu Cami is bonded to the urban fabric is organic, not only in the vascular flow of people to and from the building complex, but in the natural development of the mosque and its supporting buildings. The mosque and its associated schools and shops, *hamams* and *hans*, inns used by travellers, merchants, pilgrims, and their livestock, exist as part of the urban plan of Diyarbakir, in response to pre-existing structures and to the evolving needs of the community of the city.

Description of the City of Diyarbakir

Diyarbakir, once known as Amida, or Kara Amid, “Black Amida” for the black stone of its walls and buildings, is located in the northern reaches of Mesopotamia, the *Jazira*, (“island”) the realm between the Tigris and the Euphrates. The city sits on the left bank of the Dicle, the Tigris River, and is the capital of the Diyar Bakr⁴ province. A massive wall of volcanic basalt, 5.5 kilometres in length (Figure 53), wraps around Diyarbakir, appearing to serve as much for the containment of the bursting city as for holding back the onslaught of invaders who attempted to breach the city gates. The wall of Diyarbakir is one of the longest existing walls in the world, greater than the city walls

of İstanbul and second only to the city wall of Jodhpur, India, and the Great Wall of China.⁵ A series of bastions and towers are positioned between the curtain wall, which is 12 metres high and an average of 3 to 5 metres in thickness. The current wall's foundations are Roman; Albert Gabriel's plan (Figure 54) suggests that the first western ramparts were built at the time of Emperor Constantine.⁶ The new western half of the city was inhabited after this expansion, between 367 and 375, and the virtual encyclopaedia of textual inscriptions that cover the wall and its gates and bastions⁷ detail not only almost every dynasty that ruled the city, but also provide testimony that the repair, expansion and upkeep of the walls was a priority at all times.

The *Cardo Maximus* and the *Decumanus*, the main streets of the ancient Roman city plan, remain clearly visible.⁸ They effectively divide the city into four segments, within which the layers of construction from subsequent periods have developed. These main roads terminate at the city wall at the cardinal points of the compass: at the Harput Kapısı, the Kharput Gate, to the north, the Dicle Kapısı, now Yeni Kapısı, to the east, the Mardin Kapısı to the south, and Urfa Kapısı to the west. The Mardin Gate is currently composed of a single entrance. However, its Byzantine form included three portals: a wide central opening to accommodate animals and the carts or carriages they pulled, and a narrower entrance to either side for pedestrians.⁹ This mirrored the tripartite street design of Roman and Byzantine Diyarbakir, also an aspect of Hellenistic cities, where, much like modern urban streets with sidewalks, their main, colonnaded roads had divisions for 'traffic' and pedestrians. The remains of similar street design and triple gateways can be seen in the Damascene Bab Sharqi and Constantinople's Golden Gate.¹⁰

The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami is located almost at the centre of the city, north of the crossing of the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*, in the north-west quadrant. Evliya Çelebi's opening statement in his comments about the building notes that, "precisely in the centre of the town is the ancient place of worship, the lofty mosque, the pride of Diyarbakir, namely the Great Mosque."¹¹ Its position within the city plan has granted it a physical prominence, to go along with its religious, legal and symbolic distinctions. The mosque complex maintains connections to the surrounding area. The 'mosque precinct' merges with the city through a permeable skin consisting of a set of portals that breach the masonry walls of the mosque's courtyard arcade. These entrances to the *sahn*, located on the south-west, the north and the east perimeters of the Ulu Cami complex, allow the people of the city to move freely from any direction into the designated mosque space. Without a forced processional approach, the path to the mosque is an extension of movement between the tightly packed houses and through the narrow lanes and streets, from one walled environment to another. As previously discussed, the Mesudiye and Zinciriye Medreses and *hans* are easily reached from these portals, as are offices, tea houses, and other components of active, socially engaged urban life.

This central location reflects the desire to place the mosque at the core of the city, a pattern seen in many Islamic communities, for example, in the Great Mosques of Damascus and Aleppo; this location also allows the economic hierarchy of *souks* and shops to develop around the mosque site. This is not something unique to Islam, of course, and once again the Hellenistic and Roman arrangement of the city, with the centrally located temple and the accompanying *agora*, is reflected in subsequent periods in both of these Syrian examples, and in Diyarbakir itself.

Under the Artukids, the İç Kale or “Inner Castle” was erected during the twelfth century as a citadel within the city walls on a raised *hüyük* mound created from accumulated debris at the ‘head’ of the turbot, the northeast extremity of the enceinte. A mosque, built in 1160, was placed adjacent to the walls of the İç Kale. The Artukids constructed a palace within this inner keep between 1201 and 1222, under the reign of Malik Nasir al-Din Muhammad.¹² The remains of the architecture, including a beautiful pool decorated with tiles and mosaic in glass and stone, were uncovered during excavations by Oktay Aslanapa in 1961-62.¹³ The Ottoman governors also built a seat of power in Diyarbakir on the citadel site, by that time long associated with power and leadership. This particular arrangement of the Great Mosque at the centre of the city, distinct from a citadel complex containing the palace and another mosque for the use of the palace authorities, is also found in Aleppo during the same time frame.¹⁴

The bazaars of the city have often been rebuilt but remain today, as they have for centuries, grouped by trade. These commercial and craft areas are described in detail during the Ottoman period by Evliya Çelebi, who counts the “shops of 366 trades and crafts.”¹⁵ Political turmoil as well as inevitable accidents have damaged these quarters. Gertrude Bell writes that “half the bazaar was burnt down in 1895 at the time of the massacres,”¹⁶ referring to the riots resulting from growing tensions between Turks, Kurds and the local Christians at the time. As her visit occurred in 1909, the damage was obviously extensive, and repairs slow.

The trade in locally produced goods and services and stuffs brought from the surrounding province and long-distance trade had a great impact on the city plan: merchant *hans* accommodated travelers on the *hajj* and trade routes who wished to lodge

and sell their varied wares. The Hasan Paşa Hanı, located across the street from the Ulu Cami, was built in 1572 and the *han* at the Mardin Gate, Husrev Paşa or Deliler Hanı, dates from 1527. The *hans* and bazaars were concentrated on either side of the main, north-south street, and clustered around the Ulu Cami according to products sold.

Each of the quarters of the city was divided into *mahalles*, “neighbourhoods,” loosely based on religious and ethnic ties, sometimes in relation to a place of worship. The Church of the Mother Mary or Meryemana Kilisesi,¹⁷ dated to the third or sixth century, sits in the southwest quadrant, the Chaldean or Kaldani Kilisesi in the southeast. The churches that once formed a significant part of the city plan are, for the most part, no longer extant, and the city has closed over the wounds left by their decay and destruction.¹⁸ It should be noted that, unlike, for example, İstanbul, the conversion of churches to mosques was not a priority for the Muslim community in Diyarbakir. Purpose-built mosques rather than converted Christian places of worship were the standard in Diyarbakir. The exception to this, of course, is the eventual use of the site of the Cathedral of St. Thomas, Mar Tomas, for the Ulu Cami.¹⁹

Mosques dot the city-scape, dispersed with relative evenness inside the walls. The Ulu Cami appears to have existed with complete primacy as the place of congregational worship for Diyarbakir Muslims for an extended period of time²⁰ –the next dated example is the İç Kale’s mosque of 1160, located next to the inner city walls, adjacent to the citadel.²¹ With the exception of the İç Kale and Ulu Camis, the extant mosque architecture of Diyarbakir is comprised of commissions by the fifteenth century rulers the Ak Koyunlu, and a majority of Ottoman examples.

The narrow streets and lanes that branch off from the *Cardo* and the *Decumanus* decrease from veins to capillaries, becoming accessible only to those on foot and navigable only to those who know the turns and inevitable dead-ends. The stone is hewn from the black rock that is Diyarbakir's trade-mark, rising in high walls that abut the lanes. Beyond the closed doors and gates are the famous houses of Diyarbakir, with magnificent stone-work, fountains and courtyards.²² The movement from home to mosque, from house to market, is from one urban courtyard to another, travelling from the very private to the very public, with transitional lanes and streets between.

All of these architectural features and the urban activities that they facilitate are useful in understanding Diyarbakir's history as a city. It is clear that the practical design that incorporated natural and human-made defenses, transportation routes and religious, economic and civic systems existed long before the arrival of Islam in the seventh century.²³ Yet, centuries of Islamic rule embellished and improved the urban plan to best serve the needs of Muslim dynastic rulers and their communities. In spite of Diyarbakir's multi-ethnic and multi-religious population, it is striking that observers such as the chronicler Matthew of Edessa, from the nearby city of Edessa, now known as Urfa, wrote of Diyarbakir as the "*Muslim town of Amida*"²⁴ in the early twelfth century.

A Brief History of Diyarbakir

Settled, agrarian culture in the Diyarbakir area has been traced through archaeological evidence to as far back as 9000 BCE. A series of societies developed on the site over the millennia, and the Achaemenids and Alexander the Great were among

those to control the city before it became an outpost defending the Roman Empire against Parthian and, later, Sasanian Iran.

Amida was a Byzantine city between 395 and 639 CE,²⁵ on the border of the Christian empire. The Diyarbakir sky-line was formed by many churches, the greatest of which would have been the Diyarbakir Cathedral, dedicated to St. Thomas, constructed under Emperor Heraclius in 629.²⁶ In spite of the protective enceinte, power intermittently fell to the persistent Persian forces, but the Byzantines ultimately maintained their military and religious authority until Muslim Arabs invaded the city in 638-39. The siege forces of 'Iyad bin Ghanm's Jaziran campaign met no resistance at Amida.²⁷ This seventh-century date marks the introduction of Islam to Anatolia.

The Diyar Bakr territory was ruled by the four "Rightly Guided" Caliphs until 661, when it fell under Umayyad control, then to the Abbasids in 750. Dionysius of Tell Mahre records that Diyarbakir Cathedral was restored during this period, in the year 770.²⁸ A semi-independent government was established by 'Isa ibn al-Shaykh al-Shaybani in 869, with connections to neighbouring Armenia.²⁹ The family governed until 899, when Diyarbakir's chief revolted against Caliph al-Mu'tadid. Chief Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Isa ibn Shaykh summarily surrendered to the Caliph, and the city of Diyarbakir was forced to demolish sections of the wall to prevent a similar uprising.³⁰ The Mardin Kapı, the Mardin Gate of the city walls, contains an inscription from 297AH/909-10 marking the orders by Caliph al-Muqtadir to reconstruct the damaged sections for defensive purposes.³¹

The Hamdanids, a Shi'i dynasty, rose under the Abbasids in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, quelled Kurdish and Armenian uprisings, and made incursions into

Syria and Egypt. Sayf al-Dawla, the Amir of Aleppo, extended his control up into the Diyar Bakr province and Armenia, and the Hamdanids established a government in the city of Diyarbakir between 899 and 980. During that time, branches of the Hamdanid family in Mosul and Syria battled for power and sought the assistance of the Fatimids of Damascus and Egypt. Abu Taghlib, who had seized the Diyar Bakr territory, was attacked by rebel groups, by the Buyids, and by the Byzantines; in 974, he was forced to pay tribute to the Byzantine Empire, although he later established a pact with the Byzantine rebel Skleros.³² Although these conflicts did not occur within the walls of Diyarbakir city, tribal conflicts and the Byzantine wars swirled in the region, shaping city life. The Byzantines launched a series of attacks during this period: in 942, 950, 958 and 959 and again in 972, 973 and 974 the Byzantine Empire tried, unsuccessfully, to regain this increasingly significant city and important frontier outpost.

The Hamdanids were ousted, and Diyarbakir was governed by the victorious Buyids for a brief interim, from 980 to 984, until the rise of the Marwanids. The Marwanid dynasty was built by the Kurdish family of Badh, but named for his brother-in-law Marwan. They rose to power as vassals of the Fatimids,³³ and ruled Mayyafarikin (now Silvan), and Amida (now Diyarbakir), from 984 to 1085. The family dynasty was officially recognized by the Byzantines, with whom they maintained good relations, and who sent well-wishing envoys to the early eleventh-century ruler Nasr al-Dawla.³⁴ The Marwanids governed during a prosperous time, and the Tigris Bridge, along with several points on the city walls, were repaired and embellished with inscriptions. Eight inscriptions survive from the Marwanid period in Diyarbakir.³⁵ Considering the great length of time that has passed and the succession of dynasties that have tended the

Diyarbakir enceinte, it is likely that these surviving examples represent a great deal of construction activity, no longer extant.

The Great Seljuks of Persia did not press westward into Diyarbakir, but instead allowed the province and its cities to remain as a buffer between themselves and the Byzantines. In 1071, the Seljuks engaged the Byzantine army at the great Battle of Manzikert, and with their victory changed the role of the Seljuks in the region. The Banu Jahir, a tribe originally from Diyarbakir and in the service of the Seljuks at the time, were subsequently able to convince the Great Seljukid sultan Malik Shah and his vizier Nizam al-Mulk of the value of the city of Amida/Diyarbakir and the surrounding province. In 1084, Fakhr al-Dawla ibn Jahir and his son `Amid al-Dawla ibn Jahir campaigned to take the city, along with other Marwanid holdings, with the assistance of a Seljuk army. After a strenuous siege, they added the support of Artuk Bey. In 1085, Diyarbakir was annexed to the Seljuk state, and their direct control was imposed. In 1091-92 the Seljuks built the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, but Malik Shah died the year of its completion. The Seljuk Empire crumbled soon after his passing and the former Seljuk territories passed into the hands of small, regional, Turkoman dynasties. The Inalids, atabeyes so-named by Van Berchem,³⁶ took power in Diyarbakir between 1097 and 1142. They erected the west façade of the Ulu Cami and its minaret. The Inalids fell to the family of their viziers, the Nisanids, who governed from 1142 to 1183. The Nisanids erected the east façade and the main portal to the courtyard of the Ulu Cami. Both dynasties contributed to the city walls, of particular importance during the Crusader period (1095-1291), when both the Franks and warring Muslim principalities were a looming threat.

Governing from 1183 to 1232, the Artukids/Artuqids emerged as leaders and architectural patrons of lasting impact in Diyarbakir. Artuk, an officer in the Great Seljukid army, was under the command of General Tutush, brother of Malik Shah, who led troops into the Jazira after the sultan's death. Salah al-Din (1138-1193), the Kurdish Sultan of the Ayyubid dynasty in Cairo (1171-1193),³⁷ captured Diyarbakir city and gave it as a fief to the Artukid ruling family in 1183.³⁸ The Artukid government used both Mayyafarikin and Diyarbakir as their seats of power. The towers of Yedi Kardeş and Evli Beden, the Mesudiye Medrese, attached to the Ulu Cami, and the nearby Zinciriye Medrese, were commissioned by the Artukids, as well the İç Kale.

The Ayyubid Sultan Malik al-Kamil (r. 1218-1238) launched a campaign against the city, taking it in 1232. His son Malik Salih Ayyub became the leader of Diyarbakir after the Sultan's death. The Ayyubids ruled Diyarbakir directly for only a few short years, as the princes of Aleppo allied themselves with the Seljuks of Anatolia and Ayyubid power to resist attack was compromised. The Anatolian Seljuks or Seljuks of Rum, the strong empire that emerged from splits with the Persian Seljuks as they entered Anatolia, conquered Diyarbakir in 1240-41. When the Mongols swept through the area in 1259 and 1261,³⁹ the city was in the midst of a territory divided politically between the Anatolian Seljuks and Ayyubid supporters. In 1302, the Mardin Artukids began their governorship of the city, which lasted into the late fourteenth century. The Ak Koyunlu,⁴⁰ patrons of Diyarbakir's Nebi Cami, governed in the period 1401-1507. Shah Isma'il founded the Safavi dynasty in Iran in 1501.⁴¹ His troops wrested Diyarbakir from the Ak Koyunlu in 1507, enabling the Shah to appoint his own governors to replace Sunni Kurdish local rulers.⁴²

The Safavi governorship in Diyarbakir was short lived. In 1514, the Ottoman armies marched past Diyarbakir en route to do battle with the Safavi shah, Isma`il I (1501-1524) at Chaldiran, and the city gates were opened, without request or instigation, to the troops; the city declared its allegiance to the Empire, and the Ottomans ruled until the formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The edifices added during the Ottoman period are, of course, the most prevalent, owing to the length of the empire's presence in the city, over 500 years compared to dynasties of forty or fifty years. The expenditures of the Ottoman Sultanate in Diyarbakir also contributed to the great amount of architecture from this period. The Ottomans raised the economic status of the city, and master architect Mimar Sinan built four mosques under their patronage.⁴³ The Shafi`i prayer hall of the Ulu Cami was added in the early years of Ottoman governance. This is of interest, as it is the only identifiable architectural addition made to the Ulu Cami during the Ottoman period.

During Evliya Çelebi's visit to Diyarbakir in 1655, he recorded fifteen Friday mosques,⁴⁴ four great *hans*, thirteen *hamams*, seventy-five *sarays* or palaces, 2008 shops in the stone-vaulted bazaar, and numerous, uncounted guest houses, water kiosks, and schools for the study of *hadith*. He also described dervish lodges, Qur'anic schools, and of course, the city walls.⁴⁵ Although Çelebi took little interest in the non-Muslim architecture he passed during his visit, he does record that, "in the unbeliever's ward", there were "ancient churches and monasteries."⁴⁶ Later, new Christian architecture was added to the streets of Diyarbakir. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Armenian community built new churches, and in 1722, they completely refurbished the Church of Surp Kiragos.⁴⁷

This summary of the ever-changing leadership in Diyarbakir and some of the physical changes made to the composition of the Ulu Cami and the city reveals a number of things. The location of Diyarbakir was of strategic importance and suffered the consequences of being a frontier town. The control of the city fluctuated, its government was often based in some far off location, and chiefs and governors could potentially be rooted in a foreign culture, tradition or linguistic group. Diyarbakir was often a tribute payer or vassal city for the empires under which it fell, seemingly leaving the residents to attend to their day-to-day lives without a great deal of interference. The history of the city government is, through the association of religious tradition with dynastic leadership and architectural commissions, Muslim. This begins with the Arabs in the early seventh century, and includes Persians, Kurds and Turks. Yet the population was diverse, including Christians in the Syrian, Greek and Armenian traditions. Historically, Diyarbakir was particularly welcoming to those in the Monophysite traditions. There was a Jewish community, and, in addition to practitioners of the four schools of Sunni law, there were Shi'i Muslims. Sufi interpretations of Islam were also followed. All of these groups lived, worked and worshipped within the confines of the city's walls, in adapted or specially constructed architectural edifices.

The Battle of Malazgirt/Manzikert in 1071 ended with the surprising and symbolically charged defeat of the Byzantine armies by the advancing Seljuks. It is viewed as the turning point in Anatolia, when the Greek Christian decline was hastened

by a burgeoning Muslim empire from the east. However, the Jazira and Diyarbakir were ruled by Arab forces centuries earlier,⁴⁸ caliphate representatives presented architectural endowments, and successive regional Islamic leading families vied for power and control of the city and its resources. Subsequent dynasties built on the structural heritage left to them. There was no reason, based on political and symbolic grounds, to destroy and rebuild the urban fabric laid by previous rulers, and Diyarbakir, demonstrated here through the example of the city walls and other selected structures, is a patch-work of construction patronage. As a parallel to the phenomenon of the walls, the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir is an example of how truly additive the city's history has been, due to the way in which the multiple layers of the mosque structure reveal how dynasties made their mark on the building. This tendency towards incorporation, namely the ability of the city and its people to incorporate into urban life new ideas and customs, various governmental and legal systems, and changing interpretations of religious practice, has been a key to the physical and social construction of the urban fabric.

The Concept of the "Islamic City" and its Application to Diyarbakir

The concept of the "Islamic City" has been promulgated by scholars of Islamic society for some time. This term suggests an urban environment built on the practices and traditions of adherents to the faith of Islam. The city is defined by its built landscape, inclusive of dwellings, defensive structures, commercial and educational buildings and religious edifices. It is also characterized by the conglomeration of people and various social, commercial and religious activities operating within urban boundaries. The city in the Muslim context is an entity that, through population density, facilitates the communal

prayer performed by Muslims. Yet, all the cities that Muslims inhabit cannot have been created solely for the needs of Islam; in the case of Diyarbakir, the foundational architectural and social infrastructures pre-dated the Arab conquest, and the buildings and services of the city implemented after the seventh-century introduction of Islam were designed to serve the non-Muslim population as well.⁴⁹

Muslim travelers and geographers have long made note of the features of the urban centres they encountered on their journeys. The accounts of two writers, the mid eleventh-century Iranian Nasir-i Khusraw and the seventeenth-century Ottoman Evliya Çelebi, include descriptions of Diyarbakir. Although there can be no dispute that Çelebi was adept at ignoring non-Muslim architecture and at essentializing⁵⁰ the appearance and habits of Christians, Jews and other 'minorities,' he was not excluding these faith communities and emphasizing Islam in order to develop a methodological approach towards describing "Islamic" cities.

European scholars of Muslim life and art during the fledgling years of Islamic studies were often keen to categorize, chronologically order, and label all that they encountered, architecture and urban landscapes included. L. Massignon regarded the institution of the guild as the cohesive element in the Muslim urban conglomeration, embodying, as he saw it, corporate and spiritual initiatives and their "fixed topographical distributions."⁵¹ J. Sauvaget focused on the Jazira, in Anatolia and Syria, basing much of his work in Aleppo. He suggested that the Graeco-Roman designs of cities in this region were modified over time to suit the needs of an Islamic populace. Brothers George and William Marçais published their work on North Africa in the 1950s and 60s, asserting that a virtuous Islamic life could only be properly lived in an urban setting, with access to

the centrally located congregational mosque, and the hierarchy of *medreses*, *souks* and residential quarters that surrounded this place of worship.⁵² Defensive structures, including the walls and gates, and the citadel of the city, and features outside the walls, including cemeteries and the shrines of saints, were other elements of the entity known as the Islamic City.

In the late 1960s through the mid 1970s, the proceedings of a few key colloquiums were published. In 1969, Ira M. Lapidus edited *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*.⁵³ In the preface, Lapidus makes note of the two dominant themes of the symposium: “the relation of the city to its surrounding environment”, and “the study of internal organization and the forces which influence the formation of city societies and the changes which these societies undergo.”⁵⁴ These sociological examinations of city infrastructure begin the process of elaborating on earlier “Islamic Cities” discussion, examining how the village and the city interact, and how Muslim jurisprudence, the legal system of *shari`a*,⁵⁵ creates unique requirements for a Muslim populace.

In 1970, *The Islamic City* was published, with A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern as the editors.⁵⁶ Once again, a series of scholars with expertise in regional and sociological studies with an Islamic focus were brought together to try to map out exactly what constituted the Islamic City. One of the key themes running through the multi-faceted works by the assembled authors was that town planning and urban municipal services, inclusive of religious and imperial organizations and fundamentals such as sanitation, could be taken as the true indicators of whether or not Muslims had achieved true city life, particularly in the medieval period.⁵⁷

In 1976, a colloquium was held at the Middle East Centre, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge. Selected papers were published by UNESCO in 1980, also under the title *The Islamic City*, edited by R.B. Serjeant. The approach to these essays was to divide the subject matter into a variety of urban institutions: religious, legal, governmental, educational, social and economic, and then to address conservation, renovation and other changes in a separate section, concluding with recommendations for safeguarding and rehabilitating Islamic Cities.

Although comparison can be a fruitful tactic in scholarship, the tendency to compare Islamic art and society to European systems is prevalent in the work of many of the “Islamic City” methodologists. S. M. Stern, in ‘The Constitution of the Islamic City’⁵⁸ suggests that the “corporate municipal institutions,” the highly organized guilds and civic corporations of European cities during the Middle Ages, were noticeably, and perhaps detrimentally, absent from the “loose” structure of Islamic centres.⁵⁹ One of the issues to be considered here is that most medieval European cities were predominantly Christian. Even if not homogeneous in their faith, the city corporations were dominated by Christian ideologies in decision making. According to Stern, in the Byzantine world, this meant that the “Church also played a role in making the city government superfluous by taking over many of its functions.”⁶⁰ Yet, scholars do not generally regard urban conglomerations under Christian leadership with a “Christian Cities” methodology. Even if the Cathedral of St. Thomas remained in the centre of Diyarbakir instead of the Ulu Cami, the complicated nature of political and religious influence in Diyarbakir, its regular role as a frontier post, and its frequent vassal status would limit the application of a religion-specific urban studies methodology.

The situation of urban form and function was complicated in the Middle East through the prevailing mixture of religious traditions, where Christian and Jewish communities were participatory minorities (and even slight majorities) in city life and had established trades, neighbourhoods and places of worship that were connected to, but distinct from, the Muslim government. The writings of the Polish Armenian Simeon,⁶¹ who visited the city in the early 1600s, indicate that Diyarbakir's Armenian population ran the mint and the customs office, and worked as the city's butchers, kebab sellers and bakers, all extremely important vocations, considering the integral nature of food and commerce for an urban population, and the religious laws governing meat preparation.

Pedro Chalmeta, writing on 'Markets,'⁶² states at the outset of his piece that he will "speak of Islam as of a culture, a civilization – not as of a religion."⁶³ This is not an effective methodological stance to take regarding the situation in Diyarbakir for a number of reasons. Many additions to the physical make-up of Islamic urban communities include edifices specifically devoted to the enactment of religious traditions, including *mesjids*, mosques and Qur'anic schools. The legal system under Muslim governorship, particularly during the Middle Ages, was controlled by *shari`a*. Other aspects of urban life and interaction, such as covenants pertaining to the treatment of persons of non-Muslim religious orientation, were based in Islamic tradition. In addition, the city's residents shared a common cultural and artistic heritage.⁶⁴ This cultural umbrella was not limited to Islamic traditions, nor is it likely that Syrian Orthodox or Armenian neighbourhoods in Diyarbakir would have identified themselves as "culturally Islamic." The culture was informed by the religion, from dress to economics to trades, and to remove the religious implications from the title "Islamic" is

to make an arbitrary separation between the *behaviour* of urban dwellers and the *code that informs* that behaviour. Diyarbakir was a city infused with religiosity: the religious practices of its population were expressed through material means such as the Great Mosque structure, and through methods more ephemeral and transcendent, such as prayer and *Qur'anic* study, and the rich regional traditions of poetry and song.⁶⁵

The Islamic faith has spread over a vast geographical area throughout its history, and regional cultural and architectural norms and values have often been synthesized with the introduced religion. A city may indeed be a set of variables, as outlined in a given discussion on the guild system or rural relations. Therefore, a blanket methodological approach simply cannot be applied to every situation. Even within the relatively limited geographic realm of the Jazira, Diyarbakir was subject to unique combinations of ethnic and linguistic groups, often with a majority Christian population. It was part of particular trade routes, and had access to localized building materials, particularly the distinctive black basalt stone. Over the centuries, this combination of physical and socio-historical attributes resulted in a very particular urban conglomeration. Diyarbakir does indeed embody some of the characteristics of an “Islamic City” outlined thus far. Foremost is the presence of Muslim leaders and an Islamic community dating back to the seventh century. The Graeco-Roman city plan discussed by Sauvaget, the urban setting to facilitate communal prayer as outlined by the Marçais brothers, the social organization based on *shari`a* mentioned in the work of Lapidus and the town planning and services noted by Hourani are quantifiable aspects of Diyarbakir. Yet its physical and social make-up also operates counter to the facts and assumptions that have been used to construct the Islamic city methodology.

To truly understand the development of the city of Diyarbakir under Muslim leadership and patronage, and thereby the role of the Ulu Cami within the city structure, we must consider it as a unique example of urbanism. This is not an instance where Christianity and Islam⁶⁶ exist in a relationship of “east meets west.” The form and function of the city is the product of many indigenous systems of belief⁶⁷ layered onto a city plan that was established before most of those beliefs were even conceived. Control of services was under the control of a Muslim government, but, as we have seen, they did not always directly provide those services.⁶⁸ The economic organization of Diyarbakir was not solely determined by Islamic-run guilds;⁶⁹ according to Çelebi, the Armenians were in charge of much, including the essential craft of metalworking. He describes that, “[w]ith their hammer-beating and bellow-pumping all the Armenian blacksmiths here produce musical tunes.”⁷⁰

Studies of social systems, physical make-up, religious traditions and a citizenry governed by dynasties alien to the local culture must be woven together to communicate the qualities of Muslim communities in urban environments. There have been a number of interesting approaches to the growing understanding of cities under the influence of Islam. Scholars working to engage specific examples of urbanism are posing questions that have value to the field in general, but that consider the unique features of each city. Examining the interplay of function, requirement and form, and of developing social and religious organizations and their architectural responses, is essential to understanding a city like Diyarbakir, not as a categorically “Islamic City,” but as a complex, organic integration of regional and external systems and structures. This is precisely what the field of architectural history offers to urban studies: the presentation of historical,

sociological, archaeological and even anthropological information pertaining to urban centres, with the useful focal point of a material object, altered over time, on which to base the discussion.

Oleg Grabar's essay 'The Architecture of the Middle Eastern City: The Case of the Mosque'⁷¹ looks to the Qur'an for an explicit definition of the mosque. Rather than descriptions of a built structure, he finds instructions for use of a communal prayer space. The enclosing volume of a built structure is not integral, or even necessary, but a location for the community to gather in prayer is. In seventh-century cities, an open space or forum, the *mesjid*, functioned as a taxation centre, a military grounds and a prayer centre.⁷² This, of course, did not last, as the dissemination of the faith took Muslims to new regions and the requirement for a symbolic edifice was more pronounced. Damascus is the crowning example of a city with a large, centrally located mosque, a pattern followed in Diyarbakir. Eventually, however, mosques "no longer transformed the city by becoming its obvious centres but fitted themselves wherever space was available."⁷³ This was an architectural expression of what Grabar calls a "series of parallel and probably partly competing roles of spiritual allegiance and religious behaviour" in twelfth-century cities.⁷⁴

The concept of "hidden architecture" has applications for gaining understanding of Muslim communities. Ernst J. Grube explains that this type of architecture "truly exists, not when seen as monument or symbol visible to all and from all sides, but only when entered, penetrated, and experienced from within."⁷⁵ He uses the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus as his prime example, a mosque so integrated into the urban fabric that its monumentality is not recognized on the approach to the building. This statement

describes the experience of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami. The “hidden” and integrated nature of the Great Mosque and the surrounding city is apparent on so many levels, from entry into one of the city gates to moving into the Ulu Cami courtyard and then the prayer spaces, to the design of the residential areas, where one must pass from the narrow lanes into the courtyards of homes before realizing that domestic architecture even exists.⁷⁶ It applies to the gated Christian edifice, the Meryemana Kilisesi, and even to the market areas. The divisions of trades within the city, the breakdown of the quarters into *mahalles*, and the final requirement of domestic privacy have resulted in a complex city that does not flaunt its unique architecture, but forces an internal, rather than a symbolic experience of its urban spaces.

Many of these applications of specific elements have been incorporated into Yasser Tabbaa’s book *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo*.⁷⁷ In focusing on one city, he avoids making blanket statements about Muslim communities in urban settings.⁷⁸ In focusing on the twelfth and thirteenth century governorship of the Ayyubids, Tabbaa is able to draw out the relationships between the city’s “Construction of Power,”⁷⁹ and the “Constructions of Piety,”⁸⁰ between the architectural designs of the citadel, palace, mosques, *medreses* and tombs of Aleppo and the society that patronized and utilized these structures. He makes a strong effort to include explanations of a Shi’i minority practicing within a Sunni community, demonstrating diversity of religious practice within the urban setting.

Tabbaa’s methodology attempts to place the city of Aleppo within the wider field of architectural history, and to provide a social and political history based around the material culture of the city. He observes that the dynasties of the Ayyubids were seated in

“largely autonomous city-states”,⁸¹ making Aleppo as well as Diyarbakir subject to conditions unique to those urban locations. The key point is his recognition of “the urban and architectural transformations that characterized Islamic cities of the middle period.”⁸² In his study of the specific urban example of Aleppo, Tabbaa has emphasized that the city is to be linked to but not taken as representative of all Muslim urban centres. He has carefully noted that a city is comprised of both physical and social elements, that the faith of the leader was not always the faith of the entire populace, and that the process of *urban transformation* was an important characteristic of medieval Islamic patronage and design. Tabbaa has moved towards an approach that recognizes that a city may be, among other things, Muslim, without being an “Islamic City.”

It is not under dispute here that there are certain elements that are identifiable, in an urban context, with Islam. There is no confusion about the often highly visible Islamic symbol of the minaret. The association of economic centres with the Great Mosque is generally followed in most parts of the Islamic world, and the religiously informed jurisprudence of *shari`a* shapes interactions on many levels. What is debatable is the applicability of the “Islamic Cities” methodology to Diyarbakir. Diyarbakir was a city ruled and inhabited by Muslims, under Islamic law and jurisdiction, but categorizing it as an “Islamic City” does not help us to understand the uniqueness and intricacies of its architecture and its social systems. How could this label be applied to a city with such a diverse population, and with pre-Muslim Graeco-Roman, Armenian, Byzantine and Christian infrastructures that survive to this day? The Muslim presence in Diyarbakir, dating from the decades immediately following the genesis of the religion, may be indicated without this methodology and the limited capacity for inquiry that it suggests,

for if history wishes to label medieval Diyarbakir an “Islamic City” because its civic, economic and much of its religious activity has centred around a Sunni congregational mosque, then the true point of interest is missed. What must happen, instead, is the focused examination of urban spaces and the features within them that resulted from Muslim daily life, imperial political aspirations of Islamic leaders and the religious ideologies that informed these situations. In Diyarbakir, this will lead us to effective inquiry about a complex and fascinating city.

