The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği: A History of Relations and Transitions
OYA PANCAROĞLU

The name of Divriği is virtually synonymous with the remarkable early thirteenth-century building complex located on a hillside nearly halfway between the citadel and the lower town (fig. 1). Host to the most effusive and distinct examples of stone carving on medieval Anatolian architecture, this monument consists of two institutions: a mosque and a hospital built in 1228-29 respectively by Aḫmad al-Din and Timur Malik, two members of the regional Menguçul dynasty. An associated bathhouse at a short distance away, now in ruins, was possibly conceived as part of this socio-religious complex. This institutional configuration, juxtaposing the accommodation of communal Muslim prayers with the dispensation of social services, is a familiar one from the medieval Islamic world and would have a particularly long history in Anatolia and the lands of the Ottoman Empire. The plan of the mosque with five aisles consisting of five bays each and a high dome in front of the mihrab renders a type which evolved in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Anatolia (fig. 2). The hospital, like its counterparts in other parts of the medieval Islamic world, is a variation of the familiar madrasa plan with rooms and vaulted halls disposed around a covered court with an arcade. One of the rooms of the hospital, designated as the tomb chamber, is accentuated by a high dome and provided with a window opening to the interior of the mosque on its qibla wall.

This relatively standard institutional configuration and basic architectural typology contrasts significantly with the main decorative program of the complex. Radically different from all known contemporary examples, the decoration—concentrated especially on the monumental portals of the two buildings—consists most notably of stylized vegetal motifs in high-relief stone carving of truly astounding quality and variety (figs. 3-4). This decoration has no known close counterparts on architecture although echoes of some of the components can be discerned in a limited and disjointed manner on other media such as stucco, woodwork, and book illumination. By contrast, on the eastern wall of the mosque, there is an opening framed by a more typical portal design consisting of a muqarnas niche and a rectangular surround with low-relief geometric decoration of the type seen in numerous contemporary buildings of the Seljuk dynasty especially in central Anatolia (fig. 5). This feature may have served either as a window or, more likely, as a door giving restricted access to the

1 The main studies on the complex include Öüge et al. 1978, Kuban 1997, and Sakaoglu 2004. Numerous articles and book chapters have also been written which address particular aspects of the monument's structure or decoration; these can be found in the Bibliography and will be cited in the footnotes where relevant. It may be noted that Öüge et al. 1978 also contains reprints of earlier studies up to 1978.
2 In this article, personal names will be fully transliterated according to the current academic conventions with diacritics used in the transcription of the Arabic letters into English (with the addition of "i" instead of "t" in certain cases, e.g., Qulsh Adil or Tağhibaşı). For place names, the most current modern spellings will be used. Names of dynasties are also not subject to full transliteration. For a note on Timur Malik's name, see footnote 12.
3 The baths, known as Hanımı-Bâlâ or Bekirçavuş Hanımı, is in ruins but it was excavated in 2003 and a plan has been published. Sakağlolu 2004, 424-6 and Öüge 1978, 33 see it as part of the mosque-hospital complex but this opinion is not shared by Özbeş 2004 who suggests it may have been built towards the end of the thirteenth century.
interior of the mosque via the wooden gallery in the southeast corner of the mosque known as the mahfil.5

In addition to the problem of contextualization of the décor, the difficulties surrounding the interpretation of the monuments are compounded by structural issues which can be traced to the 18th century when a minaret was built in the northeast corner over a built-in cistern and a cylindrical corner buttress. It seems clear that at least a portion of this façade along with all five bays of the westernmost aisle (and probably three northern bays from the adjacent aisle) of the mosque had collapsed and were rebuilt at a later, though as yet undetermined, date. The western portal of the mosque is therefore assumed, for structural as well as stylistic reasons, not to be original to the building. Kubaner, 1997, 49, 57-8, 127-32. This assumption is also supported by the particular formulation of the inscription placed above the entrance which contains a reference to the "initial constraction" of the mosque (see Appendix). On the other hand, it must be noted that a number of spolia with notably figural elements—including single- and double-headed eagles—were asymmetrically incorporated into the wall around this western portal and may well have been harvested from another Mengenjekilik period building or from the collapsed original western façade. Although the western portal of the mosque does raise important questions about later restorative and artistic practices, the apparent absence of any visual or textual clues to its date currently hinders meaningful historical speculations about this particular feature of the monument.

A detailed description (vaguely) must have certainly been drawn up for the complex, outlining its endowed income and regulating the dispensation of the funds from those endowments for the various expenses and salaries associated with the running of the whole complex. An extant deed endowment bearing the date of 155th of Muharram 641 (July 4, 1243) appears to be a somewhat condensed and later redaction of the original document and is concerned only with the mosque.6 Nevertheless, some sense of the original endowment can be gleaned from Ottoman tax registers (zahrer defterleri) for the district of

5 Because the building is constructed into the hillside, the eastern opening which is at ground level from the exterior is situation on the interior floor level, hence the function of the mahfil. Opinions have varied on the originality of the wooden mahfil construction, with implications on whether the opening on the eastern wall is interpreted as a window or a portal. For the various positions on this issue see Crowe 1972 and Kuban 1997, 133 5 (for the window interpretation discussing the originality of the mahfil) and Yavuz 1978 and Sakakioğlu 2004, 275-9, 309-11 (for the portal interpretation affirming the originality of the mahfil). The portal interpretation appears to be the more logical one based on the exterior design which is normally applied only as entrances as well as for the particular articulation and decoration of the walls above the mahfil (Yavuz 1978). Moreover, the rather solid story of the apparently solid and dispersed wooden parapet panels (Örge 1989 and Sakakioğlu 2004, 275-9) strongly suggests that the mahfil was indeed an original and highly decorated gallery probably intended for the seating of the ruler. A recent dendrochronological study of the remaining wooden beams has also revealed at least two of them to date to around 1240 (Kubaner 2004, 107-8) which is the same year as the wooden minbar of the mosque which will be discussed further below. The eastern opening, therefore, most probably functioned as a restricted access entrance for the ruler and his entourage. It is most likely that this mosque entrance on the eastern façade was also more convenient for the royal party presumably arriving from the palace in the citadel, rather than the main north portal which would require proceeding further down and back through the whole complex. In this regard, it is coincident of the titles of the thirteenth century Arslanjocases Mahalce in Ankara which is also situated on a slope so that the main entrance opposite the minbar is at a lower level than the floor level of the mosque and is served by a wooden gallery.7

6 Sakakioğlu 2004, 327-38, Kaygusuz 1973, Berchen and Edhem 1973, 83-7 and 107-10. A critical take on the veracity of this document is found in Sakakioğlu who suspects it to be a seventeenth or eighteenth-century redaction; most others who reproduce or mention it (including Gilsiny and Taptiner 2007, 91) are generally unconcerned about its authenticity and do not seem to have studied the document itself. Berchen and Edhem 1973, 82-3 state that they only saw a copy of a document reported to be preserved in Divriği at the time. According to Sakakioğlu 2004, 338, n. 1, the inscription is a later redaction of the Dernic inscription and is now kept in the original. A copy of it is kept in Ankara, Edhem Cebril, Osmaniyeh Ottoman traveler, noted that the date and endowments of the mosque had been written on the "door and wall of the mosque on the account of seven (years worth of) linen taxes which were never been spent" (cited in Sakakioğlu 2004, 338). Given that Edhem Cebril includes the better part of the mosque as the Seljuk sultan 'Alt al-Din Kayqubid, which may be the product of some misconception or imagination on his part.

8 The 1519 Ottoman tax register lists the following salaried posts in the mosque: a hafiz (supervisor of endowments), an imam, a mu'azzin, a fereyi (cuemak), a serdallı (an aide to the muazzin or hafiz), a Shafi'i imams, and a mustawa'ef (functionary in charge of leading invocations); see Arkan 1991, 56-7 and Gilsiny 1995, 112-3 (who quotes mention of the serdallı in the deceased deed dated 1243 does not list the separate post of the Shafi'i imam but adds the posts of: juzi 'sultan (Qur'an reader), qubbabdar (functionary in charge of the tomb chamber which is in fact located within the hospital) and mawaridin (repairmen?); see Berchen and Edhem 1973, 107-10 and Sakakioğlu 2004, 339.

