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Original Research Article

Investigating the Roman and Byzantine Patterns of the Great Southern Outwork of the Rabʿ-e Rashidi; Based on Anatolian Samples

Bahram Ajorloo[1*], Behzad Mehdizadeh[2]

1. Ph.D. in Archaeology, The Head of International Project of Rabʿ-e Rashidi, Dep. of Archaeology, Faculty of Cultural Materials Conservation, Tabriz Islamic Art University, Tabriz, Iran.
2. Ph.D. Candidate in Archaeology, The Fellow of International Project of Rabʿ-e Rashidi, Dep. of Archaeology, Faculty of Letters, Ege University, Izmir, Türkiye.

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Abstract

Problem statement: Rabʿ-e Rashidi has two different phases of settlement and usage. Of these, the second phase was for military purposes. The form and plan of the great southern outwork of Rashidiyya have no precedent in the history of Iranian architecture. The present authors attempt to address two questions: What is the pattern of such an outwork? Who is its possible architect or the founder? The present authors have hypothesized that: the great southern outwork of the post-Ilkhanid fort of Rashidiyya was built by the Ottomans. So, it has a Roman-Byzantine pattern. In the Western Ottoman realm, samples of outworks have been left, whose form and plan can be regarded as a pattern for Rashidiyya. They have also hypothesized Jafar Pasha Frenk as its founder during the years of the Roman (Ottoman) Interruption of Tabriz.

Research objective: Methodic restoration of this antique work requires compliance with two conditions of authenticity and identification of its pattern; Because in this case, one can benefit from the successful experience of restoring similar samples.

Research method: The outworks in Rashidiyya, Antalya, Bodrum, Iasos, Kilitbahir, and Mamure consist of the data body of this research. These W. Anatolian samples have a Roman-Byzantine pattern. Inductively, their form, plan, and position of outworks in relation to their ramparts, are comparable with the Rabʿe- Rashidi's one. Historically, 10 main resources from the 16th and 17th CE on the fort of Rashidiyya and the Tabriz campaign of Osman Pasha and Jafar Pasha Frenk are studied as well.

Conclusion: Typologically, the large south tower of Rashidiyya, which is connected to its main rampart by a musketeer banquette, falls within the category of semidetached two-story outworks from the Roman and Byzantine origin. First, Byzantium and then Ottomans inherited this heritage of Roman defensive architecture.

Keywords: *Rab'ʿ-e Rashidi, Rashidiyya fort, Roman defensive architecture, Byzantine defensive architecture, The Ottoman Jafar Pasha Frenk.*

Introduction

The Rabʿ-e Rashidi, enlisted by the No. 943 at the Iranian National List of Heritage since 1975, is recorded as an endowment complex and Abwāb-al-Berr (e.g. Hoffmann, 2000, 2013, 2014, 2021). At the moment, its remain, cover some 13 hectares area, and are located on top of the Kanānkūh (Mt.

* Corresponding author: +989147835400, ajorloo@tabriziau.ac.ir

Kanān), north of Valiyānkūh (Mt. Valiyān), NE Tabriz (Fig. 1). Khwāja Rashid-al-Din Fazl-Allah Tabib Hamadāni (1977) has cited his "suburb" as the "Rashidiyya" in his own written Al-Waqfiyya Al-Rashidiyya Be Khatt-e Al-Wāqef Fi Bayān-e Sharāyet-e Umur Al-Wqaf Wa Al-Masāref (1309). Currently, this book is well-known as the Endowment Deed of Rabʿ-e Rashidi. He has written himself: "We ordered to settle down some people from every city and region in this suburb." H. Mustawfi (1919) has reported in his Nuzhat al-Qulub (1340) that late grand premier Khwāja Rashid-al-Din "built another suburb, which came to be known as the Rashidiyya, and here he constructed many high and magnificent palaces. Later his son, the vizier Muhammad Ghiyāth-al-Din, enlarged his father's buildings here." Historically, after the fall of the Ilkhanid dynasty, the Rabʿ-e Rashidi also known as the Rashid-Ābād and the Abwāb-al-Berr-e Rashidi, was looted in the Qāytāq Tatar invasion of Tabriz, famous as the Wāqeaʿ-al-Kubrā-ye Tabriz. Later, that part of the Rashidiyya, which is located in Kanānkūh, became an Ottoman fortification after the defeat of the Safavid king Muhammad Khudābanda. The Ottomans, during the years famous as the Fetrat-e Rumiyya-ye Tabriz (the Roman Interruption of Tabriz), 1585-1602, constructed the southern outwork and a new curtain wall, including some bastions, around the Kanānkūh part of Rabʿ-e Rashidi. Finally, the fort of Rashidiyya became deserted after the Ottoman invasion of Tabriz, under Sultan Murad Khan IV, in 1635 (Ajorloo, 2013, 2021; Roshan & Ajorloo, 2019; Ajorloo & Moradi, 2020; Gholdori & Ajorloo, 2023). Archaeologically, the Rabʿ-e Rashidi has multi-layer architectural structures concerning different phases of settlement and occupation (Ajorloo, 2017, 2018, 2019; Ajorloo, Fuchs & Moradi, 2018; Ajorloo, Korn & Fuchs, 2019; Ajorloo, Korn & Moradi, 2020; Fuchs, 2021; Fuchs & Ajorloo, 2023; Korn & Heidenreich, 2021; Lorain, 2021; Lorain, Fuchs & Korn 2022, Lorain, Ajorloo & Korn, 2023; Sarabi, 2024) which their relative chronology and functions are main questions in terms of architectural history and archaeology of Rashidiyya.