The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami as a Civic Centre

The Great Mosque of Diyarbakir was ultimately the architectural response to the religious needs of the Sunni community, but the Ulu Cami also facilitated a wider range of community; the building was a *civic* edifice as well as a spiritual locus. As the effective “city centre,” it was in a position to facilitate community functions at and through the site, which went beyond religious observance.

Friday, the day of communal prayer, was often the market day, as many rural farmers wished to combine their travel for worship and for trade into one visit.⁸³ The Ulu Cami formed a nexus of commercial interaction by drawing in both Muslim and Christian peasants for market day. Although the exact locations of markets may have shifted over the centuries under different rulers,⁸⁴ many trades and markets clustered about the mosque. Under the Ottomans, the *meydan* or public square was situated directly east of the Ulu Cami, and the Hasan Paşa Hanı and the Hasan Paşa Çarşısı sat across the street.

The Meyveciler Çarşısı or Fruit-Sellers Market, the Kılıççılar Çarşısı or Sword Makers Market, and the Çifte Han were also east of the Ulu Cami on the far side of the *meydan*. The Sipahi Pazarı⁸⁵ was west and the Kitapçılar Çarşısı or Book Sellers' Market was south of the mosque buildings.⁸⁶ Perhaps of greatest importance to an agricultural community was the Buğday Pazarı, the wheat market. For some time,⁸⁷ this took place in a structure just beyond the southern wall of the mosque complex.

Water, the veins of a city, is essential to daily life, and to the ablutions required of a Muslim community. The magnificent ablution pool described in Naser-i Khusraw's 438 AH/1046 account of the Great Mosque,⁸⁸ with clean water spouting from a brass fixture, was fed by the Hamrevat Spring and the Spring of 'Ali. Çelebi discusses these waters over 600 years later, commenting that the "Hamrevat water is the pride of Diyarbekir."⁸⁹

He poetically presents the water's path as it travels from the spring:

The praises of the rivulet Hamrevat have spread throughout the world on panegyrists' tongues. From its first origins in the mountain pastures of the Qaraca Dag, to the west of Diyarbekir, it is led, in underground conduits, over a distance of two days' journey into the castle of Diyarbekir. There it is distributed, first to the Great Mosque, then to the other mosques, the hans, the hospices and the baths.⁹⁰

The system for bringing water to the city was organized to travel to the Great Mosque first, and then to other sites in the city. A similar distribution system was established in Aleppo. Nur al-Din (r. 1146-1174) extended the Roman water works, which had entered the city at the Arba `in Gate and taken the form of a canal, terminating at the Aleppo Cathedral during the twelfth century. A new branch directed the waters of the Ibrahim al-Khalil spring to the latrine to the east of the Great Mosque, partially constructed on the former Cathedral grounds.⁹¹ A reservoir was formed, and another

water main continued to important points throughout the city, including the hospital or Bimaristan of Nur al-Din, and a series of *medreses*.⁹² The Great Mosques in these two cities were the origins for the clean water supply, as it travelled a hierarchical route through the city.

Conclusion

Diyarbakir is not an “Islamic City”. It is indeed *a* city, and one with Islamic architecture, Muslim residents, Islamic legal, religious, cultural, economic, hygienic, and even culinary societal features in its historic constitution. Muslim leadership has been in a position of primacy since the seventh century. In fact, the basis of this thesis is that Diyarbakir Ulu Cami has functioned as the focal institution for Diyarbakir and its nearby population, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, its influence radiating out into every *mahalle* from the urban core. This overarching instruction, control and facilitation of daily life by the Great Mosque would seem to be the keystone in the argument that Diyarbakir was an Islamic City *because* of the Ulu Cami, but it is quite the contrary.

It becomes clear when regarding this mosque-city interface that the Diyarbakir example defies the “Islamic City” methodology. The site of the mosque, many of its architectural elements, and the traditions of Diyarbakir transcend the boundaries of such religio-chronological distinctions. Understanding the history of Diyarbakir city, Diyarbakir Ulu Cami and the people of Diyarbakir within the Jazira is not a process of categorising how Muslims live, worship, defend and build as a unified and isolated group. The Ulu Cami is an integral site, aesthetically, structurally and societally, in the form and function of the city. The full extent of this role is understood only when the city is viewed

is viewed as a nexus of regional human activity rather than as an imagined conglomeration of homogenized Islamic conduct. Diyarbakir is part of the *Dar al-Islam*,⁹³ the “abode of peace,” the Islamic world. Yet, it should always be remembered that the history of the city is that of an outpost, where introduced traditions were added to existing practices, rather than eradicating them.

¹ Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama* or *Book of Travels*, W.M. Thackston Jr., trans. (New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1986), p. 9.

² The Inner Castle is taken as the head, the rounded walls as the body, and a protruding section to the south-west, between the Evli Beden and the Yedi Kardeş towers, as the tail. This fish-like shape is clear upon regarding the plan of the city, with the walls connecting the defensive towers like stars in a constellation. Halil Değertekin writes of the black basalt walls creating a *kalkan balığı* (“turbot fish”), in ‘Diyarbakir Surları’, *Diyarbakir Özel Sayısı: Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi*, vol. 28 (1995), pp. 18-20. The fish is an important symbol in Islam. It is described as a God-given form of sustenance in the *Qur’an* in 5:96, 16:14 and 35:12. In the surah *Al-Kahf* (The Cave), Moses travels with fish as a food source. When he reaches the sea, the fish makes its way miraculously to the water, to come alive and swim again. *Qur’an*, 18:61. This life-sustaining creature and symbol of resurrection also features, with these characteristics, in poetry and in local legend. In Urfa, a city not far from Diyarbakir, a sacred pond contains fish associated with the prophet Ibrahim. They are treated with great respect and grow large from feedings by visitors. Diyarbakir itself may have had such sacred fish. R. J. Garden records that inside the walls, somewhere “between the Rum and Dagh gates,” there was “a tank about 5 or 6 feet deep containing fish, which are considered sacred.” ‘Description of Diarbekr’, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 37 (1867), p. 186. The foundation myth of Diyarbakir, as recorded by Çelebi, recounts that the Prophet Jonah, finding no followers for the true faith in his city of Mosul, came to live in Diyarbakir at the Fis Rock. A noble maiden queen was converted by the prophet, and “On the instruction of His Holiness Jonah, this queen had Diyarbakir built out of black lava stone, on the Fis Rock.” Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.2, p. 115. Jonah, of course, was swallowed by a whale or giant fish. Furthermore, it is the waters of the spring originating at the Fis Rock that fed the Diyarbakir fish tank.

³ Today, all visitors are welcome at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami and there appears to be no restrictions on who may or may not enter the courtyard and prayer spaces. During both of my visits to Diyarbakir, children ran and played throughout, people came to socialize and exchange news, and some took advantage of the shaded areas to rest and nap. Although caution should be used in projecting the twenty-first century situation onto medieval Diyarbakir, the *hadith* of Bukhari do speak of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina as a place where the poor camped, strangers slept, and people lay about. Robert Hillenbrand, ‘Masjid, Part I: In the Central Islamic Lands’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 646.

⁴ I have here followed the convention of using the Arabic transliteration to refer to the province of Diyar Bakr to distinguish it from the city of Diyarbakir, for which I have employed the modern Turkish spelling.

⁵ This great length is mentioned in most literature on Diyarbakir, for example in: Halil Değertekin, 'Diyarbakir Surları,' *Diyarbakir Özel Sayısı: Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi*, vol. 28 (1995), pp.18-20. The city of Jodhpur, in Rajasthan, India, was founded in 1459. Its wall is nearly 10 kilometres in length. The Great Wall of China, built during the Qin, Han and Ming dynasties, stretches 6,700 kilometres.

⁶ Albert Gabriel and Jean Sauvaget, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1940), Fig. 142, p. 180.

⁷ Much of this epigraphic material was recorded in *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), by Max Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', pp.3-128, and Josef Stryzowski, 'Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien, Hellas und dem Abendlande,' pp.131-380. Albert Gabriel and Jean Sauvaget, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1940), recorded and corrected the translations of this epigraphic material, and scholars continue to interpret the material.

⁸ Many cities that once followed this method of urban planning under the Romans no longer reveal a distinct *Cardo-Decumanus* crossing. Damascus is an example of the loss of this street lay-out, yet it remains a very definite aspect of Diyarbakir in the twenty-first century. Hugh Kennedy notes that the reduced use of wheeled transportation in favour of pack animals and the need for *souks* to attend to the economic activities of the Islamic community were partly responsible for the loss of these main thoroughfares. He states that if "the Muslim community had perceived that wide colonnaded streets and spacious agoras were vital to their well-being, then they could have proceeded to law to protect them. It is clear, however, that they did not consider this to be the case". 'From *Polis* to *Madina*: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *Past and Present*, vol.106 (February 1985), p. 22. The clear survival of the *Cardo* and *Decumanus* of Diyarbakir can by no means be taken as an indicator of a lack of animal, vehicle or pedestrian traffic, nor as the result of a lack of economic growth and the buildings and markets that accompany such growth. It is possible that the established areas of trade and commerce in the city plan did not require incursions onto the main streets. Perhaps these wide cross-streets facilitated military activities in some way. There is the opportunity for much further research into this question of a Graeco-Roman street-scape maintained into the twenty-first century.

⁹ K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), p. 3. Interestingly, these notes on his visit to Mardin and Diyarbakir were not published as part of his *Early Muslim Architecture*, but were uncovered in papers bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and printed after his death in *Muqarnas* in 1998.

¹⁰ K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), p. 3.

¹¹ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.9, p. 133.

¹² Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 167.

¹³ This is discussed in Oktay Aslanapa, 'Diyarbakir Sarayı Kazısı İlk Rapor, 1961', *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, vol. XI/2 (1961), pp. 10-18., and 'Erster Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des Palastes von Diyarbakir', *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, vol. 12 (1962), pp. 115-128.

¹⁴ It is difficult, based on existing resources, to gain a sense of the intricacies of the relationship between the İç Kale mosque and the Ulu Cami in Diyarbakir. The attachment of a mosque to a defensive palace structure became a requirement in many urban settings. This is seen in al-Mansur's design for Caliphal Baghdad, constructed in 762. The Caliph's mosque and residence were situated in the inner-most precinct of the city behind several rings of defense. See J. Lassner, 'The Caliph's Personal Domain: The City Plan of Baghdad Re-Examined', *The Islamic City*, A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer,; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 103-118.

¹⁵ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.23, p. 155. This total of 366 may, of course, be a literary topos rather than an accurate tally of the city's trades.

¹⁶ Diary entry by Gertrude L. Bell, Diyarbakir, 01/06/1909 <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/home/index.htm> visited May 10, 2003.

¹⁷ *Kilise* is the Turkish word for "church", the definite article taking the form of a suffix to create *Kilisesi*.

¹⁸ In many instances, residential space has been created, either within the church skeleton, or by building over top of the ruins. In June of 2001, I was taken by some local teenagers to the ruins of such a church, which I could not identify. We entered by walking through a family home (with their permission), an apartment which had been created by using part of one of the ruined sections of the church buildings.

¹⁹ This issue of the Christian history at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami site is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

²⁰ It was typical of early Muslim communities to maintain a single mosque, and Caliphal control of mosque/mesjid construction maintained the centralized focus of communal prayer. The architectural manifestation of the switch to a larger number of smaller mosques is clear in many urban centres, Diyarbakir being a particular case.

²¹ Once again, the scant published information available on architecture in Diyarbakir makes it difficult to create even a brief survey of the city's make-up. I have used Albert Gabriel and Jean Sauvaget, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1940), as well as Metin Sözen's brief survey article 'Some Important Monuments from the Turkish Period in Diyarbakir', *Ivieme Congres International d'Art Turc, (Aix-en-Provence 1971)* (Provence: International Congress of Turkish Art, 1976), pp. 221-236.

²² The unique residential architecture of the city is discussed in the article by Dogan Erginbas, *Diyarbakir Evleri* [The Houses of Diyarbakir] (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaasi, 1953).

²³ Hugh Kennedy discusses the transition from the cities of classical antiquity to their incarnations as Muslim urban centres in 'From *Polis* to *Madina*: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *Past and Present*, vol. 106 (February 1985), pp. 3-27. He builds on the theories put forth by Sauvaget to suggest that it was not merely the introduction of Islam, but rather earlier shifts in economic and political context (in Syria, as a particular example) that created physical and social changes within the classical city framework.

²⁴ Ara Edmond Dostourian, trans., *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham: National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, 1993), p. 218.

²⁵ The information for this historical overview has been pieced together from a number of sources. Dates can vary extensively in publications on Jaziran history, so, for this segment, I have used the dynastic and imperial dates provided in Sevkert Beysanoglu, 'Kurulusundan Günümüze Kadar Diyarbakir Tarihi', *Diyarbakir: Müze Şehir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), pp. 39-79.

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- ²⁶ This is the date recorded by Dionysius of Tell Mahre, as noted by K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15. (1998), p. 7.
- ²⁷ M. Canard and C. Cahen, 'Diyar Bakr', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), p.344.
- ²⁸ Noted in K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), p. 7.
- ²⁹ M. Canard and C. Cahen, 'Diyar Bakr', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1965), p. 344.
- ³⁰ This account is given by K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), p. 3.
- ³¹ K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), p. 2.
- ³² M. Canard. 'Hamdanids', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. III (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), p. 128.
- ³³ C.E. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A. D. 1000-1217)', *The Cambridge History of Iran Volume 5* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 24.
- ³⁴ Carole Hillenbrand. 'Marwanids', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 626.
- ³⁵ This is based on the examples recorded by Max Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), pp. 23-36.
- ³⁶ He notes that the genealogy of the Inalids is sourced from "les splendides façades de la grande Mosquée d'Amid [which] viennent de révéler à l'histoire et ... je demande la permission de baptiser du nom de son fondateur, le Turcoman Inal" Ibid., p. 55.
- ³⁷ He liberated Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187 and continued to fight the Crusader invasions, often with the help of Eastern Christians as well as Muslims, until his death.
- ³⁸ The fief was presented to Muhammad, son of Kara Arslan, and fighting comrade of Nur al-Din. It was essentially a vassal of the Ayyubids under Artukid domination. C. Cahen. 'Artukids', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), p. 665.
- ³⁹ M. Canard and C. Cahen, 'Diyar Bakr', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), p. 344.
- ⁴⁰ The Ak Koyunlu and the Kara Koyunlu, the "White Sheep" and the "Black Sheep", were confederations in the Diyar Bakr province. The Ak Koyunlu first ruled the city of Diyarbakir, then took Mardin from the Kara Koyunlu and Hasankeyf from the Ayyubids to rule the whole of the province. They were presented with Diyarbakir in return for their support of Timur during the Battle of Ankara in 1492.
- ⁴¹ Shah Isma'il took Tabriz and declared Twelver Shi'ism the state religion in 1501.
- ⁴² Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Diyarbekir', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 14. The Qızılbaş tribes, loyal to the Shi'ite Isma'ili tradition, were used by the Shah in these centralized governmental roles. Muhammad Han Ustaclu was stationed as governor in Diyarbakir (p. 14).
- ⁴³ 'Ali Paşa, Iskender Paşa, Behram Paşa and Melik Ahmed Paşa

⁴⁴He missed seven still-extant buildings on his list. If these are included, the total is twenty-two. Machiel Kiel, 'The Physical Aspects of the City', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 56.

⁴⁵Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.9-I.15, pp. 133-147.

⁴⁶Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.44, p. 165.

⁴⁷Julian Raby, 'Diyarbakir: A Rival to Iznik', *Istanbul Mitteilungen* vol. 27-28 (1977/78), p. 441.

⁴⁸This underscores the historic and architectural links between Diyarbakir and Syria, rather than Anatolia.

⁴⁹Timothy Insoll, working in the field of archaeology, provides an interesting critique of methodological approaches to the study of the "archaeology of Islam", within which many of the issues listed in this paragraph are intrinsic. He suggests a wider applicability for studies and findings to reach a broader community. In addition, he urges a move beyond the splendour and riches of Islamic court culture to gain a perspective on the voices of the masses, embodied in the remains of material culture. Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Islam* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1999).

⁵⁰In this context, "essentializing" is meant to refer to the act of stereotyping and homogenizing the attributes of culture and religious tradition of communities that Evliya Çelebi takes to be different from his own due to their lack of adherence to Islam.

⁵¹Louis Massignon, 'Sinf', *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936*, vol. VII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), p. 436.

⁵²Their theories, taken from W. Marçais, 'L'Islamisme et la vie urbaine', *Articles et Conférences* (Paris 1961), pp. 59-67., and G. Marçais, 'La conception des villes dans l'Islam', *Revue d'Alger*, vol. ii (1954-4), pp. 517-33, are summarized by A.H. Hourani, 'The Islamic City in Light of Recent Research', *The Islamic City*, A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 9-24.

⁵³Ira M. Lapidus, ed., *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanis.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). He also authored: *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁵⁴Ira M. Lapidus, ed., *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. v.

⁵⁵*Shari`a* is the legal system used by the Islamic world. Inspired by the *Qur'an*, *shari`a* also incorporates early Islamic scholarship, the Sunna, and older Arabic law systems. See N. Calder and M. B. Hooker, 'Shari`a', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. IX (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 321-328.

⁵⁶A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds., *The Islamic City* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer,; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970).

⁵⁷In the context of the publication, this "medieval period" has been demarcated by the "period before the rise of the three great empires" to include the "age of the Fatimids, Seljuqs and Ayyubids, the Mongols and

the Mamluks". A. H. Hourani, 'Introduction: The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research', *The Islamic City*, A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 2.

⁵⁸ S. M. Stern, 'The Constitution of the Islamic City', *The Islamic City*, A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 25-50.

⁵⁹ S. M. Stern, 'The Constitution of the Islamic City', *The Islamic City*, A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 26.

⁶⁰ S. M. Stern, 'The Constitution of the Islamic City', *The Islamic City*, A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 28.

⁶¹ Hrand D. Andreasyan, *Polonyali Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi 1608-1619* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1964), quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Population of Diyarbakir: Ethnic Composition and Other Demographic Data', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 30.

⁶² Pedro Chalmeta, 'Markets,' *The Islamic City*, R.B. Serjeant, ed., (France: United Nations, 1980), pp. 104-113.

⁶³ Pedro Chalmeta, 'Markets,' *The Islamic City*, R.B. Serjeant, ed., (France: United Nations, 1980), p. 104.

⁶⁴ Stone masonry in the region was a skill that the Armenians were often noted for, but their trade was often applied to Muslim-commissioned structures. See Chapter Five for further discussion.

⁶⁵ Çelebi writes that "hundreds of proficient and eloquent poets of accomplishment are found" in Diyarbakir. He adds that "[m]ost of them are poets of great refinement, writing qasidas in the style of Fuzuli and Ruhi [divan poets] of Baghdad." Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.30, p. 159. Today, the people of Diyarbakir show great pride in their poets and musicians, and it takes little more than a phrase to remind them of a folk ballad or a poem, inspiring spontaneous singing and recitation. Particularly for the Kurds, music has been a political force, with Kurdish songs and recordings often forbidden under Turkish law. In the secularized state, Turkish and Kurdish lyrics have carried religious sentiment.

⁶⁶ These two religions are singled out as they are the dominant traditions in the city's history since the seventh century. Not only were these faiths divided into a variety of denominations, but Jewish and nature-based beliefs were also present.

⁶⁷ The nature of the variety of local religious practice in Diyarbakir will be discussed in Chapter Four.

⁶⁸ It is to be assumed that an appointed, Muslim *muhtasib* was charged with overseeing the operations of the Christian shops and workshops in the various neighbourhoods, as this was the standard administrative organization under the Ottoman Empire for market law or *ihtisab*, also known as *hisba*.

⁶⁹ In 1661-62, the governor of Diyarbakir listed some of the functioning guilds in the account book. Çelebi does not mention these guilds, which included the brokers, jewellers, dyers, weavers, and wine-house owners, as well as guilds in general. Martin Van Bruinessen, 'Economic Life in Diyarbakir in the 17th Century,' *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname*, Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, eds. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), pp. 42, 43.

⁷⁰ Their work is admired, for “swords, scimitars, maces, axes, arrows, daggers, spear-blades and arrowheads such as those forged hereabouts are made nowhere else.” Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.23, p. 157.

⁷¹ Oleg Grabar, ‘The Architecture of the Middle Eastern City: The Case of the Mosque’, *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*, Ira M. Lapidus, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 26-46.

⁷² Oleg Grabar, ‘The Architecture of the Middle Eastern City: The Case of the Mosque’, *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*, Ira M. Lapidus, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 34.

⁷³ Oleg Grabar, ‘The Architecture of the Middle Eastern City: The Case of the Mosque’, *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*, Ira M. Lapidus, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 39.

⁷⁴ Oleg Grabar, ‘The Architecture of the Middle Eastern City: The Case of the Mosque’, *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*, Ira M. Lapidus, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 39.

⁷⁵ Ernst J. Grube, ‘Introduction: What is Islamic Architecture?’, *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, George Michell, ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p. 11.

⁷⁶ This relates closely to Oleg Grabar’s experience of the Great Mosque of Isfahan. Grabar explains that “the physical independence of the mosque was not made visible through the appearance of the fabric of the building nor through some discrete events leading to it. It is almost as though the events of the city are leaning against the mosque which would have been an accidental and unexpected space within the urban fabric.” Oleg Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), p. 24.

⁷⁷ Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

⁷⁸ This approach to multiple urban issues, which specifically focuses on a particular setting, has grown from Jean Sauvaget’s work on Aleppo in the 1940s to contemporary scholarship. *The Ottoman City Between East and West* (United Kingdom: University Press, Cambridge, 1999) contains three essays on cities during the Ottoman period. Bruce Masters examines Aleppo in ‘Aleppo: The Ottoman Empire’s Caravan City’, Daniel Goffman looks to Izmir in ‘Izmir: From Village to Colonial Port City’, and Edhem Eldem takes on Ottoman İstanbul in ‘Istanbul: from Imperial to Peripheralized Capital’.

⁷⁹ The title of Part II, including chapters 3 and 4, Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

⁸⁰ The title of Part III, including chapters 5-8. Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

⁸¹ Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 2.

⁸² Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 1. The “middle period” here refers to the period of leadership under the states that succeeded the Seljuks, namely the “Zangids, Ayyubids, and Artuqids” as listed by Tabbaa.

⁸³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 59.

⁸⁴ There are examples of long-standing markets that have maintained their location. The Kapalı Çarşısı, the Grand Bazaar of İstanbul, has stood on its present location since the middle of the fifteenth century.

⁸⁵ A *Sipahi* was a fief-holder in the Ottoman system. They were often slaves of the Sultan, collected through *devsirme*. These feudal cavalymen were loyal and rewarded with land holdings.

⁸⁶ These locations are based on the plotting by İbrahim Yılmazçelik 'Osmanlı Hakimiyeti Süresince Diyarbakır Şehrinde Mahallelerin Tarihi Gelişim Seyri', *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), pp. 208-209.

⁸⁷ I am uncertain if this was the medieval location, but the wheat market stood in this spot from the early twentieth century. As many of the other bazaars have maintained their location from early Islamic to current times, this may be a long-standing area for the trade of grains brought from the rural populace. Çelebi does not give the locations of the all the bazaars throughout the city.

⁸⁸ Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama or Book of Travels*, W.M. Thackston Jr., trans. (New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1986), p. 9.

⁸⁹ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakır: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.16.1, p. 149. These waters were said to have curative powers, and Çelebi recounts the ascension of Sultan Mehmed ibn İbrahim Han, whose first act as Sultan in 1648 was to drink Hamrevat water, imported to İstanbul.

⁹⁰ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakır: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.16.1, p. 147.

⁹¹ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986). Allen uses Ibn Shaddad's *A'laq* as a contemporary source for waterworks in Aleppo.

⁹² Allen includes the "Madrasah al-Shu'aybiyah", the "Madrasah al-Muqaddamiyah", and the "Madrasah al-Halawiyah", *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹³ The *Dar al-Harb*, the "abode of war," is the non-Muslim world, although the terminology does not mean that the Muslim and non-Muslim territories should constantly be engaged in armed struggle and conflict.

CHAPTER FOUR: INTERCULTURAL INTERACTION AT THE DIYARBAKIR ULU CAMI

*The wolf and the sheep became companions to one another in
[the Diyarbakir] region.*

*-from the Risale-i Mi` mariyye, an early seventeenth-
century Ottoman architectural treatise¹*

It is clear in looking at the form, historical pattern and urban context of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami that the society that constructed and maintained the mosque was complex and diverse. The community was comprised of peoples of a variety of political, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds, who interpreted their beliefs in a variety of ways and adapted to the ebb and flow of local, imperial, and semi-feudal rulership. It is difficult to glean an understanding of this diversity and how all of the component members of the Diyarbakir population may have intersected and interacted with each other. As with almost all historic situations of interaction, for all intents and purposes the marginal groups did not develop a lasting record of their experiences, and the Arab geographers wrote of the dominant, ruling Muslim community and their military exploits rather than societal issues. However, there are some textual accounts of which groups performed particular tasks and engaged in specific trades in the city. Population demographics have been taken from taxation records and census taking during the Ottoman period. Monasteries and bishoprics in the region held on to correspondence and chronicles. Speculation is possible with this material, but it is scant evidence at best, and certainly less than objective in terms of inter and intra religious relations.

The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami may serve as a focal point for an exploration of queries into the interactions of the people of Diyarbakir. As dynasties changed and additions were added to the mosque complex, each section was marked by inscriptions; new or newly accepted ideologies, practices and tendencies in the community were embodied in the facilities and in the decoration. As I will attempt to demonstrate, the architecture itself is a record of how the Sunni community and its *madhhabs* functioned at various times. In addition, there are several ways in which the architecture and inscriptions of the Great Mosque reveal some of the levels of Muslim interactions with the Christian community and other non-Muslim faiths. Not only was the architecture of the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir a manifestation of some of the ways in which communities within Diyarbakir engaged in different approaches to religious practice and study, it came to facilitate interaction by bringing civic life and certain aspects of religious discourse to one, centralized location within the city. The form and use of the mosque was dictated by the interactions of a heterogeneous community and the function of the mosque complex created a scenario for continued interchange.

Religio-ethnic Constitution of Diyarbakir

When the Arab invaders arrived in Diyarbakir in 638-39, the city was already home to a population comprised of peoples of diverse religious, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Several branches of Christianity were firmly entrenched in the region, a number of Jewish families lived in Diyarbakir², and the nature-oriented beliefs of the rural agricultural and nomadic groups orbiting around the city³ also held a place in the list

of religious traditions of the community. The Arabs introduced the religion of Islam. Although it cannot be determined whether all conversions to Islam were inspired by belief or by fear of physical and economic reprisals for failing to adopt the Muslim way of life, adherents to this new religion grew in number.⁴ Yet, there was not an immediate, nor a wholesale, conversion of the Diyarbakir population. It does not appear that Christians were ever permanently driven away, or that conversions were fiercely demanded, as the following data demonstrate.

The seventh-century conquest of Diyarbakir by the armies of the Islamic Caliph was the earliest Muslim occupation of the area. It was not until the invasions of the Turks in the eleventh century and the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 that the Turks began to take the Christian cities and territories of Asia Minor, essentially beginning the process of changing the population from predominantly Christian and Greek speaking to predominantly Muslim and Turkish speaking.⁵ Each settled area has its own history and a slightly different story of changes to its religious demography.

Looking at statistical information on a broad level, the Byzantine patriarch in Constantinople oversaw forty-seven metropolitanates and upwards of 400 bishoprics prior to the eleventh century Turkish invasions.⁶ By the fifteenth century, only seventeen metropolitanates, one archbishopric and three bishoprics were functioning.⁷ These numbers are important in relation to each other, for they reveal the decline of the Byzantine Orthodox Church. They cannot, however, be directly applied to the situation in Diyarbakir, because there were several Christian congregations, each following their own doctrines and seeking the leadership of their own patriarchs. The Chaldeans and the Georgians developed a Christian following in the area. Diyarbakir had once been part of

Greater Armenia, and the Armenian Christians had their own church.⁸ The Syrian Orthodox Church located its Patriarchate in nearby Edessa, and often held a seat in Diyarbakir.⁹ The Monophysite¹⁰ patriarchs periodically dwelled in Diyarbakir, where patriarchal elections frequently took place with Artukid permission.¹¹ Several Christian Bishoprics maintained their residences in Diyarbakir during Seljukid, Artukid and Ottoman rule.

There can only be speculation about the demographical statistics for many periods in the history of Diyarbakir leading up to Ottoman record keeping. Although it could be said that the Ottomans brought some stability to a region afflicted with dynastic warfare for centuries, enabling a return to safety and even prosperity for Christians and ethnic minorities, there are indications that these groups actually maintained their presence in the region from the seventh to the sixteenth century. There is evidence that the Christian communities of the Tur Abdin functioned with some degree of autonomy and protection of their religious traditions into the fifteenth century, as it is recorded that the traditional burial of the bishop of Mar Sovo at Khakh took place in 1493.¹² Most Muslims were of the Sunni branch. Seljuk rulers followed the Hanafi *madhhab*, as did a majority of the Muslim residents of Diyarbakir. However, the Kurds were often followers of the Shafi'i *madhhab*, and there was a minority of Hanbali and Maliki followers in the city during the ottoman period. Shi'ites dwelled in Diyarbakir, although generally in secrecy, as the Sunnis considered their views and practices heretical.¹³

The Ottomans arrived in the city of Diyarbakir 875 years after the Arab conquest. Their fiscal registers constitute the only official population data for Diyarbakir, as travellers' projections in this matter are not reliable.¹⁴ Unfortunately, these economic

records do not contain specific details about religious practice, generally distinguishing only between Muslim and non-Muslim. In 1518, the city was home to 11,400 people, including 6,800 Muslims, 4,450 Christians and 150 Jews.¹⁵

In 1564, Diyarbakir was home to 10,000 Muslims and 13,000 non-Muslims.¹⁶ If the *kiraciyen*, tenants or temporary residents camped in rented homes or tents, are included in this count, then 11,200 Muslims and 17,400 Christians called Diyarbakir home. Martin Van Bruinessen suggests that the large number of these recent *kiraciyen* immigrants suggests that “some upheaval had forced large numbers of Christians to take refuge in the city.”¹⁷ This presents two important pieces of information: the Christian population was the majority in Diyarbakir in the middle of the sixteenth century; Diyarbakir was regarded as a safe place for Christians in the region seeking shelter.

Exact demographic numbers are not available for the entire nineteenth century, but information from alternate sources gives an impression of the population. Speros Vryonis Jr. compiled information from a number of sources to arrive at statistics for the 1800s.¹⁸ The total population of the Diyar Bakr province is given as 471,462 people: 328,644 were Muslim, including 6,000 Shi'ites and Yazidis; 14,240 were Greek and Syrian Orthodox; 57,890 were Gregorian Armenians, 10,170 Catholic Armenians and 11,069 Protestant Armenians; 206 Catholics, both Uniate and Latin, were recorded; 38,974 were Non-Uniate Jacobites, Chaldeans and Nestorians; 1,269 were Jews. There were also 3,000 Gypsies, no Coptic Christians and no “foreigners.”¹⁹ According to these numbers, the Christians remained a significant minority. In addition, they appear to have not only maintained their diversity, but created more congregations as immigrants arrived and established churches in both Latin and Eastern liturgies.²⁰

The first official census was taken in the city of Diyarbakir in 1870. 9,814 Muslims, 11,278 Christians and 280 Jews were believed to constitute the urban population of Diyarbakir at that time.²¹ A considerable decline in the number of residents within the city resulted from a series of epidemics, including a bout of cholera in 1870.²²

As in all communities, immigration, famine, disease and the promise of opportunity contributed to the ebb and flow of the population. Yet, in all of the time periods for which some semblance of demographic information is available, non-Muslims constitute over fifty per cent of the overall urban population of Diyarbakir. If the demography of Anatolia as a whole is regarded during the sixteenth century, Greek ecclesiastical documents and Ottoman tax registers reveal that 92 per cent of all hearths or homes were Muslim, and only 7.9 per cent were Christian.²³ This is a telling contrast that reveals the unique circumstances in the city of Diyarbakir.