9 It is mentioned in the 1519 tax register that the original endowed properties of the "medrese" had been lost (zay) during the Marrakush period (1401-1516 for Divriği) and that its original endowment deed could not be found (Gilsiny 1995, 119 and Arkan 1991). However, as recorded by both tax registers, two substantial sets of additional endowments were made in the fourteenth century (Gilsiny 1995, 118-20, Arkan 1991, 59-62; and Gilsiny and Taytiner 2007, LXVI, 220-3) which suggests that the loss of the original endowed properties may have occurred not in the Marrakush period but rather sometime in the period of the sovereignty of the Mongols and/or of their successors in east-central Anatolia, the dynasty of Terme (after 1243) followed by that of Qutlugh Burhan al-Din (after 1300). It may even have occurred as early as 1276-7 when the Ilkhan Abu Qa'qa, on his way to meet the Mamlik further south in Elbistan, passed through Divriği and ordered its walls to be destroyed (Radjou 1994, 452). The earlier of the fourteenth century endowments mentioned in the sixteenth-century tax registers is dated 1264 A.H. (1325-6) and attributed to one Fatima bint Hassan was said to be in the "content of the minbar" in the mosque (which apparently made with the provision that she be buried in the tomb chamber) makes reference to the "medrese" suggesting that the institutional transformation of the hospital had been realized by the early fourteenth century. Her generous endowment of its property is accompanied by other things, for the stipends of students and the warden of the hospital combined in a munch in dedicated to the teaching of law. The tax registers also record that, in 1397 A.H. (1394-5), further properties were endowed by one Tili Mlik, but Malik Mesihr Bey his brother Arab, and under his name, the other was later known as Mihir or Hassan, the ruler of Koloseva/Sybinkarzahis between 1225-8 who was later exiled to Kars (see footnote 16). Tili Mlik's endowment made provisions for the employment of four fakihis (jurists), two sicilāf (Qur'an reciters), and one fereyi in addition to specifying the amounts to be spent on na'āda (i.e., instruction by a mukarrarin [instructor], tālā (i.e., repetition) of lessons by a na'āda [assistant instructor]), and na'āda (supervision by a na'āda). Despite the deviation from the original institutional function of hospital (dirār al-shaf'i) envisioned by the founders and specified in the foundation inscription, the trusthip of the former hospital continued to remain in the hands of Tili Mlik's descendant. Two such women are listed in the tax registers for the so-called "medrese al-khuṭba". One of them was Tili Mlik and the other was later known as Abu Nuri or Mihir, identified in the 1350 tax register as a descendant of Tili Mlik and as the current trustee of the endowment (Gilsiny and Taytiner 2007, LXVI, 221). The mention of these two women in the tax registers and their continued use of royal names indicate the prestige and status enjoyed by the descendants of the Mengenjekilik, long after the demise of the dynasty. Together with Fatima bint Hassan, they also provide evidence for the continuation of women's involvement in the life of an institution first founded by a woman.

10 For a more recent and intimate perspective on these issues, see Ave 2009.
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The House of Menguejek

While much remains puzzling about the origins of such decorative motifs and their compositional configurations, the identity of the patrons, recorded in the foundation inscriptions of the mosque and the hospital, makes the historical contextualization a less tricky task than the artistic contextualization. The foundation inscription of the mosque states that it was built by Ahmadshah, son of Solamyamush, in the year 626 (1228-9). Ahmadshah was one of the latter-day rulers of the Menguejek dynasty which was established at the end of the 14th century. Further above is a less visually impressive and less formal inscription—written almost as an afterthought—which acknowledges the reign of 'Ali-d-Din Kapoobaid (1219-37), the Seljuk sultan who was the contemporary of Ahmadshah. For as the hospital (dar al-shifa), its foundation inscription declares that it was built by the “just queen” (al-malika al-‘udul) Tiran

11 Kuban 1997, 102-3, has noted the curious structural composition of this portal with its inner niche constructed in a trabeate technique, unusual in Anatolia.

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Maltik, the daughter of Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah in the year 626 (1228-9). Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah (r. 1162 or 1165 – 1225) was the most celebrated of all Menguejek rulers in Erzincan, with an extraordinarily long reign lasting some six decades. It is often assumed that Tiran Malitk was the wife of Ahmadshah although neither the foundation inscription nor any other contemporary written source actually confirms a marital connection between the two. Instead, it is kinsfolk to her late father that is pronounced in the inscription.

The history of the Menguejek principality is little known beyond a basic outline of dynastic succession and instances of encounter with outside forces. The establishment of the dynasty is attributed to its eponymous but rather mysterious founder known from the sources as Mangjikglé who seems to have been a Turkmen military commander in the service of the Great Seljuk sultan and who settled in the region of the upper Eufrates basin sometime around 1080, in the aftermath of the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. Based primarily in the town of Kornah, Mangjikglé’s territories appear to have included the upper Eufrates catchment region between Erzincan in the east and Divrigi in the west. In 1142, after the death of
Transcaucasia (now in modern Azerbaijan), receiving patronage mainly from regional Muslim rulers who emerged in the area of northwest Iran, Transcaucasia, and eastern Anatolia after the breakdown of the Great Seljuk sultanate in the late twelfth century (Chelkowski 1995). Mawkez al-Asrār was the first of Nizâr’s five epic poems, known collectively as the Khâriji. Although its exact date is not known, Mawkez al-Asrār was almost certainly composed in the mid-twelfth century, possibly as early 1165–66 and certainly before 1188. In the section on the praise of the prince, Nizâr expresses Bahrmahrsh’s sovereignty in dual attributes: presenting him as the king of Armenia (malkâ-î Arman) and the emperor of Rum (shâh-i Êrum); relating his throne to the șahtanâne (sultanate) and his seat to the caliphate (khilafât sultanat); claiming him as the conqueror of Rûm (Rûm sultânname) and the captor of Greece (Armenia and Georgia (Abkhaz et-rûm) (Nizârî Ganjavi 1374/1995, 21–2). These paired attributes, which are modeled on contemporary titles favored especially by the Turkmen rulers of Anatolia, show the peculiar geopolitical matrix within which Bahrmahrsh was beginning to assert his own identity and orientation. Accordingly, the glorification of Bahrmahrsh’s political figure was embedded in a shared Anatolian geography (and demography) that extended from Byzantium (Rûm) to Armenia (Arman) and Georgia (Abkhaz) and articulated by a multi-referential political framework that made use of both Persian and Arabic titles (shâh and mulâk) and both secular and religious sources of Muslim sovereignty (sultanat and khilafât).

Elements of this construction of a political persona are also reflected in Bahrmahrsh’s issues of copper coinage, albeit in a more muted manner, with titles such as mulâk al-asmâ ("king of emirs"); shâhî-âghâ ("warrior emperor"); and nûsûr an-nâm al-mâhûnîs ("helper of the commander of the faithful"). It may be noteworthy that none of the extant coins of Bahrmahrsh or Seljuk acknowledge the Bahrmahrsh part of Seljuk royal family. The coinage that seems to indicate that Bahrmahrsh enjoyed some degree of political independence, or, rather, the semblance thereof, in Erzinjan and Kermâsh while asserting the Seljuk’s of his allegiance and loyalty by his actions. Thus, in 1203, Bahrmahrsh participated in the Seljuk sultan Ruhun al-Dün Suleymârshin’s failed campaign against Georgia during which the Mawkez ruler was captured. Taken to the presence of the Georgian queen Tamar, Bahrmahrsh seemingly reappraised the benefits of his fine reputation as a ruler and was honored by the queen who released him after the payment of ransom. This incident encapsulates the remarkable nature of Bahrmahrsh’s rulership which not only coped with forces both to the east and west of the Menguyekid domains but also turned these to the advantage of a dynasty.

23 On the difficulties of dating Mawkez al-asmâ any more precisely, see De Blois 1997, 439–40. The fantastic suggestion that Mawkez may have personally met Nizâr in July 1163 (Nizârî 158, 4–7) turns on the presupposition that the Menguyekid prince may have joined a coalition of Turkic forces from eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan under the leadership of the Seljuk sultan Arslanshib, b. Tuglud (Sakaküy 2006, 61–6). This coalition is said to have met in Georgia before a successful move north against the Georgians in retaliation for the Georgian victories of 1161 and 1162. As the year of Bahrmahrsh’s accession to the throne is not known with certainty, it is unclear under which title he may have joined such a campaign (if he had indeed joined it). It must be noted that this engagement of the Menguyekids against the Georgians is not confirmed by all; we especially Peacock 2006, 129; 133 and 135 who mentions that most eastern Anatolian dynasties were at one time or another involved against the Georgians but finds it unlikely that the Menguyekids joined any campaign against the Georgians before 1200.

24 On the construction of titles, see Shavkor 2001 who explains the conceptual underpinnings of the use of the toponym Râm by Turkic rulers in Anatolia; Rûm/Romania in Turkoman titles signifies at the same time both the territory of the Roman empire in the general sense and the Anatolian lands) conquered by the Turks ... as a specific, "Muslim" segment of the 'Roman' space" (Shavkor 2001, 267). Hence, "[Rûm] was not a question of legitimacy but of self-identification. Turks styled themselves Romans/Rûm since they mastered the lands of Persia (Uskud voqe) in Iran and Anatolia" (Shavkor 2001, 270). This definition also sheds light on the use of other toponyms such as Arman and Abkhâz.

