TRAJECTORY OF IWAN: ORIGIN, USE AND MEANING FROM ANCIENT
ANATOLIA TO ISLAMIC PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyzes the iwan and its typological variations in architecture in terms of its development, migration and cosmological references. Medieval Islamic mysticism (Sufism) with its original theory and practice coalesced ancient lore. Its efflorescence coincides the 11th-13th centuries when Seljuk architecture became developed in Iran and Anatolia. This era is considered as the final stage when the four-iwan-plan reached complete fruition. The geographical route of the Silk Road interconnects Greco-Roman, Iranian and Central Asian Turkish traditions that became the ground where iwan, its precursors and analogues became formed as the end product of various local developments. Among them are the vaulted reed hut, cave niche, banquet hall, exedra, canopus, pedimented shrine, aedicula, apse, triumphal arch, mihrab and portal. This study in the iwan's history focuses on the western end of the Silk Road and traces its beginning in the Iron Age Anatolia. The structural, formal and semantic transformations of the iwan in this route became possible after numerous interactions which are for the first time studied in this thesis.

Keywords: Iwan, interaction, formal transformation, Silk Road

ÖZ

EYVANIN YOLU: ESKİ ANADOLU'DAN İSLAM DÖNEMİNE KÖKEN, KULLANIM VE ANLAM

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Bu tez, eyvan ve tipolojik çeşitlemelerini gelişim süreci içinde, bölgelerarası göçle aldığı şekil ve kozmolojik referanslarla inceler. Ortaçağ İslam dünyasında, Sufizm özgün kuram ve uygulamalarıyla antik felsefe ile bütünleşmişti. Sufizmin 11. ve 13. yüzyıl aralığındaki çiçeklenmesi Selçuk mimarisinin Anadolu ve İran'daki gelişimine tekabül eder. Bu dönem, mimaride dört eyvanlı plan tipolojisi uygulamalarının doruk noktası olarak kabul edilir. İpek Yolu'nun sağladığı coğrafi hareket alanı, Yunan-Roma ve İran-Orta Asya Türk geleneklerini ilişkilendirir. Eyvan burada, öncülleri ve benzerleri ile çeşitli yerel gelişmelerin ürünü olarak şekillenmiştir. Bunlar arasında, sazdan tonozlu kulübe, kaya nişi, ziyafet ve toplanma salonu, eksedra, canopus, dört sütunlu kubbeli mabet, aedicula, apsis, zafer takı, mihrap ve taç kapı sayılabilir. Eyvanın tarihi üzerine olan bu çalışma, coğrafi olarak İpek Yolu'nun batı ucuna odaklanarak onu Demir Çağı Anadolusundan itibaren izlemeye başlar. Eyvanın bu yoldaki yolculuğu esnasında geçirdiği çeşitli yapı, biçim ve anlam dönüşümleri -bu tezde ilk kez çalışılan- etkileşimler sonucu mümkün olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Eyvan, etkileşim, biçimsel dönüşüm, İpek Yolu

to my family

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I have always looked for the eternal within the lasting. In high school, I approached architectural education as the profession of "God's Work" and shortly discovered that in a world where sacred and profane survive in equilibrium, there was no room for perfectionism which could keep architecture as a pure and untouched field. On the contrary, architecture is a field efflorescing from daily life and it remains as one of the most material practices of humankind. This also brings decay and plurality which is the reason why it could also be appealing for a researcher in this trait. Architectural history though offers a more refined and idealistic field with carefully constructed borders. The topic of this thesis, the iwan, is the niche that I found in Architectural History where I would experience a more or less unblemished universal collection of architectural memories in front of me.

Writing on such a topic was a difficult task to undertake. Symbolism is a field with various synchronicities. Methodologically it was impossible to follow a directly chronological or geographically bound path since the journey of meaning never follows a single direction. There was always the danger of drowning in details. Therefore, I limited my path within the Silk Road. The "similarities", "interactional synchronicities" which came out as closely related architectural outcomes throughout this route and the "proximity of narratives" within this burst of cultures facilitated my way.

The research process of this work took a long time. Bibliographies inspired other bibliographies; quite a number of books traveled a long way from the United States, many forgotten works recuperated through many second hand bookshops. Sadly using original multimedia by me could not be possible in many cases, since many sites are in a state of war or demolished in combat. However a museum brief

could sometimes give what eyes could not grasp or an excavation report could illuminate a long lost past. This was the hardship of the thesis; filling the blanks of a long forgotten or recently erased history. Within the scope of the study I tried to complete this task.

During the research process I noticed a solid distinction between different schools, methodologies and scholars. Many discourses approximated one another but never juxtaposed. Until recently (for instance the works of Suzan Berndt Ersöz resurfaced the Phrygian architecture) prehistoric Anatolia was neglected, although it is unavoidable to omit the importance of Anatolia considering the geographic and meaningful paradigm of the narrative. Archaeological excavation reports were excluded from the studies which accentuate "meaning" in architectural history. When some architectural histories became more literary and interdisciplinary, others remained rather down to earth and methodologically old-fashioned. Two ends slowly diverged from one another and formed a contextual gap. Some histories were seemingly foreseeing a predestined future; in other words they were inventing a biased political history. Spiritual histories of Anne Marie Schimmel and Henry Corbin were yet to be resettled in architectural history discourses. Islamic mysticism was scholarly unbound to polytheistic or locally neighboring spiritual systems which had a manifestation in the material world of architecture. Throughout these manifestations I tried to consolidate these systems which were already travelling along the Silk Road for many centuries.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Creating narratives of the *iwan* has been an opportunity to grasp architectural history from various edges and standpoints. Iwan and iwan-like architectural encounters had been present from antediluvian levels to contemporaneity. Considering the different histories on the *iwan,* two major problems come forward. Firstly, the mechanisms of which how the transmissions of the architecture occur, mostly remain concealed. In many historiographies, the "phases" of *influences* and *effects* are concealed by such easy phrases (Bloom, 1993, 21). Secondly, the iwan-like structures were subjected to scholarly studies both from Western and Eastern perspectives. However quite a number of discourses revealed disparate elements, scattered through the one history of the Iwan. This problem unfolds as an enigma in the fluidity in history of architecture that stems from disassociating the architectural edifice from its contemporary setting. At the same time the tendency of looking from a particular standpoint, breaks fluidity in architecture; makes perceiving the history of architecture as a single progress impossible. According to Upton (2009, 458), the central problem of architectural history pops out of the historiographical conflict that arose from the various modes of handling different periods of each architectural edifice by each historian.[1] That means that the problem is the reification of culture that distorts our understanding of architectural processes; of the fluidity of architectural history. This historical crack has

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[1] An example of creating a history from west, east, or on site. Figure 1: An earlier historical cannon, created by al-Kashgari. Al-Kashgari created a Silk Road map, which centralizes the Turco-Asian geography and shows the linguistic relations between the West (Byzantine Empire) and the East. Here, the map also shows the political balance which is carefully preserved between China and Byzantine Empire. Al-Kashgari achieves this through showing the transmission of Turkic linguistic references in each culture and tribe. To Chiese Empire's records, this is a non-East historiography and for Byzantine Empire, definetely a historiography of East.

recuperated as opportunist tendencies which martyred architectural history for the sake of political encounters. This notion reverberated as unearthed assumptions in favor of creating political histories, such as; national histories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Iwan is a universal yet regional architectural form, for which all of the problems stated above are applicable. By achieving the historiographical fluidity, different histories with their biases, truths and errors can assemble so that the so-called eastern form of the middle ages can connect to the ancient Anatolian past and present from a standpoint through the eyes of a Classicist, Orientalist, Nationalist and a Romanticist; lastly to co-terminus trajectories along the way. This is a loosely defined stylistic, geographical and chorological trajectory in form and historiography. Fluidity, without inevitability, offers the raw material of the iwan for a better model of architectural process rather than the static notion of culture. The road to there involves lowering our tradition-based boundaries and revisiting the most renowned architectural authorities and this would be an architectural history that does not pick any sides.

Recently scholarly literature on Central Asia has been growing and "eastern" connections of the architectural and urban traditions are being exposed by various new researches. In the meantime, our knowledge on Silk Road[2] cultures (Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Persia, Central and Eastern Asia) is becoming more extensive. With the contribution of recent scholarly work it is now possible to construct a relationship in a wider geography. The formation, use and travel of the iwan is a good case to study one of the realms of intercontinental connections in pre-modern architecture. The architectural typologies which housed the iwan and studied in this thesis are the *mosque*, *house* (Persian, Egyptian, Cretan, Roman (domus), Turkish, Hittite, Mesopotamian, Phrygian), *pavilion*, *palace*, *temple*, *baptistery*, *villa*, *funerary rock cut structures*, *gymnasium* and *madrasa* examples.

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[2] "The Silk Road is an historical network of interlinking trade routes that connected South Asia with Europe and the Mediterranean, as well as parts of East Asia. Routes extended through Syria, the Republic of Turkey, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan and China. Trade on the Silk Road was a significant factor in the development of China, the Indian subcontinent, Iran/Persia and Europe. Though silk was the principal commodity, many other goods were exchanged, while various technologies, religions and philosophies also traveled along the routes". (Raw, 2013, 1).

The iwan is a very ancient architectural component. Its relationship with historical forms like cave niches, canopus, exedra, apse, banquet halls, congregational spaces, triumphal arches, apadanas, portals and mihrabs are to be studied comprehensively; serving the historiographical fluidity. The iwan has become central to various discourses in architectural history. It plays a significant role in the unification of architectural histories of East and West not only in architectural form, but also in terms of its meanings. Due to its inclusive nature, the Seljuk Empire undertakes the task as a bridge, not only carrying out the iwan but also transforming the meaning and great philosophy of the cultures in question. The aim of the thesis is to shed new light on the four-iwan plan typology and symbolism of the iwan with the inclusion of recent interdisciplinary literature, excavations and historical studies. The development of the application of the iwan with its enhancement in terms of symbolic meanings will be discussed within a physical and also theoretical route to form a progressive flux, which led to its full blooming in Anatolia in the thirteenth century.

This thesis is not a survey study. Albeit the number and magnificence of the architectural variety along the Silk Road, the structures included in this thesis are the ones serving best for the sake of the iwan's formal and semantic transformation. Therefore this process resulted in the neglect of some grand examples and inclusion of rather humble architectural ones. All-inclusiveness is not one of the objectives. The aim is to create a consistent architectural history that reconciles the grand canon with a broader and more embracing view of the built environment making a persistent historiographical route possible (Kostof, 1984, preface). Even before the architecture "happened", the built environment was already there. Gradually architecture effloresced from the urban texture which made it possible for each unique pattern to grow. Just as a lotus flower must grow from the mud of a fertile swamp, architecture has a backstage growing from the urban texture.

The outline is structured around local traditions to define the grand canon of the iwan tradition along the Silk Road. Therefore, the chapters are not grouped in chronological or geographical manner. Each chapter aims to convey a separate

tradition in connection to its cultural counterparts, which means that geographical and chronological outcomes are to be in second and third in priority after filling gaps, juxtaposing "pristine" historiographies and achieving the historical continuity. Chapters are structured to enhance the "trajectory of the iwan". Step by step, the reader has a chance to grasp the grand canon of the iwan which transcends traditional boundaries.

Figure 1. Map of Medieval Persia[3]

The root of the word *iwan* was thought to be derived from Old Persian 'apadana' (W. B. Henning, 1944, 109), where in Elamite it appears as "ha-ha-da-na" and in Babylonian "ap-pa-da-an". This is a name given to the particular section of the palace of Darius in modern literature, although the name simply implies a type of structure—the iwan, not a particular palace. The term in Old Persian stands for "unprotected" (a-pâd-ana), which later evolved into the word "veranda" which more successfully conveys the sense of a structure protected from three sides (One side is still unprotected). The roots of the word can be traced to east and west; in Sanskrit "apadana" (आपादन) means 'to arrive at', and also to the Sanskrit *apa-dhā*

(अपधा) means "a hide-out or concealment", in the Greek world this root derives from *apo-thēkē* "storehouse". The word survived for later periods in Iran, as the Parthian 'pdn(y) or 'pdnk(y) "palace", and outside Iran it still survives in several languages as loan-words (including the Arabic *fadan*, the Armenian *aparan-kʿ* "palace"). Unfortunately, this derivation analysis is no longer perceived as scholarly rooted.[5]

In terms of the richness of material evidence; a research on the iwan can be initiated from the widely renowned examples of Sassanid and Parthian architecture. According to some scholars, the iwan has been thought to have been developed in Mesopotamia (Downey, 1988, 178). Ruether (1967, 433), argued that the iwan had an archetype created by a nomadic culture, which did not only have need for social space but also for physical shelter. According to Akın (1985, 85), the iwan's origins may be traced back by looking at the carved niches on the natural rocks of Eastern Anatolia. Stemming from this idea, a very similar link could be constructed between the Buddhist cave temples and their freestanding counterparts which had developed a very similar plan typology. Also considering the same typology on the monumental scale, according to Tarhan and Sevin, Urartian Temple Gates reveal some stylistic resemblances. Accordingly, the tradition of carved iwans continued in 6th century Persia in Taq-ı Bostan and in the Sassanid period, whereby cave iwans coexisted with the monumental iwan typology within the Sassanid palace architecture (Peker, 1991, 7). The terms for the symbolic reconstruction of Urartian cave temples are also relevant for Lycian, Phrygian, Bithynian and Pontic cave niches and tomb chambers, first cave churches, even Himalayan caves and sufi caves in Anatolia. In all these cultures rectangular and arched portals developed hand in hand, and in all, the design choices were attributed to architectural or religious motives which derived from similar cultural memories (Tarhan Sevin, 1975, 396).

In the terminology of architectural typology, the iwan within its predestined scope, produced many variants, such as free standing iwans, monumental iwans (Taq-i

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[5] As stated in "Ayvan. (n.d.). In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Retrieved May 24, 2017, from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ayvan-palace".

Qisra), iwans used for congregation in ribats and palaces (Assur Palace first-second century (Pope, 1965, 48)), triumphal iwans, iwans as mihrabs in Anatolian Seljuk period Kuran, 1969, 7-10) and finally carved iwans depicting the scenes of divinity from ancient Anatolia (Lycian, Phrygian and Urartian cave temples (Tarhan and Sevin, 396). At first glance, the iwan comes as an Islamic typology, considering that its full blooming embraces the later Islamic lands; Sassanid, Parthian, Persian, Mughal and Egyptian Empires. However especially the Phrygian, Lycian, Bithynian, Pontic, Urartian, Roman and Greek examples of iwan-like typologies in Anatolia can illuminate the fact that the iwan can be in fact a primordial archetype which covers a wider geography framed by the ancient routes and a broader hinterland in terms of symbolism.

Greco-Iranian architecture experienced its zenith in Iran and Mesopotamia, where its greatest creation, the iwan, flourished and diversified. Schlumberger (1983, 1049) defines iwan as a covered audience hall with a certain plan typology. According to Peker (1992, 5), iwan is an architectural form, enclosed on three sides, creating an empty vaulted space and opening to an open or closed centralized space. The iwan appears to exhibit quite a recognizable view, to every culture and geography, so that it constitutes an unavoidable kinship with non-Islamic cultures. The roots of the iwan can be traced back to the primordial archetypes of collective consciousness (Jung, 1969, 384). To an uneducated eye, or to an unbiased critic, the iwan can be the ingredient to remove the distinctions between each culture that we, the architectural historians, unwillingly created in the process of analyzing it. This thesis aims to uncover what an iwan is and aims to position it in the universe of architectural history with a more securely grounded historical study.

The discussion about the iwan is whether it necessitates a complementary centralized space or not. Iwan comes with various sizes and applications, depending on the culture and purpose of its creation. Iwan means open portico, gallery or palace (Reuther, 1967, 428). As the name suggests, the iwan in fact does not necessitate a complementary architectural scheme, so although the later medieval "four iwan two axis centralized plan typology" seems to be tempting to

survey, such an approach of focusing only on this plan typology may result in the neglect of the iwan itself that appeared in the ancient period.

The two-axis-four-iwan central plan tradition covering the area from India, Afghanistan, Persia, partially Syria, Turan[6] and Anatolia, for over 3000 years, produced a meaningful and long tradition of space which exceeds time, culture and function (*Figure* 1). The earliest example of the two-axis iwan-like porticoed courtyard plan can be considered as "Ay Hanım" (Akın, 1990, 28). In spite of the dominating impact of the iwan which points to the Parthian-Sassanid tradition, this plan typology seems to be the predecessor of Bactrian tradition.[7] (Akın, 1990, 236) Through this route it becomes easier to understand the impact of antiquity on this tradition and extricate the iwan-like typologies, concealed behind the curtains of culture and religion. Bactrian and Anatolian traditions are important aspects to keep in mind to reconstruct this bond to the Far East that has long been disconnected. Centralized four-iwan plan typologies which are also widely applied in Anatolia, are now linked to a much older tradition in Iran and India, which had been going on for centuries. By the acceptance of the cosmological space, which is the target and result of this tradition, it is not surprising to see various building types as the site of experiment of different plan types utilizing the iwan. The building types which are caravanserais, madrasas and mosques in 13th century Anatolia, had been 11th century houses and palaces in Afghanistan, pavilions and tekkes-kalenderhanes in 17th century Istanbul, Friday mosques in Persia. Within the Silk Road, only Assur and Amman palaces still remain as unique examples, slightly differentiating themselves from this context but still remaining as unparalleled examples to illuminate especially the monumental and free standing iwan tradition.

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[6] *Turan* is the term that Akın (1990) preffed to describe the Turkic geographies of Central Asia. Turan includes modern Turkistan and Ozbekistan. In the evolution of meaning and cultural transfer, Turan serves as the bridge between China and Asia Minor along the Silk Road.

[7] Bactrian Kingdom might be assessed as the furthest cross-fertizilation of Ancient Greek culture towards the East.

CHAPTER 2

CAVE NICHES

Since the late 1970s, it has been widely accepted by scholars that evaluating the ancient architecture of the Near East (Mesopotamia, Central- North- East- and South Eastern Anatolia, Caucasia and Iran) by a Mediterranean perspective is somewhat misleading. A framework conducted by this approach does not only suggest the idea that the "Eastern" architecture came to existence by a greater influence of the West, but also diminishes the value and greatness of the architectural edifices. Situated between east and west, especially Asia Minor deserves a separate identification, holding its potency to clarify the stylistic and formal transition between the architecture of "East" and "West".[8] The interaction which Alexander the Great commenced with his expedition, created its own territory in architectural history; the Greco-Iranian architecture. Greco-Iranian architecture limits its territory to the west where Greco-Roman architecture flourishes. According to Schlumberger (1983, 3(2), 1047) although still remaining under-studied, Greco-Iranian Architecture covered the region starting from Anatolia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Commagene, Armenia, and Parthia. In addition to Schlumberger's view, Cilicia and Phrygia can be added to this list. According to Rose (2012), despite the socio-political and socio-economic importance of Gordion and Phrygia, these two important settlements were generally omitted from archaeology and architectural history courses. Rose encapsulates this neglect with two major reasons. Firstly: the geopolitical aspect of the region, also as attributed

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[8]For this thesis, this transition goes back to a Greco-Roman West and Greco-Iranian East. When the term Greco-Roman suggests the impact of Hellenistic and Roman civilizations, Graeco-Iranian term suggests an era starting from Parthian and Sassanid cultures and extending to Mesopotamia; Assur Empire. The state of Anatolia, is discussed as a separate case in itself, bridging these two edges.

to the settlements of central Anatolia by Schlumberger (1983, 1048). Secondly, because of the geographical and theoretical hardships in question, which prevented the excavations from becoming enduring, and thus leaving the area understudied. This second aspect is hopefully losing ground with the researches of the last fifteen years.[9] All the longstanding settlements in Anatolia, which predated the expedition of Alexander the Great and experienced the effects of the Greco-Roman world afterwards, have quite a similar nature by their potential conveyance of the Greco-Roman to Greco-Iranian transition in architecture. Anatolia, by its collective memory and cultural accumulation, undeniably prepared the best incubation where each cultural potency could grow into a civilization. In the history of Anatolia, the transformative side in question becomes distinguishing amongst Iron Age empires. The anthropological nature of Anatolia, starting from the Iron Age, makes the cultural bridge built by Alexander comprehensible, and the idea of cultural transfer accessible to our minds. Amongst all of these settlements, the Phrygian example alone is more than sufficient to epitomize this discussion. In this discussion, the Anatolian settlements constitute unique regions in character, custom and language. Regionalism here might be the key to explain the subtle transitional milieu that was created between East and West in a single settlement.

The buffer zones mentioned by Schlumberger show a great variety in very small distances, inviting the possibility for the architectural historian to reconstruct the theoretical link between Greco-Roman and Greco-Iranian architecture invariably. A quite similar approach might be followed to reconstruct the borders of the Greco-Iranian impact on the eastern end; Mathura, Taxila and Surkh Kohal in 1-2 AD. The statues of the kings in Mathura are devoid of a "pure" Indian character and exemplify the heterogeneity we can find for instance in Cappadocia. Mughal and Bactrian architecture and artifacts each mark a turning point in Silk Road

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[9]Sussanne Bernt-Ersöz states that Phrygian rock-cut shrines possibly precede the Greek temples of antiquity. For further reading see; Berndt-Ersöz, S.(2006). Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines: Structure, Function, and Cult Practice. Leiden, Brill: Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, vol.25., Sams, G. K.(2012). The New Chronology of Gordion and Phrygian Pottery. In C. B. Rose(Ed.), *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*(pp. 1-20). Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. And Voigt, M. M.(2012). The Unfinished Project of Gordion Early Phrygian Destruction Level. In C. B. Rose(Ed.), *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*(pp. 1-20). Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

cultures and ending the major Greco prefix of Greco-Iranian impact; leaving the ground for eastern cultures who already had a deeper connection with Iranian and Asiatic architectures (*Figure* 1).

Anatolia is the stage where this cultural transfer slowly occurred through verbal and architectural history in ages. After a long silence, following the downfall of the Hittite Empire, Anatolia took a fresh breath with the flourishing of new empires; mainly stemming from colonies coming from the Balkans. This period of silence is thought to be an era of chaos. After a natural assimilation process and many wars, like each chaotic microcosm, this melting pot gave birth to deeply rooted civilizations that still show their impact today. According to Hugh Fleming (2005), monumental gateways had already been used in Anatolia for centuries by Hittites, Assyrians, Mycenaeans and Babylonians. These gateways, constructed or stone cut structures (cave niches) have been scrutinized in this chapter as the product of these three empires; Phrygia, Lycia and Urartu, the three major impacts that reshaped Anatolian culture within their sovereignty.

2.1 Phrygian Cave Niches

The iwan produced many typologies, such as free standing iwans, monumental iwans (Taq-i Qisra), iwans used for congregation in ribats and palaces (Assur Palace, first-second century) (Pope, 1965, 48), triumphal iwans, iwans as mihrabs in the Anatolian Seljuk period (Kuran, 1969, 7-10) and rock-carved iwan-like niches depicting the scenes of divinity from ancient Anatolia (Lycian, Phrygian and Urartian cave temples) (Tarhan and Sevin, 1975, 397).[10] The iwan comes as an Islamic typology, considering that the full blooming of the iwan embraces the later Islamic lands. However, especially the Phrygian examples can illuminate the fact that the iwan can in fact be a primordial archetype which flourished in a wider geography framed by the ancient routes. In this chapter, the carved iwans of Anatolia; the cave niches, will be studied in the Phrygian perspective.

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[10] Tarhan and Sevin attribute an epiphanic aspect to the Urartian cave niches. They suggest that this application can happen in Urartian architecture in two ways; in "Temple Gates" or "Monumental Rock Niches" (Tarhan and Sevin, 1975, 397).

According to Akurgal (1998, 269), Phrygian architecture stems from Hellenistic and Balkan influences. His thesis depends on the typological scheme of architectural plans in Gordion. Akurgal states that (1998, 269) all of the buildings in Gordion are megarons. Even in Boğazköy the plans of the houses have the condensed megaron typology (Neve, 1982, 169).

However the mode to design a simple house was inherited from predecessors predating Phrygia. Phrygians are considered to have migrated from the Balkans, and, until reaching Anatolia, their culture had quite a different character; having the nomadic aspect. Now, it is scholarly accepted that this Anatolian notion of building a simple house with a specific roof structure is somehow inherited from the Hittite Empire which had a past extending to the 17th century BC. This ancient construction technique and identical roof structures that come with them had been widespread throughout Anatolia. According to Akın (1985) and as confirmed by Kuban (2013, 23), the maturity and uniqueness of this typology is gathered in Hittite urban "Hilani" houses in Urfa. This is knowledge that we also have witnessed in Phrygian and Lycian houses, will eventually pass through Anatolia and reach the broad daylight of today's urban and rural houses and monuments of Syria, East and South East Anatolia and the Lebanon. What is interesting about the Hilani is the symbol of "power" it bears, just like the iwan houses of Iran. Hierophanic symbols and symbols of the imperial cult is a distinguishing aspect of grand Empires of Anatolia, which had been conveyed through simple structures, monuments and typologies like cave niches. Phrygian architecture perpetuates this canon by filling the gaps in the history of built environment.

