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COMPOSITION AND DECORATION
OF SOME PORTALS
IN ANATOLIA
IN THE PRE-OTTOMAN PERIOD

by

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Abstract.

The subject is introduced by a brief survey of the major works relevant to the study of Anatolian portals in the pre-Ottoman period.

An account is given of the life, so far as it is known, of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī, a statesman and considerable patron of building in the thirteenth century, and to this is added a list of his known foundations.

The portals of his foundations are studied in their chronological order with one possible exception. The major inscriptions are noted, and in the majority of cases where the portal also survives, this is described in detail and comparisons are made with other works which seem relevant to its composition and design. It has seemed desirable to accompany this section with numerous photographs.

The problems relating to the designers of the portals of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's foundations are reviewed, and an account is given of the light which a study of the portals throws on the patron.

An attempt is made briefly to situate the portals of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī in the development of style in the thirteenth century and to show their importance as exemplars and transmitters of unconventional forms of composition and decoration.

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Note on the problems raised by the nature of Turkish graphics, the nomenclature of pre-Ottoman buildings and the vocabulary needed to describe them.

Turkey, which had previously employed an Arabic alphabet, adopted a Roman alphabet with some modifications in 1928. The majority of the modifications used may be represented by additions to standard English typescript : ç , ğ , İ , ı , ş , ü , but the undotted small "i" cannot be so represented. Instead of using a capital "I" in the body of a word as recommended by Anatolian Studies I have preferred to employ the dotted small "i" since it gives the words a less outlandish appearance. I shall therefore write, for example, "Sirçali".

Even a cursory glance at the literature concerning pre-Ottoman buildings is sufficient to show that not only are some known by several different names but that the names are rendered in a variety of transliterations. I have chosen to employ the modern Turkish spellings of the most usual names since it is by these that the visitor makes the acquaintance of the buildings. However, when the building is known by an Arabic name without an adjectival termination I have employed the Arabic form transliterated and pointed.

The discussion of Islamic buildings and decorative forms either takes us beyond the borders of

English vocabulary entirely, or into a borderland of terminology familiar, to a greater or lesser extent, to those who are, to a greater or lesser extent, specialists in the field. I have preferred to employ Turkish vocabulary to Arabic as it matched better with the forms of the names of buildings which I have chosen to use, and so will write, for example, medrese though, if necessary, attributing to it a spurious English plural medreses. I have preferred to use the words "koranic" and "kufic" as in the Oxford English Dictionary rather than hybrid forms with pointing.

-oOo-

Abbreviations used.

CIA ... Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum
 RCEA ... Répertoire Chronologique d'épigraphie arabe
 MTA ... Monuments turcs d'Anatolie

Introduction

The development of the study of pre-Ottoman monuments
in Anatolia

In the eighteenth century the Grand Tour led travellers to the western coast of Anatolia in search of classical remains, the painters who accompanied them might return with water colours in which the foreground to a monument was enlivened by an exotic Turkish figure.¹ During the nineteenth century the Tour extended eastwards and Islamic monuments began to take their place beside the classical, the fine lithographs of Laborde's journal² include the walls of Konya, a record of some importance as they have since been destroyed.

In 1849 Texier³ published a detailed study of Islamic monuments in Anatolia compiled some years earlier on the order of the French government; in the interim he had published a similar study of Armenia. Towards the end of the century there seems to have been a spate of interest,

1. cf. Richard Chandler, Travels in Asia Minor, edited and abridged by Edith Clay, with an appreciation of William Pars by Andrew Wilton. London, 1971.

2. L. de Laborde, Voyage en orient: I, Asie Mineure, Paris, 1838.

3. C. Texier, Description de l'Asie Mineure, Paris, 1849, and Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie, Paris, 1842.

Huart published a body of epigraphy in 1894 and 1895,⁴ some of his readings being corrected in the following year by Houtsma,⁵ and in 1897 Huart published his travel journal.⁶ Meanwhile in 1896 Sarre⁷ published the account of a journey which extended as far as Aksaray.

In this century, following Saladin's⁸ pioneering work on Islamic architecture, many general and particular studies of Turkish monuments have appeared. They are too numerous to mention but an extensive bibliography is included in Aslanapa's⁹ recent survey of Turkish art and architecture which also includes many photographs. I shall confine myself to mentioning those which are most useful for the study of portals. In 1908 an article by Mendel¹⁰ shows a greater interest than heretofore in the detail of portal design. In the previous year Löytved¹¹ had published a collection of epigraphy in Konya which is

4. C. Huart, "Épigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure", Revue sémitique Vols. II and III, 1894-5, passim.

5. M. Houtsma, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Selçukischen Inschriften aus Kleinasien", Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol.X, 1896, pp. 293-298.

6. C. Huart, Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs, Paris, 1897.

7. F. Sarre, Reise in Kleinasien, Berlin, 1896.

8. H. Saladin, Manuel d'art musulman, Paris, 1907.

9. O. Aslanapa, Turkish Art and Architecture, London, 1971.

10. G. Mendel, "Les monuments seljoukides en Asie Mineure", Revue d'art, Vol.XXIII, 1908 (January to June), pp. 9-24 and 113-127.

11. J. Löytved, Konia, Inschriften der Seldschukischen Bauten, Berlin, 1907.

important, since Van Berchem and Edhem¹² did not bring out the Konya volume of Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, and since it is more complete for that city than Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet's Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,¹³ Konya was well served in the early years of the century in an article by Dorothy Lamb¹⁴ and a study by Sarre.¹⁵ In the thirties Riefstahl¹⁶ wrote an account of Turkish architecture of the South West, and Gabriel¹⁷ produced a major study of the towns of Kayseri, Niğde, Amasya, Tokat and Divriği.

In recent years there have been studies of more specialised topics; in particular Turkish scholars have produced more works in Turkish of which my knowledge is, unfortunately, insufficient, but the number of works by Turks and Europeans in European languages has also increased greatly. Erdmann¹⁸ published a catalogue of caravanserais

12. A first tome on Anatolia did appear: M. Van Berchem and H. Edhem, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Vol. III, i-ii, Siwas, Diwrigi, Cairo, 1917.

13. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe. Cairo.

14. D. Lamb, "Notes on Seljouk Buildings at Konia", Annual of the British School at Athens. Vol. XXI, 1914-15, 1915-16, pp. 31-61.

15. F. Sarre, Konia, seldschukische Baudenkmäler. (Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst. Teil I) Berlin, 1921. First published as chapter IV of Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst, 2 vols, Berlin, 1910.

16. R. Riefstahl, Turkish architecture in Southwestern Anatolia. Cambridge (Mass.), 1931.

17. A. Gabriel, Monuments turcs d'Anatolie. 2 vols. Paris, 1934, also Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale. 2 vols. Paris, 1940, dealing with South Eastern Anatolia.

18. K. Erdmann, Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts. 2 vols. Berlin, 1961.

in 1961. In 1966 Semra Ögel¹⁹ wrote a detailed study of Seljuk stonework which though in Turkish has an extensive English summary. R. Ünal's²⁰ work on Erzurum of 1968 is in French. Two important articles have also been contributed by Michael Rogers,²¹ the one in 1965 and the other, a review of Cahen's Pre-Ottoman Turkey,²² in 1969.

19. S. Ögel, Anadolu selçuklurari'nin taş tezyinati. Ankara, 1966.

20. R. Ünal, Les monuments islamiques anciens de la ville d'Erzurum et de sa région. Paris, 1968.

21. M. Rogers, "The Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum and the Gök Medrese at Sivas", Anatolian Studies, Vol. XV, 1965, pp. 63-85, and "Recent work on Seljuk Anatolia", Kunst des Orients, Vol. VI, ii, 1969, pp. 134-169.

22. C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, trans. J. Jones-Williams. London, 1968.

Chapter I

The career and patronage of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī bin al-Husayn.

Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī bin al-Husayn¹ was a prominent Seljuk statesman of the second half of the thirteenth century; he is often referred to by the vizier's title of Sāhib Ātā.² Epigraphic records show that he was a considerable patron of buildings. It has therefore seemed interesting to study the portals of those of his buildings which remain to us, in relation to comparable examples, in the attempt to see whether the patronage of one individual appears to have any decisive effect on their composition and decoration or whether other factors such as local style or date seem to dominate.

1. There is, unfortunately, no entry for Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī in the Encyclopaedia of Islam; my account, unless otherwise stated, is culled from Cahen, op.cit., mainly between pp. 274-296.

2. CIA, III, i-ii, p.20³, "Sāhib était un titre des viziers depuis les Bouyides". Sāhib Ātā was not an official title (for which see infra) but Løytved, op.cit., p.51 "Wegen seiner vielen Wohltätigkeitswerke wird er Sahib Ata d.h. Grosswesir, der Schenkende, genannt." M. Ferit and M. Mesut, Selcuk veziri Sahip Ata ile oğullarının hayat ve eserleri. Istanbul, 1934, p24(1) note the possibility of the conflation in speech of ātā - father and ^catā³ - gift. (I propose to omit the pointing from the names of buildings using this title in the modern Turkish manner.)

Cahen states that Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī was of Iranian origin,³ though he does not say how near or distant this origin may have been; he also notes that Arabic documents had to be translated into Persian for the vizier's benefit;⁴ however, at this date this would not necessarily indicate a particularly strong Persian connection. Van Berchem and Edhem⁵ speculate that his father might have been Husayn ibn Dja^cfar whose mausoleum, known as Shahnah kūmbeti 1231/2 (629 H) lies South West of Sivas on the Kayseri road. In a note they add that in Konya Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's grandfather appears as Abū Bakr but the two names "peuvent désigner la même personne." Though this identification is possible it does not seem particularly probable since ^cAlī first comes to prominence in the lands West of Konya.

Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī first appears in a political rôle with the rank of amīr-dād⁶ (a rank which he held from 654 H. till he became a nā'ib⁷ in 657 H.). In the

3. Cahen, op.cit. p. 342.

4. Ibid, pp. 346-7. The language situation among the ruling classes seems to have been rather mixed. Rogers Kunst des Orients, discussing the scarcity of Persian inscriptions, says, p.139, "The Seljuks' Persian may in general be better than their Arabic". However, Persian was the court language p.151, "the report that the ruler of Karaman introduced Turkish as the diwan language in 1285 to replace Persian has so far no material evidence to corroborate it."

5. CIA, III, i-ii, p.17.

6. Cahen, op.cit. p.228, "head of justice, dealing with the cases called mazalim, for the repression of administrative abuses and so on."

7. Cahen, op.cit. p.344, for date entering office, and p.221 "The Sultan had a lieutenant nā'ib (al-Saltana), but whether he was temporary (...) or permanent is not clear."

early 1250s he was sent by Karatay, the ātābeg⁸ of ^cIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwus to negotiate with the Mongols in the endeavour to limit the tribute payable to them consequent upon their defeat of the Seljuks at Kösedaği in 1243. Karatay, the ātābeg, was at this time the effective head of the Seljuk state, under the Mongols, since the death of Kay-Khusraw II two years after Kösedaği had left three sons who were still minors, ^cIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwus, Rukn al-Dīn Kiliç Arslan and ^cAlā al-Dīn Kay Qubādh. Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's mission appears to have been successful.

In the middle 1250s Karatay disappears from the scene, but another strong influence is established since Bayju leads an expedition into Anatolia in 1256 and establishes Mu^cīn al-Dīn Sulaymān as pervāne.⁹ In 1257 ^cAlā al-Dīn was found dead, thus leaving only two brothers to continue the struggle for power. Probably in the same year the state was partitioned between them. This moment marks a promotion for Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī since ^cIzz al-Dīn, who received the western lands, took him as vizier, while Rukn al-Dīn, with the eastern lands, took Mu^cīn al-Dīn. In 1260 the Mongols, dissatisfied

8. Ibid, p.221 "The office of atabek was also found in Rūm, but it never assumed the dimensions that it attained among the other Seljukid families."

9. Ibid, p.221 "Among the personal assistants of the Sultan was the pervāne. This figure (...) to my knowledge had no equivalent except in Mongol Iran where there was a much less important official known by the name pervāneji, which suggests that pervāne is a derived and abbreviated form."

with ^cIzz al-Dīn, advanced on Konya and Mu^cin al-Dīn offered the sole vizierate to Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī on the condition he abandon ^cIzz al-Dīn for Rukn al-Dīn. This offer was accepted and in 1261 Rukn al-Dīn entered Konya. The pervāne, however, continued to dominate the scene, the appointment to the vizierate of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī "in no way diminished (his) supremacy".¹⁰ Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī was, nevertheless, able to defray the cost of his vizierate by obtaining grants of land for his sons, Kütahya, Sandikli, Gururum, Akşehir and later Afyon Karahisar. Perhaps in 1265 Rukn al-Dīn was strangled and Kay-Khusraw III succeeded him.

In 1271/2 (670 H.)¹¹ the pervāne had Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī arrested and demoted from office since he had received a demand for money from ^cIzz al-Dīn. His sons approached Abagha who had him reinstated in the following year.

In the 1270's the threat from Baybars contributed to the instability of the Seljuk kingdom; in 1277 he attacked, won a battle at Albistan, and advanced as far as Kayseri causing the pervāne, the Sultan and Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī to take refuge in Tokat. The sons of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī died in an engagement with Turcomans which was related to Baybars' advance. When Abagha arrived he suspected the pervāne, with some justification, of intriguing with Baybars and had him put to death. This, says Cahen, marked the end of a generation.

10. Ibid, p.283.

11. Ibid, p.343.

"The sole survivor was the aged Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī, whose sons were dead and whose political rôle, if it existed, is less evident than his activity as a builder." 12

Baybars died in 1277 but Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī was obliged to continue operations against the Turcomans in the course of which Karahisar was recaptured and made over to his grandsons. Abagha made Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī not only vizier but deputy to the Ilkhān.

In 1284 Abagha's successor, Ahmed, had Kay-Khusraw killed and replaced him by Mas^cūd, son of ^cIzz al-Dīn, who could not, however, establish himself without some opposition from Kay-Khusraw's widow. Hostility then arose among the Germiyan and since they were impinging on the Karahisar lands Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī paid a large part of the expense of the campaign which he and Mas^cūd led against them. Karahisar was saved. At the end of his life Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī had just run into conflict with Mujīr al-Dīn Amīrshāh, the representative of the Mongol treasury, and incurred his dismissal when he died in November 1288 (687 H.).

A list of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's foundations appears in Ferit and Mesut's Selçuk veziri Sahip Ata ile oğullarının hayat ve eserleri.¹³ It seems that

12. Ibid, p. 291. It might be more correct to say that his rôle as a builder preceded this moment but that he was a prop of the state after it.

13. Ferit and Mesut, op. cit., p. 119.

two, a han at İshaklı 1249 (647 H.) and the Taş medrese at Akşehir 1250 (648 H.), antedate his mission to the Mongols. The mosque at Konya, known as Sahib Ata or the Laranda (after the gate to Laranda-Karaman) of 1258 (656 H.) is in the period of his vizierate to 'Izz al-Dīn. A hanikah,¹⁴ now destroyed, at Akşehir in 1260 (659 H.) is in the year he became sole vizier. In the period of the pervāne's dominance come a fountain at Kayseri, now destroyed, 1266 (665 H.), the Sahibiye medrese at Kayseri 1267/8 (666 H.), and in the same year a thermal establishment at Ilgin,¹⁵ now destroyed; a hanikah at Konya may follow this in 1269/70 or it may be of 1279/80.¹⁶ In the year of his demotion, 1271 (670 H.), Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī built the Gök or Sahibiye medrese in Sivas, and in 1283 (682 H.) his türbe in Konya. Also attributed to him but unfortunately undated is the İnce Minareli medrese in Konya and the Nalinci Baba kümbeti of which a few remaining stones are displayed in the courtyard of the İnce minareli medrese. Ferit and Mesut also mention some unnamed ice-houses and hamams.