25 Arukh and Arukh 1956, 8; and Sakaküy 2004, 85–6.

26 Kaya 2008, 89 and Tura 2002, 299. According to the Georgian sources, however, Bahrmahrsh was not a willing partner in the Seljuk campaign of 1203 and, in its aftermath, the Menguyekids were saddled with having to pay tribute to the Georgians for some time (Shavkor 2005, 102).
in an increasingly more pressurized political environment. The longevity of Bahramshah's reign should undoubtedly be ascribed to his personal pragmatic vision and is indicative of a highly receptive diplomatic policy which is also echoed in the cultural life of the Mengiukids.

Bahramshah's distinct profile in the realm of cultural production was firmly established early in his career with the renown he gained as a result of being the patron of Nizam al-Mulk. His reputation in this regard was also recognized at some length by the Seljuk historian Ibn Bitti who outlined in detail the generous reward which Nizam received for his poem from Bahramshah. Indeed, Ibn Bitti did not hesitate to sing the praises of Bahramshah and to uphold him as a rare model of the just and beneficent ruler27. Already just a couple of years after his Georgium captivit, the historian Rıwertan extolled Bahramshah for his conduct as a valorous commander in the 1205 campaign (Peacock 2006, 135). The reverberations of his exceptional standing in the Seljuk court and beyond served to substantiate Nizam's glorification of his patron in geopolitical terms, extending to the east and the west. It is this model of generous and pious patronage in the competitive political context of medieval Anatolia which Bahramshah embodied and exemplified to a greater degree than most rulers of his day.

These qualities were also esteemed by members of his family, including his Seljuk wife 'Ismat Khatun who, together with her husband, is said to have extended a warm welcome to Bah' al-Din Walad, the renowned preacher-scholar from Central Asia and the father of 'Ali al-Din Jalal al-Din Rumi, as recorded in Aflakı's hagiography, Mandahat al-irtifat. Thus, it is related that 'Ismat Khatun and Bahramshah, upon hearing of Bah' al-Din Walad's passage from Malatya to central Anatolia, caught up with him in the town of Aşkahar west of Erzurum and enticed him to stay by agreeing to his request to build a madrasa for him in that very location28. According to Aflakı, Bah' al-Din Walad stayed and taught in the Mengiukid realm for four years, before moving to Lereşte (modern Karaman) in central Anatolia, purportedly upon the death of his Mengiukid patron. This madrasa at Aşkahar, known as the İmaretı, is said to have been built and sponsored by 'Ismat Khatun who also attended the lessons herself.

Although Bah' al-Din Walad apparently insisted on being accommodated in Aşkahar on account of the large number of "bad persons" he alleged were living in Erzurum, this Mengiukid capital

27 It was just in advance of this campaign, around 1202, that the Seljuk sultan Rukh al-Din Sulaymanshah annexed the territories of the Saltukids immediately to the east of the Mengiukids in the region of Erzurum and installed his brother Mughštah al-Din Taghshah (formerly the suлit of Elburz) as the regional Seljuk ruler to lookout the land. Between 1202 and 1210, Erzurum was effectively a semi-independent branch of the Seljuk rulers led by Mughštah al-Din Taghshah and later by his son, Rukh al-Din Jalalshah. The Seljuk decision to put an end to the Saltukid dynasty is somewhat puzzling (Peacock 2006, 135-5). As to the Mengiukids' jihad against the Lutusids, it was only in the context of the latter's expansion in this instance, it may perhaps be attributed to Bahramshah's personal marriage alliance with the Seljuks (as son-in-law to Qılıq Arslan II and brother-in-law to Rukh al-Din Sulaymanshah). Somewhat later, a similar alliance was also contracted with the Seljuks of Erzurum on the eastern flank of the Mengiukids with the marriage of a daughter of Bahramshah to Rukh al-Din Jalalshah, an inscription indicating this princess (but without providing her royal name) as the builder of a tower in Bayrak is dated 1223-4 (Sakıncalı 2004, 78-9). Although it is not possible to ascertain the year in which this marriage was contracted, it is worth noting that it was probably achieved, either just prior or subsequently, by the marriage of another daughter, known as Saleh Khatun, to the Seljuk sultan 'Izz al-Din Kaykuwa I. Ibn Bitti reported that 'Izz al-Din Kaykuwa I and his circle in Erzurum were among the most influential of the Mengiukid princesses in this instance as an ideal candidate for the newly-appointed Seljuk sultan in Konya; see ibid p. 152-7 (Turkish translation: Ibn Bitti 1996, 192-201).

28 Ibn Bitti 1956, 70-2 (Turkish translation: Ibn Bitti 1996, 91-3). In this passage Ibn Bitti also relates the well-known story of Bahramshah's endowment for the provision of food for birds and wild animals during the harsh winters of Erzurum.

patronage in a world of multiple centers of power, each vying for its own sources of cultural production and prestige. Erzincan, the city identified most closely with the long and celebrated reign of Bahramshah, must have been the primary stage on which the Mengujekid royal image was constructed in the form of public and palatial buildings. As such, the buildings of Mengujekid Erzincan must have epitomized the architectural orientation of the dynasty within the network of political and cultural rivalries which defined the modus operandi of the successor states of the Great Seljuk empire which dissolved in the last decades of the twelfth century. However, the location of Erzincan on the ershāq-e-prone north Anatolian fault line has amounted to the continual destruction of practically all of its medieval and post-medieval architecture over the centuries. Nevertheless, several surviving monuments in Kernah and Divriği provide valuable information about the direction of architectural orientation in terms of artistic resources and epigraphic stylization employed by the Mengujekids towards the end of the twelfth century.

The Kernah monuments consist of two brick structures built next to each other, an elevated location on the bank of the Karnus, a major tributary of the Euphrates. Although undated, both structures are usually thought to have been built in the last decade of the twelfth century. Of these, the one known as the Tomb of Mengujekid Gazi (or Sultan Melik) is an octagonal brick chamber with a conical dome built above a crypt which has a central column. The exterior walls are articulated by recessed arch panels and engaged columns on the corners. The entrance is decorated with geometric patterns executed in unglazed brickwork set into mortar along with four glazed ceramic bowls. An inscription above the doorway in Kufic script contains a familiar verse from the Qur'an (2:153): "Every soul shall taste death." Another inscription in Kufic, now much damaged and mostly unverifiable, on an exterior wall was read in the early twentieth century as the signature of an architect named 'Umar ibn Bistīni al-Tabari'. His nisba (name of relation), al-Tabari, if read correctly, indicates that he (or his family) came from Tabaristan, the region south of the Caspian Sea in Iran. This tomb chamber belongs to a rich tradition of

36 For a list of the most serious historical earthquakes in Turkey, see the information provided by the Kandilli Observatory of Bogazici University (http://www.koeri.boun.edu.tr/isimler/Depolama/Ershak). Listed on this site are the following earthquakes impacting the Erzincan region: 1268, Erzincan-Erzurum (15,000 deaths); 1458, Erzincan-Erzurum (32,000 deaths), 1556, Erzincan-Erzurum (15,000 deaths); 1939, Erzincan (nearly 33,000 dead and over 11,000 buildings damaged/destroyed). To these may be added mentions of other earthquakes in medieval sources; see Yurar 2001, 96. It seems that at least one mudbrick built by Fakhr al-Dīn Bahramshah survived or was rebuilt and retained its original shape into the seventeenth century (Saksoğlu 2004, 91). With the 1939 earthquake, whatever remained of medieval and Ottoman Erzincan was levelled and the new city was built to the north of the railway.

37 Ulūd 1967, 151-61, Meinecke 1976, vol. 1, 12-6, vol. 2, 192-5, Özkal 1966, 46-50, and Saksoğlu 2004, 51-4, 94-5. Although popularly attributed to Mangiğak Gazi, this tomb cannot have been built at the time of his death around 1197; see further below footnote 30.

38 On these features, see Meinecke 1976, vol. 1, 12-6, vol. 2, 192-5, Bakir 1941, 45-50, 183-6, and Demirer 1972-73, 180.