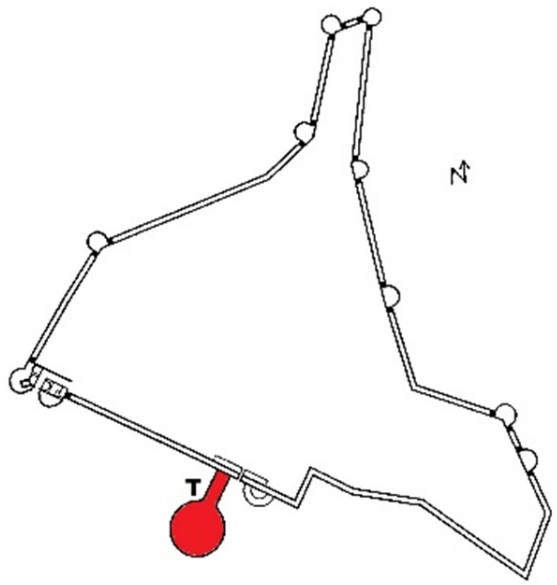

Fig. 1. The plan of the fort of Rashidiyya, Tabriz.
Source: Authors based on Fuchs & Ajorloo, 2023.

Problem Statement

It seems that after the north-south development of Tabriz, in the 16th CE, there appeared a distance between the Rabʿ-e Rashidi and Tabriz (Karimian & Mehdizadeh, 2017; Medizadeh, 2013). The motivation of the Ottomans to build a fort over there was the distance between the defensive walls of Rashidiyya and Tabriz, the superior view of Kanānkūh over the plain of Tabriz and its peripheries. The south great outwork of this fortification is the main objectivity matter of the present authors: A semidetached outwork is either a circular or a square shape structure, e.g. sometimes a ravelin, which is being constructed outside the main rampart of the fortification. Such an outwork connects to the outer curtain wall of the stronghold by a long, and sometimes short, musketeer banquette wall. Its purpose is to cover the blind spots of the outer curtain wall and is confident of the enemy's access to the main rampart (e.g. Hinds & Fitzgerald, 1981; Wilson, 1984). Typologically, the form and plan of the south outwork of Rashidiyya, which dates back to the 16th CE, is of the semidetached ones. This form and plan have no similar background or example in the history of Iranian architecture. However, the size and volume of its construction, with emphasis on lime-based mortars, cannot be the same fort that was built in less than 40

days by the order of Safavid Shah Abbas the Great, as reported by the author of ʿĀlam ʿĀrā-ye ʿAbbāsī, 1632 (Ajorloo, 2021; Ajorloo & Moradi, 2020). Therefore, the two questions of the present researchers are: Which pattern is the origin of the form and plan of the south outwork of Rashidiyya? And, who is its possible architect or the founder? The present authors attempt to answer these questions by hypothesizing that such a huge outwork seems a post-Ilkhanid structure made by the Ottomans; subsequently, it has a Roman-Byzantine pattern. Historically, originated in Roman architecture, Byzantine architecture is one of the main inspiration sources of the Ottoman architects (e.g. Aldrich, 2018; Crane, 2009; Dàvid, 2013; Goodwin, 1993). In the western Ottoman territory, examples of outworks have been left, whose form and plan can be presented as a pattern for that sample left at Rashidiyya. Also, another hypothesis proposed by the authors suggests that Jafar Pasha Frenk, the Ottoman, was the founder of this post-Ilkhanid fort and its south outwork at Rashidiyya. So, he built these during the years of Fetrat-e Rumiyya-ye Tabriz, 1585-1602. Historically, it is worth remembering that Admiral Jafar Pasha, nicknamed Jafar Pasha Hādim (the Servant), Jafar Pasha Frenk (the European), and Jafar Pasha the Captain of Seas, was a neo-Muslim European sailor who served the Ottoman court. For several years, he held the status of Ottoman admiralty and governorship of Libyan Tripoli, Syrian Tripoli, and Cyprus (Aydar, 2022; Özçelik, 2021). Although the author of History of Peçevi has recorded him a Magyar descent, other Ottoman resources know him as an Italian (Aydar, 2022; Özçelik, 2021; Peçevi, 1969; Vefāyi, 2019). The Ottoman Jafar Pasha Frenk was missioned in the Ottoman invasion of Tabriz, in 1585, under the command of Özdemirzade Osman Pasha and became the governor of Tabriz, 1586-1591. According to the author of ʿĀlam ʿĀrā-ye ʿAbbāsī, he settled down at the palace of Hasht Behesht (8 heavens) in Tabriz and ruled over Tabriz in the name of the Ottoman Sultan; whom the Safavid authors called as the Lord (Khwāndegār) of Rome (Turkmen, 2011). After Tabriz, Jafar Pasha was promoted to the rank of Ottoman admiralty in the Mediterranean Sea (Shāmlū, 2021; Bidlisi, 1860, 293, 334; Edernevi, 1859; Çelebi, 2007; Graf, 2017; Peçevi, 1969; Selāniki, 1864; Vefāyi, 2019; Zeyrek, 2001). Consequently, Jafar Pasha Frenk, who was familiar with Italian and Byzantine architecture, is a candidate as the main founder of such a huge outwork made of stone and lime at the Rashidiyya. Moreover, some Roman and Byzantine fortifications are left in the Ottoman western realm whose form and plan can be regarded as a pattern for the above-mentioned sample left in the south of the Rabʿ-e Rashidi.

