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Mardin in the Post-Tanzimat Era: Heritage, Changes and Formation of an Urban Landscape

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This paper discusses how Tanzimat Reforms (1839-1876) transformed the architectural landscape of Mardin at the end of the 19th century. Ottoman presence and authority in the urban landscape was symbolised by modern secular bureaucratic buildings such as the government palace, the government house, the town hall, the revenue office, the post office, prisons, banks, schools, hospitals and military barracks in this era. Tanzimat Reforms also had bearings on the vernacular architecture in Mardin. The granting of a modern system of equal citizenship in this era paved the way for the city's Christian communities to establish several new churches and renovate existing ones. Ottoman elites sent from the centre, or new bureaucrats appointed from local Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities, influential noble families, tradesmen and artisans have commissioned elaborate domestic buildings. While indigenous architectural types and decorative styles are observed mostly in the elite houses and religious architecture, official and municipal buildings, commissioned by the patronage of centrally appointed bureaucrats, display predominantly neoclassical arrangement, which is the favoured style of the government buildings of the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat eras of Ottoman Empire.
Keywords: Heritage, Mardin, Post-Tanzimat Era, Urban Landscape.

Introduction

The city of Mardin, in today's southeastern Turkey, represents a non-geometric, homogeneous urban fabric with the distribution of religious, public and domestic buildings of various ethnic and religious communities (Fig. 1). It gained characteristics of an Islamic city with its institutions throughout Umayyad, Abbasid, Hamdanid, Marwanid, Buwayhid, Artuqid, Kara Koyunlu and Ak Koyunlu Turcoman and Ottoman periods respectively (Bag, 2017; Ibn Havkal,1938, p. 214; Ibn Shaddâd, 1978, pp. 542-44). It was the capital of the Artuqid dynasty for almost three centuries from the 12th to 15th century AD. Religious and educational buildings attributed to this dynasty as well as religious buildings belonging to Syriac, Chaldean and Armenian communities of varying periods characterise the city's architectural landscape. A third group of buildings, composed of religious, secular bureaucratic and domestic architecture, date back to the post-Tanzimat era in the city (Fig. 2). Buildings made out of stone are placed in ranges above each other. The main street runs longitudinally and divides the city into two parts, north and south. Narrow, irregular and tortuous streets connect the neighbourhoods. Many cul-de-sacs and archways (*abbaras*) are also characteristics of the urban structure.

This article discusses how the changes introduced by Tanzimat Reforms (1839-1876), influenced, transformed and re-formed the architectural landscape of Mardin during the late Ottoman period. The primary focus is on the 19th century bureaucratic, municipal, religious and domestic buildings whose architectural and decoration styles are investigated in relation to Tanzimat Reforms. It examines how styles of Western origin were adapted to the indigenous ornamental repertoire by investigating new building types that conform to the usage requirements of the modern Ottoman world. It also explores the continuous tradition of indigenous architectural and decorative styles, and situates the stylistic and aesthetic changes introduced within the larger context of political and social transformations in the 19th century.

Studying the transformation of political power and social relations from a spatial perspective and architectural styles in the context of cities is the topic of increasing academic interest. Moreover, there is an ever-expanding literature about how Ottoman cities, their dominant spatial organizations and architectural styles have changed in the Ottoman modernisation process. However, the literature in question is rather limited in the general Ottoman modernisation literature. Particularly, as the reforms of the 19th century were seen as the parameters of re-organizing a classical empire in the form of a modern state, these reforms are at the center of the literature on urbanization. Zeynep Çelik's pioneer works, titled *Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (1986), and *Empire, Architecture and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914* (2008), where she discusses how the encounter of Europe has transformed the relationship between architecture and power have inspired and formed a foundation for subsequent works with interdisciplinary methodological approaches addressing the transformation of political, spatial, archictectural styles together. Yasemin Avci's (2004) *Değişim Sürecinde Bir Osmanlı Kenti: Kudüs (1890-1914)* also traces the formation of modern urban and the

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shaping of new architecture in the context of the Tanzimat reforms and the 19th century colonial sharing wars. The work, titled, *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul* by Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters (2001), explores how the capital and property relations, urban life, and the spatial organizations were transformed through these three major cities in the process of encountering European capital before the 18th century-bureaucratic reforms. Finally, Selim Deringil's (2011) study, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, reading the adopted architectural styles in the post-Tanzimat period as new symbols of power, examines the relations between architecture and power and provides important methodological predictions for future studies.

This work contributes to the scholarly knowledge of the effects of the 19th century Ottoman centralisation and modernisation process on the Empire's Eastern provinces, from the hitherto under-explored domain of provincial architecture. Mardin's ancient history and multi-cultural heritage have attracted art historians, architectural historians, historians, archaeologists and anthropologists alike (Alioglu, 2003; Alkan Reis, 2012; Altun, 1978; Aydin, Emiroglu, Özel, & Ünsal, 2001; Beyazit, 2009; Dinc, 2007; Göyünc, 1991; Keser-Kayaalp, 2009, Numan, 2009; Sari, 2010; Soyukaya et al., 2013; Tan, 2010; Tekdal, 2009; Tarman, 2010). Studies on the city's Ottoman architecture have, however, been limited (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017; Gökhan Baydas, 2007; Güzel, 2010). Specifically, I aim to contribute to this lack in existing scholarship.

While this study uses the methods and predictions of the literature in question, it is inspired by the method and conceptual framework that Henry Lefevbre (2000) put forward in his work, *La Production de l'espace*, and discusses the transformation of architectural styles in relation with the new forms of spatial organization. The study aims to address the issue in relation to political transformations, administrative reforms, new class profiles, social relations and political representation. The work of Lefebvre considers the space not as a fixed physical unit but as social and historical productions, created by economic and political power in order to dominate nature and people. The study approaches to the political and social impacts of the space and architectural production of the central administration in the Tanzimat period in the Lefebvrian sense. While analyzing the effects of the Tanzimat reforms on the architectural style in Mardin, it aims to examine the political influences on the transformation of local class structures, and ethno-religious structures and the traces of this transformation reflected on the architecture.

In addition to this methodological difference, the study also differs from the previous studies in terms of the city. The study does not deal with imperial headquarters, such as Istanbul, Bursa, Thessaloniki, Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem, or the port cities like Izmir and Lebanon that grew in relation with European capital, but as a modernizing provincial city of the empire. In this respect, the article aims to contribute to the literature as an attempt to read the effects of Ottoman modernisation on the architectural style from the margins of the empire. The fact that the article is based on archival and fieldwork, it enables a strong empirical basis and provides and important data for subsequent studies.

In the light of this theoretical approach, the article seeks to address these questions based on data obtained mainly through fieldwork and archival research at the Directorate of Land Registry in Mardin carried out over 2011 and 2016. Moreover, it utilises the Diyarbakir almanacs (*Diyarbakır salnameleri*) of 1286-1323 (1869-1905), and 19th century Mardin court records (*şeriye sicilleri*). I also conducted interviews with the descendants of notable families who sponsored domestic architecture at the end of the 19th century and people who work on the history and culture of Mardin to reveal the monuments' history.

I aim to discuss the changes in the 19th century over four factors. First, the study will analyse new architectural styles, which are revealed by bureaucratic reforms and the new concept of power, especially through official buildings. Second, it will examine the transformation of social relations and architectural styles through the effects of the Tanzimat reforms. In this section, it discusses how the political representations of non-Muslims are reflected in architectural representation in public space. Third, it will explore the relationship between political and architectural spatial transformations and the cosmopolitan architectural styles that dominate the city architecture for millenia. No transformation and innovation occurs in the void, but in relationship with existing styles. Fourth, it will address the new architectural styles that are included in the architectural fabric of the city through the activities carried out by the missionaries.

In what follows, I first offer a background to the development of Ottoman architecture in Mardin. Then, I analyse and discuss the architectural and decorative particularities of the bureaucratic and municipal buildings, commissioned by the Ottoman officers and religious and domestic buildings, which represent the vernacular architecture of Mardin, and show how these two distinct architectural traditions made up the Mardin urban landscape in the post-Tanzimat era.

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Ottoman Architecture and Urbanism in Mardin

Ottoman Empire ruled Mardin from 1517 onwards as a classical Ottoman district with a special *mîr-i aşiret* system attached to mainly Diyarbakır Province (*Eyâlet-i Diyarbekir)* (Göyünc, 1991; Ünal, 2006). However, except an urban inn and small scaled mosques and masjids, commissioned by the district officials, the history of 'Ottoman architecture' in the city does not date back further than the late 19th century. The Ottoman takeover of Mardin did not involve the establishment of new urban policies, foundation of the new institutions or introduction of new building types and forms to represent the Empire (Alioglu, 2003, p. 22). Thus, a conversion from Artuqid capital into Ottoman city was not in question.

Classical Ottoman architectural presence is indicated by the Ottoman imperial style in which the dome and the tall cylindrical minaret symbolise Ottoman political domination in cities, such as in Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Diyarbakır, Van, Erzurum, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo. Several factors might have played a role in why this Imperial spatial inscription was not pursued in Mardin. As Altun (1978) maintains, one factor might have been the strong masonry tradition in Mardin and the maintenance of traditional architectural forms that were created over the centuries. Thus the physical and architectural texture of Mardin did not undergo important changes under the Ottoman rule and the architecture continued with the traditional character of the region (Alioglu, 2003). Moreover, when the Ottoman rule began in Mardin in 1517, the city was already equipped with Islamic institutions that would respond to administrative, religious, social and commercial needs of the Empire (Aydin et al., 2001). Existing monuments were continued to be used and only few new buildings were built during the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman era. Researchers attribute Reyhaniye Mosque (p) (late 15th-early 16th c.), Kiseyri Mosque (d) (mid-16thc.), Arap Mosque (t) (16th c.), Zairi (Sheikh Mahmud ez-Zerrar) Mosque (g) (1690), Haci Ömer (Halife) Mosque (c) (early-18th c.), Sheikh Sarran Masjid (u) (early-18th c.) and Surur Khan (m) (1729) among the monuments, built during the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman period (Abdulgani Efendi 1999; Abdüsselam Efendi, 2007) (Fig. 2). However, there is nothing identifiably Ottoman in these buildings. The modest looking neighbourhood mosques and the city inn display traditional architectural features of Mardin (Altun, 1971).

