15th International Congress
of Turkish Art

Naples, Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”
16-18 September 2015

SPONSORED BY THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM, REPUBLIC OF TURKEY.

This publication is subsidized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Turkey, the University of Naples "L'Orientale" and the Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino (Rome).

La pubblicazione è finanziata con un contributo dal Progetto del Ministero dell'Istruzione dell'Università e della Ricerca (MIUR): "Studi e ricerche sulle culture dell'Asia e dell'Africa: tradizione e continuità, rivitalizzazione e divulgazione".

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2018

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ISBN 978-975-17-4114-1

Yayın Numarası: 3620

Baskı : Önka Matbaa
www.onkamatbaa.com - 0312 384 26 85

Layout and design by Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino
www.ipocan.it/index.php/it
Printed and bound in Turkey
Cover: *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Ms. W.658, f. 238b, under Creative Commons Licence. Graphics by Mariano Cinque.

15TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF TURKISH ART

Proceedings

Editors

Michele BERNARDINI, Alessandro TADDEI

with the collaboration of

Michael Douglas SHERIDAN

Ankara

2018

In memoriam of Professor Ernst Grube

AN OVERVIEW ON MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE OF THE GOLDEN HORDE PERIOD IN CRIMEA

Nicole Kançal-Ferrari
İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi

This paper provides a condensed overview of mosque architecture in the period of the Golden Horde in Crimea. Research on the Golden Horde Empire (XIIIth to XVth century) and its material culture is still in its beginnings. Little is known regarding the construction activities of the vast territories of this empire during that time.[1]

The material presented here is part of the author's broader research on the Golden Horde remains in Crimea. As space is limited, this paper focuses on material evidence related to mosque architecture, specifically plan and structure.[2] The results of the author's research are based on extensive fieldwork over the course of several excursions undertaken in the last twenty years. The latest and most in-depth of these fieldworks having occurred between 2012-14 within the *Crimean Historical and Cultural Heritage Inventory Project* on the Turco-Muslim heritage in Crimea,[3] the results of which have been recently published (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016).

The question of influence and/or common sources of earlier or contemporary cultural fields must be taken into consideration when dealing with the peninsula's heritage of the *Ulus-ı Cuci*,[4] the name referring to how the Golden Horde referenced itself. For instance, the art and architecture of Golden Horde territories outside Crimea, of the neighboring and rivaling Ilkhanids and the Seljuks in Anatolia and even the Mamluks must also be considered. The relationship to neighboring cultural environments in the peninsula, the Italian colonies in southern Crimea, the Byzantine/Greek colony of Theodoro-Mangup, the North-Western Black Sea shore and the Transcaucasian region are also part of the author's query (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a and 2018b).

An investigation into the remaining inscriptions – including inscriptions transmitted into written sources – and a careful study of primary sources opens new perspectives on patronage and movement of artisans and shows interconnection that has until now been overlooked. The narratives of Ibn Battuta who traveled through Crimea in the 1330s and Evliya Çelebi, who visited the peninsula in the 1650s, furnish valuable information.

A region of transit and trade, Crimea was a prosperous territory for diverse influence and all kinds of exchange during the Middle Ages, as part of the Silk Road trade route, and integrated into the vast Mongol Empire thus politically and culturally connected from China to the Balkans (Ciocîltan 2012). What we call today the "Golden Horde Period" spans from 1240 until the middle of the 15th century, when the region was taken over by the Crimean Khanate. This political change was not reflected in a radical change regarding the material culture until the beginning of the 16th century, when the orientation of the whole region underwent major transformation.

[1] In order to shorten the references, only studies directly relevant to the issues examined in this paper are given, with preference given to recent ones containing references to earlier work. Pioneer works on the Turco-Islamic Heritage are Akçokraklı 2006, Jakobson 1964, Aslanapa 1979.

[2] Issues of decoration, the question of workshops and patronage; i.e. the deeper socio-historico-cultural and anthropological dimensions of the peninsula's Golden Horde environment as discernable in its material heritage are discussed in an article prepared by the author for the REMMM special edition on the Golden Horde and the Islamization of the Eurasian Steppes (1250-1550) (Kançal Ferrari 2018a).

[3] Project on the Turco-Muslim heritage in Crimea funded by Prime Ministry of Republic of Turkey Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB).

[4] All names are given in modern Turkish spelling.

15th International Congress of Turkish Art. Proceedings, edited by Michele Bernardini and Alessandro Taddei. ©T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Università di Napoli "l'Orientale", Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 2018: pp. 383-400.

