

## THIRTEENTH-CENTURY RUM SELJUQ PALACES AND PALACE IMAGERY

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AT THE CENTER OF ANY DISCUSSION OF RUM SELJUQ palace architecture lie the Persianate aspirations of the dynasty. The suburban Persian palace, an open park studded with garden enclosures and populated by tents and multistory pavilions, is well known from the later Timurid and Safavid examples in Iran. It also remained an influence on Mughal and Ottoman palace architecture. From the medieval Iranian world, however, a different kind of palace, the large, courtyard-centered complex such as those at Lashkari Bazar and Ghazni, has been recovered.

Evidence for pavilions in medieval Iran reaches us indirectly through architectural elements: carved marble or limestone slabs. The short front ends of these slabs depict two-story kiosk-like structures accessed by a set of stairs from the rear (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> In medieval Anatolia, the Seljuqs of Rum were the Muslim standard bearers of the suburban palace park, with the pavilion or kiosk as its major architectural expression. Here I would like to address this palace type, the imagery associated with it, and its transformation in thirteenth-century Anatolia.

In the northern Jazira, which lies between Iran and Anatolia, still another palace type is known from Diyarbakır and Mosul and from an incised representation on a thirteenth-century sgraffiato bowl.<sup>2</sup> This courtyard-centered building, used only for walled citadels, is seemingly less inimical to urban settings than the free-standing pavilion. Again, lack of evidence from Iran proper makes it difficult to prove a Persian origin for this palace type, which is also found in other citadel palaces in the Levant. The decor on the palace of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' in Mosul and the fragment of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century luster tile from Iran with similar decoration point to an Iranian Seljuq source, however.<sup>3</sup> Despite its compact massing and traditional courtyard plan, this palace did not have an urban presence, huddling as it did behind citadel walls. It is only by conjoining the pavilion with another urban architectural form—the defensive wall with towers—that a royal presence was expressed architecturally.

The early prestige of the Persian pavilion type

can be gauged, not from surviving Iranian examples, but by its imitation in Byzantium. In the mid-twelfth century, Emperor John Comnenus had built a palace called Mouchroutas (from the Arabic *makhrūṭa*, conical) next to the imperial audience hall in Constantinople. From a textual description, we learn that it was a pavilion surmounted by a muqarnas dome and decorated with figural cruciform tiles. Among the figures depicted was the emperor himself, seated on the floor in the manner of a Seljuq monarch.<sup>4</sup>

The Byzantines also built suburban walled hunting preserves, in which they erected tents and large, impressive structures that served as a residence for the emperor. If any of the buildings found in these parks was of the pavilion type, it is not evident from contemporary descriptions of one such imperial *paradeisos*, the Philopation, located outside the land walls of Constantinople. The Philopation's setting, function, and proximity to the citadel of the Blachernai Palace compound, however, are strikingly similar to features of Rum Seljuq palace parks from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

The presence of suburban royal walled gardens outside the Rum Seljuq capital is attested by Ansbertus, chronicler of the Third Crusade. He relates that, while attacking Konya in 1190, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his armies camped in the "*hortum et viridarium regium*" of the Rum Seljuqs, a phrase that differentiates the open parkland beloved of mounted Seljuq hunters from the more verdant garden enclosure.<sup>6</sup> Again, this distinction is better known from later, especially Timurid, sources. These opposite ends of the Persianate world would be conjoined when Tamerlane planted his *oṭāq* in a garden outside Konya in 1402.<sup>7</sup>

Two of these Seljuq royal domains were located outside Konya, one at Meram, the other at Filo-bad. Suburban palaces were not built solely as retreats from the city. Rather, their military function, mentioned in connection with the siege of Konya, was integral to their placement. The Seljuq army, the main source of support for the sultan, would use the plains outside Konya near

these palaces as a campground and point of assembly.<sup>8</sup> Under Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad (r. 1219–37), whose reign marked the height of Rum Seljuq power, similar royal preserves were also built near Kayseri and Alanya, and at a new site called Kubadabad, located on the shores of Lake Beyşehir, southwest of Konya.

Some four miles outside of Kayseri, the principal city of the eastern part of his realm, Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad constructed the complex he named Kubadiye in 1224–26 (fig. 2). Here, conforming to the siting criteria favored by the Rum Seljuq dynasty, namely abundant water, verdure, and a view across to the mountains, three pavilions were situated along the edge of a small lake. Remains of a pier on a promontory extending into the lake testify to its use for boating excursions. Pavilion remains consisted of barrel- and groin-vaulted substructures constructed of roughly coursed or rubble stone masonry. Excavations revealed tile fragments that once clad them.<sup>9</sup> Here, as elsewhere, tents supplemented the limited shelter afforded by these modest structures.

Kubadiye also conforms to the military aspect of these settings. Here, the sultan would encamp in the spring, while his armies assembled for campaigns to the south and east. Like Konya, the palace of Kubadiye was located near a plain, Meshhediye, where the Seljuq armies encamped. It is also here that Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad died, perhaps of poison, while preparing to set out on a campaign against the Ayyubids.<sup>10</sup>

On the coastal plain outside Alanya, pavilions, several of them in garden enclosures, were also built following Alaeddin Keykubad's acquisition of that town in 1221. They share the same siting criteria as Kubadiye.<sup>11</sup> The two-story Güleşen kiosk at Çıplaklı is the best preserved (figs. 3–4). It is located next to a stream and still has the pipes that once brought water to a pool in a second-story room. This upper room looks down on the stream and across the green of the plain toward the sea, but it is separated from its surroundings by an enclosure wall. The Güleşen kiosk was built of rubble masonry, with both lower and upper stories barrel-vaulted. This masonry was covered with painted plaster on the outside, and painted plaster and tiles on the inside.

As in Konya and Kayseri, there was also a royal residence in the citadel at Alanya that corresponded to these suburban pleasure palaces.<sup>12</sup> The citadel palace at Alanya consisted of a series of courts covered with frescoed patterns leading

to towers in the southeastern corner of the citadel (fig. 5). These towers, themselves decorated on the interior with tiles and frescoes, seem occasionally to have been used as a residence and/or audience hall by the sultan.

Other structures grouped around the periphery of the citadel also bear painted fresco designs similar to those seen in the courts. One tower, the so-called Adam Atacağı, is located on the northwest of the citadel, and provides the most spectacular sea view of the entire citadel. The surviving story of this tower is built of brick, like other non-defensive parts of the Seljuq citadel (parts of the "palace," the cisterns, and the bathhouse just outside), and unlike the remaining towers, which are all constructed of rubble masonry. This, together with the presence of water piping leading to the tower, suggests it was actually a pavilion. Perched on the edge of a sheer drop to the sea eight hundred feet below, it possessed the requisite spectacular view of the mountain and water beloved of the Seljuqs (fig. 6).

Late in his reign, Alaeddin Keykubad built a new summer palace, which he named Kubadabad,<sup>13</sup> on the shores of Lake Beyşehir. He assigned the responsibility for its construction to the amir Sadeddin Köpek, his overseer of the hunt and of building (*amīr u-shikār va mi'mār*), but the sultan sited and drew the buildings of the palace himself (fig. 7).<sup>14</sup> This palace, too, had buildings set near the water's edge with views across the water toward the mountains and an island that served as a destination for boating excursions. The importance of views to the conceptualization of this type of palace is underscored by the passage cited above, which refers to palace buildings (*qasr*), but also to *manzarhā*, places of viewing or belvederes.