14. hanikah - a dervish convent, H. Hony, A Turkish-English Dictionary, second edition, Oxford, 1957.

15. Ferit and Mesut, op. cit., plates 40 and 41 give a photograph and plan of the thermal establishment and in their list of buildings they mention a han. Erdmann, op. cit., p. 199, points out that nineteenth century travellers noted nothing in this place.

16. Huart, Revue sémitique, no. 50, reads the date as 668 H. but Løytved, op. cit., no. 57 as 678 H. Ferit and Mesut would almost appear to make a compromise by using the date 678 H. (1279) but placing it in their list before the Gök medrese. However on p. 46 they quote it as 678 H.

Chapter II

The Portals of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī's Foundations.

THE ʾISHAKLI HAN AT SULTANDAĞI

Inscriptions.

The ʾishakli han¹ lies on the road from Akşehir to Afyon Karahisar in a village previously known as ʾishakli but now called Sultandağı. It has two portals, one to the hall and one to the court.

RCEA, No. 4312, read with the collaboration of Jean Deny, is referred to as "au-dessus d'une porte"; it is in fact over the hall portal :

"Sultanien. Ce monastère (sic²) béni a été construit durant les jours du sultan auguste ʿIzz al-dunyā wal-dīn Abul Fath Kaikāwus, fils de Kaikhusrāw, la preuve de l'émir des croyants, par l'esclave qui espère la miséricorde de son Maître, ʿAlī, fils d'al-Husain, en l'année 647 (1249)."

1. Erdmann, op.cit. nos. 16 and 38.

2. RCEA reads خانقاه where Huart reads الخان. Erdmann opcit. p.146 omits this inscription and so does not raise the question of whether a building of han type could at this date and in this place have had a conventual function.

Huart³ read the date of this inscription as 607 H. (1210) suggesting that it referred to Kay-Kāwus I who came to the throne in 1210, son of Kay-Khusraw I, rather than Kay-Kāwus II, who acceded in 1246, son of Kay-Khusraw II. (The name of the grandfather, which would clinch the matter, is omitted in this inscription.) The fact that the han seems to have had two building periods⁴ might seem to support Huart's view that the inscriptions are of different date; however, Houtsma changed the reading to 647 H. and this is clearly visible in my photograph (Pl. I).

RCEA, No. 4311,⁵ reads the inscription over the court portal as follows :

"La construction de ce khān béni (a eu lieu) dans les jours de l'empire du sultan magnifié, le roi

3. Huart, Revue sémitique no. 11. Huart's claim rests less on the reading of the date than on the reading "Kai-Khosrau, fils de la preuve des croyants" where RCEA has "Kaikhusraw, la preuve de l'émir des croyants". Huart claimed that the title read by him belonged to ^cIzz al-Dīn Kiliç Arslan II.

4. Erdmann, op.cit. p.146: "Die Halle eines älteren Baues (s. no. 16) wurde 1249 von einem der führenden Staatsmänner jener Zeit, dem Wezir Sahib Ata, um einen Hof bereichert und zugleich in einzelnen Teilen, modernisiert'. Wieweit dabei Teile eines älteren Hofes benutzt wurden, bleibt zu untersuchen. Hofportal und Moschee stammen jedenfalls aus der späteren Zeit." In spite of the view stated here Erdmann does not incline to Huart's reading of 607 H. for the hall portal and is indeed rather scathing about it. However, Erdmann's references to RCEA and Huart do little to clarify the situation since he quotes RCEA no. 4313 as the inscription of the hall portal and equivalent to Huart's no. 11, while no. 4313 is "au-dessus d'une porte intérieure" and no. 4312 is over the hall portal. Huart had not seen no. 4313. Erdmann also says that no. 4312 is identical with no. 4314, which is certainly not the case since this last refers to the Haci Kiliç mosque in Kayseri.

5. Huart, Revue sémitique, no. 12.

des rois auguste, le souverain des nuques des nations, le seigneur des sultans des Arabes et des Persans, ^cIzz al-dunyā wa'l-dīn, le refuge de l'Islām et des musulmans, Abul Fath Kaikāwus, fils de Kaikhusraw, fils de Kaikubād, l'associé de l'émir des croyants, - que Dieu éternise son empire ! - par le faible esclave, pécheur, qui a besoin de la miséricorde de Dieu, ^cAlī, fils d'al-Husain, - que [Dieu] lui accorde une bonne fin ! - en l'année 647 (1249)." (Pl. II).

Both portals are therefore probably under the patronage of ^cAlī bin al-Husayn, the later vizier, though the inscription plaque could have been inset.⁶ Houtsma⁷ pointed out that his career could be followed through his changing titles which we can trace from **العبد** in these two examples (Huart nos. 11 and 12); to **أسير باد** **العبد** with **أسير باد** but also, which he does not mention, with **فخر الدولة والدين** at the Taş medrese (Huart no. 13); to a return to **العبد** again on the Sahib Ata mosque (Huart no. 50); to **الصاحب** **الصاحب** also with **فخر الدولة والدين** at the Taş hanikah (Huart no. 14); to **العبد** with **الصاحب** at the Sahibiye medrese; to **الصاحب الأعظم المستشار الأعظم** also with **فخر الدولة والدين** on the Gök medrese (Huart nos. 66 & 67).

6. Huart does not have the problem of a patron with the same name at a forty-year interval, since he reads them differently.

7. Houtsma, op.cit. pp. 296-297; he is dealing only with inscriptions read by Huart and hence omits the Sahibiye medrese.

- Hall Portal.

Description.

The portal has been considerably restored since Erdmann photographed it (Pl. III).

The framing consists of two broad plain bands, separated by a chamfer, with a plain torus at the inner angle (Pl. IV). The central section contains a round-headed arch. The soffit of this arch inclines as it recedes to form a smaller round-headed arch in the plane of the gateway. The lower ends of the inclined soffit are accommodated to the angle between the plane of the doorway and the reveal of the frames by squinches of half cone shape decorated with twelve grooves radiating from their point (Pl. V). The doorway is high, its arch of joggled voussoirs is of segment of circle type³ with consoles below it.

The side niches have plain side columns, three interior facets and four rows of mugarnas.

3. I have not found much comment on this arch form which is evidently not Persian. Ogel, op. cit., p. 158, says: "Inside the recess there is found, ever unvarying in form, a broadly-arched door opening." This is not quite accurate since the Sahib Ata mosque, the İnce Minareli medrese and the Çifte Minareli medrese of Sivas have pointed arched doors; the segment of a circle arch is however that used in most portals. E. Herzfeld "Damascus: studies in architecture" Ars Islamica, X, 1943, p. 31. says: "The horizontal arch used for straight architraves and lintels, together with the flat discharging arch, is a Roman invention." The segment of a circle arch would be produced if the lintel were removed leaving the discharging arch. One may suppose that, either it was brought from Syria, or that it existed in Byzantine Anatolia. Little Byzantine building remains in Anatolia especially on the secular side.

Comment.

Erdmann's photographs show that while round-headed arches are common in the interior construction of hans they are uncommon in their portals, though nearly round arches are common in that position. The Sarafşa^{8a} han near Alanya, built between 1236-1246, has a round arch with a slanting soffit like that of the İshakli han, the arch is enclosed in a frieze arch with a slight point. The İncir⁹ han on the Antalya-Burdur road of 1238 has an arch, not quite round, with a slanting soffit composed of radiating grooves. It may thus have influenced both the soffit design and the squinches. The Çay¹⁰ han of c. 1278, which is next to the İshakli han on the road from Konya, appears to imitate it, though its form is thoroughly apse like and it has triangles in the squinch position.

The fan headed niche is particularly characteristic of Armenian building.¹¹ It is sometimes adopted for Islamic türbes and is indeed used on the Shahnah kümbet.¹²

8.a Erdmann, op. cit. no. 53.

9. Ibid, no. 29.

10. Ibid, no. 39.

11. E. Utudjian, Les monuments arméniens du IV^e siècle au XVII^e siècle, Paris, 1967, and Architettura medievale armena ed. De Luca, Rome, 1968, give many examples, for instance, Utudjian, fig. 146, the monastery of Khtzgonk of the eleventh century.