The later turbulent history of Crimea with its changing political identities had significant consequences for the material remains of Crimea, particularly the ones from the period of the Golden Horde. As a result, there exist only few monuments of the pre-modern period in comparison with other regions, e.g. Anatolia.

Among the cultural centers of the Golden Horde Empire, the important cities of Ürgenç in Harezm, Old and New Saray (Saray Batu-Saray Berke), accepted to be founded bu Batu Han (r. 1227-1255) and Muhammed Özbek Han (r.1312-1340) respectively, Gülistan (possibly New Saray), Bulgar, Astrakhan (Hacı Tarhan) in the Volga Basin, Ükek (Saratov), Beldjamen (Vodyansk) on the river Volga Azak-Tana on the River Don, Macar on the river Kuma in the North Caucasus, and in the West, Şehr-i Cedid (Orhei-Moldova), Kuchugury and finally Isaccea on the river Danube can be enumerated (Fedorov-Davydov 2001, Nadyrova 2010).[5] From all of these important cities outside of Crimea, only the remains of a handful of mosques are known thanks to archeological excavations (Zilivinskaya, 2012).

Currently, the opinion that the Golden Horde Empire was a simple culture still based on nomadic life without much in the way of construction activities; a culture not comparable with other important centers in Central Asia or Iran is prevalent. Even publications on the extensive excavations of Golden Horde cities, which bear witness to a sophisticated urban life, did not alter these prejudices. This is because, until today, no written documents like *vakfiye* (endownment descriptions) to concretely support archeological finds have been discovered; as is the case in neighboring regions like Anatolia and especially Ilkhanid Tebriz, where nothing of the monuments of Gazan Han (r. 1295-1304) and his vezir Reşiduddin (1249-1318) is extant, but knowledge of these large endowment complexes is transmitted through written evidence (Blessing 2014: 149-153).

Mosque construction in the Golden Horde realm and especially in Crimea differs from other regions in Central Asia, e.g. Bukhara and Samarkand, in the sense that there was no Islamic culture and as a consequence, no building tradition, before the arrival of the *Ulus-ı Cuci* in many of the settlements. Ürgenç, which contained a Muslim community since the 8th century is the most important exception; and its remains of the Golden Horde are generally not evaluated within the heritage under discussion. Nearly all other towns were newly founded on empty locations or rarely implemented / restructured on non-Islamic settlements, a likely factor, which lead to their decay after political and economical crisis.

In the Golden Horde territories, Islam became widespread in the 14th century, although it was already Berke Han (r. 1257-1266) who had adopted Islam in the second half of the 13th century. It was mainly under Muhammed Özbek Han (r.1312-1340) during the first half of the 14th century that most of the population of the Golden Horde realm converted to Islam and the Golden Horde Empire gained an "Islamic" identity, although the nature of this identity is disputed. Turkish saints like Sarı Saltık and his disciple, Kemal Ata, were influential figures in the peninsula (De Weese 1994; Izmailov-Usmanov 2010). The Ilkhanid ruler Gazan Han (r.1295-1304) embraced Islam in the last years of the 13th century, thus much later than the rulers of the Golden Horde.

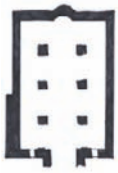
Mosques having been identified on the Golden Horde territory all show a similar design; they are so called hypostyle mosques with equal unities; in some cases, adjunct minarets are partly extant, e.g. in Bulgar and Ürgenç. Currently remains of mosques have been found and partly investigated in 14 locations, but further research will surely furnish new material. (Izmailov-Usmanov 2010, 102-111; Zilivinskaya 2012) The remaining traces of decoration of these edifices point to Central Asia and Iran, and only to a lesser extent, to Crimea and Anatolia.

[5] The names and geographical situation of some settlements are still a matter of discussion. I hold to the use in scholarly literature and in not solved names on the evidence on coins given in Ağat 1976.

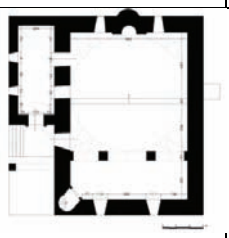
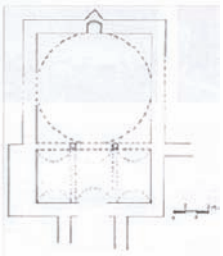
Brick construction and tile decoration, so widely used in Central Asia, Iran and partly Anatolia has also been identified on some edifices in Crimea. However, stone as a construction and decoration material, sufficiently available in the region, was always preferred. On the other hand, the remains of the mosque in Bulgar with its stone pillars show technical and stylistical connections to the architecture of Crimea and Anatolia, an indice that material and style were not limited to specific geographical areas. Therefore we can accept that diverse combinations of ashlar and rubble stone, brick and tile were used in the whole geography of the Golden Horde realm.

