

REMARKS ON SOME MONGOL AND TURKMEN BUILDINGS IN EASTERN ANATOLIA

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Most of the buildings referred to in this study are located around Lake Van, but a few are located in Harput and Pertek in the province of Elazığ and I will start to begin by discussing these.

1. Sarây Hâtûn Mosque.

The Sâre Hâtûn Mosque in Harput is mentioned by Evliyâ Çelebi, who describes this mosque as being without a minaret¹. The name is spelt similarly in the "*Ma^cmuretü I-'Azîz Salnâme* (Elazığ Almanac) and by A.Gabriel². Most modern writers spell the name as Sara Hâtun³ or Sârâ Hâtun⁴.

The local people pronounce it as "Sara Hatun" with all four short vowels, and also refer to the mosque as the *Uzun Hasan Oğullari Camisi*. According to local hearsay the sons of Sultan Uzun Hasan built the mosque⁵.

But the truth is that the original name of this mosque was none of these, but Sarây Hâtûn named after the mother of the Ak Koyunlu ruler Hasan Hân or Uzun Hasan Beg⁶. Sâre, as it is known was the name of Abraham's wife, but a name rarely used by the literate sector of the population, and never by the Türkmens. Saray on the other hand was a popular woman's name. Timur's (Tamerlane) wife was named Saray-Melik

¹ *Seyahatname*, Istanbul, 1314, III, p. 248.

² *Mamuretül-'Azîz Salnâmesi*, Mamuretül-Aziz, 1325 (1907), p. 170; A. Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris, 1940, I, p. 259. The same salnâme tells us that in 1907 there were 32 mosques with or without minarets in Harput, notably among them being the *Tepe Göz* and *Ahi Mûsa* mosques.

³ İ. Sunguroğlu, *Harput Yollarında*, İstanbul, 1958, I, pp. 285-302.

⁴ N.Ardıçoğlu, *Harput Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1964, p. 74; B.Darkot, Harput, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, I, p. 299.

⁵ This information was obtained in verbal form during my visits to Harput in 1965 and 1972. Also see *Harput Yollarında*, I, pp. 285-302, and *Harput Tarihi*, pp.74-75.

⁶ Ebû Bekr-i Tihranî, *Kütâb-i Diyarbekriyye*, edited by N. Lugal-F. Sümer, TTK, Ankara, 1962-1964, pp. 208-209, 251 etc.

(meaning : palace of the ruler)⁷, and Kara Koyunlu İskender Beg had a daughter named Şâh Sarây Begüm⁸.

Sarây Hâtûn was the daughter of Pîr 'Alî Beg, one of the sons of Kutlu Beg, a member of the Ak Koyunlu dynasty. She was also the niece of Kara Yülük Osman Beg, founder of the Ak Koyunlu state. Sarây Hâtûn married Ali Beg, the eldest son of Osman Beg, and of this marriage were born Hasan Beg, his elder brother Cihangîr and the other children.

Sarây Hâtûn was a woman of political ability, who governed Harput for a time and as the envoy of her son, Uzun Hasan Beg, negotiated with the Kara Koyunlu ruler Cihanşah Mirza, the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II and the Memluk Sultan Kayıt Bay⁹.

There can be no doubt that the mosque in Harput was named after Sarây Hâtûn. The fact that it is known as the *Uzun Hasan Oğulları Camisi* (Sons of Uzun Hasan Mosque) and the belief that it has been built by the sons of Uzun Hasan; the fact that Sarây Hâtûn governed Harput; and the absence of any other woman candidate, whether named Sâre, Sara or Saray, all point to this conclusion.

The mosque has been extensively repaired and restored, and detailed information about the building is given by A. Gabriel in his above mentioned work.

2. Çelebi Beg Mosque in Pertek.