The absence of the Ottoman architecture might be also understood through the city's administrative status in the Ottoman era. According to Aydin et al. (2001), local dynamics such as the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and the tribes of the vicinity had much greater influence over Mardin than the central Ottoman government. The Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire had a special administrative status. The region was incorporated into Ottoman Empire with a pact made between the Imperial Porte and local Kurdish dynastic princes, which recognised the latter's hereditary rights over the newly-carved *hükümet-ocaklık* (governments), *yurtluk-ocaklık* (*cema'ât-i kurdân*/Kurdish *Sancaks*) and *mîr-i aşiret* (tribal emirate) lands (Kaya & Aydin, 2013; Kodaman, 1986; Öz, 2003). Mardin was one of the *sancaks* in the *mîr-i aşiret* status (Ünal, 2006). According to the tax register (*tahrir defteri*) of 1564, there were thirteen *mîr-i aşirets* in Mardin. Moreover, around one hundred and thirty clans and community leaders benefited from *timar* (village-level revenue) and *zeâmet* (town and rural-level revenue) in Mardin and its surrounding areas (Aydin et al., 2001). *Mîr-i aşirets* were not under the survey of district governor but had to join the military expeditions during the conquests. It was hereditary and they had to pay an amount of their revenue to the state treasury (Kodaman, 1986).

From the beginning of the Ottoman rule in Mardin the *mîr-i aşirets* increased their power over against the district governors, appointed by the central government (Aydin et al., 2001). Consequently, Mardin witnessed sustained power struggle between the centrally appointed governors and local powers as well as among the local powers. Conflicts between various ethnic and religious elements and tribes disturbed the city from the 16th to 19th centuries all of which impeded urban development. This unrest was also reflected in the constant change of rulers in Mardin. Centrally appointed rulers were dismissed and renewed every year, and sometimes several times in a year (Abdulgani Efendi, 1999; Abdüsselam Efendi, 2007). This special land tenure system of *hükümet-ocaklık*, *yurtluk-ocaklık* (*cema'ât-i kurdân)*, and *mîr-i aşiret* land was abolished with the 1858 Land Code, and the region was completely incorporated into the Ottoman central administration (Ertas, 2007). Only from the third half of the 19th century onwards, when efforts towards modernisation and centralisation took place, did Mardin begin to take on an Ottoman appearance (Gökhan Baydas, 2007).

A dual development in the urban architecture of Mardin occurred with the implementation of Tanzimat Reforms. On the one hand, the Ottoman state with its modern institutions became visible in the urban texture as a result of its new architectural interventions. According to Diyarbakir almanacs of 1286-1323 (1869-1905) (İzgöer, 1999, II, pp. 81, 196; IV, pp. 46, 167; V, p. 203), the bureaucratic secular Ottoman architecture appeared as the administration centre (*yönetim merkezi*) of the Empire in a border area of Gül (*Kölâsiye Mahallesi*) and Şehidiye quarters (Fig. 3) as well as other public buildings and structures such as hospitals, schools, telegraph office, bank and clock tower, which intended to meet the requirements of the innovations of Tanzimat reforms. The architectural features of the new official and municipal buildings were inspired by European styles and deliberatively modelled after European civic

buildings (Gökhan Baydas, 2007). On the other hand, local architectural style continued to develop in this era under changing political and economic terms (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017).

Classical Islamic law and the Ottoman system had established a hierarchical relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims until the Tanzimat period (Soykan, 2000). Non-Muslims were greatly affected by the juristic change and new arrangements, initiated by the Imperial Rescript of Gülhane (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) of 1839 and Reform Edict (*Islahat Fermanı*) of 1856 as well as nation regulations (*Millet nizamnameleri*, 1860s), which accorded them equal citizenship status (Hartmann, 2013; Karpat, 1972). While the Reform Edict (*Islahat Fermanı*) of 1856 gave Ottoman subjects in Mardin an opportunity to express themselves visually in the city with the construction of elaborated dwellings and churches (Alkan Reis, 2012), they also encouraged them to resituate their identities in social space by inscribing their own customary and religious symbols on personal and community buildings (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017; Fedotova et al., 2017).Christian communities were able to construct new churches which were banned formerly and make new additions to their ancient churches without having permission from the Porte (Kücük, 1985). Consequently, the number of Christian buildings increased in Mardin in the post-Tanzimat era (Akyüz, 1998; Keser, 2002). Insofar as the Jewish community in Mardin is involved, there was no parallel development in regards to Jewish architecture, probably due to their sparse population. According to the census of 1834, there were eighteen Jewish houses and fifty Jews in Mardin (Abdulgani Efendi, 1999) and after Geary (1978), twenty-four Jews lived in Mardin at the end of the 19th century. Jewish religious architecture is represented solely with a synagogue which does not exist today (Ben-Yaacob, 2006). Furthermore, local notable families, be they Muslim or non-Muslim, constructed elaborate buildings in the city as way to demonstrate the power they held in the new administration and freedom accorded by the Reform Edict of 1856 (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017). Thus while local styles are observed mostly in the elite houses and religious architecture, public and municipal buildings, commissioned by the patronage of centrally appointed bureaucrats, display predominantly neoclassical arrangement, the favoured style of the government buildings of the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat eras of Ottoman Empire.

Tanzimat and Architecture in Mardin

Bureaucratic and Municipal Buildings

In the 19th century, Mardin was targeted by Tanzimat Reforms for administrative and economic centralisation and modernisation. The era of Tanzimat Reforms (1839-1876) was a period which Ottoman state tried to construct a more powerful and efficient governmental structure to extend its authority on society. Tanzimat bureaucrats reformed the central bureaucracy, the state's provincial administration and its economic systems to strengthen the integration of provinces by suppressing their regional differences for a more homogenous Ottoman Empire (Heper, 1980). The power of the local authorities such as dynasties and tribes diminished and the loyalty of people shifted from local powers to the central government in Istanbul. In this way, the social order, controlled by local authorities in the provinces, became under the control of the central state power (Özoglu, 2006).

Tanzimat also brought about new organisational models and legal regulations in the field of architecture (Batur, 1985). The newly-founded central administration aimed to create new institutions and new urban centres in the Ottoman capital of Istanbul and in provinces for the implementation and maintenance of the aspired modernising process (Tekeli, 1992). The administrative changes which aimed to reform the Empire along with European lines facilitated the growth of new structures with unprecedented functions, new layouts, construction materials and techniques, architectural forms, and stylistic approaches, which, in turn, transformed the urban fabric and panorama of Ottoman cities (Can, 1999). The Ottoman presence in the urban landscape of the cities was symbolised by new secular buildings in contrast to the classical period when monumental religious complexes, commissioned by the Ottoman Sultans and governor-generals and marked the transformation of urban image (Can, 1999). The most striking intervention of the Tanzimat was the creation of an administration centre (*yönetici merkez*), established around the government palace in the regularised areas of a wide avenue or a public square (Celik, 2008).

Although the decision to implement the Tanzimat Reforms in Diyarbakır Province was made in 1845, the Tanzimat efforts at Ottomanizing the Empire through a modern central-bureaucratic administration could not be implemented immediately and with ease due to the resistance of the Kurdish emirates and tribes, including those in Mardin (Cadirci, 1991). The need they created for the Ottoman Porte to generate local consent for the implementation of reforms spilled over into the following decades, during which the revolts were suppressed and rulers were sent to exile (Cadirci, 1991). In contrast to the predominantly Muslim Kurds, the Christian Armenian and Syriac communities supported the Tanzimat Reforms in Mardin, as elsewhere in the Empire, as they promised them egalitarian citizenship, granted rights to protect and develop their citizenship status and cultural identities, and promised them join political life in the Ottoman world (Davison, 1954; Hartmann, 2013).

Mardin was subject to Ottoman reforms under the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876) and Abdülhamid II (1876-1909). The tenure of İsmail Hakkı Pasha, the governor of Diyarbakir Province

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(1868-1875) and Süleyman Bey (1871-75), the governor (*mutassarıf*) of Mardin District, marked the beginning of the Ottoman interventions in the urban fabric of Mardin (İzgöer, 1999, II, p. 122). The administrative-bureaucratic changes of the reform era, symbolising the Ottoman authority, power and the new administrative mindset, were inscribed in Mardin's urban landscape with the construction of new types of the buildings with new stylistic features. A new administrative centre composed of a government palace (*hükümet konağı*) (1874) (45) and other modern-bureaucratic institutions such as a town hall (*belediye binası*) (1869-70) (41), a government house (*vali konağı*) (late 19th c.) (40), prisons both for men and women (late 19th c.) (44), a revenue hall (*vergi dairesi*) (1880) (43), and a military building (1890-91) (42) were built in the intersection of two quarters, the Gül (*Kölâsiye Mahallesi*) and Şehidiye quarters (Fig. 2-3), modelled after European structures and linked to Ottoman interpretation of European neoclassic art (Gökhan Baydas, 2007). In this period, neoclassical style was adopted all over the world as the symbol of a universal type of discourse (Can, 1999). In addition, a clock tower, a military hospital, a hospital for poor (*Gureba* hospital), a telegraph office and a bank were also built in the various parts of the city (İzgöer, 1999, II, pp. 81, 196; IV, pp. 46, 167; V, p. 203) Tanzimat buildings in Istanbul were proto types for the bureaucratic and municipal buildings in Mardin. Thus these modern buildings with European origin and their architectural styles were not imported directly from Europe to Mardin, but European influence passed through Istanbul. Similar developments took place also in other Ottoman provinces and districts (Weber, 1998).