As little is known regarding the religious monuments in the Golden Horde cities, the remaining structures in Crimea gain importance. Eski Kırım (Solkhat) in the East and Kırk Yer-Salaçık in the West and their respective environments were important Golden Horde settlements. Eski Kırım was a city newly founded during the Golden Horde period not far from Genoese Caffa, which was settled at approximately the same time. Ibn Battuta's enumeration of settlements and buildings on his way through the eastern part of Crimea gives the image of a nearly empty peninsula except for some areas of settlement. He speaks of Eski Kırım as a prosperous, wealthy city and mentions a mosque in Genoese Caffa. In Eski Kırım, architectural remains that include inscriptions are extant. Information of construction activities in the second half of the 13th century, among them a mosque in 1261/62 (660) at the time of Berke Han (r. 1257-1266) and a second one with the support of the Mamluk Sultan Kalavun (r. 1279-1290) some years later, witness not only a strong urbanization, but also furnish evidence of the early Islamization of Crimea. Construction activities in this town would continue until the beginning of the 16th century, when Mengli Geray I endowed a minbar for the Özbek Han Mosque (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 252). In Kırk Yer-Salaçık, the currently earliest inscription in Arabic dates from 710/1310-1311[6] and therefore furnishes concrete proof of its being inhabitated by the Golden Horde at that date too (Gertsen-Mogaritchev, 1993. The important town of Sudak was also under Golden Horde (or Turkish) rule until the second half of the 14th century, as it was part of the *iqtā* (a non-hereditary grant of usufruct rights to a territory) granted to the former Selçuk sultan Izzettin Kaykavus (r.1246–1257) by the Golden Horde khan Berke (r. 1257-1266) (Sümer 2001). It would then be under Genoese control from 1365 until the Ottoman conquest in 1475.

Today, in total, there are six extant mosques from the Golden Horde period in Crimea, three of them in Eski Kırım, four of them having only portions of the walls without a remaining ceiling. (Kırımlı-Kançal 2016: 88-95, 456-461, 606-631, 762-773; Zilivinskaya 2014) (See table)

Current name, type of building, date and location	Name as it appears in historical sources or on inscription Patron (if known)	Measurements	Plan*	Extant Decoration
Sultan Kalavun Mosque (1287) Eski Kırım (Solkhat)	-cami (Makrizi 1845, 2/2-91) Patron: Mamluk Sultan Kalavun (r. 1279-1290)	15 x 19 m	 **	

[6] This inscription fragment today inserted on the entrance façade of the Zincirli Medrese in Salacık is to my knowledge not yet published. The date has been read by the late Hüsamettin Aksu, God rest his soul.

Özbek Han Mosque (1314-1315) Eski Kırım (Solkhat)	-mescit Inscription in situ Patron: Abdülaziz bin Ibrâhim el-Erbîlî during the reign of Muhammed Özbek Han (r.1312-1340)	13.5 x 17.5 m with adjunct medrese		Entrance (north-western) façade, mihrab, columns and capitals show sophisticated decoration carved into stone. Diverse decorated fragments show a rich motif vocabulary
Sudak Fortress Mosque (begin 13th-first half 14th century) Sudak	-cami (Ibn Bibi 1996, 1/345, Evliya Çelebi 2003, 7/554-555) Patrons: Hüsameddin Çoban during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad (r. 1220-1237); - Muhammed Özbek Han (r.1312-1340)	10 (13) x 13 m domed space: 10 x 10 m only extant original ceiling		Mihrab, columns and capitals show sophisticated decoration carved into stone
Kurşunlu Camii (Leaden Mosque) undated, probably end of the 14th-beginning 15th century Eski Kırım (Solkhat)	-tekke, imaret, buka cami-i kebir, mescid-i kebir (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 252) Patrons: Bayboğalı Hatun and a certain Şeyh Ali el-Bâkırî	12.30 x 17.70 m with dependencies domed space: ca. 10.5 x10.5 m	** 	
Tekke-Mosque and Darü'l-Huffâz (1358) Şeyhköy	-darü'l-huffâz (now lost inscription, Akçokraklı 2006, 254) Patron: Emir Kutluğ Timur Bek bin TulekTimur Bek during the reign of Giyaseddin Berdibek Han (r. 1357-1359)	10 (14,5) x 16 m with dependencies domed space: 10 x 10 m		Decoration in the extant part of the mihrab
Canibek Han Mosque (1345-1346), (1454-1455) Kırkyer – Salaçık	-mescid (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 7/228) Patrons: Canibek Han (r. 1342 -1357); Hacı Geray Han I. (r. 1441-1466)	8 x 12 m		Mihrab, fragments inside the mosque, others in the Hansaray Museum.