Today Pertek is a town in Tunceli province, north-east of Elazığ. Çelebi Beg Mosque is one of two historical mosques in Pertek¹⁰, and dates from 976 (1569) or 996 (1588). Nothing is known about either Çelebi Beg or his father Ali Beg, except that they were members of the Koca Hâcılı tribe of the Ak Koyunlu confederation. The greater part of this tribe remained among the group of Ak Koyunlu known as *Bozulus*, which

⁷ "Cenâb-i Belkîs-i suğrâ ve bânû-yi kübrâ Sarây Melik Hânîm duhter-i pâdişâh-i sa'îd Kazan Sulţân (Nizâmeddin-i Şâmî. *Zafernâme*, ed. F. Tauer, Praha, 1937 p. 35); Şerefeddin 'Ali-i Yezdî, *Zafernâme*, ed. M. Abbâsî, Tahran, 1336, I-II, various references.

⁸ F. Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular*, TTK, Ankara, 1961, p. 143.

⁹ I have found no reference to the date of Sarây Hâtûn's death, but it can safely be put at not earlier than 1465.

¹⁰ A. Gabriel (ibid, pp. 260-261), gives an accurate description of this mosque. According to him the Çelebi Beg Mosque has a square interior, a dome set on semi-arches, a triple-spaced colonnade and a cylindrical minaret.

did not migrate to Iran¹¹. But it is not known why the Koca Hâcılı beys lived in Pertek, which in the second half of the XVIth century was under the rule of a branch of the Çemişkezek dynasty¹².

3. Ahlat and the Kara Koyunlu.

Ahlat (Ahlât), as those who have visited this area will know, is the most beautiful town of Lake Van's shores, and in the past there was a continuous struggle between the dynasties to take possession of it. Only one dynasty never succeeded in ruling Ahlat, and that was the Kara Koyunlu. This disproves the contention by one Turkish scholar that the tomb and *zâviye* of Kara Koyunlu Kara Yusuf Beg are in Ahlat¹³. Whereas, as is well known, they are in Erciş. It is even reported that the soldiers of Timur's son Şahruḡ who passed nearby in 1420 a few months after Kara Yusuf's death, disinterred the body of the Kara Koyunlu ruler in Erciş to see if he was as tall and broadly built as reported, and confirmed that indeed he was¹⁴. The Memluk envoy, İbn Âcâ, refers briefly to the *zâviye* of Kara Yusuf in Erciş where he stayed as a guest on his way to Tabriz in 1471¹⁵. İbn Âcâ reports that the building was of exceptionally sound construction¹⁶.

One of the tombs in Ahlat is that of Erzen Hâtûn, and this is also wrongly attributed to the Kara Koyunlu¹⁷. The late Abdurrahim Şerif reports the date on the inscription of this tomb as 707 (1307-1308)¹⁸, while Albert Gabriel gives the date as 799 (1396-1397)¹⁹. There is no way of even making a probable guess as to which is the true date. If 799 is the correct date then city was at this time ruled either by Hâkân, the ruler of Âdilcevez or by the governor of the ruler of Bitlis²⁰. Whichever may be

¹¹ F. Sümer. *Oğuzlar*, İstanbul, 1980, p. 177.

¹² Şeref Han, *Şerefnâme*, Cairo, 1930, pp. 224-225.

¹³ O. Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri*, İstanbul, 1930, p. 123.

¹⁴ *Kara Koyunlular*, pp. 112, 115.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ O. Aslanapa. *Türk Sanatı*, İstanbul, 1984, p. 198.

¹⁸ *Ahlat Kitâbeleri*, İstanbul, 1932, p. 91.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 249.

²⁰ Hâkân was ruler of Âdilcevez in 789 (1389). In addition to this Timur gave him the rule of Ahlat and its environs (F. Sümer *Ahlat Şehri ve Ahlatşahlar*, Belleten, 1986, CL., p. 462). Nothing is known about the identity or fate of Hâkân. It is possible that he was the son or close relative of Hızır Şâh Beg, the Celayrid governor of Ahlat and Âdilcevez.

the case, it seems likely that Erzen Hâtûn was a Turkish lady, since the custom of naming women after place names is an exclusively Turkish custom, and Erzen as a city of importance was situated between Siirt and Silvan²¹. Another piece of evidence in support of this view is that it was more common among the Turks for women to have charitable buildings erected and for tombs to be built in their memory.