Official and municipal buildings are lined at three sides of Government Street (*Hükümet Caddesi*), which was probably opened at the same time of the construction of the governmental buildings to connect them to the main street, which runs longitudinally through the city and continues down wards in the south-eastern direction in the Şehidiye quarter and extends along the Savurkapı quarter and reaches to the Bab al-Sûr gate. The construction of cul-de-sacs in this area created a central square in the middle of these new governmental buildings (Fig. 4). The area surrounding the square was planned as a complex of bureaucratic and municipal buildings and developed over the last three decades of the 19th century (Gökhan Baydas, 2007, p. 137). Architectural evidences suggest that historical core of this area was demolished deliberately and the new governmental centre was erected. Moreover, the existence of medieval buildings around this regularised area such as Sitti Radviyye Madrasa and Hammam (12th c.) (w-x), and Tekke Mosque (before 16th c.) (46) also confirms a dense medieval urban texture in this area (Fig. 2). It seems that Ottoman interventions were made in the old urban fabric of the cities when the central administration was intended to be visible in the city as in the case of Istanbul, Diyarbakır and Mardin. Accordingly, the old urban fabric of cities were destroyed to build new symbolising complexes. Yet, in cases where new modern official buildings and public squares were built in newly founded quarters, such as those in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the old urban texture was not disturbed but new urbanisation evolved at the edges of the cities (Celik, 2008, p. 127). We can argue that Street and Building Regulations (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) dictated by Tanzimat Reforms on urban planning for the spatial reconstruction of Ottoman provinces could be applied in Mardin only partially because the old city's morphological layout and its solid stone construction did not allow for following the codes unaltered. It was only in the intersection of the Gül and Şehidiye quarters, where most late 19th-century official and municipal buildings are located, these codes could be applied in limited scope. J. L. Arnaud (2008) considers a number of factors impeded the implementation of the Tanzimat regulations concerning the construction in the provinces and the districts. The main factor was that regional differences have not been taken into consideration in the implementations of these regulations to be applied to all of the Ottoman cities, which were prepared by the Ottoman bureaucrats living in the capital city of Istanbul. Secondly, the imperial regulation was prepared especially to reduce the fire risks in Istanbul (Celik, 1993). Unlike Istanbul, the implementations of these regulations to the stone-made city of Mardin was unexpected. As the layout of Mardin reveals, by the end of the 19th century there was no available space to establish a central square in Mardin. Thus a central square was generated for the construction of new public and municipal buildings convenient to Tanzimat demands by demolishing a part of the older fabric. I suggest that the area spanning the middle part of the Gül and Şehidiye quarters was chosen to be the new headquarter because of its central and dominant position in the city (Fig. 2). Apart from the governmental centre composed of the official and municipal buildings in *Hükümet Caddesi*, and additions of free-standing single buildings, such as two hospitals, modern schools, a telegraph office, a bank and a clock tower scattered around the main street and over the neighbourhoods, Ottoman officials did not renew the profile of the city with their construction activities. Yet, they repaired ancient monumental buildings and added minarets to old mosques and madrasas (Fig. 15). In addition, the city's landscape was effectively transformed by the construction of elite houses by local families (Gökhan Baydas, 2007). Nevertheless, this can be interpreted in terms of a continuity of the tradition rather than a break as the new efforts did not go beyond the use of traditional architectural techniques, materials and forms, except that the city earned a more gaudy and fancy image due to fine stone works (Fig. 1). The traditional city centre of Mardin consisted of a commercial area (*çarşı*) developed around the Great Mosque (12th c.) maintained its

function during the post-Tanzimat era (Altun, 1971). However, with the construction of new administrative buildings in the *Hükümet Caddesi*, Mardin began to have two centres: the old commercial centre in the central part of the city, and the new secular administrative centre in the northeastern part of the city.

The bureaucratic and municipal buildings in Mardin display the ground plan, interior and façade arrangement typical of the era that were used in the Ottoman capital of Istanbul and later reproduced in the provinces (Arnaud, 2008). The buildings show symmetrical arrangements in the plans and façades. Façades take importance notably for the application of neoclassical forms (Gökhan Baydas, 2007). They are composed of two or three stories, covered with barrel and cross vaults in the interior, widely used in the traditional buildings of Mardin (Alioglu, 2003) but with a hipped red-tiled roof in the exterior, which is a common feature of virtually all governmental buildings of this era in Mardin and Diyarbakır (Gökhan Baydas, 2007). The office rooms are organised around a rectangular or T shaped central corridor and open to outside with large rectangular or round-arched windows. A portico, accentuates the entrances, located at the centre of the main façades as represented by the Government Palace (1874) (45), Cavalcade Barracks (1890-91) (42) and Rüşdiyye Mektebi (1900-1901) (27) (Bekin, 2010). Interiors are completely undecorated but a stripped-down neoclassical façade arrangement is common in the buildings with protruding keystones and pilasters. Rüsdiyye Mektebi (1900-1901) distinguishes itself with its neoclassical façade arrangements (Fig. 10). The buildings are uniformly constructed out of local limestone of ashlar. Yet, the symmetrical and axial design of the governmental buildings also sometimes express a stylistic synthesis of local elements. This is especially visible at the gate decoration of the Cavalcade Barracks (1890-91). Alongside these indistinct details on the façades, traditional practices of Mardin architecture continued to appear exclusively in the buildings' construction material and techniques (Gökhan Baydas, 2007). *Sandık* construction technique, used commonly since pre-Islamic times in the masonry of Northern Mesopotamia was employed in the construction of these buildings. In this technique, double shell of masonry is used and filled in with mortar and rubble in the middle (Alioglu, 2003). Thus Ottoman architecture in Mardin does not represent an absolute rupture but a continuity in the city's landscape due to the continuation of the use of local ashlar masonry and traditional construction techniques of Mardin in the post-Tanzimat official buildings.

However, neighbourhoods, which, until this era, had developed around religious structures belonging to Muslim and Christian communities, surrendered to new secular official buildings and urban forms. In this sense the city represented a break with its past. What was experimented in Mardin was the same elsewhere in the land of the Empire during Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat eras. These transformations are more pronounced in provinces depending on their geopolitical importance for the Empire, but less emphasised in the districts such as Mardin. As Arnaud (2008) asserts there was a passing from the traditional Muslim city to the modern city, achieved through new institutions and new forms adopted from Western models.

The commissioned architects and stonemasons were locals of Mardin, mostly from Catholic Syriac community but also from Armenian and Muslim communities (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017). From 1842 to 1892, the head architects (*mimarbaşı*) in Mardin were of the Catholic Syriac '*Mimarbaşılar*' family who led also the construction artisans (*inşaat esnafi*) (Kankal, Özcossar, Güness, & Gürhan, 2007; Özcosar, Günes, & Dinc, 2006; Tan, 2010). No construction activity could be possible without the permission and authorisation of the head architect who was responsible for inspecting imperial and individual constructions, repairs and controlling the construction materials. Thus the bureaucratic and municipal buildings, symbolising the Ottoman state, were built by local architects and stonemasons according to their knowledge of the construction and requirement of the Porte, fashioning a more vernacular appearance.

The Government Palace, the seat of the Ottoman administration, was the most significant symbol of the presence and authority of Ottoman Empire in Mardin in the modern era (Fig. 5, 7). According to the Diyarbakır almanac of 1291 (1874-75) (İzgöer, 1999, II), it was built during the governorship of Kurt İsmail Hakkı Pasha, who also initiated governmental constructions in Diyarbakır Province (Gökhan Baydas, 2008). The three-storey building with symmetrical arrangement reflects the official features of the period. It was designed with wards for men on the ground floor, and wards for women at the adjoining building to the Government Palace, which was destroyed today. A large mansion, the Government House (*Vali Konağı*) (late 19th c.) (40) was also built as the governor's residency in Mardin at the square as the part of the administrative complex. This two-story building displays both features of Mardin's domestic architectural styles and the Tanzimat era imperial style. While neoclassical decorative features on its façades give it a more official appearance, its layout evokes traditional domestic architecture. The Town Hall (1869-70) (41), located between the Government Palace (1874) (45) and Government House (late 19th c.) (40), has not retained any of its original features today. A photograph, taken in the early 20th century, suggests that the original building was a longitudinal two-story stone building, its southern façade was arranged with depressed arched windows and doors, and western wall was marked with a big pointed arch surrounding two windows (Bekin, 2010) (Fig. 5). As indicated in the

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Diyarbakir almanac of 1286 (1869-70), the municipality of Mardin was established in 1869 (İzgöer, 1999, I), twelve years after Istanbul, and the Town Hall building was constructed over 1869-70 (İzgöer, 1999, I). Another post-Tanzimat building is the Revenue Hall (*Vergi Dairesi*) (43) located next to the Cavalcade Barracks (1890-91) (42) (Fig. 8). The revenue department was created in Mardin in 1880, and local tribal leaders from Kîkî and Mîllî families holding former privileged *mîr-i aşiret* tenure, were appointed as tax clerks (Aydin et al., 2001). This small rectangular building also lost its original features. An old photograph reveals its symmetrical and recursive façade arrangement with round-arched windows and doors (Bekin, 2010) (Fig. 6).

Another new element appended to urban space at the end of the 19th century was the Cavalcade Barracks (*Süvari Kışlası*) (1890-91) (42) that emerged within the process of change of administrative structure. Cavalcade Barracks of Mardin was built in the fashion of the many military barracks constructed throughout the empire during the reign of the Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1875-1909) (Celik, 2008). According to the Diyarbakir almanac of 1308 (1890-91), Hacı Hasan Pasha (1887-1891), the governor of Diyarbakir, constructed the Cavalcade Barracks in Mardin in 1890-91 (İzgöer, 1999, IV). Its size and location suggest that it was built in a larger size than other governmental buildings and placed on a site above the city to dominate the urban landscape with its monumental quality (Fig. 3). This two-story stone building represents the power of Ottoman authority over the district and above the local people. It is composed of two almost identical stories and represents a symmetrical rectangular layout (Fig. 5). The façades of the Cavalcade Barracks are also organised according to neoclassical conventions. The horizontal building's façades were marked with arched windows, with engaged plasters between them. Yet, its extremely lavish decorated doorway with traditional motifs is inconsistent with its neoclassical appearance. A composition of vine scrolls and grapes in high relief decorate the doorway. The composition of vine scrolls and grapes revives from its late antique past and is often seen in northern Mesopotamian church architecture from the 4th to 8th century. Grape vine motifs are carved into the altarpiece of Surp Hovsep Church (1887) and the fire place of Mar Hurmuzd (5th c./1902) (Akyüz, 1998; Wharton, 2016, p. 44). Similar ornament was applied in particular in the contemporary elite dwellings, such as Dokmak Family House (1890) and Amanuel Şoha House (late 19th c.), as well as in the minaret of Great Mosque (Beyazit, 2009).