12. CIA Pl. XVII.

III, i-v

This is a possible shred of confirmation to the suggestion that its occupant might have been ^cAlī's father; again there is just a slender possibility that the fan headed niche, together with the use of a round-headed arch might be an early indication of the susceptibility to Byzantine and Armenian design which some scholars see in the İnce Minareli medrese portal.¹³

13. Especially Lamb, op. cit. and A. Sakisian "Thèmes et motifs d'enluminure et de décoration arméniennes et musulmanes." Ars Islamica, VI, i, 1939, pp. 66-87.

Court Portal

Description

The portal is made of dark and light stone with some suggestion of alternation. The upper part of the frames is missing, and the lower part is a little damaged also (Pl. VI).

The frames consist of an outer torus, three bands and an inner torus (Pl. VII). The first band curves inwards at its outer edge and at its inner edge is decorated with three pointed half-stars with a groove round them. This is followed by a broad plain band separated from a narrow plain band by a chamfer.

In the central section it appears that the frieze arch¹⁴ was indicated by a slight change in surface plane. Some ornamented roundels are visible. The mugarnas seem to have been in seven rows above the inscription, but in ten rows down the reveal. The inscription is carved on a re-used Byzantine marble (Pl. VIII). The doorway is of segment circle type with joggled voussoirs and consoles bearing three pointed half-stars (Pl. IX). The side niches have plain frames and corner columns, four rows of mugarnas and three interior facets.

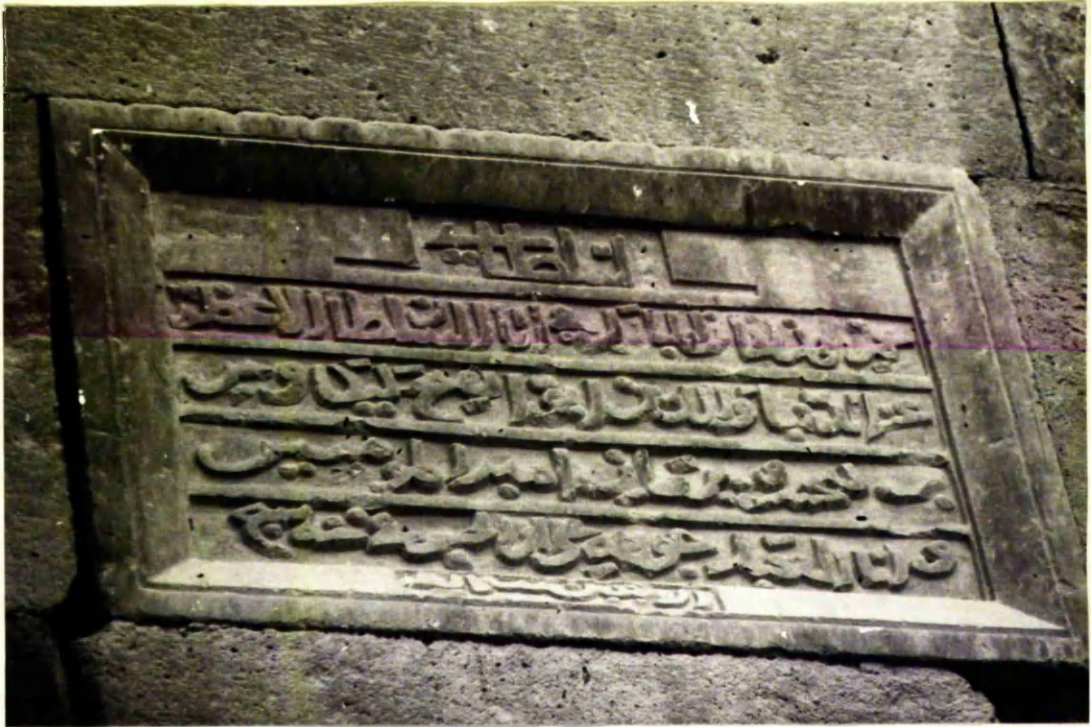
14. I am indebted for the term to ¹¹Ogel, op.cit. p.158.

Comment.

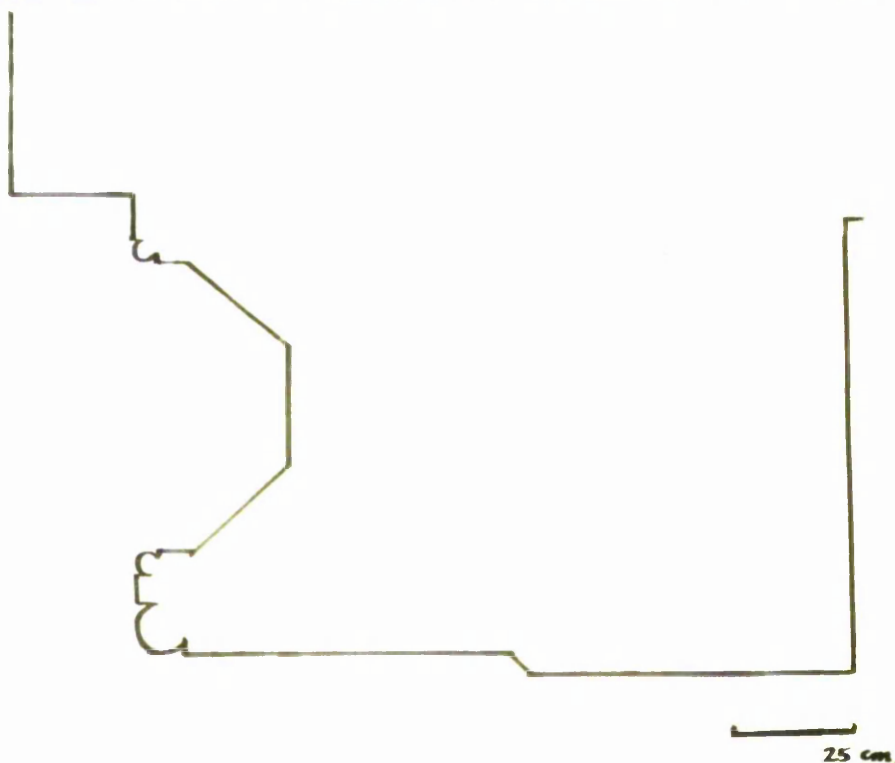
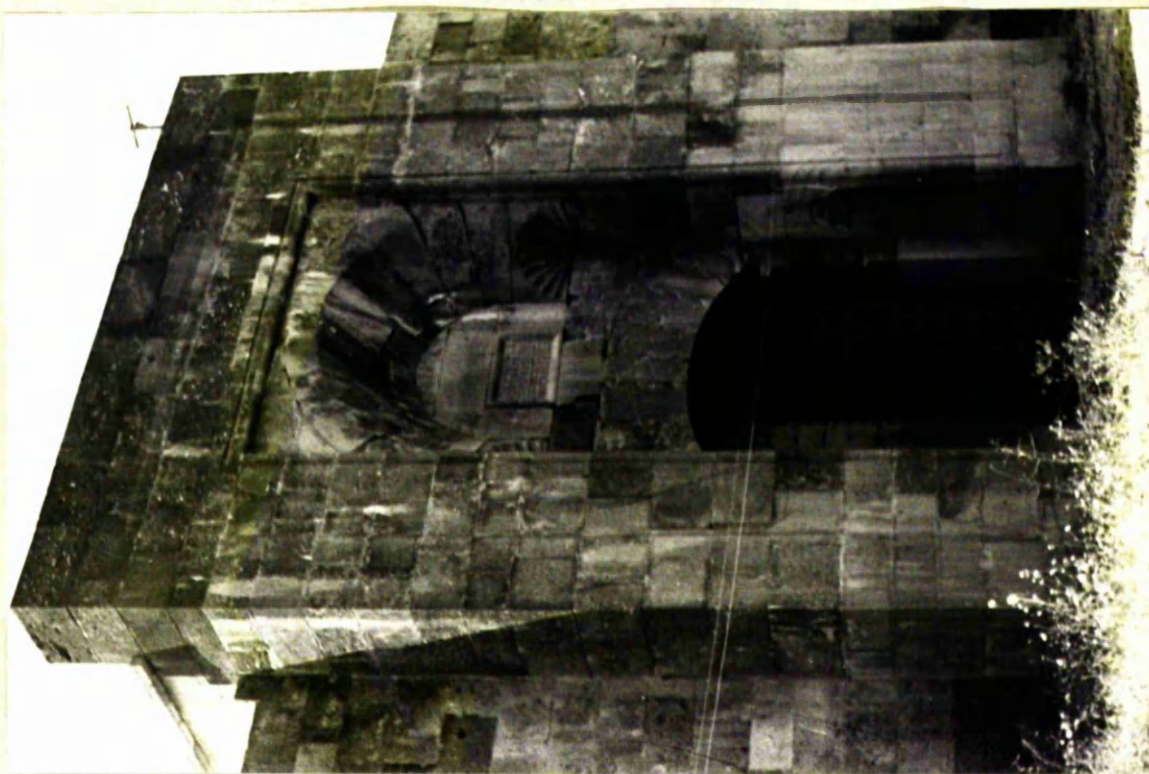
The portal is unremarkable. The combination of portal with mugarnas for the court and without for the hall is quite usual; it is for example the case with the Sultan¹⁵ han on the Konya-Aksaray road begun in 1229. The most distinguished bi-coloured portal is perhaps the Sadeddin han near the Konya-Ankara road dated 1235/6.¹⁶