Diyarbakir was divided into *mahalles* or neighbourhoods. It appears that, until the early sixteenth century, the city was comprised of four *mahalles*, based on the four gates of the city.²⁴ This shifted dramatically during the earliest phase of Ottoman rule, and by 1540, there were twenty-seven neighbourhoods.²⁵ These areas of the city were named according to mosques, such as the Cami-i Kebir or Great Mosque neighbourhood, or for *medreses*, as with the Balıklı Tekke and the Şeyh Abdurrahman Medresesi.²⁶ In a *mufassal defter* of 972/1564, ninety-three *mahalles* were recorded, with Christian sectors named after churches, such as the *Kilise-i Meryem* and the *Kilise-i Küçük*.²⁷ Evliya Çelebi suggested that Diyarbakir had numerous wards, forty-seven of them Muslim, seven of them Armenian, and a number under other ethno-religious groups. The total number was not recorded. He also noted that there were, at that time, no Gypsy, Frankish or Greek

Orthodox *mahalles*, but that the ward of the citadel, the Balıklı ward and “the ward of the Great Mosque, –These are the better-known wards.”²⁸

Relations between Muslim leaders and the Christian populace in Diyarbakir were governed by established codes and systems intent on keeping the taxation channels clear and, ostensibly, the safety of the majority Christians in mind. Covenants also helped to maintain the benevolent reputation of the Muslim rulers. When Diyarbakir encountered Khalid ibn Walid, the commander of the Arab forces in the seventh century, the Covenant of `Umar was agreed upon as the condition for the surrender of the city. These regulations, established to govern the relations between Muslims and their non-Muslim subjects following surrender, were initially offered to the Syrians by the Caliph `Umar during his conquests in the seventh century. In Diyarbakir, it was stipulated that churches within the city walls were not to be destroyed; Christians were to continue to live in their homes within the city limits; clergy, patriarchs and monks were not to pay the tax on non-Muslims known as *kharaj*; Christian merchants were to pay the same customs rate as the Muslim merchants; and traditional Christian cemeteries were to remain in use.²⁹ These regulations appear to have been honoured for the most part, for although the situation for Christians may not have been ideal under Muslim leadership, they appear to have maintained a strong presence and to have taken advantage of economic opportunities, which gave them power, prestige and the role of patrons within the city over 1000 years after Muslims arrived.

The *`ulama*, the intellectual elite, were the local leaders of Diyarbakir, acting in the name of the Sultan. *Qadis*, judges drawn from the midst of the *`ulama*, were granted the power to oversee public works and to uphold *shari`a*, Islamic law, in the ultimate

position of combined municipal and religious authority over the population. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, these *qadis* were eulogized in the earliest inscriptions on the Ulu Cami. Abi Nasr Muhammad ibn `Abd al-Wahid wa `l-Banna `Abu Sa`d ibn Humayd appears as the Chief *Qadi* in the inscription of 484AH/1091; Thiqat al-Mulk Abu`l-Mukarim Mahdi ibn `Ali al-Shami is noted as a *qadi* in an inscription from 486AH/1093; a third *qadi* is listed in a flawed section of the inscription from 511AH/1117-18.³⁰

This recognition of *qadis* at the Ulu Cami is significant, as only amirs, viziers and the Sultan himself are recorded in the other inscriptions of the Great Mosque, and at Diyarbakir's other edifices. It may be that their combined civic and religious authority, based on their affiliation with the Ulu Cami, was the cause of such acknowledgment in the Great Mosque's inscriptions.³¹ In cities dominated by Muslim leadership, the mosque developed as a new type of public building, taking the place of the agora and church square as the main gathering place for public decisions and meetings.³² The mosque often functioned as a court of justice,³³ where *qadis* were placed in a position to oversee public works, intellectual matters and other subjects of general public interest. This authority extended outward through the city. The *mahalles* of Diyarbakir, many of which were divided based on religious affiliations, appointed their own representatives, often religious leaders, to act on their behalf in civic matters, including taxation. These representatives reported to the *qadis* of the `ulama, who were, of course, associated with the Great Mosque and its *medreses*. In this forum, decisions were made for the city and its inhabitants in a chain of authority extending from the Great Mosque into the furthest corner of Christian, Jewish and Muslim neighbourhoods.

The challenge of obtaining useful demographic information pales in comparison to attempting an examination of ethnicity in Diyarbakir. Greeks, Armenians and Georgians, Turks, and descendants of the Arabs who arrived in the seventh century, Kurds and Iranians all dwelled in the city. The linguistic diversity of Diyarbakir reveals some aspects of this unquantifiable multi-ethnic situation. Evliya Çelebi observed that “[a]ll the people speak Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, Ajami (Azeri and/or Persian) and Armenian.”³⁴ Even by the early twentieth century, Gertrude Bell could relate that, in the Diyar Bakr province,

[t]he frontier between the Arabic and the Turkish-speaking peoples is not sharply defined. Through the southern parts of the Kurdish hills, it is common to find men acquainted with one or both languages in addition to their native Kurdish; among the Christians of the Tur Abdin a knowledge of Syriac is not rare; in Diyarbekr, where there is a considerable Arab population, Arabic, Turkish and Kurdish are spoken about equally³⁵

The people of Diyarbakir were armed with knowledge of a number of languages. In their day to day living, they might interact with an Armenian kebab seller, an Arabic-speaking member of the *`ulama*, a Turkish neighbour, and their Kurdish peers. The linguistic flexibility of Diyarbakir’s populace suggests that religious and ethnic groups did not live in segregation. It was sometimes the case that, in cities with Muslim, Jewish and Christian quarters, interaction took place via clerical representatives. The people of Diyarbakir, however, entered into their business and religious lives with the expectation that they would encounter a variety of systems of belief and languages. They were accustomed to interacting with varied customs, languages and religious practices in their

urban environment. The linguistic proficiency of the people of Diyarbakir is a demonstration of their acceptance of the diversity of their surroundings, and of the long-standing nature of relations outside of segregated quarters.

Looking at Intercultural Interactions through Architecture

Architecture is often used as a tangible example of the results of intercultural interactions. When a conqueror arrives in a new location bringing a foreign religious tradition, one of the first acts is often to establish an architectural presence. Buildings belonging to local religious congregations are appropriated and converted in gestures of dominance and superiority, or they are torn down to make way for commissions by the new leaders. Architecture might be built in a vernacular style to blend inconspicuously into its environment, with parts re-used from structures no longer standing. Architectural appropriation, the destruction of one group's edifices by another, and the re-use of building parts or whole buildings cannot be interpreted with a universal meaning. Yet, there is a clear relationship between the understanding and treatment of prominent architecture and patterns of intercultural and inter-religious relations. By observing the Great Mosque of Cordoba, Spain, and the Hagia Sophia, in İstanbul, Turkey, the patterns may be compared to the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

The Great Mosque of Cordoba was constructed by the Umayyads of Spain. The original mosque, completed between 784 and 786, was built by 'Abd al-Rahman I (756-788). Several phases of additions expanded the building during the ninth and tenth

centuries.³⁶ Its stone and marble hypostyle hall, a forest of columns, was likely built on the site of a Christian church.³⁷ Following the Christian conquest of Cordoba in 1236, the mosque was converted into the city's cathedral. The construction of a Gothic edifice within the mosque in the early sixteenth century was partly in response to public outcry at the suggestion that the magnificent mosque structure be demolished to make room for a new cathedral. The dominant religious tradition in Cordoba appropriated this building and the space it sits on in strategic displays of dominance to the community.

In 1453, the Ottoman forces, led by Sultan Mehmet II (1441-1481), were successful in their attempts to take the city of Constantinople from the Byzantines. One of the first acts of the Ottoman ruler was to march to the Church of Holy Wisdom, the Hagia Sophia, built by Emperor Justinian in 537, and declare it a mosque in the name of Allah, the Prophet, and of course the Ottoman Empire. It is said in the *hadith*, Traditions of the Prophet, that Muhammad once said "They will conquer Constantinople. Hail to prince and the army to whom this will be granted."³⁸ The Hagia Sophia, as the heart of the city, was the ultimate symbol of the possession of Constantinople.³⁹

These buildings were symbols of piety and strength in their respective cities, so much so that when the empires that built them fell, the buildings themselves were not destroyed, but converted for use by another religious tradition. At Cordoba, the mosque was eventually modified for Christian use. The Hagia Sophia, the most important church of the Byzantine Empire, was made a symbol of the final and ultimate success of the Ottomans. Yet, in both examples, the symbolic value of these places of worship held a significant role within the city fabric and the historic memory of the community. At the

Hagia Sophia, the magnificence of the architecture was recognized to the extent that it was of more value to maintain the structure than to demolish it and re-build on the site.

Carole Hillenbrand, in her socio-historical examination of Diyarbakir during the twelfth century, held back from delving into interactions between local rulers, such as the Artukids, and the non-Muslim groups under their jurisdiction. She states:

Such wider issues as the inter-relationship between towns and the nomadic groups present in the area of Diyar Bakr, as well as the treatment of the Christians, who probably outnumbered the Muslims in Temür-Tash's reign, must remain almost entirely undiscussed through lack of information.⁴⁰

Although it is true that specific examples of the treatment of Christians in Diyarbakir will likely never be part of the historic record, there are a number of architectural examples from which a general understanding of Muslim-Christian relations may be extrapolated. The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami's role in this regard is supported by a number of other edifices.

There can be no doubt that at many periods during the history of the Christianity in the Jazira, Christians lived in fear of having their churches vengefully destroyed. They were often faced with the impact of economic sanctions or legislated restrictions on repairs and restorations of Christian buildings. There was no utopian era of lasting mutual respect and tolerance, but it is a mistake to assume that all churches were desecrated or appropriated and that all Christians were banished or forced to convert to Islam.⁴¹ In this situation, the state of architecture is an indicator of circumstances for the Christians, including their treatment by Muslim authorities.

The chronicler Michael the Syrian (1126-1199)⁴² recorded that the Artukid leader Kara Arslan (1148-1174) of Hasankeyf in the Diyar Bakr province visited the village of Bargahis,⁴³ where an Armenian by the name of Joseph had constructed a beautiful church. The Artukids were evidently irritated by this edifice, and by accusations that the church displayed an inscription, which read: "Everywhere where a new church is built, the prince of this place dies."⁴⁴ Kara Arslan ordered the destruction of Joseph's church. In spite of intercession by local Christians, this church was damaged, and an edict ordering that no churches were to be built or restored was presented to all the lands of Mesopotamia.⁴⁵ Michael the Syrian writes that this caused great suffering for Christians at the time, and they celebrated the death of Kara Arslan, which took place in 1174. He was replaced by his son,⁴⁶ and the Christians offered much gold and obtained permission to restore all the ancient churches requiring repair. At this time, "a great consolation was procured for Christians, in all places, by a similar edict."⁴⁷

It is clear, from reading Michael the Syrian's account of these events, that Christian architecture, particularly well-appointed architecture, was an affront to Kara Arslan's Artukid power structure, and perhaps to his Muslim religious ideologies as well. However, in destroying and inhibiting the upkeep of Christian edifices in a predominantly Christian region, Kara Arslan upset a tenuous relationship and incurred the hatred of the Christian populace. In contrast, the simple over-turning of Arslan's anti-church decree earned his son Muhammad favour, and apparently gold. Architecture cannot have been the only issue in a centuries-long struggle for Christians in Muslim dynasties, or, conversely, Muslim leaders in a heavily Christianized land. Yet its symbolic value contributed much to the visibility of religious communities. When the ruler took away

Christians' right to build and restore churches, the Christians lost both their place of worship and their community symbol. But by granting Christians permission to construct and repair churches, the Muslim leaders could regain some level of approval, appease the Christian community, and perhaps levy some fees at the same time.

With this in mind, it is interesting to note that Claude Cahen, in his well-known article on the Artukids, points out that, amongst the cities of the Jazira during the twelfth century, Diyarbakir appeared to be the only one favourable to the Christians.⁴⁸ Cahen explains that, among other examples, there was conflict with the administration in Mayyafarikin, also an Artukid stronghold, particularly between the Turks and the Armenians.⁴⁹ Michael the Syrian records that the court of the main Syrian Orthodox church in Mardin was annexed for use as a mosque in 1172.⁵⁰ Mardin's Church of the Forty Martyrs was ransacked at the same time.⁵¹ Yet, the Syrian Orthodox Church restored a church and a school in Diyarbakir in the middle of the twelfth century and, when new taxes were levied on the clergy, not only did the patriarch Michael the Syrian obtain exemption, he reopened and repaired several churches.⁵² The churches and monasteries which operated until the fifteenth century in the region south of Diyarbakir known as the Tur Abdin, and in some instances into the early twentieth century, have already been mentioned. Although the relative number of Christians declined as time went on, the Armenian community welcomed new settlers from prominent families coming from other centres in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵³ These families contributed to the thorough reconstruction of the Church of Surp Kiragos in 1722.⁵⁴ The religious leaders and the government of Diyarbakir did not convert churches and

synagogues to Muslim use, and generally allowed their Christian population to worship in buildings which they had permission to maintain.

This is the climate and the architectural setting in which the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami sat. The place of this mosque and its leaders should not be underestimated in shaping attitudes towards Christians and the preservation of their places of worship. In adopting Christian spolia and a typically Christian aspect in its minaret and floor plan, and in the perpetuation of Waqidi's narrative of Muslims and Christians sharing a building following the Muslim conquest of Diyarbakir,⁵⁵ the community had a strong role model for tolerance of religious and architectural diversity.

*Diyarbakir Ulu Cami and the Facilitation of Interaction:
Takiyya and the Shi'is*

Although Shi'i Muslims were present in the city of Diyarbakir, they were not generally recorded in census taking,⁵⁶ and are not mentioned in the notes of Evliya Çelebi or other travellers. Much like the Kurdish and Azeri Shi'is of modern Turkey, they were aware of the problems that professing belief heterodox to the Sunni majority would bring.

Shi'ism entered Diyarbakir through several paths. The Hamdanids, a Shi'i dynasty, ruled Diyarbakir from 899-980. In 935, following the power struggles of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, the Hamdanids were formally granted Caliphal control of the three provinces of the Jazira (Diyar Rabi'a, Diyar Mudar and Diyar Bakr). They governed from Aleppo until 967, then from another Hamdanid branch based in Mosul, where they were active in uprisings against the 'Abbasid Caliphate. The Buyids ruled Diyarbakir from 980 to 984, when the Marwanids took control, at least initially as

Fatimid vassals. The strict Sunni rule of the region began with the arrival of the Great Seljuks, who officially took control in 1085. The regional dynasties that followed the Seljuk collapse adhered to Sunni practice, until the Safavids arrived. They temporarily placed Diyarbakir under Shi'i leadership between 1507 and 1514. This contributed to a resurgence of Shi'i followers in Turkey during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These were mostly Kurds and Qızılbaş sympathizers, following the leadership of the Safavi Empire.⁵⁷ Many Alevi Kurds revered 'Ali and Shah Isma'il, a practice obviously distasteful to the rival Sunni Ottoman Empire, who began their rule of Diyarbakir in 1514.

At the time of the construction of the main prayer hall of the Ulu Cami, Sunnism was supported by the Seljuks. They made it their cause to spread what they considered to be orthodox learning through the *medrese* system of schools, and to support Sufi establishments as an expression of popular piety in response to Shi'i populist movements.⁵⁸ Although Shi'i religious architecture cannot be specifically identified in Diyarbakir's urban fabric, Shi'is were prominent in nearby Syria, and patrons funded shrines and repairs to shrine structures. In Aleppo, two such shrines survive from the tenth and twelfth centuries: the Mashhad al-Dikka, built by the Hamdanids in 962 under Sayf al-Dawla, and the Mashhad al-Husayn, an Ayyubid building from 1174.

It appears that there was some attempt made to accommodate Shi'i interests within a Sunni setting in Syria, or at the very least to neutralize Shi'i power without direct confrontation.⁵⁹ In the portal of the Mashhad al-Husayn, a Shi'i inscription in supplication to 'Ali, Hasan, Husayn and other revered figures, is accompanied by a litany carved into the vaulting. According to Herzfeld, the Shi'i text, which calls for blessings

on the Prophet and his family, is mollified by the Sunni inclusion of blessings for the Companions of the Prophet; the Sunni supplication was used in a similar fashion on tombstones.⁶⁰ At the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, a set of three inscriptions attributed to Nur al-Din and dated to 554AH/1159 formulaically mention the Prophet and the Four Caliphs.⁶¹ Hasan, Husayn, Aisha and Fatima conclude one inscription while Nur al-Din concludes another. Yasser Tabbaa suggests that this Sunni formula was an attempt to forge an ecumenical Sunnism which might be tolerable to some Shi'is.⁶² These scholars' suggestions of Sunni-Shi'i coexistence have their parallel in the contemporary theology of Ibn Hubayra, in his twelfth-century *Kitab al-Ifsah*. Ibn Hubayra strove to encompass both the four Sunni schools and Twelver Shi'ism in his theological tracts.⁶³

In Diyarbakir, the Sunni Muslim majority would surely have known that there were Shi'i followers in their midst. However, the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami's inscriptions do not reveal the ecumenical/Shi'i blessings of the Aleppine and Damascene edifices; unless they were destroyed in the fires or restorations of the Ulu Cami, they were not part of the programme at Diyarbakir. It is likely that the Shi'i community of Diyarbakir lived in secrecy, practicing *takiyya*, an approach which proscribes "dispensing with the ordinances of religion in cases of constraint and when there is a possibility of harm."⁶⁴ The policy of *takiyya* allowed Shi'is to conceal their true beliefs and to worship alongside the Sunnis. Although not an ideal way of life, concealing one's Shi'ism was preferable to constant persecution or an unnecessary martyrdom. The Shi'i Muslims of Diyarbakir would have participated in the congregational prayer and sermons held at the Ulu Cami through *takiyya*, as the nature of most of the empires and dynasties under which they

lived provided for no other options for a congregational mosque. Many were likely even schooled at the Ulu Cami and its associated *medreses*. Thus, it is a reasonable conclusion that the Shi`is interacted with the Sunni population and their ideologies at the site of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

*Diyarbakir Ulu Cami as an Architectural Manifestation of Interaction:
The Crusades and Diyarbakir*

The Crusaders, Christians of the Latin Church also known as Franks, had a massive impact upon many aspects of politics and daily life following their arrival in the Holy Land. They engaged in pilgrimage, invasions, war, and eventually permanent settlement in the lands of Syria, Palestine and south-eastern Anatolia. Following the start of the First Crusade in 1095, the consequences of the Crusader presence in the Jazira began to echo throughout the Islamic dynasties and empires situated around the eastern Mediterranean. Diyarbakir, however, was never directly attacked or visited by Frankish troops. The Latin States of Antioch, Tripoli and Jerusalem remained relatively distant, and the borders of the County of Edessa did not extend towards Diyarbakir before the collapse of this Crusader territory in 1144.⁶⁵

It was not Bohemond but rather Salah al-Din who conquered the enceinte at Diyarbakir during the twelfth century, arriving in 1179. The forces of Diyarbakir were, however, sent out to do battle against the Franks: when Nur al-Din laid siege to the castle of Harenc in 1164, the princes of Diyarbakir and Mardin sent their armies to assist.⁶⁶ The Artukids contributed soldiers to the counter-crusade movement, and when Reginald of Châtillon, Lord of Karak, violated truce conditions in 1187 with a raid on a caravan

travelling from Cairo to Damascus, a contingent from Diyarbakir was sent to attack the county of Tiberias.⁶⁷

Early chroniclers of the history of the Jazira do not seem to have taken an interest in the differences between Muslims and Christians on a cultural level, focusing instead on the doctrinal issues,⁶⁸ and on generalizations about the virtue of the women or the hygiene practices of the other.⁶⁹ Presumably, this is in part because the differences and similarities were not remarkable. These people ate similar foods, lived in similar dwellings and spoke the same languages. However, when the Crusaders arrived, a wealth of written records came to light addressing just how different the Franks and the locals perceived themselves to be. The most accessible are the *Memoirs* of Usamah ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), a distinguished military leader, writer, and courtly gentleman from the castle of Shayzar, on the Orontes River in Syria. As a warrior, he fought against many rivals, the Crusaders among them. For a time, he lived in exile from Syria, quite near Diyarbakir at the Artukid court of Kara Arslan in Hasankeyf.⁷⁰ Ibn Munqidh appears to have had a higher opinion of Crusaders who had an extended stay in the east, noting that “[e]veryone who is a fresh emigrant from the Frankish lands is ruder in character than those who have become acclimatized and have held long association with the Moslems.”⁷¹ Perhaps this is a reflection of attitudes towards the local Christians of Syria and Anatolia, as well. His observations are not wholly to the detriment of the Franks - he does attribute bravery and the skills of battle to them, stating: “When one comes to recount cases regarding the Franks, he cannot but glorify Allah (exalted is he!) and sanctify him, for he sees them as animals possessing the virtues of courage and fighting, but nothing else.”⁷² It is obvious that, based on his contact with western Christians,

Usamah ibn Munqidh believes the Franks to be of a lesser intellect, yet with the potential for improvement, even if they are but animals in the sight of Allah.⁷³

There are numerous local antecedents for the architecture of Diyarbakir, so there is little or nothing to suggest that Frankish construction projects influenced Diyarbakir and the Ulu Cami in particular.⁷⁴ However, the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami may bear the marks of the post Crusader-contact mentality of *jihad*, holy war.⁷⁵

In an inscription band above the capitals of the eastern courtyard façade, *Qur'an* IX:18, a verse from 'Repentance,' is written in floriated Kufic. It reads: "None should visit the mosques of God except those who believe in God and the Last Day, attend to their prayers and render the alms levy and fear none but God. These shall be rightly guided."⁷⁶ The dedicatory inscription on the same façade is dated to 559AH/1163-64, and this *Qur'anic* excerpt may be from the same programme.⁷⁷ In any case, it is from the time of Abu al-Qasim 'Ali, after 551AH/1156 but before his death in 573AH/ 1178.⁷⁸ The Crusades were still an immediate reality for the people of Diyarbakir when the inscription was placed on the Great Mosque.

Terry Allen notes that the Diyarbakir inscription contains "titulature typical for its date ... including epithets related to war against the infidels."⁷⁹ Although this might be the result of the battles with the Crusaders and a "rhetorical emphasis on jihad during Nur al-Din's rule",⁸⁰ the eighteenth verse of 'Repentance' appears as part of architectural epigraphy at numerous sites, dating back to the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina in 165AH/781.⁸¹ It is also found in the rafters of the Dome of the Rock, 413AH/1022, the Harput Gate of the Diyarbakir city walls in 447AH/1055 and the Umayyad Mosque in

Damascus on a pillar of the south façade, dated to 475AH/1082.⁸² It was used from Cairo to India for centuries⁸³ both long before and well after the final Crusades of the 1600s.

Although there are no other examples of inscriptions warning against the non-believers at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, it is questionable whether this *Qur'anic* verse, albeit carefully chosen, was solely targeting the infidels who participated in the Crusades.⁸⁴ Carole Hillenbrand suggests that the Artukid labels of *ghazi* and *alpi* suggest that the Artukids were aware of the concept of *jihad*.⁸⁵ However, in conjunction with this suggestion, she adds that “it is doubtful whether in the career of Najm al-Din Il-Ghazi, who set up the Artuqid dynasty, religion really played a genuine role in his political activities.”⁸⁶ This is certainly a point well-taken, for it is often assumed that all actions of Muslim war and conquest were driven by religious belief, and certainly that text inscribed onto the walls of a mosque would have highly religious significance. But the Crusades were, in large part, all about politics. The interactions between local Muslims and Christians and foreign Crusaders were often based on diplomacy, treaties and the need for resources as much as the desire to claim holy ground and protect pilgrimage routes, which were often protected by Muslim governments prior to the Crusades.

Because the Crusading forces did not arrive at the gates of Diyarbakir, their impact would have arrived in other forms. Until the Latin occupation of Constantinople in 1204, the Crusader forces were granted the support of the Byzantine Empire. The Armenian princes pledged troops and went to battle against the Muslim lords of south-east Anatolia. The Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate, based in Edessa, suffered the ravages of Latin and Muslim forces. Diyarbakir, with sizable populations of all of these Christian denominations, undoubtedly faced tensions and increased suspicions that the walls would

be breached with the help of some act of Christian defiance. In addition, the instability of the post-Seljuk period coupled with the development of small principalities and dynastic leadership created a land of opportunity for invading forces - there are many times when the Muslims fought alongside the Crusaders and the local Christians moved back and forth between the Latins and their Muslim governors.⁸⁷ The sources indicate that the soldiers of Diyarbakir went to battle on the side of the Muslims, but sometimes wars are fought on the level of day-to-day life rather than on a bloody battlefield; the tenuous balance of religious diversity in Diyarbakir emerged from the twelfth century intact and was even solidified in the face of the common Mongol foe, but as the use of *Qur'an* IX:18 at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami demonstrates, inter-religious interaction involved political motivation and political repercussions.

*Diyarbakir Ulu Cami as an Architectural Manifestation of Interaction:
The Four Sunni Madhhabs*

The Sunni branch of Islam is comprised of four schools of thought or *madhhabs*, namely the Hanafi, Shafi'i, Maliki and Hanbali schools.⁸⁸ The Sunni community looks to these *madhhabs* for advice during the process of making legal decisions. On an individual level, study and *Qur'anic* reading is guided by the stance of a particular *madhhab*. Ruling empires often chose to support one *madhhab* over the others; in the case of the Great Seljuks and the Ottomans, the Hanafi *madhhab* was the official school of the government.⁸⁹ Partly as the result of this imperial favour, the Hanafi school has traditionally had a large number of followers in Diyarbakir, and the main prayer hall of the Great Mosque is sometimes called "Hanifiler Camii," the Hanafi Mosque.⁹⁰

Ostensibly, all four *madhhabs* should be able to practice within the confines of a single Sunni mosque, and to teach within a single *medrese*. In fact, it is often suggested that the four-eyvan design of mosques and *medreses* grew from this accommodation of the four schools. This was not always the case, however, as supporters of the four schools engaged in theological, legal and philosophical disputes, and jockeyed for position within their religious and political communities. Nizam al-Mulk, Malik Shah's Seljukid vizier, established the Nizamiyya medreses "among other reasons in order to give the Shafi'ite *madhhab* emphasis in the contemporary disputes among the *madhahib*."⁹¹ The Nizamiyya in Baghdad caused discord; the reputation and position of Shafi'i thought was only elevated at the Nizamiyya in Balkh.⁹² Law schools were sometimes situated in urban settings where hostile factions were forced to share the city. Street fights commonly took place between Shafi'is and Hanbalis in cities under the rule of the Great Seljuks, demonstrating widespread factionalism.⁹³ In Damascus, the medieval city was bitterly divided between the Hanafis, the Shafi'is, and a Hanbali minority.⁹⁴

Differences between *madhhabs*, due to both controversy on the streets and a variety of interpretations of Islamic texts and practices, were manifested in divisions of architectural space. The Umayyad Mosque in Damascus was divided by *maqsuras*, partitions. Ibn Jubayr (1145-1217) records that the Hanafis had their own section at the western end of the mosque, where teaching and prayer by Hanafi followers took place.⁹⁵

In spite of the imperial emphasis on the Hanafi tradition, the other three schools were also followed in Diyarbakir. At certain times, all four *madhhabs* were accommodated in a manner rarely seen in other Islamic communities. In seventeenth-

century Diyarbakir, not only was there a Hanafi shaykh al-Islam, representing the *madhhab* of the empire, but also *muftis*, those who issues decrees, from the Shafi'i, Maliki and Hanbali schools.⁹⁶ Only important centres, including Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus and Cairo, supported this kind of Sunni multiplicity.⁹⁷

At the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, the use of architectural space demonstrates that all four *madhhabs* played a role at the mosque. The Mesudiye Medrese, opened in the twelfth century, was organized to study not one chosen school of thought, but all four. This is recorded in the foundation inscription, which states that

In the name of Allah ... The servant who requires the mercy of Allah, who is in humility before his majesty the defender of the Prince of the Faithful (may Allah make lasting his authority) has spontaneously founded this *medrese* (may Allah bless it) for the love of Allah, and he has created an authentic, perpetual *waqf* for the benefit of the jurists of the four orthodox schools— May God accept it of him! During the year 590.⁹⁸

It was intended, at the time of the *medrese*'s foundation by Sokman II in 1193-94, that all four schools would share the school and its facilities. It could be argued that the architecture reflects a desire for interaction to take place during the course of education. The open study area does not branch off into four spatially demarcated teaching areas to correspond to the four schools. Rather, the *medrese*, surrounded by two storeys of cells, consists of a single *eyvan*.

During a nineteenth-century visit to the Ulu Cami, R.J. Garden wrote that "on each side of the centre building is a wing, thus forming three separate wings for three of the four sects of the Mohammedans."⁹⁹ As he proceeds to describe the east and west courtyard façades in separate passages, it seems that this is in reference to the transept and

wings of the main prayer hall. It is to be understood, then, that these three *madhhabs* were making use of the natural divisions of the transept and aisles within the main prayer hall in which to study and pray. By dividing and sharing the architecture of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, the Sunni community revealed a pattern of interaction between schools of thought that were in conflict in other locations. The architectural segregation at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami evolved from Sunni Muslims using a single prayer hall, *medrese* and courtyard to the complete removal of the Shafi'i *madhhab* into a distinct prayer hall of their own.

*Diyarbakir Ulu Cami as an Architectural Manifestation of Interaction:
The Kurds and the Shafi'i Prayer Hall*

The Kurds descend from Indo-European tribes.¹⁰⁰ During the seventh century, conquering Arabs used the term *Kurd* to indicate nomadic peoples. They are comprised of a mixture of cultural and linguistic groups with strong family units. Many converted to Islam, although being Kurdish does not necessarily indicate participation in Muslim practice. In Diyarbakir, the Kurdish Marwanid Dynasty (984-1085) was in power when the Seljuks, the patrons of the Ulu Cami, took the city as a vassal to the Seljuk Sultanate.

The Kurds were admired for their abilities and were often used as soldiers, first by the Seljuk and later by the Ottoman armies. They played pivotal roles in defending eastern territories against the invading Crusaders in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Salah al-Din being amongst the famous Kurdish leaders. In the wars between the Ottoman Empire of Turkey and the Safavi Empire of Persia in the sixteenth century, most of the Kurdish chiefdoms sided with the Ottomans, as an attempt by the tribal

chieftains to strengthen their positions. The Ottomans held up the promise of nominal self-rule, while Shah Isma`il was attempting to rule the Kurds directly.¹⁰¹ After the Ottoman Sultan Selim defeated the Shah in 1514, the Kurds contributed to the removal of the Safavid forces from eastern Anatolia and the eventual establishment of a border between the Ottomans and Persia.¹⁰²

The Ottomans and the Kurds established a unique, symbiotic relationship in Diyarbakir. Under the Ottomans, *vilayets*, provinces, were divided into smaller units called *sancaqs*. The Ottomans had a highly centralized administrative organization, which regulated even the local level of government. In addition to *sancaqs* with Ottoman-appointed leaders, Diyarbakir supported *sancaqs* known as *hükümet* and *ocaqlıq* with hereditary Kurdish leaders.¹⁰³ These Kurdish *sancaqs* had a high level of autonomy and were only indirectly controlled by Ottoman powers. This was not merely a concession on the part of the Ottomans, for the terrain of the Kurdish areas, mountainous, rugged, and located on the perimeter of the empire, was prohibitive for patrols, for the collecting of taxes, and was difficult to govern.

The Muslim Kurds were generally Sunni, and predominantly Shafi`i. This created a situation in Diyarbakir where the Shafi`i Kurds, holders of semi-autonomous power over the outlying *sancaqs* and followers of a legal school differing from the Ottoman government Hanafi position, formed a majority group within the city's Muslim community. This resulted in what appears to be a unique, regional architectural form: the distinct Shafi`i prayer hall. This Shafi`i mosque is attached to and associated with the larger Hanafi mosque, but enables Shafi`i adherents to conduct prayers and sermons within a separate, enclosed edifice.

The Shafi'i Prayer Hall at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami is entered via doors opening onto the Ulu Cami's *sahn*. In fact, it is not possible to enter the building without first passing through one of the three courtyard portals, and it may be assumed that the current situation of the use of the central ablution facilities is applicable to earlier periods of the building's history. The dimensions of the building are small in comparison to those of the main prayer hall and its decoration is subdued.¹⁰⁴

The inscription on the façade of the building gives the date of 935 AH/1528-29 and places the project under the Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-1566), son of the Ottoman Sultan Selim (r. 1512-1520). The inscription mentions that the Sultan "made prosperous and restored this mosque blessed in the glory of the noble amirs" noting, in particular, the Amir Ahmad, "Amir of the place of the fort of Atak."¹⁰⁵ Atak was a hereditary Kurdish *ocaqliq* in the Diyar Bakr province, located in the mountains to the northwest of the city of Mayyafarikin.¹⁰⁶ The Ottoman Sultan and the Kurdish *bey* worked together to construct a new building (or to restore an earlier edifice, depending upon how the inscription is interpreted) in order to serve the needs of the Kurdish Shafi'i community of Diyarbakir.

According to Shafi'i interpretation, the Friday congregational service is to be held in one mosque, provided that the entire congregation can be accommodated. Salah al-Din, a Shafi'i Kurd, brought this policy to Egypt when he became sultan. In 1173-74 under his leadership, a Shafi'i was appointed as chief *qadi* in Cairo and the al-Hakim mosque was designated as the sole location for Friday services.¹⁰⁷ In contrast, the Hanafis had no such restrictions on congregational prayer space, and any number of mosques could be used by the community to facilitate Friday use.¹⁰⁸ A comparatively

large number of mosques was constructed in Diyarbakir during the sixteenth century, while the Ottoman patronage at the Ulu Cami site seems to have been restricted to restoration and the Shafi`i prayer hall.