Kubadabad is unique in being the only Rum Seljuq palace remote from a fortified town, seemingly devoid of the military component identified with the suburban palaces of Konya and Kayseri. However, Professor Rūçhan Arık's excavations have uncovered remains of extensive fortifications on the nearby Kız Kalesi island in Lake Beyşehir, restoring a defensive military component to the site.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, the last and perhaps best known of the Rum Seljuq palaces was the one at the Konya citadel, known today as the Alaeddin Köşkü (fig. 8). Here, one story of a large pavilion still remains. Originally two stories high, with balconies facing out in three directions over the town, the

pavilion stands halfway down the citadel mound, built atop the citadel wall that predates Alaeddin's walls of 1220–21. First built by Sultan Kılıç Arslan in the late twelfth century and decorated with minai tiles, painted fresco patterns, marble lions, and a tile inscription around the balcony windows, it was refurbished by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad with fresco, tile, and stucco ornament reflecting the style of his other palaces.<sup>16</sup>

Thus composed, these palaces constituted a cycle of royal dwelling places: Alanya was the Rum Seljuq winter residence, Konya the site of the official palace, Kubadabad a palace used during the summer months, and Kubadiye a camp site to prepare for spring campaigning. In addition to these, other royal resting palaces abounded: caravansarays provided with luxurious quarters and possibly a palace at Aqsaray, where tell-tale tiles have been found reused in a later building.<sup>17</sup>

Kubadabad represents a change in the history of Rum Seljuq palaces, an indication of the palace edging toward the mainstream of Rum Seljuq public architecture. The sharp delineation between a private, architecturally ephemeral environment with an abundance of figural decoration, and the mainly aniconic, massive stone public architecture of Alaeddin Keykubad's mosques and caravansarays began to dissolve with the abandonment of the pavilion as the central architectural expression of palace architecture. At Kubadabad, the two-unit caravansaray furnishes the model for the large palace.<sup>18</sup> The tile decoration of this palace and Kubadabad in general, despite a plethora of images and Persian poetry relating to traditional Persianate themes of hunting, drinking, and music-playing, also points to an integration with a more public expression of monarchy. Two images in particular, the stucco relief of the mounted hunter-king (fig. 9) and a tile representing a double-headed eagle inscribed "*al-sultān*" on its body (fig. 10) link Kubadabad, the latest of Alaeddin's palaces, to other monuments he had built more than a decade earlier.<sup>19</sup>

If the form of the larger palace at Kubadabad recalls a caravansaray, then the image of the hunter, the double-headed eagle, and the *al-sultān* inscription all lead us to the city walls built by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad in Konya in 1220–21. As with the building of Kubadabad, Ibn Bibi informs us that the sultan was directly involved in the planning and construction of these walls.<sup>20</sup> The angel, or winged victory, hovering above the hunting monarch in the stucco relief

from Kubadabad recalls the winged figures found on the sides of the Larende Gate in Konya (fig. 11). It reminds us that the gates into the city marked not only the procession into Konya and its citadel, site of the main official palace and dynastic tombs, but that gates were also the locus of the practice of welcoming a visitor before the city walls and conducting him with ceremony into town. The Rum Seljuqs also staged elaborate royal ceremonies recalling the Roman ceremonies of *adventus* and *largitio*.<sup>21</sup>

Royal imagery was not lacking on the city walls of Konya, and included the double-headed eagle (fig. 12) and inscriptions of *al-sultān* or *al-sultānī* (figs. 13–14), a signaling of sultanic domain. The building of certain towers on the walls of Konya and other cities was delegated to the leading amirs of the state, and they were allowed to insert into them inscriptions recording their sponsorship of stretches of certain walls or towers. But the emblematic use of *al-sultān* or *al-sultānī*, also known from the city walls of Alanya (fig. 15), stamps the general enterprise as a royal one. We can plausibly extend the use of this monogram to all other expressions of sultanic authority. Chancellery documents of the Rum Seljuqs began with the same heading (fig. 16), as did inscriptions on certain caravansarays.<sup>22</sup> It is impossible grammatically to link the use of *al-sultān* or *al-sultānī* with the text following: the word was meant to be self-contained—a *tuğra*-like expression of royal dominion. In accounts of victorious Seljuq sieges, the beginning of the end is often signaled by the planting of the sultan's *sancak* or banner on the city wall. Unfortunately no Seljuq banners have survived, but it is difficult to imagine that they did not at least begin with this word.<sup>23</sup>

On the city walls of Konya, original Seljuq reliefs like the winged figures were combined with mainly Roman spolia, including figural sculpture, and building inscriptions. Conceptually uniting these elements were quotations from the *Shāhnāma* and other sources carved in stone and placed on the walls.<sup>24</sup> From this evidence, Ibn Bibi's flights of poetry and the very names of these sultans, we are led to believe that the *Shāhnāma* and medieval Persian mirror-for-princes literature provided these Anatolian monarchs with their self-image. No other city walls match those of Konya for their literary and iconographic complexity. Others, however, provide us with more evidence for a radically functional interpretation of the Rum Seljuq royal demesne.

The reign of Alaeddin Keykubad marks the beginning of the dissolution of distinctions between private palatial and public domains. Images on the walls of Kubadabad echo those used on the walls of Konya, providing a recognizable iconography associated with the monarch, whether in his palace or on horseback entering the capital. Different but also significant evidence for palatial imagery spreading into the public realm is found in two bathhouses. The one in Kayseri built by Alaeddin's wife Huand Hatun as part of her building complex there has figural tiles of the Kubadabad type adorning its walls.<sup>25</sup> Alara castle, conquered by Sultan Alaeddin soon after neighboring Alanya, also had built in its citadel a bathhouse with tiled walls and painted astrological imagery in the dome.<sup>26</sup> It is impossible to imagine either bathhouse doubling as an audience hall in the manner of Khirbat al-Mafjar. Still, this decoration can be seen as an extension of the private figural imagery of the Persian palace pavilion into other architectural settings where the sultan presented himself on a regular basis. Nevertheless, this extension seems to be confined to interior settings during Alaeddin's reign.

Following the Seljuq defeat by the Mongols in 1243, the diminished territory and resources of the Rum Seljuq state were reflected in palace architecture. The Seljuq sultans, now little more than Mongol vassals, confined themselves largely to the southern littoral. It is impossible to date Seljuq decoration found on the south coast to either the 1230s or 1240s, but its preponderance must in some measure reflect the increased time the Seljuq sultans spent there.

Under Sultan Alaeddin, a series of way stations had been established along the south coast linking Alanya, Antalya, and the two major routes north across the Taurus mountains.<sup>27</sup> Some of these were caravansarays like Alara Han, built in 1231 near the base of Alara castle and next to a bridge across the Alara Çayı; others were adaptations of existing ruins.<sup>28</sup> The best known of these was a second-century Roman theater at Aspendos. Here the interior of the staircase building on the south of the scene building was decorated with figural tiles of the same type as those found at Kubadabad, suggesting that it was Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad who undertook the remodeling.<sup>29</sup> In addition to the decoration of the staircase building, an entrance portal and a large buttress-like structure were added to the outside of the

scene building. A window in the scene building gave access to the top of the buttress next to the staircase building; in essence the buttress functioned as a belvedere looking out over the surrounding countryside, with a view of trees, mountains, and water.

In 1332 the celebrated Muslim traveler Ibn Battuta visited Alanya and found the lord there resident outside the city.<sup>30</sup> Around the villages of Oba, Çıplaklı, and Cıkçilli remains of several fourteenth-century buildings including pavilions and other structures can still be found.<sup>31</sup> These remains are difficult to differentiate from Seljuq ones. It is only by comparing dated instances of decoration that we can tell these later from earlier examples.