15. Erdmann, op. cit., no. 25.

16. Ibid, no. 28.

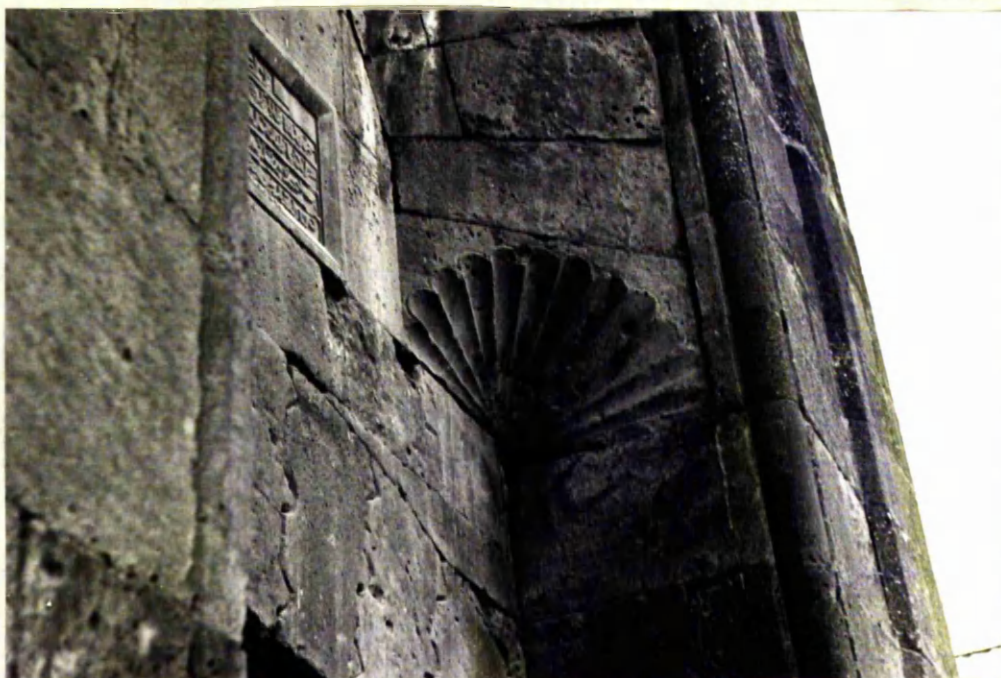


- I. Ishakli han, hall portal, inscription.
- II. Ishakli han, court portal, inscription.

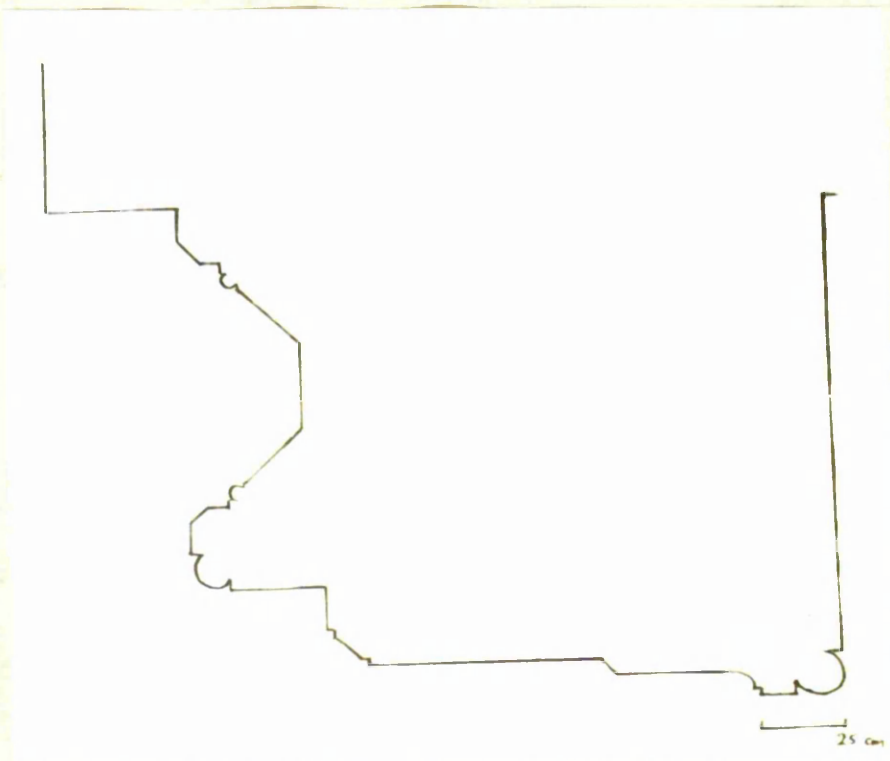


III. Ishakli han, hall portal.

IV. Ishakli han, hall portal, profile.



- V. Ishakli han, hall portal, fan-headed niche.
VI. Ishakli han, court portal.



- VII. Ishakli han, court portal, profile.
- VIII. Ishakli han, court portal, reverse of inscription.



IX. Ishakli han, court portal, console and niche head.

THE TAŞ MEDRESÊ AT AKŞEHİR

Inscription

RCEA, no. 4326, reads the inscription on the portal of the Taş medrese as follows :

"La construction de ce collège béni a été ordonnée durant les jours de l'august sultan, le roi des rois magnifié, l'ombre de Dieu dans le monde, ^cIzz al-dunyā wal-dīn Abul-Fath Kaikāwus, fils de Kaikhūraw, la preuve de l'émir des croyants, - que Dieu éternise xxx (?)! - par le faible esclave, qui espère la miséricorde de son Maître Bienveillant, Abul-Ma^cālī Fakhr al-dawla wal-dīn ^cAlī, fils d'al-Husain Amīrdād, - que Dieu lui pardonne ainsi qu'à la totalité des musulmans ! - à la date de muḥarrām de l'année 648 (avril 1250)." (Pl. K).

Huart¹ had proposed the date 613 H. but Houtsma corrected this to 648 H. Huart had thought the patron was a certain Khwadjeh Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī Tabrīzī. The title **أميرداد** appears here six years before the date at which Cahen tells us Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī achieved it (see supra p. 12.).

1. Huart, Revue sémitique no. 13.

Description

The portal is of grey and white marble.²

The framing bands are missing above the side niches and the upper part of the central section has disappeared (Pl. XI). Some new blocks have been introduced. Sarre's photograph³ shows that it has much decayed since his day when it still had a mugarnas niche, and when the road level was lower; however, it also shows that even in its previous state it did not project from the side walls (Pl. XII).