In the tumulus of Midas, the roof structure is in the form of barrel vault (Young, 1981, 2-12). Akurgal's thesis is that in this early Anatolian settlement, which was geographically settled as a buffer zone between Iranian and Hellenistic cultures, there is no trace of Eastern impact. But as Schlumberger stated, consequent time and geography as a transitory milieu between both cultures, and as the trade

routes[11] contemporary to the period conjoined the two territories, it appears impossible to ignore neither the eastern impact through the trade routes, nor attributing the arch-like, and megaron based archetypal units as "western".

Naumann[12], introduced a semantic aspect to the rock-cut shrines, and produced the term "Kybele Niches". In his study of Kybele iconography in Greek and Phrygian art and architecture, he regrouped altars and stepped monuments and associated them with the main goddess cult. By doing so, Naumann added a hierophantic aspect to the rock cut shrines. A very similar approach is attributed to Kybele iconography in Phrygian art and architecture in general by Romano (1995, 23-24).[13] According to Romano, this iconographic aspect to the figures of the goddess sheds light to an ancient tradition of Asia Minor, i.e. the cult of the Mother Goddess, which also interconnects Phrygian culture to the Greek culture. With the introduction of the term "Kybele Niches", a simple architectural form carries the load of eternity, which approximates this mindset of craftsmanship to that of the Parthians.

Another connection between Greek and Phrygian cultures derives from a simple study on Gods.[14] According to Ersöz (2006, 77) there is an inscription on an altar from Akmonia or the Upper Tembris valley in Phrygia, dated to the Late Roman period (AD 314) mentioning the name "Manes" among Gods. A Greek inscription found at Gökçe Ayva, c. 40 km north-west of Sivrihisar, mentions names such as

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[11] "...The road from fars to sparda first travels through the foothills of Zagros mountains and up the plains west of Tigris, then through Kissia and Armenia, crossing through Euphrates and finally through Cilicia and Cappadocia, turning west towards the Aegean to end at Sardis. Perhaps it branched at this point: most likely, one branch took a southern route, while another took a northerly path to cross over the Halys river at a fortified point and pass into Phrygia. The landscape through which it travels is highly varied and dramatic." from Dusinberre, E. M.(2003). *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, p. 14.

[12] Naumann, F.(1983). Die Ikonographie der Kybele ın der Phrygischen und Griechischen Kunst, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen Beiheft*, 28., Tübingen.

[13] Romano, I. B.(1995). The Terracotta Figurines and Related Vessels (Vol. II). In G. K. Sams (Ed.), *Gordion Special Studies* (Vol. II). Philadelphia: The University of Pennyslyvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

[14] Mainly from the inscriptions on the Midas Monument, 8 century BC.

Amon, Apollo, Manes and Matar. Although the names "Manes" and "Daos" were slave names in Greece, it is apparent that long before, they were attributed to deities of Anatolia. It is also frequent in Phrygian art and architecture to encounter the main mother Goddess Matar and Apollo together. This religious notion of architecture reveals how in certain nodes Greek and Phrygian cultures intermingle.

Figure 2. The Midas Monument at Midas City (Yazılıkaya), BC 8th century (Ersöz, 2006, 15 from Gabriel, 1965; fig. 30)
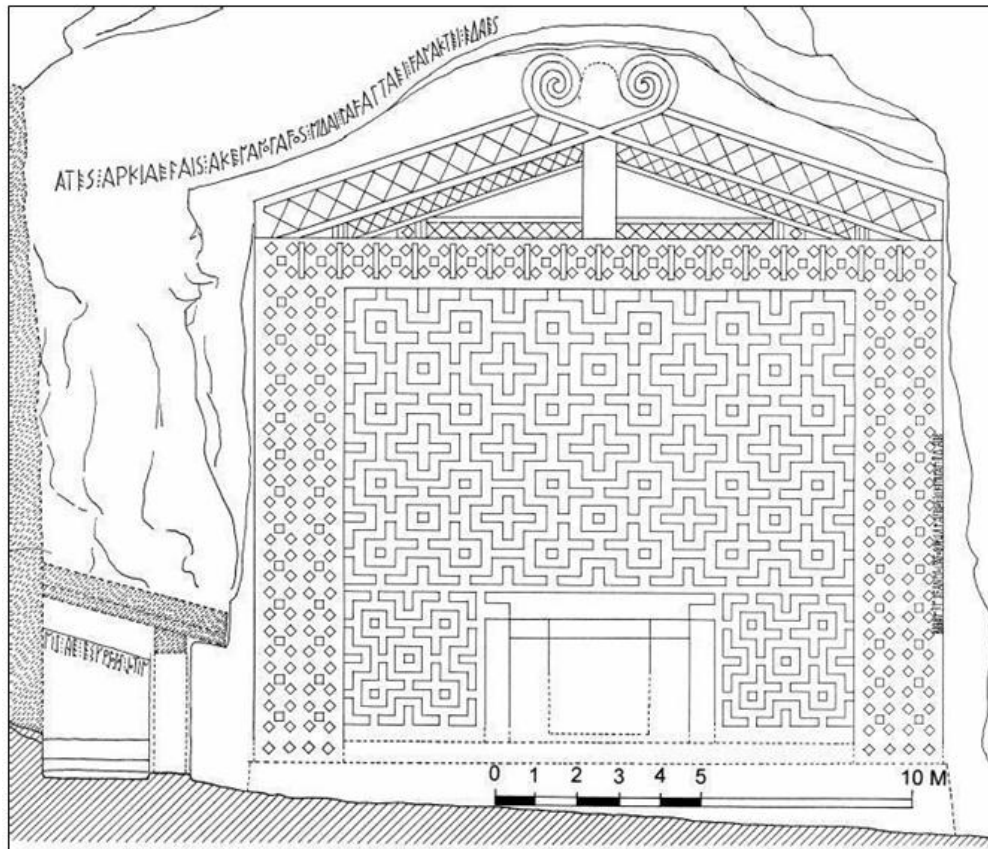
Suzanne Berndt-Ersöz's important work on Phrygian cave niches is a key study building the centuries long bridge of style and symbol in Anatolia. According to Berndt-Ersöz (2006, 174)[15] one type of the monuments among Phrygian culture; the step monument situated on top of rocks with a semi-circular disc above the stairs is suggested to represent a divine throne. The semi-circular disc indicates the presence of a god and probably the shape of an idol. The semi-circular geometry

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[15] Berndt-Ersöz, S.(2006). Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines: Structure, Function, and Cult Practice. Leiden, Brill: Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, vol.25.

which has a long chronology in Anatolia, could simply have become an independent arch and/or arched portal in terms of its semantics, just like the one in the Seljuk example above, evolving constantly, facing a corrosion of meaning and attributed new meanings at times, but always acting as a symbol for divinity. Also as Ash stated (1995), geometrical patterns resemble their Phrygian counterparts in terms of the style of decoration and application on the facade.

Berndt-Esöz's study is very mind opening in terms of her approach to a deeper understanding of meaning and purpose in architecture. Another reason for addressing a specific kind of architecture as sacred architecture[16] can be suggested as a natural outcome of historical fluidity: The cities that appear as "spiritual centers" naturally produce spiritual design codes. Even in domestic architecture, where the semicircular or arched forms are used as design elements, there is a sense of space-aimed consciousness to construct a sacred meaning.

On the other hand, Barnett (1953, 80-82), undertakes the task of constructing Phrygian architecture from another angle, and interjects the notion of water. According to Barnett, indisputably, most of the sacred monuments (in Barnett's narrative "rock-cut facades) of western Phrygia show proximity to water sources.[17] This vicinity attests the role of the water in architectural symbolism and anticipates a more complex liaison between water and rock-cut facades. This aspect of architecture can be addressed for many Iron Age Kingdoms of Anatolia.[18] The Iron Age Anatolia holds much to elucidate and yoke the antique, Byzantine and Islamic eras which radicate from the fertile Asia Minor.

Another angle on the subject is the geometry. Throught Anatolia, three geometrical tendencies appear, considering the facade organization of funerary rock cut shrines; rectangular, circular and triangular frames. In the Midas monument (figure 2), the facade organization predates the entablatures of the temple facades of

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[16] Including Midas the Phrygian capital housing the architectural examples in question.

[17] As epitomized in the Midas Monument of Yazılıkaya.

[18] Also for Labranda of Karia.

Ancient Greece. Another example of Phrygia, a tomb in Ayazini, utilizes both circular and triangular forms just above the entrance (Figure 4). Over and above this conceptual design notion of Iron age Anatolia, could be followed in Islamic portals, starting from Seljuks of Anatolia (Figure 3). In central Anatolia, the mosque, madrasa and darussifa examples from Seljuks make use of former cultural accumulation in an elaborate fashion which merges stylistic flows from East and West single handedly.

Figure 3. Tomb entrance from Ayazma İni Village, Afyonkarahisar, Turkey (2008)
Retrieved from http://www.rota360.net/gunubirlikrotalar.asp?id=21

John Ash highlights the notion that Anatolia bears as a bridge:

"The marble main gate of the madrasa, reflects the richest and the most refine sides of the eclectic Seljuk culture. The main gate is surrounded by an array of spiral columns, which evidently recalls the Corinthian Byzantine style capitals. These columns are covered with geometrically patterned panels, resembling the facade of known Phrygian temples. The niche over the main portal is elegantly articulated with muqarnas moulding and enclosed with a delicate arch. The upper panel over the main portal is decorated with three reliefs, moulded in grift style and finished with the geometrical dance of two colored (bluish and whitish) grey marble. Here, the cultures which are thought to be unbridgeable successfully bonded within the same context. In this single example, traditional middle Asian and Asia

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Minor motives are successfully agglomerated with the most glorious examples of Persian, Armenian, Arab and Byzantine art of decoration.``[19] (Ash, 1995)

The observation of Ash, takes the discourse back in Anatolia, to the Phrygian examples, in the same geography where this tradition was solidly grounded, centuries ago.

Figure 4. The Portal of Karatay Madrasa, Konya, from the archive of Ali Sami Ülgen, Published by Salt, Turkey

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[19] Ash, J.(1995). *A Byzantine Journey*. Random House Incorporated. (pp. 54-300).

2.2 Lycian Cave Niches

Lycian stone carving technique is an architectural moulding technique shared by Urartians, Phrygians and Lycians. The purpose of this compositional decoration was different for each culture. The funerary cave typology in Lycia is important for the discourse of arch symbolism and typology in this thesis. The barrel vaulted style in Lycian architecture, is important as it exemplifies a Cretan style Phaistos house description from the middle of 2000 BC (Marinatos, 1973, 72-73). As prominent in Asia Minor funerary Rock cut shrine tradition continues in Lycian territories. In Kaunos (Figure 5), funerary caves form an elaborate facade organization on the Hills of Ortaca, Muğla, Turkey. The tendency of the facade organization geometry is on triangular geometry. It is as if a separate cannon which paves the way for Hellenistic Architecture is perpetuated in Pyrhgia, Pontus, Lycia and Karia. Although it is not common to observe curvilinear details in this region, the similar approach of ascension emphasis continues. The tombs again rise above the settlement level and stairs point the entrance and evokes the notion of a holy throne.

In one significant funerary architectural edifice in Lycia, "Harpy" motives (soul birds) in tomb architecture carry a baby figure. This tomb is in Xanthos; the capital of Lycian Kingdom, and was built around 480-470 BC for a Persian prince, under the influence of the Persian Achaemenid Empire. In Persia the same figure prevailed in many occasions, not only in architecture but also in the arts and crafts. Iron Age Civilizations in Anatolia (Late Hittite, Urartian, Phrygian, Lydians, Karian and Lycian, Phoenician and Babylonian) are considered as progenitors of the subsequent Hellenistic civilization (Akurgal, 1998, 196).

Figure 5. Funerary Rock Cut Shrines of Kaunos (Gür, 2016)

2.3 Urartian Cave Niches
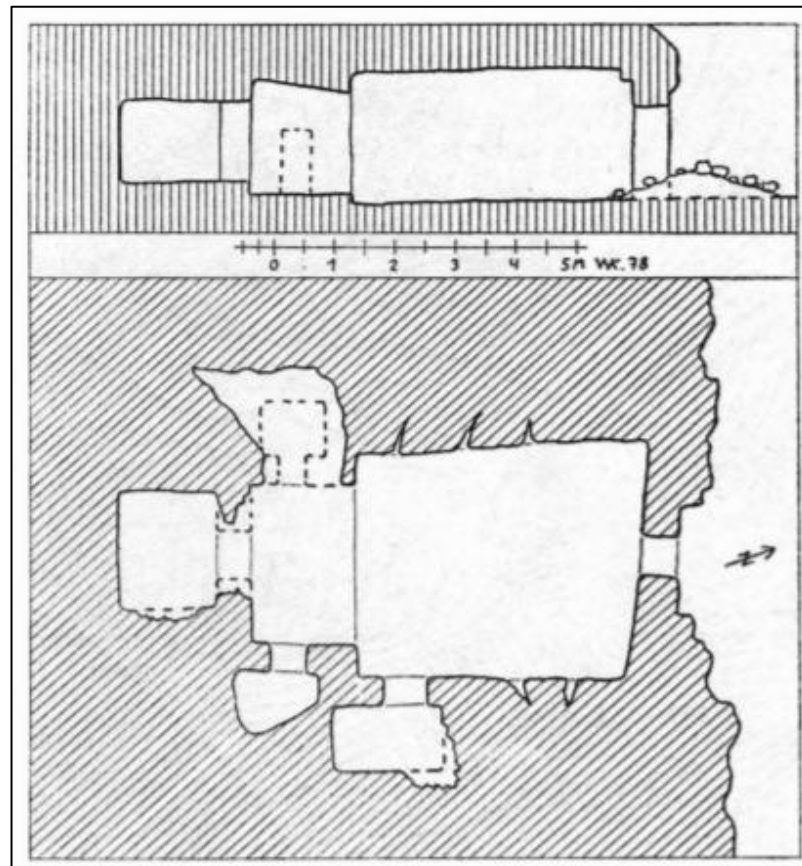
Figure 6. The plan and section of an Urartian cave niche, within the Uratian castle of Sharik, in Khorasan, Iran Kleiss, (W., & Kroll, S.1979)

Urartu (/ʊˈrɑːrtuː/), which corresponds to the biblical *mountains of Ararat*, is the name of a geographical region commonly used as the exonym for the Iron Age kingdom also known by the modern rendition of its endonym, the Kingdom of Van, centered around Lake Van, in eastern Turkey. This geographical area corresponds to the mountainous plateau between Anatolia, Mesopotamia, the Iranian Plateau, and the Caucasus Mountains, later known as the Armenian Highlands.

Peker (1991, 5-19) suggested that symbolic roots of the iwan should be sought in the ancient cosmology since the iwan typology is a pre-Islamic invention. According to Akın (1985, 85-88) grottos of the late Urartians were identified as the forerunners of late iwans. According to Tarhan and Sevin (1975, 397) Urartian gods manifested themselves in the iwan-like cave niches (Figure 6). Concluding from this perspective, according to Akın (1985, 85-88) the cave niches served as a portal between earthly and celestial dimensions where supernatural powers dwelled.

Another connection between iwan-like typologies and Urartian architecture can be observed through "apadana"; congregation halls covered by colonnades on three sides. Apadana as an architectural form suggests an emphasis on the plan organization by utilizing the functionality of the iwan as a space for congregation. Until the downfall of the Urartian kingdom, such audience chambers were discovered, mostly in the excavations in Iran. As a part of the Urartian Empire, the Anatolian part of this tradition falls into abeyance. The most outstanding examples of Urartian apadanas are; Boğazköy Büyükkale "D" building, Altıntepe, Armavir-Blur and halls in Bastam. (Çilingiroğlu, 1978, 97) While this tradition is thought to be sustained by the Achaemenid architectural style as a part of imperial cult, its persistence in Anatolian architecture is domesticized (house typologies).

2.4 Rock Cut Shrines of Pontic Kingdom
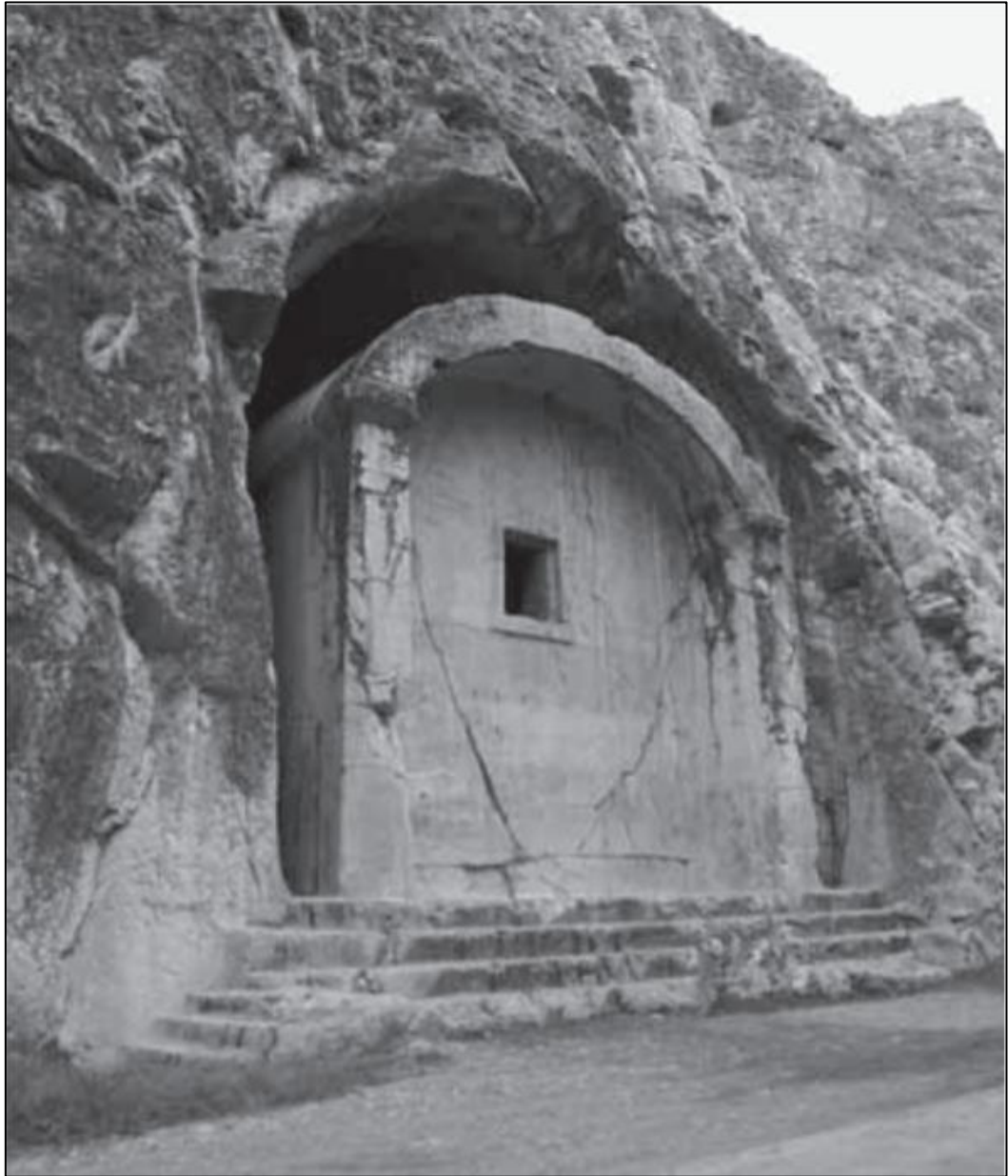
Figure 7. Tomb of Tes near Amaseia (Fleischer, 2009, 116)

Following the forerunners in Urartu, Phrygia, Lycia, Karia and Paphlagonia, Amaesia exhibits the finest examples of pre-Hellenistic Anatolian rock-cut architecture. Having served as the capital of the Pontic Kingdom of Mithridatids for approximately a century, many rock-cut tomb chambers in and around Amaseia, salute their predecessors in 4th century BC Karia, Kaunos, Telmessos and other places (Fleischer, 2009, 3). During the excavations, three types of

facades were unveiled; aedicular facade, pedimented and rock-cut tomb with an archivolt on the top. The placement of the tombs evoke an arrangement taking inspiration from the Persian rules of purity; whereas the design reflects Archaic and Hellenistic Anatolian styles as well as the Achaemenid style.

The tomb of Tes near Amaseia (Figure 7), presents the archivolt tomb typology as classified by Flesicher (2009, 116). Moreover this tomb also exemplifies the "empty throne" paradigm which Bryan Rose successfully studied within Phrygian Architecture, as discussed previously. The tomb is raised by stairs. The stairs create a solid distinction between the visitor and the owner of the tomb. Also this depiction connotes a sense of a holy house awaiting its resurrected dweller.

2.5 Bithynia

In his book, "On Bithynia", Alexander Polyhistor mensions the "Mother Goddess Cult", and the Kybele iconography, as part of the sacred architecture (Munn, 2006, 75). According to Polyhistor, the term Kybele probably is derived from the mountain. Pursuant to Hesychius' narrative in Bithynia and Phrygia regions, not only the mountains but cave niches and bed-chambers were also named after the goddess; and designated as "Kybela"; the holy throne of Kybele. Also as stated in records of antiquity[20], the places accommodating the iconography of Kybele are specified as Kybelioi.

Considering the coetaneous kingdoms, stylistic and symbolic association of Bithynia is most prominent with Pontus and Phrygia. Pontus and Bithynia did not only share a common King, Mithridates VI (Figure 8) but also perpetuated a superconscious myth in his name which derives from the ancient Zoroastrian God Mithra. This geographical and cultural proximity later led to various repeated references in Byzantine and Seljuk Empires.

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[20] See Diodorus 3.58.1 and Aristophanes *Birds 876*

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Figure 8. Pontus (Northern Anatolia) and Bithynia (North West Anatolia) share the King Mithridates VI (86-85 BC) having named after the ancient Zoroastrian God Mithra

CHAPTER 3

CAVITIES IN ARCHITECTURE

3.1 Roman Architecture: Cave-Like and Iwan-Like Units

The trajectory of the iwan opens up in Roman Empire and effloresces in analogous forms. Roman manifestation of iwan-like forms appear such as; canopus, baldachin, exedra, apse, banquet hall, pedimented shrine, arched canopy, aedicula, audience chamber and tablinum.

Exedra (also spelled Exhedra) in architecture, a semicircular or rectangular niche with a raised seat; more loosely applied, the term also refers to the apse of a church or to a niche (build, or rock cut) (Exedra, 1998). In ancient Greece, exedrae were commonly found in those parts of major cities that had been reserved for worship, such as the Acropolis in Athens. Just as iwans were utilized for intellectual, educational and congregational purposes, scholars and poets held discussions in the walled recesses, which were also used for rest and contemplation. Roman *exedrae* of both rectangular and semicircular design were sometimes topped with semi domes and often fronted with monumental columns or pilasters. The exedrae in the Baptistery of Ravenna exemplify the Early Christian period of Roman architecture. In Greco-Roman Anatolia, exedrae were parts of luxurious dwellings in which they served the architectural programme by enclosing the central space. Another use of iwan-like structures in Roman domestic architecture is seen in the *tablinum* and can be observed in the Terrace houses in Ephesus[21] (Efes, Selçuk,

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[21] I am thankful for Prof. Ali Uzay Peker for drawing my attention to this topic.

İzmir). The *tablinum*, is a transitory vaulted element which unites the two main parts of the house.