Research background

For the first time, Nader Mirza Qajar (2014) admired the south outwork of Rashidiyya: “It is made with the utmost care and is sobriety and stable.” However, D. N. Wilber (1955), in his The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Ilkhanid Period presented this outwork as the ruins of an Ilkhanid observatory. Evidently, Wilber’s idea had neither archaeological evidence nor historical records. Historically, according to the reports of Tārikh-e Mubārak-e Ghāzāni (1303) by Rashid-al-Din (1940) and Tārikh-e Wassāf (1319) by Shirāzi (2020), the Ilkhanids observatories were built in Maragheh and Ghazaniyya, not Rabʿ-e Rashidi. Additionally, Rashid-al-Din (1977) in his Endowment Deed of Rabʿ-e Rashidi, wrote nothing about an observatory. Later, W. Kleiss, from DAI, after his 1969 field survey, reported that the ruins of Rabʿ-e Rashidi had been between Mt. Surkhāb and Mt. Valiyān. Although C. H. Fuchs, who studied the structure of the southern outwork within the framework of the Rabʿ-e Rashidi International expedition, did not write anything about its certain dating and style (Ajorloo, 2017, 2018, 2019; Ajorloo, Fuchs & Moradi, 2018; Ajorloo, Korn & Fuchs, 2019; Fuchs, 2021; Fuchs & Ajorloo, 2023; Lorain, Fuchs & Korn 2022), the Iranian team of this expedition pointed out that Rashidiyya outwork did not have an Iranian origin and was not built by the Safavid Shah Abbas; they hypothesized the Ottoman Sinan Pasha as its founder. Sinan Pasha was another

general and engineer of the Ottoman court of Italian descent (Ajorloo & Moradi, 2020). At the moment, the present authors hypothesized that Ottoman Jafar Pasha Frenk was the founder of this outwork.

Methodology and Theoretical Background

The data body of this research consists of the defensive outworks of Rashidiyya in Tabriz (Iran) and Antalya, Bodrum, Iasos, Kilitbahir, and Mamumre in W. Anatolia of modern Türkiye (former Ottoman). Of these, the W. Anatolian examples have Roman and Byzantine patterns. Accordingly, the form, plan, and position of their outworks in relation to their ramparts have been compared with the outwork of Rashidiyya. The purpose of this comparison is to provide the basis for an inductive inference. Historically, 10 imperative historical reports from the 16th and 17th CE on the fort of Rashidiyya and the Ottoman campaign of Osman Pasha and Jafar Pasha Frenk to Tabriz have been studied as well: History of Osman Pasha (1585) Şecā'atnāme (1585) Tevārih-i Gāzāvāt-i Sultān Murād-i Sālis (1587) Bidlisi's Scheref-Nameh (1597) Tārihi Selāniki (1599) Nühbet el-Tevārih ve el-Ehbār (1617) ʿĀlam ʿĀrā-ye ʿAbbāsī (1632) Peçevi Tarihi (1641) Ghesas al-Khāghāni (1668) and Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1677).