4. Usta Şakird's Kumbet.

This kumbet has all the grace of a jewellery box and it would be unthinkable to leave Ahlat without mentioning it. It is also named as the Ulu Kumbet (Great Kumbet) although. The Usta Şakird no bore inscription, A. Gabriel dated it to the second half of the XIIIth century²². Küçük Şeyh Hasan, the grandson of Çoban Beg, who seized the power of the İlhânids in 1340, had a masjid built in Tabriz in 1342. And this was known as the *Ustâd u Şâgird*²³. We know that at this time Ahlat was under the rule of Küçük Şeyh Hasan and it seems very likely that the kumbet in Ahlat and the mosque in Tabriz were built by the same persons. Ustâd u Şâgird means "the master and his apprentice" and the connection with the name Usta Şakird can hardly be a coincidence. On the basis of this evidence we can date the Usta Şâkird Kumbet nearer to 1340.

5. Bayındır Beg's Turbe.

The splendid turbe of Bayındır Beg who conquered Ahlat from the ruler of Bitlis after a six-month siege in 1472, is also in Ahlat. Bayındır Beg's courage earned him the title of "koç" i.e. the ram i.e. valiant. Bayındır Beg's father was Rustem Beg. But he is not Rustem Beg, son of Maksûd Beg who ruled between 1492-1497 as is believed.²⁴ He is the son of Murad Beg and grandson of Kara Yülük Osman Beg, founder of the Ak Koyunlu state²⁵.

²¹ On Erzen, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, IV, pp. 337-338.

²² Ibid, p. 244.

²³ For further information about this masjid see H. Kerbalâi-i Tebrizi, *Revzat ul-cinân*, edited C. S. el-Korraî, Tehran, 1965, pp. 339, 567; A. Kareng, *Âşâr-i Bâstâni-i Âzerbâyçân, Âsâr u ebnie-i târih-i şehristan-i Tebriz*, Tebriz, 1351, I, pp. 232-236.

²⁴ A. Şerif. ibid, p. 77; A. Gabriel, ibid. p. 350.

²⁵ F. Sümer, *Ahlat Şehri*, p. 469.

6. Ram Figures Appeared during The Mongol Period, In The XIVth Century.

From Ahlat we go to Âdilceviz to visit the tomb of Emîr Celâleddin Hızır Şâh Beg, the Celayirid governor of Ahlat in 1360. According to the inscription on his tomb, he died in 1384²⁶. It can be presumed that Hızır Şah lost Ahlat to the ruler of Bitlis and retreated to Âdilceviz. Even the words "*es-sehîd, el-mazlûm*" could refer to the fact that he fell in a battle against the ruler of Bitlis. Whatever the truth on the matter may be it is interesting that Hızır Şah is known as "the koç", this title being given him by the Celayirid Sultan Uveys after Hızır Şah delivered up Timurtaş son of Melik Aşraf of the Çobanids, a bitter enemy of the Celayirids²⁷. As you have seen the title of the koç is written on inscription of the gravestone of Hızır Şâh Beg.

Another comtemporary, Emîr Koç Huseyin of the Çobanid, was bearing the same title²⁸.

On the other hand we know that there are a good many gravestones in the shape of ram in Eastern Anatolia, Iran and Soviet Âzerbaycan Republic. Some of the gravestons in Iran are in the form of lion. European travellers who visited Iran during the Safavides and later said that this type of tombs have belonged to the brave men²⁹. A few of the gravestons have inscriptions of which the oldest ones are written in the XIVth century. Such was the lion formed gravestone of the Celayirid ruler Sultan Uveys (d. 1374)³⁰. But ram and lion formed gravestones are not seen in the central and western parts of Turkey.

In short it can be said that in XIVth and XVth centuries the word, of koç, is given to brave men as a title. This custom continued to exist in Iran until XIXth century.

²⁶ "This holy tomb belongs to the late, diseased, auspicious martyr and oppressed, -he is in need of God's compassion and mercy- Emîr Celâleddin Koç Hızır Şâh Beg son of Şadr-ı kûçek (?) of Turki died on the 15th day of Muharrem in the year of 786" (A. Şerif, *Ahlat Kütâbeleri*, p. 65).

²⁷ F. Sümer, *ibid*, p. 461.

²⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

³⁰ A. Kareng *ibid*. pp. 630-632. European travellers who visited Iran in Safavid and later times wrote that gravestones carved with ram's or lion's heads were belonged to heroes. The use of the words "ram" or "lion" as a name or title is rare in chronicles of the period.

7. Erciş, the Original Homeland of the Kara Koyunlu.

In the pre-Ottoman period, Erciş was the second largest city in the region of Lake Van which was also frequently known as Lake Erciş. Erciş was the homeland of the Kara Koyunlu tribe. Yet none of the architecture of this period has survived in this town to the present day; not even the zâviye built by Kara Yusuf Beg, which is described as an exceptionally sound building by a traveller in the XVth century. The reason for this total eradication has been a combination of frequent earthquakes and the destructions made by the Safavid ruler Şah Tahmasb.

On the road from Erciş to Van is a kumbet inscribed with the date 863 (1458-1459), which has been claimed to be the tomb of Yar Ali and the other children of Kara Koyunlu İskender Beg³¹. Yar Ali however, was killed far away, in Horasan, the land of the Çağatays, in 1449, 9 years previously³². An accurate reading of this inscription tells us that the kumbet built by the great Emir Rustem, son of the late Emîr Devletyâr, who lived during the reign of the Kara Koyunlu ruler Cihanşah over the graves of his brothers and his relatives Emîr Yar Ali, Şah.....Şah....., Şah Ali and their mother, Kadem Paşa Hâtûn³³.

It is understood that Emîr Rustem son of Devletyâr was governor of Erciş in 1458-59. He was not a member of the Kara Koyunlu ruling dynasty, but one of the beys of the Kara Koyunlu state. Kara Yusuf Beg had a wife named Kadem Paşa who, as Yusuf Beg's favourite, accompanied his husband when he went out from Tabriz to encounter the Çağatay ruler Şahruh Mirza³⁴. However, it is very likely that the Kadem Paşa Hâtûn whose name is mentioned in the inscription is another woman.

As for Rustem's father Devletyâr there was a Celayirid emîr bore this name³⁵.

8. Van Ulu Câmi.

One study assumes that Van Ulu Câmi is of Kara Koyunlu construction, dating from 1389-1400 during the time of Kara Yusuf³⁶. But

³¹ A. Şerif, *ibid.* p. 27.

³² *Kara Koyunlular*, pp. 132, 133, 143.

³³ O. Aslanapa, *Doğu Anadolu'da Karakoyunlu Kümbetleri*, *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Ankara University, Faculty of Divinity, Institute of Turkish and Islamic Art History Publications, Ankara, 1957, I, p. 105.

³⁴ *Kara Koyunlular*, pp. 110, 111.

³⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 52, 64.

³⁶ O. Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, İstanbul, 1984, p. 197.

the chronicles do not support this view. All sources, including the chronicles written in the name of Timur, tell us that in 787 (1385) the city was ruled by 'İzzeddin Şir, ruler of Hakkâri³⁷, who the same year defended Van castle against Timur's attacks until he realised that the situation was hopeless, appealed successfully to Timur for pardon and received *yarlıg* (an imperial edict) showing his reinstatement³⁸. This dynasty also received *mulk-nâmes* from the İlhanids in Uygur script³⁹. İzzeddin Şir was defeated in battle against Kara Yusuf, when he returned to his country after the death of Timur (1406) and lost his independence. Following his death, his son Melik Muhammed and Emîr Şemseddin of Bitlis swore allegiance to Şahruş, for which they were killed by İskender Beg, the son and successor of Kara Yusuf, and the city of Van and its environs was incorporated in 1425 into the domain of the Kara Koyunlus⁴⁰. Prior to this neither the Kara Koyunlus nor the Mongols had governed Van, which in the XIVth century was described only as a fortress⁴¹.

9. Halîme Hâtûn's Kumbet

In Gevaş which on the southwest shore of the lake Van is the tomb of Halîme Hâtûn whose inscription has been incorrectly transcribed.

According to the inscription the kumbet was constructed in Muharram 760 (January 1358) by Seyyid 'Abdumelik 'İzzeddin for Halîme Hâtûn⁴². In the middle of XIVth century the ruler of Hakkâri was 'İmâdeddin Mücellâ, the son of Esededdin, whose paternal uncle was 'İzzeddin Şir⁴³.