Outside Alanya's Kale Kapısı (figs. 17–18), the main gate to the upper castle, inside its gatehouse, and on the exterior of both staircase buildings of the theater of Aspendos (figs. 19–20), Seljuq artisans applied large fields of red-and-white checkerboard or zigzag patterns. The checkerboard pattern is found on the Konya citadel walls, the Güleşen pavilion outside Alanya (fig. 21), and on the walls of the Alanya citadel. The zigzags appear on the walls of the Alanya citadel palace, at the back of Alara Han, at Güleşen, the nearby Hacı Baba kiosk at Cıkçilli, a kiosk at Gazipaşa east of Alanya, and in tiles from both Kubadabad and Alanya citadel (fig. 22). This extension of palace decoration to city gates and the outside of caravansaray and palace, where entrance and welcoming ceremonies took place, continues the previous trend of replicated royal settings, but here the palace imagery is simplified and applied on a grander scale to exterior settings.<sup>32</sup>

Pertinent, perhaps, to the ceremonies of the Seljuqs of Rum are the miniatures of the romance of *Varqa and Gulshah*.<sup>33</sup> In its miniatures, checkerboard patterns are frequently seen, zigzag patterns less often. Zigzags are found on clothing, and checkerboard patterning is always found on shields. As a consequence, these two patterns are used only in scenes of war and combat, and are associated exclusively with mounted figures (fig. 23a–b).<sup>34</sup> The association of these simple, bold patterns with mounted cavalymen and scenes of combat in this manuscript and the same patterns in prominent positions on the walls of citadels, kiosks, and city gates argue for a heraldic meaning to the checkerboard and the zigzag.<sup>35</sup>

In the late 1230s and 1240s, then, a single

palace type with very specific topographic and scenographic conventions developed into a whole range of buildings that can be called palatial using two criteria: first, decoration consistent with known palace kiosks, and, second, the recorded presence of the sultan in, or his passage through, them. A limited repertory of unsophisticated geometric ornament in painted plaster was used to decorate them outside or for large interior wall expanses; smaller quarters were decorated with tile.

Overlaps between media occur in the zigzag tiles from Alanya citadel and a painted plaster imitation of an ablaq interlace knot above the entrance to the stage tower at Aspendos (fig. 24). In addition, a weathered painted figure by the entrance to Alara castle can be interpreted as a stand-in for the spolia statues or other reliefs that stood at city gates in towns like Konya.<sup>36</sup>

The pavilion of Güleşen can be dated to the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad because of the similarity of its ornament to that of the Alanya castle and citadel. If the zigzags on the theater at Aspendos also date to the same reign, the several repaintings visible mean that the structure continued to be inhabited in the following decade. Likewise, the rubble crenellations at Alara Han, the only part of the building with zigzag fresco decoration, seem to be of later date than the ashlar construction of the walls of the building.<sup>37</sup>

The explosion and simplification of decorative imagery in this period can, in my opinion, be associated with Rum Seljuq decline. Even if the zigzag and checkerboard imagery had been found earlier, it had supplemented more technically and thematically complex imagery using tiles, stucco, and other media. The image remains that of a Seljuq monarch on the fringes both of his realm and of a high cultural and architectural tradition, now inhabiting a ruined theater, now a castle, now the pavilions of his glorious predecessors. The heterogeneous architectural settings were integrated through the use of these patterns.

To the east of Alanya and Güleşen along the coast are two other pavilions, one at Sedre, the other at Gazipaşa.<sup>38</sup> Both are located near rivers, at distances and locations similar to the stations along the way from Alanya to Antalya.

The similarity of its red zigzag fresco decoration to that of Alanya and elsewhere dates the pavilion at Gazipaşa (fig. 25) to the 1230s or 1240s. If we are to take these as way stations along the coastal road, then they should be roughly contemporary; they are an expansion of the Seljuq royal domain to the east, where no trade routes and consequently no caravansarays lay.<sup>39</sup>

The tendency for rulers to build palaces only for themselves can be traced back to the very beginning of Islamic civilization. The personal onomastic identification of Alaeddin Keykubad with his three palace foundations at Alanya (‘Ala’iyya), Kubadabad, and Kubadiye emphasizes the ephemerality and expendability of the form as well as the materials of the palace. Names of later Anatolian palaces such as Felekabad at Eğirdir reinforce this commonplace.

It is this sense of the replicability and replaceability of power so central to the medieval conceptualization of temporal authority that, together with the duties and exigencies of rule, encouraged the replication of royal palace complexes around the Rum Seljuq state. From the replication of palaces it is a short step to the abstraction of a simplified set of decorative elements for each and every royal setting. This trend began under Sultan Alaeddin, as Rum Seljuq architecture began to seek a style of its own, and accelerated in the years following 1243.

This period of radical reductionism and functionalism seems to have had only an indirect effect on later Anatolian palace architecture. Karamanoğlu and other Beylik-era rulers continued to build individual suburban or citadel palaces and named them after themselves. The major architectural development is a squat, free-standing one-story structure with access to the roof—a hybrid building using the building materials, massing, and location of a caravansaray, and with some of the plan and siting criteria of a pavilion set in a royal preserve. The pavilion at Gazipaşa is one example, but the best known is the Hızır İlyas Kiosk at Erkilet near Kayseri, which dates to the reign of Alaeddin’s successor, Sultan Keykhusraw II.<sup>40</sup> It is a byproduct of this period of experimentation, but carries with it little of the poetry of the Persianate pavilion, so tied to literary and scenographic topoi.

## Notes

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1. Examples of the stone slabs, usually referred to as balustrades, mentioned above are found in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.73.5.5); the Metropolitan Museum of Art (32.15.1 and 32.15.2) (Joseph Upton, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [Sept. 1932], 210); the Art Institute of Chicago (1947.521); the Cleveland Museum of Art (38.15) (see *Handbook of the Cleveland Museum of Art* [Cleveland, 1991], 47); the Louvre (G. Salles and M. J. Ballet, *Les Collections de l'Orient musulman* [Paris, 1928], pl. 3); and the David Collection in Copenhagen (Kjeld von Forsach, *Islamic Art: The David Collection* [Copenhagen, 1990], 166). All save the relief in Copenhagen have been ascribed to Hamadan, Iran, and dated to the early fourteenth century based on similarities to the Metropolitan Museum slabs, which are dated 1304 and are said to have been found in Hamadan. The relief in Copenhagen is ascribed to the late twelfth century. A date earlier than the early fourteenth century is surely reasonable for others of this group, whose side panel reliefs bear striking similarities to thirteenth-century Anatolian Seljuq reliefs. The architectural derivation of the "newel post" of the balustrade is evident from the stairs, the attached colonnettes, and the brick patterning.  
Emel Esin finds a Turkish filiation for the pavilion form starting in Central Asia; see, for example, her "An Eighteenth-Century 'Yali' Viewed in the Line of Development of Related Forms in Turkic Architecture," *Atti del Secondo Congresso internazionale di arte turca*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1965), 2:90–96. As is obvious in this article, given the general cultural milieu of the Rum Seljuq dynasty, I find a Persian filiation more convincing.
2. For the sgraffiato bowl and the comparison with the Kara Saray of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' in Mosul, see Gönül Öney, "Human Figures on Anatolian Seljuk Sgraffiato and Champlevé Ceramics," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu, Calif., 1982), 121–22; and Oktay Aslanapa, "Erster Bericht über die Ausgrabung des Palastes von Diyarbakir," *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 12 (1962), for Diyarbakir. Another possible intermediate palace is that of Qasr al-Banat, dated to the mid twelfth century; see Kassem Toueir, "Der Qasr al-Banât in ar-Raqqa. Ausgrabung, Rekonstruktion und Wiederaufbau (1977–1982)," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985).
3. An unpublished tile fragment in the Art Institute of Chicago (1939.368) preserves the same schema that Sarre and Herzfeld found preserved in Mosul, and suggests a setting for the plaster Seljuq sculptures. One paradigm of the Islamic palace in the twelfth century posits three points concurrent with the proliferation of petty states at that time: reduced means, increased emphasis on military concerns, and a harking back to the splendor of the Abbasids: "les petits souverains locaux de l'époque post-seldjoukide s'étaient contentés d'occuper des résidences de superficie plus restreinte, aménagées certes en tenant compte de leur prestige princier, mais dans les limites assignées à ce déploiement par des impératifs de sécurité devenus de plus en plus contraignants. Ce fût alors le temps du palais-forteresse" (Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique* [Paris, 1976], 362). If the palace form itself was not Iranian, perhaps its placement in the citadels built at that time and occasionally its decoration were of Persian origin.
4. Nikolaos Mesarites, "Account of the Usurpation of John Comnenus 'the Fat'," in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (repr. Toronto, 1986), 228–29.
5. For the Philopation, see Henry Maguire, "A Description of the Aretai Palace and Its Garden," *Journal of Garden History* 10 (1990): 212; A. R. Littlewood, "Gardens of Byzantium," *Journal of Garden History* 12 (1992): 148–49. Both authors rely on an account of the Philopation given by Odo of Deuil, a historian of the Second Crusade. See *La Croisade de Louis VII*, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1949), 39, 45. Anthony Bryer has advanced the idea of the Blachernai Palace compound as a citadel for medieval Constantinople on several occasions, e.g., his "The Structure of the Late Byzantine Town: Dioikosmos and the Mesoi," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. Anthony Bryer and Heath Lowry (Washington, D.C., and Birmingham, Eng., 1986), 271–73.
6. Ansbertus, *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris* (Prague, 1827), 95–96.
7. Mes'ud Koman, *Şikari'nin Karamanoğulları Tarihi* (Konya, 1946), 184.
8. Herbert Duda, ed. and trans., *Die Seltchukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhagen, 1959), 325, for