The Roman domus has a potency to bear the long history of Roman arch and iwan altogether (Schlumberger, 1983, 1949). For this insight it will suffice to take a glance at a model of a Roman domus and a Persian house (Figures 9, 10). According to *Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art & Architecture* (2009, 337) the iwan's origins had also been sought in *tablinum;* the room in ancient Roman houses, facing the atrium.[22] While the intermediate stages of the cultural transfer, leading to a full blooming iwan, have yet to be clarified, the idea of a Western form transforming by Eastern building techniques and traditions is coherent with other developments in the Near East at the end of the 1st millennium BCE, when Hellenistic concepts were being freely combined with Iranian and Mesopotamian traditions.
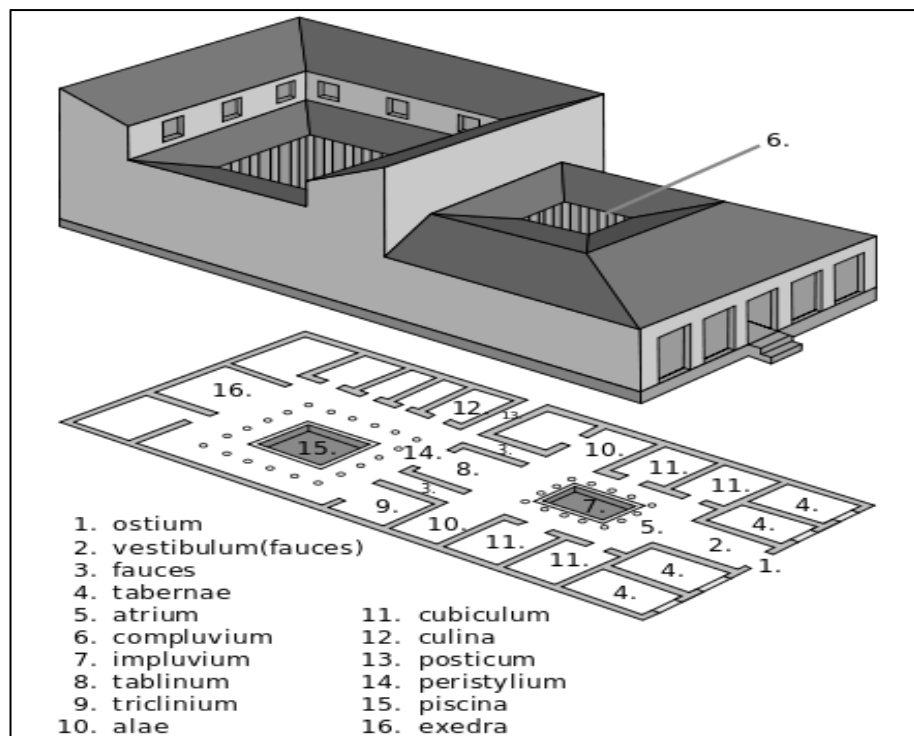
Figure 9. The model of a Roman domus from Ancient Roman dwelling, a domus. 2006, Khan Academy. www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/roman-domestic-architecture-domus. Accessed 7 July 2018

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[22] *Tablinum* corresponds to *Hayat,* in Turkish houses.

Figure 10. A model of a house with festive scene, from Seljuk Empire, Persia (Peacock, 2016)[23]

Both houses suggest the necessity for a central space faced by an audience hall, which locates the prior spaces of the house. Although the Roman arch or iwan do not necessitate a complementary space.[25] this application could have predated a more advanced plan typology in which four iwans encircle a central courtyard. The once free-standing, self-supporting iwan, might have been included and mingled in such a design programme, through its architectural transformation process. In house architecture, the iwan and arch are generally used in such a composition, in which the iwan stages a theatrical greeting towards the audience of the house, at its very centre. This aspect of the iwan and arch in house architecture, comes forward quite often in Asia Minor regardless of the civilization to which it belonged (this variety can solely be observed through the design programme of a simple house on the Silk Road, regardless of its period and civilization. "Turkish House", "Persian

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[23] Further information on the Persian house can be found at the "Islamic Architecture" chapter.

[25] Especially for centralized four iwan typology in the Silk Road, the use of iwan necessitates a complementary space. In this way of architectural design the role of iwan is physically stable. In Roman architecture iwan like structures come with various forms such as; banquet hall exedra and arches. It might be admitted that these typologies appear in the architectural language in a more independent manner.

House", "Kaa house" in Egypt, "Ottoman Pavillion", even the "Phaistos House" in Crete, "Terrace Houses" in Ephesus share a similar scheme).

Canopus is renowned by Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli. The name Canopus comes from an island on the river Nile, from the temple of Serapis in Egypt and is the name of a god of the underworld.[26] The structure, which has a two dimensional enclosing impact, frames the design programme. The name invented for this structure later led to the term "arched canopy" in English. The visitor is led to a dream like path which crosses under the arch of Canopus and then directly meets water. Canopus is the bridge between the sacred and the profane. Also it is the starting point of the visitor's trajectory. The long pool is initiated by a series of *canopus* and at the end countervailed by a complex, framed by a half domed *apse*. According to Elsner (1998, 177), the complex might be designed as a monumental tourist souvenir, recalling the exotic pleasure center "Canopus" near Alexandria, Egypt. Secondly it might have been the site of the memorial cenotaph of Antonius, Hadrian's lover, who had drowned in Egypt. Lastly, it is suggested to be designed as an elaborate *banquet hall*, or *audience chamber* which functions as a congregational hall, having a semi-circular plan projection. In Elsner's case three of these interpretations might be accurate.

Fikret Kutlu Yegül (1982, 12),[27] discusses the semantic issue of Roman architecture from another angle. In his study he relates imperial inscriptions and the *"Imperial Cult"* with the centrality of Roman baths in Sardis, Aphrodisias, Side, Ancyra and Ephesus. The inscription found in the exedra of the Middle Gymnasium in Pergamon, suggests that the area is especially reserved for worship, and salutes the old Gods and the new. The visitor approaching the "exedra" becomes informed by this divine aspect to the architecture. This physically transitory typology suddenly becomes the epicenter of the meaningful space. The

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[26] The Canopus (n.d.). In Welcome to Hadrian's Villa. Retrieved from http://web.mit.edu/course/21/21h.405/www/hadrian/Hadrian's%20Villa/Canopus.html

[27] Yegül, F. K. (1982) A Study in Architectural Iconography: Kaisersaal and the Imperial Cult. *The Art Bulletin*, *64* (1), 7-31.

iconographical aspect of the imperial cult can shed a new light to the arch and iwan-like typologies.

Figure 11. Coin representations of Roman Emperors under baldachins (Smith, figs. 118, 119, 120) (Smith, figs. 118, 119, 120) a. Domitian enthroned under a pedimented shrine; b. Statue of Antonius Pius under an arched canopy; c. Commodus as Janus under an arched canopy (Smith, 1956, 107-129)

According to Yegül's perspective, the Hellenistic epiphany and the Roman imperial cult have much in common. The imperial cult seemingly proliferated in "Kaisersaals". The propagandistic reliefs on the facades of public buildings such as baths, convey the vision of a world empire. These multi-storeyed reliefs are embedded in the audience chambers and congregational spaces such as the *gymnasia*. Semantically, the kaisersaals are the tip of the iceberg. The imperial cult is the very nucleus of the Roman Empire; the customs and quotidinial aspect that

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branches out from this very core also holds quite valuable information, as some of the architectural evidence is now lost to us. The inscriptions on complementary structures like baldachins or exedras embracing the main chambers or spaces, sheds light to the long departed. Roman coins produced for the imperial cult shed not only new light to the architecture, but also the anthropology. In the coins, emperors are depicted standing under *baldachins (pedimented shrines)* or *arched canopies* as a symbol of power and expression of imperial cult. *Baldachin*, or *Pedimented Shrine* is a four-pillared domical structure (*Figure* 11). Four pillared shrines can be seen even in the most secluded corners of Silk road countries until Iran and Anatolia. This architecture attracted prayers and offerings and is believed to be homes of long gone saints and holy spirits. Being free from the dominant belief of the territory, this aspect to baldachin remained authentic to Silk Road cultures. Baldachins appear as the most ancient form of Zoroastrian fire temples in Iran. Also Baldachins appear as complementary architectural elements and from time to time symbols of celestial power in the Roman Empire. Due to battles and juxtaposing borders, Iran and the Roman Empire share much in common. This notion of coanchoring an iwan-like structure with the concept of power appears in the art of Roman Egypt. Yegül mentions (1982, 12) the Luxor reliefs together with the imperial coins as a reflection of the Royal presence of Diocletian in Egypt. This, not only confirms the arch-emperor-power triology, but also radiates the *triumphal arch* tradition of the 19th century, as it salutes the *monumental iwan* tradition of Mesopotamia.

Roman-Persian connections concerning the architectural style and construction technique were revealed after Roman Ghirsman's excavations in Firuzabad during World War II. Shapur I's victory over Valerian in 226, paved the way to Roman influences in Persian architecture. Roman engineers who were imprisoned after the battle were employed during the construction of Shapur's palace dating to 226. Indeed, some of the architectural remains in Bishapur, especially the celebrated iwan and the Roman style mosaics embellishing the iwan, confirm the work of Roman engineers (Mousavi, & Daryace, 2012, 1082).

Bryan Rose tackles Roman-Persian (Parthian) relations from another angle and introduces Hellenistic and Phrygian connections through the excursion of Cybele iconography from the Iron Age to the Roman Empire (even to the Early Christian period). Rose mentions many examples and constructs a progressive historiography, involving examples such as; the Phrygian cape worn by a priest, as depicted in a Parthian trophy (a helmet), a very similar depiction in Cybele temple and altar (Lares Altar near the Forum of Augustus) in Rome and the depiction of the empty throne in the Baptistery of Ravenna (2014, 124, *Figure* 13). Rose encapsulates the Cult of Cybele as it is used in military histories and elite circles. During the process Rose carefully points out the route in which Cybele travelled; Persia, Phrygia, Pessinus, mount Ida and Troy in Anatolia (Hellenistic Anatolia), Samothrace and finally Rome. The flexibility of Cybele's iconography anticipated a long life. The Cult of Cybele consisted of the symbols of birth and rebirth and consequently an empty throne fore-seeing a re-birth used and associated in the monuments that involved the cult (*Figure* 12).

Figure 12. The empty throne of Christ flanked by Saints Peter and Paul, Arian Baptistery, Ravenna (Rose, 2014, 133)

Figure 13. The empty throne, carved into the rocks of the sanctuary of Dümrek; 33 km north of Gordion (Rose, 2014, 133)

Aedicula, is a diminutive of *aedes* that denotes a temple or a house. *Aedicula* was used in the *atria* of Roman houses as the household shrines (Fishwick, 1993, 238). It was also used in small chapels of temples or sanctuaries, bearing the god's image. In either use, aedicula appears as a form where divine aspect to the architecture meets the profane. In Roman Empire, aedicula was used in composition as the aedicular facades. This typology is thought to be derived from theatrical facades of early Republican architecture (Burrell, 2006, 450-3). This dramatic feature of Roman stylistic expression is used in Asia Minor as a propagandistic feature for conveying the family metaphor in cordial relation to the Roman Imperial Cult. As exemplified in Sebasteion Gate of Aphrodisias (Figure 14), the facade becomes a theatrical venue. In the aedicular facades of the Sebasteion Gate, the Julio-Claudian dynasty is depicted together with the Roman God Aeneas and Goddess Aphrodite who is accepted as the ancestral mother of Roman loyalty (Rose, 1997, 163). The use of family metaphor as a tool for propagandistic architecture is the characteristic of Greek cities under the rule of the Roman Empire. By the inclusion of aedicular facades, to Roman provincial

architecture, Greco-Roman city scapes are redesigned as an extension of Roman identity through evocation of common ancestry (Üçer Karababa, 2017/1, 55).
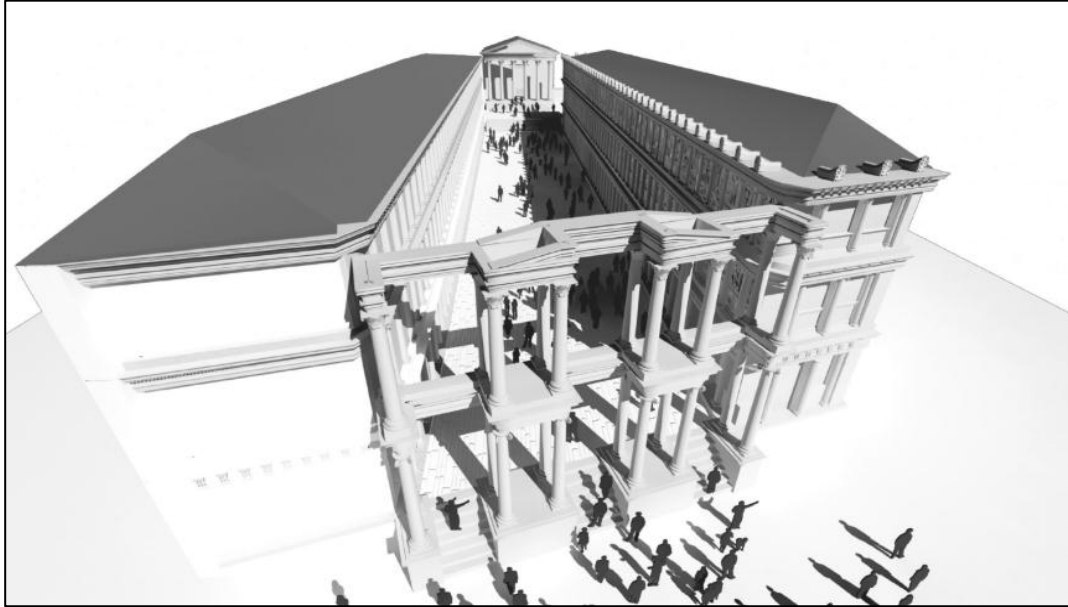
Figure 14. Reconstruction of the of Sebasteion of Aphrodisias, Turkey (Öztürk, 2011, 98)

CHAPTER 4

THE INVENTION AND USE OF THE IWAN AT THE CROSSROADS OF EAST AND WEST

4.1 A Case from the Greco-Iranian Zone: Assur Palace in Hatra and Assyrian Background

The Parthian dynasty was originally the product of a nationalist reaction against the Greco-Iranian Hellenistic Kingdom of Seleucids. Seleucids secured their authority disposed in the vast domain between the western end of Euphrates and Indus Valley on the east. Synchronously the Roman Empire and Parthian Kingdom were faced by a serious civilized power with whom they were obliged to arbitrate. This uneasy balance was established by a natural buffer zone in varying degrees on the dependence to the Parthian Kingdom, to Rome or both against the common foe. This buffer zone encompassed the states of Armenia, Cilica, Commagene, Emesa, Hatra, Judaea, Nabataea, Osrhoene, Palmyra[28] and Pontus (Boethius & Ward-Perkins, 1970, 413).

Hatra is an ancient city which was built under the great influence of this turbulent *mise en scène* and later became the first capital of the Arab Kingdom. The uniqueness of Hatra have been preserved in its architectural remains for centuries. In this melting pot Roman (western) architecture becomes symphonized with indigenous and eastern style (especially surfaced via decoration). Having served as a portal between east and west; Hatra remains as a part of this Greco-Iranian buffer

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[28] Baal in Palmyra is another example defining the character of this buffer zone. The measurements of the temple's exterior form and the column capitals are of Roman influence where side openings and the architectural components above the architrave are influenced by Syrian architecture. Also the embellishments on the the Corinthian style evokes the Egyptian influence (Darke, 2010, 271).

zone where a solid categorization is almost impossible. Hatra had been unearthed when the German Excavation team surveyed the area (Andrae & Lenzen, 1933, 1(2), 12).[29] When Hatra was discovered, not only did it open a new page in the history of the iwan, but also Hatra had a revolutionary contribution to the History of Greco-Iranian Architecture.

The local, Mesopotamian pattern in the plan projection of Hatra revealed one storey-flat roofed buildings; chambers grouped around courtyards. In the temple architecture the central shrine is encompassed by two auxiliary chapels forming an earlier stage of T-type plan in temple architecture; an element of design which constituted many replicas around Syria. In temple architecture Hatra, Baalbek and Judean architecture share in common a decorational approach having Hellenistic origin and Roman reference; nevertheless the structural approach such as the use of brackets is Persian. City's own historical layers, at each point have a different inclination, which form a segmented architectural history.

In the Parthian city of Hatra, iwans are topped by barrel vaults In Assyrian architure this function is fulfilled by arches. While the arch and vault had long been used in eastern architecture, previously barrel vaults were only applied in underground tunnels in Achaemenid architecture or to cover small rooms. (Schlumberger, 1983, 1049) This structural aspect to Hatra, makes this city and architectural application unique among its predecessors and contemporaries. In addition, the application of the iwan can be better understood in Hatra through plan organization. Here, blind arches are supported by colonnades on three sides, which create a visual enclosure. This symbolic support confirms the etymological roots of the iwan which connotes a structure encompassed from three sides. Furthermore, the peristyle membrane creates an emphasis in the centre. Due to this aspect in design, Hatra iwans are considered as monumental, albeit the Islamic iwans which additionally has a directional aspect as a transitional element to emphasize the centrality. In Hatra, due to the peristyle technique, spans become much greater and the construction technique becomes diverse.

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[29] For further information about the excavation visit "Andrae, W.(1908). *Hatra nach Aufnahmen von Mitgliedern der Assur Expedition der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*(Vol. 1-2, p. 12)."

Assyrian palaces of the Iron Age, especially at Kalhu/Nimrud, Dur Sharrukin/Khorsabad and Ninuwa/Nineveh, are renowned on account of the extensive pictorial and depictive quality of the reliefs and the decorative use of textual narratives, all carved on stone slabs known as orthostats (*Figure* 15). Palaces in Assyrian civilization were strongly influenced by the imperial cult which has a god-like quality. In Assyrian architecture, the application of the iwan-like units emphasizes the plan organization.[30] Assyrians used vaulted passages for fortification purposes. They utilized the ancient axial plan scheme to create transitional and hierarchical spaces in their Palace architecture.

Assyrian architecture helped to re-settle Urartian cave niches in the narrative of architectural history. Despite what Lehmann-Haupt posits, Urartian iwan-like cave niches should be dated to a period heretofore the age of Sarduri II. Assur niches are chronologically prior to the Urartian niches. Yet the outcomes of archaeological excavations clarify that Urartu-Assur relations were much more rooted in history than it had been assumed by many scholars. The tablet which had been found near Revanduz, "Uşniye" ascertained that arch construction technique was known to Urartians from at least from the eleventh century BC. Also the Urartian gates depicted on the Balavat reliefs prove the arch technique was older than it had been assumed. (Tarhan Sevin, 1975, 399) Arched window technique was also unearthed in an archaic house model in "Ishtar" temple complex in Assur (2800 BC). Until the ninth Century BC, Assyrian architecture is the stage where many arch-like examples flourished. The Assyrian connection of the Near East is not surprising as iwan-like structures are a part of Anatolian cultural memory from 2000 BC and had been used by Phrygians around 1000 BC.

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[30] Such as in the Palace of Sargon in Khorsabad. Here arch-like structures are used as portals and passages which identify the distinction between interior and exterior and seals the axial organization.
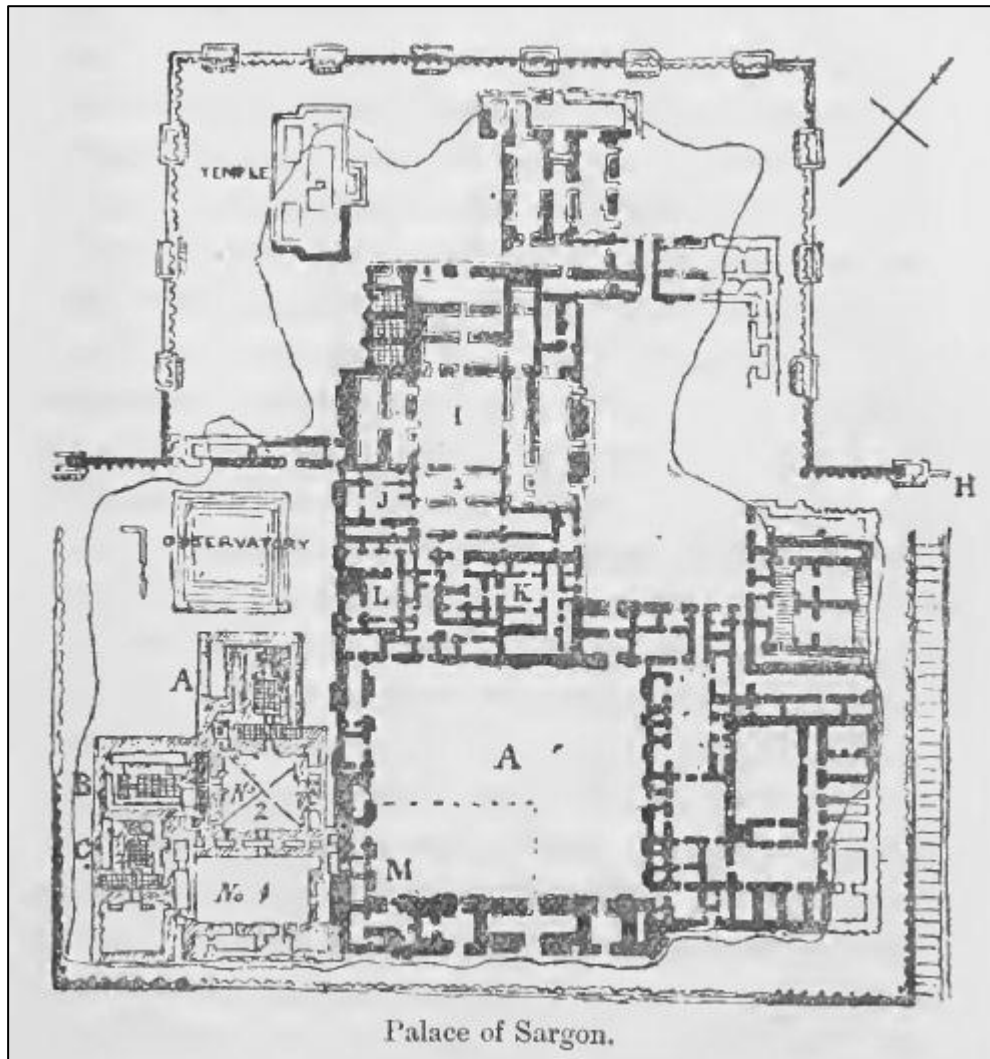
Assyrians were the successors of the Sumerian civilization, which became known as the first great empire. From Sumerians we have cuneiform tablets and the narratives of Gılgamesh. This masterpiece grants access to the mythological narratives and deities of the Sumerians. Shockingly the narrative of Gılgamesh utilizes the lunar calendar. This interesting aspect which has survived 7500 years in Mesopotamian lands sheds light to the fact that Islamic Nations of Mesopotamia still use the lunar calendar.

Assyrian architecture might have been the major source transferring the iwan to Persian lands. According to Akın (1985, 85), Medians were intermediary. The encounter between Medians and Assyrians in Assur resulted in the fall of the Neo-

Assyrian Empire after Ashurbanipal. Medians became a great power ruling the lands from Iran to Pakistan and India[31]. After 614 BC, Assur fell and the cultural memory of the city became a part of ancient Iranian culture. Centuries later, Iwan became the hallmark of the Parthian period which consists of the architectural traditons of Parthia, Seleucia on the Tigris, Assur, Uruk, Susa and Qaleh Yazdigird. In Assur, every house had at least one iwan in the south. This regional application became possible by the generous use of gypsum mortar, which enhanced the building technology with great temperature qualities and flexibility in the molding process. The characteristic of this Period can be identified by south-facing iwans in palace, house and even temple architecture in Assur, Hatra, Nippur, Abu and Qubur (Hauser, 2012, 1017).

4.2 Transformation of the Iwan in Parthian and Sassanid Palace Architecture

Figure 16. Taq-i Qisra, aerial view (from archnet. Kerim, A. (Photographer) Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

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[31] as suggested by Herodotus

In terms of the richness of the material evidence, a research on the iwan can be initiated from the widely-renowned examples of Sassanid and Parthian architecture. The monumental audience chamber known as Taq-i Qisra in Ctesiphon, Iraq is a prominent example (*Figure* 16). As an archetypal home to the light symbolism, Persian mythology matches both Islamic, Christian, Shamanic, Hindu and Manichean beliefs quite accurately. Especially for the pre-Islamic cultures of Iran, meaning is the prior initiative.

Sassanid art and architecture can be considered as the last great pre-Islamic culture of Persia. Although Sassanid architecture pays tribute to Achaemenid and Parthian architecture, its attitude was never considered to be repetitive. The use of iwans for the emphasis of the imperial cult in Parthian architecture was magnified in scale and purified in decoration. In Sassanid iwans there is still a sense of ancient salutation to Hellenistic architecture; yet it is still the time for hierophanies and great empires.

Sassanid Palace architecture is considered to be one of the Great influences on Hellenistic architecture. The structural probabilities, the delicacy of decoration and the introduction of monumental iwans are considered as unparalleled in architectural history. The mythical feature of Sassanid fire culture, later to be evolved and blended as the Hellenistic myths, derive from this cultural milieu, giving birth to one of the most outstanding periods in Iranian architecture. When Sassanid architecture is considered as the outcome of Achaemenid and Parthian cultures, the Silk Road route reflected this melting pot back to Hellenistic world in the form of various and enriching mythical stories and traditions. The politically fueled impact turns to a more symbolic and deeper consciousness.