Logically, this research is based on abductive reasoning (e.g. Douven, 2017; Ladyman, 2002): epistemologically, although, in historical studies, it is too difficult or sometimes impossible to reach a kind of knowledge targeted by the logical positivism in natural sciences, the hypotheses with the most available evidence seem valid to explain historical phenomena. And so, according to Fielden's doctrine, the methodic restoration of a historic work requires compliance with two conditions of authenticity and identification of its origin of patterns and designs; Because in this case, one can benefit from the successful experience of restoration of similar samples. Cultural diffusionism is another theoretical background of the present researchers. Cultural diffusionism explains how, as a result of war or migration and trading, patterns of material culture are shifted over the course of time and space. Moreover, it explains why historians and archaeologists sometimes encounter material culture phenomena different from local patterns (Renfrew & Bahn, 2016, 477-479).

Research data

As mentioned above, the basis of the researchers' discussion is on the inductive comparison of the form, plan, and position of the five outworks from Antalya, Bodrum, Iasos, Kilitbahir, and Mamure with the Rashidiyya example in Tabriz.

Iskandar Beg Munshi Turkmen (2011) is the first historian to report that Ottomans are the founder of the fort of Rashidiyya. According to his ʿĀlam Ārā-ye ʿAbbāsī (1632), Osman Pasha advised his army commanders that Rabʿ-e Rashidi, the foothills of Mt. Surkhāb, dominates the River Mehrānrūd. For such a reason, there is a strategic position to build a fortress. And so, after the victory of the Safavid general Imām Qoli Khan Sultan Ajorloo over the Ottoman general Murad Pasha, in the decisive battle of Ajichāy, near Tabriz, the Safavid King Abbas the Great, in the spring of 1610, ordered the quick repairment of the fort of Rashidiyya. This was to reinforce Tabriz against the counterattack of the Ottoman Murad Pasha. Years later, Jean Tavernier (1677, 55) reports that the ruined and abandoned fort at the foot of Mt. Surkhāb was built by the Ottomans. From the north, Kanānkūh, which is the place of Rabʿ-e Rashidi since the Age of Khwāja Rashid-al-Din, accesses the network of qanats of Rabʿ-e Rashidi in Mt. Surkhāb. Whilst from the south, it has superior views over the northern riverside of Mehrānrūd and the plain of Tabriz. The slopes of Kanānkūh are steep in the north, east, and west. So, it is very difficult for cavalry and infantry to maneuver. But the south slope, the location of the huge outwork, is gentle. In comparison to other slopes, it seems that the south slope is suitable for cavalry and infantry maneuvers. The south outwork of Rashidiyya is 12 m high and 26 m in diameter and is connected to the main rampart with a musketeer banquette by 17 m long, 3 m wide, and 10 m high. 10 meters of the height of this outwork are made of

lime mortar, rubbles, and the 14th CE tombstones as well as a wooden timber skeleton. It has an ashlar façade of roughhewn red stones. What can be seen from the thick layer of clay and mudbrick, two meters high atop this stone tower, is the ruins of Ottoman crenels. These crenels later were quickly repaired, in the order of the Safavid Shah Abbas, by usage of mud, clay, and used bricks, as his spies reported the counterattack plan of Murad Pasha the Ottoman (Ajorloo & Moradi, 2020). It should be noted that archaeological evidence of such a quick repairment was documented in 2017 (Ajorloo, 2017).

The Fort of Antalya: The coastal fortification of Antalya/ Hellenistic Atalia, the Mediterranean Sea, was built in the Age of the kingdom of Attalus, 2nd BCE (Akurgal, 2011, 324; Bosch, 1947). This fort was later rebuilt in the days of ancient Rome and the Roman (Anatolian) Seljukids (Yilmaz, 2003). The harbor of Antalya is of strategic importance; therefore, its fortress has 2 inner ramparts (31 towers) and outer ramparts (59 towers). Two western semidetached outworks are connected to the main rampart by musketeer banquettes (Fig. 2). These two outworks have two stories, as its Roman patterns, and the function of the upper story was observation and shooting (Hellenkemper & Hild, 2004; Yilmaz, 2003). These two outworks, which were later called the towers of Evliya Çelebi, were built by the ancient Romans with the usage of Roman concrete and ashlar. Later the Seljukid rulers rebuilt them (Dayar, 2020; Yilmaz, 2003).

The Fort of Iasos: The classic coastal fortification of Iasos is located on the island of Iasos, in the Gulf of Güllük, the Aegean Sea (Fig. 3). It was built by the ancient Greek immigrants from Argos and Miletus (Akurgal, 2011, 247, Fig. 94; Baldoni, 2004). The walls of this fortress were built with Roman technique (Akarca, 1998). The fortress of Iasos has 15 towers. Here, similar to the fort of Rashidiyya, the steep slope of the eastern and western sides of the fort, gives it the capability of passive defense. Three towers of this stone fort are built as outworks, one is located on the southwest front and the other two are located on the northwest side of the fort. The southwestern outwork is Byzantine and its function was the port tower. This outwork is connected to the western rampart of the fort with a long musketeer banquette wall (Akurgal, 2011, 247, Fig. 94). Of course, the southwest outwork has crenels to give the fire protection (Baldoni, 2004; Baldiran & Abay, 2019).