- Filobad and its use. The verdant area of Meram is rumored locally to have produced tiles indicative of the presence of a Seljuq palace there; I have not been able to locate published confirmation of such a find, although the site fits all of the topographic desiderata for Seljuq palace enclosures.
9. M. Zeki Oral, "Kayseri'de Kubadiye Sarayları," *Belleten* 17 (1953); Oktay Aslanapa, "Kayseri'de Keykubadiye Köşkleri Kazısı," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* (1964). Professor Oluş Arık has also excavated at Kubadiye for two seasons. Contrary to several published reports, the finds from Aslanapa's excavations at Kubadiye are not in the Kayseri Museum.
  10. Duda, *Die Seltshukengeschichte*, 198.
  11. Seton Lloyd and D. S. Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya)* (London, 1958), 43. For the pavilion remains of Gülefşen and Hasbahçe, see İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Alanya* (Istanbul, 1946), 338–40, 353–56; Beyhan Karamağaralı, "Alanya Gülefşen Kasrı Kazısı," *Höyük 1* (1988): 141–43.
  12. The first mention of the palace at Konya comes with its sack by the armies of the Third Crusade. All that is known of it was that it contained gold, silver, jewels, and purple cloth (see Kenneth Setton, *A History of the Crusades* [London, 1962], 2:113), the last from the dowry of Saladin's niece. At Kayseri, a palace is mentioned early in the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad. From the account of a misfired palace coup several features can be extracted: the palace had a defensible tower, was surrounded by a garden, and had many rooms; see Duda, *Seltshukengeschichte*, 118–19. This jibes reasonably well with a reconstruction of the Kayseri citadel published by a Turkish architect (Mahmut Akok, "Kayseri Sur Duvarı," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* [1976]: 27), despite the fact that this reconstruction is of the Byzantine citadel. It is not clear what information was relied on for this reconstruction. For the palace in the Alanya citadel, currently under excavation by a team under the direction of Professor Oluş Arık of Ankara University, see M. Oluş Arık, "Alanya Kalesi 1985 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları," *VIII Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1986); "Alanya Kalesi 1986 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları," *IX Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1987); "Alanya Kalesi, 1987 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları," *X Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1988); and "Alanya İçkalesi'nde 1988 Yılında Yapılan Kazı Çalışmaları," *Höyük 1* (1988).
  13. Kubadabad has been the object of archaeological investigation off and on since the middle of the century. It is currently being excavated by a team from Ankara University headed by Professor Rüçhan Arık. See Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Önder, "Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad (Oktober 1965)," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1966); Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad 1966," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1969), and Rüçhan Arık, "Kubad-Abad 1982 Çalışmaları," *V Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1983); "Kubadabad 1984 Yılı Çalışmaları," *VII Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1985); "Kubad-Abad 1985 Yılı Çalışmaları," *VIII Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1986); "1986 Yılı Kubad-Abad Kazısı," *IX Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1987); "1987 Yılı Kubad-Abad Kazısı," *X Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1988); "1988 Kubad-Abad Kazı Çalışmaları [sic]," *XI Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1990), and "1988 Yılı Kubad-Abad Kazısı Raporu," *Höyük 1* (1988).
  14. Duda, *Seltshukengeschichte*, 147–48.
  15. A Byzantine source reports that the islands in this lake had been fortified since ancient times, so it is possible that the presence of a fortified redoubt in the lake was—along with the scenery, plentiful water, good hunting, and a location close to a major Seljuq highway—one of the original attractions of the site to the sultan; see Jean Kinnamos, *Chronique*, trans. J. Rosenblum (Paris, 1972), 23.
  16. The surviving lion visible in the 1907 photograph reproduced here (fig. 8) was no doubt paired with another in the other niche at the front of the kiosk, recalling the balustrade fronts from Iran discussed (above, n. 1), with their paired lions. See Friedrich Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien* (Berlin, 1896), 46, for the tile inscription dating the building to the reign of Sultan Kılıç Arslan, grandfather of Alaeddin Keykubad. Sarre's monograph on the kiosk at Konya (ed. and trans. Şahabeddin Uzluç, *Konya Köşkü* [Ankara, 1967]) is the single best source of information on this building. For later Turkish excavations around the base of the pavilion, see Mahmut Akok, "Konya'da Alaeddin Köşkü Selçuk Saray ve Köşkleri," *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* (1968), which reconstructs a grand palace out of minimal archaeological evidence. For more, but still inadequate, information concerning Seljuq occupation levels on the citadel at Konya, see Mahmut Akok, "Konya Şehri İçindeki Alaeddin Tepesinde Türk Tarih Kurumu Adına Yapılan Arkeolojik Kazıların Mimari Buluntuları," *Belleten* 39 (1975). It is unclear if other pavilion towers actually existed. A representation of Konya from the mid sixteenth century shows two towers at the citadel, and an early-fourteenth-century account mentions twelve pavilions atop the twelve gates of the citadel; see H. G. Yurdaydın, ed. and trans., Matrakçı, *Beyân-i Menâzili Sefer-i Irakayn* (Ankara, 1976), pl. 17a. For Qazvini's reference to the twelve pavilions in Konya in

- Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, see İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abide-leri ve Kitabeleri ile Karaman Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1967), 23. It is my opinion that the galleried structure depicted as the main building of the citadel and the one described as a palace by Charles Texier in the nineteenth century (*Description de l'Asie Mineure* [Paris, 1862], 664) are both none other than the Alaeddin mosque.
17. Gönül Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisinde Süsleme ve El Sanatları* (Ankara, 1978), 102. Kurt Erdmann, "Seraybauten des dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts in Anatolien," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 92, publishes the plan of a kiosk that may be the source of these tiles.
  18. Erdmann, "Seraybauten," 94, argues for a unity of all Rum Seljuq palace structures, maintaining that the architectural unit of the palace is a free-standing structure which sometimes may have a courtyard added to it. The larger palace at Kubadabad, with a similar functional split between the first and second unit and open and closed areas like a caravansaray, to my mind marks a natural incorporation into palace architecture of features that the sultan would have been familiar with from staying at many caravansarays.
  19. See Otto-Dorn, "Kobadabad 1966," 477 ff., for the stucco relief and 471 for a tile with a double-headed eagle; R. Arık, "Kubadabad" (1986), 312, for a tile with "*al-sultān*"; and R. Arık, "Kubadabad" (1983), 550, for a tile with a double-headed eagle and "*al-sultān*." See also Gönül Öney, "Anatolian Seljuk Influence on Byzantine Figural Art," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1971): ill. 27. The identification of the mounted hunter with Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat is strengthened when we recall that the first coins he minted depicted a similar figure; see İbrahim Artuk, "Ala el-Din Keykubat'ın Meliklik Devri Sikkeleri," *Bellekten* 44 (1980): 271.
  20. Duda, *Selçukengeschichte*, 110–11.
  21. See Duda, *Selçukengeschichte*, 101–2, for the welcome accorded Shaykh ʿUmar Suhrawardi at Konya. For Seljuq ceremonies at Sinop and Alanya, see Scott Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 148–56.
  22. Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1958), 144, for a letter from Sultan ʿIzzeddin Keykavus to King Hugh of Cyprus from September 1216. The letter is in Greek except for the word "*sultān*" written in Arabic script twice at the top of the page. See also Osman Turan, "Celaleddin Karatay, Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri," *Bellekten* 47 (1948), pl. XI.1, XXII.23, and XXXII.38, for the waqfiyyas of the Karatay caravansaray, its continuation (*zayl*), and the mosque and zawiya, all commencing with "*sultān*." For caravansaray building inscriptions beginning with "*al-sultāni*," see e.g., Kurt Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1961), I:53, 71, and 106.
  23. E.g., Duda, *Selçukengeschichte*, 45, for the planting of the *sancak* on the walls of Antalya.
  24. Alessio Bombaci, "Die Mauerinschriften von Konia," in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens in Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, ed. Oktay Aslanapa and Rudolf Naumann (Istanbul, 1969), 69.
  25. Erol Yurdakul, "Son Buluntulara Göre Kayseri'deki Hunat Hamamı," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (1970): 146–47.
  26. Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya*, 48; Yılmaz Önge, "Alanya ve Alara Kalelerindeki Selçuklu Hamamları," *Antalya 3. Selçuklu Semineri* (Istanbul, 1989), 119–20; Şerare Yetkin, "Sultan I. Alaeddin Keykubat'ın Alara Kasrının hamamındaki freskler," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 3 (1970). The same author maintains that the structure adjoining the bathhouse, at present consisting of two barrel-vaulted rectangular rooms, constitutes the remains of a pavilion; see Şerare Yetkin, "Alara Kalesindeki Hamamlı Kasır ve 13. Yüzyıl Anadolu Mimarisindeki Yeri," *Malazgirt Armağanı* (Ankara, 1972), 122 ff. and plan 1.
  27. Xavier de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens* (Paris, 1958), 88–89, fig. 10; Barbara Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien, und Lykien im Spätmittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 15.
  28. Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne*, 89, is of the opinion that the theater or other parts of the ruined city of Perge were also used as a way station. His argument is based not on surviving Seljuq remains, as at Aspendos, but on topographic grounds. He argues that the distance between Aspendos and Antalya demands another secure halting place and that other stations like Aspendos, Manavgat, and Alara were all near rivers and bridges. These siting criteria will be taken up below. For Alara Han, see Aysıl Tükel, "Documentation and Comparative Study of Alara Han," *Bellekten* 33 (1969).
  29. Öney, *Süsleme*, 101. For the Seljuq makeover of Aspendos theater in general, see Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Türkische Keramik* (Ankara, 1957), 41, and Kurt Erdmann, "Neue Arbeiten zur türkischen Keramik," *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963):

- 197–99. Turquoise tile fragments are still visible in one of the statue niches of the scene building itself.
30. Ross Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 145.
  31. For these structures, see Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya*, 41–43, and Karamağaralı, “Gülefsen Kasrı,” 143.
  32. Oluş Arık, “Alanya Kalesi” (1988), 422–23, found remains of zigzag frescoed patterns on the walls of tower XIII in the Alanya citadel palace. In addition to the usual red and white here, his team uncovered other painted fresco fragments in yellow and bluish green, giving a clue to erstwhile richer color combinations in exterior fresco decoration as well.
  33. Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam (650–1250)* (Harmondsworth, 1987), 360, date it to the late twelfth century and Souren Melikian-Chirvani, “Le roman de Varqah et Golšah,” *Arts asiatiques* 22 (1970), and Ahmet Ateş, “Un vieux poème romanesque persan: récit de Warqah et Gulshah,” *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961), disagree over a Persian or Anatolian provenance. Kemal Özergin argues that the artist of this manuscript, although originally from Azerbaijan, came to Anatolia and illustrated this manuscript there in the mid thirteenth century; see “Selçuklu Sanatçısı Nakkâş Abdülmu’min El Hoyi Hakkında,” *Bellekten* 34 (1970).
  34. Ateş, “Un vieux poème,” fig. 5, for a zigzag and figs. 6, 12, 13, 22, and 39; the corresponding figure numbers in Melikian are 9, 11, 23, 25, 36, and 58. Melikian’s figures 2 and 10 also have checkerboard shield backgrounds.
  35. Whether coincidentally or not, both the zigzag and the checkerboard are common heraldic devices in western Europe. For the checkerboard as device in Mamluk times, see L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933), 8, no. 28, pl. X, no. 12; see also William Leaf and Sally Purcell, *Heraldic Symbols, Islamic Insignia, and Western Heraldry* (London, 1986), 61. Evidence for the popularity of these two patterns in thirteenth-century Syria (both Crusader and Muslim) comes from glass and ceramic finds. Arthur Lane, “The Early Sgraffito Ware of the Near East,” *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 15 (1937–38), pl. 17a, reproduces a photograph of an underglaze painted bowl (still?) in Berlin showing a mounted warrior with Turkic features carrying a triangular shield (more typical of Crusader shields) covered with zigzags. The interior of a long-stemmed gilded and enameled glass chalice found in Prague and ascribed to late thirteenth-century Murano represents three triangular shields with full-field checkerboard patterns. Despite its Venetian origin, this piece is clearly an imitation of Syrian prototypes in shape, decorative technique, and subject matter; see Thilo Ulbert, *Resafa III. Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiopolis* (Mainz, 1990), 59, pl. 60. Finally, thirteenth-century Syrian ceramics in general, alongside a wealth of other, more sophisticated vegetal and geometric decoration, give prominence to simple zigzag and checkerboard patterns; see Vagn Poulsen, “Les poteries,” in P. J. Riis and V. Poulsen, *Hama. fouilles et recherches 1931–1938* (Copenhagen, 1957), vol. 4, pt. 2, nos. 573–77, pp. 178–79, no. 691, p. 205, and no. 716, p. 211, for zigzags and nos. 605–6, p. 185, no. 615, p. 188, and no. 725, p. 213, for checkerboard patterns.
  36. Rice and Lloyd, *Alanya*, 48, call it “some sort of heraldic (?) device in coloured fresco”; Yetkin, “Sultan I. Alaeddin,” 120, sees two figures wearing long-sleeved caftans.
  37. Tükel, “Alara Han,” 478, notes the change in construction material and plastering, but does not note the zigzag ornament, nor propose a date for the crenellations different from the rest of the building. Interestingly, it is also the crenellations on the inside of the Alanya citadel (on the east near the present entrance) that have frescoed zigzag decoration.
  38. Yıldırım Yavuz, “Alanya’nın Demirtaş (Syedre) Bucağındaki Köşk,” *Bellekten* 34 (1970); Elisabeth Rosenbaum et al., *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia* (Ankara, 1967), 30–31, for a plan and discussion of this building.
  39. For the borders of the Seljuq state in this region, see C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, “Alaüddin Keykubad ve Halefleri Zamanında Selçuklu-Küçük Ermenistan Hududları,” *Tarih Dergisi* 1 (1949): 30. It should be noted that both of the kiosks mentioned above were near castles.
  40. Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, “Alayhan, Öresunhan ve Hızırilyas Köşkü,” *Bellekten* 21 (1957): 143 ff.