It is the Sassanid fire temples which later formed the structural and cultural basis of several Islamic Iranian Mosques like the Ardestan Friday Mosque (*Figure* 17).
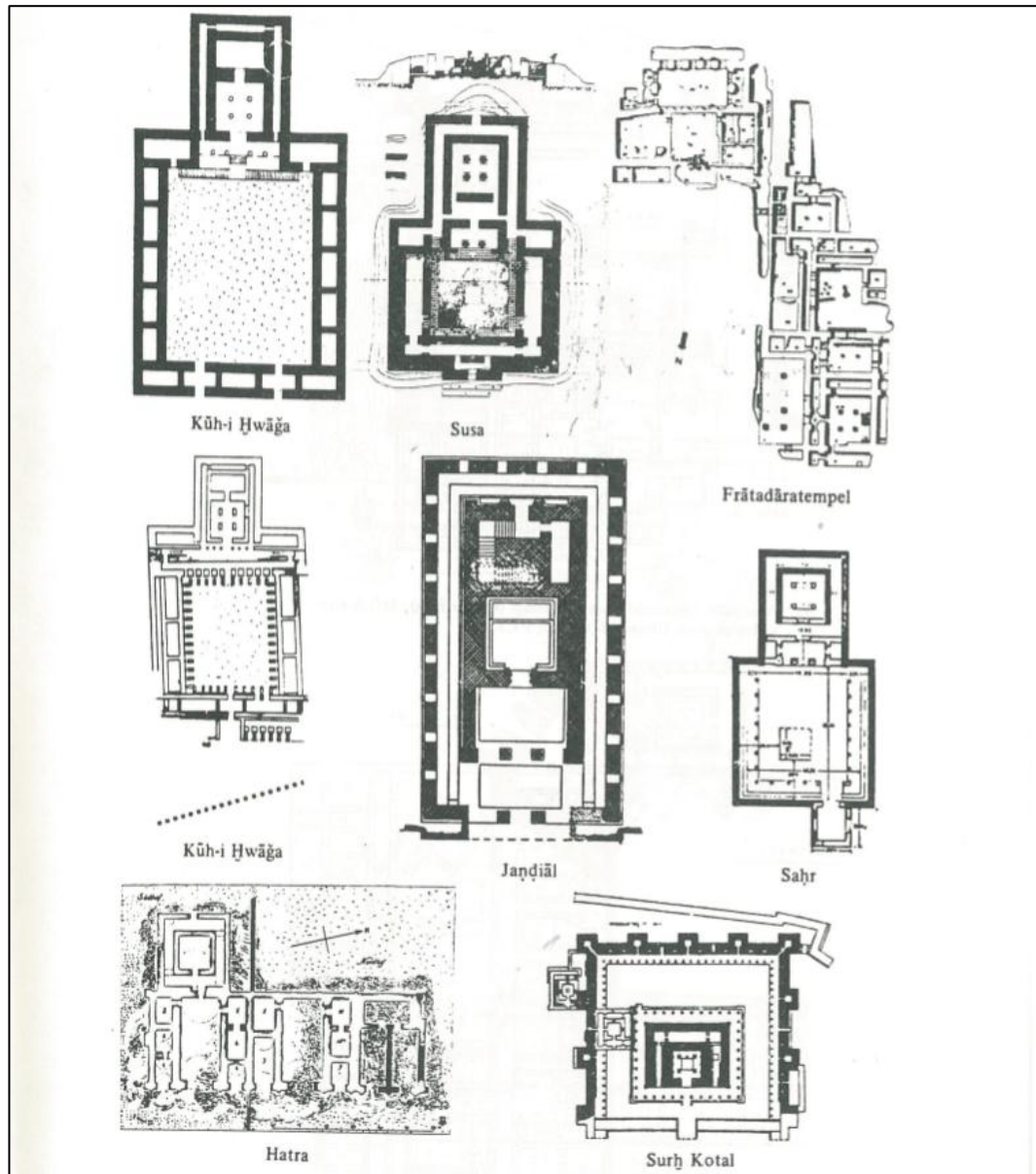
Figure 17. Fire Temples (Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Syria) (4th century BC-1st century CE) (Akın, 1990, 191) from (Schippann, 1971, 497)

Among the Sassanid settlements that had been excavated, "Taht-ı Süleyman" (6th century) exemplifies the largest programme in design. The palace and temple architecture in Sassanids share the centralized two axis diagram, prevalent along the Silk Road. The axes are fortified by iwans.

The zoning of the temple, differentiates the "permanent house of fire" (Yasashn Gah) and "the ceremonial fire" (Cihar Tak). In Sassanid Royal Architecture, the cult of fire takes place together with the Celestial Goddess of Water; "Anahita".

Sassanid Royal architecture was a cosmic stage that performs the creation of life in the cosmic mountain. The temple complex was unified by a centralized lake. This whole scheme was for the sake of staging the travel of the holy throne, in a chariot (like the chariot of Apollo) from one iwan to another. The everlasting fire was nourished regularly and carried by a priest up the stairs, ascending to the celestial temple; a very similar approach that had been immortalized as the never fading fire of the Olympics. This aspect attributed "Iwan" an important but yet silent role in the processional routes. It was not until the Achaemenids, that this tradition was gradually absorbed by the Ancient Greek culture.

The journey of iwan construction in Mesopotamia can be observed through the Parthian iwans in Seleucia near Tigris, where the alternation from post-and-lintel construction technique to vaulted structures took place around the 1st century CE (Keall, 1974, 124). Other early iwans had been discovered in Assur excavations, where two buildings having iwan-like constructions were unearthed.

One the earliest uses of the iwan together with two axis centralized plan structure dates back to the Parthian Palace in Assur, Northern Iraq between the 1st and 2nd century CE (*Figure* 18). In this palace, the way that columns are connected by arches supported by the Ionic column bases is shared with the Parthian palace Kasr-Il-Abd which rises above a Roman temple. (Kim&Han, 2011, 28) While both examples reflect the influence of Roman provincial style they also suggest a unique identity flourished within the Parthian period. The Parthian Palace in Assur had in addition four iwans emphasizing the four cardinal directions which were used together with the peristyle technique. In Assur the Parthian palace was richly decorated with horizontal plaques with intricate geometric patterns. (Andrae & Lenzen, 1933) The craftsmanship on stucco decorations is unparalled in Anatolia. The contigous mastership is achieved only during the Seljuk period.

According to the excavation reports the palace was built in four stages. Looking at the sections of the palace it is possible to see three passages encircling iwans (Akın, 1990, 28). This aspect of the iwan is a tradition that can be observed in royal residences or in palace architecture, spreading to a wider geography from Egypt to Turan. Unlike Assur, in Hatra the Parthian palace shows a quite different

characteristic. The arch-like three dimensionality disappears and the iwan becomes a monumental and independent feature to architecture in spite of serving for directionality and transition. This strong disconnectedness in style may have stemmed from the Assyrian impact in Northern Iraq.[32]
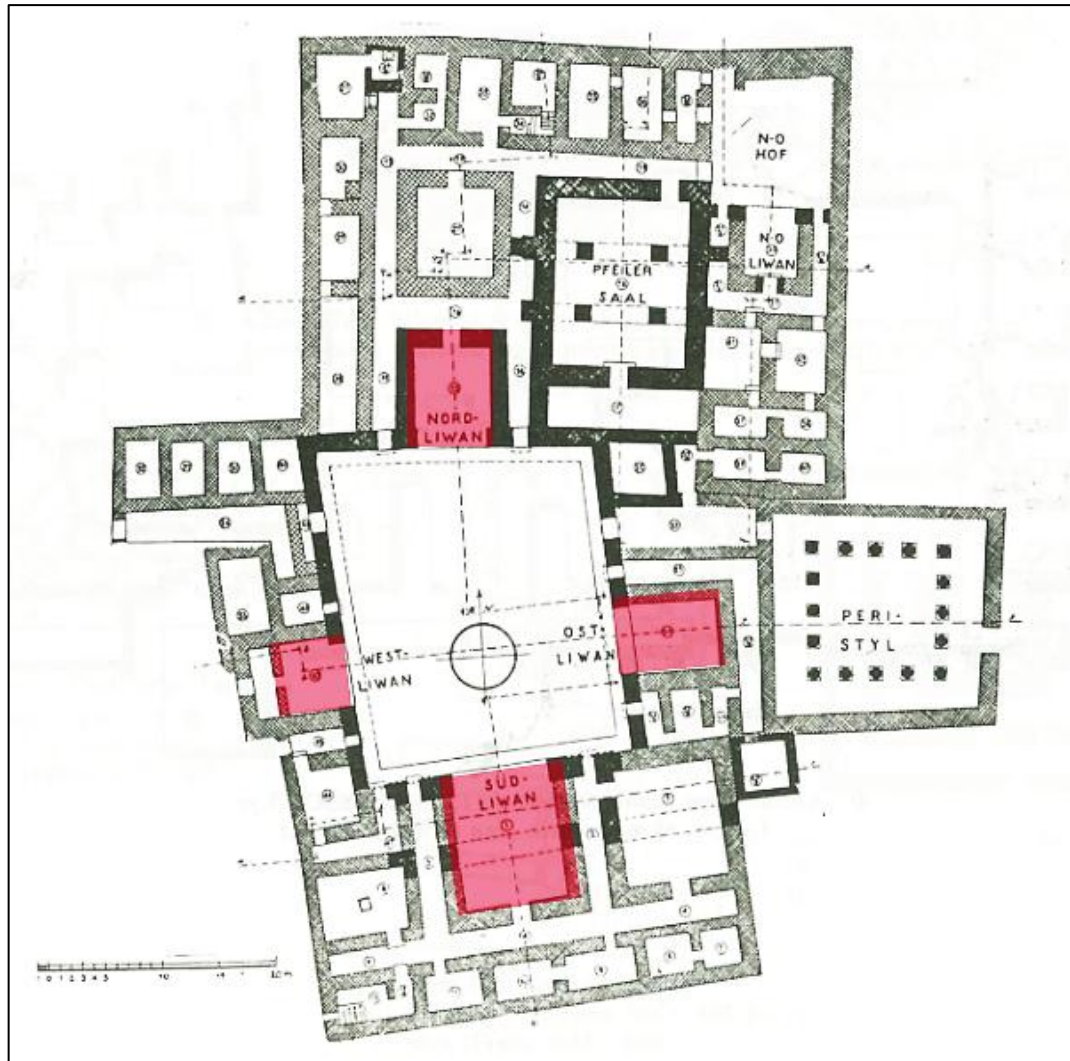

Figure 18. Assur, Parthian Palace; Northern Iraq 1st-2nd century AD (Andrae & Lenzen, 1933, Taf. 11)

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[32] When the arch like form of the iwan should be considered as purely Parthian, the plan organization might have been derived from the Assyrian cannon

CHAPTER 5

USE OF IWAN IN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

Before presenting how Islamic architecture is tackled iwan, the previous historiographies on the subject should be acknowledged. Although Islamic architecture is also a culturally defined and geographically blurred term, Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu's (2007, 1) scrutinizing on orientalist and nationalist legacies in the architectural historiography in the "Lands of Rum"[33] converges the collocation of "Islamic Lands" and "Western End of Silk Road".[34] The historiographies on Islamic heritage is scrutinized as Western[35] (or non-East) and non-Western.[36] Hence the lessons from this scholarly world asserts that there is no certainty and timelessness for any particular history. In each case the context-dependent and historically-constructed historiographies open the debate on the impossibility of reckoning on the irrevocability of grand canons. The intensity of historiographical debates clouded the true mindset of the premodern Muslims that shaped the meaningful context of the iwan.

In contrast to the ever-expanding understanding of contemporaneity, Premodern Muslims considered the universe as a finite realm, which has defiable,

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[33] As Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu puts forward, a region corresponding to the Eastern Roman domains, commonly designating Anatolia and Balkans.

[34] Historically "multi-layered" regions once ruled by supranational Islamic empires.

[35] Nationalist and Post-Saidian debates.

[36] Orientalist and nationalist approaches forge idiosyncratic histories. Hence as the visual material resides in this lands of Rum and moreover the architecture in question, extricate western and non-western approaches from one another.

cosmological and geometrical limits (Akkach, 2005, xviii). According to this particular world view, the all-encompassing holy-throne stood at the finish-line at the limits of perception. In Islamic world the iconographical holy throne comes to light once more as a core element in architecture. This archaic and Roman manifestation of divinity is perpetuated by Islamic architecture. Moreover, the Sufi scholars, such as Ibn al-Haytham and Ibn Jubayr (Akkach, 2005, xxi) present a proportional analysis on architecture which is not very far from the Vitrivius' neighbouring and juxtaposing world.

According to Grube (1978, 12) in Islamic Architecture, there are few examples that cannot be adapted to a variety of functions. Grube tackles the four-iwan typology, among one of these typologies. Conversely, Islamic architecture can be evaluated as fluid in design, due to the variety of tradition and geographies it arises. In Islamic architecture there are several architectural forms for a specific function; or several functions can be utilized in one architectural form.[37] The four iwan plan type comes to the fore as an exception and becomes the flexible feature of Islamic architecture. Even though this typology is one of the most rigid forms in terms of the limitation of variety of functions within the same building (such as in Iran), this limitation remained as a geopolitical problem and this plan type came with different uses throughout time.[38] Especially in Central Asia and Iran, in different time sections, this plan type came to serve as palace, mosque, ribat, caravanserai, bath or luxurious private dwelling. The most significant fact about all of these different building types is the seclusion they all offer in the interior, and the impartial expression on the exterior. Another outstanding feature is axiality. Axiality is a lesser known aspect of Islamic architecture (apart from tombs and mausoleums). From a scholarly point of view, the Islamic axiality in Persian Islamic four-iwan type architecture is thought to have originated in the same

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[37] For instance in Anatolia, a darüşşifa can exist with mosque architecture, where in Iran, mosques are larger in scale, have an open courtyard and facilitate only religious programs.

[38] This rigidity has boundaries. For instance in Persia four iwan typology was mostly used in ribat, mosque and palace architecture. In Anatolia it evolved to caravanserai, darussifa and mosque architecture, but open courtyard scheme became a closed courtyarded scheme. When the evolution is fluid by its nature, the applications in different territories have their own limits, determined by the canon of the region and environmental factors.

geography under Hellenistic impact. The pre-islamic traditions on Islamic lands might have initiated the transformation of the iwan tradition.[39]

The two axis iwan courtyard typology was carried from the east via the Silk Road to the medieval Islamic lands. This trajectory resulted in the emphasis of "axis" in plan schemes. Iwans became the protector of this directionality and enhanced the centrality. However the orientation of axis and the orientation of the iwans showed great variety. David King (1995, 267) suggests that building orientation in medieval Islam is idiosyncratic to each tradition; each Islamic sect had a different understanding of building orientation. In medieval Islamic Architecture[40] building orientation was determined by a variety of factors; such as, the azimuth of the rising sun at the winter solstice, direction of the prevailing winds, orientation of the Canopus, and the determination of the Ashab. According to an eleventh century governor of Samarkand, Shafi'ites used the value of 180 degrees to the south, Hanafites preferred 270 degrees to the west; astronomers gave other values (Blair, 1985, 81). This issue creates the epiphany that, albeit the gaps in the history of architecture, based solely on the orientation of a medieval Islamic building one can clarify the sect of the builders and even the architectural tendencies. This also explains the different orientations of four-iwan plans and the variety of axes. In ancient cultures and nomadic cultures of today, orientation is necessary to be positioned and rooted to earth. Therfore four directions are accepted as sacred that they create a cosmological setting.[41] This is why building orientations in Islamic architecture is an important topic with various applications, as there are various world views and many sects.

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[39] This subject is elaborated in the "Iwan in Iraq and Syria" subchapter. For further comparison please revisit Sassanid and Parthian chapters. In Hatra and Persepolis it is possible to observe peristyle monumental iwan-like applications. Traditional Persian house minimizes this tradition in scale and Islamitizes in function in *talar* typology.

[40] Until the 12th century Mongol invasions

[41] People of North of Europe, Russia and Central Asia stil integrate this cosmological aspect to everyday life. Daily life objects such as shamanic drums are example of that. Orientation is also an important aspect in the settlement of huts and tents. The settlement organization is created according to a cosmological order. In Turkey, suprisingly Göbeklitepe in Urfa appears as the first settlement on earth having a perfect north-south orientation.

Iwan, as an independent typology, housed various customs, symbols, ceremonies, purposes, and images of divinity. For the Sassanids it was a part of reviving the creation ceremonies of light. In China, India, Bektashi cultures iwans were the place, where God manifested itself as the inner light. It was a meeting place; a cosmological space where mundane and heavenly realms united. Iwan was the holy mountain from which the holy river from the heavens flows to earth. In the great masterpieces of Islamic architecture such as Alhambra palace, mosques in Iran and Taj Mahal iwans and courtyards emanate as crystallizations of light; "limpid and lucid, illuminated and illuminating" (Nasr, 1987, 50). Architectural space was identified by light in Islamic Architecture.

5.1 Iwan in Seljuk Architecture

After going backwards in time and discussing the nucleus predating iwan, our architectural knowledge of the Seljuks of Anatolia becomes more meaningful and comprehensible. Thirteenth century Anatolia is a time when Sufism reached its full blooming, alongside Anatolian Seljuk Architecture. However, differentiated from the examples of Iran and Afghanistan, the four-iwan scheme was hardly used in Anatolian mosques. The Seljuk iwan had partial independence from the schematic context. In contrast to its eastern counterparts, the Seljuk iwan did not necessitate a two axis, open courtyard scheme. This change in design might have been linked to the intellectual accumulation of several millennia in Anatolia. The fascinating aspect of Seljuk architecture is that it sustains the Eastern traditions coming along with the Silk Road, it also salutes the ancient traditions of the land.

According to Kuban (2009, 23) until the Ottoman Period a unified style in Anatolia was not in question. It would be more accurate to mention several architectural characteristics spread throughout Asia Minor. In this context when the Great Mosque of Van or the Great Mosque of Malatya coalesce with the Persian canon, Diyarbakır and Adana edifices should be evaluated by the characteristics of Syrian architecture.
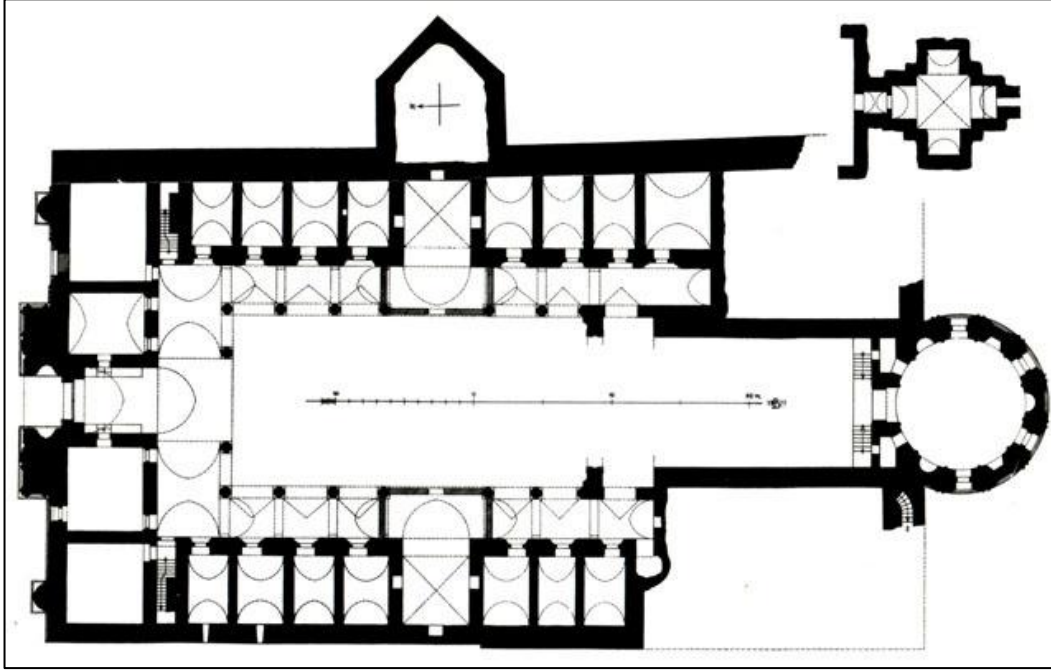
Figure 19. Erzurum Çifte Minareli Madrasa
(Çifte Minareli Madrasa
https://archnet.org/sites/1947/media_contents/49001#item_associations.)

The only Anatolian Seljuk mosque with an iwan courtyard scheme perpetuating the Persian tradition is the Great Mosque of Malatya which has a single iwan placed in front of the maqsurah dome (Kuran, 2012, 111-115). However a number of madrasas and hospitals with the iwan courtyard plan scheme survive to this day. The significant examples are Sivas Gök Madrasa, Erzurum Çifte Minareli Madrasa[42] and Sunken Madrasa in Tokat (*Figure* 20). In Kuran's account on the iwan (2012, 111-115), the Persian canon in Anatolia was only linked to the open courtyard scheme, hence in the Anatolian context this issue limits the categorization to a few architectural examples. The Seljuks of Anatolia embraced an understanding that internalized the conceptual background as it internalized the

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[42] The largest madrasa in Anatolia.

architectural space. They utilized the iwan as an invention but also as a part of an architectural thought based on a particular world view. According to Peker (1991, 5-19) the same centralized design concept reshaped the inner courtyard scheme in a number of Seljuk mosques in Anatolia (Peker, 2007). Divriği Great Mosque and Beyşehir Eşrefoğlu Mosque represent two different mosque types exemplifying this aspect. The example they set show not only how an eastern plan typology was adapted to the changing culture and geography[43], but also it proves that architecture is subject to constant transformation even within the same time period and under the same empire[44]. In the case of Divriği, what captures attention is the iwan typology in the central enclosed courtyard, the mihrab and the portal (*Figure* 19). Until 14th century, especially in the Karamanid architecture, the Seljuk canon has perpetuated in central Anatolia. After the fifteenth century, Seljuk canon becomes fully absorbed and incorporated in Ottoman architectural style. This transference of Seljuk culture coincides with the Ottoman Empire's expanding territories.