The Fort of Mamure: Historically, built by the ancient Romans, in the 4th CE, the coastal stone fort of Mamure should be reached in the Anamor district of the harbor of Mersin, S. Anatolia. This fortress was

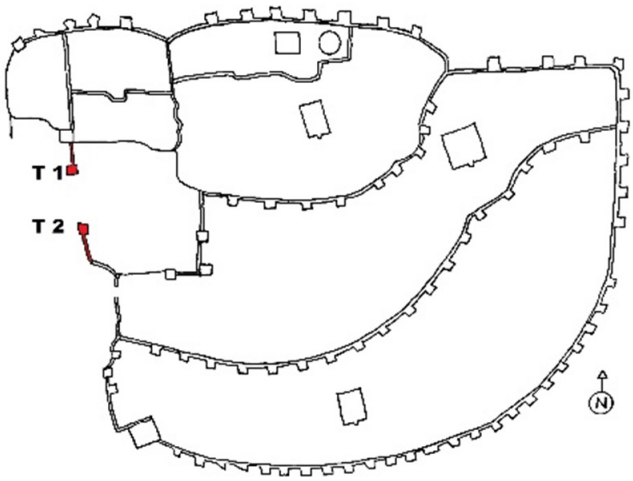

Fig. 2. The plan of the coastal fort of Antalya.
Source: Authors based on Dayar, 2020.

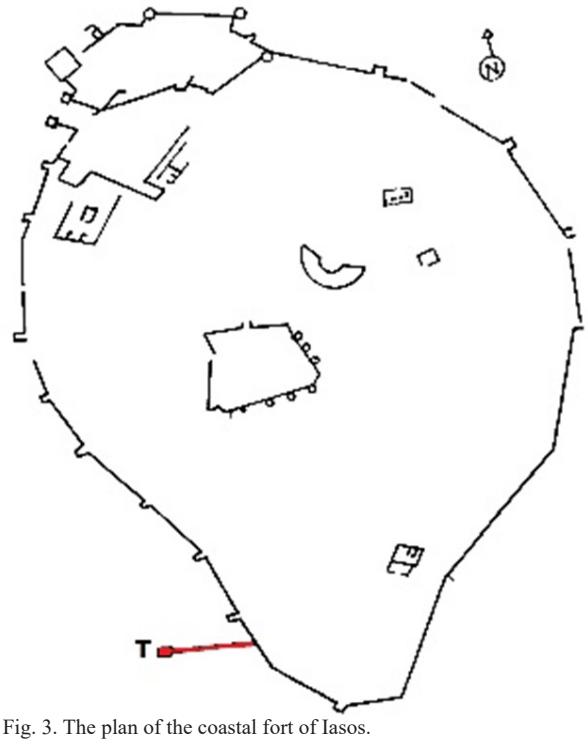

Fig. 3. The plan of the coastal fort of Iasos.
Source: Authors based on Akurgal, 2011; Baldiran & Abay, 2019.

rebuilt during the Byzantines and Roman Seljukids as well (Fig. 4). The plan of the Mamure fortress is polygonal, and it is divided into inner and outer parts with two layers of ramparts; while the width of the musketeer banquette allows the movement of the guards. Based on the tradition of Roman defensive architecture, this fortress has a moat as well as two stories. The coastal outwork of Mamure stands in the south; while its musketeer banquette connects to another tower in the west. Before its collapse, the function of this outwork turned into a lighthouse (Şahin et al., 2021).

The Fort of Bodrum: The ancient Greeks did know the modern Turkish seaport of Bodrum, next to the Aegean Sea, as Halicarnassus wherein the St. Jean Crusader knights, in the Late Byzantine period, built a coastal fort, famous as St. Peter, during 1402-1437 (Akurgal, 2011, 249, 251, Fig. 95d; Alpözen, 2022; Türe, 2006). The fort of St. Peter was repaired after the Ottoman conquest of Halicarnassus, in 1523. It is notable that Ottomans applied second-hand materials in their repairments (Çalişlar, 1999). The plan of St. Peter Fort has a square shape; and its two-story cylindrical outwork, known as the seaport tower, is 11 m high and 7 m diameter, which was built in 1476 in the northwest corner of the fort, by usage of stone pieces and lime mortar. This outwork has the ashlar façade too. The musketeer banquette also is 10 m high, 23 m long, and 3 m span. In accordance with its Roman patterns, the second story has battlements and crenels deployed for archers, later musketeers (Akurgal, 2011, 249, 251, Fig. 95d; Bilgiç, 2016; Galanti, 2022; Öztürk, 2019). The superiority of the location of the fort of Bodrum lets it control peripheral moats, northern and western areas, and the harbor too (Fig. 5).