Tanzimat Reforms were intended to re-fashion the Ottoman state in line with the 19th-century modern state structures. While centralising and modernising the imperial army and bureaucracy, the Tanzimat bureaucrats also established modern schools to promote new forms of knowledge production and educate a new class of civil and military bureaucrats who could lead the process of state and societal modernisation in a rapidly changing world. After the proclamation of the Education Regulation (*Maarif Nizamnamesi*) in 1869, new types of schools were opened in different administrative units: primary schools (*ibtidâî)* were opened in villages; secondary schools (*rüşdiyye)* in districts, and high schools (*idadi)* in provinces. Rüşdiyye schools were the first public educational institutions to be established, and were considered the highest-level educational institution prior to 1880s. Rüşdiyye education in Mardin began in 1870 with twenty-eight students (Aydin et al., 2001). Students' numbers increased with time, but a decent building did not exist until 1900. The dilapidated Al-Muzaffariyya Madrasa was destroyed, and a modern Mekteb-i Rüşdiyye (27), was installed on its foundations in (1318) 1900-1901 by the governor of Diyarbakir, Halid Bey Efendi (r. 1896-1902) –as recorded in an inscription on the pediment of the building entrance. This two-story rectangular school building, located in southwestern part of Zinciriye (Sultan İsa) Madrasa (1385) (n), was built completely in the neoclassical convention (Fig. 9-10). Z. Celik (2008) suggests that the Ottoman ambassador to Paris, Esad Saffet Pasha collected and sent the plans of schools to Istanbul for further distribution to the provinces in 1885-86, and that is why forms and plans of Ottoman schools resemble Parisian schools. The courtyard portico with a triangular pediment is worthy of special consideration. In contrast to the main building, the courtyard portico is a synthesis of Mardin's rich architectural past and the new governmental neoclassical style. The rectangular entrance door of the portico is flanked with a triangular pediment on which traditional stylised interlaced vegetal motifs and mouldings were carved.

Religious Architecture: Churches and Mosques

One major agenda of the Tanzimat Reforms was to develop a new legal code that could address each and every Ottoman subject on egalitarian terms on the basis of modern-secular principles. The Ottoman Empire, like its precedent Islamic empires, recognised its Christian and Jewish communities as 'People of the Book' (*Ehl-i Kitab*) and granted them the legal status of *dhimmi* (Norton, 2015). The *dhimmi* status guaranteed for these communities imperial protection for religious freedom and safety of person and property, and autonomy to run their own affairs as distinct *millet* units in matters of religious practice, education, and personal status law, in exchange for a special tax called *jizya* (Davison, 1963). Although the *dhimmi* system was notably more inclusive of and egalitarian towards the non-majority religious communities, Christian and Jewish subjects of the Ottoman Empire were not equals of the

Empire's Muslim subjects, either (Cleveland & Bunton, 2013). Christians and Jews held extensive range of administrative and military positions (Norton, 2015). However, they did not have equal status for appointment to higher echelons of the administrative posts (Soykan, 2000). Performing their rituals publicly was forbidden as it was perceived as blasphemy (Kenanoglu, 2012). There was also a hierarchical arrangement in the architecture. They were banned to construct new churches and synagogues. They only had the right to restore their worship places with permission of the Porte according to their original plans, and prohibited from adding new parts to existing structures (Kenanoglu, 2012). Architectural elements such as bell towers and domes, which render churches and synagogues visible, were also restricted, as they were regarded as assault on the supremacy of Islam (Davison, 1954).

With the Tanzimat Edict of 1839, all Ottoman citizens became equal regardless of their religion. This policy was reflected in the composition of councils, assemblies and schools. The Tanzimat Reforms were affirmed with the Reform Edict of 1856, which was another significant threshold in the transformation of the Ottoman state (Karpat, 1972). The decrees of 1839 and 1856 aimed to create a notion of common Ottoman citizenship to secure the loyalty of the Christian subjects of the empire (Cleveland & Bunton, 2013). The Reform Edict of 1856 promised privileges to non-Muslim communities to preserve and develop their cultural identities and to participate in political life in the Ottoman world. The edict certified equality in justice, schools, military service, governmental posts, and abolishment of the head tax (*jizya*) (Karpat, 1972). Non-Muslim sectarian schools were established in accordance with this regulation. Furthermore, non-Muslim subjects were granted the right to construct new religious buildings, such as churches, monasteries as well as hospitals and orphanages and these constructions and their operation were exempted from tax (Kücük, 1985). Accordingly, by the end of the 19th century the number of churches increased in those Ottoman provinces and districts where non-Muslim communities lived. Moreover, changes occurred in the plan and façades of the unchanging church architecture since the Byzantine era. Churches built during the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat eras display different features to their antecedents with their large sizes, domes, high bell towers and intense decorations. Old constructions were also made into the features of this era with the addition of new bell towers, domes, and façades as well as extension of the interiors (Alkan Reis, 2012).

Mardin was one of the cities of ethnic and religious diversity. 19th-century Mardin court records (*Mardin şeriye sicilleri*) (Dinc, 2007; Kankal et al., 2007; Özcosar et al., 2006; Özcosar, Günes, & Bozkurt, 2007a; Özcosar, Günes, & Dinc, 2007b; Tan, 2010; Tekdal, 2009), Diyarbakir almanacs (*Diyarbakır salnameleri*) (İzgöer, 1999) and travel accounts (Geary, 1878) register a mixed population of Arabs (Muslim), Armenians (Catholic and Protestant), Chaldeans (Nestorian and Catholic), Kurds (Muslim and Yezidi), Syriacs (Jacobit/Kadim, Catholic and Protestant), Shamsis, Turks (Muslim) and Jews in Mardin at the end of the 19th century. According to these sources, the population of Mardin was predominantly Muslim, while Syriacs of various denominations made up the majority of Christian inhabitants. Armenians, of Catholic or Protestant sects, were the second-largest Christian community, and Jews were still present in Mardin in *fin de siècle* (Dinc, 2007; Geary, 1878; İzgöer, 1999, IV).

Northern Mesopotamia wherein Mardin lay, had a unique architectural heritage from the late antique period. Significant church architecture appeared in the region with distinct plan types, building materials, construction techniques, and decorations between AD 300 and 800 (Keser Kayaalp, 2009). Development of church architecture continued during the first one and a half centuries of Islamic rule. However, with the reign of Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. AD 847-861), a ban on the construction of non-Muslim religious buildings was put into law (Mundell Mango, 1982, p. v). From the 9th century onwards non-Muslim religious architecture witnessed an absolute decline because of this ban, and the cutting off Byzantine patronage and heavy taxation (Mundell Mango, 1982, p. v). Wide range of churches and monasteries belonging to various Christian communities were built in Mardin and its surrounding area during the pre-Islamic period, especially in the 5th and 6th centuries (Akyüz, 1998) and a synagogue (Ben-Yaacob, 2006). Yet, for the reasons mentioned above, the development of non-Muslim religious architecture stalled in the long history of Islamic states. Existing buildings were restored and sometimes new additions like schools, were made to important religious centres such as Deir Za'faran Monastery (5th century), Mar Behnam and Saro Church (6th c.) (3) and Mort Şmuni Church (6th c.) (31) during the Ottoman period (Akyüz, 2005). Yet, with the implementation of Tanzimat Reforms in the region, a development similar to the trend between AD 4th and 9th centuries, took hold in the non-Muslim architecture in Mardin. Number of new churches and monasteries remarkably increased and significant changes were made in the old constructions.

Syriac Orthodox, Catholics and Protestants and Armenian Catholics of Mardin constructed several churches in the second half of the 19th century (Akyüz, 1998). According to Arabic and Syriac church inscriptions, the Virgin Mary Church at Sar (1860) (6), the Mar Efrem Monastery (1884) (1), the Surp Hovsep Church (1887) (4) and the Mar Petrus and Pavlus Church (1914) (47) were built in the city centre of Mardin by Christian communities along with many others in surrounding areas. The Virgin Mary Church at Savurkapı (1857) was also among the buildings constructed in this era but it does not exist today (Akyüz 1998). Between 1852-1860 many Syrians converted to Protestantism and the Protestant

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Church was founded in Mardin (Akyüz, 1998). The Syriac Protestant Church (10) was opened in the late 19th century for this community to perform their rituals (Kankal et al., 2007).

In addition to these, ancient ecclesiastical structures were renovated. During renovations, the interiors were sometimes enlarged like in the case of Mar Behnam and Saro Syriac Orthodox Church (6th c.) (3), and new architectural components were added such as bell towers, banqueting halls with elaborated façades, metropolitan and patriarchate buildings, and the house for the priest. Thus it is possible to suggest that ancient churches and monasteries were also enveloped by the tendencies and tastes of the era. For instance, Surp Kevork Church (22) dated to 420, belonging to the Armenian community, was entirely renovated, and new parts were added in 1884 (Alkan Reis, 2012). The 6th century Mar Behnam and Saro Syriac Orthodox Church (3) was extended in the 19th century with new additions: the patriarchate building was erected in 1850; its altars (*kduşkudşin*) holding the relics were added in 1893; and the metropolitan building was adjoined in 1925 (Akyüz, 1998). Another Syriac Orthodox Church, Mort Şmuni (6th c.) (31) also went through several renovations. As indicated by building inscriptions dated 1869, embroidered walnut wood doors were designed. In 1883, a banqueting hall was added to the complex and in 1910 a bell tower was erected (Akyüz, 1998). The 5th century Mar Mihael Church (Burç Monastery) (24) also belonging to Syriac Orthodox community was renovated in this era (Fig. 13). According to its inscription, its bell tower was erected in 1885. The 5th century Chaldean Catholic Church, Mar Hurmuzd (26) was also restored. As marked in a Syriac inscription, its banqueting hall was appended in 1891, and the ornate fireplace was placed in 1902 (Akyüz, 1998).