39 This reading was first offered by Kernal 1932, 241-3; see also Ulūd 1967, 158 and Özkal 1966, 51. A second damaged exterior inscription in brickwork which has only partially survived contains the name of an individual with the title shaykh al-mashshidh ("grand shaykh") but it is unclear whether this identifies the builder/patron or the (fictional) occupant of the tomb. Thus, the question of by whom for whom it was originally intended remains unanswered although the possibility exists that it may have been built as a dynastic tomb and perhaps even marks the site where Mangiğak Gazi was buried. Two inscriptions (one in Persia, the other in Arabic) painted on the interior which appear to be later than the time of construction exist on the walls of Mangiğak Gazi and provide the genealogy of the Mengujekid dynasty up to Sultangil (Kernal 1932, 241-2, Ulūd 1967, 159-60, Özkal, 1966, 51-2, and Saksoğlu 2004, 51-4, 94-5). The latter is depicted in the inscription as a son of Bahramshah and "the pride of the houses of Sulajj and Mangiğak" (nūdul dhk al-Sultān wa Mangiğak) which suggests that Sulajj's mother was the daughter of Qalîb Ardîn II, whom Bahramshah married. As the date of these interior inscriptions is not known, it is not possible to relate them to the event of the (possibly) additional inscription, or even to relate them securely to the original patron/occupant of the tomb. Nevertheless, these inscriptions cannot be dismissed altogether as the titles of Sulajj and Mangiğak given here repeat those found in an endowment deed for a rest home he established in Kernah and Ramiladi 1381/May 1991, on which see Yuruk 1970-71 and Saksoğlu 2004, 94-5 and footnote 43 below. Amplifying the mystery of this tomb further is the manifold burial space preserved in the crypt, the subject of extensive local folklore on which see Saksoğlu 2004, 51-3.

brick construction and decoration that extended from Transoxiana to Azerbaijan (including Tabaristan) between the tenth and the early thirteenth centuries. In particular, the geometric brickwork of the entrance side, the articulation of the other seven sides with blind niches, and the peculiar structure of the crypt with a central octagonal column supporting the vault find their closest counterparts in late twelfth-century tomb chambers from Azerbaijan. The Tomb of Mu'īmīn Khatūn (1136) in Nāshīchān and the Gumbad-i Qubd (1196-7) in Marāq does represent the epitome of this architectural tradition especially in terms of their geometric brickwork highlighted with a measured but effective use of glazed bricks. Both buildings also feature a crypt with a central supporting column. In comparison with these examples, the Kernah tomb, which is decorated only with unglazed bricks, represents a pragmatic rendering of a sophisticated decorative practice undertaken by an 'emir' architect in the 1190s. The embedded glazed bowls, for example, could be interpreted as a resourceful counterpart to glazed bricks or tiles which were perhaps not as readily available in Kernah in the late twelfth century as they were in Azerbaijan.

It is probable that the two-room building standing next to this tomb, known popularly as the Tomb of Behramshah or the Zavīye of Sultan Melik, is also the work of the same architect. Despite the fact that there are three cenotaphs in the first room which is accessed by the single entrance, it is doubtful that this building was originally intended to be a tomb. The entrance has brickwork decoration similar to that of the Tomb of Mengiğek Gazi, including the peculiar use of an embedded glazed bowl, making it likely that the two structures were built around the same time and that this two-room structure was originally related to the tomb chamber in some capacity, probably as a lodge (zaviyə) of some sort.

Although the current state of knowledge hinders a less speculative interpretation about their dating and functional relationship, these two buildings in Kernah nonetheless provide an idea about Mengiğekid architecture in Erzincan during the reign of Bahramshah at least up to the turn of the thirteenth century. Accordingly, it may be assumed that at least some (if not most) of the public buildings constructed in the last decades of the twelfth century in the main Mengiğekid capital were built in a style and technique derived from contemporary architectural practices in greater Iran—in particular Azerbaijan—and adapted to local circumstances. This aspect of Mengiğekid architecture at the end of the twelfth century provides a sense of the cultural-political context which saw the introduction of especially brick architectural decoration from the eastern Islamic world into medieval Anatolia where they ultimately encountered both local and regional traditions of stone architecture, giving frequently mixed but often intriguing results. Such a mixed result can be seen in the Kale ("Citadel") Mosque of Divriğin built in 1180-1 by the local Mengiğekid ruler Sayy al-Dīn Shahrāshīl (r. 1171-1196) who was Bahramshah's cousin and the future ruler Almāshīd's grandfather. This stone mosque which was, until the disastrous "restoration"
of 2007-8 undertaken by the Directorate of Pious Endowments, one of the oldest to survive unaltered from late twelfth-century Anatolia, was furnished with a portal built and decorated in a combination of stone, brick, and color glazed tiles arranged into geometric patterns. Signed by the master (sottâl) Hasan ibn Pirâ, of Maragha, the portal shows the resourceful early adaptation of a portal form developed in the tradition of brick architecture in greater Iran—extending as its decorative inscriptions (fig. 11)50. The low-relief geometric carving within the rectangular frame of the portal and the small but properly articulated muqarnas hood above the entrance provide evidence for craftsmen who could execute the most current design elements of Islamic architecture now entirely in stone51. These elements are also displayed on the exterior comice of the Sitte Melik comprising a course each of muqarnas and low-relief geometric decoration, crowned by a long inscriptive band. Low-relief geometric decoration is also used to frame two elongated niches set into the walls adjacent to either side of the entrance. The elongated niches themselves, however, point in the direction of Georgian or Armenian architecture52. The Sitte Melik thus represents, among the surviving architecture of the Mengujekids, a new phase of synthesis and qualifies Divriği as a significant nexus in a diffuse regional network of design and praxis53.

Such a synthesis was probably deliberately sought by Shahanshah whose sequence of titles in the extensive comic inscriptions of the Sitte Melik as well as above the entrance of the Kale Mosque and on its minbar speak volumes on his multi-directional mode of political self-identification54. Accordingly, Shahanshah styled himself with an extensive combination of Turkic, Persian and Islamic terms of power and grandeur and defined his locus of supremacy as Rüm, Shams and Arman55. In addition making a statement about territorial ambition, the naming of these three regions in the inscription delineates the particular intersection of political and ethnic-cultural space in Shahanshah’s vision that also informs the building of the Sitte Melik itself: located in Rüm but parouting of the architecture and decoration of both Shams (i.e. Islamic forms such as muqarnas) and Arman (i.e. forms derived from Armenian and Georgian architecture of Transcaucasia and eastern Anatolia)56. As a contemporary of Sultanbashi in the late twelfth century, Shahanshah clearly did not lag too far behind his politically more senior counterpart in Erzincan in terms of the construction of his image based on the interaction of different cultural spheres.

In this regard, the Sitte Melik may also be said to anticipate the Mosque and Hospital Complex which represents yet another phase.

50 Berchem and Edhem 1917, 63-8, Onkâl 1996, 37-42, and Sakako 2004, 389-97. There are two dates given on the tomb: 1) 598/1193-4 at the end of the comic inscription and 2) 592/1195-6 above the entrance. It is assumed that the earther date refers to the year of construction while Shahanshah was still living and the latter to the year of Shahanshah’s death.

51 Although Ögel 1992, 59-67 finds the muqarnas hood here to be “hostilizer,” it does represent a much more confident and anachronistic adaptation of the hood within the Kale Mosque.

52 Such elongated niches are to be seen typically on the exterior eastern facade (one on either side of the apse) of Georgian and Armenian churches from the tenth century. The pairing of the niches at the Tomb of Sitte Melik, on either side of the entrance, further recalls this symmetrical placement. Other examples of such a placement on Athenian tomb chambers include the Maryan Han in Tonson (Erzum) datable to the early thirteenth century.

53 The Tomb of Sitte Melik is one of two tomb chambers built just around the same period in Divriği. The second one, known as the Tomb of Kamaraddin, bears the date of 20/557 (July 19, 1196) and identifies it as belonging to a high-official named Qaradad al-Din with the title of high royal chamberlain; see Berchem and Edhem 1917, 62-3, Onkâl 1996, 42-6 and Sakako 2004, 388-402. This tomb has the same high-quality stone masonry as the Sitte Melik but with an entirely different and plainer approach to decoration which suggests that the decorative elements of the Sitte Melik were reserved exclusively for the royal image of the ruler himself.

54 For the comic inscriptions of the Sitte Melik, see Berchem and Edhem 1917, 64-7, Onkâl 1996, 40-1, and Sakako 2004, 392-3. For the portal inscriptions of the Kale Mosque, see Berchem and Edhem 1917, 57-8 and Sakako 2004, 228. Of the inscriptions of the Kale Mosque, only a single inscriptive fragment remains within its walls of Shahanshah; see Sakako 2004, 229-30.