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[43] Closed iwan courtyard scheme in both examples

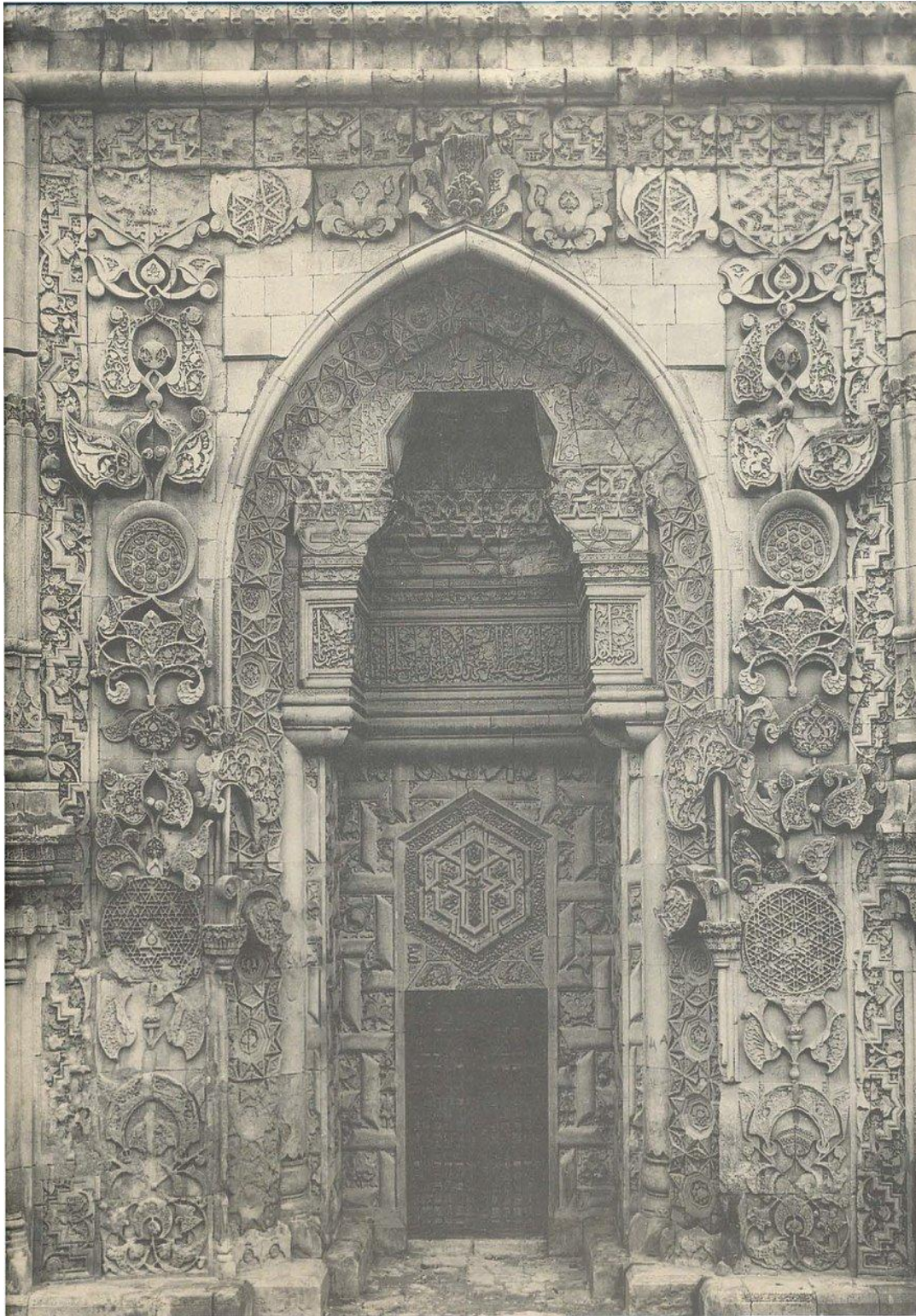[44] The most significant difference can be considered as the use of material in both mosques

Figure 20. Divriği Great Mosque, the gates of "Heaven" (Güler, 1999)

The constant transformation of Islamic architecture reached a zenith with the Anatolian Seljuk tradition. In order to grasp the mindset which envisions the

Medieval Islamic canon of Anatolia, we now reach out to the most humble outcomes of the built environment. Design habits of Persian architecture might have predated the Anatolian architectural traditions, which can be finely observed through the design of a Persian house as many monumental and imperial edifices had been perished through wars. Traditional Persian house is regarded as a composition of *Imago Mundi* (Alemi, 2002, 75)*.* Henry Corbin (1979) implies that the image of a garden in the centre of the courtyard of the Persian house is a reconstruction of paradise and consortium of celestial beings. The terraced structure of a house symbolizes the celestial Zoroastrian mountain and the iwan at the royal pavilion represents the throne, the residence of the gods. The water flowing from a basin through smaller channels represents the cosmic ocean flowing and leaking to the earthly realm. The "heaven" image of Islam was slightly different than the Zoroastrian one. The design characteristic of dividing Persian courtyards into quarters might have been supported by the Koran, where four celestial rivers flowing to the earth are mentioned. Hence the holy book of Islam propounded the idea of juxtaposing the two axes on the courtyard.[45]

In the Safavid period, an architectural form emerged which binds the peristyle tradition of Persepolis to Islamic Persia. Iwans were enlarged by *talar (Figure 21),* peristyle timber colonnades on three sides. *Talar* is considered as the main architectural component which characterized the seventeenth century Safavid Persia and its capital Isfahan. This single architectural space renders 3000 years of Persia. (Micara, 2015, 55) Enlarging the most valuable space for congregation had a rather functional approach. The setting almost became theatrical. The celestial courtyard was reserved to gaze; and iwan for the viewer. Both aspects which identify the iwan can be observed in the architecture of *talar:* colonnaded enclosure from three sides, and an iwan placed on the covered facade. This is an architecture which incorporates both pre-Islamic Persia and Islamic Persia all at once. According to Alemi (2002, 78) as the Islamic architecture with the iwan in Persia utilized open courtyards, the function of an iwan in the house, madrasa, mosque or caravanserai was being the mediator between earth and the sky. Alemi

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[45] We know that two-axis central plan dates long before the Islamic period. For further information visit the Eastern examples on the Silk Road Route. Adzina Tepe Monastery on the Indian Subcontinent might have been a good example.

calls the Islamic open courtyard *hayat,* which recalls the schematic organization of the Turkish house.

Figure 21. Isfahan, Talar-ı Taviyeh (Babaie, 2013, 158)

The journey of the iwan in the Seljuk Empire is full of references to the east, west and Anatolian past. The single iwan of Gömeç Hatun in Konya is a relatively western example of an iwan-tomb canon along the Silk road via Khorasan (*Figure* 22). However, as discussed before, the allusion of single arched funerary structures is also prominent among the architectural customs of Iron Age Anatolia. The portal-like appearance of the shrine reflects a dramatical gateway from the mundane world to the celestial realms. The entrance to the iwan is heightened by stairs, which places the iwan in an intermediary state; nearly as if it is iwan's role to elevate the deceased. The Seljuk prospect and alteration to this notion of iwan is humblization and humanization of scale in mosques and darussifas, and on the other hand perpetuating the Asiatic monumental iwan tradition in funerary structures.

Figure 22. Shrine of Gömeç Hatun in Konya, as sketched by Süheyl Ünver (Esiner Özen & Mesara, 2014)

5.2 The iwan in Iraq and Syria

Islamic architecture in Iraq and Syria is to be studied in two groups; monumental architecture and domestic architecture. Until the 15th century, it can be accepted that a large hinterland in southeastern Anatolia shares cultural features with Iraq and Syria. This territory contains Al-Jazira, Cilicia and reaches until Ahlat. In Bitlis, the architectural profile approaches the character of Iraq and Syria. On the other hand, in a slightly northern region the architectural milieu matches Azerbaijan in character. This variety in geography and socio-political environment gave birth to various architectural inclinations in time.

In order to understand the architectural vocabulary of Syrian architecture, one can re-visit the common heritage of late antiquity in Greater Syria and Byzantine

Syria. The architectural traditions and decorations of this era explain much from the Umayyad architecture (Bloom, 1993, 22). Syria brought a new typology to the terminology of Islamic Architecture with the Umayyad (Emeviye) Mosque in Damascus (Kuban, 2009, 222). The influence of this typology reached Anatolia and gave birth to buildings such as Diyarbakır Great Mosque (11th century), Silvan Great Mosque (11th century), Mardin Great Mosque (11th century) and Kızıltepe Great Mosque(12th century). This influence lasted until the 14th century in Anatolia. Although this typology does not come forward with the invensions related to iwan, it focuses on the similarly important cosmological role of the mihrab and muqarnas composition. This can be identified as a fragmentization and broadening of the cosmological space which is undisturbed and bound within the iwan. The cosmological trajectory of the iwan progresses in the Umayyad and Abbasid architecture within this unity between maqsurah dome and the mihrab.

The most vivid outcomes of iwan-like typologies in Syrian architecture occur within the breadth of caravanserais. Not quite distant from Roman architecture; iwan in caravanserai functions as banquet hall and audience chamber. The Persian word "caravan" connotes a group of travellers and the Turkish word "Sarai" expresses an enclosed building typology. Caravanserai iwan appears as a throne saluting the enclosure and canonizing the momentary visitor. Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties were the era when caravan routes were most consistent.

Domestic architecture remains quite humble concerning the other Islamic monuments in form and scale. Although it is not accurate to link domesticity to a hierophantic aspect, domestic architecture gives more clues about the transformation of form and plan, and offers less expansion on the meaning. Two important house typologies indicating different social groups and practices in the Middle East for this thesis are "kaa" and "marsh" houses. Marsh houses exemplify the regional architecture of Iraq. As stated in Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art & Architecture (2009, 336), Oelman argued that the iwan is a form indigenous to Mesopotamia, supposed to be derived from the Babylonian marsh houses (*Figures* 23, 24). These were barrel-like swamp houses covered with mud for a more solid

structure. In the process of its formal and structural development, the iwan's height was increased by seating the barrel-vault structure on a brick layer.

Figure 23. *"*Marsh Houses" Puiu, 2017 from https://www.zmescience.com/other/feature-post/mesopotamian-venice-lost-floating-homes-iraq/
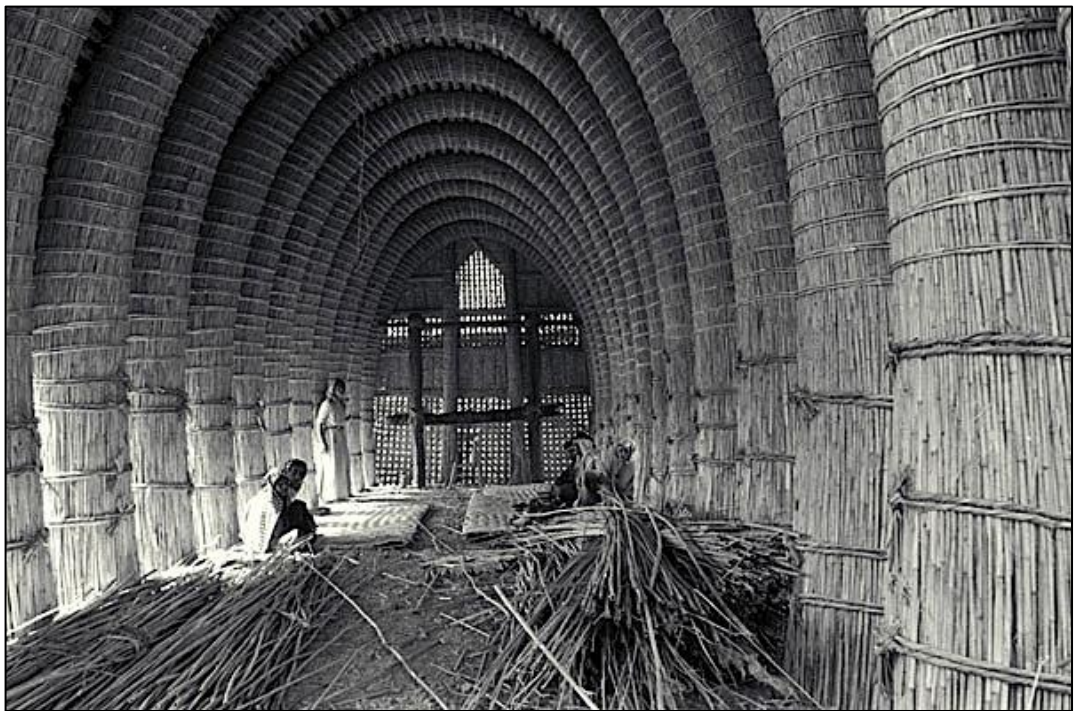

Figure 24. "Marsh Houses" Puiu, 2017 from https://www.zmescience.com/other/feature-post/mesopotamian-venice-lost-floating-homes-iraq/

Kaa is a type of Cairene house which also literally implies a main iwan facing a closed courtyard embellished with a fountain in the center (*Figure* 25). Kaa houses exemplify the houses of a socially privileged community in Syria, Anatolia and Egypt. Marsh houses constitute an iwan as a whole in a three dimensional state in its most primitive form;[46] Kaa houses (13th-19th century, during the Mamluk and Ottoman Period) (Akın, 1990, 109) salute the Turkish house and Ottoman Pavillion typology.[47]

The characteristic of a Kaa type house is the main courtyard housing a central fountain which is encircled with three or two iwans. Kaa, is the name of a spatial composition, which includes a covered central hall facing one to three iwans. Kaa typology is assessed with its central space. In Syria, this central space is called *atabe* (*Figures* 25, 26[48])*,* and in Egypt *durqaa.* This relation between the iwan and centrality, brings to mind once more the *tablinum* of the Roman house. Unfortunately considering the Roman house, such a terminological correlation can not be structured. According to Salama (2006, 53) the most eye catching aspect of a Kaa type Cairene house perhaps is the floor plan organization. Kaa house allows diverse activities and subspaces which opens to indoor and outdoor congregation spaces. Light intake to iwans is from the heightened windows of the central space.[49] Through this carefully engineered and designed timbre roof structure, light creates an athmospehere full of charm in the equanimity of the dim light. The use of water in the heart of the house reflects the profanity of the Kaa house, where it is also utilized as a humidity source in the dry and hot climate (*Figure* 27).

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[46] The three dimensional form of a marsh house can be identified as an arch extended to a vault which is covered on three sides. It can be built as a floating structure. It is a solid and functional example of the regional architecture in Iraq born from necessity.

[47] The terminology "Kaa" also leaked to the Ottoman language and became a typology in Divanhane architecture as seen in Evliya Çelebi's narrative. In Ottoman, Kaa means a specific type of sofa, used only in summer.

[48] *Figure* 25, an example from Aleppo, contains a Kaa, which has three iwans facing a durqaa. This composition produces a subspace in T form which appears as a separate unit.

[49] *Fener* and *tambur* windows.

Aslanapa (1965, 28) states that, the remains of the 13th century Artuqid Palace in Diyarbakır resemble the Kaa houses. According to Akın (1990, 109) the use of water in "selsebil typology", in Marufiye Madrasa in Mardin is quite similar to the approach of Halep, Şam and Kahire Kaas.[50]
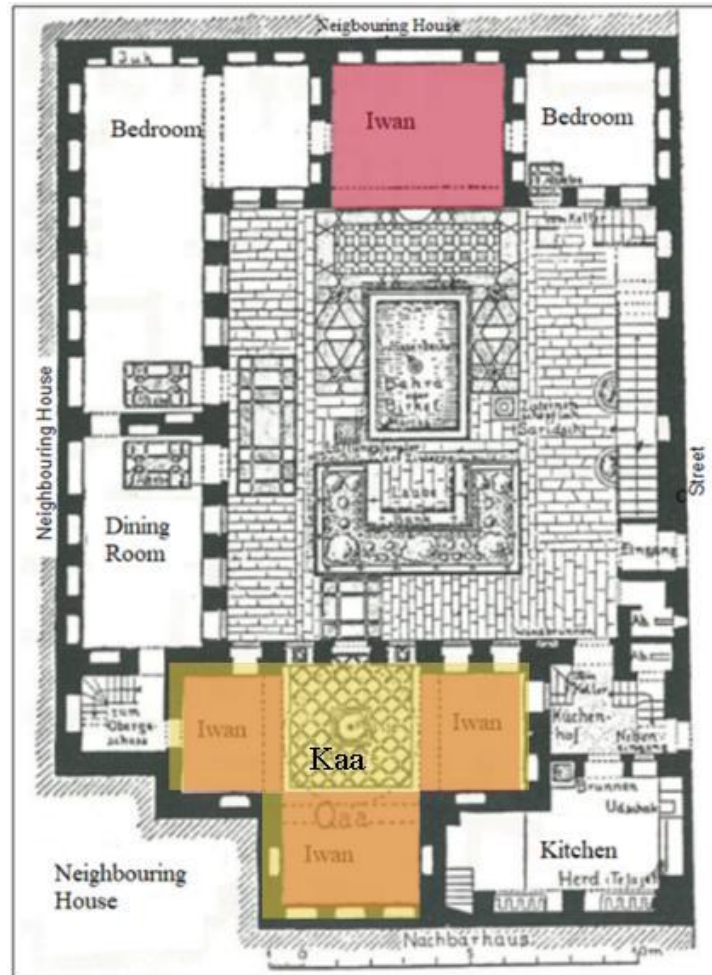

Figure 25. A Kaa in Aleppo (Acemyan House) (Reuther, 1925, 211)

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[50] In Eastern Anatolia, the selsebil typology specific to Mardin, is quite akin in terms of form and meaning (Marufiye Madrasa, Artukid , thirteenth century). Selsebil is an Islamic architectural form fortifying the meaning of iwan. As iwan symbolises the holy mountain on which the life-giving divine dwells, the selsebil symbolises the holy river from which divine reborn and meets the believer on the gate between heaven and earth, the iwan. Selsebil is the water source that originates from heaven and flows to earth (Tanman, 1988, 447-451). Architecturally the water source is concealed in the iwan, so the visitor perceives the water originating from the iwan. First, water fills the little rectangular pond serving as a mirror just underneath the iwan and then moves to the courtyard through a narrow channel emphasizing the axis. A very similar use of water in the design can be seen in the Alhambra Palace in Spain, also connoting the same symbolic meaning (Grabar, 1978). In Iranian mythology, god Mithra was considered as a life-giving, light-bearing god appearing from a birth-giving rock near a river bank under the shadow of the sacred fig tree (Carnoy, 1964, 280-287). This sacred trilogy of water-rock and cave could have been applied to nearly every sacred center in the world. In Taq-ı Bostan this composition is depicted in the relief of iwan, near to a water source (Godard, 1965, 177).
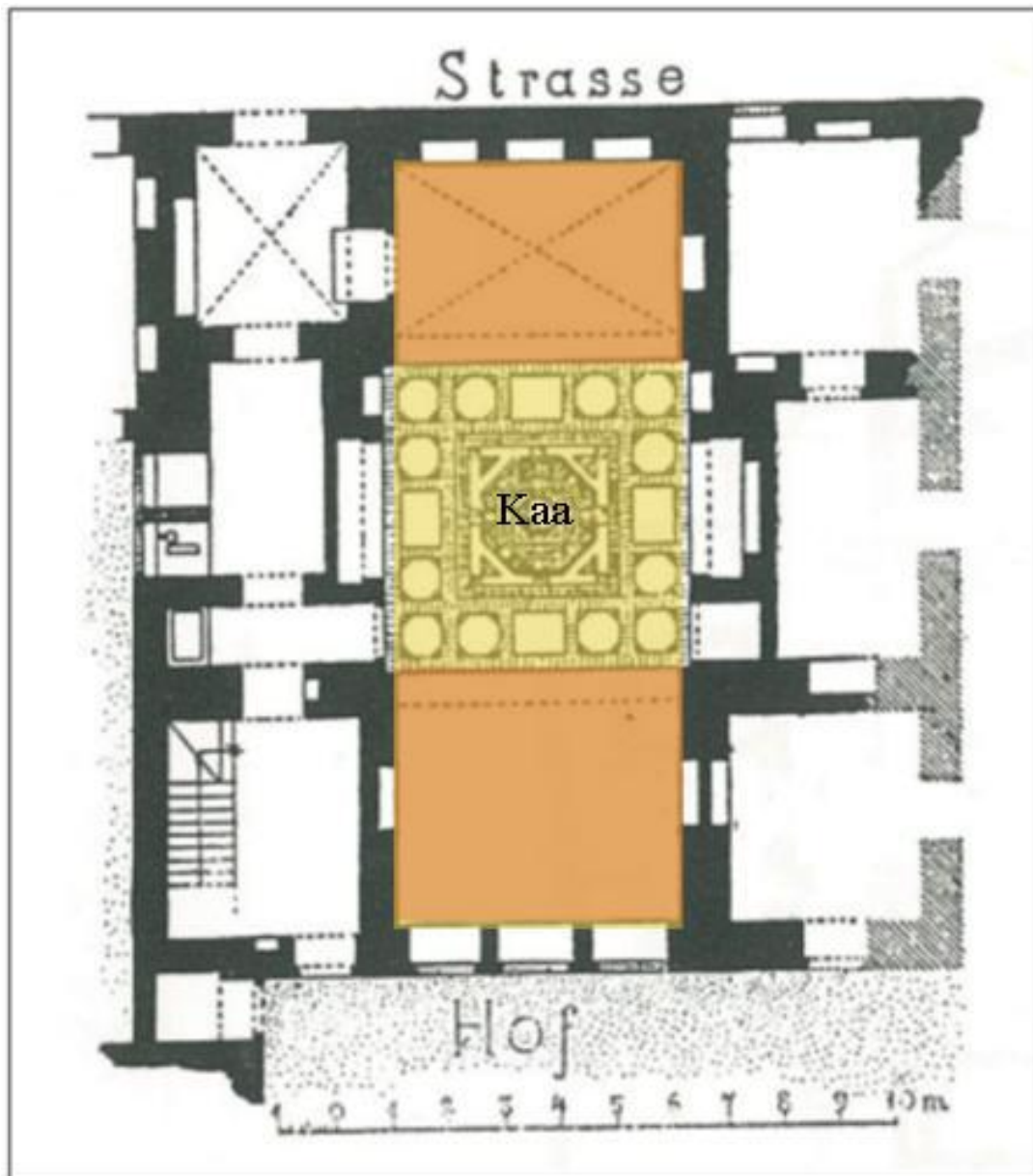
Figure 26. A Kaa in Damascus (Muradi House) (Reuther, 1925, 210)
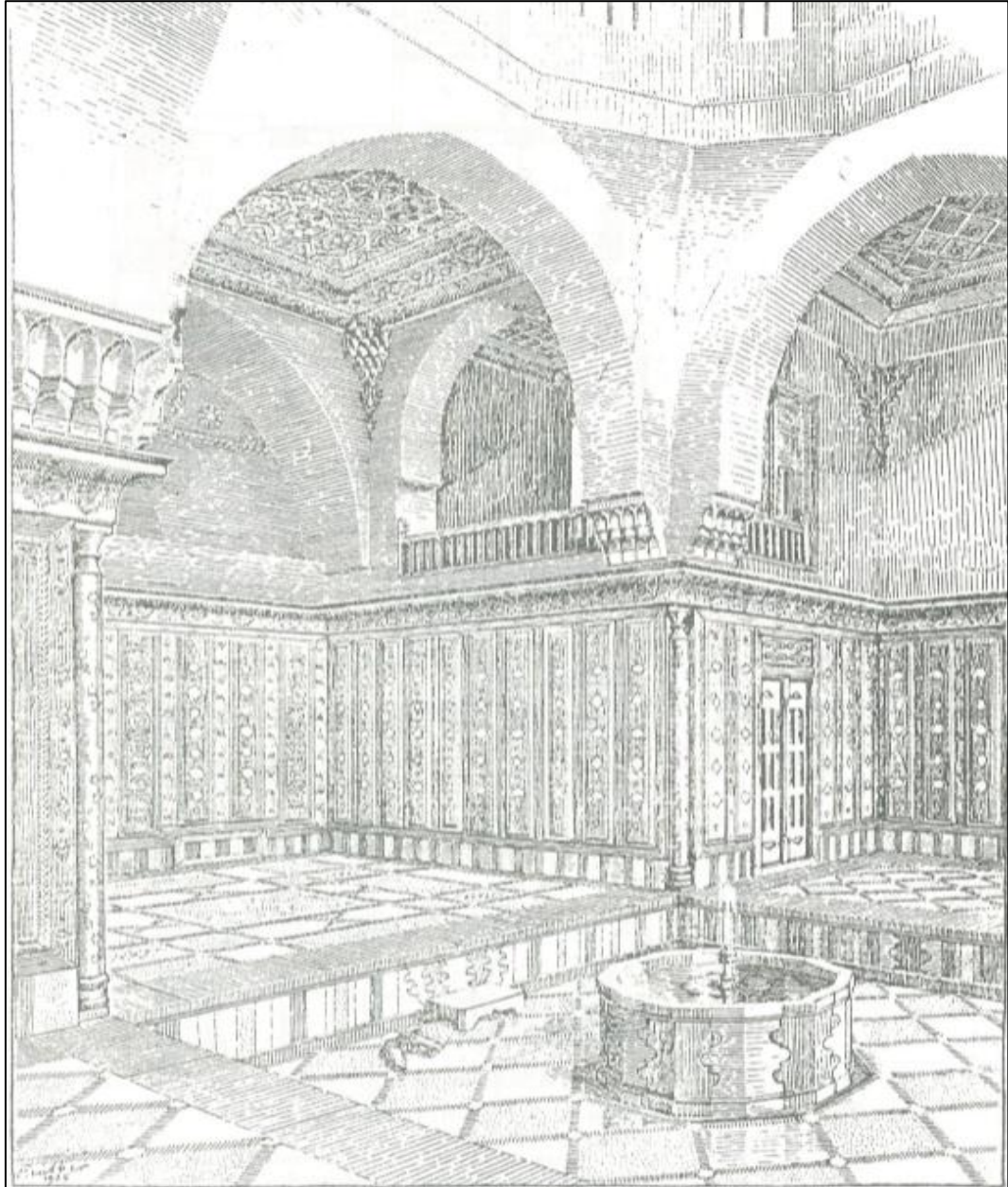
Figure 27. 17th century, Ghazali house in Aleppo, Summer Sofa[51] (Reuther, 1925, 113)

4.3 The iwan in Ottoman Architecture

The innovation of the iwan in Ottoman Architecture, most apparently emerged in the typology of the Bursa Mosque. Bursa, became the milieu where Byzantine and Seljuk intermingled by the addition of nourishing aspect of the Beyliks. Although there are many and grander examples in Ottoman Architecture that can be studied

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[51] Kaa is the name of the whole composition of iwans and the central courtyard. In this sketch, the spaces that are seen are the fragments of a Kaa; three iwans and a fountain courtyard.

prior to Bursa Mosques, emergence of the Bursa Mosque typology is the phase connoting the transition from Seljuk and Byzantine to Ottoman. In this thesis it is important to convey the transformation rather than exemplifying the "fact". The second aspect to be studied within the Ottoman architecture chapter is also determined by this methodology.