Shafi`ism had a strong role in Egypt and Syria and maintained certain privileges until 1517, when the Ottoman conquest introduced the Hanafi *madhhab* as that of the empire.¹⁰⁹ It is notable that the Ottomans, so eager to promote Hanafi Sunnism in Egypt and Syria, should arrange for the expression of Shafi`i practice in Diyarbakir through an architectural addition to the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

It is difficult to determine how long the Shafi`is of Diyarbakir have been architecturally segregated from the other Sunni faithful. The history of the north side of the Ulu Cami's courtyard prior to the Ottoman period and the construction of the Shafi`i Prayer Hall is not known. Although Mahmut Akok claims that there are no written sources to confirm the building's construction for the Shafi`i school,¹¹⁰ the Kurdish patronage indicated by the inscription suggests otherwise. In addition, the Shafi`is were using the building as their place of worship by the time of Çelebi's visit in the seventeenth century. He observed that "Inside the mosque is yet another mosque, a Shafi`i one. All those who follow the Shafi`i school worship here."¹¹¹

There are a few conclusions to be drawn from the limited information on this building and the socio-political context in which it was built. Some might argue that the Shafi`is as well as the Kurds were shunned by the Ottoman and Hanafi authorities and were therefore forced to erect a distinct prayer space to define the boundaries between the *madhhabs* within the Ulu Cami. The autonomy and concessions for the Kurdish community in the Diyar Bakr province makes this an unlikely *raison d'etre* for this

building type. Keeping in mind that the Kurds held a special position in the early years of the Ottoman Empire, it seems more plausible that the Shafi`i prayer space may have been a show of good will from the Ottoman Sultan in an attempt to solidify the bond with the Kurds. They were, after all, helping to hold the eastern Ottoman borders against the Safavids. The Kurdish Amir of Atak mentioned in the inscription, regardless of his autonomy, could not have acted against the wishes and orders of the governor of Diyarbakir to erect the building. Therefore, it must have been approved by the government, not to mention the Hanafi authorities at the Ulu Cami. It would also seem that the Shafi`i practice of focusing Friday services on a single mosque within the community¹¹² would have determined the placement of their prayer hall within the Ulu Cami complex; this would create a solution for the Shafi`is who wished to meet and pray separately from the Hanafis without being removed entirely from the Great Mosque precinct.

The Ulu Cami is not the only example of this distinct Shafi`i prayer hall in Diyarbakir. The Peygamber Cami, also known as Nebi Cami (Figure 47 and Figure 55), is located next to the northern city gate, the Harput or Dağ Kapısı. It was originally built by the Ak Koyunlu in the fifteenth century. The current Peygamber Mosque is actually the former Shafi`i prayer hall, as the Hanafi prayer hall, in a state of advanced decay for many years, was demolished in 1927.¹¹³ The Hanafi section was an arcaded prayer hall, while the Shafi`i section remains as a centrally planned structure. The dome is set on squinches and is covered by a conical cap.

The Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa Mosque, also known as the Fatih Paşa Kurşunlu Cami (Figure 56), was constructed between 1516 and 1520. Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa, both the

conqueror and governor of Diyarbakir, was the patron of this, the first Ottoman mosque in the city. Its architect is unknown.¹¹⁴ The main mosque is a centrally planned, domed structure as well, extended with half-domes and exedrae, and small domes on the corner squinches. The Shafi'i Mosque was added to the complex during the first half of the sixteenth century.¹¹⁵

These three examples may have companions, but extensive searches for mosques with a similar approach to distinct Shafi'i prayer buildings have revealed no further information.¹¹⁶ If Diyarbakir is indeed the sole producer of this particular building type, then the separate Shafi'i prayer hall may be considered a regional development, unique to Diyarbakir. It is therefore a solution to the use of mosques by Shafi'i Muslims under Hanafi-dominated leadership. More precisely, it is an approach to the specific needs of the Kurdish community in Diyarbakir and at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami and a manifestation of the intra-religious and intercultural interaction taking place at the Great Mosque site.

Conclusion

The demographic situation in Diyarbakir may be viewed as both the result and the cause of a number of unique situations within the city. Centuries of immigration from a variety of ethnic, linguistic and religious groups created a heterogeneous demographic mixture that found many approaches and solutions to living beside and amongst each other. Architecture is one of the manifestations of this interaction.

The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, through its plan, decorations, inscriptions and spatial arrangement, reveals a site-specific place of worship and study that became a hub of activity for the community. Other urban centres in the Diyarbakir region presumably had

the same opportunities for mixed demography and exposure to religious and architectural diversity. Yet only Diyarbakir's leaders and decision makers can be shown to have tolerated the continued operations and maintenance of structures utilized by a variety of religious traditions. In fact, in many instances, the policy in Diyarbakir was not merely of toleration, but of development and growth; this is evident in the records of the Armenian Christians during several periods.

At the Great Mosque, intercultural interaction was facilitated via functions of religious and civic leadership. The central position of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, geographically, spiritually and politically, made it a locus for not just Sunni Muslims but all persons living in and near Diyarbakir. The Ulu Cami also manifests this interaction. Even within the Sunni legal tradition there are numerous interpretations of Islam, and by dividing prayer and study amongst the sections of the mosque, the Sunnis of Diyarbakir found a balance of unity and division that helped them maintain their community. Most notably, the Shafi'i school, in cooperation with the Ottoman Empire, established a structure as part of the Ulu Cami complex that addressed linguistic, ethnic and religious differences for the Kurds.

Intercultural interaction cannot take place without tensions, exacerbated by events such as the Crusades. But these tensions can be confronted creatively and productively, in ways that Diyarbakir seems to have done with its social structure, religious policies and architectural patronage, exemplified by the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

¹ Howard Crane, trans. *Risale-i Mi'mariyye: An Early-Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), p. 39.

² See: Rıfat N. Bali, 'Diyarbakır Yahudileri', *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), pp. 366-389.

³ Worship of the sun was practised in the region of Mardin and Diyarbakır by a sect known as the Şemsi into the nineteenth century. An old Şemsi place of worship near the city of Diyarbakır was only recently destroyed when the Mardin road was widened. Worship of the moon and fire, and of snakes (recorded near Dersim and Erzincan in the early twentieth century) is little understood. Martin van Bruinessen, "Aslım inkar eden haramzadedir!" The debate on the ethnic identity of the Kurdish Alevi's, http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/Alevikurds.htm#_ftn15 visited March 6, 2004.

⁴ Conversion to Islam also led to lower rates of taxation, an added advantage.

⁵ See: Speros Vryonis Jr., *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) for a thorough discussion of the subject of shifting demographics.

⁶ This is gleaned from the *notitia episcopatum* in Speros Vryonis Jr., 'Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 29 (1975), p. 57.

⁷ Speros Vryonis Jr., 'Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 29 (1975), p. 58, bases this tally on information in a fifteenth-century *notitia*.

⁸ The Armenians have a long history in the region, stretching back to pre-Byzantine, and even pre-Christian times.

⁹ For further discussion of this aspect of the Christian tradition in Edessa/Urfa, see: J.B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 238-243 in particular.

¹⁰ Following the Synod of Chalcedon, the Chalcedonians promoted the idea of Christ as both divine and human while the Monophysites argued for belief in the singular, albeit complex, nature of the incarnated Christ.

¹¹ The patriarchs alternated Diyarbakır with their residences in Mar Barswana and at Mardin. Claude Cahen, 'Artukids', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), p. 666.

¹² G.L. Bell citing Pognon in 'The Churches and monasteries of the Tur Abdin', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 250.

¹³ After the Hamdanid rule in Diyarbakır (899-980), which supported Shi'ism, most of Diyarbakır's Islamic governments were Sunni. It may be assumed that the Shi'i community was forced to practice in secrecy due to the absence of architectural evidence and the absence of Shi'ism in the demographic materials.

¹⁴ Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Population of Diyarbakır: Ethnic Composition and Other Demographic Data', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakır: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 32.

¹⁵ These figures are taken from Göyünç, 1968, cited in Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Population of Diyarbakır: Ethnic Composition and Other Demographic Data', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakır: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 33.

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- ¹⁶ These figures are taken from TKUM Mufassal TTD No. 155, cited in Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Population of Diyarbekir: Ethnic Composition and Other Demographic Data', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 33.
- ¹⁷ Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Population of Diyarbekir: Ethnic Composition and Other Demographic Data', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 32.
- ¹⁸ Speros Vryonis Jr., *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), pp. 446-447. Vryonis has created a chart with information about several Anatolian cities during the nineteenth century. He has gleaned these numbers from non-specific census data. He does not specify the time period for which they are applicable. The numbers could vary considerably from one part of the century to the other, considering the upheavals, riots and massacres of the 1890s.
- ¹⁹ Speros Vryonis Jr., *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), p. 447.
- ²⁰ For information on the liturgical practices of the eastern churches, see Ignace Ephrem Ramani II., *Les Liturgies Orientales and Occidentales* (Beirut: Imprimerie Patriarcale Syrienne, 1929); and Wolfgang Hage, *Syriac Christianity in the East* (Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1988).
- ²¹ These figures are taken from Beysanoğlu, 1962, cited in: Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Population of Diyarbekir: Ethnic Composition and Other Demographic Data', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 33.
- ²² Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Population of Diyarbekir: Ethnic Composition and Other Demographic Data', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 33.
- ²³ Speros Vryonis Jr., *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), p. 445.
- ²⁴ İbrahim Yılmazçelik, 'Osmanlı Hakimiyeti Süresince Diyarbekir Şehrinde Mahallelerin Tarihi ve Fiziki Gelişim Seyri', *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), p. 196
- ²⁵ İbrahim Yılmazçelik, 'Osmanlı Hakimiyeti Süresince Diyarbekir Şehrinde Mahallelerin Tarihi ve Fiziki Gelişim Seyri', *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), p. 196.
- ²⁶ İbrahim Yılmazçelik, 'Osmanlı Hakimiyeti Süresince Diyarbekir Şehrinde Mahallelerin Tarihi ve Fiziki Gelişim Seyri', *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), p. 196
- ²⁷ (No. 155, Ankara TKUM), Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), fn. 114, p.217.
- ²⁸ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), I.18., p.153.
- ²⁹ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), I.2., p. 117.

³⁰ J.M. Rogers, 'Waqf and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia: The Epigraphic Evidence', *Anatolian Studies*, vol. XXVI (1976), p. 95.

³¹ According to J.M. Rogers, the hierarchical position of *qadis* as chief administrators in Diyarbakir is not paralleled in other cities in Anatolia under the Seljuks. 'Waqf and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia: The Epigraphic Evidence', *Anatolian Studies*, vol. XXVI (1976), p. 96.

³² Hugh Kennedy, 'From *Polis* to *Madina*: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *Past and Present*, vol.106 (February 1985), p. 15.

³³ Robert Hillenbrand, 'Masjid, Part I: In the Central Islamic Lands', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, v. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), pp. 670-671.

³⁴ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.57, p. 183. One of the features of Çelebi's work in Diyarbakir is his focus on language and his careful noting of the Diyarbakir dialect. He recorded this in a kind of Turkish lexicon.

³⁵ Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1924), p. 327.

³⁶ `Abd al-Rahman's son Hisham added a structure for delivering the call to prayer. `Abd al-Rahman II (822-852) extended the mosque by breaking through the wall in `Abd al-Rahman III (929-961) expanded the courtyard and the minaret/bell tower in 951. A further addition was made by the Caliph al-Hakam II (961-976) in 962-66, which also broke through the *qibla* to extend in a southward direction. A final expansion, towards the east, took place in 987-88 under al-Mansur, vizier to Caliph Hisham II (976-1009).

³⁷ The history of Cordoba's cathedral, the shared use of the cathedral by Muslims and Christians, and the use of the site for the construction of the Great Mosque parallels the histories presented for Damascus and Diyarbakir. For further discussion, see Chapter Five.

³⁸ This is now inscribed on the outer wall of the Hagia Sophia, where I viewed it on my numerous visits to the site in 2001 and 2002. It is presented in Arabic with translations into modern Turkish and English.

³⁹ Following the formation of the Turkish Republic, the mosque was made into a museum by the order of Atatürk on October 24, 1934, thus removing the sacred value of the edifice for a secularized state.

⁴⁰ Carole Hillenbrand, 'The Establishment of Artuqid Power in Diyar Bakr in the Twelfth Century', *Studia Islamica*, vol. LIV (1981), p. 149.

⁴¹ The Jewish community, being much smaller and less influential and therefore requiring few designated places of worship and study, is not examined in detail here as part of an extant architectural record. The oldest extant synagogue in İstanbul dates from before the Ottoman conquest (Balat Ahrida Synagogue).

⁴² I have used the translation into French by J.B. Chabot, ed. *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910).

⁴³ Chabot is uncertain of the modern vocalization of this village name. J.B. Chabot, ed. *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), p. 307, ff.4.

⁴⁴ My translation of the French quote in J.B. Chabot, ed. *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), p. 307.

⁴⁵ J.B. Chabot, ed. *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), p. 308.

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- ⁴⁶ His son was Muhammad, who was given the city of Diyarbakir as a family fief in 1138 by the Ayyubids.
- ⁴⁷ My translation from the French in J.B.Chabot, ed. *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), p. 308.
- ⁴⁸ Claude Cahen, 'Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides', *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 227 (1935), p. 269.
- ⁴⁹ Claude Cahen, 'Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides', *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 227 (1935), p. 270.
- ⁵⁰ J.B Chabot, ed. *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), p. 337.
- ⁵¹ Carole Hillenbrand, 'The History of the Jazira, 1100-1250: A Short Introduction', *The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1250*, Julian Raby, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 13.
- ⁵² Claude Cahen, 'Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides', *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 227 (1935), p. 269.
- ⁵³ During the conflict between Iran and the Ottoman Empire, which began in the early sixteenth century, Armenia was thrust into chaos; following the final armistice in 1639, the territory of Great Armenia was split into two. Under the Safavi rule of Shah Abbas, the Armenians were moved to Iran and the Armenian lands were settled by Muslims. It seems likely that these families were moving as part of this upheaval, among other reasons. Armenia was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire during the fifteenth century. The Armenians were given a special role amongst Christians by the Ottomans, and İstanbul's Armenian community grew to the point that a special see was established for their needs, separate from the Armenian Patriarchal See in Vagharshapat <http://www.armenianhistory.info/under.htm> visited August 5, 2003.
- ⁵⁴ Julian Raby, 'Diyarbakir: A Rival to Iznik', *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, vol. 27-28 (1977/78), p. 441.
- ⁵⁵ See the discussion in Chapter Five.
- ⁵⁶ They do appear in the provincial figures presented above, with 6,000 persons claiming to practice Shi'ism in the nineteenth century.
- ⁵⁷ Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Diyarbekir', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 14.
- ⁵⁸ For a discussion of the role of the Seljuks in the spread of Sunnism through the *medrese* system and other means, see Chapter Four.
- ⁵⁹ Although Sunni architectural inscriptions could embrace important figures in Shi'ism, Shi'i monuments could not present the same ecumenical approach, due to their ritual cursing of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs.
- ⁶⁰ "Oh God! Give your blessing to our master Muhammad and to the family of Muhammad and offer them peace. May God be pleased with Abu Bakr, and `Umar, and `Uthman, and `Ali. May God be pleased with all the Companions of God's Prophet." Herzfeld (MCIA-Alep, 1, 244.) quoted in Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 116.
- ⁶¹ Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 22.

⁶² Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 23.

⁶³ Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 21. and Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), fn. 38, p. 116. Twelver Shi'ism in particular was included, as it was not considered part of the "ghulat" or "extremist" movement.

⁶⁴ R. Strothmann and Moktar Djebli, 'Takiyya', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. X (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), p. 134.

⁶⁵ The fall of Edessa to the forces of Zengi was the impetus behind the Second Crusade, which began in 1145 and ended in 1148 with the failed attempt at capturing Damascus.

⁶⁶ See Steven Runciman, *A History of The Crusades Volume II: The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East 1100-1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 369.

⁶⁷ Kenneth M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades: Volume I The First Hundred Years* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 585.

⁶⁸ For some discussion of this issue, see: John Meyendorff, 'Byzantine Views of Islam', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 18 (1964), pp. 115-132.

⁶⁹ Christianity established itself in the Jazira and in Asia Minor very early in the history of the religion. The development of Christianity in the east took a different path from the Christianity practised in the European lands. This is important to keep in mind when looking at history and inter-religious interactions, because many of the generalizations and impressions of, for example, the Crusader knights, have been used in the past to form impressions of Muslims at that time. The difference is that Christianity based in the Jazira was an indigenous religion by the time the Muslims arrived; the Christian faithful were attached to the geography, climate, vernacular architecture, languages, trade practices, foodstuffs and customs of their homeland and were not viewing Muslims as exotic curiosities.

⁷⁰ This period of exile is mentioned by Claude Cahen in: 'Artukids', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), p. 665. This comment is related to the strong literary tradition of the Artukids, an attractive quality for the Syrian writer. Cahen does not provide dates for the stay in Hasankeyf.

⁷¹ Usamah Ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in The Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh*, Philip K. Hitti, trans. (New York: Columbia University, 1929), p. 163.

⁷² Usamah Ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in The Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh*, Philip K. Hitti, trans. (New York: Columbia University, 1929), p. 161.

⁷³ He writes of many curious experiences, some his own and some of other Muslim Couter-Crusaders: "I saw one of the Franks come to al-Amir Mu`in-al-Din (may Allah's mercy rest upon his soul!) when he was in the Dome of the Rock and say to him, "Dost thou want to see God as a child?" Mu`in-al-Din said, "Yes." The Frank walked ahead of us until he showed us the picture of Mary with Christ (may peace be upon him!) as an infant in her lap. He then said, "This is God as a child." But Allah is exalted far above what the infidels say about him." Usamah Ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in The Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh*, Philip K. Hitti, trans. (New York: Columbia University, 1929), p. 164.

⁷⁴ Edessa, Antioch, Tyre, Acre and many other cities and outposts were left with a legacy of Latin architecture. This took the form of masonry buildings such as castles and churches with massive ashlar masonry and vaulted ceilings. See Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus, I and II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 1998).

⁷⁵ In this context, *jihad*, which can also be interpreted as 'struggle', referring to an internal conflict or striving for a better Muslim life, is used to refer to war against the infidels, the Franks.

⁷⁶ *The Koran*, N. J. Dawood, trans. (London: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 135.

⁷⁷ Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image and the Word Volume II: Indexes* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1981), p. 45.

⁷⁸ Jean Sauvaget, 'Inscriptions Arabes', *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), p. 330.

⁷⁹ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), ff 34, p. 71.

⁸⁰ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), ff. 34, p. 71.

⁸¹ Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image and the Word Volume II: Indexes* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1981), p. 43.

⁸² Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image and the Word Volume II: Indexes* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1981), p. 43.

⁸³ This is based on the indexed list of occurrences of verse IX:18 in Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image and the Word Volume II: Indexes* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1981), pp. 43-53.

⁸⁴ In addition to the actual role of *jihad* in the selection for this particular inscription, there is the matter of the subtleties of wording and interpretation. In looking at translations into English of IX:18, some scholars have chosen to emphasize that none should enter the mosques but Believers. However, in the Yusuf Ali translation: "The mosques of God shall be visited and maintained by such as believe in God and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and practice regular charity, and fear none (at all) except God. It is they who are expected to be on true guidance." the emphasis is on the responsibility of entering and maintaining mosques, not excluding non-Believers.

The Shakir translation phrases IX:18 in this manner: "Only he shall visit the mosques of Allah who believes in Allah and the latter day, and keeps up prayer and pays the poor-rate and fears none but Allah; so (as for) these, it may be that they are of the followers of the right course."

The Pickthall translation reads: "He only shall tend Allah's sanctuaries who believeth in Allah and the Last Day and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due and feareth none save Allah. For such (only) is it possible that they can be of the rightly guided."

(These three versions were collected from: <http://al-quran.org.uk> > Sura At-Tawba [9:18-18], visited October 30, 2003.)

⁸⁵ Carole Hillenbrand, 'The History of the Jazira, 1100-1250: A Short Introduction', *The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1250*, Julian Raby, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 13.

⁸⁶ Carole Hillenbrand, 'The History of the Jazira, 1100-1250: A Short Introduction', *The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1250*, Julian Raby, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985),

p. 13.

⁸⁷ For an excellent narrative of the interplay of Christian (local and Frankish) and Muslim forces, see: Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984).

⁸⁸ The similarities, differences and relationships between the four schools have been the subject of dynamic discourse since the inception of the *madhhab* system. There are a variety of publications available on the subject, including the entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. See, for example, E. Chaumont, 'Al-Shafi'iya', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. IX. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 185-189; W. Effening, J. Schacht, 'Hanafiyya', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. III (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), pp. 162-164.

⁸⁹ During the nascent years of the Seljuk Empire, all of the sultans were Hanafi. Their viziers were either Hanafi or Shafi'i. Although Sunnism (Hanafi and Shafi'i Sunnism in particular) was a condition for holding office listed in Nizam al-Mulk's *Siyasat Nama*, this requirement was relaxed in later periods. Carla L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055-1194* (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 70.

⁹⁰ Turkish architectural scholar Mahmut Akok uses this nomenclature in: 'Diyarbakır Ulucami Mimari Manzumesi', *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. VIII (1969), pp. 113-139.

⁹¹ Barbara Finster, 'The Saljuqs as Patrons', *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, Robert Hillenbrand, ed. (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1994), p. 19.

⁹² Barbara Finster, 'The Saljuqs as Patrons', *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, Robert Hillenbrand, ed. (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1994), p. 19.

⁹³ Carla L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055-1194* (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 71.

⁹⁴ Ira M. Lapidus, 'Muslim Cities and Islamic Societies', *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 54. Lapidus notes that this state of rivalry existed in Isfahan and Samarkand as well. He does not give specific dates for the existence of conflict between *madhhabs*, but his general discussion within the essay includes the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries.

⁹⁵ Robert Hillenbrand, 'Masjid, Part I: In the Central Islamic Lands', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 662.

⁹⁶ Martin Van Bruinessen, 'Religious Life in Diyarbakır', *Evlîya Çelebi in Diyarbakır: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 48.

⁹⁷ Martin Van Bruinessen, 'Religious Life in Diyarbakır', *Evlîya Çelebi in Diyarbakır: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 49. Cizre, a *hükümet* of Diyarbakır, is also on the record with a *mufti* for all four *madhhabs*. Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Diyarbakır', *Evlîya Çelebi in Diyarbakır: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 27.

⁹⁸ My translation from the French in Jean Sauvaget, 'Inscriptions Arabes', *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), number 97, p. 334.

⁹⁹ R.J. Garden, 'Description of Diarbekr', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 37 (1867), p. 188.

¹⁰⁰ Kurdology, the study of the Kurdish languages, connects the Kurdish tongues (there are numerous dialects, Kirmanci being among the most prevalent) to Iranian languages including Farsi.

¹⁰¹ Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Diyarbekir', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 13.

¹⁰² David McDowall, *The Kurds* (United Kingdom: Minority Rights Group, 1996), p. 12. This was solidified with the treaty of 1639.

¹⁰³ Martin Van Bruinessen, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Diyarbekir', *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ A more detailed description of the Shafi'i Prayer Hall's physical features may be found in Chapter One.

¹⁰⁵ The full inscription, in translation, is also to be found in Chapter One.

¹⁰⁶ Max Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 118. The castle or fort of Atak no longer stands.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Hillenbrand, 'Masdjid, Part I: In the Central Islamic Lands', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 656.

¹⁰⁸ Hillenbrand suggests that the increasing number of mosques was echoed in the use of the word *mesjid* to indicate mosques in inscriptions up to the fourteenth century, which switches to the use of *cami/djami* to indicate a large mosque, with limited use of the word *mesjid* by the fifteenth century. Robert Hillenbrand, 'Masdjid, Part I: In the Central Islamic Lands', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 657.

¹⁰⁹ E. Chaumont, 'Al-Shafi'iya', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. IX (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), p. 187.

¹¹⁰ Mahmut Akok, 'Diyarbakır Ulucami Mimari Manzumesi', *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. VIII (1969), ff. 14, p. 124.

¹¹¹ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), I.9.1, p. 135.

¹¹² Robert Hillenbrand, 'Masdjid, Part I: In the Central Islamic Lands', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 656.

¹¹³ Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), ff. 77, p. 212.

¹¹⁴ Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 214.

¹¹⁵ Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, 'Diyarbakır Camileri', *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), p. 212.

¹¹⁶ In addition to a quest for this type of design in Diyarbakir, I searched for similar buildings in other Kurdish communities, other Turkish centres, and in other cities with Sunni presence in the Islamic world. I did not have success in my research travels, nor my consultations with architectural survey texts, monographs, and internet resources. I presented the issues to several Islamic architectural historians, including Dr. Erica Cruikshank Dodd, an expert in Levantine, Egyptian and Pakistani works, Dr. Marcus Milwright, a specialist in Syrian archaeology, and Dr. Anthony Welch, an authority on Iranian and Indian architecture.

CHAPTER FIVE: UNDERSTANDING THE DIYARBAKIR ULU CAMI THROUGH SACRED SITES AND COMMUNITY MEMORY

Righteousness does not consist in whether you face towards the East or the West. The righteous man is he who believes in God and the Last Day, in the angels and the Book and the prophets; who, though he loves it dearly, gives away his wealth to kinsfolk, to orphans, to the destitute, to the traveller in need and to beggars, and for the redemption of captives; who attends to his prayers and renders the alms levy; who is true to his promises and steadfast in trial and adversity and in times of war. Such are the true believers; such are the God fearing.

-Passage from Qur'an II:177, 'The Cow,' inscribed on a stone of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami in 639 AH/1241 in the Ayyubid variant of the naskhi style of Arabic script, and on a pillar of the north portico of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, same year, same script'

For architecture to serve the community effectively, it must be constructed in such a way as to address need and facilitate use through the arrangement and enclosure of space. This is the physical role of the building. Monumental architecture simultaneously fulfills another role, a mnemonic role. It stimulates community memory, it draws connections to traditions, and it communicates associations with time periods and geographical locations of perceived greatness. This memory stimulation occurs on a local level, where architectural history and narrative revolve around the development of a particular structure, such as Diyarbakir Ulu Cami. On the level of the *umma*, the greater Muslim community, ties to the genesis and early dissemination of their faith are sought through the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, the Al-Aqsa Mosque of Jerusalem, and the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. When a sacred site is used for an architectural project, the meaning of the building on that site transcends the architecture itself to absorb the meaning of the location as well as an architectural lineage. Thus, a building becomes

infused with significance beyond that which its physical characteristics embody, the details of which are perhaps unknown to the people who visit the site on a daily basis, but the pervasive importance of which remains in stories, and the respect and admiration for the edifice.

Architecture of great size or special meaning can take on a mythic quality in the collective memory of a community. The symbolism of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami is both sacred and political, certainly nothing unique in the scope of Islamic architecture. The shape of the building is designed to create clear associations with antecedent Muslim and Christian edifices and their respective messages of piety and strength; much of the lore of the mosque comes not from actual events at the Ulu Cami site, but from a conscious and unconscious merging of the story of Diyarbakir's Great Mosque and the history of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. The consistently held belief that the Diyarbakir Great Mosque was once a church and the inclusion of pre-Muslim spolia in the mosque design have resulted in a fascinating regional understanding of the building, which is a narrative that runs parallel to, and occasionally intersects with, the actual history of the architecture and its site. This mythology of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami is the result of carefully planned visual references in the plan and decorative details of the mosque building, the environment of Christian architecture and tradition in the city, and the introduction of political ideologies during the initial phase of construction under the Great Seljuks.

The Great Seljuks: Patrons in Iran and Diyarbakir

Malik Shah, the patron of the main prayer hall of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, was

the ruler of the Great Seljuks of Persia (1055-1194). The Seljukid approach to their western border territories was often to make them into vassals, but Diyarbakir was put under the direct control of the sultan in 1085. Local leadership and representatives were often used by the Seljukid bureaucracy in such situations, but architectural patronage was generally a matter of state.² The Seljuks created written accounts of the ideological motivation behind many of their major architectural commissions. Nizam al-Mulk, Malik Shah's vizier, authored the *Siyasat-nama*, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, some time between 1086 and 1091³ as a 'sultan's handbook.' The architectural infrastructure of the empire was of the utmost importance, as a standing symbol of the power and increasing extent of their leadership, and as a tool for disseminating, implanting and perpetuating the political stance of the Seljuks. Their programme of architectural patronage is believed by many to be intimately connected to the resurgence of Sunni Orthodoxy.⁴ Nizam al-Mulk writes that the sultan, the great king,

will bring to pass that which concerns the advance of civilization, such as ... building bridges across great waters, ... raising fortifications, building new towns, and erecting lofty buildings ... he will have inns built on the highways and schools for those who seek knowledge; for which things he will be renowned forever⁵

Certainly these instructions, or what was likely already official policy by the time Nizam al-Mulk recorded them, were of benefit to Diyarbakir's fortifications and travellers' facilities. It is interesting that he writes of "erecting lofty buildings" and makes particular note of schools,⁶ but does not mention mosque patronage as a kingly obligation.⁷

The Seljuks of Persia were unique in the manner in which they approached the construction of religious institutions.⁸ Rather than pursuing mosque construction, their emphasis was on educational structures, including *medreses*, and on the social infrastructure, resulting in hospitals and soup kitchens.⁹ The personnel trained to staff these architectural endowments (along with the taxation officials who collected the funds needed to run them) were trained within the Seljuk system. By re-establishing the ties between the government and religious institutions, the Seljuks aspired to disseminate their Sunni ideologies through juridical, religious, and civil administrative channels.¹⁰ The extensive, state-supported medrese system is often viewed as a Seljukid innovation, used to facilitate the Sunni Revival by securing “the support of the religious classes by giving them a stake in the proper functioning of the state”¹¹ and through training the bureaucracy in *shari`a* and good government on the Seljuk model. Nizam al-Mulk initiated this movement, and founded the Nizamiyya schools, funding them from the royal budget, over which he had control. Baghdad, Nishapur, Amul, Mosul, Herat, Damascus, Jazirat Ibn `Umar, Balkh, Ghazna, Marv and Basra each had such a *medrese*.¹² Amirs and other officials also contributed to this programme of education-based architecture. With this in mind, it is interesting to note that neither the Seljuk government nor private patrons built a *medrese* in Diyarbakir. Instead, they erected a congregational mosque; it was the Artukids who erected the Mesudiye Medrese and the Zinciriye Medrese, during the early thirteenth century, in the mosque precinct.

The Seljuk’s interests were focused on a political agenda that included Sunni proselytisation. Yasser Tabbaa notes that the Seljuks “drew their legitimacy from the Abbasid state and opposed all its enemies, particularly the Fatimids and their Isma`ili

sympathizers.”¹³ Seljuk imperial expansion was directed towards Fatimid Egypt, by way of Syria and the Jazira. Architecture was a solid and practical reminder of their government as the Seljuks moved outwards from Baghdad and Isfahan; they were often leading a population culturally, linguistically and even religiously different from themselves, and often as absentee rulers with locally appointed officials. Perhaps, in Diyarbakir, a congregational mosque was a more prominent and effective conveyance of this message of political symbolism. Perhaps a plan was in place to construct a complex of buildings, with a *medrese* to be added after the mosque was completed. It was not one of his viziers, but Malik Shah himself who was the official patron and instigated the construction of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami project;¹⁴ his wishes for this border territory may have been to place the larger, grander edifice of mosque rather than *medrese* as the bearer of his name.

Although Baghdad was the seat of the Caliphate, to whom the sultans swore their allegiance, Isfahan was the de-facto capital of the Seljuk Empire. The Masjid-e Jomeh, the Friday Mosque of Isfahan, also bore the name of Malik Shah. In 1086-87, in what Oleg Grabar calls the fourth phase of the mosque, and “the only one which can really be connected with the Seljuk dynasty,”¹⁵ Malik Shah and Nizam al-Mulk constructed a dome before the *mihrab* of the existing mosque structure. Built of brick, using *muqarnas* transitions, this *maqsura* dome was the largest accomplished in Islamic architecture at the time.¹⁶ Grabar attributes the construction of this south dome to a pious foundation, in order to elicit a response in the context of the partisan ideologies of the Sunni revival.¹⁷ He also mentions that, as a result of Malik Shah’s dome, rulers in west central Iranian cities throughout the twelfth century were eager to erect their own domes, as they held a

“sanctioned liturgical role, since there was a dome in front of the *mihrab* of the Prophet’s mosque in Madinah.”¹⁸ The Muslims of Seljuk Iran were clearly referencing the local architectural vernacular in the use of bricks, the form of their monumental edifices and details such as structural transition zones. It is likely that they were also seeking to stir up mnemonic parallels in making such a direct link between their own place of prayer and the Mosque of the Prophet. They accomplished this by superimposing the sacred place of the genesis of their faith, and the power of the Umayyads and al-Walid’s mosque at the site of Muhammad’s house in Medina (707-9), upon the architectural product of their own wealth and Sunni piety. Yet, the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir does not appear to emulate the overall structural form of the mosque at Isfahan, or any other works of Persian Islamic architecture, for that matter.¹⁹ Diyarbakir more closely resembles an Umayyad building, which features a Seljukid dome that pre-dates the Isfahan *maqsura*: The Great Mosque of Damascus.