55 It is worth noting that Shahanshah seems to have been the only Mengujekid ruler of Divriği who minted copper coins in his name. His numismatic titles are low-key in comparison with his titles on architecture; Sakako 2004, 134-41. This probably has to do with the limited epigraphic space of coinage. Of the eight types of copper coinage identified, the supremacy of the Sultânsât was acknowledged only on two of them.
Divriği: Architectural Venture in the Period of Seljuk Ascendancy

Shattarsiah’s ambitious architectural-epigraphic statement in the Sitte Melik should be seen in the specific political climate of the 1190s, a decade which saw a number of important events in the political configuration of Anatolia and the neighboring regions (Cahen 1988, 55-65). The passage of the Third Crusades under the leadership of Frederick Barbarossa in the first half of 1190 amounted to a major challenge for the Seljuks who had recently become a politically fragmented dynasty after sultan Qilch Arslân II divided the territories among his numerous sons sometime before 1188. As the Seljuks princes clashed with each other in a bid to gain sovereignty, a state of virtual civil war threatened the Seljuk state until 1197-8 when Rukan al-Din Sulaymanishäh finally ascended the throne in Konya, sending Ghiyâth al-Dín Kaykhusraw into exile. Further east, however, the situation was far from settled. In 1194, triggering a subsequent scramble for power among its successor states, notably those in Azerbaijan. From the vantage point of Divriği in 1194 when the Sitte Melik was built, Shattarsiah could not have failed to see this near-dissolution of political authorities in the region as an opportunity for local Mengücekül self-aggrandizement. The Tomb of Sitte Melik could be seen as a result of this perception of opportunity and an embodiment of the multi-referential system of self-identification cultivated by the Divriği Mengücekül in their particular geographical and cultural position.

This method of self-identification sensitive to the conjunction of geohistorical circumstances impacting the Mengücekül realms may also be detected in the Mosque-Hospital Complex of Divriği, built some three decades after the Tomb of Sitte Melik. As in the case of the Sitte Melik, the events recorded around the time of the building of this monument were external to the Mengücekül of Divriği. At the turn of the thirteenth century, the Saltukid dynasty based in Erzurum had been already terminated by the Seljuk sultan Rukan al-Din Sulaymanishäh. The early decades of the thirteenth century saw the second rise of the Seljuks under the sultans 'Irâd al-Din Kayqutuš (r.1211-19) and 'Ali al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1219-37) who consolidated and significantly expanded the power of the dynasty now with strongholds both on the Black Sea and the Mediterranean (Cahen 1988, 66-89). Until his death in 1225, Fakhr al-Din Bahâr al-Din carried out a consistent policy of alliance with these sultans and maintained a general attitude of deference to their rising star. However, the Mengücekül territories of Erzincan, Kermân and Şêbinkaraxas (Kolonia/Kaghchéra) were decisively annexed by 'Ali al-Din Kayqubad in 1228—the same year the Divriği complex was completed—following Dâvidshâd’s unsuccessful attempt to forge a new set of alliances.

The coincidence of the political termination of the Mengücekül of Erzincan-Kermân-Şêbinkaraxas and the construction of the grand Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği is undoubtedly significant. The ascent of the Seljuks and its inevitably detrimental impact on the fortunes of neighboring polities could not have been lost on Ahmadshâd. This is evident in the formulation of the main foundation inscription of the mosque where Ahmadshâd clearly avoided any overt term of self-aggrandizement or self-praise (see Appendix). While the intention of the patron may have been simply to communicate a sense of modesty not inappropriate for a place of communal worship, it is also probable that this epigraphic reticence served a purpose of inter-dynastic political discretion in the period coinciding with the annexation of Erzincan-Kermân-Şêbinkaraxas by the Seljuks. Indeed, the element of political discretion in the formulation of the foundation inscription is revealed by the second inscription of this portal, placed and written rather awkwardly—almost certainly as an addendum—above the arch of the entrance, to acknowledge the final dominance of 'Ali al-Din Kayqubad over the Mengücekül as signaled by his termination of the senior branch of the dynasty (see fig. 12 and Appendix). As seeming equilibrium between Muslim piety and political discretion is further reflected by two small inscriptions, hardly visible at first glance, placed to the right and left of the entrance (on the capitals of the two engaged columns) which combine a formulaic benediction on an unnamed ruler (malik) with the beginning of the well-known Throne Verse from the Qur'an on the oneness and power of God (see Appendix). Finally, the inscription over the entrance of the east portal which was probably reserved for the access of the royal party consists of a slight variation on a Qur'ânic verse which asserts that dominion (al-mulk) belongs to God alone (see Appendix).

If Ahmadshâd’s inscriptions on the mosque make a case for the tenacious nature of power balances impacting the Mengücekül dynasty in the late 1220s, Tûrân Malik must have been even more acutely and personally aware of the developments which undoubtedly cast a gloomy shadow on the prestige once enjoyed by his own senior branch of the dynastic family. There is an allusion to that prestige in the inscription of her hospital (see Appendix) dated just a few years after the death of her father in 1225 and in the same year when her two brothers—Dâvidshâd of Erzincan and Muqâaffar al-Din Muhammed of Şêbinkaraxas—were removed from power and sent into exile in Seljuk territory. Interestingly, Tûrân Malik’s foundation inscription was not supplemented with any acknowledgment of the sussertunity of 'Ali al-Din Kayqubad, which may perhaps have to do with the fact that a hospital, unlike a mosque, is not directly linked to the idea of sovereignty by means of the khuwa (requisite Friday sermon given in the mosque) in which the holder of political authority is declared. Despite the real and psychological pressure exerted on them by the Seljuks, both patrons clearly had significant resources at their disposal in Divriği to undertake such a grand project. The investment of these resources in the form of a charitable architectural project with a legal endowment could well have been conceived to circumvent the imminent possibility of the loss of their property and possessions in the face of uncertainty posed by the Seljuk threat.

In the years immediately following the construction of the Mosque-Hospital Complex, Ahmadshâd must have had to maintain the low political profile he first expressed on the mosque portal inscription. Indeed, after 1228, the Mengücekül of Divriği existed as a tiny pocket of dynastic difference, denied any claim to real power, surrounded on all sides by formally Seljuk domains, and, as before, entirely invisible to the medieval writers of history. The early 1230s saw the zenith of Seljuk political and military ascendance in Anatolia, marked especially by the decisive Seljuk-Ayyubid victory against the troublesome and persistent Khwarazmshah threat in eastern Anatolia. Although it is not possible to chart the course of the next decade for the Mengücekül of Divriği in any degree of detail, the fact that they ultimately weathered the Seljuk storm of the late 1220s and early 1230s is made evident by three more inscriptions of Ahmadshâd in Divriği: two from the cited, dated 634 (1236-7) and 640 (1242-3), and a third one from the minbar of the mosque dated 638 (1240-1) (see Appendix). In these, the name of Ahmadshâd is proclaimed with a series of titles and honorifics which were conspicuously missing from the portal dated 1228-9 and, furthermore, there is no mention of Seljuk supremacy. This is explained by the fact that 'Ali al-Din Kayqubad had been succeeded in 1237 by his son Ghiyâth al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237-46) soon after which Seljuk central authority was seriously undermined during the course of the violent socio-religious Bâtî' uprising which was suppressed only after much difficulty in 1240 (Ock 1980). These events almost certainly afforded the Mengücekül of Divriği a reprieve from the pressures of Seljuk territorial expansion but the actual termination of the dynasty, much like its inscription, is not recorded in the sources. The fact that the extant rendition of the endowment deed of the mosque is dated 37 As mentioned in the beginning of the article, the west portal of the mosque is assumed to be a later (i.e., post-1228-9) construction and therefore the titles of Ahmadshâd mentioned there are not taken into consideration in this assessment.

38 Historically, the mountainous topography of Divriği and its formidable citadel gave it an advantage as a shelter for political difference. In the ninth century, for example, Tephekes/Divriği became the base of the Panthikanas who asserted their independence from the Byzantines; see Foss 1991.

39 Berchem and Eder 1917, 88-9 and Sakoğlu 2004, 204-5. 56 It must be said that this additional inscription cannot be dated with certainty. It may have been placed there anywhere between 1228 and 1237 (the year in which 'Ali al-Din Kayqubad died).
just two days after the defeat of the Seljuk army by the Mongols at the Battle of Kösedag near Sivas suggests that a sense of urgency may have gripped the patrons in the immediate aftermath of this major event. Given the incomplete aspect of parts of the complex’s decoration, it is possible that the drawing up of the endorsement deed had been postponed for some time66. Remarkably, it appears that the dynasty made it well past the Mongol invasion of Anatolia in 1243; the latest Mengüciid inscription from a tiled arch in Divriği belongs to Alaeddinshah’s son and successor, al-Salih, and is dated to the first of Sha’ban 650 (October 7, 1252)67.