The Halîme Hâtûn's kumbet has been ascribed to the Kara Koyunlus⁴⁴, although as pointed out above, there was no question of the Gevaş region being ruled either by Celayirids or inhabited by the Kara Koyunlus in the XIVth century. Thus this hypothesis cannot be supported as well.

³⁷ Nizâmeddin-i Şâmi, *Zafernâme*, pp. 103-104; *Colophons of Armenians Manuscript*, 1301-1480, Cambridge, Massachussettes, 1969, pp. 110, 116, 128.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Şeref Han, pp. 128-129.

⁴⁰ *Colophons*, pp. 165, 167, 171, 173-174; *Kara Koyunlular* pp. 125, 126, 127.

⁴¹ Hamdullah-i Müstevfi, *Nüzhet-ul-kulûb*, edited by G. Le Strange, Leiden, 1913, p. 102.

⁴² O. Aslanapa, *Doğu Anadolu'da Kara Koyunlu Kumbetleri*, p. 106.

⁴³ el-'Umari, *et-Ta'rif bi'l-muştalahis-şerif*, Cairo, 1932, p. 38.

⁴⁴ O. Aslanapa, *Doğu Anadolu'da Kara Koyunlu Kumbetleri*, p. 107, and *Türk Sanatı* p. 198.

10. Zeynel Beg Kumbet in Hasankeyf

Hasankeyf today is a small town between Diyarbakır and Cizre, but in the Middle Ages this was a major city called *Ḥiṣn Kayfâ*⁴⁵. The inscription on a kumbet here tells us that it belongs to Zeynel Beg. This Zeynel Beg has been accepted as the son of the Ak Koyunlu ruler, Uzun Hasan Beg⁴⁶. But it is impossible to confirm this view, for our sources inform, unanimously, that Uzun Hasan Beg after taking *Ḥiṣn Kayfâ* in 866 (1461-62) from Eyyubids gave it to his elder son *Ḥalîl Mirza*⁴⁷. Hasan Beg's younger son Zeynel Beg was appointed governor of Kirman in Iran in 1469⁴⁸. In 1473 Zeynel Mirza fell in the Otluk Beli battle and his severed head was taken to Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror⁴⁹. There is no record that the body of Zeynel Mirza was recovered, and have been buried somewhere⁵⁰.

The inscription on the kumbet is as follows:

1) *Hâzihi ravzatus-Sultâni's-sa'îd ve'l-Ḥākāniş-şehîd*

2) Zeynel Beg İbnu's-Sultân Ḥasan Bahadur Ḥân etâba'llahu şerâhu⁵¹.

“This is the tomb of the lucky Sultan and martyr *Ḥākân Zeynel Beg*, the son of Sultân Ḥasan Bahadur Ḥân May God bless the soil in which he rest.”

This is clearly spurious, since the titles of sultân and ḥākân were used only by kings and emperors. Princes were called by the titles beg and mirza, Zeynel Beg was the governor of Kirman when he died in 1473 *Ḥiṣn Kayfâ* was still administered by his brother⁵².

⁴⁵ On this city see *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, I, pp. 452-454.

⁴⁶ A. Gabriel, *ibid*, pp. 80-81; O. Aslanapa p. 200.

⁴⁷ Ebu Bekr-i Tihranî, *Kûtâb-i Diyârbekriyye*, II, pp. 366-367.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, II, pp. 531, 534, 547.

⁴⁹ Aşıkpaşaoğlu, edited Çiftçiöğlü N. Atsız, İstanbul, 1949, p. 224; İbn Kemâl, *Tevârih-i âl-i Osman*, TTK. Ankara, 1957, pp. 339, 346, 355, 358.

⁵⁰ İbn Kemal writes that Zeynel Beg's corpse became food for worms and birds (p. 356).

⁵¹ A. Gabriel, *ibid*, p. 309. nr. 36.

⁵² See The inscription of the Şeyh Abdullah Zâviya in Hasan Keyf written in 878-1473-, (A. Gabriel, *ibid*, p. 309, nr. 35). For the copy of the inscription see 52th foot-note of the Turkish texte of the article.