The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus: Inspiration of Form

In 475 AH/1082-83, nine years before the construction of the earliest section of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami in 1091-2, Malik Shah²⁰ and his brother, the Damascene viceroy Tutush, restored the transept dome, the Qubbat al-Nasr of al-Walid, at the Great Mosque of Damascus.²¹ Imad al-Din recounts that the dome of the Umayyad mosque had been destroyed in a fire in 461 AH/1068-69.²² For the Seljuks, the Damascus Great Mosque was surely symbolic of Umayyad power and the great future they anticipated as they moved their forces through Syria into Egypt to conquer their Fatimid adversaries. The nascent Seljuk Empire had used its military might to move into Syria at intervals, dating

back to the time of their conquest of Baghdad, overseen by Toghril Bey in December of 1055. The Shi'ite Fatimids were ejected from Syria by 1075, and the Seljuks set up governments in Damascus and Aleppo, as well as in Mosul.

Presumably inspired by his patronage of the repairs in Damascus, it was natural for Sultan Malik Shah to support a building plan for Diyarbakir which emulated the Damascus Great Mosque. Damascus had become the capital of the Islamic Caliphate in 41 AH/661. Caliph al-Walid issued the order to build a congregational mosque, and the site of the Classical *temenos* and the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist was selected. The foundation inscription is no longer extant, but various historical sources record that the project commenced in 86 AH/ 705,²³ 87 AH/706,²⁴ or 88 AH/ 707.²⁵ The resulting structure, completed c. 715, was one of the Four Wonders of the Islamic World, a list that included the Cathedral of Edessa, the Sanja Bridge and the lighthouse at Alexandria.

According to K.A.C. Creswell, the prayer hall, which he labels the "sanctuary", measures 136 metres by 37 metres, and the dimensions of the courtyard are equally massive, at 122 metres by 50 metres.²⁶ Three arcades enclose the area before the prayer hall. These are arranged in two tiers, with nine arch sets to the east and west, and twenty-four to the south. The great fire of 1893 destroyed most of this arcading, and what remained, to the south-west, was razed.²⁷ A transept with a dome divides the southern façade. On the exterior, the symmetry to either side of this transept is maintained with matching wings comprised of eleven arches, springing from piers.

The interior arrangement of the prayer space is marked by three, longitudinal aisles, running parallel to the *qibla*. The roof, which uses a separate, gabled peak for each of the three aisles, is supported by airy, double-tiers of Corinthian columns. The transition

from the aisles to the transept zone is demarcated by stone arches resting on the piers that support the dome, which uses squinches for the transition. The spandrels of these arches reach up to the ceiling, creating a solid, rectangular frame for the slightly pointed arch.

The main *mihrab* is located within the transept. The *mihrab* of the Companions is located within the *qibla* wall in the centre of the aisle east of the transept, while the Bab al-Ziyada interrupts the western part of the *qibla*.

The exterior of the Great Mosque of Damascus was richly and beautifully endowed with a mosaic programme and quartered marble paneling. The tenth-century writer Muqaddasi describes these coloured marbles and the manner in which the veining flowed from one panel to another, a treatment that Creswell believes was not used again in Muslim architecture.²⁸

The similarities between the Great Mosque of Damascus (Figure 57) and the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir are visually striking and immediately apparent: the large prayer hall or “sanctuary” with a prominent transept; the use of three aisles running parallel to the *qibla*; the positioning of the *mihrab* in the centre of the plan and a second *mihrab* to the east of the transept; and the second level of arcading to support the roof structure, in the case of Damascus an open and airy arcade and in Diyarbakir a blind arcade. These types of basic, descriptive comments may be used interchangeably between the two buildings. In addition, the proportions are similar; were it not for the skewed angle of the courtyard in Diyarbakir, the floor plans of the two mosques could be juxtaposed with few discrepant features.

The verisimilitude of the designs of these two congregational mosques is, in fact, so obvious that it becomes a standard comment in the survey text discussions of the

Diyarbakir Ulu Cami. Such general discussions shed little light on the Diyarbakir mosque, and do not broaden the understanding of the impact of the Damascene mosque beyond stylistic influence. It is important to keep in mind that it was not actually the Seljuks who completed the Diyarbakir mosque, but a series of dynastic rulers, including the Inalids and the Nisanids, with the later addition of a *medrese* by the Artukids and some Ottoman elements. The architectural vocabulary of the arcades used in the enclosure of the courtyard at Damascus, an essential aspect of possessing, defining and sanctifying the space, is also part of what helps to solidify the visual link with Diyarbakir. There is little doubt that the basilical plan, oblong courtyard, symmetrical façade and gabled transept of Diyarbakir were consciously selected and constructed to draw attention to political and Sunni religious connections to Syria. The patronage of the Seljuks in Anatolia at the time of their leadership in Syria reflected an interest in a similar move of imperial power into an established community, made by the Umayyads in the seventh century.

Did the Inalids and the Nisanids have similar references in mind? As small, regional dynasties that emerged in the Jazira, in Diyarbakir in particular, during the decline of Persian Seljuk power, what would their interest have been in maintaining the Damascus-based floor plan with their additions of the eastern and western courtyard façades and the minaret? It is possible that the Seljuks had established an overall plan, and that the beyliks were simply following the scheme through to completion. In any case, the consciousness of the symbolism and the basis for the design of the Diyarbakir Great Mosque complex would have guided their patronage. Even though the Inalids and the Nisanids would not have desired to relate the Ulu Cami to visions of Seljuk glory,

they would have maintained an interest in Sunni dominance. It is likely that they would also have had a similar interest in making a statement of power and righteousness amongst a predominantly Christian population. In 639 AH/1241, the year the Anatolian Seljuks came to power in Diyarbakir,²⁹ an inscription was made of Qur'anic verse II:177 (see above) in the Ayyubid variant of the *naskhi* style of Arabic script. This passage from Sura Two, 'The Cow', is carved into the stone of the façade of the prayer hall to the left of the main door.³⁰ This *aya* is present in the same style of script on a pillar of the north portico of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus; the inscription was made in Damascus in 639 AH/1241, the same year as its appearance in Diyarbakir.³¹ In light of the fact that there are only two Qur'anic inscriptions in the whole of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami,³² it is likely that such epigraphic parallels were part of a continued effort to link Diyarbakir and Syria, the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami with the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus.³³

Yet, even the Seljuk-commissioned sections of the Diyarbakir mosque were not exacting in their references to Damascus. There is the apparent absence of the marble and mosaic surface decoration, so evident at Damascus.³⁴ The eastern and western courtyard façades maintain a semblance of Classical order, and the main prayer hall façade incorporates spolia details as well. It was not merely Damascus, but a wider Syrian tradition that spoke to the patrons of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami in its various stages.

The Seljuk leader Tutush held the title of Sultan in Syria when the minaret of the Aleppo Great Mosque was completed in 487 AH/ 1094. Herzfeld notes that the Aleppo mosque was still in the form of the Damascus Umayyad mosque at that time.³⁵ The impetus behind the Damascus Great Mosque dome reconstruction and the Aleppo minaret project might seem to represent a Seljukid aesthetic, also embodied in the style and plan

of their Diyarbakir Great Mosque. However, Terry Allen emphasizes that the “minaret has nothing whatsoever to do with the Saljuks - it is a monument to local taste.”³⁶ This minaret, square in form and articulated into five sections through moulding and a cornice, underhung with *muqarnas* work, features inscription bands at each level, *mihrab*-like frames on each of the faces of the second level, a blind arcade of poly-lobed arches carved into the masonry of the fourth level, and wider lobed arches juxtaposed with corner articulation in the level beneath the cornice. This type of stonework, with strong, running mouldings and archaizing features, was the paradigm of masonry executed mostly before the twelfth century, in a 200 kilometre wide region between Aleppo and Edessa.³⁷

Diyarbakir sat in the midst of this regional stone work phenomenon: the thick, continuous moulding of the north courtyard arcade, the strong emphasis on ashlar masonry, the reserved use of surface textures and materials on the prayer hall façade, and what essentially amounts to a reuse of classicized spolia rather than a reinterpretation, reflect the localized approaches to building and decorating architecture. The shape and meaning of Damascus were successfully translated to Diyarbakir, but the beloved skill in stone carving and masonry and the reliance on this structural and decorative tradition was the result of the synthesizing effect of regional tradition.

This regional talent for stone carving was recognized as far away as Fatimid Cairo. Three brothers from Edessa were commissioned as the artisan stone masons of the Bab al-Nasr, the Bab al-Futuh and the Bab Zuwayla, the gates of late eleventh-century Cairo.³⁸ These limestone towers with arched gateways and heavy mouldings were exemplary works of military masonry architecture, constructed in 1087-92 under the

patronage of the Armenian general Badr al-Jamali. The bull's heads carved for the lintel brackets of the Bab al-Futuh are similar to those projecting from the imposts of the central bays of the east and west courtyard façades of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.³⁹

In a formal sense, it is necessary to draw comparisons between Diyarbakir's architecture and Syrian examples, because Diyarbakir simply does not fit into a discernible pattern of Anatolian mosques. Pre-Ottoman Diyarbakir shares few architectural characteristics with other large centres in eastern Turkey, such as the distinctive *turbes* or tomb towers,⁴⁰ and the mixing of brick, tile and stone⁴¹ of the Anatolian Seljuks. The Artukid *medreses* and the Ak Koyunlu mosques of Diyarbakir do not reflect trends in other Anatolian cities. The black basalt used in every construction project in the city is a defining feature of the buildings of Diyarbakir that also distinguishes the city's architecture from Anatolian examples. For all intents and purposes, there are no Muslim antecedents in Diyarbakir to contextualize the Diyarbakir Great Mosque. We know little of another early purpose-built mosque of the city, the citadel mosque, other than that Shahid, the son of Khalid ibn al-Walid the companion of the Prophet and credited conqueror of Diyarbakir, was buried at the site.⁴² In the surrounding area, there are later construction projects, but no examples contemporary with the Ulu Cami. The city of Edessa (now known as Urfa), southwest of Diyarbakir, was taken by the Arabs in 639, but the Muslim occupiers constructed little,⁴³ and the Cathedral of Edessa remained, as we have seen, a Wonder of the Islamic World for some time. The Seljuks began what was to be a series of invasions in 1045, and the Frankish Crusaders arrived in the region in 1098. It does not seem likely that an Islamic architectural project of size and influence would be possible under these circumstances.

Thus, the current Great Mosque of Urfa (Figure 58) is dated to the Zengid dynasty, during the third quarter of the twelfth century.⁴⁴ Hasankeyf,⁴⁵ south of Diyarbakir on the Tigris, was ruled by the Artukids during the twelfth century, having been obtained by the family dynasty as a Seljukid fief in 1102. In 1183, the Artukids moved their seat to Diyarbakir, but by that time, the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir was basically complete in its basilical form. The Great Mosque of Mayyafarikin (Figure 59), now known as Silvan, is perhaps the closest to the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami in dating of area mosques. The Artukids here built a wide hall with four aisles, the second and the *qibla* aisle being of narrower dimensions than the remaining two. The Silvan mosque's *mihrab* is shielded by a dome with *muqarnas* squinches and a diameter of 13.5 metres. Returning our discussion to Persian architecture and the Seljuks, Oktay Aslanapa suggests that the Artukid builders have here utilized "the dome of Malikshah in the Friday Mosque at Isfahan."⁴⁶

The Question of a Dome at Diyarbakir

Why would the Silvan mosque relate to the Isfahan dome, while Diyarbakir, seeking visual references to the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, exist dome-less? A transept dome, a significant structural detail of the Great Mosque in Damascus, is notably absent from the current mosque structure in Diyarbakir. The use of a dome in the transept would certainly be in keeping with the reconstruction of the Damascus Great Mosque under Malik Shah's patronage. Did a dome exist during the construction phase of the building? Seventeenth-century Ottoman official and hobby traveller Evliya Çelebi visited Diyarbakir in the spring of 1655. In his description of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, he notes

that, above the columns of the mosque, “are wonderful domes, [vaulted like] inverted [bowls].”⁴⁷ Were domes part of the Ottoman Diyarbakir Ulu Cami structure?

If used in combination with the actual mosque structure, this seventeenth-century traveller’s account and a sixteenth-century Ottoman painting of Diyarbakir that includes a visual representation of the Great Mosque can help to answer questions about the appearance of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami. These sources will also illuminate our understanding about perceptions of the building, related to but not necessarily determined by accurate observations of the mosque’s architectural vocabulary.

The Ottoman Sultan Süleyman led a campaign against the Safavis of Iran in 1534-35. A series of 128 illustrations of cities, towns and shrines the sultan visited⁴⁸ on his path was compiled in the *Bayan-i manazil-i safar-i ‘Iraqayn-i Sultan Süleyman Khan* (İstanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi MS 5964) by the artist Matrakçı Nasuh. Completed in 1537-38, these illustrations often took the form of topographical studies of urban landscapes, including a scene of Diyarbakir, entitled ‘Kara Amid’ (Figure 60). This view of “Black Amida” exhibits the artist’s characteristic blend of artistic interpretation and detailed visual information.

In this folio, the view is from above, and the perspective is taken from the north of the city looking south. A significant amount of architectural detail is included in the scene, which helps in the identification of the buildings. The citadel is placed in the lower left hand corner of the scene and the city walls are depicted in a rectangular formation that follows the confines of the page. These are not, however, the lines of the actual enceinte. The city gates are positioned in the centre of each side of the walls, depicted as small, rectangular openings. Matrakçı Nasuh’s illustration shows clusters of residential

buildings, the palace and buildings of the citadel, and several places of worship, six of which have prominent minarets.

In the centre of this 'map' and slightly to the right or west, is the Ulu Cami. It is clearly identified by its location, its large, enclosed courtyard, and its great size in comparison to the other structures represented. The building does not appear symmetrical, as the transept, such a prominent feature of the building, is drawn at the end of a single wing of the prayer hall, giving it the appearance of a perspectival view of the end of a basilica. The grilled clerestory windows and the three transept windows, the gabled roof, and the arcades on the courtyard façades are also representative of the Ulu Cami's design. Although it is obvious that Matrakçı Nasuh's topographical illustrations are not meticulous documents of the architecture Süleyman experienced during his campaign, they are helpful studies in the memorable features of sites and architecture.

Is it possible that the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami was originally graced with a dome that did not survive long past the Seljuk phase of rule in the city? We have already seen part of the account of the fire of 1115 in the writings of Matthew of Edessa in the description of the Diyarbakir Great Mosque. He also recounts that this fire, "a frightful and marvelous phenomenon" reached a state of inferno, "thus burning and completely destroying this house of prayer."⁴⁹ Although Matthew may have used some artistic license in his retelling of these events and most scholars accept that the inscriptions on the façade of the main prayer hall do actually date to the Seljuk period of patronage, 1091-92, could this fire and the subsequent tale of the complete destruction of the mosque have been fueled by the dome? Creswell, in speaking of the dome destroyed by fire in 1069 at the Damascus Great Mosque, describes a structure of wood, resting "on the great

cross-beams, in much the same way as does Lajin's dome in the Mosque of Ibn Tulun."⁵⁰ The transition from the aisles to the transept area of Diyarbakir's mosque is marked by heavy piers, capable of supporting the weight of such a cupola. If a dome of wood rested on a cross-beam ceiling structure in Diyarbakir and the mosque went up in flames in 1155, leaving behind the stone walls but ravaging the wooden supports, it may have been even closer in appearance to the prayer hall of Damascus.

In examining the Ottoman period of the Ulu Cami structure, it is possible to take Evliya Çelebi at his word and assume that there were domes that simply fell after the seventeenth century and were not rebuilt, in spite of the fact that the structure does not show evidence of having had domes of any kind in the last few centuries. It is Matrakçı Nasuh's painting that gives us the evidence to dispute Çelebi's claim. The 'Kara Amid' painting was conceptualized and executed in the latter half of the 1530s. Nasuh was very careful to detail the domed structures of Diyarbakir in a bright cobalt blue, emphasizing the lines created by lead sheathing. Six buildings are shown with a single dome, one with a central dome and a triple-domed portico, and two are depicted as smaller, multi-domed structures. Yet the Ulu Cami has no dome. It is not likely that the dome of the most prominent mosque in Diyarbakir would be overlooked by the artist, and therefore not likely that the Ulu Cami had a dome or domes during the Ottoman era.⁵¹

There are many questions for which historical extrapolation, stylistic associations and extant architecture cannot suggest answers. It is therefore not possible to know with any degree of certainty whether or not the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami actually had a dome in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I believe that the Seljuks constructed a dome for the mosque when it was first built, a dome which later collapsed or burned. It does not seem

as though the conditions were optimum for a dome reconstruction project, with the emphasis on the *riwaqs* and *medrese* in the twelfth century, in addition to the tumult of the Beylik period, the Crusades, and the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century.

The case for the Ottoman period is also challenging. It is highly unlikely that Matrakçı Nasuh was mistaken in his depiction of the Ulu Cami, or that a dome was constructed following the 1530s, but collapsed or burned prior to the seventeenth century. It is more plausible that the Ulu Cami did not actually have a dome or domes during the seventeenth century, but that Çelebi merged his perception of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami with his vision of the Great Mosque of Damascus and gave Diyarbakir this feature.

Çelebi knew the Great Mosque of Damascus and recognized the similarities between the mosque in Diyarbakir and its Syrian inspiration. He made the visual and symbolic connections between the two mosques in his understanding of the role, design and meaning of the architecture. This effectively merged their identities, conflating Çelebi's spatial perception of the Diyarbakir Great Mosque with his vision of the Great Mosque of Damascus.

This method of alluding to architectural precedent becomes clear through a consideration of the *Seyahatname*, Evliya Çelebi's compiled travel writings.⁵² He wrote prolifically on subjects including the languages, music, commerce and architecture of the places he himself visited, but his working method appears to have been a combination of on-site notations and later reflection and embellishment. There are many blank lines and empty spaces in writings that suggest that he wrote many sections from memory or notes after his journey had taken place.⁵³ It seems that, in his mind, Çelebi has conflated his perception of the physical attributes of Diyarbakir and Damascus and subsequently

referenced Damascus by gracing Diyarbakir's mosque with a dome or domes in his written description.⁵⁴

Çelebi's interest in local history and lore is clearly influential in the way that he approaches architecture, and perhaps how he proves most useful to the discussion of the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir presented here. For, although it is possible to simply discredit the mention of domes in Çelebi's description of the building, the connection with Damascus established in his texts directs us to the common understanding of the mosque. In turn, this points to the Christian history of the Ulu Cami site, and the belief that the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami was built from an antecedent Byzantine cathedral.

The "Christian Past" of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami

The idea that the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir was converted from the former Diyarbakir Cathedral, dedicated to St. Thomas, pervades the perceptions and much of the literature about the building.⁵⁵ Even Evliya Çelebi was convinced of the Christian heritage of the building in the seventeenth century, writing: "In its architectural elements are thousands of clear proofs that the mosque was previously a church."⁵⁶ Regardless of whether or not the current mosque was purpose-built as a work of Muslim architecture or contains the cathedral within its plan, the narrative concerning the architecture includes and even emphasizes this Christian history. It is part of how the building is understood in its present context, and many of the people of Diyarbakir who pray, study and rest at the mosque today are quick to mention that it was once a cathedral.⁵⁷

It is written by the historian and chronicler Waqidi, who died in 207 AH/823, that, upon conquering the city of Diyarbakir in 639, the Arab forces began to use the Byzantine cathedral as their place of prayer, sharing it with the Christians. He states that, upon entering the church, "Iyad took two thirds to make a mosque and left the other third for the Christians for the practice of their cult."⁵⁸ There is a discernible tendency during the medieval period of more than one religious tradition utilizing a single place of worship.⁵⁹ With the exception of an instinctive discomfort amongst historians with the thought of a two-thirds Muslim, one-third Christian cathedral, there is no concrete evidence to dispute Waqidi's claim to shared prayer space in seventh-century Diyarbakir. The roots of these two concepts of re-shaping a Christian structure, first into a shared architectural space and then into a purely Muslim space, appear to be intertwined, and to grow from each other. It is unlikely, however, that the current mosque has this cathedral as its physical architectural foundation.

Van Berchem, using Dionysius of Tell Mahre as his source, believed the Cathedral of St. Thomas, Mar Tomas, to be a church built or re-built by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, in the year 629. The church in question, under the Episcopal see of Mar Aba, was restored in 770.⁶⁰ If it is accepted that the church was returned to sole Christian use after the time of al-Walid (705-715), then why would it later be converted back to Diyarbakir's main congregational mosque? Creswell, in notes of his travels in Mardin and Diyarbakir,⁶¹ takes his opening comments on the Great Mosque almost directly from the Van Berchem study, but with the added assumption that the church was "still a Christian sanctuary 131 years after the conquest."⁶² This suggests that he believed it was never converted to Muslim use at all. Speaking of the main prayer hall, he does not

find the axially located narthex a probable 'Christian' feature, nor are the pointed arches of the façade probable features from the time of Heraclius. He also insists that the proportions were not in keeping with the standard for Syrian churches.⁶³ In Diyarbakir, the width is less than one fourth that of the length, evidence enough for Creswell of a post-Muslim conquest design. Archaeological evidence for the "vertical history" of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami evades us, yet the argument, including the inscriptions citing Malik Shah as the building's patron, seems stacked against a Christian ecclesiastical heritage.

The first textual description of a Great Mosque in Diyarbakir is found in Nasir-i Khusraw's *Safarnama* or *Book of Travels*. This Persian writer visited Diyarbakir in 438 AH/late 1046. He relates that:

The congregational mosque ... is of black stone, and a more perfect, stronger construction cannot be imagined. Inside the mosque stand 200-odd stone columns, all of which are monolithic. Above the columns are stone arches, and above the arches is another colonnade shorter than the first. Above that is yet another row of arches. All the roofs are peaked, and all the masonry is carved and painted with designs.⁶⁴

This description of such a wondrous building was, of course, written before the presumed date of construction for the current Great Mosque. Even if the elaboration of effective story-telling is taken into account, the Ulu Cami's interior as seen today has nowhere near 200 columns: the arrangement of two rows of ten supports results in a total of 20 piers. Not two but one level of arches, set above the piers, runs between the aisles. This description brings to mind a hypostyle plan, one that the basilical Great Mosque of Diyarbakir could never have fit. This might lead one to think that this earlier mosque was the very Mar Tomas Cathedral converted, once again, by the eleventh century to Muslim use.

It has been proposed by Creswell, in passing, that the arcade of thick, Corinthian columns under heavy arches to the north of the *sahn* may remain from the mosque Nasir-i Khusraw wrote of in 1046.⁶⁵ Terry Allen, however, believes that the northern courtyard arcade was part of the phase of construction that included the lower level of the western façade, dated by inscription to 511 AH /1117-8, a phase that was intended to rebuild the arcade around the entire courtyard.⁶⁶ His evidence is the spring of an arch, now incorporated into the façade of the Shafi'i prayer hall, fused with the northernmost pier of the west façade in the northwest corner of the courtyard.⁶⁷ The remaining north arcade does not have the elaborate epigraphic work that dates other additions to the Ulu Cami complex, and its use of columns as actual structural support, as opposed to the piers faced with columns to the east and west, make this segment of the Ulu Cami complex somewhat anomalous.

Nasir-i Khusraw mentions another impressive structure in addition to the mosque, a Christian structure:

Near the mosque is a large church, elaborately made of the same stone, and the floor is laid in marble designs. Beneath the dome, which is the Christians' place of worship, I saw a latticed iron door, the likes of which I had never seen before.⁶⁸

I would like to consider the possibility that Nasir-i Khusraw is speaking of a mosque that no longer exists, one that was built adjacent to the large, important and centrally located Cathedral of Diyarbakir, dedicated to St. Thomas (see Appendix I). Across the courtyard from the mosque sat a massive basilica of black, volcanic basalt, with a domed area designated as the Christian place of prayer while Muslims used the other two-thirds of the building. For a time, it provided a welcome sacred space and an

association with religious life in the community, but eventually became competition for the stunning new Seljukid mosque, commissioned by Sultan Malik Shah. The church, which would have been positioned on an east-west axis to provide for the Christian liturgy while conveniently placing the entrance to the west or south, just off of Diyarbakir's main north-south street, was dismantled and its materials re-used.

The Corinthian columns which supported the heavy basalt voussoirs may have remained in situ. Eventually, pointed arches with thick moulding were added atop these columns. The diameter and proportions of the northern arcade columns, as well as the spacing between them, on average 3.1 metres, are very much in keeping with the nave configurations from the early northern Syrian churches. Nine columns and the impost piers at either end of the arcade would create nine bays, a sizable nave. In this respect, the comparisons with the Christian-period basilicas of Syria are extensive.⁶⁹

Under this hypothesis, it follows that the beautifully executed decorative work of architraves, entablatures and cornice materials was carefully removed from the Diyarbakir cathedral and employed in the embellishment of the twelfth-century western and eastern courtyard façades. Although there have been other suggestions about the origins of the spoliated materials used in the Ulu Cami design,⁷⁰ it is logical to assume that this ready supply of beautifully fashioned ornament came from a local and immediate source. Josef Stryzowski promotes this as the answer to the question of origins⁷¹ and goes to impressive lengths to create a context for these spolia, citing Cairene and other Egyptian parallels, as well as the Temple of Jupiter at the Palace of Diocletian at Spalato, c. 303-5.⁷² It is Gertrude Bell who directs us back towards the Christian tradition in architecture, with her work 'The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin.'⁷³ She quotes the prior of

Rabban Hormuzd, who tells her that, “all around Mosul, the monks belonged to the Persian church,” but that, in the Tur Abdin, the region between Hasankeyf and Diyarbakir, “you will find that it belonged to Rum.”⁷⁴ Bell confirms the Hellenistic heritage of the region with her visits to the churches and monasteries of the area, Mar Augen, Mar Gabriel, Mar Azaziel, Mar Yakub, and Mar Sovo, to name a few. Her photographs of mouldings, ridges, squinches, lintels, capitals and imposts with foliate and geometric patterning leave no doubt as to the truly ‘vernacular’ style in which the classicising elements of spolia in use at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami were executed, most certainly for a church, possibly Mar Tomas.⁷⁵

There is a mythology and history surrounding the Ulu Cami that is inclusive of the Christian significance of the site. The patrons of the building and its additions were accepting of the spolia, with the meanings it carried for them, and they were accepting of the lore, which placed the early Muslims of the city within the cathedral confines and the sacred space of other religious traditions. The identity of the building for the community took on associations with past events that are just as valid in the conceptualization of sacred space and urban organization whether they really happened or not.

Sacred Sites and Community Memory

Community memory is powerful. In many ways, monumental architecture, due to its great size, impressive appearance, and the seemingly indestructible solidity of its presence, is not actually viewed in a conscious fashion, but is, rather, experienced through habitual, instinctive movement in and around the enclosed space its walls provide. In this

way, it becomes a template for legend. The popular narrative of the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir is related to the mythologized history of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, adding another layer of meaning to the visual ties between the two mosques and fixing Diyarbakir's place in a pan-Islamic architectural lineage of spiritual, religious and political ideologies. And, by incorporating the entire history of Diyarbakir as an urban centre through placing the building on ground sanctified by other religious traditions, the patrons gained instant legitimacy for their new structure.

When Caliph `Umar entered Jerusalem after the city's surrender to the Muslim armies in 638, it is said that he rode on a white camel to the site of the Temple of Solomon⁷⁶ and then asked Patriarch Sophronius to take him to the shrines of the Christians. The hour of prayer came while `Umar was in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and although Sophronius asked the Caliph to remain in the church to pray, Umar moved his prayer rug outside to the porch of the Martyrion, worried that his zealous followers might claim the place wherein he had prayed as a holy site for Islam.⁷⁷ The porch was thereafter a Muslim sanctuary and the church remained Christian.⁷⁸ The political act of appropriating the important sacred spaces and religious buildings of a conquered people is obvious in its implications of dominance. To appropriate the sacred meaning as well as politically dominating such a space has further power. To simultaneously create a mythology of tolerance and benevolence is yet more advantageous. The Prophet had dictated that the Christians and Jews of Jerusalem, the People of the Book, should be permitted to keep their places of worship and to use them without harassment after the Muslim conquest.⁷⁹ `Umar was careful to act in accordance

with this decree at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and it is likely that the conquerors of Damascus and Diyarbakir followed this policy as well.⁸⁰ If the Great Mosques of Diyarbakir and Damascus were to stand as symbols of Islam in predominantly Christian and Jewish cities, then they should be associated with the initial toleration policies and the eventual integration of the faith of the Muslim leaders.

Creswell discusses the fallacious theory that the Great Mosque of Damascus was built from the converted Church of St. John the Baptist. Like the stories surrounding Diyarbakir, the Damascene church was thought to have been divided between Muslims and Christians following the Arab conquest of the city. According to Ibn Shakir, the Christians were given the western half, while the Muslims prayed in the eastern section, before the location where the *mihrab* of the Companions of the Prophet now stands.⁸¹ Arculf, a visitor to Damascus just before 670, wrote of the church of St. John as though it were intact, adding that the “unbelieving Saracens” had built their own church.⁸² This, of course, indicates that there were two separate buildings, perhaps in proximity, much like the situation proposed above for Diyarbakir. From here, the stories begin to take on a life of their own, and the Umayyad mosque becomes a former church. Creswell opens the case against this notion by citing that the Arabic authors state that al-Walid razed the building before constructing his mosque,⁸³ textual evidence apparently ignored by geographers and historians. Waqidi’s account of shared Muslim-Christian prayer space in Diyarbakir was actually used as evidence to support the argument for similar circumstances in early Islamic Damascus.⁸⁴ The relationship between the Diyarbakirian and the Damascene Great Mosques, emanating from their intended visual parallels towards political and historical verisimilitude, contributed to and mutated this shared tale

of usage and Christian origins. Creswell concludes by suggesting that the Muslims and Christians of Damascus shared the *temenos*, not the church, and that the church was eventually pulled down to make way for the mosque, the Muslim leaders having, for a time, respected the treaty that protected Christian places of worship in the city.⁸⁵

Sitting on the former *temenos* of the ancient pre-Christian temple of Damascus, dedicated to Jupiter, the church of John the Baptist had already appropriated a previous stratum of sacred meaning. Mas`udi, writing in 943, explained that “The Mosque of Damascus before Christianity was a great temple. Then came Christianity and it became a church, then came Islam and it became a mosque.”⁸⁶ This cycle of sacred space in Diyarbakir is reflected in the words of Evliya Çelebi, who wrote that “No matter which dynasties controlled the city, this ancient building has never been anything but a place of worship. Here even nowadays the spiritual atmosphere is such that when a worshipper performs prostrations, his heart testifies that they have been accepted.”⁸⁷ Either with finely attuned instincts or knowledge of architectural history beyond what he is given credit for, Çelebi went on to list counterparts of architectural greatness with similar perceived heritages that could be contrasted with Diyarbakir. The first on his list was the Great Mosque of Aleppo, not only built following the design of the Great Mosque of Damascus, but constructed on the site of the city’s main cathedral,⁸⁸ formerly the site of a Hellenistic temple. Second was the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus itself, thirdly the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, followed by the al-Azhar Mosque⁸⁹ of Cairo and, finally, the “Great Aya Sofya of Istanbul,”⁹⁰ a church that was indisputably converted to a mosque.

Diyarbakir is not the only example of a mosque inspired by the form and history of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. In Harran, Turkey, the remains of the

congregational mosque built c. 744-50 and restored under Salah al-Din (1138-1193) in the twelfth century may look to Damascus.⁹¹ The large, square minaret is still visible. The Great Mosque of Hama, built in Syria under the Umayyads during the eighth century, with additions under the Mamluks during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, incorporated arcades and alternating piers and columns after the Damascene model.⁹² The Mosque of `Amr ibn al-`As in Cairo (Fustat, 642 and 827) used a similar courtyard plan and copied the square, corner-tower minarets seen in Damascus.⁹³ The Great Mosque of Cordoba is read by some as a reflection of the Damascus Great Mosque,⁹⁴ and the Damascene basis for the early form of the Great Mosque of Aleppo has already been noted. Interestingly, the Damascene model does not appear again in Turkish architecture, with the exception of the Isa Bey Cami in Selçuk (Figure 61), constructed in 1374 by Isa Bey.⁹⁵

Çelebi, ever the collector of traveller's tales, recorded that

the historians of Anatolia (Rum) or [other] sages of intelligence and [deep] insight, all agree that this ancient place of worship was probably built as far back as the blessed time of His Eminence [the prophet] Moses (upon whom be peace). On a white column, on the right-hand side of the columns of the courtyard, is its chronogram in Hebrew.⁹⁶

As there is no evidence of this prophetic layer in the identification of the building, it can be assumed that this was also part of the multi-religious community lore that has helped to define the Ulu Cami for the people of Diyarbakir. Someone must have related this tale to Çelebi to legitimize the Muslim site as one with an intrinsic, long standing sacred meaning and value. The city was home to a Jewish community. Perhaps the tradition of a Hebrew chronogram was one of the ways in which, as a minority, they wrote themselves into the history of the city and mosque.