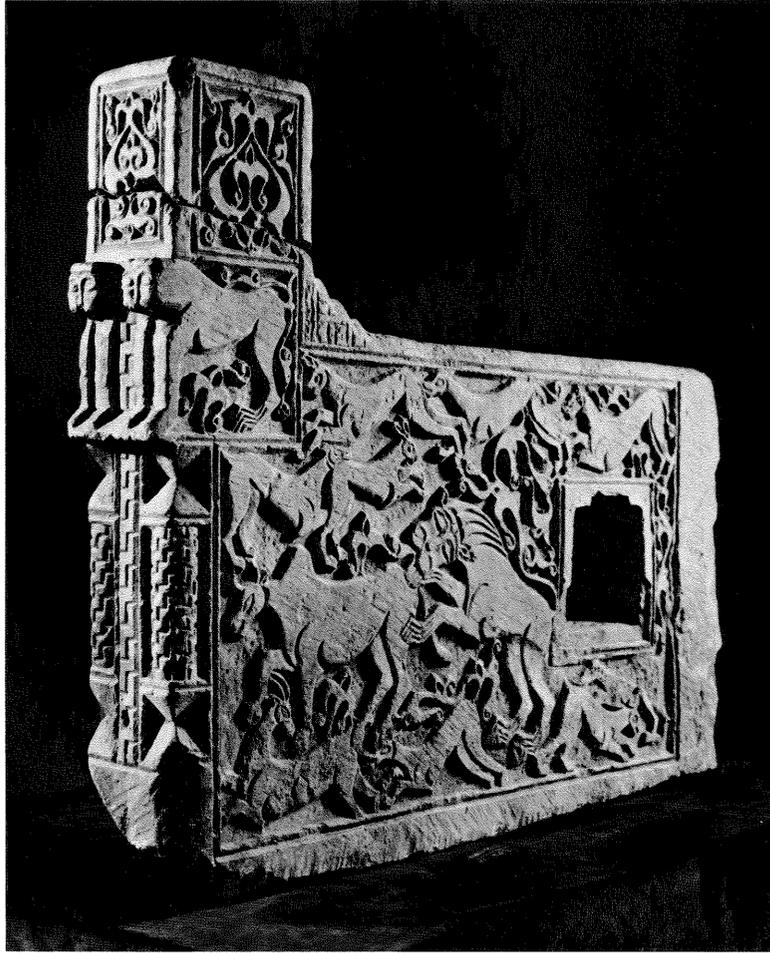


FIG. 1. Limestone balustrade. Iran, 12th (?) century.  
Photo: courtesy Cleveland Museum of Art.



FIG. 2. Kubadiye. Pavilion foundation in the foreground.

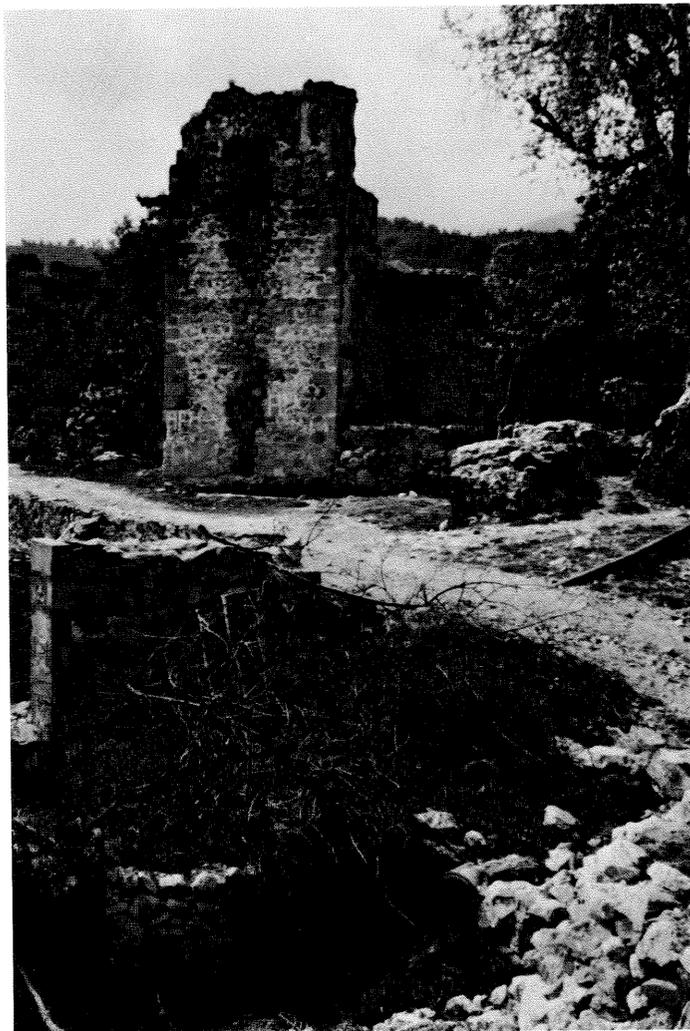


FIG. 3. Güleşen pavilion, near Alanya. General view.

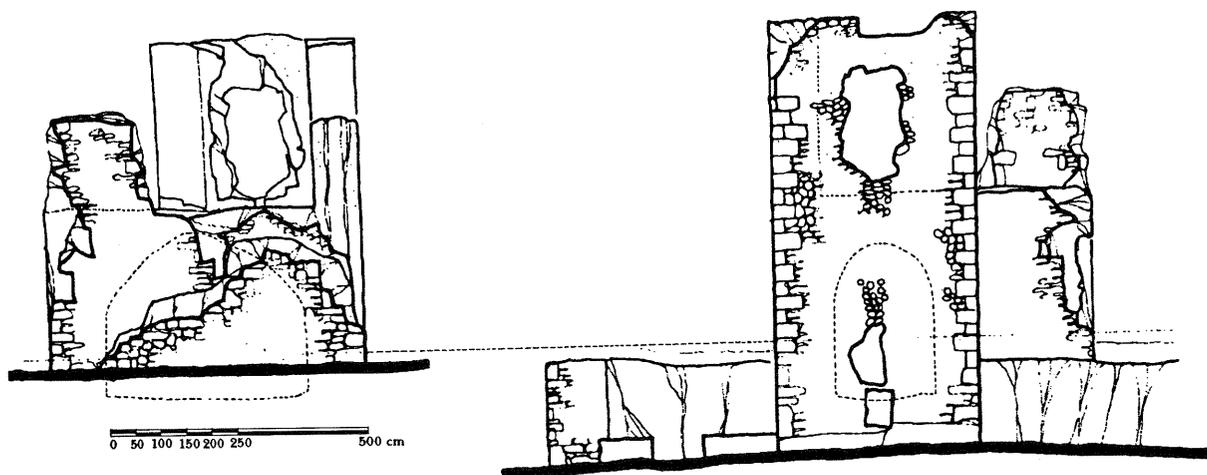


FIG. 4. Güleşen. North and south elevations of the pavilion.  
From Karamağaralı in *Höyük 1* (1988).