*Plan drawings by Gülşen Dişli for the *Crimean Historical and Cultural Heritage Inventory Project.* **Sketch by the author

Physical description of the Mosques:

Eski Kırım (Solkhat):

1. The Sultan Kalavun Mosque (1287):
According to Makrizi, the mosque was constructed with the financial support by the Mamluk sultan Kalavun (r. 1279-1290) (Makrizi 1845: 91). Although the patronage of Kalavun seems now firmly established, the edifice is still widely known under the name of Sultan Baibars I (r. 1260-1277).[7] The edifice measures roughly 19 × 15m; it is the biggest mosque in Crimea from that period. From this mosque, only the floor and the walls are extant and it has undergone some restoration. Consequently its remains today are supposed to be only partly the original building of the 13th century. Kramarovsky even denies any attribution of this mosque to the Mamluk sultan (Kramarovskiy 2013: 43-44). Today, only a projecting mihrap niche and on the opposite façade, some traces can furnish information on its interior organization. It seems the edifice had a projecting entrance portal. Further examination of the traces on the inner surface of the wall facing the ***kıble*** wall point to arches posed on piers or columns supporting the ceiling and dividing the interior into longitudinal naves similar to the Özbek Han Mosque discussed below. The current state of research does not allow any further conclusions to be made (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 622-625).

2. The Özbek Han Mosque (1314-1315)
This edifice is probably the best known monument from the early period in Crimea. It is today an active mosque. The mosque has undergone several extensive restorations; the minaret is reconstructed, however it was probably added later (Kirilko 2015). It is also claimed that the mosque was initially erected at a different place and then only the entrance portal (and ***mihrab***) later moved to its current location. (Kramarovsky 2013:[8] 39; 2008)

According to its inscription, the mosque was constructed by Abdülaziz bin Ibrâhim el-Erbîlî during the reign of Muhammed Özbek Khan in 1314-1315.[9] It measures 13.5 × 17.5m, and is connected to the medrese of İnci Bek Hatun, dated some twenty years later (1332/33). The mosque possesses the only extant entrance façade decoration in Crimea; although the façade underwent heavy restoration and many losses can be seen. Today, a gable roof is posed on this substructure; the built-in minaret is placed on the North-east corner. The interior of the prayer hall shows a longitudinal organization with three naves divided by arches on octagonal columns with beautiful capitels. The most important feature of this mosque besides the entrance façade is certainly the extraordinary ***mihrab***, although it was also damaged and has undergone restoration and recently was colored with a thick layer of color by the local community against any conservation standards. It shows a double ***mihrab***, i.e. consisted of two niches with two ***muqarnas*** hoods, the one situated inside the other, the exterior one forming a frame for the smaller one. Colonettes frame the niches. Similar ***mihrabs*** do exist in Anatolia (Bakırer 2000: 270, 276, 282, 283, 305, 310, 311). A detailed analysis of the decoration of this building goes beyond this paper, but stone decoration points to contemporary East Anatolia, at that time under Ilkhanid rule, i.e. to the cities of Sivas, Amasya, Tokat and Erzurum (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a; Kırımlı-Kançal 2016: 612-621; Blessing 2014).

The combination of this mosque with the adjunct medrese and inside the medrese (or between the medrese and the mosque) of the tomb of the patron (Kramarovsky 2013: 39) is

[7] For a discussion of the primary sources relating to mosque construction in Eski Kırım to the Mamluk Sultan see Garkavetc 2010, and Kançal-Ferrari 2018a.

[8] Kramarovsky was at the head of the archaelogical investigations in Eski Kırım and has published widely on the topic.

[9] For a discussion of the possible identity of the patron see (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a).

also known outside Crimea, i.e. Mamluk Cairo, Iran and Anatolia (Behrens-Abouseif-Fernandes 1984; Blair 2002: 117-129; Tanman 2005; Tanman-Parlak 2006; Blessing 2014: 30-35, 183-192; Gündüz Küskü 2014: 337-338)

3. Sudak Fortress Mosque (begin 13th-first half 14th century):

Erected by the Seljuk's and later the Golden Horde, the monument served as a mosque under the Ottomans until the end of the 18th century. During the reign of the Genoese and later Russian domination, the mosque was transformed into a church and employed accordingly.The current mosque in the Sudak fortress must have been erected prior to 1365, as the Genoese then transformed it into a church.Today's knowledge assumes the Sudak fortress mosque to be constructed during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad (r. 1220-1237) by Emir Hüsameddin Çoban, governor of Kastamonu during his conquest of Sudak. The mosque underwent restorations in the 13th-14th centuries, probably during the prosperous phase of the reign of Özbek Han (r.1312-1340) the stone carvings seem to be completed during this period.