The most sacred sites of Islam often have pre-Muslim precedent as holy, or at the very least sanctified, locations.⁹⁷ The Ka`ba in Mecca itself had a long pre-Islamic history as a sacred site. Another important site, the Dome of the Rock, was constructed atop a piece of rock made holy in the time of David and Solomon. By placing architecture upon such ground, it becomes claimed for Muslim use and interpretation. Oleg Grabar, in *The Shape of the Holy*, contends that the building has maintained approximately its original form, yet its meaning has changed over time.⁹⁸ Although this is speculation, it appears that the opposite is true in Diyarbakir, and that the Great Mosque continued to change shape for almost 500 years, while its overall meaning as a place of prayer, learning and contemplation for Muslims and of political power and historic reference for the entire community, was maintained. Does space need to be given shape for this type of understanding to occur? Certainly the layers of memory that pivot on the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami would lose their cohesiveness and drift away if the centre of the city was simply a market area or a parade ground, sometimes used for communal prayer. It is the framework of the architecture that gives this community its sense of self. It may be pride or piety, or it may be resentment and subjugation that the mosque conjures with its black stones and marble columns, but its form is a mnemonic strategy.

The intermingling of history, myth and community memory with an architectural formula is integral to architecture. Even with regional variations, for example the black basalt stone and ashlar masonry technique used at Diyarbakir, Islamic architecture is continually referencing powerful antecedents. Nuha Khoury describes the Prophet's Mosque at Medina as "an iconographic image of a monument whose value transcends temporal boundaries."⁹⁹ By framing this edifice in Medina as "the original source of

caliphal authority” which represented the Umayyads “as the true caliphs of the Umayyad-Abbasid-Fatimid triumvirate”,¹⁰⁰ Khoury is then able to draw out the references made by the Spanish Umayyads and the patrons of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in their own, albeit distant, construction project. By understanding the Cordoba mosque as a symbol of conquest and renewal, which engaged in the transfer of iconography and architectural elements, the architecture becomes the means for “inter-Islamic discourses on leadership and caliphal authority.”¹⁰¹ Cordoba, which holds its own partition myth involving the division of the church of Saint Vincent by the Muslim founders of the mosque to share with the Christians,¹⁰² inspired a memory of its role in Islamic history that incorporated Medina, Damascus, the caliphs, and the Christian community of Spain, among other things.

It has been suggested that, at the same time that the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina was being constructed (707-9) under al-Walid, Umayyad builders in Jerusalem were erecting the Aqsa Mosque,¹⁰³ which was, in turn, the reference point for plan and form for the Great Mosque of Damascus itself.¹⁰⁴ These visual references solidify symbolic associations and connect one building to another, inspiring historic narratives and myths at the local level and the Islamic world as a whole. It is certainly not much of a contribution to suggest that architecture influenced architecture. Of greater importance is the concept that architecture references other structures, thereby entering into an architectural lineage. Becoming part of this lineage enables single works of architecture to build upon the symbolism of prestige, power and legitimacy of a greater body of Islamic architecture.

Conclusion

The intended understanding of Diyarbakir Ulu Cami was never meant to develop in response to the building as it stands on its own. In selecting a site with sacred meaning, the patrons, perhaps the Arab conquerors, perhaps a dynastic family, or perhaps the Great Seljuks, created a centralized site of community gathering and prayer. If the legitimization of a religious practice was predicated by the construction of an edifice in the centre of Diyarbakir, the Muslims were simply taking over from the Roman temple of the agora and the Byzantine cathedral. Through the use of spoliated materials with a Christian heritage and a floor plan and prayer hall structure that made so many obvious links to Damascus, the Great Mosque in Diyarbakir could not possibly be read without making associations with other pieces of architecture and, thereby, other times, places and traditions. Even though most of the people who attended the mosque would never see the Hagia Sophia or the Great Mosque of Damascus with their own eyes, the community memory might eventually come to incorporate historical and political aspects of such sites, along with their respective mythologies.

The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami serves a very practical and tangible physical role as a solid, centrally located piece of architecture. It draws on local and imported approaches to construction, and has systematically absorbed additions into a long-established floor plan. This has resulted in an edifice that can be read like the pages of a book for clues as to what was happening in politics and religion at the time of the building phases of each respective section. But, people do not experience architecture in this purely physical-functional manner, and monumental structures become, like mountains and other natural features, understood for the memories they stimulate and the associations they make as

well as for their outline on the landscape. The history, myth and message of the Ulu Cami had many layers that were actively interpreted by the Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities of Diyarbakir.

¹ Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image and the Word V. II: Indexes* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1981), p. 7. Qur'anic passage taken from *The Koran*, N. J. Dawood, trans. (London: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 27.

² There are examples of private patronage. A number of *medreses* were built by individuals, although amirs and other officials were often behind these projects. In Shiraz, the female patron Zahida Khatun constructed and endowed a *medrese*. A.K.S. Lambton, 'The Internal Structure of the Saljuk Empire', *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 216.

³ Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, Hubert Drake, trans. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. xiv.

⁴ Carla L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055-1194* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973); Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001) and others make the claim that the Seljuks were part of a "Sunni revival," resulting in a conscious effort to link the government and its activities with Sunnism. It is difficult to examine the architectural manifestation of this movement, for the structures erected during that time do not remain for examination.

⁵ Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, Hubert Drake, trans. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) p. 10.

⁶ It is assumed here that the reference to schools is to *medreses*, such schools being both an architectural structure and a system of organisation, teaching and endowments.

⁷ Education and architecture to house education was significant to the Seljuks. This carried on into the ideology of the Seljuks of Anatolia. In July of 2002, I visited Sivas, in central Turkey. The portal of the Buruciye Medrese, constructed in 1271, bears an Arabic inscription which reads: "Learning is the obligation of every Muslim. The virtue of learning is better than the virtue of worship."

⁸ The Great Seljuks viewed the Sultan rather than the Caliph as the Islamic government, shifting the hierarchy of patronage.

⁹ There are other examples of dynasties that concentrated their patronage on *medreses* rather than mosques; the Artukids did so in Diyarbakir.

¹⁰ Carla L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055-1194* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 5,6.

¹¹ Carla L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055-1194* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 22.

¹² See A.K.S. Lambton, 'The Internal Structure of the Seljuk Empire', *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 216.

¹³ Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art During the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 18.

¹⁴ Royal foundations were very rare under the Great Seljuks. J.M. Rogers, 'Waqf and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia: The Epigraphic Evidence', *Anatolian Studies*, vol. XXVI (1976), p. 75.

¹⁵ Oleg Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), p. 49.

¹⁶ Oleg Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), p. 49. Grabar's monograph explains (pp. 49-50) that the excavations undertaken by Eugenio Galdieri, published as *Masgid-i Gum'a*, vols. 1-3 (Rome, 1972, 1973 and 1984), prove that the dome once stood open on three sides, although it was inserted into the operational mosque.

¹⁷ Oleg Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), p. 53.

¹⁸ Oleg Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), p. 52. A northern dome for Isfahan was also inspired by Malik Shah's south dome. In 1088, Taj al-Mulk, Nizam al-Mulk's great rival, sponsored what is considered to be a more sophisticated interpretation of Seljukid dome architecture. (p. 50).

¹⁹ The architectural paradigm in Iran consisted of a plan of flexible and adaptable applications, suitable for *medreses*, mosques, palaces, *karavansarays* and other types of religious and secular buildings alike. Hypostyle buildings with wooden supports existed until the four-*eyvan* plan became the standard some time during the Seljuk rise to power. An open courtyard would be surrounded by four vaulted halls, open to the courtyard, but walled on the remaining three sides. Isfahan, Basian, Zavareh, Qazvin, Yazd, Kirman and Ray consist of such a combination of courtyard, with *eyvans* centred on each side. http://archnet.org/library/dictionary/entry.tcl?entry_id=DIA0157&mode=full, visited August 12, 2003. Common under Sassanian rule, *eyvans* eventually became a component of Islamic architecture in many regions. Structures of more than one storey, particularly *medreses*, would incorporate *riwaqs*, arcades open to the courtyard. Mud brick and fired brick, decorated with stucco and tiles, remained the primary media without available stone to use in an ashlar masonry tradition.

²⁰ Four Kufic inscriptions were in place on the composite piers opposite the *mihrab* before the fire of 1893. Malik Shah's name was carved into marble slabs, reading that he had "ordered the construction ('*imara*) of this dome (*qubba*), this enclosure (*maqsura*), this roof (*saqf*), these arches (*taqat*), and these piers (*arkan*) in the year 475 (1082/3)", K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 167.

²¹ Ernst Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture IV', *Ars Islamica*, vol. 13-14 (1948) (reprint: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), p. 135.

²² Recounted in Bundari, cited in K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 168.

²³ According to Baladhuri, cited in K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 153.

²⁴ According to Mas'udi, cited in K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 153.

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- ²⁵ According to Theophanes, cited in K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture* Volume I, Part I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 153.
- ²⁶ K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture* Volume I, Part I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 165. The *sahn*'s precise measurements are 122.47 (north), 122.61 (south), 50.08 (east), and 47.87 (west).
- ²⁷ K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture* Volume I, Part I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), ff 3, p. 165.
- ²⁸ K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture* Volume I, Part I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 174.
- ²⁹ The Ayyubids, including Salah al-Din and his successors, had moved into the region, occupying Mayyafarikin in 1185. Although Salah al-Din gave the city of Diyarbakir to the Artukids as a family seat in 1183, the Artukids and the Ayyubids did not establish an amicable relationship through this process of Ayyubid expansion. The Artukids became vassals of the Anatolian Seljuks for a brief time in the face of the powerful Ayyubid Sultan Malik al-Kamil of Egypt (r. 1218-1238). Al-Kamil took Diyarbakir and Hasankeyf from the Artukids in 1232 but was defeated in a quarrel with the Anatolian Seljuks, and the Ayyubids and the Artukids (due to their association with the Ayyubids) were divested of their territories, except for Mardin, in the region. The Seljuks of Anatolia took Diyarbakir from the Ayyubids in 1241.
- ³⁰ According to Sauvaget, #92 in his categorization. Albert Gabriel and Jean Sauvaget, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), diagram # 191, and p. 332. This *aya* is also found in thirty-five mosques in other locations between 966 and 1543. Of these instances, five are in Cairo (four from the Mamluk period), five are in Aleppo (two at the citadel, the others in *medreses*), one, from 602/1206, is from the Hatuniya Medresesi in Mardin, one is from the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, and twelve are from sites in Damascus. Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image and the Word Volume II: Indexes* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1981), pp. 7, 8.
- ³¹ Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image and the Word Volume II: Indexes* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1981), p. 7.
- ³² The other, *Qur'an* IX:18, an *aya* from 'Repentance,' is written in floriated Kufic. It is discussed in Chapter Four.
- ³³ It is not certain whether the Damascus inscription or the Diyarbakir inscription was the predecessor. The Ayyubids were ruling Damascus at the time.
- ³⁴ The absence of mosaic at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami may be related to the great costs involved in purchasing tesserae and applying mosaic-work.
- ³⁵ Ernst Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture IV', *Ars Islamica*, vol. 13-14 (1948) (reprint: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), p. 135.
- ³⁶ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), p. 24.
- ³⁷ Yasser Tabbaa, 'Survivals and Archaisms in the Architecture of Syria', *Muqarnas*, vol. 10 (1993), p. 33.
- ³⁸ Ernst Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture II', *Ars Islamica*, vol. 10 (1943) (reprint: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), p. 34. Edessa was once known as Urfa. It lies west of Diyarbakir.

³⁹ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), p. 39.

⁴⁰ Published work (for example see Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); Albert Gabriel and Jean Sauvaget, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1940); Metin Sözen, 'Some Important Monuments from the Turkish Period in Diyarbakir', *IV^{ème} Congrès International d'Art Turc, (Aix-en-Provence 1971)*, (Provence: International Congress of Turkish Art, 1976)) and my own visits to Diyarbakir provide no examples of Anatolian Seljuk *turbes* in the city and its immediate area.

⁴¹ Erzurum's Çifte Minareli Medrese, c. 1253, by Hüdavend Hatun, daughter of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad, combines fluted minarets with turquoise tile-work with a structure of elaborately carved stone masonry. In Sivas, the Gök Medrese, 1271, is comprised of a pair of brick minarets flanking the main portal on a façade of carved stone. The interior is a rich combination of tiles, brick and stone.

⁴² C.L. Huart, 'Diyarbakir', *Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam* vol. II (reprint: Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 983.

⁴³ Tradition states that the governor of Mesopotamia, Sa'id ibn 'Amir, build a mosque in the centre of the city in 644, and in 825-6, Muhammad ibn Tahir ordered the construction of a new mosque. J.B. Segal. *Edessa 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 213.

⁴⁴ Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 99. Aslanapa suggests here a resemblance to the Great Mosque of Aleppo (p. 99). Based on my visit to Urfa in June of 2002, in its current form, the Urfa Great Mosque does not suggest stylistic connections with Diyarbakir and the Damascus-Aleppo Great Mosque pattern. There are signs that it has taken over the spot once occupied by another edifice, church or mosque, for the Imam pointed out a Corinthian capital peeking out from under the cover of one of the short, heavy piers in use within the mosque today. He was also eager to suggest that a cistern beneath the building, which provides cold water via a small opening at the north wall of the mosque, was once a provider of holy water for a Christian church.

⁴⁵ Michael Meinecke writes an effective survey of prominent structures in Hasankeyf in 'Hasankeyf/Hisn Kaifa on the Tigris: A Regional Center on the Crossroad of Foreign Influences,' Chapter Three of his book *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions versus Migrating Artists* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

⁴⁶ Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 96.

⁴⁷ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), I.9.1, p. 135. The brackets belong to the translators.

⁴⁸ Sultan Süleyman "The Magnificent's" visit to Diyarbakir is commemorated through an inscription in the Ottoman *naskhi* script, which runs across the façade of the Shafi'i prayer hall, part of the northern section of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami. Along with praise for the Sultan's justness and the greatness of his lineage, it mentions the Ottoman-period work done on the structure, dated 935 AH/1528-29. Max Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 117.

⁴⁹ Ara Edmond Dostourian, trans., *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham: National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, 1993), p. 218.

⁵⁰ K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture* Volume I, Part I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 168.

⁵¹ Does this mean that we can not use Çelebi as a reliable resource? Evliya Çelebi's writings are sometimes regarded with suspicion, but they have clearly been a rare and vivid resource for the study of social and architectural history in Turkey. In the case of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, Çelebi's descriptions are important and, although they were not executed with the exactness we would expect from architectural description in current scholarship, they do give significant insight into the form and function of the building. In an interesting analysis of Çelebi's writings, Ülku Ü. Bates reminds readers that Çelebi was an Ottoman official who travelled under the protection of the Empire, but purely for reasons of personal enrichment rather than government business. He "was not an official historian or a chronicler" and "his judgement and knowledge of history was that of a cultivated Ottoman gentleman of the 17th century." Ülku Ü. Bates, 'Evliya Çelebi's Comments on the Saljuqs of Rüm', *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, Robert Hillenbrand, ed. (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1994), p. 258.

⁵² The sections of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* that discuss his visits to Diyarbakir have been used throughout this thesis. They are transliterated from Ottoman Turkish and printed with accompanying translation into English in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

⁵³ For example, under the heading "The hamam of the New Gate" there is only an empty line. Another entry reads "___ and the hamam of the citadel, built by ___ Since all the pasha's staff and the notables frequent this hamam it is an immaculately clean and pleasant hamam" followed by 1 1/3 empty lines. Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passages I.47.13, and I.47.14, p. 169.

⁵⁴ Dr. Finbarr Barry Flood supports this approach to Evliya Çelebi's writings. Flood notes that, in Çelebi's writings on the mosaic inscriptions inside the Dome of the Rock, he specifically mentions Sura 24, 'Light.' According to Flood, this is an important and often-used Sura in Ottoman mosques, but it is not found in the Dome of the Rock, meaning that Çelebi was referencing more familiar, Turkish tendencies in *Qur'anic* inscriptions. Conversation with Dr. Finbarr Barry Flood, January 30, 2004, Victoria B.C., Canada.

⁵⁵ R.J. Garden, writing of the mosque in the 1860s, remarks that he "visited the Ulu-jami, or Great Mosque, which they say was originally a Christian church." R.J. Garden, 'Description of Diarbekr', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 37 (1867), p. 188. Aptulah Kuran, in 'Anatolian-Seljuk Architecture', *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, E. Akurgal, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 83., mentions that "The oldest mosque within the borders of Turkey is the Ulu Cami (Great Mosque) of Diyarbakir, which is dated to the seventh century." This early dating is obviously a reference to the antecedent Byzantine church.

⁵⁶ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.9.1, p. 135.

⁵⁷ Eşref, a Diyarbakir resident and local history enthusiast I met while visiting the city, related that the "Ulu Cami was a church. Its name was Mar Toma. The empire of Büyük Selcuk [Great Seljuks] came to Diyarbakir in 1091 and Diyarbakir people changed religions and they made this mosque."

⁵⁸ This passage from Waqidi is taken from the Niebuhr-Mordtmann translation, p. 108, printed in Max Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 51. The translation from the French is mine.

⁵⁹ The Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was the site of simultaneous Frankish, Syrian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, Abyssinian and Nestorian worship. See J. Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*

(London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 274-314. Mosque patrons with Christian wives and mothers would sometimes accommodate them by attaching a Christian chapel to the mosque building. In eighth-century Iraq, Governor Khalid ibn `Abd Allah al-Qasri is thought to have constructed a church adjacent to the *qibla* wall of the Great Mosque in Kufah for his Christian mother. Paul Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 233.

⁶⁰ Max Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 51.

⁶¹ K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), pp. 1-8.

⁶² K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), p. 7.

⁶³ Namely, the width to length ration was 2:3, 3:4, or 4:5. K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), p. 7.

⁶⁴ Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama or Book of Travels*, W.M. Thackston Jr., trans. (New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1986), p. 9.

⁶⁵ K.A.C. Creswell, 'Mardin and Diyarbekr', *Muqarnas*, vol. 15 (1998), p. 8.

⁶⁶ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), p. 39.

⁶⁷ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), p. 40.

⁶⁸ Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama or Book of Travels*, W.M. Thackston Jr., trans. (New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1986), p. 9.

⁶⁹ The east church at Bakirka, with six bays, was erected in 546. The fourth-century church at Batuta has five bays but square clerestories. See Howard Crosby Butler, *Early Churches in Syria Fourth to Eleventh Centuries* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1969).

⁷⁰ The east and west courtyard façades are amusingly taken to be the facing buildings of the Sassanian Palace of Tigranes, c. 286-342 by Phene Spiers, *Architecture East and West*, p. 66, quoted in Max Van Berchem, 'Materiaux Pour l'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 50.

⁷¹ Josef Stryzowski, 'Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien, Hellas und dem Abendlande', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), pp.131-380.

⁷² Josef Stryzowski, 'Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien, Hellas und dem Abendlande', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), pp. 148-49.

⁷³ Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'The Churches and monasteries of the Tur Abdin', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), pp. 224-262.

⁷⁴ Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'The Churches and monasteries of the Tur Abdin', *Amida* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 224. That is to say that Greek, as well as Roman, traditions reached to this part of Asia.

⁷⁵ She speaks more directly of this relationship in Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1924), p. 326, when she states, as part of her brief description of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, that the "older part of the work is closely related to the ancient architecture of the Tur Abdin."

Bell identified a local brand of Corinthian capitals in Diyarbakir, which displayed a laurel 'garland' below the corner acanthus volutes. In Butler, *Early Churches in Syria Fourth to Eleventh Centuries* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1969), the "Mary Church" and "Mar Cosma" in Diyarbakir are noted for such capitals, p. 237. Bell writes home during her travels requesting a photograph of a column from the nave interior of the basilica of St. Agnese, next to Santa Costanza in Rome, as "it is the only example I know in Rome of the garlanded capital of the early Christian monuments at Diyarbekr and in the Tur Abdin." Letter dated January 9, 1911, from *The Letters of Gertrude Bell, Volume I*, Lady Bell, ed. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1927), p. 262. Such capitals do not appear to be in use at the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami.

⁷⁶ This is believed by many Muslims to be the site, as well, of the Prophet Mohammed's ascension, although it is not known if this particular understanding of the site dates back to `Umar's entry into Jerusalem in the seventh century.

⁷⁷ This event is recounted in: Steven Runciman, *A History of The Crusades Volume I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 3. Runciman bases his narrative on the chronicles of Theophanes, ad. Ann. 6127, p. 333; Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1099; Michael the Syrian, vol. II, pp. 425-426; Elias of Nisibin, p. 64.

⁷⁸ Steven Runciman, *A History of The Crusades Volume I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 3.

⁷⁹ Steven Runciman, *A History of The Crusades Volume I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 4. This applied to those who willingly surrendered to the Muslim forces and not necessarily those communities who fought or held out against them.

⁸⁰ See the discussion by Creswell and summaries of the Arab chroniclers regarding Damascus in K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 180-185.

⁸¹ K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 180.

⁸² Translated from Tobler and Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, I, p. 186, cited in K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 188.

⁸³ K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 180.

⁸⁴ This is the theory promulgated by Dussaud, and Watzinger and Wulzinger, which inspired Creswell's discussion and disputation. See K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 185.

⁸⁵ K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 196.

⁸⁶ Al-Mas'udi. *Les Prairies d'Or*. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courtielle, trans. (Paris: 1863), p. 90, cited in K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture Volume I, Part I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 189.

⁸⁷ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.9.1, p. 133.

⁸⁸ The mosque was actually built on the grounds directly adjacent to the cathedral, and the Madrasa al-Halawiyya took over the cathedral's position, incorporating into its design one of the exedrae, with late antique capitals, columns and piers, from the former cathedral. Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), pp. 13,14.

⁸⁹ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), p. 133.

⁹⁰ Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1986), p. 135.

⁹¹ archnet.org/library/dictionary/entry.tcl?entry_id=DIA0081&mode=full, visited July 29, 2003.

⁹² John Warren, 'Syria, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon', *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, George Michell, ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), p. 234.

⁹³ These were seen in the *temenos* of Damascus during prayers by Mu'awiya, Companion of the Prophet, Governor of Syria, and the first Umayyad Caliph (661-680). Rafi Grafman and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, 'The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus', *Muqarnas*, vol. 16 (1999), p. 11.

⁹⁴ This Cordoba-Damascus connection is discussed by Jonathan M. Bloom, 'The Revival of Early Islamic Architecture by the Umayyads of Spain', *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, M. Chiat and K. Reyerson eds., (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), pp. 35-41.

⁹⁵ This stylistic connection is noted by Ara Altun, *An Outline of Turkish Architecture In the Middle Ages* (Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications, 1990), p. 205.

⁹⁶ Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, quoted in Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), passage I.9.1, p. 133.

⁹⁷ This was a later development, for in the early years of Islam, a sanctified site was not required or even expected. According to Bukhari, the mosque at the Prophet's house in Medina was built on land covered with graves, ruins and palm trees, previously used to keep camels and small domestic animals. Cited in Robert Hillenbrand. 'Masjid, Part I: In the Central Islamic Lands', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 646. By "holy" I intend to imply a popular understanding of the site as a place with connections to religious and spiritual personages and events. By "sanctified" I mean a building or place that has been officially demarcated by political or religious authorities as a location for religious activity, including prayer and study. Often, sanctified sites eventually become holy sites.

⁹⁸ Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 7.

⁹⁹ Nuha N.N. Khoury, 'The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century', *Muqarnas*, vol. 13 (1996), pp. 80-81.

¹⁰⁰ Nuha N.N. Khoury, 'The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century', *Muqarnas*, vol. 13 (1996), p. 81.

¹⁰¹ Nuha N.N. Khoury, 'The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century', *Muqarnas*, vol. 13 (1996), p. 94.

¹⁰² Al-Razi, tenth century, asserts that this was so, and that the practice was based upon similar actions in Damascus. Ibn 'Idhari, *al-Bayan*, 2: 341. Cited in Nuha N.N. Khoury, 'The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century', *Muqarnas*, vol. 13 (1996), p. 84.

¹⁰³ By that time, this may have been a reconstruction or rebuilding rather than a completely new project.

¹⁰⁴ Rafi Grafman and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, 'The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus', *Muqarnas*, vol. 16 (1999), pp. 1-15.

CONCLUSION

[K]now that in the world is no stability, but it is as it were a spider's web to thee and all that is therein shall die and cease to be. Where is he who laid the foundation of Amid [Diyarbakir] and builded it ... and exalted it? Where be the peoples of the strong places?

*-from 'The City of Brass', in The Book of The
Thousand Nights and a Night, also known as A
Thousand and One Arabian Nights¹*

The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami has been a site for interaction since its construction over nine hundred years ago. People from a variety of religious, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds have met on the grounds of the Ulu Cami, helping to shape the plan and appearance of the mosque complex over time. Historically, the power of the Muslim leaders in the city of Diyarbakir has emanated outward from the structure and its associated institutions, affecting the population of the Diyar Bakr province.

Conscious decision making, references to other architectural works, and the organic development of space according to community requirements have all contributed to the complex of buildings that make up the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami. The buildings were added over time in an eclectic mixture of aesthetic and engineering styles that became a harmonious whole, so suitable for a city with such a diverse, heterogeneous population living in a single urban environment. The main prayer hall came to embody the imperial dominance of the Hanafi school of Sunnism, favoured under the Great Seljuks and the Ottomans. Yet, the ostensible tolerance and support for the other schools was displayed in the division of space to accommodate the other Sunni *madhhabs*, through the Mesudiye Medrese and the Shafi'i prayer hall. The policies of the Diyar Bakr province allowed many Christians to maintain their places of worship. The Christian history of the

Ulu Cami site was not completely eradicated: the spolia of the Diyarbakir Cathedral were likely incorporated into the western and eastern façades of the Ulu Cami's *sahn*.

The settlement history of the city of Diyarbakir, also known as Amid, Amida, and Kara Amid, stretches back thousands of years. As aspects of the natural environment, the fertile plain of the Tigris River and the local volcanic rock fostered agriculture and architecture, two elements required for a successful urban centre. As an outpost, the city straddled frontier territories. The Persian and Roman Empires, the Byzantine and the Islamic worlds, the Ottoman and the Safavid forces, and, in more modern times, the Kurds and the Turks met in this region as neighbours and as foes. By 638-39, the Arabs had arrived, introducing Islam. In 1085, the Great Seljuks claimed this vassal territory. The Inalids, Nisanids, Artukids, Ayyubids, Anatolian Seljuks, Ak Koyunlu, Safavids and Ottomans were among the numerous governors of Diyarbakir to make their mark on the architectural and social dynamics of the city. This line of leadership introduced a series of politically and religiously rooted policies with corresponding degrees of toleration for a variety of belief systems.

The urban environment of the Ulu Cami included structures added by the city's leaders. The ancient base of the city walls was expanded, restored and repaired by Romans, Byzantines, and Muslims from a series of empires and dynasties. Churches for Syrian Orthodox, Byzantine and other rites served the Christian community, and the Armenians thrived, relative to their place in other Jaziran cities; this is demonstrated through Armenian church construction and restoration projects that took place into the eighteenth century. In contrast to other cities such as İstanbul, Diyarbakir did not emphasize the conversion of churches into mosques. Muslim leadership contributed

hamams, *medreses* and mosques. Much of the fabric of the current city within the walls is currently comprised of architecture dating to the Ottoman period, including domestic structures, places of study and worship, and facilities for economic activity such as *hans*.

The Ulu Cami was a civic and spiritual vector for a community with religious and cultural multiplicity. The city maintained a strong heterogeneity in the fourteen hundred years between the Arab conquest and the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The impression of tolerated diversity in Diyarbakir is supported through available demographic figures, as well as records of linguistic variety. Travellers' accounts reveal the integration of cultures and religions in the division of services within the city, including minting, metalwork, baking and butchering.

The 'civic' role of the Ulu Cami within Diyarbakir necessarily transcended cultural and religious lines for the day-to-day operation of the city and its *mahalles* or neighbourhoods. Several aspects of water distribution and representational taxation were based out of the Ulu Cami. In addition, the weekly agricultural market, which drew the outlying rural communities in to the city, and the legal system headed by *qadis* who also dominated civic decision-making related to construction and public works, were associated with the Great Mosque.

When the Frankish Crusaders arrived in the eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia in the late eleventh century, their goal of claiming the Christian Holy Land extended beyond military strategy and into the cultural and architectural realms. The Crusaders failed to reach the Diyar Bakr Province, but their long-term presence in nearby Edessa/Urfa and the participation of soldiers from Diyarbakir in Crusader warfare had a resounding impact. Battles between the Franks and local leaders and turmoil between regional

Muslim princes added to the instability of the period.

The urban setting and aesthetic formation of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami was anomalous in a number of important ways: the Ulu Cami does not correspond to trends in the wider body of Anatolian architecture and regional patterns of relations between Muslim rulers and their non-Muslim populace. Stone masonry, classical spolia and a basilical plan reflect ties to Syrian architectural tradition. The practice in the community of maintaining a *mufti* from all four *madhhabs* is unusual for a small city. The use of bovine imagery within the *sahn*, and lionine and bovine imagery over the main entrance to the mosque is extremely rare within Islamic tradition. The addition of an associated yet architecturally detached prayer hall for the Shafi'i Kurds is noteworthy, reflecting the unique, semi-symbiotic relationship between the Ottoman government and the Kurds. The continued development of the Christian community and Christian architectural patronage eleven centuries after the Arab conquest is not without counterparts, but it is rarely observed to the extent recorded in Diyarbakir.

Architectural antecedents for the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami included symbolic prototypes, such as the Seljukid dome of the Masjid-e Jomeh in Isfahan, constructed in 1086-87 under the vizier Nizam al-Mulk. The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus was clearly an influence in the design of the main prayer hall, and on the execution of the floor plan. The patrons of the various phases of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami achieved these symbolic references to Muslim architectural history while situating the mosque firmly within the local tradition of building and design through the use of stone carving and masonry carried out with regional building materials. Fire, earthquakes and time made their mark on the Ulu Cami, obscuring and eradicating elements that would have

provided answers to pressing questions. The current state of the architecture and key features of its antecedents suggest that the Ulu Cami's main prayer hall once supported a dome structure.

Community memory and perception worked together with the architecture to create a 'mythology' or 'lore' about the history of the Ulu Cami. Most notable is the persistent idea that the Cathedral of St. Thomas, Mar Tomas, was converted into the current Great Mosque. Related to this structurally based perception of the Ulu Cami's past is the story by the chronicler Waqidi of the shared use of the Cathedral by Muslims and Christians, following the Arab conquest. These perceptions reinforce, and may even derive from, the symbolic links to the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. This conflation of the two mosques situates the Ulu Cami within a lineage of Christian and Islamic architecture, including Damascus, Aleppo, Cordoba, İstanbul, Medina and Jerusalem, that strengthens the position and legitimacy of Islam and of the Muslim architectural patrons in Diyarbakir.

In essence, the study of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami is a study of the city of Diyarbakir, focused on a specific material example. The challenging process of examining the Ulu Cami results in more questions than answers, exponentially increasing potential areas for research and discovery with every subject addressed and comparison drawn. There are many avenues to pursue further study. A number of architectural and archaeological sites in the current nations of Turkey and Syria may establish even greater support for the idea of a related body of Islamic religious structures in the vicinity of Diyarbakir. Remains of a mosque in Harran, Turkey² and in Hama, Syria have the potential to reveal a relationship to the style and Damascene references seen in

Diyarbakir. An in-depth examination of a mosque ruin in Ani, on the Armenian-Turkish border, and the İç Kale Mosque in Diyarbakir itself might illuminate the role of mosques in communities of diversity. The physical, political and religious relationship between Diyarbakir's İç Kale palatial complex and the Ulu Cami could shed light on the situation in Diyarbakir. Further research on the Mesudiye Medrese, to the north of the Ulu Cami's *sahn*, and the Zinciriye Medrese, located to the west of the Ulu Cami complex, would provide examples of inter and intra religious interaction occurring in an educational context.

There is a wealth of epigraphic material in Diyarbakir, including inscriptions carved into the city walls and gates, the nearby Tigris Bridge, and most major architectural works. Information about political and religious leaders, *waqf*, patronage and even architects³ is recorded on the walls of the Ulu Cami itself. The skill and patience needed to interpret these texts in a meaningful way could shift them from generic, profuse passages extolling the merits of pious leaders to revealing historic documents. This, in turn, might produce viable suggestions for revised dating of the component parts of the Ulu Cami, read today with some confusion.⁴

This thesis engaged the history of the mosque from a point some time before its construction, via a look at the seventh-century cathedral formerly situated on the mosque site. The next phase, the Seljukid construction of 1091-92, opened the discussion of the many roles of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami within Diyarbakir. Available textual and architectural sources were used to create a sense of the appearance, function and

community influence of the Ulu Cami up to the nineteenth century, revealing that the story of Diyarbakir is one of a continual cycle of change and adaptation.