The framing consists of four bands and a torus before a strip is reached which was once the lower end of the plane of the central section (Pls. XIII, XIV). The first band emerges indeterminately from the side wall and is followed by a slight reveal. The second band curves inwards at its outer edge and is bordered at its inner by three pointed half-stars outlined by a triple groove. A broad plain band is separated from a narrow plain band by a chamfer. The plain band is bordered by a plain narrow torus. These bands turn inwards under the strip of the central section, and they come to an unornamented end. The corner is formed by a plain column. Sarre's picture shows that this had

2. Can the town be known as Akşehir - the white town - because of the presence and use of white marble ?

3. Sarre, Reise, pl. XII.

an undecorated double capital under a projecting slab. The base is a framed cube, now at road level, but once resting on a plain base brieze.

The central section once had a frieze arch marked by a slight change in level, the areas above and below this are ornamented by roundels. There were eight rows of mugarnas, below these was set the inscription which is carved on what appears to be a column (perhaps a waster rather than re-used) (Pl. XV). The doorway arch is of segment of circle type with mugarnas consoles.

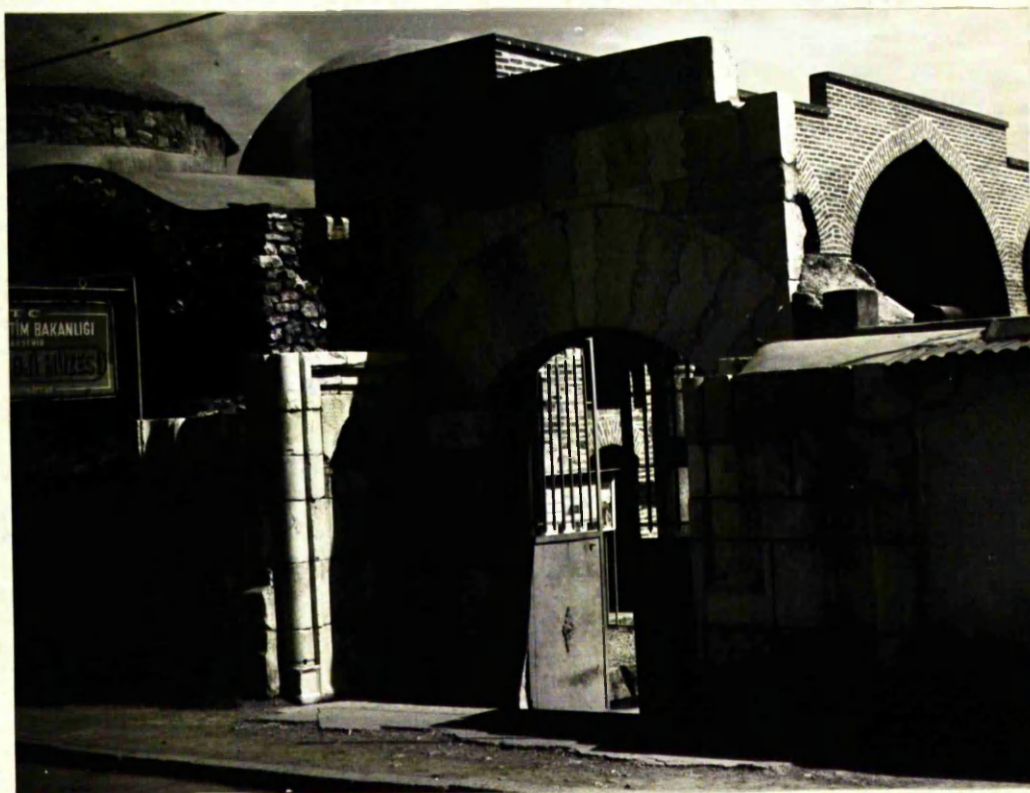
The side niches are set back in an incurving frame in which is an additional reveal (Pl. XVI). Their side columns are thin and plain, their capitals are double cubes with clipped corners. There are four rows of mugarnas and three interior facets. The niches do not reach the ground but are set above a cyma recta moulding. This has not been concealed by the new road level as the doorway is now reached by a step downwards.

Comment.

Though its details are unremarkable in themselves the portal bears a marked resemblance to the court portal of the Ishakli han, though carried out in marble instead of sandstone and with some refinements of detail. Features in common are the incurving band with three pointed half-stars followed by a broad

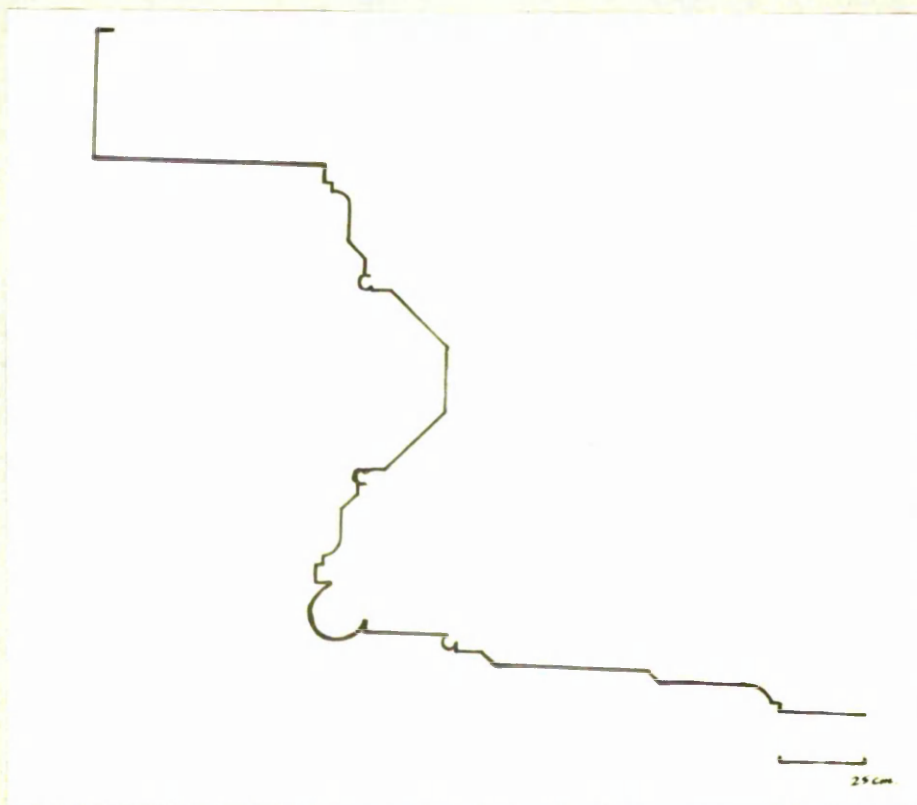
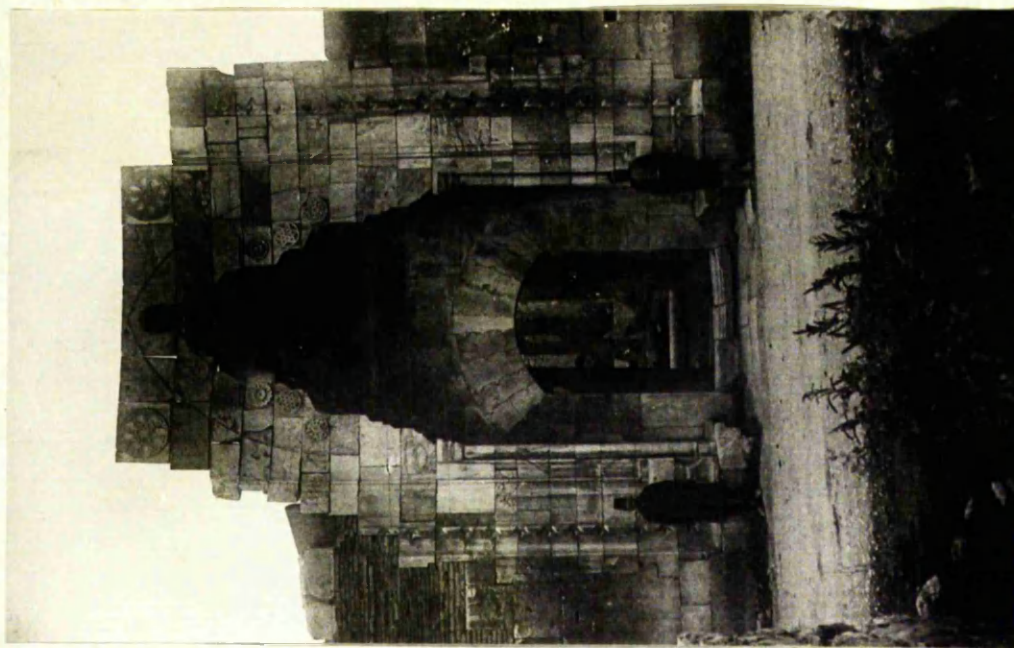
plain band separated from a narrow one by a chamfer, the lightly marked frieze arch, and the roundels. Refinements are the three grooves round the three pointed half-stars, the narrow torus frame, the frame to the niche and moulding under it. An adaptation is the change from half-star consoles to mugarnas. It therefore seems highly probable that Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī is employing the same designer⁴ as in the earlier building. This continuity is an interesting precedent.