The edifice mesures 10 × 13m exterior, the depth of the narthex is about 3m. The built-in minaret is placed at the south-west corner, the extant ***mihrab*** consists of a set of frames and colonettes support a ***muqarnas*** hood. According to Evliya Çelebi, there was a mausoleum on the north-east of the mosque that today is non-extant. A narrow room with a separate entry from the outside and direct access through a door and a window with the domed main space shows structural similarity with the Darü'l-Huffâz in Şeyhköy. The edifice was presented by the author in an earlier paper where the focus was particularly on the passage to the dome which is a combination of romboite formes known as Turkish triangles filled in pendentives. It is of extraordinary importance, as it is the only mosque in the Crimean peninsula and in the whole Golden Horde realm having its original ceiling. Its ***mihrab***, which has an inscription in Latin carved in during the time of the Genoese, is also notable as it is, together with the one in the Özbek Han Mosque, the only completely extant ***mihrab*** from that period. The edifice must be included into the group of remaining religious buildings of the Golden Horde in Crimea. Parallels can be traced to Selçuk and early Ottoman so called 'single dome mescit' type (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a, Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 762-773).

4. *The Tekke-Mosque and Darü'l-Huffâz in Şeyhköy (1358)*

This edifice has been included in our inventory on the edifices in Crimea. It was examined in the 1920s by the famous Crimean Tatar scholar Osman Akçokraklı who called it Tekke-mosque (tekke-cami) and read the now lost inscription. (Akçokraklı 2006, 254) The edifice must be included into the group of remaining religious buildings of the Golden Horde in Crimea. According to the inscription, the edifice was constructed as a darü'l-huffâz[10] during the reign of Kutluğ Timur Bek mentioned below, the governor (emir) of Crimea at the time of the Golden Horde khan Giyaseddin Berdibek Han (r. 1357-1359) in 1358.

Blown up in the last days of World War II, it remains a ruin. The general layout is known thanks to a plan made at the beginning of the 20th century. This plan has been verified during field observation. The edifice had a main domed space of 10 x 10m (domed space) with adjunct rooms on the north-west and west-south, forming an L around the building. The photograph of the inscription, being most likely the entrance portal, shows a row of ***muqarnas*** which, seems to suggest that the original entrance portal had a kind of ***muqarnas*** hood that was later altered. This entrance portal was probably situated opposite the ***kıble*** wall, where according to the plan, a corridor with two rooms on each side, lead to the domed main room. On the south-west side, two small and one large room were placed. The large room in the corner did have a separate entrance and was not connected to the rest of the building while

[10] A theological school for the memorizing of the Holy Qur'an; sometimes attached to a mosque.

one of the two adjunct rooms also had an entrance and was connected to the room on its south, which had a window opened on the domed main space. Another narrow room (designed in the plan as room of the şeyh) on the north-east side of the domed hall also furnished direct access to this same domed room; thus from two rooms, direct communication through windows was established with the mescit part of the building. Parts of the projecting ***mihrab*** are still ***in situ***. The author proposes that the ***mihrab*** was a so-called double ***mihrab*** like the one in the Özbek Han Mosque discussed above. Large marble pieces showing round moulding of high plasticity scattered in the environment were probably parts of the entrance portal. The remains of a minaret are still visible. This minaret was, according to the plan, a built-in structure placed on the south-west corner of the main domed space, and as a consequence, accessible from inside the adjunct room. It is currently impossible to know to which degree this layout is original, and which functions the different rooms had. It seems nevertheless possible to see in this structure a kind of ***zaviye***, i.e. a multifunctional building with originally a sort of a central domed prayer space with a ***mihrab*** and adjunct rooms of the ***darü'l-huffâz*** and other rooms for the need of the school/community. As the name "tekke-mosque", as it is known today is not present in the surviving reading of the inscription, it could be a later namegiving and does imply, not necessarily an original but at least a later, affiliation to a Sufi community (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a, Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 88-95).