The Fort of Kilitbahir: This coastal stronghold, which was constructed in Dardanelles, 1452-1463, is the only Ottoman sample discussed by the authors (Fig. 6). Accordingly, the architecture of Kilitbahir (Kilid-al-Bahr) presents a Byzantine exemplary. The name of Kilitbahir (the Key of Sea) is indicative of its strategic importance: the Ottomans have built it in the narrowest pass of the Dardanelles and in front of the

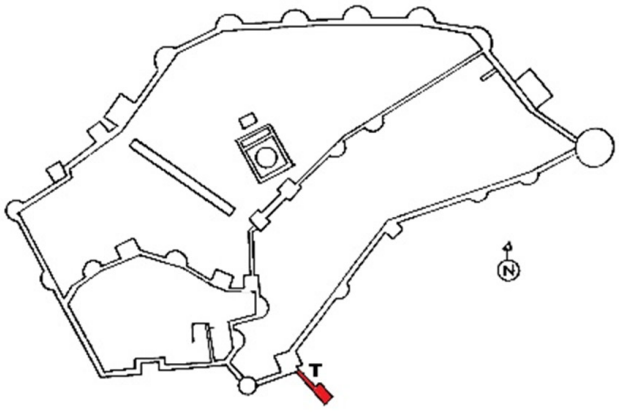

Fig. 4. The plan of the coastal fort of Mamure. Source: Authors based on Şahin et al., 2021.

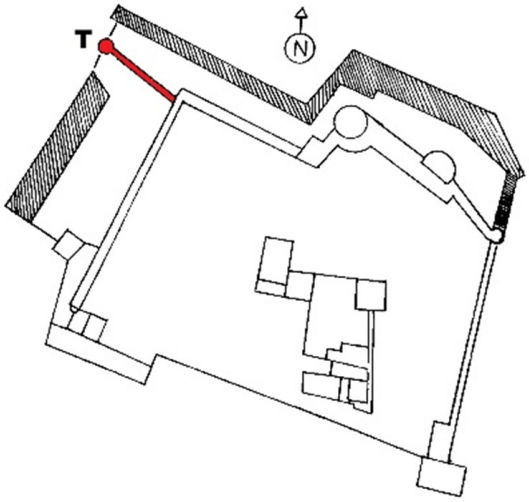

Fig. 5. The plan of the coastal fort of Bodrum (The hatched sections are the Ottoman additions). Source: Authors based on Öztürk, 2019.

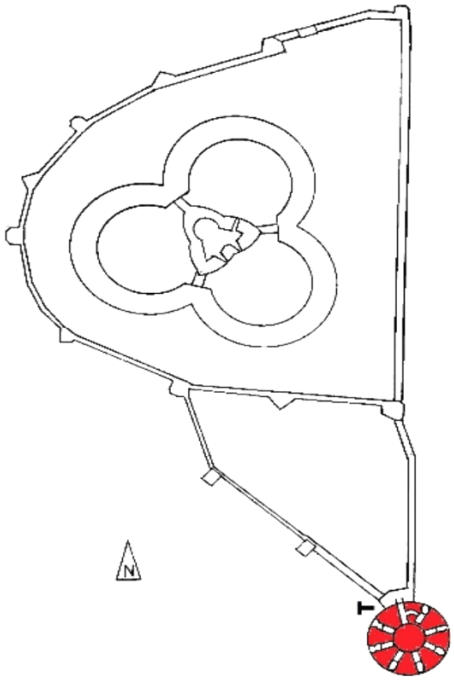

Fig. 6. The plan of the coastal fort of Kilitbahir. Source: Authors based on Utkular, 1954.

coastal fort of Çimenlik. In other words, these forts did control the naval traffic in Dardanelles. The stone outwork of Kilitbahir, 18 m in height, stands south of the main rampart, next to the sea. It has two stories including battlements, crenels, and a short musketeer banquette wall. Famous as the Sāri Būrj (the yellow tower in Turkish) this outwork was added to its Byzantine main rampart in 1551 during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (Acioğlu, 2018; Fewster et al., 1985: 34; Ipek, 2018; Nicolle, 2010, 50). Archaeologically and historically, it should be noted that another Late Byzantine coastal fort is recorded in the same territory, famous as the Sadd-al-Bahr (the Dam of Sea). This fort is dated back to the first half of the 15th CE. Although it is left only the ruins of the coastal outwork of Sadd-al-Bahr, the European sailors have reported its structure and musketeer banquette wall (Nicolle, 2010, 50).

Discussion

The data set of 5 Anatolian samples in comparison to the Rashidiyya one can be analyzed in three issues of the plan, architectural materials, and architect/ founder (Table 1).