Two Roads to Divriği: Artists from Aḥlab and Tihkis
Thus, much had changed around Divriği between 1226 and 1240 which allowed Alaeddinshah to maintain his local power sometime in the mid to late 1240s or even the early 1250s and pass it to his son. In the third, fourth and fifth decades of the thirteenth century when Alaeddinshah ruled in Divriği, the Mengüciids continued to have access to a vibrant network of cultural and artistic production. The geographic orientation of this network is indicated by the signatures of two artists in the Mosque-Hospital Complex. The first signature is that of Khurramshah ibn Mujštih al-Khulāsī, found on the interior masonry of both the mosque and the hospital66. The signature of the artist, al-Khulāsī, indicates Aḥlab, located on the northwestern shore of Lake Van, as the place of his personal or family origin, while his patronymic (Mujštih) and personal name (Khurramshah) suggest that he came from a Persian family with a Persian linguistic or cultural background. The second signature is inscribed on the 1240-1 minbar of the mosque, identifying its architect as Ahmad ibn Ḡibrīl al-Tihkīṣ and pointing to the Georgic city of Tihkis for the main place of origin68. Although no further information exists for either of these craftsmen, their places of origin merit consideration within the sphere of political and cultural relations which encompassed the Mengüciids in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Tihkis, the historic capital of eastern Georgia, came under Arab-Muslim control as early as the eighth century and remained an outpost of the Abbasid Caliphate, surrounded by Armenian and Georgic states, until it was retaken by the Georgians under King David IV in the twelfth century (1123)69. Soon after the accession of the Georgian queen Rustaveli to power in 1223, the city was occupied by the Khwarazmshahs in 1226 and taken by the Mongols in 1236. The latter two events were undoubtedly disruptive for social and cultural continuity in the city and it is, therefore, not entirely surprising to find an artist like Ahmad ibn Ḡibrīl seeking opportunities for employment in a haven such as Divriği around

66 Of course, this assumes that the date on the extant redaction of the endorsement deed of the mosque is historically accurate (see footnote 6 above).
67 Bercher and Edhem 1917, 89-90 and Sakağlı 2004, 205.
68 A third signature which is on the east portal of the mosque is unfortunately too damaged to be read beyond the first name of the artist, Ahmad (see Appendix); Bercher and Edhem 1917, 314. Note that the inscription of the scribe, which is on the mosque itself, is not legible.
69 The signature ‘awāl-i ("the work of") Khuramshah ibn Mujštih al-Khulāsī can be clearly read on the keystone of the western arch of the dome in front of the mihrab in the mosque. The signature in the hospital, located high on the eastern wall of the main vaulted hall opposite the entrance, has been read as ‘awāl-i Khuṛzād (or Khurzād) Abād ‘alā which has caused some to assume that two different artists were involved (Sakağlı 2004, 380). In fact, the orthographic differences between the two names (Khurramshah and Khuhrzad/Khurzash) in the Arabic script are slight enough (at least with regard to the basic letter forms involved) to suggest that the latter signature contains a writing mistake and that both signatures denote a single artist. Another issue with the signature (which is by no means unique to Divriği) has to do with the fact that it does not convey a precise notion of the artist’s function in the project: was he a builder/architect, stonemason, or a supervisor? The signature formula of ‘awāl-i ("the work of") denotes first and foremost the role of the master builder but does not rule out specific skills such as stone carving.
70 Bercher and Edhem 1917, 81-2; Oral 1962, 63-9, and Sakağlı 2004, 273–5, 316-23. It has been suggested that this Ahmad may be the same artist as the one who signed the east portal (see footnote 72); Gabriel 1934, 186 and Öpel 1987, 25. Given that both works feature geometric decoration, this is within the realms of possibility but cannot be proven as the remainder of the east portal artist’s name has defied attempts to reconstruct it.

The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği: this time. Given the apparent absence of art historical record concerning Islamic art and architecture produced in medieval Tihkis, however, it is not possible to assess the specific contribution of this artist’s background to the work he produced for the mosque in Divriği. Nevertheless, Tihkis was specifically remarked by the ninth-century historian al-Baladhuri for the extensive wooden (pine) architecture in the built environment of the early medieval city (Minorsky [Browsen] 2000). The number of Divriği, with its complex surface geometry of interlacing star patterns and extensive pious inscriptions, is indeed among the finest of its type known from the medieval Islamic world. Tihkis’s contribution to Islamic culture and learning is further evinced by the work of the renowned polymath, Hubaysh ibn Birhtān al-Tihkīṣī (d. ca. 1200-4) who attracted himself to the court of Sultan Qalḥū Anšālī and made his career in Anatolia during the first rise of the Seljuqs (Yoço 2004). Given that Hubaysh’s al-Tihkīṣī’s books are among the earliest erudite works known to have been written in the Seljuk realms of Anatolia, it may be assumed that he acquired his scholarly training in Tihkis.

More can be said about Aḥlab (medieval Khulāsī), the city located on the northwestern shore of Lake Van, from which the architect Khurramshah hailed66. Aḥlab was already a prosperous commercial and cultural center in the eleventh century when it was part of the Marwanid dynasty (990-1085) of Dīyar Bakr, the region which included, in addition to Aḥlab, Arūz (modern Diyarbakır), Masrąfiyyan (modern Silvan), and Naṣūrīyyan. Naṣīr-i Khusraw, the Persian Isfahānī poet-philosopher, visited the city in 1046 and reported on its predominantly cash economy as well as its notable trilingual culture comprising Arabic, Persian, and Armenian (Naṣīr-i Khusraw 1986). The prevalence of these three languages in the eleventh-century reveals Aḥlab’s location at a point of political, social, and cultural intersection. These intersecting identities were also acknowledged by the next rulers of Aḥlab, a Turkmên dynasty descended from a manābūd (slave) emir of the Great Seljuqs named Sīkāmīn al-Qūbi. Known officially on their coinage and in the contemporary sources by the dynastic name of the Shāhān- Arman (“King of Armenians”), this Turkmên state ruled over Aḥlab and the neighboring region between 1100 and 1207. During this time, the Georgians posed the greatest threat to their claim on this region which induced the Şahān- Arman to join a coalition of Muslim forces from eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan and take part in military expeditions against Georgia. Ultimately, in 1207, it was the Ayyubids of Syria who took Aḥlab from the Shāhān- Arman but the city continued to be the target of Georgian expeditions through the 1200s and of the Khwarazmshahs in the 1220s.

Medieval sources record a devastating earthquake in the region of Aḥlab in 674 (1275-6) which destroyed most of the buildings in the city (Stiner 1990, 57). The standing medieval architecture of Aḥlab is mainly from the Mongol (Ilkhanid) period and dated after this earthquake. Nevertheless, the existence of a vibrant environment of artistic production in Aḥlab can be discerned from the hundreds of monumental tombstones that survive in its main medieval Muslim cemetery dated predominantly between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries (Karağanlı 1972) (Fig. 15). The outstanding stone carving on these tombstones are with their brilliant geometric and stylized vegetal designs reveal the intensity and quality of artistic activity in medieval Aḥlab. While the twelfth-century tombstones consist largely of grave markers in the form of cenotaphs with a stepped form, there was, during the last two decades of the same century, an apparent sudden change towards the employment of monumental stelae for marking the head and foot of the grave with a rectilinear or cylindrical marker lying in between. The earliest of such stelae (from the 1180s and 1190s) are decorated with stylized vegetal patterns which gave way, in the early thirteenth century, to examples with very high quality workmanship and sophisticated designs consisting most notably of geometric ornament based on interlacing star patterns. From the second half of the thirteenth century, many Aḥlab tomb stelae were also capped with an imposing cornice-like feature which has an inward curve frequently decorated with muqarnas.

In terms of their rectangular shape, imposing height, fine carving, and especially distinctive cornice at the top, thirteenth-century Ahtal tomb stela visually evoke the Armenian commemorative stele known as khatchkar ("stone cross"). (Fig. 14). Khatchkar's, produced throughout eastern Anatolia and Armenian Transcaucasia starting as early as the ninth century but peaking especially between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries, typically feature a large and elaborately foliated "living cross" above a round medallion symbolizing Golgotha (both often contained in an arched niche) and usually framed by a dense matrix of stylized vegetal and geometric decoration (Donabedian 2007). From the end of the twelfth century, khatchkar's came to be distinguished by an inward curving cornice, a peculiar feature which may have been introduced to protect the decoration below from weathering. Although very few khatchkar's have been preserved in modern Turkey, a handful of surviving examples from near Ahtal and Erzincan give an idea about the refinement and distribution of this art form in eastern Anatolia which seems to have inspired the makers of the Ahtal Muslim tomb stela to synthesize the overall form of the Armenian khatchkar with the ornamental and epigraphic disposition of the Muslim funerary market.