Churches were designed as a part of a complex, composed of banqueting hall (*divanhane*), and the house for the priest, developed around a courtyard, enclosed by high walls, and accentuated by bell towers. Banqueting halls and bell towers are novelty of the era in the church architecture. The banqueting halls constitute the profane part of the church complex where people gather and socialise after services. Thus, it reflects the traditional Mardin domestic architectural features in its interior and façade arrangements and decors. Bell towers are in the shape of baldaquin with small fluted domes and rise above the roof (Fig. 13).

Church architecture in Mardin mainly follows the patterns of traditional one or three aisled basilica plan with the exception of Syriac Protestant Church (late 19th c.) (10). The latter was originally built as a house, and later transformed into a church when the number of the Protestant community increased at the end of the 19th century (Akyüz, 1998). While the Mar Efrem Monastery Church (1884) (1) displays a single-aisled basilica plan, the Virgin Mary Church at Şar (1860) (6) (Fig. 15), Surp Hovsep Church (1887) (4) (Fig. 11) and Mar Petrus and Pavlus Church (1914) (47) are three-aisled. The number of columns in each row separating the naves varies according to the size of the church. The interior space of the churches is spanned by cross vaults. The façade arrangement of the churches has a symmetrical design with round-arched windows with protruding keystones arranged in pairs, flat arched and rectangular windows with semi-circular or triangular pediments and elaborately decorated porticoes. Exceptionally elliptic and trefoil airing windows are present on the upper part of the southern walls of the Mar Efrem Church (1884) (1) (Fig. 12) and four-leaf clover and rectangular airing windows at Surp Kevork Church (420/1884) (22). Two doors open up to the interiors: one to the east which is highly decorated for men, another to the west for women on the southern wall (Keser Kayaalp, 2009). Women gather at the back of the congregation during the religious service and ceremonies as manifested with the location of doors serving women. The porticos for men of Surp Hovsep Church (1887) (22) and Mar Petrus and Paulus Church (1914) (47) are distinctively embellished and share a common compositional plan (Fig. 14). Traditional rectangular form is emphasised with friezes fulfilled with traditional vegetal and geometric patterns. Virgin Mary Church at Şar (1860) (6) has a narthex and Surp Hovsep Church (1887) (22) is with a gallery on the west. Northern walls without windows possess several semi-circular niches to put liturgical objects and candles. The apses are separated from the naves with decorated arches and reached by stairs where altars delicately carved out of stone, are placed. Angel figures and crosses are also present on the altars and doorways.

An architectural tradition with construction techniques, materials and forms, forged due to cohabitation of various religious and ethnic communities for centuries in Mardin and based on cultural communication (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017), also continued in ecclesiastical architecture. The architects and stonemasons stuck to traditional ground plan and interior and façade arrangements in church architecture. But at the same time, these buildings reflect the eclectic trend of the era and aesthetic taste of the communities, who were granted the right to express themselves in the public space after centuries. Some neoclassical forms, introduced by the Ottoman bureaucrats to the city with the constructions of the official buildings, and due to the relationship established between Christian communities of Mardin and Western countries through missionaries, were used on the façades such as round-arched windows with protruding keystones, the triangle pediments, and ogee arches (Wharton, 2016), which however only subordinate the local style of the churches. As the buildings themselves portray, emphasis and intensity of the ornaments were made on the gates for men, southern façades, altars in the interior, and in the bell towers. Moreover,

the façades of the banqueting halls (*divanhane*) are also accentuated with blind arches as represented in the residential architecture.

Moreover, apart from the local non-Muslim communities' architectural activities, missionary groups brought in new structures in the urban fabric of Mardin. In 1858, the American Board of the missionaries (ABCFM) opened a station (2) at the Diyarbakır gate, including a church, a theological school for boys, a high school for girls, a primary school, a kindergarten, a hospital, and four dwelling houses and offices for the American personnel in Mardin (Dewey, 1889). Capuchin Latin Catholics also opened a monastery, a church and a school at Şar quarter in Mardin in 1884 but it was destroyed in 1920s when Germans enlarged the main road (Akyüz, 1998).

In contrast to the development of Christian architecture, there is no new monumental Islamic religious architecture in the 19th-century Mardin. There is neither any architectural evidence nor a mention of the mosque construction in Mardin in the sources, such as Diyarbakır almanacs of 1286-1323 (1869-1905), which enlist in detail the architectural activities of the era, carried out by the Ottoman officials (İzgöer, 1999). Sheikh Hamid Mausoleum (1880-81) (50) is the sole Islamic building constructed by a local family at the end of the 19th century (Altun, 1971; Güzel, 2010). Unlike the imperial centre Istanbul, which abounds in imperial mosques built in the 19th century (Batur, 1985) and Diyarbakır Province where sources report the construction of one mosque (Gökhan Baydas, 2007), there is no new mosque construction in the district of Mardin. The absence of any burgeoning mosque architecture in the 19th century in Mardin is contingent upon the priorities of Tanzimat Reforms. The Ottoman state of the era tried to strengthen its centralised grip on the provinces by constructing new governmental and municipal buildings, and also allowed the Christian communities to build and renovate their buildings with new citizenship regulations. Yet, the absence of a 19th century mosque architecture in Mardin does not mean that Islamic religious architecture was categorically in recess in this period, which saw the development of dervish lodges constructed by institutionalised sufi orders in rural Mardin (Sengül, 2008).

Only new minarets were adjoined to some medieval monumental mosques, and madrasas and new decorative elements were added in the interior and the exterior of the buildings (Güzel, 2010). Among the Islamic religious monuments of 19th-century Mardin, the most striking is the minaret that was added to the north east of the 12th-century Great Mosque in 1888 (28) (Beyazit, 2009) (Fig. 16).The vertical cylindrical body of the minaret arises on a cubical base that is separated into three parts with horizontal mouldings and adorned with blind arches, meander motifs, teardrop and round shaped medallions with Arabic inscriptions, and vine scrolls, leaves and grapes. The mihrab niche of Great Mosque (28) was also composed of vine scrolls and grapes and crowned by a triangle pediment in the fashion of the era. As none of the Artukid minarets survived in Mardin, it was inspired by the slender minarets of Hasankeyf of the Ayyubid period (Beyazit, 2009). The minarets of 'Abd al-Laṭîf (Latifiye) Mosque (1371/1847) (16) and Şehidiye Madrasa (13th c./1916-17) (32) are other examples built in the 19th and early 20th centuries which also display the particular tastes of the century (Gabriel, 1940).

Domestic Architecture

According to the descriptions of Western travelers who visited Mardin in the first half the 19th century, the city consisted of small houses and surrounded by a stone wall (Kinneir, 1827). The houses were well built, yet lacked any ornamentation, and most of them looked very ancient. G. Geary's *fin de siècle* account offers a contrasting appearance of the city. As reported by Geary (1878) the general style of construction in Mardin indicates a mastery of the art. He finds the constructors of Mardin very skillful. Likewise W. A. Wigram (1914) describes Mardin as a town largely composed of good substantial buildings. A. Gabriel (1940), French archeologist and architect, defines the houses of Mardin as built fastidiously and dates most of them to the 19th century.

Although most domestic buildings lack any inscription and there exists no written source to date them with ease, traveler accounts as well as ground plan arrangements and the façade and interior features of the buildings testify to substantial construction activities and fine masonry in residential architecture in *fin de siècle* Mardin. 330 fine stone houses survived today, which were studied by Soyukaya et al. in *Mardin Cultural Inventory* (2013). Eighteen houses bear an inscription of foundation. Of these, one belongs to the 18th century, eleven belong to the 19th century and six houses belong to the early 20th century. It can be inferred from the surviving residential complexes that numerous houses belonging to wealthy and influential Arab, Armenian, Jew, Kurdish, Syriac and Turkish families were either constructed, or reconstructed from the end of the 19th century onwards. These families included tradesmen, artisans, aristocratic and tribal families, from both Muslim and non-Muslim communities. The size of the dwelling, the grandeur or the number of floors and rooms, and their rich stone embroidery and decoration are also associated with the wealth and the social status of the users.

The ruling class, which had direct relations with the Imperial Porte and the tribes who also collected taxes, gained the major revenue of the city during the Ottoman period (Aydin et al., 2001). Another influential group was the mercantile and tradesmen class which prospered due to Mardin's location on the caravan routes of Diyarbakır-Mosul-Baghdad; Diyarbakır-Trabzon-Urfa and Urfa-Aleppo-

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Mosul. Moreover, due to agricultural production in the vineyards and gardens in its vicinity, Mardin was agriculturally self-sufficient and was also able to produce for trade. Big tribal families such as Mîllî, Mişkî, Daşiyan and Sürgücü possessed big slots of land in rural hinterlands of Mardin. Furthermore, a new elite class came into being by the end of the 19th century as a result of Tanzimat efforts. New bureaucrats among the Muslim and Christian communities were elected to serve in the city councils and assemblies to govern the city (Aydin et al., 2001).

The surviving dwellings of Mardin show that the wealthy citizens of Mardin inscribed their presence in the image of the houses that they built during the post-Tanzimat era. Kermozade Mansion (17th c./1877/1897) (49), Mîllîzade Mansion or Palace (early 18th c./19th c.) (34), and Abdulkadir Pasha Mansion (late 19th c.) (29) are the biggest of these residential units and reflect the power of the ruling class (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017; Alioglu, 2003; Numan, 2009). Dokmak Family House (Today Sait Saydam House) (1890) (11), Şahtana House (1890) (35), Amanuel Şoha House (Today Hüseyin Ersan House) (late 19th c.) (8), Cebur House (Today Gazipaşa Primary School) (1908) (17), Koçhisarlı-Kosalli Family House (Today Nezir Sürücü House) (1911) (12), Tatlidede House (early 20thc.) (20) and Architect Lole House (Today Abdulkadir İlhan House) (Early 20th c.) (23) represent large scale and elaborated features (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017). They belong to wealthy traders, tradesmen and artisans of the city. Other houses are rather small in size and have few rooms, but they all show skilful stone carvings. The houses remarkable in terms of quality stone embroideries are Cercis Murat House (1888) (9), Musa Alkanoğlu House (1895) (39), Hanze Değirmenci House (1897) (13), Hüseyin Çakmak House (1899) (18), Erdoba House (late 19th c.) (33), Çerme Family House (Today Şahkulu House) (1909) (25), Oral Family House (late 19th c.) (37), Beyta Şanhor House (Today Kurtuluş House) (late 19th c.) (7), and Ismail Efendi House (early 20th c.) (21) (Güzel, 2010).