In the late fourteenth century, Ottoman architecture drifted away from the characteristic Bithynian combination of brick and stone (*opus mixtum*), ornamented abundantly with spolia and simple borders, towards ashlar masonry with custom designed, ostentatious ornamentation. This period also coincide with the encounter of Christian monks of the Mysian Olympos with Sufi dervishes. The paradigmatic shift, probably inspired by the architectural culture of former Rum Seljuk and Mongol regions conquered from Turkmen principalities in the 1390s, was due in part to craftsmen from Mamluk and Timurid grounds (Necipoğlu, 1994, 150-153; Necipoğlu, 2005, 77-80). The period between 1390 and 1450, when Beyazıd I, Mehmed I and Murad II reigned, saw a great degree of experimentation with foreign approaches of construction and decoration (Yürekli, 2017, 740).

Many elements of earlier Ottoman architecture[52], which are misinterpreted as authentic innovations by contemporary Turkish scholars, are in fact, typologies, derived from the east via the Silk Road. A considerable part of this effort of Ottoman revivalism coincides with the Tanzimat Period when the roots of Ottoman culture had to prove its western provenance to Europe politically. Yürekli undermines the notion of Ottomanization especially subjected to the early stages of Ottoman architecture and argues that many aspects admitted as "inventions" are in fact merely subjects of cultural transfer. For instance the "Bursa arch"[53], has been considered as an idiosyncrasy of Ottoman architecture

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[52] Bursa period should be perceived as the earliest period of Ottoman architecture. Therefore, Bursa is important for understanding the streams that influenced the later Ottoman architectural style at first hand.

[53] Broad, two centered arch with a flat and usually raised portion in the middle, which has been probaby transferred from timber architecture to masonry (Yürekli, 2017, 750).

from Bayezid I to Murad II, yet some peculiar form of arch is also depicted in contemporary Jalayirid and Timurid manuscripts made in Baghdad, Tebriz and Herat (Sims, 2002: 123, 136, 191, 202, 263, 240, 241). Although there is no remaining building evidence to prove this point, the architectural record substantiates this argument, as many craftsmen is also transferred to Bursa from the east, in the making of this early Ottoman capital.

Bursa Great Mosque exemplifies an architectural style which is identified with Bursa. In *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* (The Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture), a handbook of Ottoman Architecture compiled by the encouragement of the court in the 19th century in favor of Ottoman revivalism during Tanzimat Period (Katipoğlu Özmen, 2014, 30), "Bursa style" is identified as 20 domes clustering around a central plan which is in fact a derivation of a baldachin. In the Bursa Great Mosque, beyond the Bursa style plan typology, the centrality is achieved by an oculus on top of the dome and a corresponding fountain, which unites the earthly and heavenly realms by uniting water and light. The spatial impact of the iwan is not in the arched three dimensional form as in domestic architecture, the impact of the iwan is in the form of a fluid, congregational space greeting the centrality which allows the visitor to gaze and listen, water and light at the very centre. The opportunity to combine special impact of the iwan and the water through gaze also comes forward in open-courtyard mosque complexes which offers visitor a vista which centralizes the fountain kiosk and allows the visitor to sit and gaze under the portal.

In the 14th century, Ottomans, then a beyliq, invented an unprecedented building typology, "Inverted T Type" type. Inverted T Type Plan was a custom initiated in the 13th century, under the reign of Anatolian Seljuks (Oğuz, 2006, 2). The T Type Plan compels attention to the 13th century Sufi and Ahi zaviya and imarethane buildings. In many resources of the 14th century, the term zaviya is used for imarethane in many cases. But the terminological distinction designates zaviya as associated with worship and imarethane is not.

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After the 9th century, monks from the Bithynia region; notably from Bursa, left their monasteries on Mount Olympos, Mount Sigriane, Agros, Polichnion (Thompson, 2007, 5), Trigleia, Sakkoudion and many other regions transferring their communities to Constantinople (Marinis, 2014, 51). Just as scholars tend to look at Pompeii as the city of Rome frozen in time, Bithynia is frequently revisited by scholars as it exemplifies the Early Byzantine Architecture, which has mostly perished in Istanbul. For instance Fatih Mosque in Trigleia, is accepted as an intermediary phase of the Early Byzantine architecture, considering the construction and the detailing of the dome which was built around 800. (Ousterhout, 2011, 491-492) By the time the Ottomans arrived, this vivid socio-economical environment of Bithynia was mostly perished. In exchange for the slowly changing monastic dynamics, a new order emerged with the introduction of a new cultural and social environment. Zaviyas are the fruits of such an environment; which compensated accommodation, social and religious facilities. On the other hand, the monks transferred the Bithynian architectural style to Constantinople along with their liturgical practices. Kalenderhane Mosque[54] is originally an emblematic architectural edifice in that manner. Kalenderhane mosque brings to mind the Early Byzantine cross-plan churches and their relationship with Seljuk zaviya and madrasas in Bursa. It can be suggested that, this reciprocal cultural transfer primarily beared fruits in the architectural milieu as Bursa Reverse T-Type, in the Early Ottoman Period.

As Ethel Sara Wolper has pointed out, local Sufi and akhi communities of Anatolia were the sponsors of shrines and zaviyas. While creating a new architectural language, these communities not only made use of this architecture, but more importantly initiated the transformation of the urban space towards a new and different direction (Blessing, 2017, 207). Early Ottomans built three types of mosques; a single-domed square, a multi-unit mosque and a T-plan mosque. According to *Grove Encyclopedia* (2009, 145), the invention of T-type mosque was combining liturgical practice with dervish hostels. Sultans often had these mosques built for religious orders. The earliest example can be identified as the Orhan Gazi Mosque of İznik (1334) (*Figure* 28). The porch led to a central dome

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[54] Originally the church of Akataleptos Monastery.

and a barrel vaulted iwan. The reverse T plan was achieved by the inclusion of dervish rooms. However, this plan type was not adopted by any other Anatolian beyliq. The Early Ottoman Architecture is accepted as Bithynian in character. The first steps Ottoman architecture is constructed upon the Byzantine heritage. Thus, Bursa as the first capital of Ottomans, rose above this cultural milleu. The earliest Ottoman monuments who have this unique character are notably also bound to Byzantine canon. This hybridity can be exemplified by Hacı Özbek Mosque (1333) in İznik and Orhan Gazi Mosque (1339) in Bursa (Blessing, 2017, 205). The Ottoman Beyliq grew to an empire from the cultural accumulation of Bithynia. Even after the Ottoman Empire has perished, Bursa partially preserved its identity; firstly as a Byzantine spiritual center, then as the capital of the last great Islamic Empire. If Anatolia would be reassesed after the six centuries of Ottoman impact, perhaps Bursa would come out as the heart of Anatolia when İstanbul would be the brain.
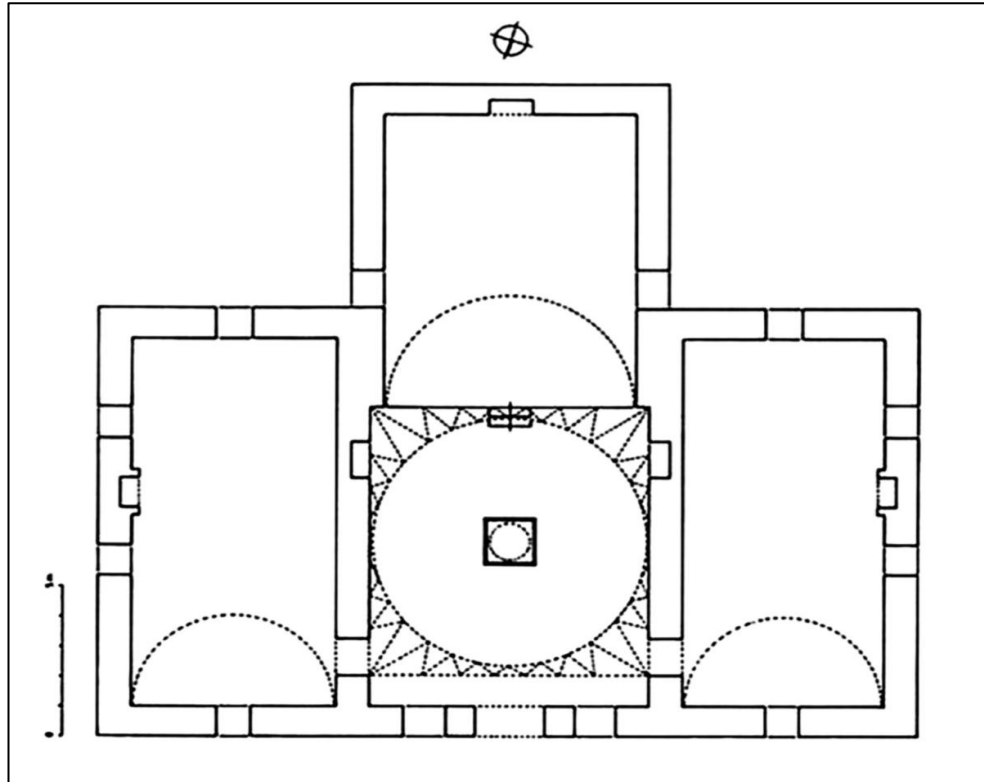

Figure 28. Zaviya of Orhan Gazi, İznik (Emir, 1994)

Another path of the iwan evolved through Ottoman domestic architecture. This is a tradition inherited from pre-Ottoman Anatolia and evolved until 19th century Pavilion architecture. Therefore, it is important to understand this quotidian notion of architectural transformation. The "Ottoman House," in other words, the traditional Turkish house, held this long lasting tradition. Analytical studies of the Turkish House by Önder Küçükerman, Sedat Hakkı Eldem, Cengiz Bektaş and Doğan Kuban, shed light to the long standing tradition stemming from ancient Anatolian traditions and affected by the influences from the Silk Road.

According to Emel Esin (1976, 15-18), provenance of the Turkish House, stems from the Chinese pavilion tradition. Esin suggests that this tradition is transferred through Asian Uyghur civilization which pursued a certain kind of house typology consistently for a long time. Esin points out that Asiatic roots traveled via the Silk Road and continued in "Medieval Turkish lands" which can be regarded as the route that the Great Seljuks followed to reach Anatolia. Consequently, this traditionbecame settled in Anatolia and formed the traditional Turkish House. Kuban (2013, 42) partially refuses this Silk Road affiliation denying the Buddhist connection, to the Silk Road tradition and regards the Buddhist tradition as an independent and regional approach. The Buddhist connection to Anatolia can not yet be followed due to lack of material evidence. Many scholars agree that some Buddhist monasteries built after 4th AD are based on the pre-existence of Zoroastrian four-columned shrines in the pre-Buddhist period (Kim & Han, 2011, 32).

The Turkish House, kept the long lasting tradition, and generated a setting for plan transformation. According to Eldem's classification, and as confirmed by Cengiz Bektaş (2013, 115) in his later studies, there are four plan types in Turkish Houses.[55] Each plan type highlights a centralized space, and marks a complementary space of congregation which took the place of an iwan in the

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[55] In "Türk Evi", although Bektaş offered a broader perspective starting from ancient Anatolia, he perpetuated Eldem's Turkish House plan classification. Eldem's study, as a very detailed analysis, focuses on house and pavilion plans and especially illuminates the Ottoman period. Akın's study (1990) focuses on the centralized plan tradition from Asia to Anatolia. Although it is a key study to connect the Silk Road impact to Anatolian tradition, it focuses on a two-dimensional planimetric representation of architecture and remains insufficient concerning the iwan typologies.

monumental eastern architecture. This complementary area is called "çadır" or "iwan" (*Figure* 29). This is a place different than a living room a more centralized impact is hidden underneath which encapsulates the house and also has a greeting impact.

Eldem's plan typologies were formed and named around the main central space "sofa". According to Eldem, these four plan types are, "plan without a sofa", "plan with outer sofa (open courtyard), inner (inward) sofa and centralized sofa."[56] According to Eldem (1954, 17) especially in centralized sofa plan type, the location of iwans is a basis in house typology. The iwan architecture in the east has a centralized plan scheme. Eldem evaluates the iwan as the most fluid aspect of the house plan. In plan projection, the form is generally a rectangle which approximates a square. Its narrower angle in most cases faces the sofa. This slight difference in measurement is quite important because it attributes a directional perspective to the iwan.

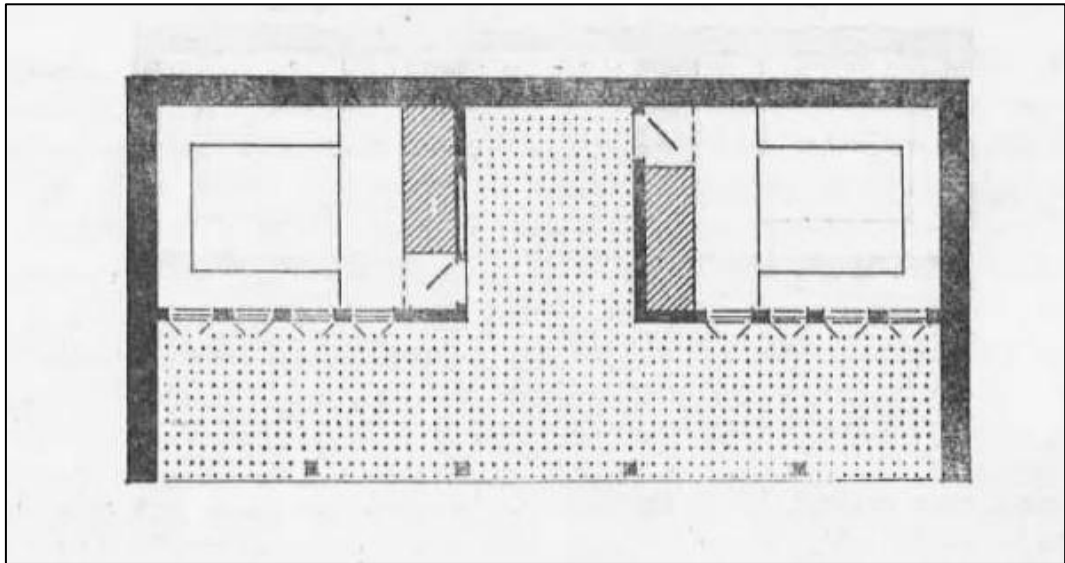*Figure 29.* Iwan in the Turkish House (Eldem, 1954, 17)

In house typology the directionality of the plan and the "iwan" and "sofa" part is different from the mosque or palace architecture (*Figure* 30). In the later examples

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[56] Especially common in Istanbul houses. Sofa does not open to a complementary space or a room. It opens to the garden on one side, and faces the sea directly on the other side.

iwans were used to emphasize the sacred orientation (qibla), imperial cult, a ruler or a god or the centralized cosmological space of the structure. But it must be kept in mind that these buildings were the grander and sole examples of their cities. They were landmarks on their own. In the house plan structure, such nodes and landmarks had a magnetizing impact, which placed the house in a secondary role in terms of reshaping the urban texture around the central nodes and landmarks. Only one of these four plan typologies offers a centralized plan typology.

The function of the "iwan" is also slightly different in house typologies. It forms a space that allows the visitor to settle down and gaze the circulation in the building. But also the domestic iwan is tied to the exterior impacts such as the climate. The expected outcome of a successful house is a warm interior during winter and cool interior during summer. This is also the case for the central spaces of the house such as the living room and the sofa. These places were central to design and should provide the gazer, views such as gardens, a lake, the street or the sea and the landmarks (as the mosque). The interior and exterior relationship is far more transparent than a monumental edifice of architecture, which is more independent and potent on its own.[57] The directionality, which is tied to these exterior aspects, result in only one quarter of house plan schemes as being centralized.

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[57] This aspect of function resembles the function of a Seljuk portal which smoothly binds the cosmological and mundane spaces. Here, the iwan is no longer an arch, is no longer a structure of its own. It survives as a complementary space, facing the central circulation. Its meaning is closer to the Persian terminology in Hatra palace architecture; a sacred or congregational space covered on three sides. This terminology and the function survives through Turkish House and culture. Even in folk songs to this day, this tradition continues in the form of oral history and meaning.

"Eyvanına Vardım Eyvanı Çamur,
Odasına Vardım Elleri Hamur.
Uykudan Uyanmış Gözleri Mahmur,
Ömrümde Görmedim Böyle Gelini.

Gelini Gelini Türkmen Gelini,
Saramadım Aney Gel Gör Halimi.

İpek Köynek Giymiş Ayna Dizinde,
Sıralı Benleri O Mah Yüzünde.
Sevemedim Vazgeçmiyor Nazından,
Ömrümde Görmedim Böyle Gelini.

Gelini Gelini Türkmen Gelini,
Saramadım Aney Gel Gör Halimi. "
An Anonymous Adıyaman Ballad from South-East Anatolia

There are many words for derivatives of "iwan" in the architectural terminology of the Turkish house. Among these, the most comprehensive use can be attained to the words "hayat" and "çardak" (*Figure* 31). "Hayat" is a derivative of an Arabic word, defining an enclosed or protected space (Kuban, 1995, 137). "Çardak" is a Persian rooted word (chartak), connoting a "baldachin". Although çardak and hayat refer to a similar architectural form, çardak gives reference to the three dimensional form of hayat, when hayat emphasizes a characteristic of the plan scheme. Interestingly although these terms are used from Asia Minor to Iran the connotations slightly change. "Çardak" had been used from Alanya to the Balkans. Hayat was mainly used in Anatolia but for instance in Safranbolu houses, when hayat referred to the entrance floor, covered by large timber cages (*giliste*) and çardak referred to the first floor sofa. These regional variations in the meaning pinpoint to the cultural transfer, hence suggest a diverse geographical scope and provenience for each word, which strengthens the thesis of transformation and travel of meaning along the Silk Road through semantic evidence.

Figure 30. Cemil Paşa Konağı'ndaki eyvanların birinden avluya bakış. Eyvan, yarı açık mekân. Havuz, sıcak iklimdeki avluların olmazsa olmazı. Makaralı sivri kemerin siyahı bazalt taşı, beyazı cas (öğütülmüş alçı taşı)

64

Figure 31. Söğütçük, Çine Aydın, "Hayat" of the Turkish House from western Anatolia

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Meaning Lost

Iwan appeared as a manifestation of sacred and inner journey towards divinity. This manifestation comes forward at the dawn of enlightenment where the self is on the edge of tangible and non-tangible, knowing and being known. Until the 13th century, the virtuous and theosophical practices were regarded as practices having a role in the ebb and flow of daily life. As Akkach argues, cosmology, was a part of quotidian, as a part of Being. When architecture evolved to contemporaneity, its cosmological aspect slowly faded away (Akkach, 2005, 19).

Light and water enhanced cosmological consolidation in architecture and fortified the profane nature of dwelling. The "iwan" became the meeting space for all beings. It became the last step which ascends to the divine Throne. The manifestations of "imperial cult" and "Kybele iconography" in the first chapter resonates with this aspect to the iwan. The "Holy throne" represented an intermediary space, which attributed iwan a transitional state between profanity and divinity.

> *Making a transitional zone, the Throne was seen to partake in both physical and metaphysical worlds. ....Premodern Islamic sources provide very detailed descriptions of the cosmos, and the Sufis, among other Muslim thinkers, present numerous geometrical diagrams that illustrate the fundamental order of being and the basic design of the world....* (Akkach, 2005, 19)

This aspect of the iwan like structures were the bond between the cultures of ancient Anatolia and Roman Empire.

When the material evidence dramatically increased, the meaning of it weakened. From the ancient examples, iwan-like typologies appear as a natural result of a process. Contrary to what Akkach argues, I believe the urge of expressing the cosmic realm is still within us, as an archetypal habit. Eliade suggests (1957, 23), sanctity refers to heterogeneity. If there is a sense of the sacred, there must also be the profane. If there is such a distinction, there must also be a distinction between a religious mind and a non-religious mind, a distinction between an ordinary (profane) space and a sacred space. Even in the most humble house typology, "iwan" is the sacred in the profane. Sanctity of form and meaning is the distinction between "architecture" and "built environment". However the manifestation "sacred" and "meaningful" is waiting to become conscious in all cases. An iwan which is dedicated to a higher cosmological force in a temple is aware of itself, while the iwan-like structure of a marsh house is not. But above all they both share the same archetypal urge which comes from within. In the scope of this thesis, the iwan should be perceived as an embodiment or in certain cases enhancer of sanctity. No matter what form it takes, the divinity attributed to the iwan is the key notion that drives the iwan forward among other architectural approaches and entities.

In the last century, the search for a meaning in life emerged as a call and urge of rediscovering the spiritual practices. When materialism exploded with industrialization, in a very parallel manner scholars revisited the past practices of divinity as a new found ore for scholarly work, though ordinary people approached divinity as a daily practice. In fact, this is how the practice of architectural history emerged in the 19th century. Although the architectural appliances multiplied, the architectural outcome remained profane, and albeit the shift in the sovereign mindset, a similar approach which led premodern man to produce sacred architecture, led the 20th and 21th century historian to produce scholarly work revisiting the long lost divinity. The sanctity is manifested once more from the eyes of the historian, this time as written texts rather than erected buildings.

This path was structured to convey the universality of the iwan through new trajectories; blended with millennia of Anatolian cultural memory. This is a route that elucidates a universal way of thinking. Iwans and iwan like structures were carried and evolved through centuries in a similar meaningful context. To convey this universality and transformation, from the most mundane to the most divine; several architectural structures were studied in all scales and sizes. Iwan became a banquet hall, evolved into an exedra, transferred into an arch, carried reliefs, became portals, stood free or guarded two axes; no matter what it became it carried a distilled message which always served to centrality in form or meaning.

6.2 Conclusion

Ancient Anatolian civilizations were the core in binding the eastern and western discourses. Three major consequences come forward from Phrygian architecture to the flux of the discourse. Firstly the correlation between Phrygian domestic architecture and Hitit "*Hilani*" houses, secondly the introduction of the Mother Goddess Cult which is reassessed in Roman architecture as the glue that holds together ancient Anatolia to Early Christian Roman periods, and Roman to Iranian lands. Ancient cave niches of Anatolia opened a new door in the discussion of an iwan. By the study of ancient Anatolian architecture, ancient arches were also used as a conveyor of the imperial cult which also had a kratophanic aspect.[58] This aspect of the iwan paved the way to the Hellenistic and Roman world which utilized the same structures, in a very similar manner in palace, bath and house typologies. Lastly the most prominent plan projection of the Phrygian Architecture is the megaron typology. Moving to the Lycian lands the thesis pays tribute to Crete for the resemblances in domestic architecture and Iran for the use of "Harpy" motive on a single funerary structure. The funerary complex of Mithridatids in Amesia helps to broaden our Hellenistic perspective towards central and western Anatolia via Phrygia and Bithynia. The Bithynia region advanced Ottoman architecture, the T Type Mosque typology. The sect rooms of Zaviyas evoke the monastic chambers in reference to Bythinia's monastic past. Considering the

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[58] Just like the Göktürk mindset; Kut, the ruling power granted by Gods.

Ottoman architecture the lessons of water and light have been learned from Bursa edifices. Also the architectural code *Usul-ü Mimari Osmani* which is based on Bursa-Early Ottoman Architecture has been scrutinized. Ottoman house plan organization is analyzed terminologically and by its plan organization. Here, the iwan took on the role of the congregational space greeting the center. This aspect of the iwan is echoed in each chapter with the examples of domestic architecture, such as Kaa from Egypt and Mesopotamia, marsh houses from Iraq, traditional luxury dwellings of Iran, Roman terrace houses, Cretan house, Phrygian house and Hitit Hilani house. *Tablinum* of Roman houses, *talar* of the Persian house, *hayat* of the Turkish house, sofas of Ottoman pavilions and Kaas ensured a surprising dimensional approximation to the proportions of ancient megaron typology; such as, Urartian tomb chambers or Phrygian megarons.

Throughout the thesis two cults are introduced that are associated with iwan-like typologies; the *Mother Goddess Cult* of Anatolia and the *Imperial Cult* which is reflected strongly by Roman Empire. Roman Architecture chapter, introduces various architectural forms, such as; tablinum, canopus or arched canopy, banquet hall or audience chamber, roman arch, triumphal arch, baldachin or pedimented shrine, aedicula, exedra and apse. In this chapter the progress from Iran to Rome, and a chronological process from Phrygia to Ancient Greece and Early Christian Roman Empire is structured.

Assyrian architecture had been highlighted firstly through the unique case of Hatra and secondly through the palace typology. In the case of Assur fulfilling the historiographical process resumed its persistence by the inclusion of Urartian-Assyrian treatises, unearthed by recent excavations. Thus it was revealed that common construction techniques were practised for an extended span than it was earlier assumed. In addition to formal architectural codes, the excavations unveiled that the arched windows facing south were typical features of traditional Assur houses. Moreover it is revealed that the progenitors of Assur; Sumerian culture shared the lunar calendar with modern Islamic lands, which, brings to mind that the Islamic orientational approach also might have stemmed from this rooted cultural basis.