From the dates on the Ahtal stela, it is possible to determine a significant interruption in the production of such stelae during the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Karumagarak 1972, 44-5). This interruption may be attributed primarily to the siege of the city by the Khwarazmshahs under the leadership of Khwarazmshah Jalal ad-Din Mangubabur, first in the late autumn-winter of 1226 and again in 1229-30 (Sünner 1990, 55-6). The second siege lasted for a relentless eight months, causing a severe famine that nearly annihilated the population between August 1229 and April 1230. Further devastation was brought on by a particularly destructive three-day plunder by the soldiers of the invading army once they entered the already battered city. The destruction documented by the tomb stela attest to the likelihood of the departure of at least some of Ahtal's craftsmen already prior to the final blow of 1229-30 (possibly around the time of the first Khwarazmshah attack in 1226) in search of more secure centers of patronage. In all likelihood, Khurramshah numbered among those craftsmen who sought their fortunes away from the continuous onslaughts of the 1210s and 1220s.

Most of the Ahtal tomb stelae bear artists' signatures which indicate the prestige associated with their production and the importance given to identifying the makers (and probably their workshops) (Karumagarak 1972, 82-103). Analysis of these signatures through the thirteenth century also reveal an emphasis placed on master (ustâd) and apprentice (ghulam, shâhînî) relationships and lineage. This particular emphasis evokes the principles of the futuna organization—medieval urban brotherhoods promoting chivalry and mystic spirituality based on a system of initiation with distinct stages of maturity through which the new recruits would be gradually guided. Most members (known as âli) of the futuna organizations in Anatolia cities belonged to professional backgrounds in commerce and craft who continued to practice their trade while regularly applying themselves to the ritual and communal precepts of the organization. Ahtal, with its vibrant commercial activity, is known to have been an important and early gateway for the westward transmission of the grassroots futuna movement which appeared to have emerged in eastern Iran and eventually spread into western Iran, Azerbaijan and Anatolia. The futuna movement was established in Anatolia in the thirteenth century and thrived through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, creating a network of social cohesion through the provision of hospitality and assistance to the displaced, especially during times of political uncertainty. The fact that two of the several futuna guidebooks composed in Anatolia were penned by artists—a gilder (zârûkh) and a painter (mûqâbil)—reflects the prominence of craftsmen among the ranks of the futuna. Although the signatures on the Ahtal tomb stela only hint at (and do not confirm) the association of these artists with futuna organizations, the re-emergence of their craft after the Khwarazmshah disruption could well be attributed to the workings of just such an organization providing the network and support needed for the process of renewal. Khurramshah's journey of relocation to Divriği could also have been facilitated by the Anatolian futuna, which, by the end of the thirteenth century, had made such great impact on Muslim society that it was also adopted (with some adjustments) by the Armenian population of Erzincan (Görgürhan 2007).

Artists in Motion, Designs in Transition

Although the Ahtal tomb stela show that the events of the 1220s had a negative effect (albeit temporarily) on the art of funerary stone carving which had just reached a certain high point in its development since the late twelfth century, they remain silent on the question of their direct visual relevance for the stone carving on the Mosque-Hospital Complex of Divriği. Certainly, the high quality of the carving on the Ahtal stelae match the level of the work in Divriği, but the low-relief and predominantly geometric decoration of the former cannot explain the high-relief and stylized vegetal motifs that distinguish the latter. In the absence of architecture predating the Mongol period in Ahtal, the relevance of Ahtal for Divriği can be perceived from the probable works (rather than the actual products) of artistic activity and synthesis both before and after the Khwarazmshah devastation. In other words, it is the processes of visual design and synthesis rather than any extant work of art or architecture from Ahtal which shed some light on the means by which the seemingly unusual decoration on the Divriği portals came to be.

Among the Ahtal signatures are two names which yield important clues concerning a particular aspect of artistic activity. The first clue is furnished by an artist named Qâsim ibn Ustâd 'Ali who signed two tomb stelae at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries (Karumagarak 1972, 102, 240-2). The same artist also signed the Tomb of Erzen Hatan in Ahtal dated 1396-7. Although not contemporary with the Mosque-Hospital Complex of Divriği, both the tomb stelae and the tomb chamber signed by the artist are very much within their respective traditions and his crossover between two types of work probably reflects an earlier practice of artistic continuum. Thus, it seems that the art of the stone carvers of tomb stelae could also extend to architecture where they could be identified as the primary artist. The second clue emerges from the signature of an artist named Ahmad al-Muzayyin who was active between the 1240s and the 1260s (Karumagarak 1972, 91-2, 130-1, 146-53). The professional designation of muzayyin may be translated as "decorator" which, in the context of the tomb stela, refers specifically to the decoration executed in stone carving. However, given that this professional designation is unique to this artist among the Ahtal signatures and, furthermore, that his decoration represents a series of innovations among the stelae of the middle of the thirteenth century, it is most likely that Ahmad al-Muzayyin's work was not limited to the carving of tomb stelae but included similar design work in other media. This is all the more probable since the primary designs on Ahmad al-Muzayyin's tomb stelae consist of interlacing star patterns, a mode of geometric design which is most notable for its contemporary application on a wide variety of media from stone and wood to metal and paper, manifesting itself on architecture, furniture, objects and manuscripts. As his works represent the revival of the art of tomb stelae after the hiatus that corresponds to the period of the Khwarazmshah and Mongol invasions, Ahmad al-Muzayyin's role in the rejuvenation of stone carving probably derived its force from his skills as designer. Although not numerous, these particular Ahtal signatures point towards a long-term artistic environment in which design constituted the main platform of activity and the possibilities of its application were not restricted by any particular medium or craft. It may be surmised that the design process in places like Ahtal turned on the pivotal role played by the development of patterns on paper which could be scaled up or down or otherwise adjusted to match the craft and work at hand.

67 Two of the most monumental khatchkar's, measuring around six meters in height and dated 1199 and 1194, are preserved in the vicinity of the monastery of Atrak, located midway between Erzincan and Erzurum (http://www.virialahl.org/erzurum/index.htm).


69 These two authors are Ahmad ibn al-Naqi 'adh al-Khurtburti and Naji al-Zarkub; Görgürhan 1949-50, 15, 14.
The artists who were responsible for the refined art of funerary stelae in Ahat were thus not only versed in the craft of stone carving but also fully in command of an autonomous design process. This autonomy could be seen as a function of the prestige enjoyed by artists working within a network of patronage reinforced by the favorable organizations. In circumstances of mobility, whether voluntary or involuntary, artists who were trained in the autonomy of the design process must have had a clear advantage of flexibility and innovation. Seen from this perspective, the work of Khurramshah in Divrigi begins to come into focus as the product of a process of design which was not contingent upon established medium-specific practices. In other words, Khurramshah either created or procured designs on paper which he then adapted for architectural application. Similar to Qasim ibn Ustad 'Ali and Ahmad al-Muazzam (and doubtless many other artists of Ahat), Khurramshah must have been a designer who could adjust and apply his design work to different scales or media. This observation is supported by the evidence of artistic activity in Ahat which forms Khurramshah's background. It is further strengthened by the finding of a number of incised designs, or graffiti, consisting of concentric and interlocked circles on the mosaic of the Mosque-Hospital Complex. It has been already convincingly shown that at least one of these graffiti provided the reduced-scale geometric blueprint from which the elevation of the north portal of the mosque and its central geometric motif of the hexagon both were generated to proportion. These graffiti were undoubtedly transferred to stone from paper as on-site drawings mediating the design process from start to finish.

It has already been recognized that the unique decorative language of the Divrigi Mosque-Hospital Complex must be the product of a synthesis of vocabulary derived from a multiplicity of sources (Kuban 1997, 195-6). It is this synthesis which has been described as a "miracle." Identifying the precise source that provided the visual ingredients of this artistic synthesis is itself a feat that would qualify as a "miracle" by any standard of art historical methodology. The challenge of such a task lies not in discovering ever more comparative visual material but in ascertaining their relevance and cohesion when tested against the totality of the monument. Inevitably, any attempt to unravel the synthesis in this sense exposes not only the shortcomings of the comparative method but also runs against the insurmountable problem of "silences" in the visual record as a result of natural and human destruction over the centuries. Certainly, the comparative method does yield notable correspondences in seemingly discrete sets of artistic vocabulary without, however, providing a complete glossary for the entire composition in question.