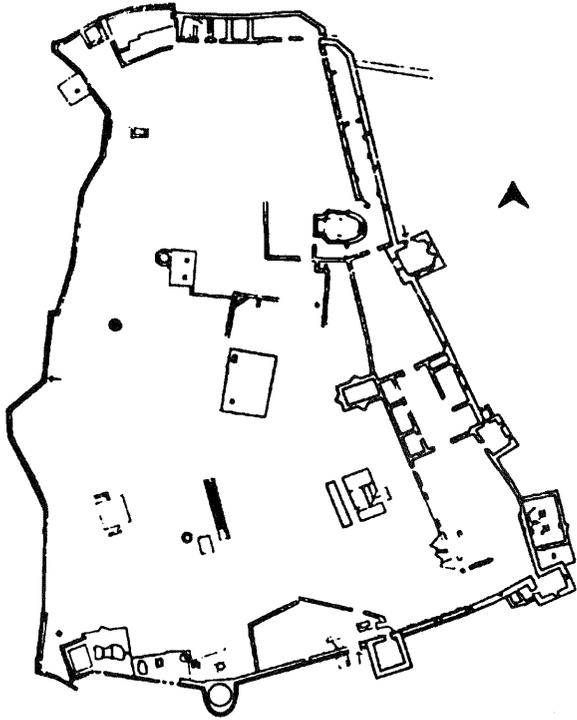


FIG. 5. Alanya. Plan of the citadel.  
From O. Arık, *VIII Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (1986).



FIG. 6. Alanya. View of the citadel walls from the sea. The base of the tower pavilion called Adam Atacağı is at top left.

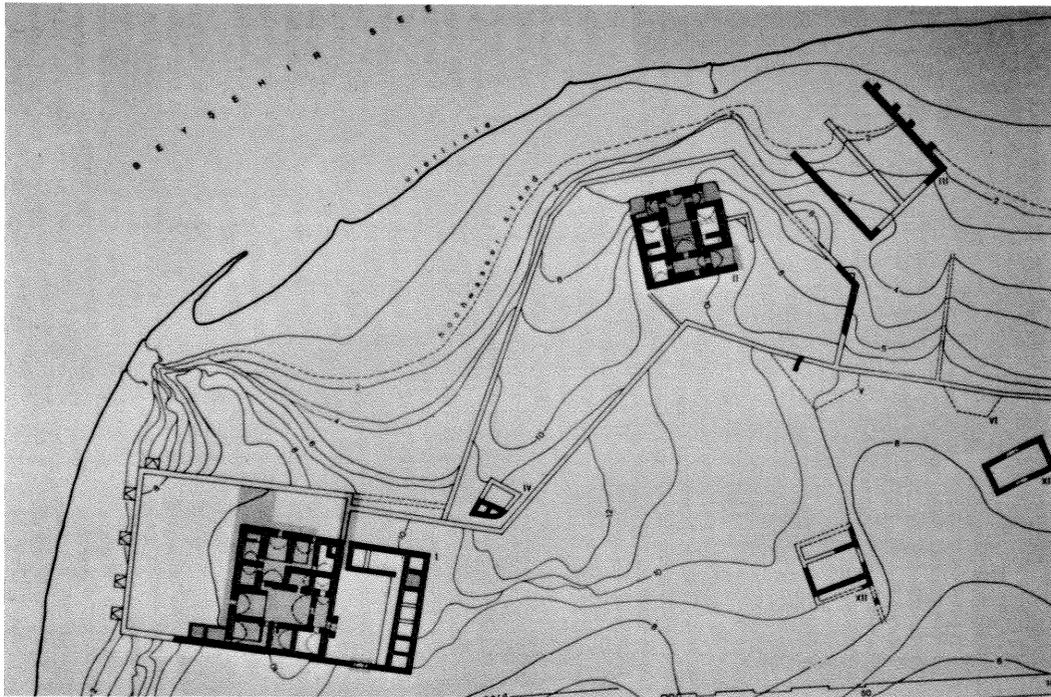


FIG. 7. Kubadabad. Plan of the main area showing the large and small palaces.



FIG. 8. Alaeddin Kiosk, Konya.  
View taken in the early 20th century.  
From J. Löytved, *Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten*.



FIG. 9. Kubadabad. Stucco relief of mounted hunter from the large palace.

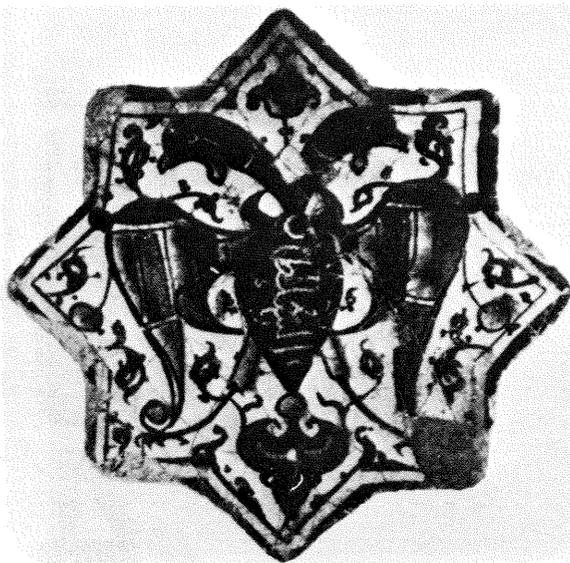


FIG. 10. Kubadabad. Tile of double-headed eagle with *al-sultān* inscription from the large palace.

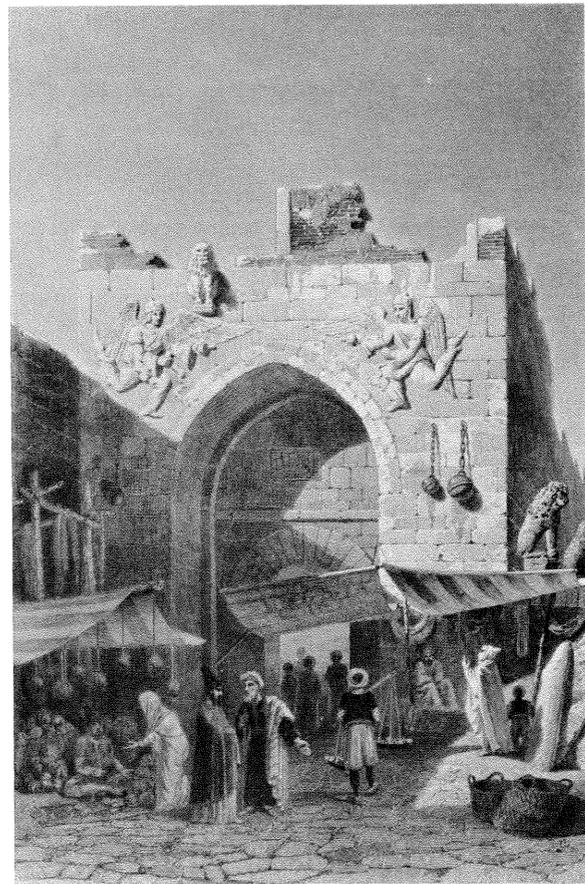


FIG. 11. Larende Gate, Konya. Engraving from Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1862).



FIG. 12. Konya. Double-headed eagle from the walls. Now in the Ince Minareli Medrese Museum, Konya.



FIG. 13. Konya. *Al-sultân* inscription from the walls. Now in the Ince Minareli Medrese Museum, Konya.



FIG. 14. Konya. *Al-sultânî* inscription from the walls. Now in the Ince Minareli Medrese Museum, Konya.



FIG. 15. Alanya. *Al-sultân* inscription from the walls. Now in the Alanya Museum.



FIG. 16. First page from the continuation (*zayl*) of the waqfiyya of the caravansaray of Celal al-Din Karatay.