Unlike so many onslaughts before, the city's massive walls could not hold back the effects of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The Ottomans began to dismantle tribal confederations that had maintained the emirates that made up the empire. The destabilisation fuelled rivalries amongst the Kurdish tribes and opened the way for religious leaders, *sheiks*, to fill the power vacuum left by the Ottomans. Rising Armenian nationalism supported by Russia played into this scenario, leaving no place for intercultural interaction that was not full of fear, fanaticism and violence.⁵ In October of 1914, the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War, fighting the Russians and Armenians to the east and the European Allies to the west. The war was framed as a religious conflict of Muslim versus Christian forces. When the Turkish Republic was formed in 1923 as a secular state, Turkish nationalism would not recognize the concept of ethnic difference amongst geographically designated "Turks" nor support a religious hierarchy.⁶

The bloody and bitter civil war between the Turks and the Kurds that overtook eastern Turkey during the twentieth century resulted in government relocation projects that brought hundreds of thousands of villagers to the cities. In 1990, Diyarbakir had a population of 500,000 people. By 1995, the population had doubled to one million.⁷ Yet, only five Syrian Orthodox families still live in Diyarbakir.⁸ It is difficult to determine what the effect of the changing demographics of Diyarbakir in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries will be on the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, and what the Ulu Cami's impact will be on the newly expanded city population. The structure

itself is still solid and central in a physical sense,⁹ but what is its new social role, its role in interaction?

The Great Mosque of Diyarbakir is alive today with activity. Sun-worn gentlemen drink tea from small glasses at the main entrance. Children play hide and seek among the ancient arcades of the courtyard and little boys replay World Cup soccer matches, using the carved portals as goals. The community comes to drink and wash their hands at the ablution fountain, and weary men nap, shaded from the heat of the day. Some of these people are Hanafi, some Shafi'i, some are Turks, some Kurds. Architecture is an entry point for studying and beginning to comprehend the nature of communities on a level that is far more cognisant of the complexity and diversity of a place like Diyarbakir than government documents or contemporary chronicles and travel accounts can ever be on their own.

The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami dispels the myth of the "Islamic City" and the idea that a place of worship holds one meaning, one use and one application for a city where Muslims were often the minority. It stands in the middle of a walled city where cultures, languages, religious traditions and religious interpretations met, overlapped, converged and clashed. The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami was integral to creating, facilitating and recording these interactions.

¹ Richard F. Burton, trans. 'The City of Brass', *The Book of The Thousand Nights and a Night* vol. 6 (U.S.A.: Burton Club, no date), pp. 106-107.

² David Storm Rice worked on the site of Harran in the mid-twentieth century. He published with Seton Lloyd: 'Harran', *Anatolian Studies* vol. I (1951), pp. 77-111, and 'Medieval Harran', *Anatolian Studies* vol. II (1952), pp. 36-84.

³ The reference to Hibatallah of Gurgan on the east façade is a rare example noted in Chapter Two.

⁴ To reiterate the note in Chapter Two: the western courtyard façade inscription reads "*maqsurah al-sharqiyah*," the *eastern maqsura*. Van Berchem simply corrected the locative error in his translation but Gabriel and Sauvaget suggested that the inscriptions had been moved from the other side of the courtyard. Whelan felt the inscriptions to be in-situ.

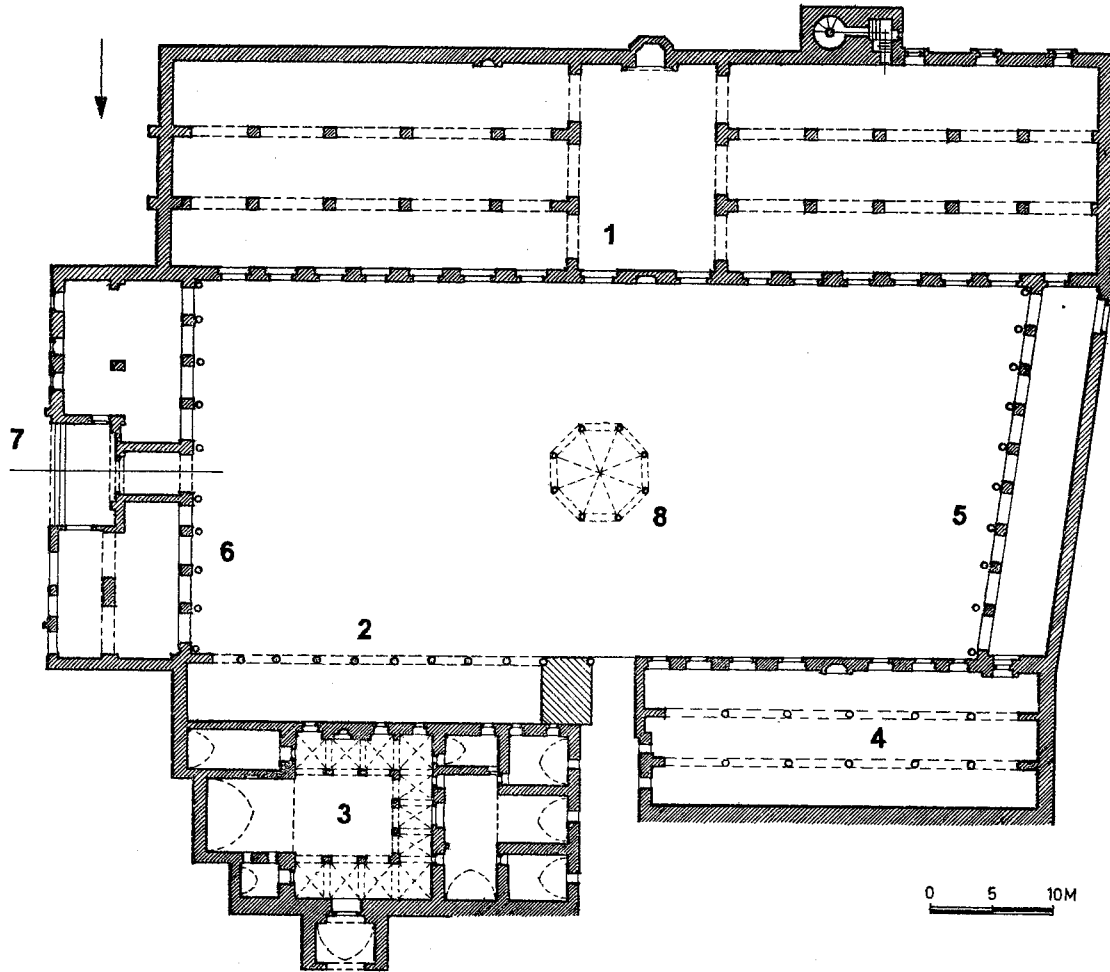
⁵ The *Hamidiya*, a Kurdish cavalry force, engaged in increasingly violent raids in Kurdish and Armenian regions through the 1890s, culminating in massacres in 1894-95. David McDowall, *The Kurds* (United Kingdom: Minority Rights Group, 1996), p. 13.

⁶ According to the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, the Republic of Turkey does not recognize minorities based on ethnicity; it does recognize non-Muslim minorities.

⁷ David McDowall, *The Kurds* (United Kingdom: Minority Rights Group, 1996), p. 17.

⁸ Abba Seraphim, 'A Visit to the Churches of Tur Abdin', <http://www.syndesmos.org/en/events/calendars/2003/details/turkey/Useful%20texts%20&%20links.doc>, visited February 20, 2004.

⁹ The Diyarbakir Ulu Cami remains an important place of meeting and worship. It underwent a significant programme of repair and restoration in the late 1960s, and is currently well maintained.



1 main prayer hall
 2 north arcade
 3 Mesudiye Medrese
 4 Şafî'i prayer hall

5 west arcade
 6 east arcade
 7 east portal
 8 şadırvan

Figure 1. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami floor plan

Diyarbakir Ulu Cami (DUC) floor plan, Oktay Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), p. 128, plan 46.

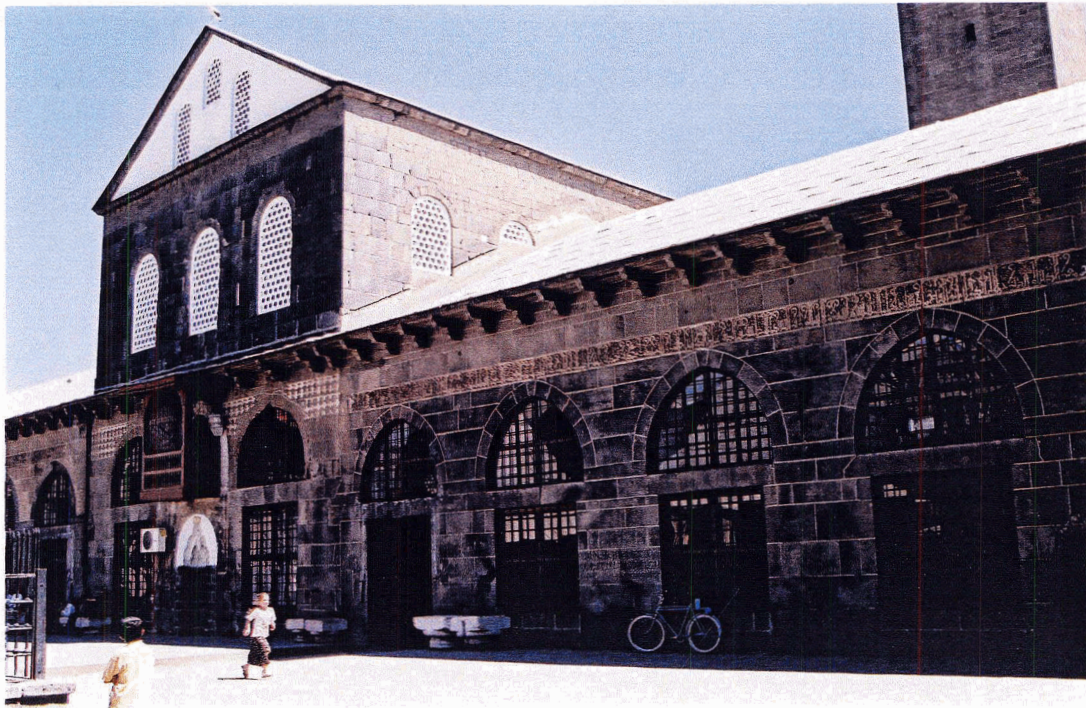


Figure 2. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall exterior



Figure 3. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall façade



Figure 4. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami ashlar masonry



Figure 5. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall exterior *mihrab*



Figure 6. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall, screened 'porch'



Figure 7. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall roof truss brackets

DIYARBAKIR - ULU CAMI MİMARİ MANZUMESİ -RÖLÖVE-

MİKYAS: 1/50 .1/100

ULU CAMİ Avlu Cephesi

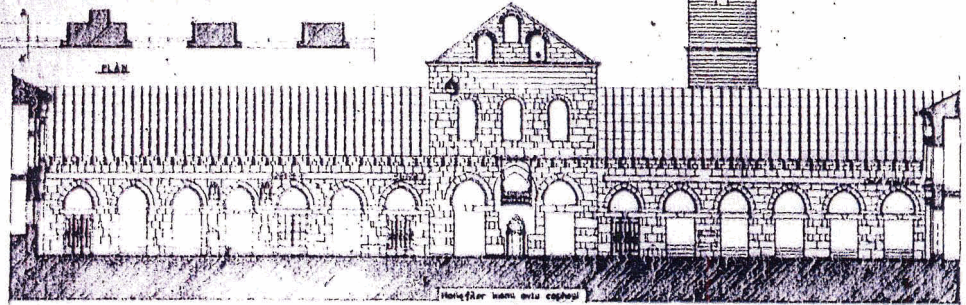
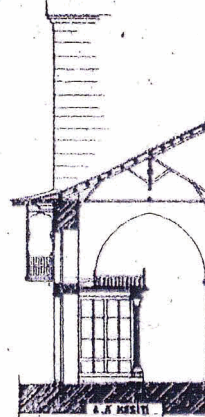
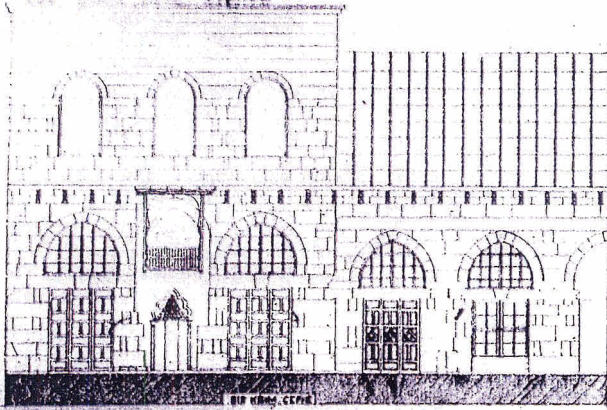


Figure 8. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami elevation

Mahmut Akok, 'Diyarbakir Ulucami Mimari Manzumesi', *Vakıflar Dergisi* vol. VIII (1969), plan #11.



Figure 9. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall façade niche



Figure 10. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall façade, carved lintel



Figure 11. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall, south façade



Figure 12. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami south façade masonry



Figure 13. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami masonry techniques



Figure 14. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall interior arch spring

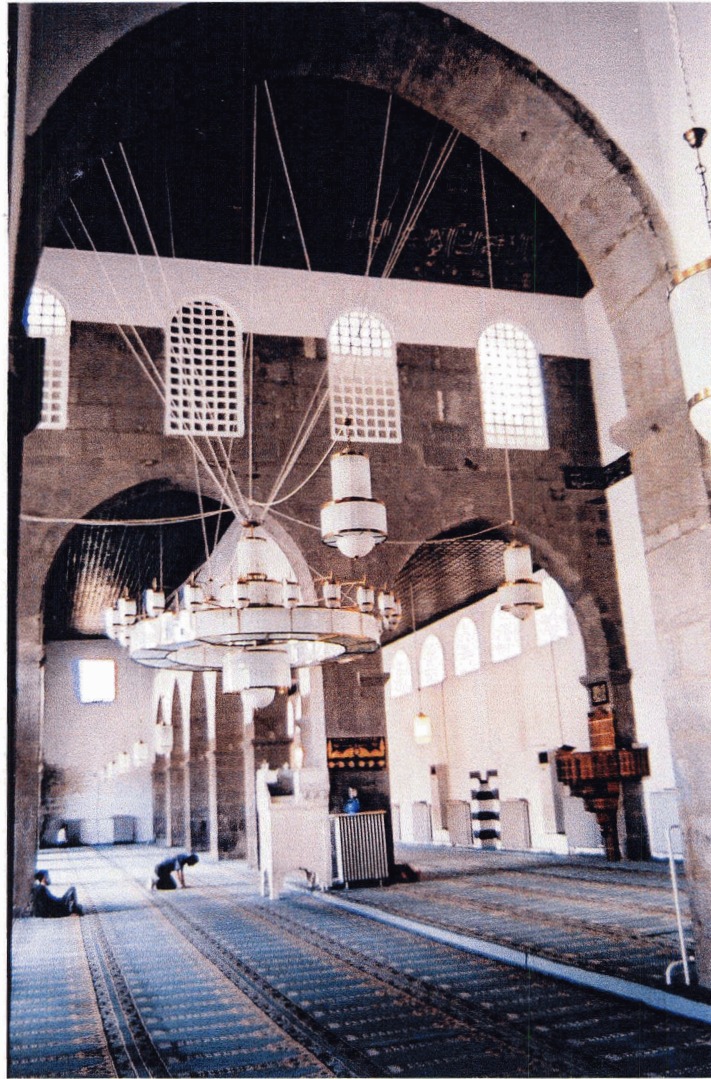


Figure 15. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall interior aisle view



Figure 16. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall interior, main *mihrab*



Figure 17. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall interior secondary *mihrab*

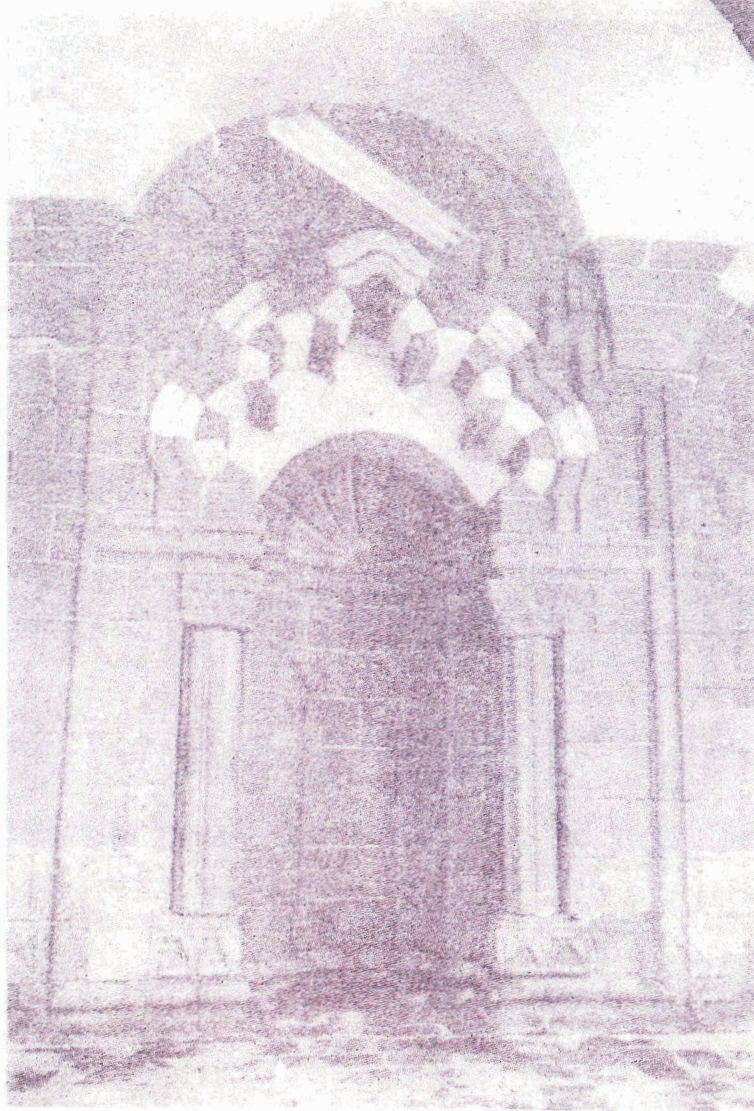


Figure 18. Mesudiye Medrese *mihrab*

Oktay Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), p. 234, image 237b.

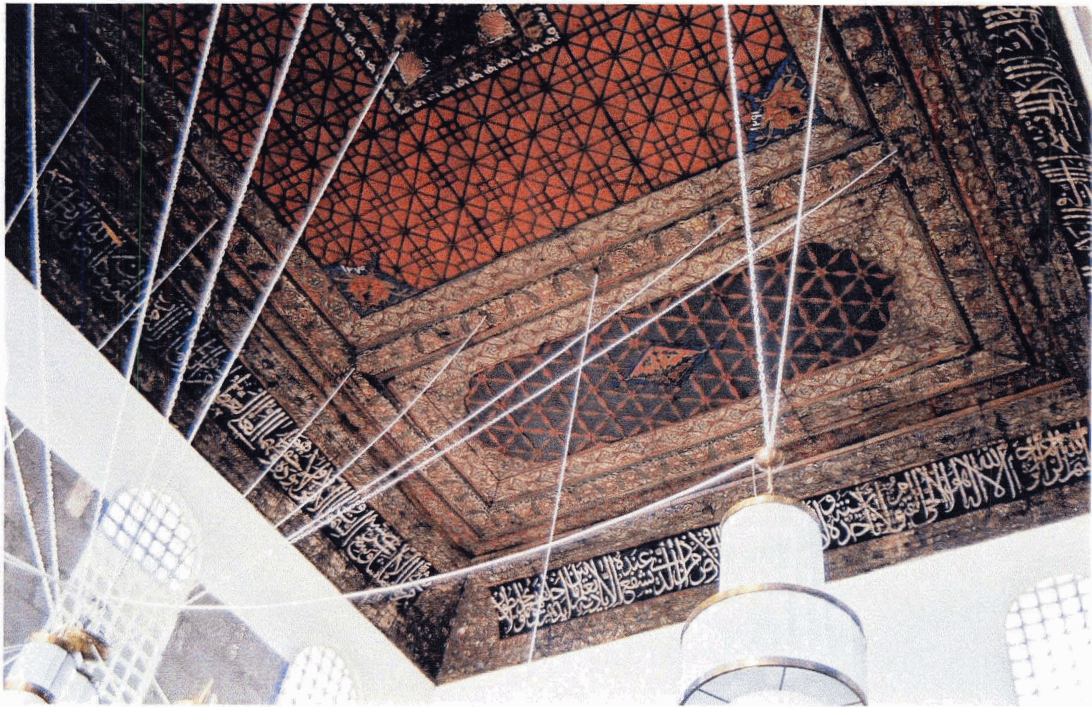


Figure 19. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall interior wood ceiling

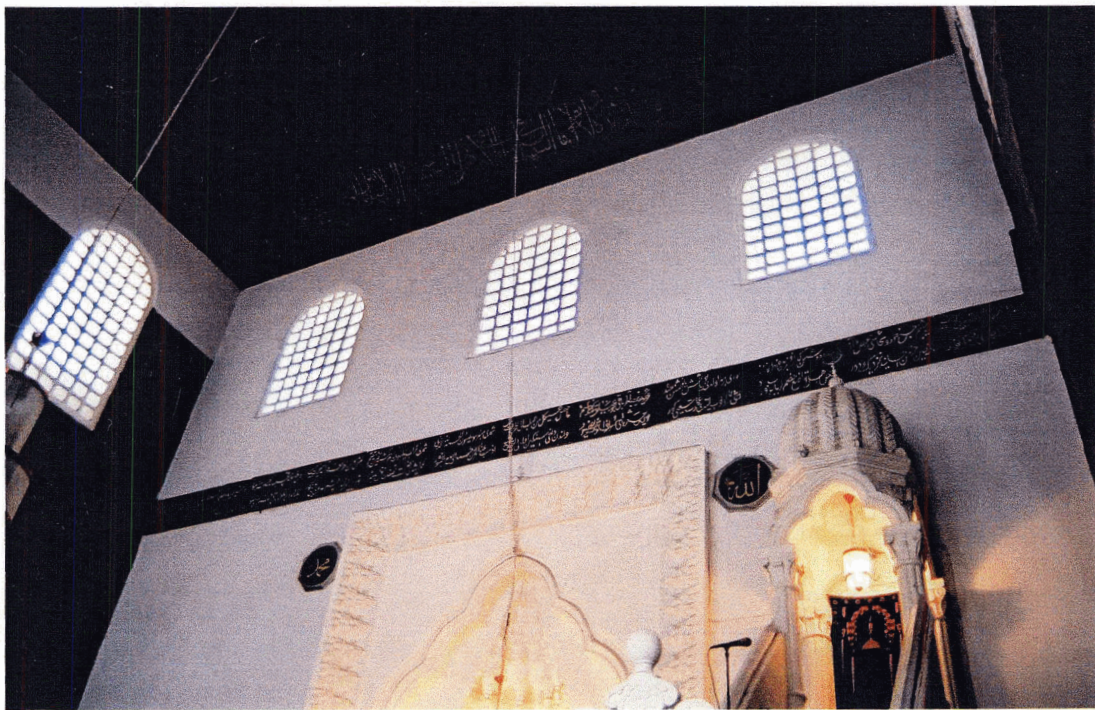


Figure 20. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall interior *minbar*



Figure 21. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall interior platform

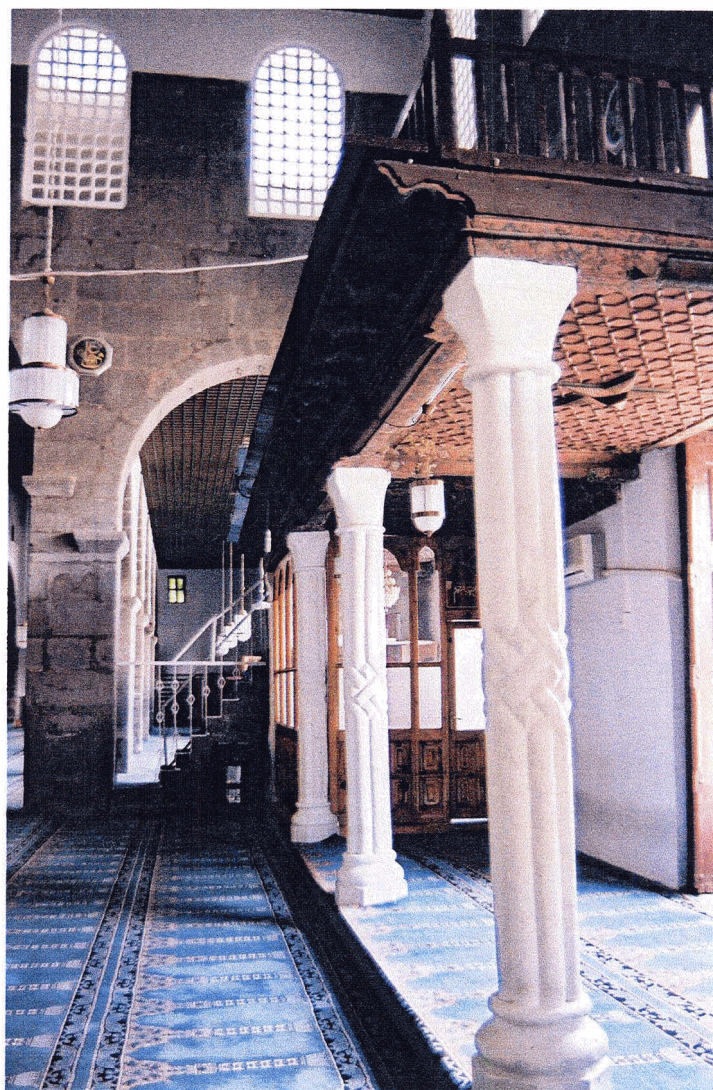


Figure 22. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami main prayer hall interior fluted columns



Figure 23. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west faade Bursa arch



Figure 24. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west faade pointed arch



Figure 25. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west faade arcade



Figure 26. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west façade support masonry



Figure 27. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west façade architrave



Figure 28. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west façade second storey columns



Figure 29. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami east façade



Figure 30. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami east façade columns



Figure 31. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami east façade transoms



Figure 32. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami minaret



Figure 33. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami minaret door



Figure 34. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami east portal



Figure 35. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami east portal sculpture



Figure 36. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami north portal



Figure 37. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west portal



Figure 38. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west portal

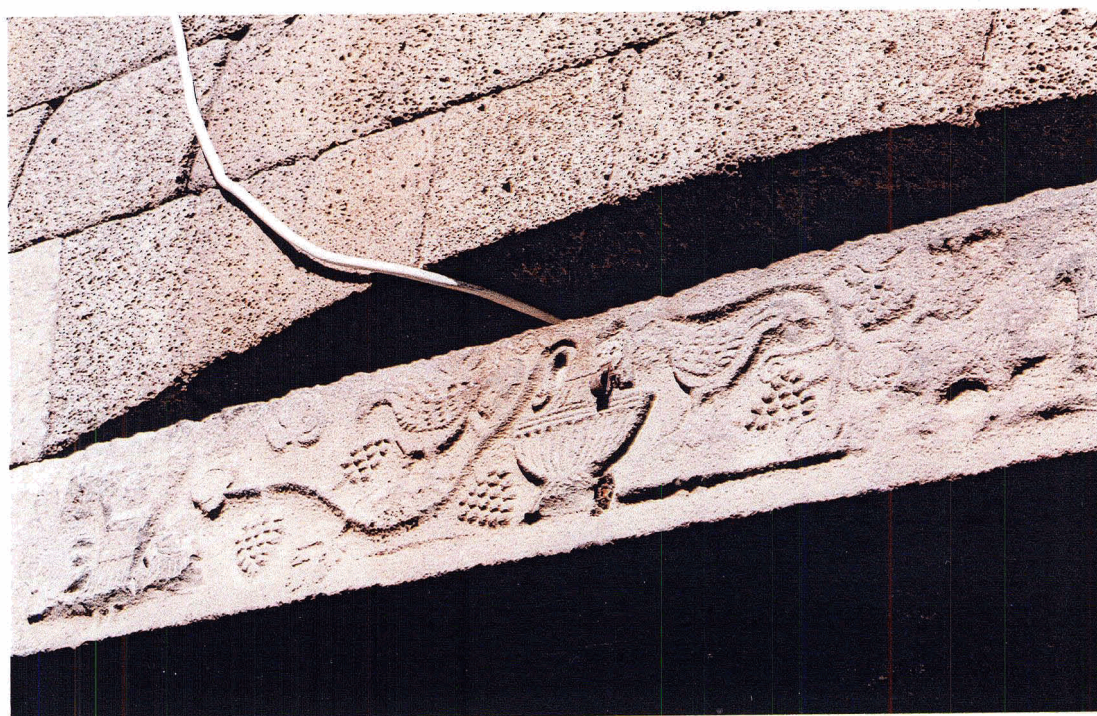


Figure 39. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami west portal lintel sculpture



Figure 40. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami north arcade



Figure 41. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami north arcade capitals



Figure 42. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami north arcade prayer space



Figure 43. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami courtyard porphyry slab



Figure 44. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami Shafi'i prayer hall



Figure 45. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami Shafi'i prayer hall doorway, beneath western arcade stairs



Figure 46. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami Shafi'i prayer hall faade



Figure 47. Nebi Cami exterior



Figure 48. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami Shafi'i prayer hall interior arcade



Figure 49. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami Shafi`i prayer hall ceiling beams

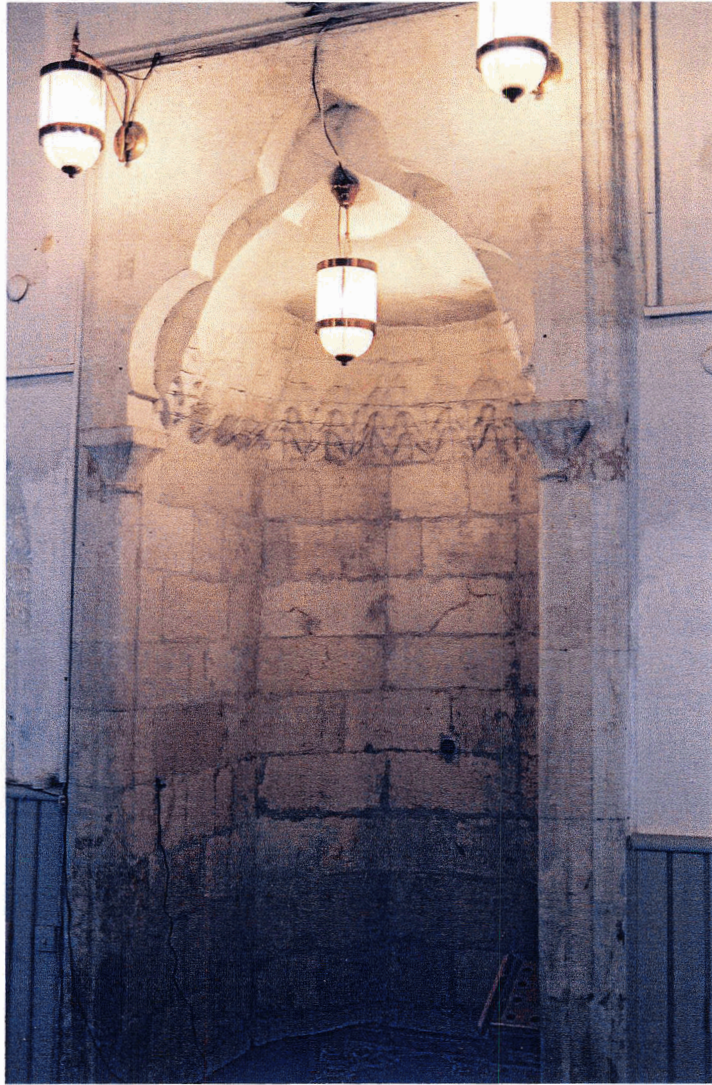


Figure 50. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami Shafi'i prayer hall *mihrab*

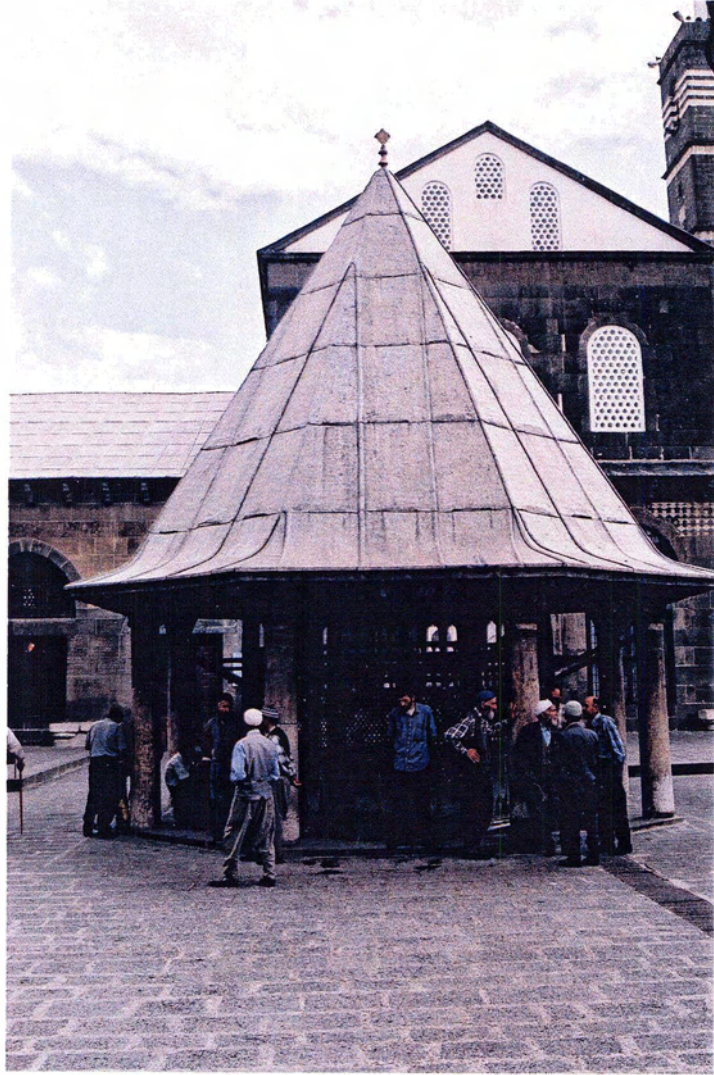


Figure 51. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami *şadırvan*



Figure 52. Diyarbakir Ulu Cami *namazgah*



Figure 53. Diyarbakir city walls

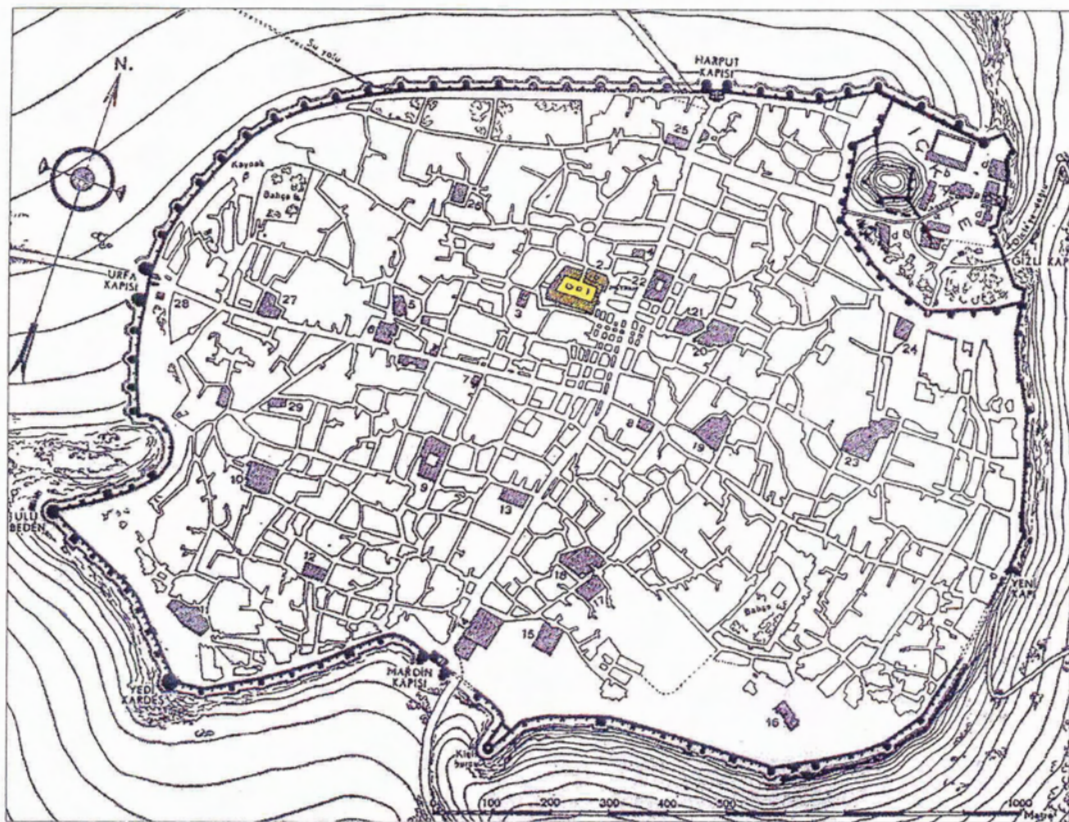


Figure 54. Diyarbakir city plan

Albert Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*
 (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1940), p. 93, figure 69.