The aim of this essay was to consider the development of other syntheses which can be discerned in the historical process leading to the construction of the Mosque-Hospital Complex of Divrigi. The political and cultural history of the Menguksids reveals the workings of a nexus of long-distance relations from which the image of both the dynasty and the buildings it constructed was derived. Located on the western cape of a large region in which the geohistorical conjunction of Anatolia, Iran, and Transoxiana had a long and rich history, Divrigi, by virtue of the political circumstances of the late twelfth and early

70 Bakner 1999. Further discoveries of graffiti (mostly of circle-based geometric designs) on the masonry of both the hospital and the mosque have lent strength to this remarkable insight into the workings of the design process at Divrigi; see Bakur 2001. For another instance of the use of on-site incised designs (in this case for the construction of maqarnas vaulting in an early thirteenth-century Armenian church assembly hall), see Ghazar and Ousterhout 2001.

71 A frequently cited comparison for the high-relief vegetal decoration of Divrigi is the stucco decoration of the tomb known as the Ghumbad-i 'Alawiyah in Herat, western Iran. The building bears no date and opinion has been divided on whether it should be dated to the late Seljuk period (eleventh century) or the Ilkhanid period (fourteenth century). The earlier date has been claimed by Shami 1996 but this study has a number methodological problems and examples of such stucco are more numerous from the fourteenth century. In any case, Ghumbad-i 'Alawiyah's similarity to Divrigi in terms of motif and composition is only partial and any genetic link between the two (regardless of the date of the former) must derive from the dissemination of such designs on paper rather than a direct transfer between the practices of stucco and stone carving.

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thirteenth centuries, was afforded the right conditions for artistic synthesis. Recognizing the role of this geohistorical conjunction in the history of the Menguksids is a necessary step in gaining a vision, however restricted it may be, into the dynamism of the process of design and production represented most informatively by the mobility of the artists. The cultural encounters of this geohistorical conjunction often resulted in overlapping syntheses and were built on an extensive foundation of artistic relations which, in turn, were typically made possible by the political vision for the survival of dynamic entities. Among the most notable examples of such artistic relations is the interchange between Armenian and Islamic visual cultures as potently exemplified by the tenth-century Church of the Holy Cross at Aghtamar on Lake Van, the doors of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Maq (to the west of Ahat) dated 1134, the mihrab of the Ahat tomb stelae, and the numerous early thirteenth-century examples of the adaptation maqarnas vaulting in the architecture of the gorge, the assembly hall appended to Armenian churches.

Given the particular intensity of social mobility in this region in the early thirteenth century, it is most likely that builders such as Khurramshah found themselves in just such a dynamic network of design and craftsmanship that transcended local idioms and encouraged the merging of elements from a variety of media and across cultures. Although the actual mechanisms of the formulation, transmission, and application of designs in the medieval period are only partially discernible today, the conditions for cross-influence could not have been more favorable. Built at a particular historical junction when the ebb and flow of political forces around and beyond Divrigi had gathered pace, the Mosque-Hospital Complex testifies to the transient creation of a hub of artistic ingenuity in the last bastion of Menguksid identity. Much like the quiet that defines the edge of a storm, this monument appears to be embedded in a cloud of silence yet has much to say about the circumstances surrounding its conception.

Doktorlar ve Rulership from the Mosque-Hospital Complex of Divrigi

Appendix: Inscriptions with References to Rulership from the Mosque-Hospital Complex of Divrigi

North portal of the Mosque:

1. Main foundation inscription

أمر باذله هذا المسجد الجامع وجهته الله تعالى العبد الحمطو إلا رحمه الله أحمد بن سليمان

-forward text-

This congregational mosque was ordered to be built for the sake of God Almighty by the servant in need of God’s mercy, Ahmadshah son of Sulaymanshah. May God perpetuate his sovereignty. On the date of the year six hundred and twenty-six.

72 On Aghtamar which has long been recognized for its inclusion of Islamic iconography of rulership, see Jones 2004. The Maq doors (now preserved in the Museum of Armenian History, Erevan) feature a central field of Islamic interlacing star patterns and a frame of running animals and eggplant-shaped figures embedded in a vine scroll; see Dedov et al. 2007, 151-2. One of the artists who signed it, Latun, was qualified as a “painter” which once again points to the role of designs on paper in the transmission and synthesis process. On the use and adaptation of maqarnas in Armenian architecture, see Ghazar and Ousterhout, 2001.
The just queen, in need of God Almighty’s pardon, Turan Malik, daughter of the fortunate king Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah, ordered the building of this blessed house of healing, longing for God Almighty’s benevolence. May God accept it, Amen. In one of the months of six hundred and twenty-six

Özet
Divriği Ulu Cami ve Darüşşafâ: Bir İlişki ve Geçişleri Tanıtı


Divriği Mangöcükleri’nin 1180-1240 yılları arasında yaptıkları eserleri izinde atarı, Ahlat ve Tiflis’te meşil sahneler, genellikle çoğunlukla edilmiştir olan olay Selçukluğun kültür dalgası içinde yer alan Sloko gibi hallerin de merkezinde yer alan bir şekilde topluma dayanırken, Mangöcükleri’i Hoca ve Darüşşafâ’ın en azından onuncu yüz yılın, bir etkisini içinde olan İslam ve Ermeni sanatına belirli bir etkisi olmuştur. Mangöcükleri’nin özellikleri tasarm şekilleri içinde use, yer değişikliği ile belirlenerek uygulanmış olan bu tarih ve yer değişikliği ile belirlenerek uygulanmış olarak manzaraysisi sıkı bir tarih sonucanın, her sezonun dergisi olarak kültür içerisinde hem de kendisi için belirlenmesine yönelik kimlik arayışı ortaya koymaktadır. Tasarının uygulanması geçişte—kendi Mangöcükleri’nin manzaraysisi sıkı bir tarih sonucanın, her sezonun dergisi olarak kültür içerisinde hem de kendisi için belirlenmesine yönelik kimlik arayışı ortaya koymaktadır. Tasarının uygulanması geçişte—kendi Mangöcükleri’nin manzaraysisi sıkı bir tarih sonucanın, her sezonun dergisi olarak kültür içerisinde hem de kendisi için belirlenmesine yönelik kimlik arayışı ortaya koymaktadır. Tasarının uygulanması geçişte—kendi Mangöcükleri’nin manzaraysisi sıkı bir tarih sonucanın, her sezonun dergisi olarak kültür içerisinde hem de kendisi için belirlenmesine yönelik kimlik arayışı ortaya koymaktadır. Tasarının uygulanması geçişte—kendi Mangöcükleri’nin manzaraysisi sıkı bir tarih sonucanın, her sezonun dergisi olarak kültür içerisinde hem de kendisi için belirlenmesine yönelik kimlik arayışı ortaya koymaktadır. Tasarının uygulanması geçişte—kendi Mangöcükleri’nin manzaraysisi sıkı bir tarih sonucanın, her sezonun dergisi olarak kültür içerisinde hem de kendisi için belirlenmesine yönelik kimlik arayışı ortaya koymaktadır. Tasarının uygulanması geçişte—kendi Mangöcükleri’nin manzaraysisi sıkı bir tarih sonucanın, her sezonun dergisi olarak kültür içerisinde hem de kendisi için belirlenmesine yönelik kimlik arayışı ortaya koymaktadır. Tasarının uygulanması geçişte—kendi Mangöcükleri’nin manzaraysisi sıkı bir tarih sonucanın, her sezonun dergi...


Tabbaa, Y. 2001, The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival, Seattle.


Yaqu, 1977, Mawjûd al-Balâdîn, Beirut.


Gaziantep Kentinin Kalesi
MUSTAFA S. AKPOLAT

Giriş

1. Tarihçe
Kalenin tarihçesini dört alt başlık ile vermenin yararlı olması düşünülmemiştir. Bu alt başlıklar sırasıyla Tarih Araştırmaları, Kitabedel, Seyahatname ve Bilimsel Kazılardı.

a) Tarih Araştırmaları
Gaziantep Kalesi’ne ilişkin tarihsel bilgiler X. yüzyılda kadar, kalenin 12 km. doğusundaki Doliche ile karnaşır bir biçimde verilmektedir. Gerek bizim kaledede yapılmıştır araştırma ve incelerken, gerekse Gaziantep Müzesi’nin başkangında yapılan bilimsel kazılar, kalenin tarihinin Roma döneminde kadar uzandığını göstermektedir. Bizim bilgilerimizle ilişkin bilgileri değerlendirmekte ve bunlara uyumlu bir klasifikasyon kurmaktan öte bir yaklaşımın önemini de belirtmektedir. Kalenin çevresini构成 hareleli çok genel, durumlarının yüksek olduğu, hemen üstünde işlerle indirilen kalderan bir kapısının bulunduğu ve kalenin savunmasının birilirdir. Osmanlı dönemi öncesinde kent ve kale Ayntablı tarihçi Bedreddin Aynin tarafından tanıtılması


2 Ender 1994, 31

3 N. Şamı 1987, 267

4 Anonim 1944, 33
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