Parthian and Sassanid iwans were grouped in one chapter. Although they each present unique examples, they share the same ancestry and cultural background. Sassanid architecture pays tribute to Achaemenid and Parthian Architecture. However the Sassanid style can never be accepted as being repetitive. In comparison to Parthian iwan, Sassanid iwans are magnified in scale and purified in decoration. In the Parthian architecture the impact of Roman provincial style is concealed in details, like ionic column bases. The innovation is the utilization of four iwan typology together with peristyle technique. In Sassanid architecture, the image of celestial fire is the enhancer of directionality in architectural programme. The progressional route in which the never ending fire is carried from one monumental iwan to another, tributes to the Olympic games of ancient Greece revitalizing a very similar procession in contemporaneity.

Iwan reached its zenith in Islamic Seljukid Anatolia. In Divriği, the decorational inheritance from Iran to India fueled the portal with multidimensionality. Also Divriği presented the example of how the four iwan plan type is internalized and monumental iwans are re-dimensioned to human scale together with other architectural elements such as the mihrab and vaults. The Great Mosque of Malatya, remained as the only example in which Persian tradition perpetuated. Konya Karatay Madrasa perpetuated the monumental iwan and open courtyard canon in madrasa form instead of the mosque typology. The architectural decorations on the portal of the madrasa gave reference to both arhaic Phrygian and western Byzantine counterparts. Lastly, the iwan tomb typology exemplified in Konya, saluted both archaic funerary cave niches and Asiatic monumental iwan tombs along the Silk Road.

Many iwan-like forms were discussed throughout the thesis. In terms of typology, the forms, might concludingly be regrouped under; "*Enclosure*", "*Facade*" and "*Free-Standing*" subchapters. This grouping conveys the architectural functions of each form. A typological examination could not be possible until this level as the transference was in canonical order. Under "Enclosure", the typologies coalesce as *eyvan*, *tablinum, dur'qaa, talar, hayat* of domestic architecture, *apadana* of Ancient Iran, *banquet hall* of Roman Architecture (as in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli

and of caravanserais of the Middle East) and *apse* of Roman and Byzantine architecture and *Four-Iwan Courtyard* canon along the Silk Road which in Anatolia corresponds to an interval from the Seljuk Empire to Ottomans. "Facade" evokes two dimensionality, *aediculae, arched canopy, funerary rock cut shrines* of Anceint Anatolia and Seljuk *portals.* "Free-Standing" division poses to the *Monumental Iwan Tradition* (exemplified previously as Taq-i Qisra or Tomb of Gömeç Hatun), and *Pedimented Shrine* or *Baldachin* of Roman Architecture and Ancient Iran (in Ottoman architecture appears as Fountain Kiosks).

Throughout the thesis "orientation" is mentioned at two points: Firstly the factors affecting Medieval Islamic architecture were scrutinized, and secondly the sacred orientation is mentioned as a distinguishing element of residential Islamic architecture. Iwans were either indicated at the very core the building's sacred disposition (a landmark); or magnetized by the city's spiritual center, marked by sacred architecture. In the second example, for a residence the impact is so powerful that it is the prior determinant in the plan orientation. In each case the iwan creates an axis towards the spiritual center. As exposed above, although it is not always necessary or the case, it is in the nature of the iwan to create a central and cosmological space. Utilizing centrality as the juxtaposition of the two axes, is not only dominant in the colossal structures of court buildings of Asia, the Indian Subcontinent, Persia and Anatolia but also shaped the design of the nucleus of architecture; the house.[59] Therefore observing the simple house plan, structure, veils what is on the surface of the society; the dominant mindset and fashion. In this thesis, houses were examined as an extension to the monumental, divine and imperial iwan tradition. Iwans appeared in folk songs, and constituted a specific part of the houses. Hence, it can be suggested that the term "iwan" was used by many nations for several centuries along the Silk Road and became a part of daily life, became the protector of centrality, imperial cult and divinity all at once. This aspect shows a deeper understanding of cosmology, embedded in every aspect of life in a timeless lifespan. This broad perspective of such an old and simple structure recalls a more archaic way of thinking and for sure; universality.

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[59] The design of a simple house is eluded from the propagandistic side of architectural manifestation.
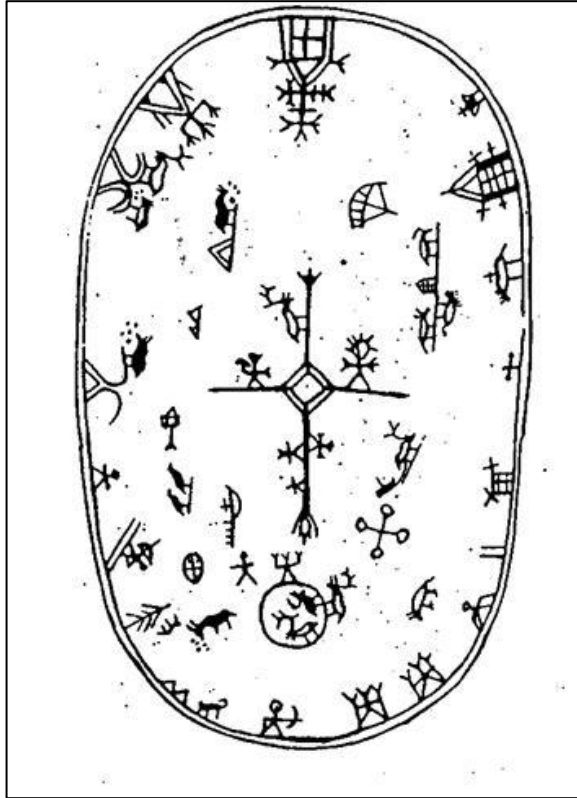
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Figure 32. The cyclic Weltanschauung of the Sami[60] (Manker, 1938)

The narrative of iwan in this thesis attracts attention to a point. The iwan functions as a vector, a direction towards centrality.[61] According to Eliade (1955, 56-57) the approach of centrality is a result of an archaic need of communicating supernatural forces. The reflection of such an urge can still be seen in the indigenous cultures in the geographically preserved areas; such as tribal communities and nomads of Central Asia, Northern regions of Europe and Asia (*Figure* 32). Eliade suggests that (1957, 1-20) to a non-spiritual man the world is perceived as a neutral homogeneous place, for a spiritual man the perception of the world loses its homogeneity; sacred and non-sacred spaces emerge. The sacred space inevitably is subjected to centrality. The secondary spaces are also magnetized around the central sacred space according to their priority and relationship to the sacred centre. Man becomes "aware" of the sacred, because it manifests itself. The

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[60] Indigenious people of North; Norway, Russia, Sweden and Finland.

[61] In other words "The iwan is a direction towards the core". *Core* or *Le Coeur* (heart) in French, *Kor* (the centre of a simmering fire which is still glowing even after the flame has gone) in Turkish.

manifestations of the sacred are called by Eliade as "hierophany", a term which is the precept of mythologies. History of religions, in that perception might have been called a collection of hierophanies. Mythologies are, also a collection of hierophanies, in different theoretical frameworks. Hierophanies in this context are the meanings which iwans burdened; either in a form of a relief, a temple, a mandala or an object which is a part of the magical context created under the iwan. Zeynep Yürekli (2012) and Suzan Berndt-Ersöz (2006) highlighted successfully in common that all of the sacred architecture must be considered tied to its milieu and context. They highlighted a much-neglected aspect to the transformation of architecture; idols, statues, the impact of portable daily design elements which were embraced by iwans. These dynamic components of the architectural design were centres of the microcosmic composition they had been a part of. Also in this study it must be admitted that without such details a thorough analysis is impossible. This is stated as a key element to keep in mind, for further studies, but beyond the parameters of the main discussion of this discourse.

The iwan unveils what has been partially lost, recollects what has been decomposed. This semantic saturation stems from the conceptual framework that all is intermingled. We are here to understand; in this case the universal canon of "iwan" which forces several traditions to meet. All of our cultures, our past, our today are in a state of *interbeing* (Hahn, 2011). Not only as architectural historians, but as earthly beings, it is our duty to embrace this world and embrace the universal connection it burdens. The Silk Road (which is studied in its western end), witnessed the evolution of a spiritual journey. The meeting points, melting pots, nodes and the milieu of this transition hold the most valuable key to unlock the universal bond that architecture itself bears. Architecture is a mirror just like Attar mentioned (Attar, 1944, 9). It is a mirror illuminating the present with the light of the meaning which has a weakened voice after centuries of diversion and distraction. This bond can solely be grasped through this single trade route, through following the journey of one architectural typology; the iwan. The iwan is potent to convey this transcendente bond.

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The centrality and divinity depicted in this thesis with various examples, is nothing but an archaic manifestation of sacred space, which evolves and shifts in details through cultures and variety of hierophanies. However, focusing only on centrality can be somehow limiting. The crunch of this thesis appears at this point. The architectural methodology of revealing the transformation of the concept of the iwan, in certain cases underscores different emphases which transcended centralized plan schemes. By this new expansion, the inclusion of non-Islamic, non-monumental (like the interior of a simple house) and freestanding forms (such as cave niches and tombs, triumphal arches, exedras) became possible. This could happen by adopting the idea that; sanctity which is pierced in this archetypal structure, does not boil down to form. The sanctity and meaning of iwan-like structures can only be understood through the integrative context and meaningful composition of which they had been a part of. Concludingly, the hope is that this study which is based on a religiously stamped perception of iwan might break the shell of stereotyped information, and transcends its former cultural and geographical boundaries; to become universal.

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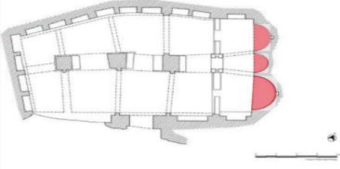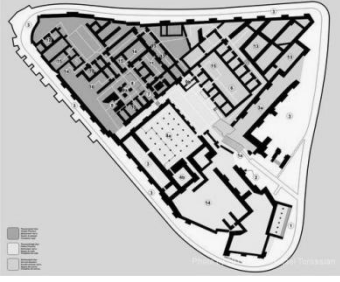Upton, D. (2009). Starting from Baalbek. *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians*, 68(4), 457-465.

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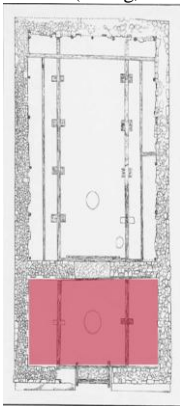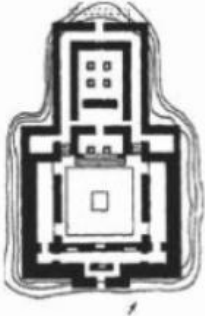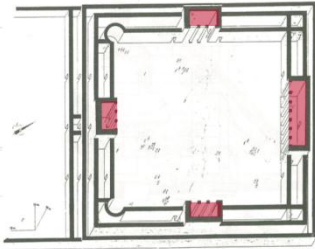
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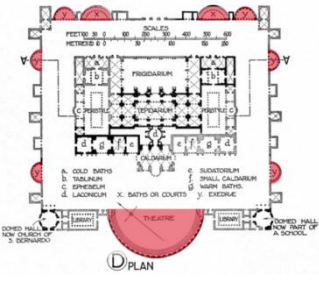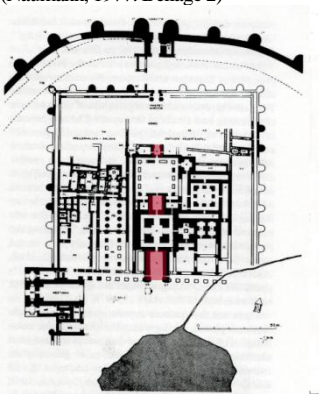
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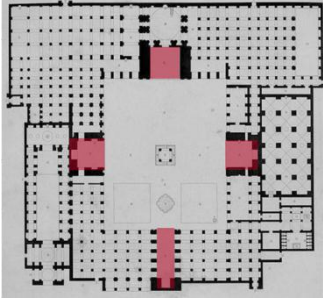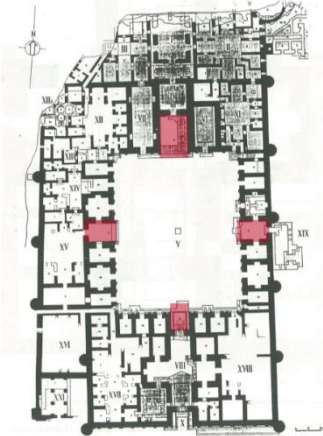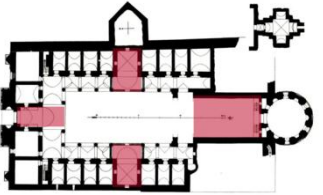
IWANS IN THEIR STRUCTURAL AND SEMANTIC CONTEXT
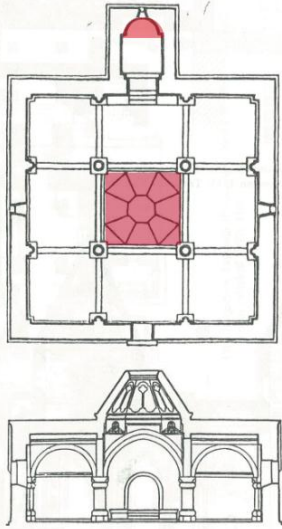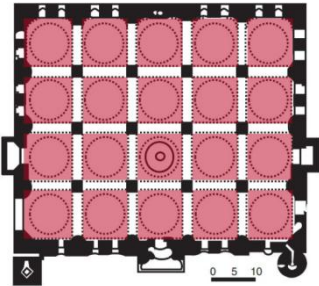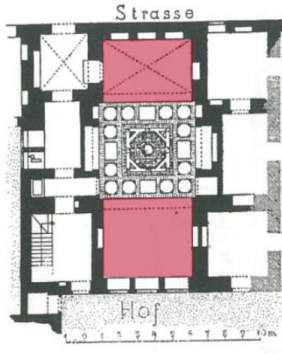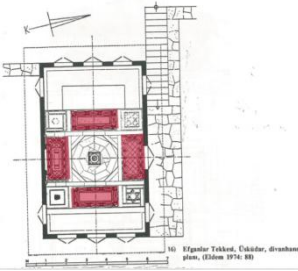
A LIST OF BUILDINGS EXEMPLIFYING THE VARIOUS

APPLICATIONS OF IWANS OR IWAN LIKE STRUCTURES ALONG

SILK ROAD

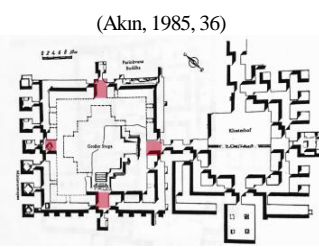| List of Buildings	Date	Name and Place	Period	Purpose or Function of the Iwan (If Accessible)
.(Evcim, 2016, 866) 	Initially in Phrygian Period, between 8th to 10th centuries BCE restored as a Byzantine church	Ağınönü Rock-cut Church, Afyonkarahisar, İscehisar, Seydiler Köyü (Apsis)	Phrygian,Roman and Byzantine	Fortifying the axis of the aisles
("Erebuni Excavation", 2016) 	782 BCE	Erebuni Fortress, Yerevan, Armenia	Urartian	Khaldi (The main God of the Urartian Pantheon)

(Young, 1962, 9)	8th century BCE	Megaron in Gordion	Phrygian	Entrance, transitional space
(SUSA i. EXCAVATIONS." *Encyclopedia Iranica*. , 2009, www.iranicaonline.org/article s/susa-i-excavations. Accessed 20 July 2018.)	Late 3rd or early 2nd century BCE, approximately 4 km north-east of Susa, Persia	Ayadana, Susa Temple,	Graeco-Bactrian/ Achaemenid	
(Veuve, 1987: P1.4)	First half of 2nd century BC	Ay Hanım Gymnasium, Northern Afghanistan (Exedra)	Graeco Bactrian	centrality
(Andrae&Lenzen, 1933, Taf. 11)	1st-2nd century CE	Assur, Parthian Palace; Northern Iraq	Parthian Period	Transition, emphasis on two axis and centrality

(Platner & Ahby, 1929) 	305 CE	Roman Baths of Diocletian (exedra)	Roman Empire	Imperial Cult
(Compareti, 2016, 72) 	4th century CE	Taq-ı Bostan, Kermanshah, Persia (Rock reliefs, iwans)	Sassanid Empire	Rock reliefs in Silk Road caravan route, aimed to emphasize the imperial cult
(Naumann, 1977: Beilage 2) 	6th century CE	Taht-ı Suleyman, Shiz, North-Western Iran (Plan of Sasanian Period)	Achaemenid, Parthian, Sassanid, Zoroastrian, Sekhanid	Emphasizing Anahita (Celestial Goddess of water), fortifying the axis from the entrance of the fortress to the lake, creating a direction between opposite forces; hot water and cold water springs; fire and water
(Akın, 1985, 36) 	Second half of Seventh century CE	Adzina Hill Buddhist Monastery (Tacikistan)(barre l vault)	Buddhist Period	Transition, emphasis on two axis and centrality. Passages connecting tomb chambers to the stupa.

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	8th-17th centuries CE	Isfahan Great Mosque, Isfahan, Iran	Abbasid-Seljuk-Mongols-Muzaffarids-Safavid Periods	Imperial Cult
(Akın, 1990f, 41) as in *Monuments modernes de la Perse mesurés, dessinés et décrits*, éd. Morel, 1867				
(Akın, 1990e, 55) as in (Schlumberger, 1978/2)	First half of 11th century CE	Southern Palace, Lashkar-i Bazaar, Afghanistan	Ghaznavids	Imperial cult and Military purposes
	1253	Erzurum, Çifte Minareli Madrasa (iwan)	Anatolian Seljuk Period	Hierarchical, Congregational

(Neubauer, 1970, 41) 	Thirteenth century CE	Ahpat Monastery, Hamasasp Zamatun, Armenia (Baldachin and Exedra)	Caucasian	centrality
(Goodwin, 1997) 	14th century CE	Bursa Great Mosque (baldachin)	Early Ottoman Period	Directionality to fortify the impact of centrality, congregational space to allow the viewer to observe the impact of water and light
(Reuther, 1925, 210) 	16th century CE	Kaa in Damascus (Muradi House)	Ottoman Period	Congregation, gaze(water and light), leisure, centralization, emphasis on the axis between street and garden
(Akın, 1990h, 144) 	17th century CE	Istanbul, Efganlar Dervish Lodge	Ottoman Period	Hierarchical

13. yüzyıl Selçuk Anadolusu, avlulu dört eyvanlı merkezi planın İpek Yolu üzerindeki dönüşümünde bir doruk noktası olarak görülebilir. Bu aşamaya kadar Anadolu, kendi üzerinde çeşitlenen ve aynı rota üzerinden aktarılan pek çok eyvan benzeri biçime ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Eyvan ve eyvan benzeri biçimlerin İpek Yolu üzerindeki anlamsal yoğunlaşması göz önüne alındığında, Demir Çağı Anadolusundan Osmanlı devrine, coğrafi olarak ise İpek Yolu'nun batısına denk düşen Greko-Romen ve Greko-Iran etkilerinin alanı üzerinde çalışılmıştır. Amaç, bir kronolojiyi aktarmaktan ziyade, eyvan üzerinden İpek Yolu'nun batı ucu olan Anadolu'ya dair süreklilik gösteren bir mimarlık tarihi oluşturmaktır. Dolayısıyla yapı tiplerinin sıralı olarak aktarılmasından daha çok, biçimin anlamsal yoğunlaşmasını konu alan bir çalışma söz konusudur. Tekrarlardan kaçınmak adına bir bütün olarak mimari açıdan önemli görülen bazı yapılar, bu sürekliliğin bir parçası olmadıklarından anlatıma dahil edilmemiştir. Tezde oluşturulmak istenen historiografi ne Batı, ne de Doğu'ya aittir; her iki ucun da anlatılarını kapsayan ve bu yol ile bütünü göre bir bakış açısı oluşturulması amaçlanmıştır. Amaç belirli ekolleri öne çıkarmaktan ziyade, tüm devamlılığıyla bir süreci ortaya koymaktır.

Eyvanın kökeni ile ilgili iki ana anlayış ortaya çıkar. Birincisi, eyvan denildiğinde ilk akla gelen sivri kemer profilinden türeyen kendinden başka hiçbir şey gerektirmeyen üç tarafından korunaklı "niş" biçimi. Bu biçim anıtsal olarak kullanılsa da, farklı isimler ve birbirine yakınsayan biçimlerde daha büyük mimari yapı ve kompozisyonların parçası olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu kavisli, niş benzeri biçimler ziyafet holleri, eğitim alanları gibi mimari dolaşımın bir parçası olarak, toplanma fonksiyonu ile kullanılabilir iken, aynı biçim, kutsal olanın göründüğü bir alan olarak ortaya çıkabilmiştir. Eyvanla ilgili ikinci anlayış ise "apadana" kökeninden gelir. Vurgu biçimin plandaki izdüşümü üzerindedir. Burada kavisli

biçim kullanımı yokken merkeze doğru yönlenme ve korunaklılık anlayışı ortaya çıkar. Eyvanın, gündelik yaşamın ihtiyaçlarını karşılayan bu özelliği ikinci biçimde daha baskın olarak görülür ve etimolojik anlamda da en iyi Osmanlı ya da Türk Evi ile örtüşür. Bu yapılarda eyvan, bir cepheden merkezi alana bakan diğerinden ise bahçe, avlu ya da sokak ile bağlantı kuran, evin en seyranlı köşesi olarak tarif edilir ve yine bu adla anılır. Konut mimarisinden yola çıkılarak eyvanın anlamsal ve tasarımsal dönüşümü süreç içinde Roma'dan Osmanlı'ya, tezde çalışılan coğrafi aralıkta ise Batı Anadolu'dan İran, Mezopotamya ve Mısır'a kadar izlenir ve çeşitliliği gözlenir.

Eyvanın izi sürülürken İpek Yolu Geleneği esas alınmıştır. Eyvan ve merkezi geleneklerin yolculuğunda bir başlangıç ve bitim noktası olarak Anadolu, Mezopotamya ve İran üzerine yoğunlaşılır. Tezde çalışılan coğrafi aralık ilk olarak Schlumberger'in ortaya koyduğu Greko-Romen ve Greko-Iran bandıdır. Birinci bant, Batı ve Orta Anadolu'ya ve buradaki Likya, Karya, Bitinya, Pontus krallıklarına denk düşerken, ikinci bant Doğu Anadolu, Karadeniz, Güneydoğu Anadolu, Mezopotamya ve İran'ın bir bölümünü kapsar. Pontus, Kilikya, Komagene, Kapadokya, Ermenistan, Hatra ve Palmyra buradaki şehir ve devletlerden bazılarıdır. Tez içerisinde bu bölge karakterinin anlaşılması adına Hatra örneğinden yararlanılmıştır.

Eyvanın kökeni ile ilgili çeşitli görüşler mevcuttur. Downey'e göre eyvan, Mezopotamya kökenli bir biçimdir. Reuther eyvanın oluşumunun göçebe kültürlere dayandığını ve arketipal olduğunu söyler. Akın, dikkati Anadolu'daki kaya mezarlarına çeker ve eyvanın izlerini burada aramak gerektiğini savunur. Bu görüşe göre İslami gelenek içinde ortaya çıkan biçimin aynı coğrafyada çok daha köklü bir karşılığı vardır. Peker, benzer bir ilişkiyi dört eyvanlı form üzerinden Uzak Doğu ile kurgular. Peker, mandala planlı Buddhist geleneğe ait yapılarla İslam Mimarisi'ndeki eyvan biçiminin ilişkisini kurar. Peker, İpek Yolu üzerinde anıtsal eyvan geleneğinin izini Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisi'ne kadar sürmektedir. Anadolu'ya gelindiğinde Tarhan & Sevin, Urartu Kaya nişlerini kutsal olanın ortaya çıktığı bir alan olarak ele alır. Bu durum benzer bir ilişkinin diğer Greko-Romen ve Greko-İran kültürleri ile de kurulabileceğini akla getirir. Pope'a göre

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eyvanın toplanma amaçlı en erken kullanımlarından biri Asur Sarayı'nda görülür. Kuran'a göre ise Anadolu'daki mihraplar eyvan özelliği taşır. Schlumberger'e göre eyvan, bir mimari programın içinde yer alan üç tarafı kapalı bir toplanma alanıdır. Peker, bu tanıma eyvanın açık ya da kapalı bir merkezi alana açılma gerekliliğini de ekler. Jung'a göre ise eyvan en basit haliyle kollektif bilinçten gelen bir arketiptir. Görülen, eyvanın kültürlerarası ve antik bir form olduğudur. Burada problem, eyvanın yardımcı bir alan gerektirip gerektirmediğidir. Tez içerisinde eyvan ve eyvan benzeri biçimler, hem mimari programların içinde hem ayrı birer biçim olarak incelenir.