4. Rogers, Anatolian Studies, p. 81, points out that the "designer" of the portal is not necessarily the "architect" of the whole building. The term "designer" will therefore be used throughout as a matter of precaution.



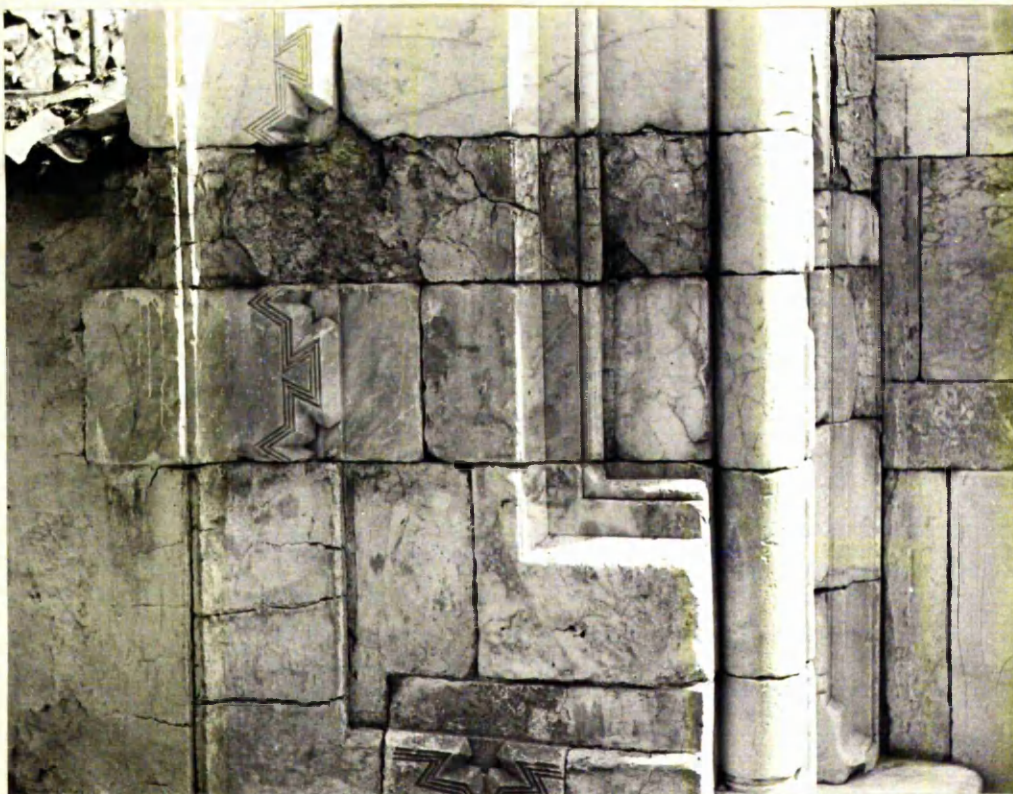
X. Akşehir, Taş medrese, inscription.

XI. Akşehir, Taş medrese, portal.



XII. Akşehir, Taş medrese (after Sarre, Reise, pl. XII).

XIII. Akşehir, Taş medrese, profile.



XIV. Akşehir, Taş medrese, framing bands.

XV. Akşehir, Taş medresesi, reverse of inscription.



XVI. Akşehir, Taş medrese, side niche.

THE SAHIB ATA MOSQUE AT KONYA

Inscriptions

The Sahib Ata mosque has also sometimes been called the Laranda mosque or the Energhé mosque.¹ The inscription at the head of the portal is read, RCEA no. 4429, as follows :

"La construction de cette mosquée bénie a été ordonnée durant les jours de l'empire du sultan, l'ombre de Dieu dans le monde, le souverain des nuques des nations, le seigneur des Arabes et des Persans, ^cIzz al-dunyā wal-dīn Abul-Fath Kaikāwus, fils de Kaikh^uusraw, - que Dieu éternise sa souveraineté! - par le faible esclave, qui a besoin de la miséricorde de Dieu, ^cAlī, fils d'al-Husain, fils du pèlerin Abū Bakr, - que Dieu lui pardonne ainsi qu'à ses père et mère! - en l'année 656 (1258)."

After the Taş medrese the patron has returned to the modest formula of the İshakli han, also the name of his grandfather appears for the first time. Should one imagine that in the capital he cuts a less grand figure and has to rely more on the status of his family ?

This is the first of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's portals upon which the signature of a designer appears;

1. Løytved, op.cit. p.50 "Laranda" after the gate to Laranda (Karaman). Saladin, o.cit. p.462, uses the "Energhé" but does not explain it.

it is on two roundels on the right hand niche.

RCEA, no. 4430, reads this as "Oeuvre de Kalūk, fils de ^cAbd-Allah"² (Pl. XVII, XVIII). Early readings gave various versions of the personal name, the final letter of which was particularly in doubt; however, the name also appears on the Ince Minareli where the final kāf is perhaps more clear³ (Pls. XIX, XX).

The name may be related to that of the designer of the Gök medrese in Sivas; however, I shall postpone discussion of this question till later (see pp.123-5; 167-72) and for the moment mention only the suggestion which is sometimes made that the designer of the Sahib Ata and the Ince Minareli portals was an Armenian⁴ or of Armenian origin. CIA, which unfortunately never reached its Konya volume, has nevertheless a footnote

2. The signature also appears on the Ince Minareli, and on the now destroyed Nalinci Baba kümbet, RCEA no. 4431 and Löytved, op.cit. nos. 73 and 78.

3. The reading "Kalouk" seems to have first been propounded by Halil Edhem, cf. Mendel, op.cit. p.113(1). L. Mayer, Islamic architects and their works, Geneva, 1956, p.77 : "The name of the architect, although very clearly incised in two medallions on each façade, was occasionally read as Kelül, Kallül, Kalus, Mallūk and even Mamluk".

4. Saladin, op.cit. p.456²: "Ce Kalous, fils d'Abdallah (...) était probablement un Arménien, fils d'un renégat car généralement les convertis à l'Islam portent ce nom d'Abdallah." A. Sakisian, "Thèmes et motifs d'enluminure et décoration arméniennes et musulmanes", Ars Islamica, VI, 1939, p.67 takes Kalūk to be Armenian.

on the name ԵԺ (which it does not transcribe)

"Bornon-nous à dire ici que ce nom peut être
amménien : kel "loup" + dim. ug, comme kegh
"beauté" + ug, formant le nom Keghug ... " 5

The inscription round the portal is from sūrat 48, "The Victory".⁶ Løytved points out that verses 1 - 4 of this sūrat are used round the door of the ^cAlā' al-Dīn mosque; he does not say if the whole or a part is used here. One might argue that long koranic quotations, stressing the reward of right belief, the punishment of idolaters and the rôle of the Messenger, would be appropriate to the work of a convert, but as stated above the first lines were quoted on a Konya building already, and the same might be said of many other texts. The inscriptions round the sebils^{6a} are koranic and are concerned with the gift of water.⁷

5. CIA III, i-ii, p. 21⁴. The part of this note quoted here on the possible Armenian etymology of Kalūk was contributed by P. Kalemkian "savant mékhitariste à Constantinople".