Form and plan: As with the fort of Rashidiyya, the early Anatolian examples discussed by the present authors, all have at least one outwork, which is connected to the main rampart of the fort by a long or short musketeer banquette. Such a projecting position of those outworks covers the blind spots of the scouts and sentries of the fort and allows the archers/ musketeers entrenched behind the battlements and crenels to keep away enemies from the main rampart by making a costly casualty. Geomorphologically, it should be noted that the Roman defensive architecture used natural features, and architects designed and executed the size and periphery of ramparts and the plan of the fort rendering the surrounding natural features. Moreover, as architects were sure that the steep slope of the land was a natural obstacle to preventing the attack of the enemy's cavalry and infantry, by building outwork and moats, they tried to cover only the weak points in the places from where there is a possibility of the enemy's easy and quick access to the rampart. It should be noted that in the examples from Türkiye, unlike Rashidiyya, the seashore and coastal strip are the weak points of the fortress. Because the probability of the amphibious assault of a hostile fleet was higher here. Therefore, the outwork was always built on the seashore. In Rashidiyya of Tabriz, although there is no seashore, the gentle slope of the southern lands towards the

Table 1. The comparison of 5 Anatolian samples with the fort of Rashidiyya. Source: Authors.

Fort	Outwork	Musketeer banquette	Two-story	Ashlar façade	Used building materials	Rubble stones	Lime mortar	Roman concrete	Plastering	Defensive mission
Rashidiyya	1	Long	×	×	×	×	×	-	Pietra rasa	Riverside
Antalya	2	Long	×	×	×	×	×	×	Pietra rasa	Seashore
Iasos	1	Long	×	×	×	×	×	×	Pietra rasa	Seashore
Mamure	1	Long	×	×	×	×	×	×	Pietra rasa	Seashore
Bodrum	1	Long	×	×	×	×	×	×	Pietra rasa	Seashore
Kilitbahir	1	Short	×	×	×	×	×	×	Pietra rasa	Seashore

bridges and riverside of the northern branch of Mehrānrūd allows possible cavalry and infantry assaults on the southern rampart. So, building such an outwork not only covers the blind spots of the long southern rampart of Rashidiyya but also allows the archers/ musketeers to shoot the bridges and riverside of Mehrānrūd, in the terrain of Mt. Valiyān, to keep the enemy away. In other words, the defensive essence of the southern outwork of the Rashidiyya is the same as the Roman and Byzantine samples from W. Anatolia. In addition to the projecting form of an outwork which requires the existence of a musketeer banquette wall to ensure the connection of the outwork with its main rampart to get logistic support, here the Roman and Byzantine idea of a two-story should be remembered. In Rashidiyya, evidently, the second story has been left as clay and mud ruins, two meters thick, on the top of the stone body of the outwork (Ajorloo, 2017; Ajorloo & Moradi, 2020).

Building materials: Although at first glance, because of the usage of local materials, these outworks seem different from each other, they have common features, including the usage of used and second-hand materials, rubbles in the body, ashlar façade, lime-based mortar and sometimes Roman concrete and certainly Pietra-rasa plastering. Originally, Pietra-rasa was a Roman plastering technique (Flüge, 2013; Flüge et al., 2000). Such a technique is documented from the rampart of Rashidiyya too (Fig. 7). In all of the examples discussed, the body of the outwork is made of stone. Particularly, the re-use of 14th CE tombstones is documented from the outwork of Rashidiyya. Second-hand materials have been used in all Anatolian examples as well as in Rashidiyya to save the budget and speed up the construction. In addition to the Pietra-rasa, whether hewn stone or roughhewn stone, the ashlar façade is common among all of the discussed samples. Except for lime-based mortar at Rashidiyya, the Roman concrete is recorded from all of W. Anatolian samples.

Architect and founder: The army of Osman Pasha defeated the resistance of Safavid Prince Hamza Mirzā and entered Tabriz in September 1585. Some days after this victory, Osman Pasha died because of a disease. Before his death, Osman Pasha promoted Jafar Pasha Frenk, the former Ottoman governor of Syrian Tripoli, famous as the Jafar Pasha Hādim, to the governorship of Tabriz (Fig. 8). Jafar Pasha settled down at the Palace of Hasht Behesht (8 Heavens) in Tabriz after his promotion. Sinan Pasha, as the vice commander of the Ottoman army, stayed in

Fig. 7. The fort of Rashidiyya: the Pietra rasa plastering on the ashlar façade, excavated from the south rampart. Source: Ajorloo, 2017, 2018.