Domestic architecture of Mardin shares certain typical characteristics. Houses are placed in ranges one above the other to conform to the steep topography of the city. They were constructed with local limestone, which stands in harmony with the city's ecological and climatic make up. While light yellow and solid limestone were used in the construction, yellow limestone, which is softer and more suitable for carving, was utilised to carve ornaments. Houses are between one and four storied constructions. Different stories might be dating from different centuries. Alioglu (2003) suggests that the ground floors are the earliest part of the houses but most houses were rebuilt at the end of the 19th century. In most examples, the ground floors where a kitchen, a well, stables, stores, laundry and restrooms are located, are arranged around a small courtyard. Other floors are reached by stairs or doors, which open to the streets on the various levels of the urban fabric. Living units, located in the northern, eastern and western parts of rectangular, L or U-shaped terraces, face the Mesopotamian Valley in the South. In general, they have two main rooms, one used as the family living room, and the other as guest room (*baş oda*). Yet, the number of the living and guest rooms can multiply depending on the size of the houses. Such is the case in Kermozade Mansion (17th c./1877/1897) (49), Mîllîzade Mansion or Palace (early 18th c.) (34), Dokmaklar House (1890) (11), Abdulkadir Pasha House (late 19th c.) (29) and Amanuel Şoha House (late 19th c.) (8), which have a great number of living and guest rooms (Numan, 2009). Various sized iwans (*eyvan*), which serve as an entrance open up to terraces and courtyards. The domestic living spaces are typically laid out in square, rectangular, L-form and T-form plans. The living and guest rooms are elegantly designed and symbolise familial social status. A niche called mihrab where coffee cups are displayed as a symbol of hospitality is found mostly in the southern walls depending on the direction of the rooms, of almost every house irrespective of faith (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017). Rich stone carvings on the façades and on the arch surfaces of the niches and windows render domestic buildings architecturally and aesthetically more remarkable than their official counterparts. Traditional vegetal motifs, composed of interlaced vine scrolls and grapes, rumis, palmettes and acanthus leafs, are mostly used at the monumental entrance portals, and the mihrab decoration as well as other wall niches which are in a big number and sizes, and serve as cabinet and closet (Fig. 20). Yet, geometric patterns are limited to chain motifs found on the columns carrying the arches and the friezes of mihrab niches and on the decoration of the medallions (Güzel, 2010). Besides the stone carvings, wood carvings, wood painting, gypsery and metal works at handrails, door-knockers were also used in the houses (Alioglu, 2003). The façades are created by the repetition of the high arches which envelope doors, windows and iwans. Arch forms that are used on the façades and frame the doors and the niches in the interiors, vary as segmental, ogee, round, stilted, trefoil, multi-foil and basket arches. Southern façades, which face the Mesopotamian plain and courtyard and terraces, are the most decorated elements of the houses. Façades are mostly composed of repetitive forms of long blind arches in various shapes that frame the rectangular windows and small ventilation windows and iwan arches (Fig. 17-18). Trefoil and multi foil arches and profiled zigzags are employed very often, strengthening the sculptural effect of the windows in the 19th century houses. Although this arch forms were employed in the Islamic and non-Islamic architecture of Mardin for centuries, their systematical use on the façades and becoming the focal point of the decoration appeared during the post-

Tanzimat era (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017). Traditional circular and teardrop shaped medallions, inscription panels or windows are also often visible on the façades of the domestic buildings (Güzel, 2010).

The forms known in the region since late Antiquity and used in church, tomb and baptistery architecture of the 4th to 8th centuries were readopted in the religious and domestic architecture of Mardin during the post-Tanzimat era (Beyazit, 2006). These ancient patterns of dense vine scrolls and grapes were carved in a naturalistic and three-dimensional manner on the vernacular architecture, invariable Islamic and Christian, as well as the official buildings such as the Cavalcade Barracks (1890-91) (42). Other traditional vegetal motifs, composed of interlaced rumis, palmettes and acanthus leafs, geometric patterns and shell motifs, which decorated both Christian and Islamic monuments during the centuries were also employed to decorate the post-Tanzimat buildings of Mardin. The stonemasons carved these patterns into local yellow limestone with a skilful and expressive manner.

New forms with European background were also interlarded to the façade arrangements and the moulding repertoire of dwellings. Notably neoclassical forms such as triangle pediments, which represent the aesthetic taste of Tanzimat period in Mardin, were employed on the façade compositions of some late 19th and early 20th century houses, namely Musa Alkanoğlu House (1895) (39) and İsmail Efendi House (early 20th c.) (21) and on the formation of the mihrab niche of Şahtana House (1890) (35) and Hüseyin Çakmak House (1899) (18) (Güzel, 2010; Soyukaya et al., 2013). Round-arched windows with and without protruding keystones, which also show neoclassical aspects, are used on the façades of Mardin Museum Building (1895) (5) which originally built as a residential unit, was later used as the patriarchate building, Abdulkadir Pasha Mansion (late 19th c.) (29), Cebur House (1908) (17), Tatlıdede House (early 20th c.) (20). Due to the close social and cultural interactions that non-Muslim peoples of Mardin had with Catholic and Protestant missionaries, neoclassic, neobaroque and neogothic forms of European background, also began to appear on the façades of the residential buildings (Güzel, 2010). Triple arch arrangements of Çerme House (today Şahkulu House) (1909) (25) and İsmail Efendi House (early 20th c.) (21) display Italian neoclassic aspects (Güzel, 2010). Neogothic triple window arrangement with ogee arches is represented solely on the southern façade of Beyta Şanhor House (late 19th c.) (7) (Fig. 19). Lastly, baroque-like profiled window compositions are used especially on the façades of buildings from the early 20th century, such as Koçhisarlı-Kosalli Family House (1911) (12) and the Architect Lole House (early 20th c.) (23). Oriel windows, which were probably introduced by the appointed Ottoman rulers to Mardin, are present in few cases such as Abdulkadir Pasha Mansion (late 19th c.) (29) and İsmail Efendi House (early 20th c.) (21) both belonging to ruling class families (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017) (Fig. 18).

Another common feature of domestic architecture in Mardin is the use of figural representations. Bird representations on mihrabs, mostly the dove representation that is one of the symbols of Mardin because of the city's preoccupation with tumbling dove, peacocks, fish on barrel vaults and lions at the arch corners of the entrances are the most common figural motifs (Güzel, 2010). The dove representations are cut almost tridimensional on the capitals of the mihrab columns and gate columns of the most houses. The most elaborated examples are Hanze Değirmenci House (1897) (13), Hüseyin Çakmak House (1899) (18), Amanuel Şoha House (late 19th c.)(8), İnayet Utku House (late 19th c.) (36), Ayten Enez House (late 19th c.) (48), Suphi Bisen House (late 19th c.) (19) and Architect Lole House (early 20th c.) (23) (Soyukaya et al., 2003, pp. 370, 378, 394, 471, 614, 622, 631). Peacocks are also used as a tridimensional figure on the capitals of the mihrab columns of Çerme House (1909) (25) and as the niche decoration of Mardin Museum Building (1895) (5) (Güzel, 2010). Fish patterns are cut in low relief on the vaults of the living rooms of Beyta Şanhor House (late 19th c.) (7) and Cebur House (1908) (17). A pair of lion holding a sword with its paw is displayed at the entrance of Mahmut Alsan House (1892) (15). Human representation is also seen in Amanuel Şoha House (late 19th c.) (8) and a winged angel image in Dokmak Family (1890) (11) and Abdurrahman Taşkit (late 19th c.) (30) Houses (Güzel, 2010; Soyukaya et al., 2013). Furthermore, some religious signs are also found on the façades and interior walls. The ventilation windows of Beyta Şanhor House (late 19th c.) (7) are in the shape of a cross. Crosses are displayed on façade and interior walls of the Dokmak Family House (1890) (11), Amanuel Şoha House (late 19th c.) (8) and Zeyni Altun House (late 19th c.) (14); and the Star of David is carved on the walls of Avuka Family House (late 19th c.) (38) and Oral Family House (late 19th c.) (37) (Acikyildiz Sengül, 2017). These changes in the ornament repertory can be also seen as the result of the Tanzimat Reforms which established a system of secular citizenship that guaranteed equality to all Ottoman subjects (Cleveland & Bunton, 2013). Thus non-Muslims, such as Catholic, Orthodox/Kadim and Protestant Syriac and Armenians as well as Jewish population of Mardin were free to use their religious symbols in their houses during this era.

Conclusion

The current study reached some common conclusions with the literature on the effects of administrative reforms on the architectural style and space organisation of the Tanzimat period. First, administrative reforms during and post-Tanzimat era aim to realise the public visibility of power through the architecture in urban space. New public buildings reflect the new government style. Similarly, it is

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observed that new forms of architectural style and space organisation have undergone a parallel transformation with new political and social relations. However, the findings obtained from archival documents and fieldworks reveal that administrative reforms introduced to a city could be perceived as part of the historical, political and social dynamics of the city. In this context, the architectural styles, developed in Mardin before the 19th century administrative reforms were applied, and the political, class, ethno-political and ethno-religious composition of the city were effective on the relationship of the post-Tanzimat reforms with the city. Consequently, the ways in which public and civil architecture, affected by the Tanzimat reforms were not the same in Mardin and other major Ottoman cities such as Istanbul and Jerusalem. While Mardin was fully attached to the Ottoman administrative system at the end of the 19th century, Istanbul was the capital of the Empire for 400 years, and Jerusalem was incorparated into the Ottoman and European colonial systems by various dynamics of the forms of influence in its history.