5. *Kurşunlu Camii (Leaden Mosque) (14th century/beginning 15th century)*

Another mosque in Eski Kırım is the so-called Kurşunlu Camii (Leaden Mosque): The edifice does not contain any inscription, but is dated back to the end of the 14th century/beginning 15th century based on attributions according to the account of Evliya Çelebi. He indicates two successive stages of the building, the second one being a reorganization and change in function. He cites the name of a woman of the line of Kutluğ Timur, governor of Crimea under Canibek Han (r. 1342-1357) and Berdibek Han (r. 1357-1359), Bayboğalı Hatun and for the later stage the name of a certain Şeyh Ali el-Bâkırî and the date Cemazeyilahir 815/ September-October 1412. In his account on the monument, he uses the terms "tekke", "imaret", "buka", "cami-i kebir", "mescid-i kebir" (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 252). The different names Evliya Çelebi attributes to the building and his quotation of two different inscriptions shows that a building could be multifunctional and/or undergo a change in function within a short time. Furthermore, multifunctional earlier structures belonging to Sufi communities could evolve in time and also be transformed into 'orthodox' buildings and would then be called simply 'mosque' from the 16th century on. It is not clear from the account if the building was used as a tekke and a mosque at the same time, but this was most probably the case. A similar situation can be observed in Anatolia and Mamluk Cairo. (Tanman-Parlak 2006; Behrens-Abouseif 1985). The analysis of the blurrying of frontiers between mosques and Sufi convents in Cairo during the Mamluk period (1250-1517) can give further interesting insights into the socio-cultural dimension of identities attributed to buildings and their transformations (Loiseau 2012: 191).

The core structure of the edifice measures 12.30m × 17.70m. Investigations have shown that it had a domed main space and connected rooms, the ones opposite to the ***kıble*** wall were likely covered by barrel vaults. Traces of the passage to the dome can be seen on the extant walls; the dome had a diametre of approximately 10.5m; if so, it would be the largest dome from that period in Crimea. As the edifice is in ruins and the site is filled up with earth and building material, no close analysis is possible anymore. But the remaining structures point to a projecting portal on the north-west side, another entrance on the north-east side and several adjunct rooms. It had perhaps a layout similar to the edifice in Şeyhköy discussed above. (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 608-609).

6. *Canibek Han Mosque in Kırkyer – Salaçık (later known as Çufutkale) (1345-1346; 1454-1455)*

The Canibek Han Mosque in Kırkyer was constructed by Canibek Han (r. 1342-1357) in the middle of the 14th century according to the date on a now lost inscription which reads 746/1345-1346; and then reconstructed/restored a hundred years later (1454-1455) by the founder of the Crimean Khanate, Hacı Geray Han I. (r. 1441-1466). This mosque was excavated and examined in 1928 by Osman Akçokraklı, Hüseyin Bodaninski and Boris Zasıpkin (Akçokraklı 2006: 257-293). The interior of this rather small mosque measures 12 × 8m. Today, the walls and the ***mihrab*** are partly extant. Traces of a built-in minaret at the south-west corner and four columns inside the mosque have been determined. That they would have carried a dome, as it was also supposed, is not really probable, as the extant domes of the period in the region are all posed directly on the walls and not on columns. It is more likely they carried arches which supported the ceiling; remains of the support stones, from which the arches did spring, can still be seen in the side walls, pointing to arches parallel to the ***kıble*** wall. The ***mihrab*** wall shows an interesting triple-niche arrangement with the partly extant ***mihrab***. It consists of a niche and colonettes supporting a ***muqarnas*** hood with a rosette on each side. This building exemplifies the direct continuation of the architectural culture in the peninsula from the Golden Horde to the Crimean Khanate. The mausoleum (türbe) of Hanike Hanım, the daughter of Tohtamış Han (r.1380-96), in the same place, dates from the first half of the 15th c. It is the only standing Islamic edifice in Kırkyer, although heavily restored. A cemetery existed nearby the mosque. Many fragments with diverse vegetal and geometrical decoration were found on the site; some of them are still inside the mosque, others were brought to the Hansaray Museum in Bahçesaray (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 456-461).

Regarding the typology, it can be said that in the light of current knowledge, only the edifice in Kırkyer is an independent mosque with a single praying hall, but the extant structure dates probably from the early Crimean Khanate period, i.e. from the middle of the 15th c. All of the other edifices consist of a main prayer space with dependencies/attached rooms/antechambers. Of the six extant mosques, three show a domed structure, the dome having a diameter of about 10 m. For the other three edifices we do not have concrete information on the structure of the ceiling, two of them have a longitudinal, the third one has a transversal arrangement of the arches on piers or columns bearing the ceiling. In Anatolia, similar structures are known from the beginning of the12th century on, with a dome of similar size (Altun 1988: 54-55; Gündüz Küskü 2014: 121-129, 368-369).