İlk bölümde, eyvanın arkaik dışa vurumları olan kaya nişleri, anlatıyı başlatan biçimler olarak öne çıkar. Bitinya, Pontus, Likya, Karya ve Frigya krallıklarının ürünü olan kaya mezarları; kaya oyma tekniği ve kemer-tonoz biçimi açısından diğer örnekler ile bağlantılı olarak kullanılmıştır. Hititler'in yıkılışı ile Anadolu'nun özellikle Balkanlar'dan aldığı göç, nomadik kültürlerin yerleşik hayata geçişi ile sonlanmış, Anadolu'da hali hazırda var olan kültürel atmosfere bu yeni kavimlerin eklemlenmesi ile yeni uluslar doğmuştur. Fleming'e göre eyvan benzeri biçimler, asırlar boyu Hititler, Mikenler, Babiller ve Asurlular tarafından kullanılmıştır. Hititlerin yıkılmasının ardından bir kaos dönemi olarak kabul edilen, durgunluk döneminin ardından Frig, Likya, Karya, Bitinya, Pontus gibi uygarlıklarla eyvanın Anadolu'daki anlatısı devam eder. Ana Tanrıça Kültü ve İmparatorluk Kültü, anlamsal yoğunlaşma bağlamında iki önemli anlayış olarak ortaya çıkar. Frig bölümü, Roma mimarisi ile ilişki kurulması anlamında önemlidir. Kaya nişlerinin cephe düzenlerine odaklanılır. Bu anıtsal mezarların basamaklar ile yükseltilmeleri, boş taht kültünün oluştuğu bir alan oluşturur. John Ash'in Konya Karatay Medresesi Taç Kapısı ile ilgili yorumu Frigya, Bizans ve Selçuk'un aynı mimaride nasıl birleştiğini anlatır. Buna göre Selçuk taç kapılarındaki genel tasarım şeması ve bezeme formları yer yer Frig kaya nişlerinin anıtsal cepheleri ile örtüşür. Pontus bölümünde Mithridatid'ler olarak geçen Greko-Iran ailesinin Amasya'daki anıtsal kaya mezarlarına değinilir. Mithridates VI'nın Bitinya ve Pontus'un ortak kralı olduğunu gösteren sikkeye referans verilir. Iran'ın politeist mitologyasından ana tanrı Mitra'nın adının bir aile ismi olarak Anadolu'da ortaya çıkışı Anadolu'dan doğuya doğru uzanan heterojen kültür

bandının genişliğini ortaya koyar. Amasya'daki örnekler arasından eyvan benzeri biçimlere en yakın Tes'in mezarıdır. Bitinya bölümünde, kavramsal olarak bölgeye karakterini veren Mysian Olympos (Uludağ) ve çevresindeki manastırlar ele alınır. Bu kültür, 9. yüzyıl sonrası İstanbul'a taşınır ve oradaki mimari pratikte benimsenirken, Osmanlı döneminde yeniden inşa edilmeye çalışılan mimari üslup; Bursa Üslübu'nun kökenlerini oluşturmuştur. Akın'a göre Urartu *grotto*ları eyvanın kökenini oluşturur. Ne var ki benzer oluşumlar aynı dönem içinde tüm Anadolu'ya yayılmıştır.

İkinci bölümde Roma etkisinden söz edilir; İran ile çapraz etkileşimler, konut mimarisi ve eyvan benzeri tipolojileri zenginleştiren *apsis, aedicula, canopus* gibi biçimler ele alınır. Burada Bryan Rose'un bakış açısı zenginleştirilerek Frigya ile Erken Hristiyanlık Dönemi arasında köprü kurulur. Bu köprü Batı Anadolu'dan Batı'ya yayılan Kibele ikonografisi ve Boş Taht Kültü ile kurgulanmıştır. İmparatorluk kültü ise Fikret Yegül'ün kurgusu ile Roma Hamamları'nda örneklenir. Bu kurguya göre, gündelik hayatın bir parçası olan ve imparatorun kendisi ile doğrudan ilişkisi olmayan bu yapıların *gymnasia* bölümündeki çok katlı cepheler, alanın "toplanma" fonksiyonunu kullanarak kutsal ve en yüce olanın betimlendiği bir alan olmuştur. Bununla beraber Afrodisias'tan "aedicula", Efes'teki teras evlerde eyvan benzeri alana karşılık gelen "tablinum" ve Hadrianus'un Tivoli'deki Villa'sından "canopus" örneğinden bahsedilir. Aedicula, imparatorluk kültünün kent ölçeğindeki yansıması olarak ortaya çıkar. Burada, nüfuzlu aile, şehri yönetme yetkisinin onlara Roma İmparatorluğu'nca verilmesini, kendi soylarını tanrılara değin bu Roma silsilesine dayandırarak aktarır. Aedicula'nın ve içindeki heykellerin aynı Roma Hamamları'nda olduğu gibi propogandistik bir yanı vardır. Yine eyvan benzeri biçim, kutsal olana dayandırılanın göründüğü bir alandır. Efes'in teras evlerinde yer alan tablinum ise kullanım ve dolaşım açısından Türk Evi'ndeki eyvana çok benzer. *Tablinum*un bir orta havuza bakması Mısır'a kadar lüks konut örneklerinde sıkça karşılaşılan bir durumdur. Roma Villası'ndaki bu özellik en iyi Suriye ve Mısır mimarisinden Kaa'lı konut tipi ile örtüşür. Tivoli'deki canopus ile Mısır arasında bir bağ kurulur. Canopus, kullanımda büyük bir ziyafet holü olarak ortaya çıkar. Canopus'un bir havuzun kenarında yer alması ve su ile özdeşleşen eski Mısır tanrısına referanslar,

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bu fonksiyonel kullanımın yanı sıra kutsal olanın ortaya çıkışının farklı bir ifadesini çağrıştırıyor olabilir. Nitekim pek çok eski anlatıda ölüler tanrısı, yer altındaki sular diyarında yaşar. Canopus'a İslam Mimarisi'nde oryantasyon konusundan bahsedilirken tekrar değinilecektir.

Üçüncü Bölüm'de Anadolu'da Greko-Iran etkisi olarak söz edilen banttan bir örnek olarak Hatra ele alınır ve doğuya doğru etki alanı genişletilir. Bu bölümde aynı coğrafyada birbirinden beslenen öncül ve ardıl kültürleri ile mimari anlatımda bambaşka diller oluşturan Sasani ve Part etkisinden söz edilir. Part uygarlığı Helenistik Selevkos uygarlığına karşı bir başkaldırı olarak kabul edilebilir. Bu durum dolayısıyla Part'lar pek çok açıdan zaman zaman Roma İmparatorluğu ile uzlaşmak durumunda kalmıştır. Part saraylarında iyonik kolon temelleri bulunması, pek çok yapının Roma tapınak yapıları üzerine inşa edilmesi, mimari etkileşime örneklerdir. Örneğin Part sarayı Kasr Il-Abd, bir Roma tapınağı üzerinde yükselirken, yapıda iyonik kolon tabanları kullanılmıştır. Yine savaşlarda esir düşen Romalı mühendisler Part mimarisinde büyük rol oynamışlardır. Part etkisindeki iki şehir devleti olan Hatra ve Assur'daki Part saraylarındaki eyvan kullanımı birbirinden farklıdır. Bir örnekte eyvan merkezi mekana hizmet eden bir ara mekan rolündeyken diğerinde anıtsaldır. Bu ayrılığın sebebinin Asur etkisi olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Sasani mimarlığı, İran'ın İslam öncesi döneminin son büyük uygarlığı olarak kabul görür. Sasani saraylarının mimarisi, Helenistik mimari üzerindeki önemli etkiler arasında kabul görür. Sasani mimarisi Akamenid ve Part mimarilerinin devamı niteliğindedir. Nitekim 6. yüzyıl hem kaya nişi hem de anıtsal eyvan geleneklerinin sürdüğü bir dönemdir. Akın, bu geleneğin Bactria'ya devredildiğini öne sürmektedir. Sasani tapınaklarında, anıtsal eyvanın avlulu kompozisyonda kullanımı, baldakin ve ateşin bu anlamsal kompozisyona eklemlenişine değinilir. Özellikle İran ve Zerdüşti kültürü dendiğinde ateşin rolü büyüktür. Ateşin bu en saf fonksiyonu, dini ritüellerde "baldakin" biçiminin de tam merkezinde yer alır. Anlamsal olarak ateş bu mimariyi bir arada tutan elle tutulamayan parçadır. Ardistan Cuma Camisi gibi İran'daki pek çok önemli caminin temelinde bir Sasani ateş tapınağı yatar. Kazılarda ortaya çıkarılan tüm Sasani yapıları arasında Taht-ı

Süleyman en büyük mimari programa sahiptir. Bir ateş tapınağı olan Taht-ı Süleyman'daki tören ritüellerinden bir örnekle bu kültürün nasıl Batı'ya taşınıp günümüzde dahi süregelen Olimpiyat Ateşi'nin taşınma seremonisine dönüştüğü görülür. Sasani ateş tapınaklarının oluşturduğu törensel kompozisyonda, ateş tanrısı göksel su tanrısı "Anahita" ile birlikte işlenir. Bina kompleksi anlamsal açıdan, bir gölden yükselen kozmik dağı oluşturur. Tüm bu kompozisyon taht kültünü sahne koymak için özenle tasarlanmıştır.

Bölüm sonunda Asur mimarlığına da değinilir. Bölgenin Mezopotamya ve antik Anadolu kültürleri ile bağlanmasında önemli bir role sahip olan Asur Uygarlığı, Hatra'nın da gün yüzüne çıkmasının nedeni olmuştur. Hatra'daki arkeolojik kazılarların başlangıç sebebi Asur dönemini açığa çıkarmaktır. Neticede ortaya çıkan Part uygarlığı olmuştur. Aynı Roma'da olduğu gibi Asur saray mimarisi imparatorluk kültünün güçlü bir biçimde kullanıldığı mekanlardan oluşur. İslam mimarisinde olduğu gibi yazın dilinin cephe süslemelerinde kullanıldığı görülür. Asur üzerine yapılan arkeolojik çalışmalarda Revaduz, Uşniye'de bulunan tabletler, kemer profilinin yapım tekniğinin sanılandan çok daha uzun süredir bilindiği ve uygulandığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu tablet Urartu mimarisi ile Asur arasındaki etkileşimi temellendirir. Buna göre Urartu mimarisinde en az MÖ 11. Yüzyıl itibariyle kemerli tonoz tekniği uygulanmaktadır. Balavat rölyeflerinde günümüze ulaşmayan kemerli Urartu kent kapıları betimlenir. Assur'da her evin güneye bakan kemerli bir penceresi vardır. Böyle bir ev Assur'daki İştar tapınak kompleksinde gün ışığına çıkarılmıştır. Yakın doğunun mimari karakterinin oluşumunda Asur uygarlığı, önemli bir etkendir.

Dördüncü bölümde İslam Mimarisi devreye girer. Girişte, İslam Mimarisi üzerinden kısaca historiografi tartışmalarına değinilir. Sibel Bozdoğan ve Gülru Necipoğlu'nun *Muqarnas* dergisi için bir manifesto niteliğindeki yazıları ile desteklenerek, tezin giriş bölümünde de Dell Upton'ın makalesi üzerinden değinilen, mimarlık tarihinde "Doğu" ve "Batı" bakış açılarının oluşturduğu anlatılardan bahsedilir. İslam mimarisi ile bu konu daha da karmaşıklaşmaktadır. Çünkü Batı'da Hobsbawn'ın öğrencileri, oryantalistler ve ulusalcılar gibi çeşitli, güçlü söylemleri olan, radikal ekoller oluştururken, bu mimarlık tarihinin

materyalini barındıran alanlarda ise bu bölgelerdeki politik gelişmeleri takiben farklı odaklar öne çıkmaktadır. Bölümün devamında tezde oluşturulmak istenen mimarlık tarihinin önemli bir parçası olan "İslam mimarisinde kozmolojik anlam" üzerinde durulur. İslam Mimarisi'nin önemli etki alanları olarak Selçuk, Suriye ve Osmanlı ele alınır. Bu bölümler, ortaya çıkan mimari karakterlere göre ayrışmıştır. Kuban'a göre, Osmanlı Dönemi'ne kadar Anadolu'da bütünleşik bir mimari dilden söz edilemez. Selçuklu Anadolusu'nda ise Batı Anadolu genel hatlarıyla Bizans etkisindeyken, Van ve Malatya Ulucamileri İran geleneğini devam ettirir. Diyarbakır ve Adana'daki mimari karakter Suriye mimarisinin normlarına göre değerlendirilir. Orta Anadolu; Erzurum, Sivas, Kayseri, Konya, Ankara ve Antalya Anadolu Selçuklu karakterinin en güçlü olduğu şehirlerdir. Selçuklu'da, aslında Anadolu'da çok yaygın kullanılmamış olup, doğu geleneklerinin bir yankısı olan anıtsal eyvan mezar, yine doğuya, batıya ve antik çağa selam gönderen taç kapı ve İpek Yolu'nda Uzak Doğu üzerinden dönüşerek Anadolu'da kendine has bir mimari programa ulaşan dört eyvanlı avlulu tipolojinin dönüşümü öne çıkar. Selçuklu Mimarisi içerisinde eyvan-mezar olarak Gömeç Hatun Türbesi, avlulu tipolojilerden ise Divriği Camisi ve Darüşşifası, Erzurum Çifte Minareli Medrese gibi yapılara kısaca değinilir. Anadolu Selçuklu'da açık avlular kapanırken, mimari programda da değişiklikler olur. Divriği'de Darüşşifa ve Cami'nin bir arada hibrid bir program oluşturması, böyle bir örnek olarak sayılabilir. Beyşehir Eşrefoğlu Camisi de kapalı eyvanlı avlulu tipolojide ahşabın kullanıldığı Anadolu'daki birkaç örnekten biri olarak öne çıkar. İran Selçuklu Mimarisi açık avlulu cami tipolojisinin Anadolu'da günümüze kalan tek örneği Malatya Ulu Camisi'dir. Dört eyvanlı yapı ile beraber, Selçuklu'da portallardaki anlamsal yoğunluk da fazladır. Taş oyma tekniği bakımından İran'a referanslar olsa da, portal tasarımında şematik olarak Demir Çağı Anadolu uygarlıklarından mimari esintiler de izlenebilir. Divriği Camii'si portallarında görülen çift başlı kartal, svastika, insan yüzleri gibi figürlerde İpek Yolu üzerinden doğudan gelen etkiler mevcuttur. 14. Yüzyıla kadar Orta Anadolu mimarlığı Karamanoğulları dönemini de kapsayacak şekilde Selçuk Mimarisi adını alır. Devlet yıkılmış olsa da etkisi devam etmektedir. İran'daki konut örneklerine bakıldığında İran'ın İslam öncesi tarihine referans veren bir lüks konut tipi görülür. Safevi döneminde ortaya çıkan bu yapı tipin, eyvan benzeri biçim, üç tarafı ahşap kolonlarla çevrili olan *talar*dır.

Plan izdüşümünde korunaklılık, toplanma ve merkeze yönlendirme anlamında eyvan tanımını karşılayan yapının kapalı cephesinde bir de niş formundaki eyvan bulunur. Tüm bu güçlü kompozisyon, tezin başında anlatılan ve eyvan dendiğinde akla gelen iki biçimi birleştirerek İslam öncesi İran'dan İslam etkisindeki İran'a köprü kurar.

Irak ve Suriye bölümünde, bölgesel ve lüks konut örnekleri ve kervansaray eklenir. Kervansaray, İran'da ribat, saray ve cami tipolojileri ile sürdülen açık avlulu dört eyvanlı plan tipinin Mezopotamya'daki izdüşümüdür. Dönemin ticaret yolları belirli aralıklarla sıralanan kervansaraylar ile belirlenebilmektedir. Eyvanın dinlenme ve toplanma fonksiyonlarının en iyi okunduğu yapı tiplerinden biridir. Irak ve Suriye bölümünde bölgesel konut örneklerinden tek bir tonoz görünümde olan kamış bataklık evleri ele alınır. Bu evler Suriye'nin güneyi ve Irak'taki bazı bataklıklı bölgelerde görülür. Eyvan, nomadik kökenli arketipal bir form olarak düşünüldüğünde, Suriye ve Irak'taki bataklık evlerin, belki de eyvanın doğal olarak ortaya çıkışını en iyi örnekleyen mimari prototip oldukları söylenebilir. Lüks konut örneği olarak Kaa'lı ev tipi incelenir. Kaa, birden üç eyvana kadar, ortasında ahşap çatılı, çeşmeli bir merkezi alan barındıran, evin en efsunlu bölgesi olarak görülür. Işık ölçülü bir şekilde dikkatle tasarlanmış olan yüksek pencereler üzerinden (fener ve tambur pencereleri) alınır. Eyvanlara dağılan ışık, merkezi mekan örüntüsünden köken alır. Işık sembolizmi İslam Mimarisi'nin önemli ve kuvvetli bir yanı olduğundan Kaa'lardaki bu detaylı ve incelikli tasarım şaşırtıcı değildir. Bu yapı tipi ile 18. Yüzyıla kadar uzanırken aynı bölgenin İslam öncesi geçmişine de kısaca değinilir. İslam mimarisinin oryantasyon gibi gelenekleri, İslam öncesi kültürlerin mirasıdır. David King'e göre her tarikat yapıyı dört yöne oturturken farklı normları takip etmektedir. Bu normlardan bazıları kış dönümündeki azimut açısı, kent simgelerinin oryantasyonu, dini gelenekler, astronomik ölçümler ve hakim rüzgar yönleridir. 11. yüzyılda Semerkant valisinin anlatışına göre astronomlar, Hanefiler ve Şafiler'in dört eyvanlı avlulu yapıları inşa ederken baz aldıkları akslar birbirinden farklıdır. Aynı şekilde Ay takvimi de İslam uygarlıklarına Sümerlerden mirastır. İslam mimarisinin bilinen ilk uygarlıklarla beslendiği, ve bu uygarlıkların belirli geleneklerini halen sürdüğü söylenebilir. Bölümün devamında detay verilmeden Emevi ve Abbasi geleneği

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olan maksura kubbe-mihrap kompozisyonunun kökenlerine değinilir. Çünkü bu yapılarda eyvanın ev sahipliği yaptığı anlam, bu kompozisyonda barınır.

Osmanlı Mimarisi'nde Bursa ile oluşturulması hedeflenen üslup, Bitinya etkisi ve Türk Evi ele alınır. Burada, Bursa ters T-tipi camilerde görülen planın Mezopotamya tapınaklarının ilk örneklerinde de görülüyor olması şaşırtıcıdır. Bursa'da görülen ve Selçuk Mimarisi ile örtüşmeyen bu tipoloji daha çok Orta Bizans Mimarisi Haç Planlı Kiliseleri'nin şemasına uyar. 14. yüzyılda yukarıda belirtilen Selçuklu etkisinin devam etmesi ve Karamanoğulları beylerinin Osmanoğulları ile gelişen mimariye ilgi duymamaları ile İstanbul'un Fethi'ne kadar Bursa'da oluşmakta olan mimarlık, bölgesel nitelikte olacaktır. Zaviye ve imarethane tipolojileri Bursa'daki Erken Osmanlı Mimarisi'nin söylemleri ile çok ilgilidir. Çünkü Bursa Bizans'tan devraldığı aynı zamanda bir inanç merkezi de olma yönünü sürdürmüş, Osmanlı ile belirli tarikatlar Bursa'ya taşınarak Sufi mimarisi Erken Osmanlı Mimarisi'ne karakterini veren değerlerden biri olarak öne çıkmıştır. Erken Osmanlı Mimarisi'nin köken aldığı bir diğer mimari taban ise Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun Bitinya Bölgesi'nde oluşturduğu söylemdir. Bugünkü Marmara Bölgesi'ni kapsayan bir coğrafyayı içine alır. Anlamsal olarak suyu ön planda tutan Bursa Camileri'ndeki bu özelliğin Mardin'e has Selsebil tipolojisi gibi, tezde çalışılan coğrafi aralıktaki pek çok yerel özellikte ve İspanya'daki Alhambra Sarayı'nda olduğu gibi Emevi ailesinin tasarımsal bir söylemine dönüştüğünü de görmek mümkündür. Türk evinde eyvanın mimari şemaya oturması, bir nevi Günkut Akın'ın "Asya Merkezi Mekan Geleneği" olarak nitelendirdiği geleneğin bir uzantısı olarak kabul edilebilir. Türk evinin tezin anlatısına etimolojik katkısı büyüktür. Nitekim eyvan denilen bölüm Anadolu'nun dört bir yanında çeşitli karşılıklar üretmiştir. Terminoloji değişirken uygulamada çok ciddi farklar görülmez. Fakat Kaa tipolojisinde olduğu gibi, zaman zaman eyvan ve orta avlunun basamak ile ayrılması, eyvanın pencereler üzerinden sokak ile kurduğu ilişki, eyvanın oryantasyonu gibi konular bölgesel nitelik taşıyabilir. Terminolojideki değişim, kullanımda öne çıkan, iklim ve sosyal ihtiyaçlara göre solunan havaya bağlıdır. Örneğin "Çardak" kelimesi, bir gelenekte *baldakin,* diğerinde *canopus,* olarak algılanabilirken, yapının içindeki yarı bağımsız bir ünite, üzerine kubbenin oturduğu strüktür, ya da serbest bir biçim olarak

şekillenebilirken, yerel bir ağızda basitçe eyvanın kendisini de niteleyebilir. Kelimeler üzerinden ortaya çıkan bu dönüşüm, Demir Çağı'ndan beri süregelen, Greko-Romen ve Greko-Iran bantları olarak nitelenen bölgeler arası kavramların evrimini de ortaya koyar.

Eyvanla ilgili kozmolojik referanslara ve eyvanın anlamsal derinliğine dair tartışma, İslam Mimarisi bölümünün ardından ikinci kez tezin son bölümünde yer alır. Anne Marie Schimmel ve Henry Corbin gibi İslami mistisizm yani Sufizm üzerine, kutsalın gündelik olanda ortaya çıkışını görmeye alıştığımız okumalarla, eyvana fonksiyonel bir araçtan daha çok yine tanrısal olanın ya da mutlak gücün ifadesi olarak yaklaşmak kolaylaşır. Eyvan'ın oluşturduğu aks üzerinde durulur. Pek çok antik kültürde eyvan benzeri yapılar, odağı merkeze çekmekte kullanılmıştır. Bu durum, eyvanın oluşturduğu mekansal çerçeveye dört yöne hakim kozmolojik bir anlam yükler. Modern kültürlerde azalan ve sıradanlaşan bu etki, antik çağ kültürlerindeki anlamsal derinliği koruyabilmesi bakımından, daha zor çevre koşullarında varlığını sürdüren göçebe ve etkileşimsiz-az etkileşimli kültürlerde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Aynı Pompei'nin, mimarlık tarihi anlamında Roma kentinin o zaman aralığındaki mimarisini örnekleyen bir model olarak ele alınması gibi, eyvanın anlamsal çerçevesi kurgulanırken de dört yön sembolizmi, kozmoloji ve merkezi anlayışı destekleyen bahsi geçen uygarlık ile bağlantısı sınırlı kabileler ya da göçebe toplumların gündelik eşyalarındaki el sanatları dikkate alınabilir. Bu örnekler ile eyvanın süptilleşen etkisinin karmaşıklıktan uzak bir yerleşik düzende, gündelik hayatın teşkil ettiği anlam ile nasıl iç içe geçtiği görülür. İpek Yolu üzerinde yerleşen Asya Merkezi Mekan Geleneği anlayışı, kozmolojik ve gündelik hayattan referanslarla da desteklenmektedir. Eyvanın merkezi etkiyi kuvvetlendiren bir araç olması, su ve ateş gibi anlamsal yoğunluğu güçlü metaforlarla iç içe kullanılması, dahası bu kalıpların kültürler arasında evrile evrile tekrarlanarak gelmesi, eyvanı, evrensel ve anlamlı bir biçim haline getirir.

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<u>TEZİN ADI</u> / <u>TITLE OF THE THESIS</u> (**İngilizce** / English) : TRAJECTORY OF IWAN: ORIGIN, USE AND MEANING OF THE IWAN FROM ANCIENTC ANATOLIA TO ISLAMIC PERIOD

<u>TEZİN TÜRÜ</u> / <u>DEGREE</u>:   **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ■   **Doktora** / PhD ☐

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