In this context, the study presents the following methodological predictions for the following academic studies. First, studies in the field of art history and architectural history should be more associated to the social, political and cultural specificities of the cities with an anthropological approach. Second, a context-sensitive research method will contribute to the emergence of a plural modernisation and the history of architecture and enrich the literature in question. Finally, with the globalisation of the modernisation process, both the common features of modernisation and the unique forms and qualities of each historical and geographical areas are increasingly the subject of academic studies. Thus, this study, which provides data based on the experiences of the modernities of a geography that remained in the margins of empires, has the qualifications to contribute to unique framework in which researchers in different parts of the world can compare their modernity.

The results and the objectives of the study overlap in the following points. The urban landscape of Mardin was developed and transformed from the third half of the 19th century due to changes introduced by the Tanzimat Reforms (1839-1856). Tanzimat bureaucrats sought to strengthen the Ottoman identity among the nations through a series of modernisation and centralisation reforms to secure its territorial integrity by gaining the loyalty of its non-Muslim subjects. The Reform Edict guaranteed equality in justice, schools, military service, governmental posts and abolishment of the head tax to its non-Muslim subjects. Several new regulations concerning the urban reconstruction and renewal also passed to modernise the appearance of the cities of the Ottoman empire.

Tanzimat Reforms resulted in dualistic consequences on the urban landscape of Mardin. The Ottoman empire intervened the urban fabric with the construction of the bureaucratic and municipal buildings. They needed new civic buildings to realise their new modern polity. Thus in contrast to earlier periods, the Ottoman authority and presence was symbolised in its provinces with modern secular bureaucratic buildings such as government buildings, town halls, revenue offices, prisons, schools, hospitals and military barracks. As these buildings with new usage were stranger to the Ottomans, they imitated European models as so and constructed the modern official buildings according to neoclassic convention. Therefore, neoclassical arrangement became the favoured style of the governmental buildings of the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat eras. This arrangement was imported to Mardin from Istanbul. Ottoman official and municipal buildings were constructed as an administrative complex in the intersection of Gül and Şehidiye quarters at the upper part of the city which all show official characters. Few other buildings are disseminated in the city, such as Rüşdiyye school building at the Şar quarter.

Other architectural result was the continuity of local tradition, occurred on the vernacular architecture. Ancient local architectural types, techniques and ornament styles were evolved during this era and urban landscape of Mardin was marked with this distinctive local style in limestone. Ottoman subjects of Mardin constructed and repaired without permission their sacred buildings, a practice which was banned in the Ottoman territories prior to the Tanzimat Reforms. Church architecture pursued traditional one or three nave church layout, covered by cross vaults. Ancient churches were repaired and new additions were made. New-fashioned façades of the adding and the bell towers created continuity between the ancient and new architectural styles. Similar developments also occurred on the Islamic architecture. Although no new Islamic building was built in the district of Mardin, ancient mosques, and madrasas were restored and new annexing was made. Old forms were reused on the new Christian and Islamic buildings and on the new additions to such an extent that it is difficult to perceive the layers of buildings. The foundation and repair inscriptions on the buildings provide the precise dating. Yet the new forms are in a more exaggerated manner, dense and cut in high relief, produced by the skilful hands of stonemasons.

Furthermore, Ottoman subjects and new bureaucratic, as well as mercantile and artisan classes among the Muslims and non-Muslims constructed flamboyant dwellings which demonstrate their power that they held in the new administration. Political representation and transformations in the class structure have transferred the architectural structure to the construction of three-storey houses with courtyard. The transformations in both the administrative representation and the class structure of the city showed itself through the architectural style of the new elites. Storied houses were built to reflect the new status and

wealth of these elites. Domestic architecture, as in religious architecture, continued mostly in traditional local manner. Houses have mostly two or three floors and arranged around a small courtyard. Dwelling spaces developed around traditional living and guest rooms with courtyards, terraces and iwans, but in bigger sizes and sophisticated manners compared to the houses of the earlier periods. The main living spaces are square, rectangular, L and T formed. Traditional ornaments, such as interlaced vine scrolls and grapes, rumis, palmettes and acanthus leafs as well as geometric motifs and shell patterns were used to decorate the window, portico and niche friezes.

Local styles were sometimes mixed with novel modern styles with a European background in the vernacular architecture, such as neoclassical, neobaroque and neogothic. The examples analysed in this study suggest that there was no direct influence from Europe in Mardin with the probable exception of few neogothic and neobaroque window arrangements. Instead Western influences were imported from Istanbul through the modernisation process of Tanzimat Reforms and then used occasionally in the domestic and religious architecture in Mardin. Neoclassical form was the most employed style in the buildings of Mardin with round-arched windows with protruding keystones and triangle pediments. These new modern forms, which were applied in few examples, domestic and religious buildings, were interlaced with elaborated traditional arabesque forms of the geometric and vegetal patterns, carved into yellow limestone, and they were absorbed into the local architecture. Therefore, new forms introduced by the Tanzimat Reforms to Mardin can be perceived only with a careful observation of the domestic and religious architecture. The application of these European forms on the vernacular architecture of Mardin indicates that the habitants of Mardin have not appropriated the new forms properly. Instead, some non-Muslim families who had a direct relation with Europe, both political or commercial, and some ruling class families who applied the Tanzimat rules to the city, used the new forms to decorate their houses and in church façades. Conversely these forms were used in the governmental buildings without exception, commissioned by the bureaucratic officers as the symbol of the modern and central Ottoman empire.

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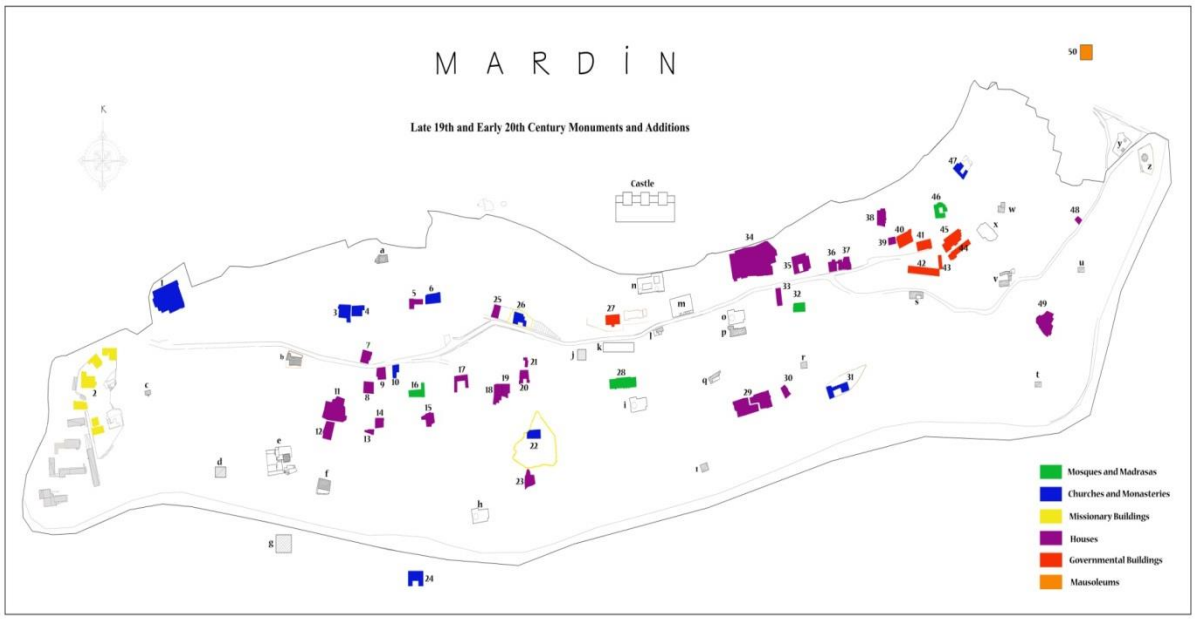
Figures:

Figure 1. General view of Mardin.



LIST OF MONUMENTS

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32. Şehidiye Madrasa
33. Erdoba House
34. Millizade Mansion/Palace
35. Şahtana House
36. Inayet Utku House
37. Oral Family House
38. Avuka Family House
39. Musa Alkanoğlu House
40. Government House
41. Town Hall
42. Military Barracks
43. Revenue Hall
44. Prison for Women
45. Government Palace
46. Tekke Mosque
47. Mar Petrus and Pavlus Church
48. Ayten Enez House
49. Kermozade Mansion
50. Sheikh Hamid Mausoleum

a. Sheikh Şeyhullah (Şar) Mosque
b. Sheikh Çabuk Mosque
c. Hacı Ömer (Halife) Mosque
d. Kıseyri Mosque
e. Emineddin Complex
f. Cami al-Aşfar Mosque
g. Zairi (Sheikh Mahmud ez Zerrar) Mosque
h. Yenikapı Hammam
ı. Teker Mosque (Şah Sultan Hatun Madrasa)
i. Great Mosque Hammam
j. Kasım Tugmaner Mosque
k. Kayseriyya
l. Pamuk (Sheikh Mahmud Dinari) Mosque
m. Surur Khan
n. Zinciriye (Sultan Isa) Madrasa
o. Emir Hammam
p. Reyhaniye Mosque
q. Sahal Mosque
r. Molla Hari Mosque
s. Hamid (Sheikh Zebun) Mosque
t. Arap Mosque
u. Sheikh Şarran Mosque
v. Melik Mahmud (Bab al-Sur) Mosque
w. Radviyye (Hatuniye) Madrasa
x. Radviyye (Hatuniye) Hammam
y. Hamza i Sagir Zaviya
z. Hamza i Kebir Zaviya

Figure 2. Map of Mardin with Monuments.