In examining the layout of the buildings, it becomes obvious that in Crimea, we have socio-religious complexes which are typical for the period in a region with a newly converted and partly still heterodox population. Some monuments are called “mosque” (i.e. “cami”, “mescit”), others have different namings like convent (“zaviye”). Ibn Battuta calls some complexes “zaviye”; and the larger edifices “Friday mosque” or simply “mosque”. The multifunctional convents, which also provided lodging and food for three days could later simply be called “mosque” too and as a consequence the naming also points to a change in use (See table).

Later buildings like the completely reconstructed mosque in Akmescit/Simferopol dated 1508 or the huge mosque today in ruins in Eskisaray dated to the early 16th century, show both dependencies, pointing also to a multifunctional use. The mosque in Eskisaray is worth mentioning as it consists of a large rectangular main space and a two-storey mausoleum with a ***mihrab*** on its eastern part of the ***kıble*** wall with a window opening on the prayer space (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 78-87). This edifice, with its relationship between mausoleum and mosque, must have belonged to a Sufi order. The question if it continued a tradition already established in Crimea is still open. Among the monuments discussed above, only one has a tomb attached to it (Özbek Han Mosque), others have tomb structures next to or knowledge of them is transmitted in sources. On the other hand, the domed structures in Şeyhköy and Eski

Kırım can be interpreted as a multifunctional type of building with a domed structure combining communal prayer with the use by a Sufi convent (Tanman 2005).

Besides the architectural layout and plan, the decoration of these edifices furnishes important information on the context of the artistic environment in Crimea. Motives, patterns and decoration schemes of the edifices must be compared within Crimea itself, a task which has only been done limitedly until now (Aibabina 2018; Aibabina 2001; Kançal-Ferrari 2018a). Additionally, the continually mentioned relationship with places outside of Crimea, here mainly Anatolia and the Transcaucasian region, must be examined in greater depth, as the connection to Anatolia has always been pointed out, but concrete evidence has rarely been furnished. We can, for example, find parallels to Ilkhanid Anatolia where the Anatolian "counterparts" were considered as products originating in local workshops. (Blessing 2014: 6, 183, 189) This then, can reciprocally lead to reconsider the artistic language of Anatolia during the Ilkhanid period and its being in contact with other places. The first Turkish scholar to write on the architectural heritage in Crimea, the late Oktay Aslanapa, established a relationship between the decoration of the Özbek Han Mosque based on stylistic analysis with the mosque of Ilyas Bey in Balat (1404, Milet) (Aslanapa 1979: 6). Current knowledge and close analysis permits the establishment of connections to examples in Amasya, Tokat and Erzurum which are from the same period as the edifices in Crimea.

Conclusion

This short overview shows that we are just at the beginning of the exploration of the artistic connections within a region currently so fragmented. Considerable material in this article is presented for the first time within the framework of the Golden Horde architecture by the author, e.g. the Tekke-mosque (darü'l-huffaz) in Şeyhköy. A special focus on inscriptions and close analysis of primary sources and the buildings themselves opens new perspectives. The monuments in Crimea have to be (re-)situated within the broader geographical and historical context as Crimea was, and with its remains continues to be, a microcosmos showing influences and interactions with many different environments, but in the light of current knowledge, mainly Anatolia. Discussions on the early period of Islamization in the peninsula, until now based almost uniquely on historical sources, have to include the presented edifices. Furthermore, these monuments can give important insights into the nature of the relationship between different practices within the Muslim communities in the pre-modern period.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu yazıda Kırım'daki Altın Orda dönemine ait cami mimarisinin genel bir değerlendirmesi yapılmaktadır. Altın Orda dönemi (13ncü-15nci yüzyıllar arası) yeterince incelenmemiştir; bundan dolayı bu döneme ait inşa faaliyetleri hakkında ancak kısıtlı bilgi mevcuttur. Az bilinen Altın Orda'nın mimari kültürünün en önemli yapıları ve yapı kalıntıları Kırım'dadır. Bu yazı, incelenen arkeolojik bulgular ile yazılı kaynakları birleştirip, söz konusu dönemin mimari kültürünü daha iyi anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Yazıda sunulan bulgular son yirmi sene boyunca yapılan saha çalışmalarının kısa bir özetidir; en geniş arazi araştırması 2012-14 arasında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu birinci el bulguların yanında, tarihi kaynaklar, arşiv belgeleri, seyahatnameler, arkeolojik raporlar ile yayınlanmış geniş literatür de araştırmaya dahil edilmiştir.