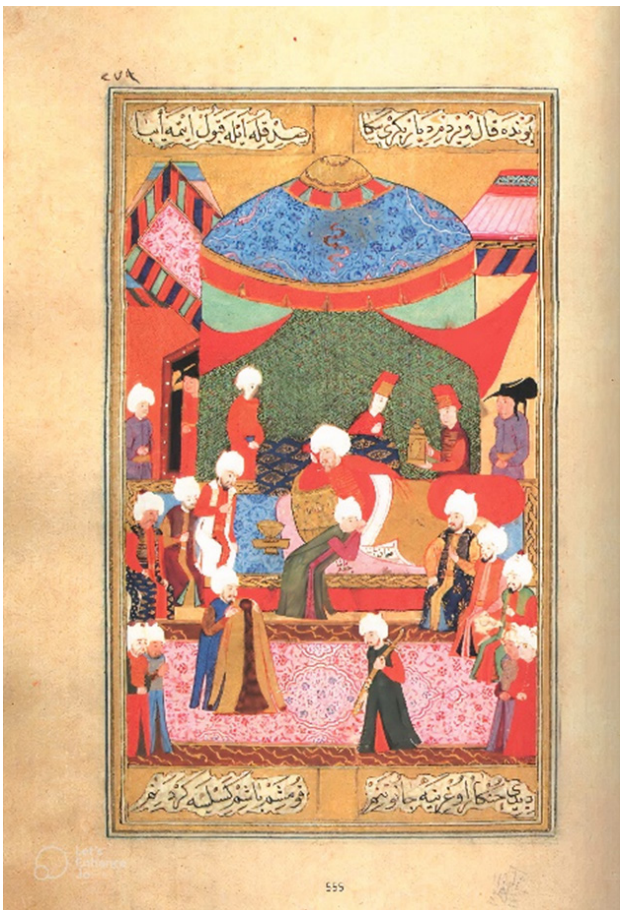

Fig. 8. A miniature from Asefi Dal Mohammad Çelebi's Şecā'atnāme, depicts the scene of Jafar Pasha's visit to Osman Pasha before his death: Jafar Pasha is kissing Osman Pasha's hand to wear the royal robe of Tabriz. Source: Çelebi, 2007; Özçelik, 2021.

Tabriz two months after the death of Osman Pasha. As Sinan Pasha left Tabriz for the fortress of Van, the Safavid Qizilbash cavalries came to help Prince Hamza Mirzā. The Safavids surrounded Jafar Pasha for 5 months until the Ottoman counterattack under Farhad Pasha saved him from the siege of Hamza Mirzā. Farhad Pasha permitted Jafar Pasha to leave Tabriz for a long vacation till September 1586. Then after, Jafar Pasha ruled over Tabriz till 1591. It should be noted that Farhad Pasha was accompanied by 17 Ottoman professional architects and engineers, all of them missioned by Mimar Sinan, the famous royal chief architect, to repair and reconstruct the forts and strongholds captured by the late Osman Pasha. Farhad Pasha, similar to Sinan Pasha and Jafar Pasha, was another neo- Muslim European commander at the service of the Ottoman court (Bidlisi, 1860, 293, 334; Edernevi, 1859; Graf, 2017; Peçevi, 1969; Selāniki, 1864; Shāmlū, 2021, 136; Turkmen, 2011, 391; Vefāyi, 2019; Zeyrek, 2001). As a result, of these three originally European commanders of the Ottoman army, Jafar Pasha was the only one who had enough time to fulfill Osman Pasha's will to build a fort and its outwork at the Rab'e-Rashidi.

Conclusion

The basis of the present authors' analysis and their interpretation is not the plan and form of the above-discussed forts, but the outworks. In all the examined samples, the plan and form of the fort have always been determined by the geomorphological features. Therefore, one cannot mention a special style and tradition in this regard. The building of numerous bastions and defensive works around the outer rampart is one of the Roman and Byzantine architectural features that was inherited by the Ottomans. This heritage is also observable at the fort of Rashidiyya. It should be remembered that the southern outwork of Rabʿ-e Rashidi has no Iranian background and prototype. Originally, the Ottoman architecture inherited the Roman-Byzantine tradition of semidetached two-story outworks, connected to the main rampart of the fort by a musketeer banquette wall. Such architectural features are visible at the south outwork of Rashidiyya as well.

As mentioned earlier, the theory of cultural diffusion explains the expansion of ideas, techniques, and material culture throughout the times and lands far from their origin as a consequence of war, migration, and trading. Cultural diffusionism explains the main cause of the continuity of Christian Byzantine architecture (the heir of pre-Christian Rome) in the Muslim Ottoman realm, and the non-Iranian pattern of the south outwork at the Rabʿ-e Rashidi by the explanants of war and migration. In this sense, Jafar Pasha Frenk, who joined the Osman Pasha campaign of Tabriz, is the abductive explanant to understand the main cause of resemblance between the south outwork of Rashidiyya and the discussed Ottoman coastal samples: the post-Ilkhanid fort of Rashidiyya, including its south outwork, has been built by the idea of Osman Pasha and the technical design of architects and engineers missioned by the famous Mimar Sinan, under the supervision of Jafar Pasha Frenk, during the 'Years of Roman Interruption of Tabriz'.

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