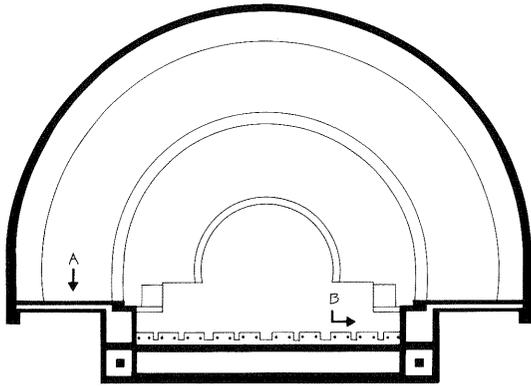


FIG. 17. Kale Kapısı, Alanya. General view showing checkerboard decoration to the right and left of the gate.



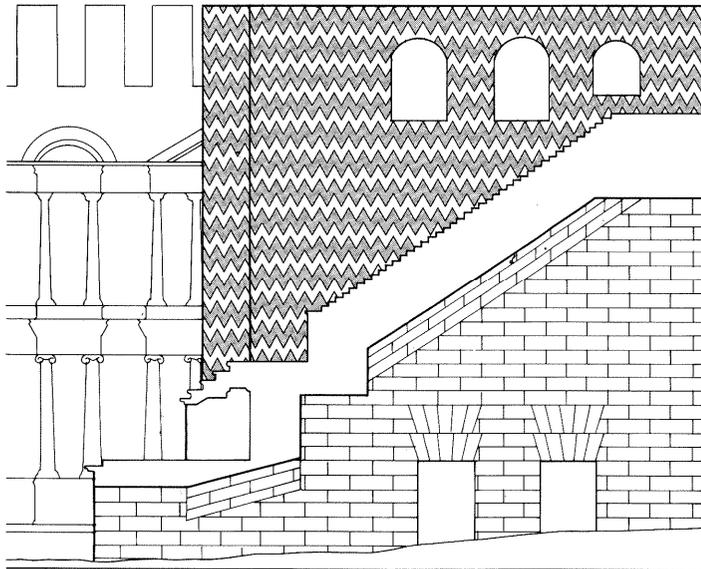
FIG. 18. Kale Kapısı, Alanya. General view showing fresco decoration to the right of the gate.

ASPENDOS

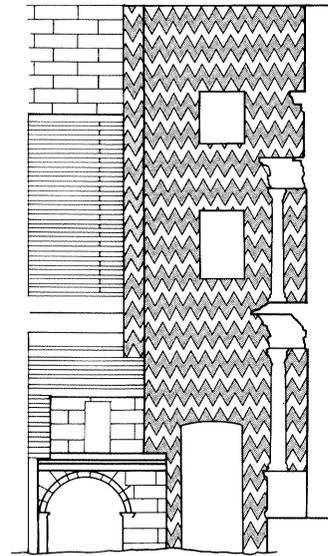


0 2 20 M

PLAN VIEW



ELEVATION A



ELEVATION B

0 10 M

Fig. 19. Theater of Aspendos. Elevations of the south staircase building with reconstruction of the zigzag decoration. Illustration by J. A. Perlmutter.

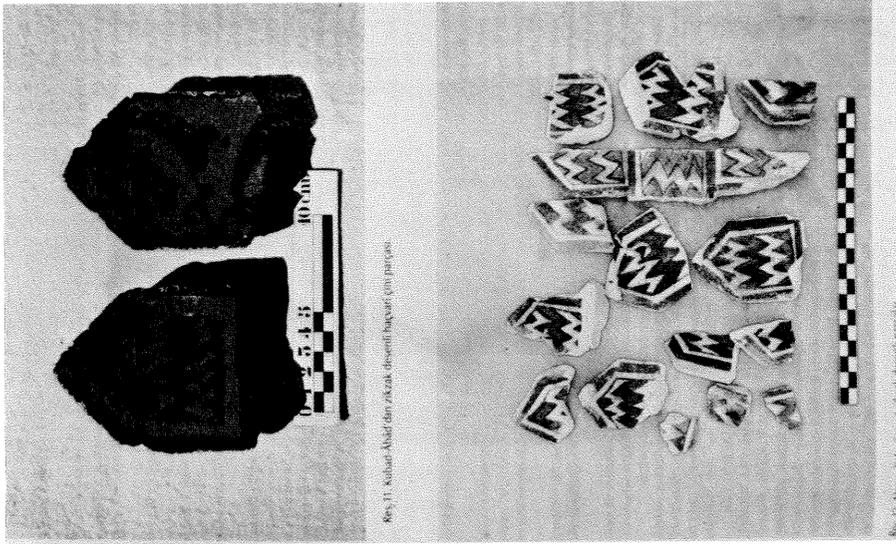


FIG. 22. Zigzag tiles from Kubadabad.

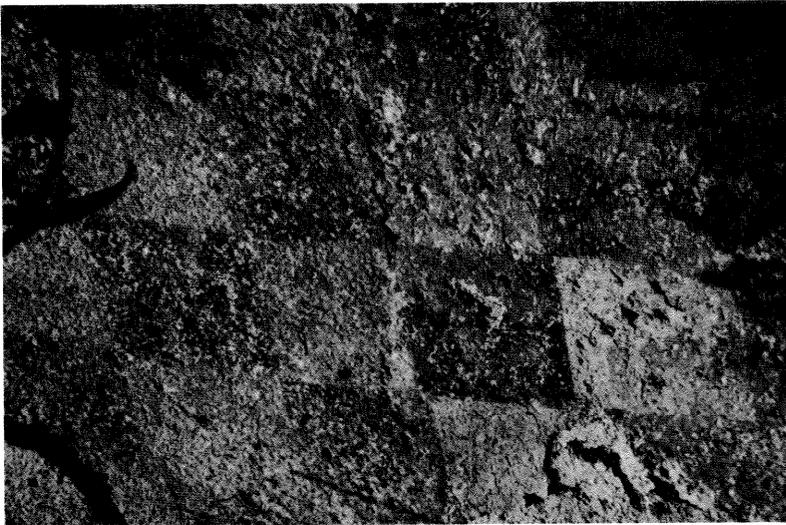


FIG. 21. Güleşen pavilion. Detail of the west facade.

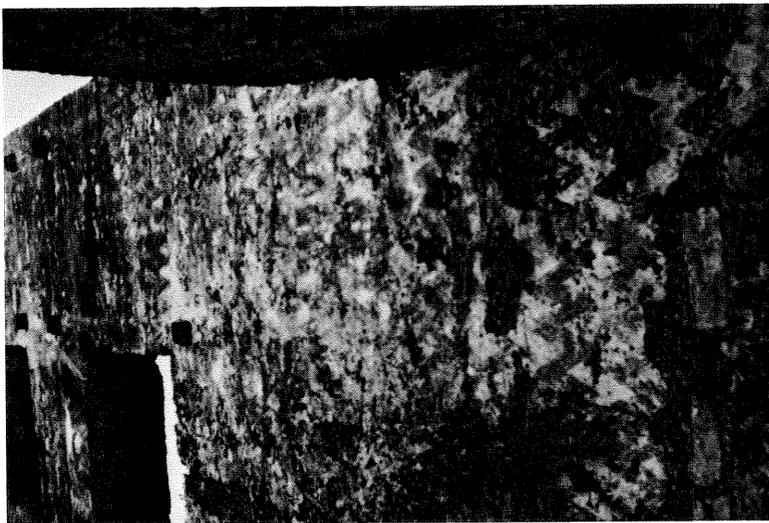


FIG. 20. Theater of Aspendos. View of the north face of the south staircase building.



FIG. 23a-b. *Varqa and Gulshah*, fols. 12/136 and 10/122, showing zigzag and checkerboard. Photos: courtesy Walter Denny.



FIG. 25. Gazipaşa. Pavilion.



FIG. 24. Theater of Aspendos. North face of south staircase building. Black-and-white fresco ornament imitating a marble interlace ablaq design.