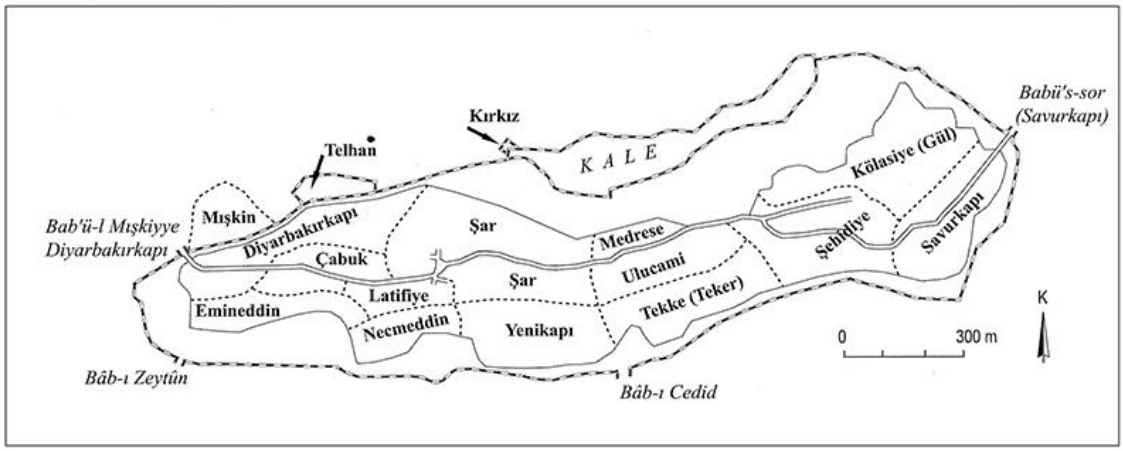

Fig. 3: Quarters of Mardin in the 19th century (Aydın et al. 2001: 490)

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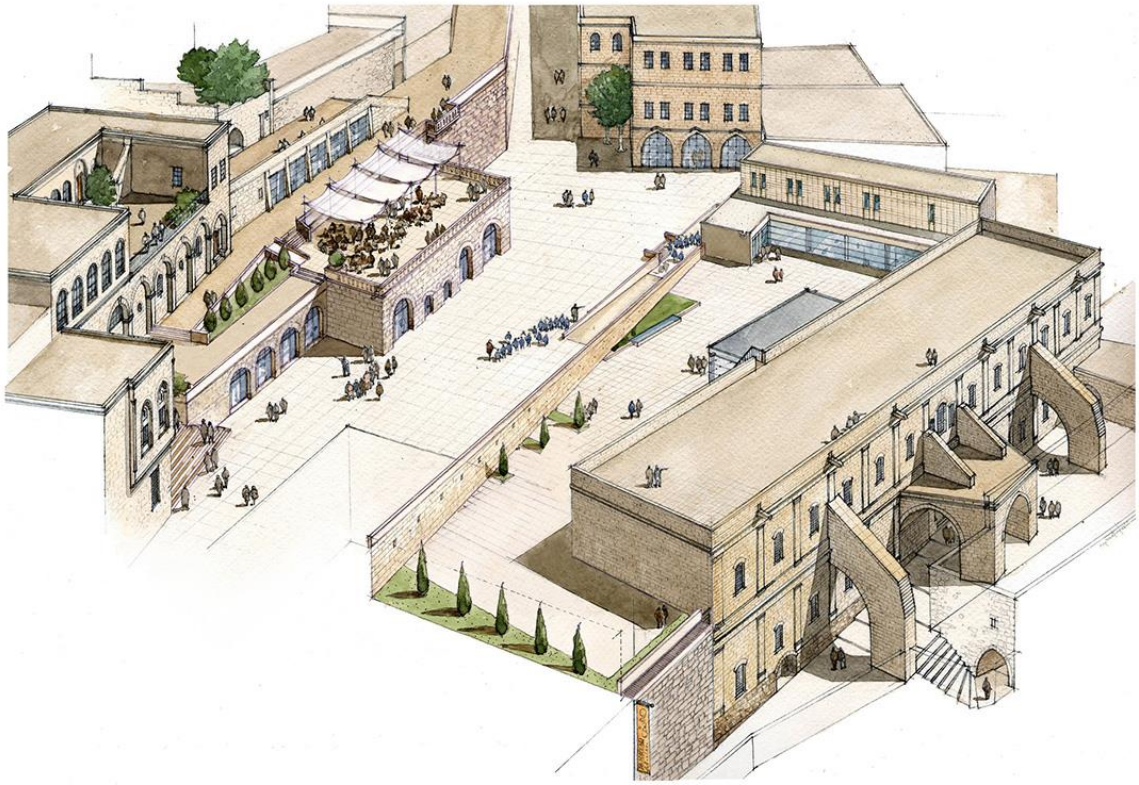

Figure 4. Public Square: The Military Barracks, Revenue Hall, Government Palace, Town Hall, and Government House (From: Cekül Foundation Archive).

Figure 5. View of Town Hall and Government Palace (Bekin 2010: 166).

Figure 6. View of Revenue Hall and Military Barracks (Bekin 2010: 167).

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Figure 7. Government Palace. View of west façade.

Figure 8. Hamidiye Barracks. General view.

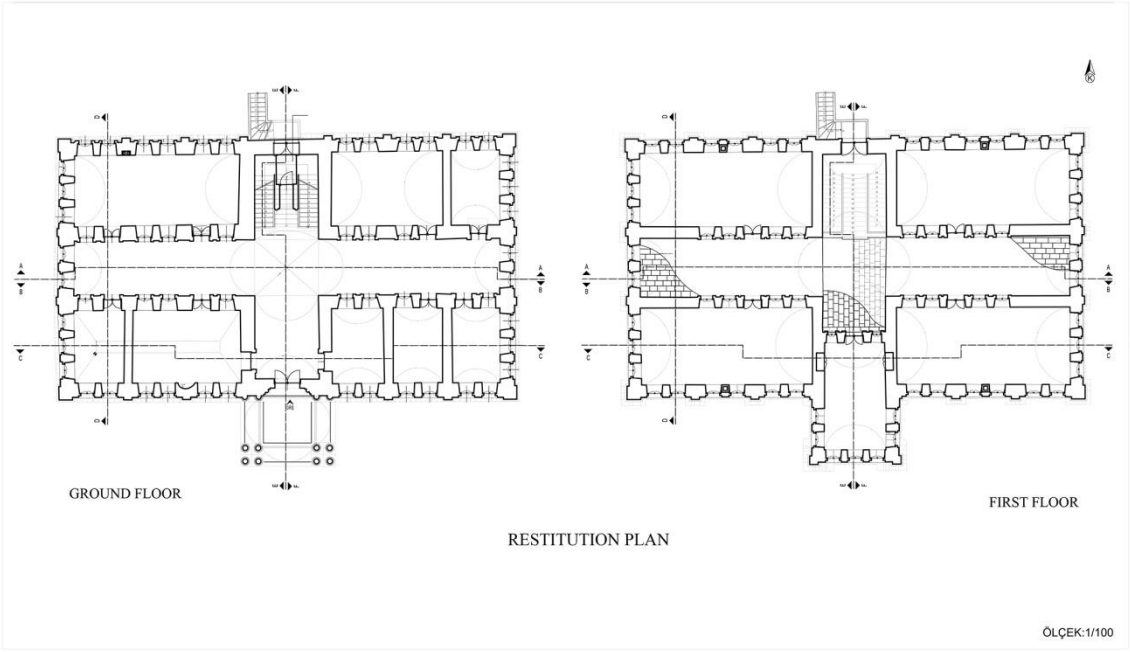

Figure 9. Rüşdiyye School. Plan of first and second floors
(From: Mardin Government Archive).

Figure 10. Rüşdiyye School. General view.

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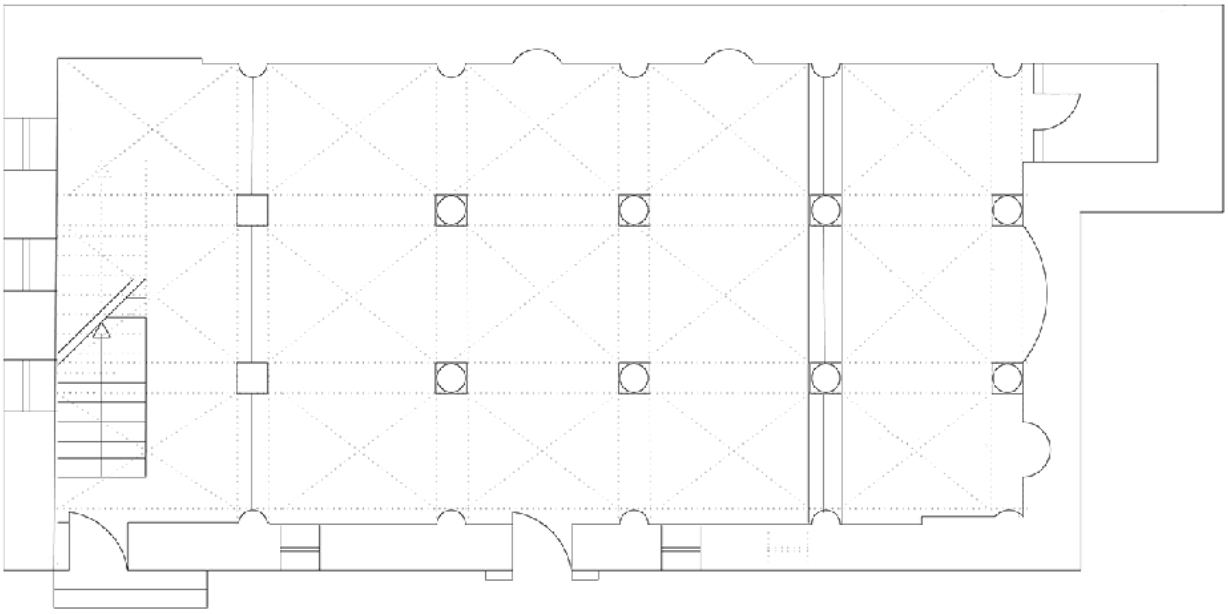

Figure 11. Surp Hovsep Church. Plan (From: Architect Semra Hillez).

Figure 12. Monastery of Mar Efrem. Church and entrance of the residences.

Figure 13. Mar Mihael Church (Burç Monastery).

Figure 14. Surp Hovsep Church. Decorated portal.

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Figure 15. Virgin Mary Church. Interior. Columns supporting cross vaults.

Figure 16. Mardin Great Mosque. Minaret.

Figure 17. Dokmak Family House. General view of the south façade.

Figure 18. Şahtana House. Southern façade and iwan.

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Figure 19. Beyta Şanhor House. Terrace façade. Traditional blind arches and neo-gothic entrance.

Figure 20. Murat Cercis House. Interior of the guest room. Stone carvings on the mihrab and closet niches.