Daha önceki ve çağdaşı kültür ortamlarıyla olan etkileşimi ve/veya beslendikleri ortak bir geçmiş de yazıda değinilen konular arasındadır, bunların başında Kırım dışındaki Altın Orda hâkimiyeti altındaki bölgeler ve Anadolu'daki Selçuklu ve İlhanlı dönemi yapıları gelmektedir. Kırım yarımadası, İpek yolunun bir kolunda yer almasından dolayı orta çağda önemli bir ticaret bölgesiydi. Kırım'ın bu özelliği, eskiden beri yarımadayı kültürel etkileşim, fikir alışverişi, eşya ve el sanatlarının değiş tokuşu için çok verimli bir bölge haline getirmiştir. Altın Orda ortadan kalktıktan sonra bölge Kırım Hanlığı ve Osmanlı

İmparatorluğu'nun hâkimiyeti altına girmiş, daha sonra da Sovyetler Birliği, Ukrayna sınırları içinde kalmış ve en son Rusya Devleti tarafından ilhak edilmiştir; bu çalkantılı geçmiş Kırım'ın kültürel mirasının tahrip edilmesinin en önemli sebebi olarak kabul edilebilir. Doğal afet ve zamana bağlı yıkımın yanında siyasi sebeplerden dolayı yarım adanın maddi kültürü birkaç defa kasten tahrip edildi ve sonuç olarak başka bölgelerle kıyasla günümüzde az yapı ayakta kalabilmiştir. Özellikle Altın Orda mirası yüzyıllar içinde fazla tahribat görmüştür.Günümüzde mevcut olan mimari kalıntılar az sayıda cami ve türbelerdir. Burada bu cami ve cami kalıntıları tanıtılacaktır: Sultan Kalavun Camii (1287), Özbek Han Camii (1314-1315), Sudak Kale Camii (13ncü-14ncü yüzyıllar), Kurşunlu Camii (14ncü-15nci yüzyıllar), Şeyhköy Darü'l-Huffâz (Tekke-Camii) (1358), Kırkyer-Salacık'taki Canibek Han Camii (1345/46-1454/55).

Biographical Note

Nicole Kançal-Ferrari is graduated from Lausanne University (Switzerland) and completed her M.A. and PhD degrees in Art History at Istanbul University. Co-director of the ***Crimean Historical and Cultural Heritage Inventory Project*** (2012-16) and the related volume published under the auspices of the Prime Ministry of Republic of Turkey Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). Participant in the Harvard University Research Seminar "From Riverbed to Seashore. Art on the Move in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean in the Early Modern Period (1400-1700)". She organized as part of the Getty Foundation's Connecting Art Histories initiative (2014-2015) with her personal research project on ***Architecture and Artistic Environment of the Golden Horde and Early Crimean Khanate Period in Crimea (XIIIth – XVIth centuries).*** She is the co-editor of *Representation – Islamic Visual Culture between Theory and Practice*, a volume focused on the problem of representation in Islamic Visual Culture (2016) and co-curator of the exhibition ***The Ascension of the Prophet (Miraj) and the Stations of his Journey - The Ascension in Ottoman Culture*** (TIEM, 2017). Kançal-Ferrari is the author of entries on architecture of Crimea in the ***TDV (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı) Encyclopedia of Islam*** and of several articles published in various journals.

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Fig. 1 – Map of the Crimean Peninsula with main settlements of the Golden Horde period and extant mosques



Fig. 2 – Sultan Kalavun Mosque (1287), walls and interior with remaining traces of the springer for the arches



Fig. 3 – Özbek Han Mosque (1314-1315), entrance façade



Fig. 4 – Özbek Han Mosque (1314-1315), interior



Fig. 5 – Sudak Fortress Mosque (begin 13th-first half 14th century), ***kıble*** façada with projectiong ***mihrab***



Fig. 6 – Sudak Fortress Mosque (begin 13th-first half 14th century),
interior, sight towards the ***mihrab*** from the antechamber



Fig. 7 – Tekke-Mosque and Darü'l-Huffâz in Şeyhköy (1358),
remains with ***kıble*** wall and projecting ***mihrab***, seen from the south-west



Fig. 8 – Tekke-Mosque and Darü'l-Huffâz in Şeyhköy (1358),
kıble wall with remains of the *mihrab* seen from the east



Fig. 9 – Kurşunlu Camii (Leaden Mosque) end of the 14th century/beginning 15th century.
Remains with visible passages to the dome seen from the south



Fig. 10 – Canibek Han Mosque in Kırkyer – Salaçık (later known as Çufutkale) (1345-1346; 1454-1455)

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