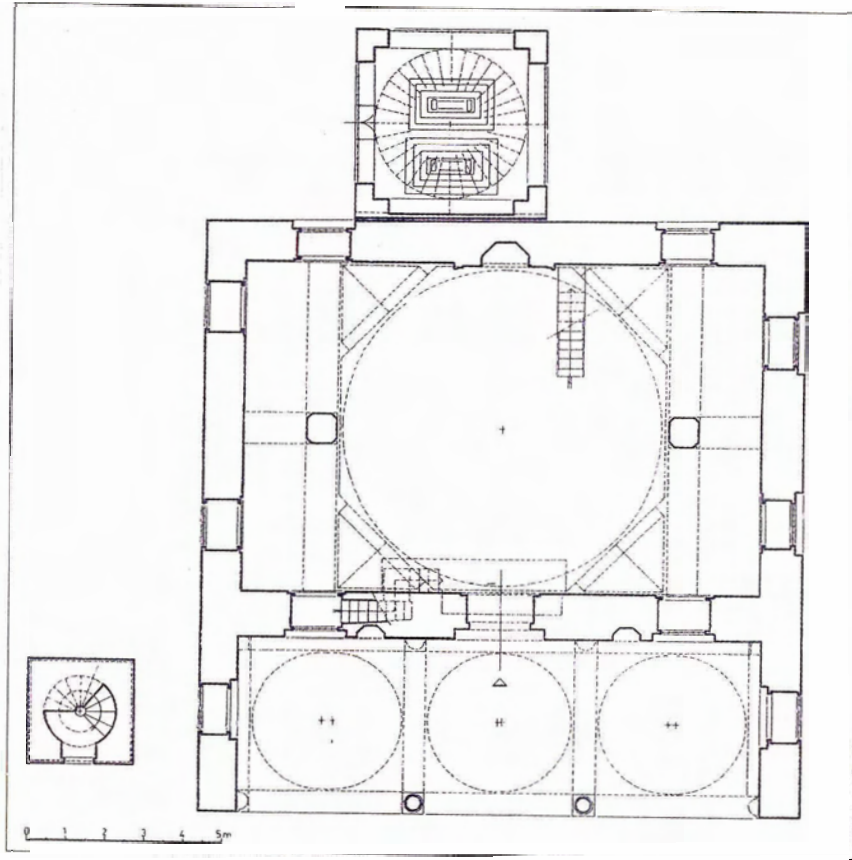


Figure 55. Nabi/Peygamber Cami plan

Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, 'Diyarbakır Camileri',
Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), p. 214, plan # 1.

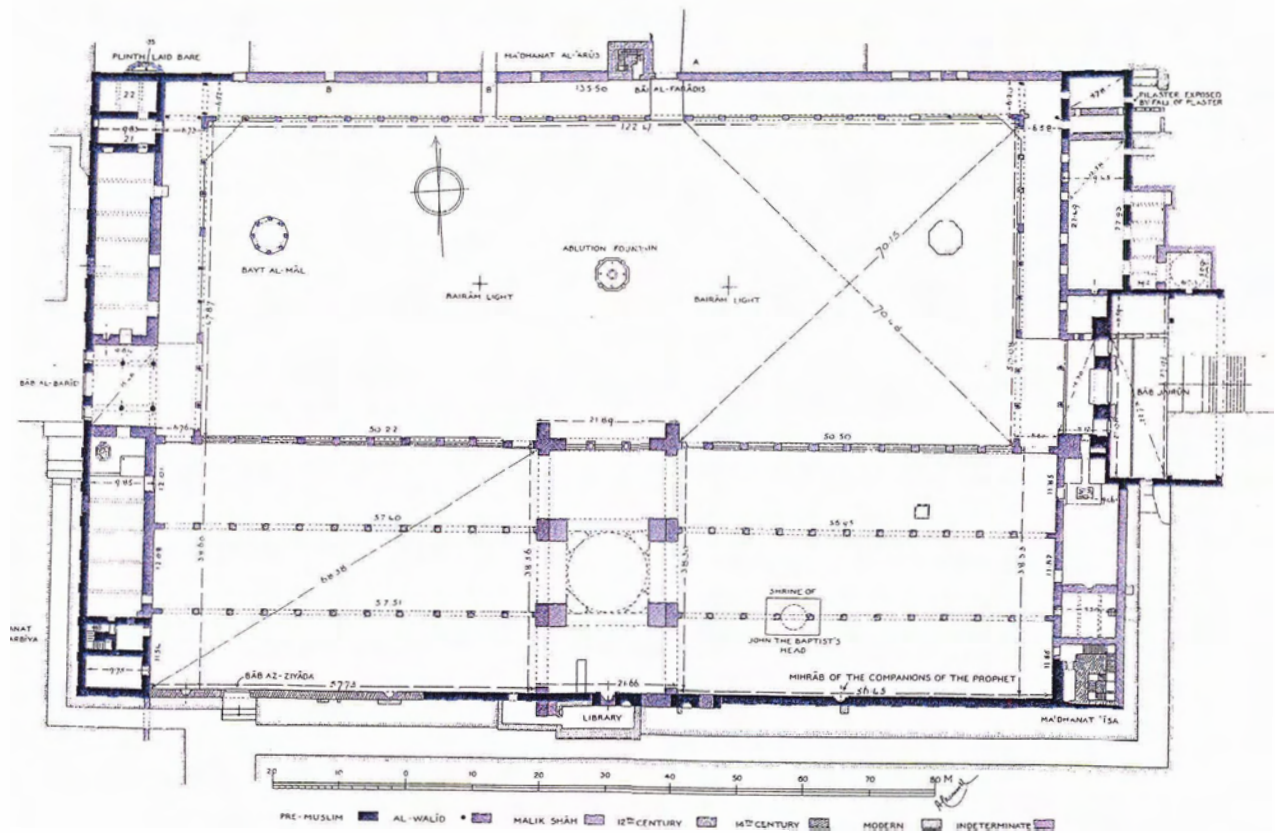


Figure 57. Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, plan

Creswell, K.A.C. 'The Great Mosque of Damascus', *Early Muslim Architecture* Volume I, Part I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 151-196, insert.

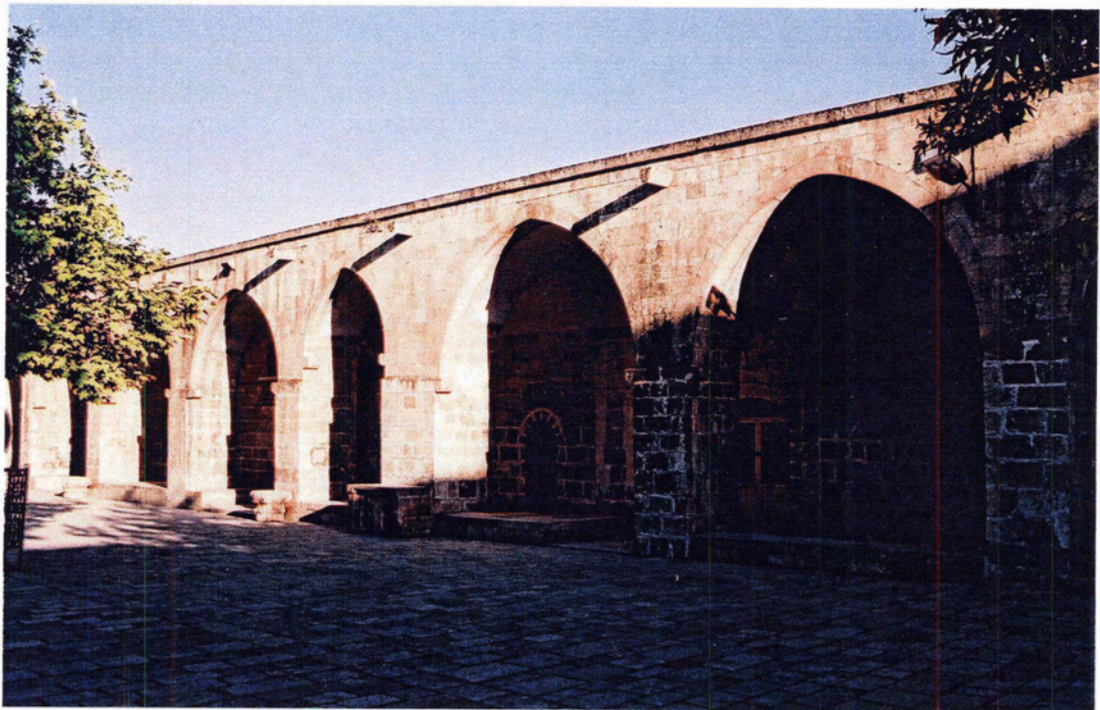


Figure 58. Urfalı Ulu Camii exterior

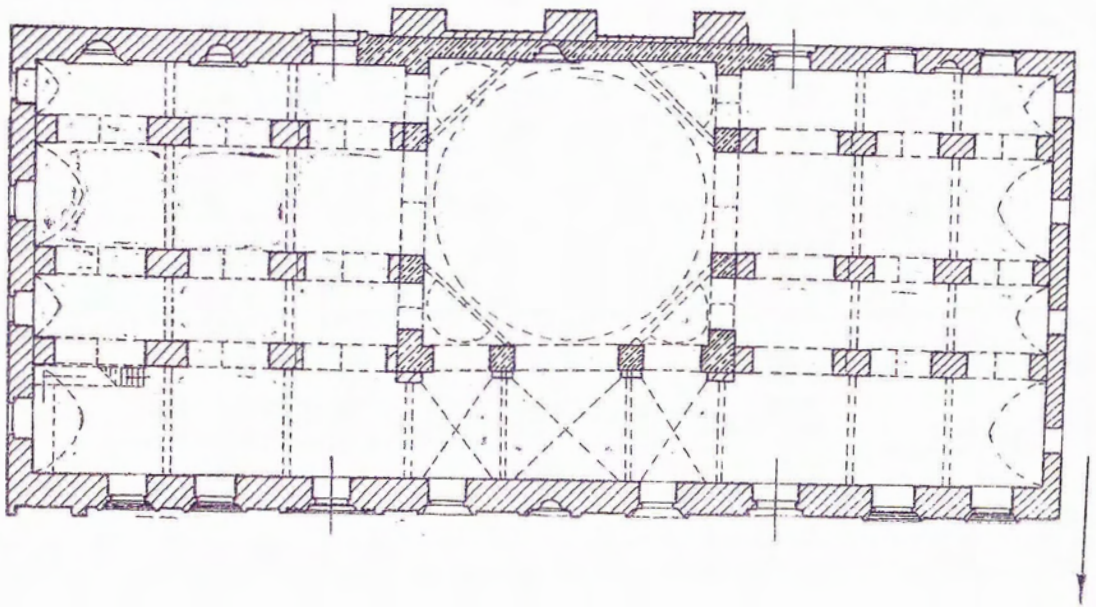


Figure 59. Silvan (Mayyafarikin) Ulu Cami plan

Oktay Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), p. 133, plan 49.



Figure 60. 'Kara Amid' folio by Matrakçı Nasuh
(İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS 5964)

reproduced in: Kaya Özsezgin, 'Sanatın Aynasında Bir Tarih Kenti', *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), p. 276.



Figure 61. Isa Bey Cami, Selçuk, exterior

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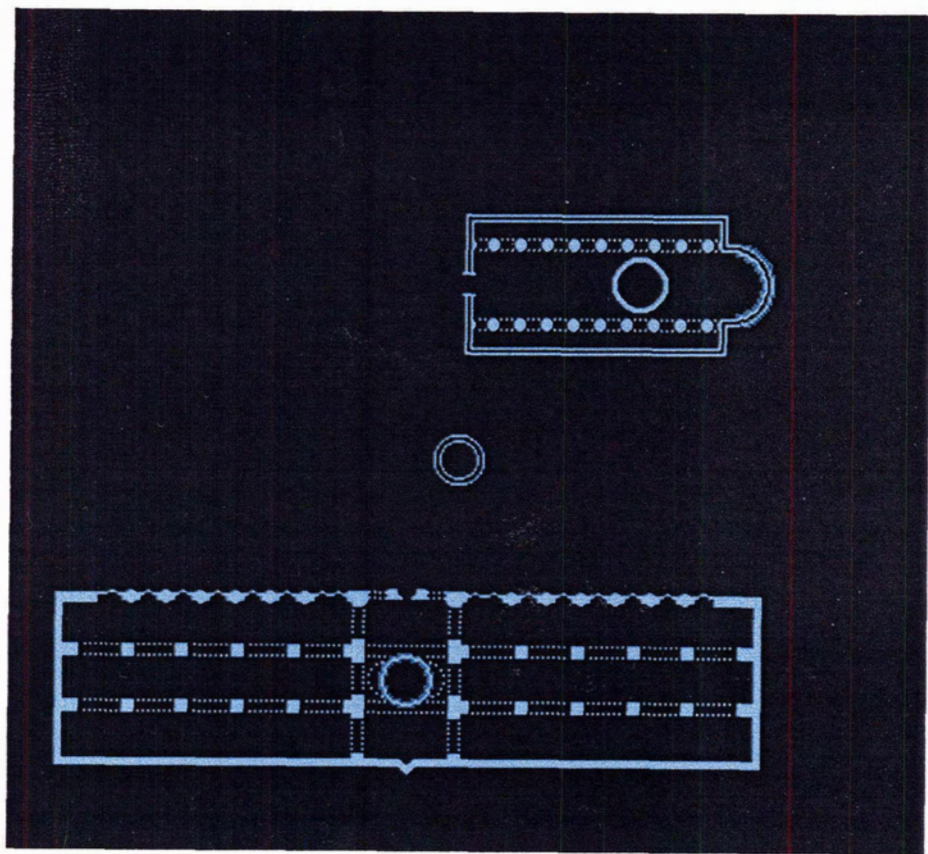
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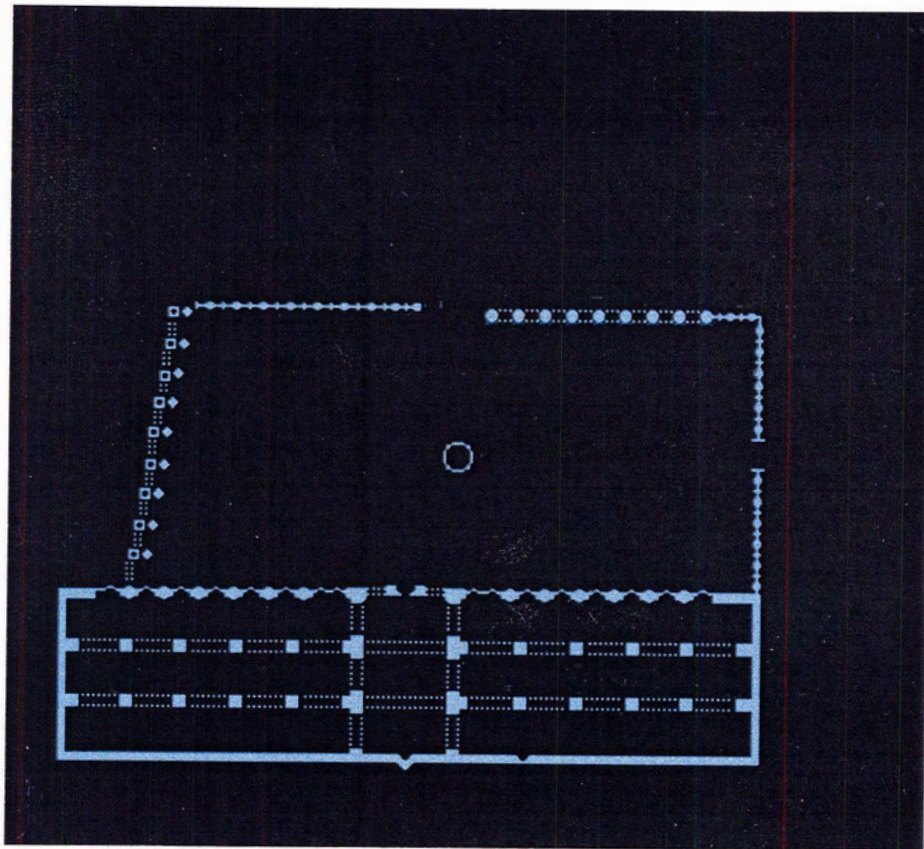
APPENDIX I: PLANS ILLUSTRATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIYRABAKIR ULU CAMI OVER TIME

*These architectural drawings were completed by Angela Andersen. They are not to scale, although relative proportions have been maintained. Their purpose is to give a visual depiction of how the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami may have developed over time. The known structures have been represented with solid lines and broken lines for arches; perimeter walls of uncertain parameters are shown with a rusticated line.



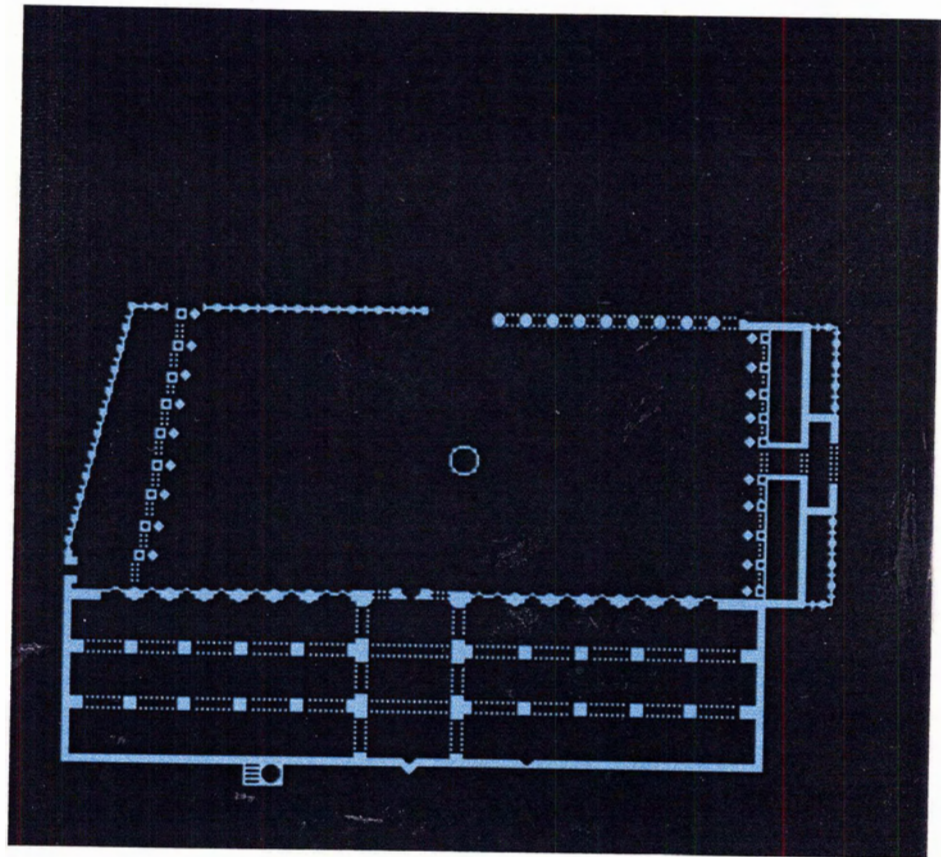
Diyarbakir Ulu Cami and Diyarbakir Cathedral, c. 1092

Domed main prayer hall of the Ulu Cami is erected adjacent to the Cathedral and a round pool



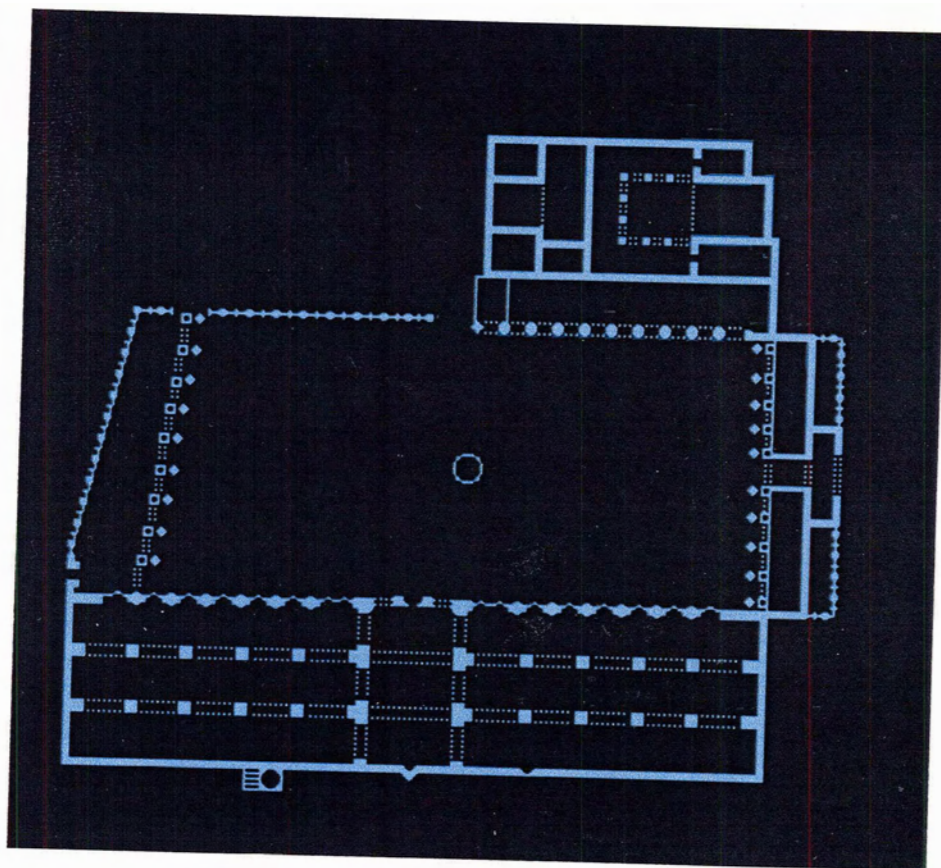
Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, c. 1124

Cathedral has been dismantled, spolia used for western riwaq, northern arcade; prayer hall dome destroyed in fire of 1115 (?)



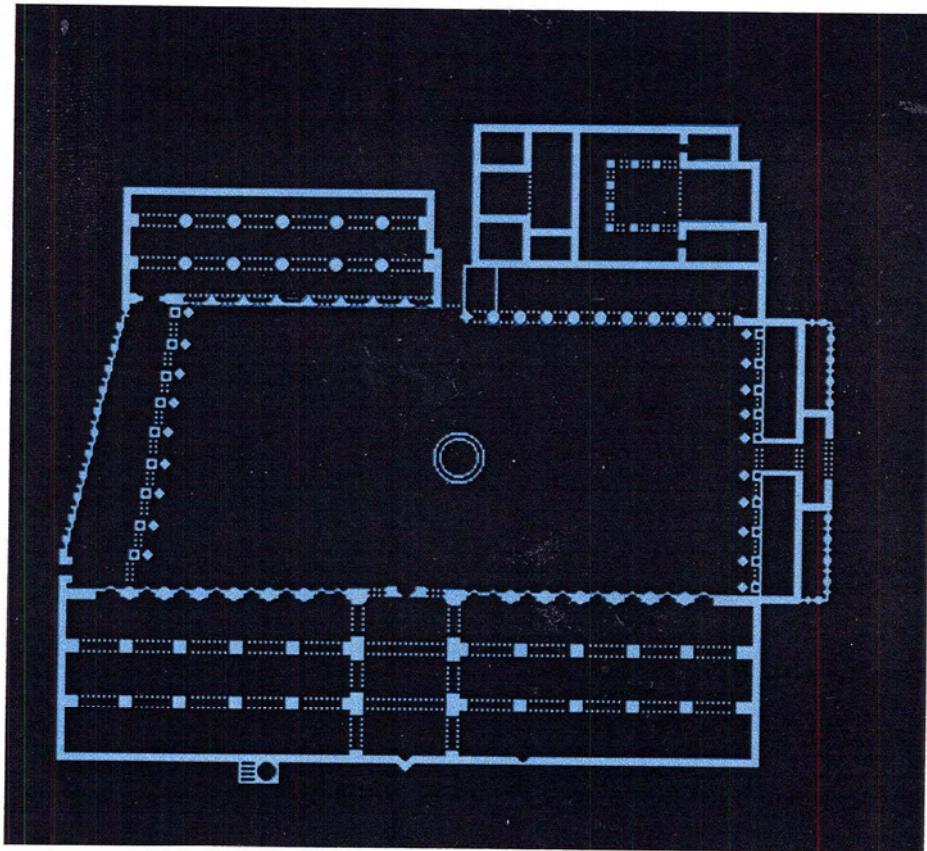
Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, c. 1164

Eastern riwaq, eastern portal and minaret have been erected



Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, c. 1193

Addition of the Mesudiye Medrese to the Ulu Cami complex



Diyarbakir Ulu Cami, c. 1529

Shafi'i prayer hall added to northwest corner

APPENDIX II: GLOSSARY

ablaq a decorative technique involving layering materials such as stone in an alternating pattern of black and white

atabey regional leaders, “father-chiefs”, who led the splintered territories of the former Seljukid Empire

Cardo Maximus the main north-south running street of a classical city plan

Decumanus the main east-west running street of a classical city plan

Evliya Çelebi seventeenth-century member of the Ottoman court who traveled throughout the empire, recording his observations in the *Seyahatneme*, the *Book of Travels*

eyvan a vaulted space, closed on three sides and open on the fourth, used in mosques, *medreses* and other architecture in an Islamic context

hamam a bath, involving steam, taken in a specially constructed building

han a facility within city limits for travelers, including merchants and pilgrims, to rest themselves and their animals, and to sell their wares

havuz an above-ground pool holding water for ritual ablutions at a mosque

hüyük a raised mound of earth and debris of archaeological interest

jazira “island” in Arabic, this also refers to the geographical region between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers

kapı “gate” or “door” in Turkish

kilise “church” in Turkish

mahalle a neighbourhood in a Turkish city

Malik Shah sultan of the Great Seljuks (1072-1092) and patron of the Diyarbakir Ulu Cami

maqsura a covered or protected area within a mosque; also the dome before the mihrab

mashrabiyya a decorative wooden screen traditionally used in Islamic architecture to divide space and create privacy

Matrakçı Nasuh the official artist of the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman during his campaign against the Safavids of Iran in 1534-35

Matthew of Edessa (1062-1136) Armenian chronicler who lived in Edessa, the city now known as Urfa

medrese an endowed school for the study of the *Qur`an*, the *hadith* (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet), Muslim law and philosophy and for research in the arts and sciences; student residences are often part of the medrese building

Michael the Syrian (1126-1199)
patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church
of Antioch and chronicler

mihrab the niche used to indicate the
direction of Muslim prayer towards
Mecca

minbar a raised seat elevated on stairs
and placed in a congregational mosque
from which the Friday sermon is
delivered

muqarnas a sculptural approach to
transitional space in architecture,
including portals, mihrabs and squinches

namazgah a covered structure in the
courtyard of a mosque often used by the
military as an open-air place of prayer
Turkish and Iranian settings

Nasir-i Khusraw (1004- c.1072)
Persian writer who composed an account
of his travels in a book called the
Safarnama

Nizam al-Mulk (c.1018-1092) vizier to
the Great Seljukid Sultan Malik Shah
and founder of the Nizamiyya, Sunni
theological schools

qadi a judge of Islamic law, generally an
expert in a specific school or tradition,
drawn from amongst the *ulama*

qibla the direction of prayer, towards
Mecca, often indicated an architectural
context by a wall

riwaq the arcade or arched chambers
around the courtyard of a mosque or
medrese

sabil a structure erected for the purpose
of distributing chilled refreshments such
as water and sorbet

şadirvan an ablutions fountain used for
ritual cleansing before entering
mosque

sahn the courtyard area of a mosque

Salah al-Din Sultan of the Ayyubid
dynasty in Cairo (1171-1193), he
liberated Jerusalem from the Crusaders
in 1187 and continued to fight the
Crusader invasions until his death.

sancaq a division of provincial territory
in the Ottoman Empire; often overseen
by local leaders

saray the Turkish word for "palace"

şerife the balcony of the minaret, from
which the call to prayer is given

shari`a the system of Islamic
jurisprudence

spolia decorative and architectural
materials that have been removed from
their original setting to be placed in a
new building or on a new structure

Sultan Süleyman Ottoman sultan
(1520-1566) known for his expansionist
policies and his patronage of the arts

takiyya the practice of "concealment",
allowing Shi`i Muslims to live in secrecy
in order to avoid coming to harm

turbe the Turkish word for "tomb"
often constructed in a distinctive style
with a round base and a pointed roof
structure

umma the Muslim community,
including the local and global levels

ʿulama the educated elite of the Muslim
community

waqf a religious endowment, usually of
property, that supports charitable
projects such as mosques and hospitals
through its revenue

Waqidi (747-823) Arab historian and
writer, and authority on Mecca, Medina
and the military campaigns of the
Prophet