6. Løytved, op.cit., no. 45; he does not say how many verses are used here, but refers us to no. 20, ^cAlā' al-Dīn mosque, where verses 1 - 4 are used. In no. 74 Løytved says that verses 1 - 13 are used on the İnce Minareli medrese. Løytved does not count the bismillāh in numbering verses.

6a. Sebil - a public fountain. Aslanapa op.cit. pp.342-3.

7. Løytved, op.cit., pp. 51-52.

Description.

The Sahib Ata mosque originally bore two minarets, though only a portion of one now remains; supports under the minarets flank the usual portal composition (Pl. XXI). The upper edge of the portal seems to have suffered some damage, it is now protected by a tiled roof. Apart from this the portal is in good repair though somewhat begrimed. Some white marble is employed with the stone. The marble has not been brought to a straight border on the side face of the portal, however it is surfaced as though it were originally meant to be exposed. Aslanapa⁸ mentions that the portal was probably originally attached to a structure but it seems unlikely that this would have concealed the edge of the marble blocks.

The brick bases of the minarets are set on the supports so that their tops come below the level of the top of the portal as it now stands. The brick carries a criss-cross pattern or Persian type with insets of blue tiling.

Below the bases on either side is an aperture with a pointed arch; these are surrounded by mouldings in white marble in a key pattern type of design (Pls. XXII ,XXIII).

8. Aslanapa, op. cit., p. 123: "Recent research and explorations have shown that the Sahib Ata mosque in Konya was originally a structure supported on wooden columns and extended as far as the present façade with its twin minarets."

A curious fact is that on the left the moulding twists into a loop over the arch, whereas on the right it does not.

Below these aperture features is an area of plain stone and below this on either side the framed niche of a sebil; the niches are of white marble. The outer border of the left hand niche (Pl. XXIV) bears an incised inscription, an unusual technique for the portals, inside this is a band of cyma recta section bearing a geometric pattern of stars and lozenges. The central area is headed with an inscription in floriated kufic. The spandrels are plain with ornamented bosses. A groove runs round the mugarnas niche which is of five ranks. The columns are covered with an inverted scale pattern. Their capitals and bases are identical : framed cubes. The spandrel is ornamented by a moulding of angular section, looping in the spandrels. The lower border of the support is formed by a re-used sarcophagus with a pattern of interlocking circles (Pl. XXV).

The right hand niche (Pl. XXVI) is bordered by an inscription in relief. This is followed by a chamfer decorated by a tress of four strands. The inner border is a scroll with triple lobed florets on either side. The rest of the niche resembles that on the left, save that the architect's signature appears on roundels above the mugarnas niche, and the moulding in the

spandrels is of round section. The lower border is formed by another sarcophagus (Pl. XXVII) divided in three panels which in the side sections bear lozenges with Gorgons' heads.⁹

The upper and lower features of the minaret supports are linked by a moulding (Pl. XXVIII) which runs along the inner edge of the upper feature and turns in under it, runs down the outer edge of the plain area above the niche and down its inner edge to end in a curled foot (Pl. XXIX). The centre of the foot forms a dark punctuation mark in the composition which is echoed by one just above the foot. The linking moulding has a geometric strip on either side, the pattern is composed of half squares with one chamfered corner arranged in alternating pairs. The central section has a pattern in which cross threads run through lozenges.

There are four framing bands, two of which cross over a torus (Pl. XXX).¹⁰ The outer band links lozenges with two strands in saltire running through them between the links. The second band curves inwards at its outer edge and bears an inscription. In the third position, on the right, a geometric band can be followed upwards till it crosses over the torus and then recrosses to its former position (Pl. XXXI).

9 . Rogers, Anatolian Studies, p.73, says that the sarcophagi are Byzantine and Phrygian.

10. Ibid, fig. 4A shows the third band parallel with the portal and the fourth as a chamfer.

It links with a scroll band proceeding from the other side of the torus. The crossing is repeated again higher up, and again in the upper corner. Apparently the bands must have exchanged position in the centre of the top of the composition, since on the left the floral scroll has the outer position. The torus in its lower area is patterned with arrows; above the first knot the torus is triple; above the second it is faceted.

The foundation inscription runs across the top of the central section (Pl. XXXII). A torus forms loops in the upper spandrels, which may once have contained bosses. Immediately below this the frieze arch is plain; though pointed it has a rounder profile than the other arches used. In the area above the mugarnas are two broken bosses (Pl. XXXIII). There are fourteen rows of mugarnas.

Above the doorway is an ornament equivalent to that above the frieze arch, but angular (Pl. XXXIV). The doorway arch is pointed; it has bi-coloured joggled voussoirs. The corner columns have a pattern, shared with the minarets, which leaves a void in the shape of an arrow with a bar across the top. The capitals are of two rows of acanthus.

The side niches are framed with a double scroll. They have plain roundels beside five rows of mugarnas, faceted interiors and columns with framed-cube capitals (Pl. XXXV).

Comment.

The composition with twin minarets on supports flanking the portal proper links the Sahib Ata mosque with the Gök medrese, Sivas, of 1270 (also under the patronage of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī) and with the Çifte Minareli medrese, Erzurum. The Çifte Minareli is undated but is mentioned in a vakfiye in 1265.¹¹ It is more closely linked in style to the Gök medrese than to Sahib Ata and so it is more probable that it follows rather than precedes Sahib Ata. This question will be pursued later.¹² In whichever direction the influence proceeds the features held in common are : the minaret supports which rise above a base; the use on these supports of a feature of interest at door level, in the case of the Çifte Minareli the framed palm, in that of the Sahib Ata the sebils; the use above these features of an area of plain stone, in the case of the Çifte Minareli extending as far as the minaret base, but in that of Sahib Ata with an upper feature of interest, the key pattern niches; in the central section both have a plain grooved frieze arch. In the matter of decoration the links are fewer; however, one could point to the use of high relief and of a fine triple torus, on the Çifte

11. Rogers, Anatolian Studies, pp.82-85 dismisses a false dating and gives a mention in a vakfiye of 1265 as a terminus ante quem.

12 . See below pp.135-6; 184-5.

Minareli palm-tree frame, and on the Sahib Ata in the central part of the moulding which is lapped over by the crossing bands. I think there is sufficient connection to say that the one was aware of the other and it seems likely to me that the Çifte is the follower for the reason stated above and because it seems to me a more accomplished design than the Sahib Ata which seems rather gauche and experimental.

Although it has an unusual design various features link it to previous Konya buildings. The most obvious of these are the key patterns round the upper niches of the supports which, though in relief, are clearly related to those of the 'Alā' al-Dīn mosque of 1220/1¹³ (Pl. XXXVI) and of the Karatay medrese of 1251¹⁴ (Pl. XXXVII). The Karatay also has double acanthus capitals, though of a form even more free than those of Sahib Ata; it also employs scrolls

13. It is of course the "portal" between the two buttresses which is meant and not the entrance portal to the western end of the same façade. Whether the feature in question is really a blocked doorway as Mendel says, op.cit. p.16, or a large ornamental feature (Iamb, op.cit. pl. VI:i, shows it without a descending flight of steps) is immaterial to its influence on decoration. Huart, *Revue sémitique*, no. 26, calls it the "porte principale" and dates it 617 H. (1220/1) while the other, no. 27, "porte d'entrée" is 616 H. Sarre, *Reise*, pp.47-8 also reads these dates. RCEA, no. 3835 reads the date of the "portail principal" as 616 H.; this must be the door on the western end of the façade, a plaque to the right, no. 3836, must be to its right.

14. RCEA, no. 4333.

finely carved in marble (Pl. XXXVIII). similar to those round Sahib Ata's left hand sebil. The notion of two bands interlocking with each other over a central feature could have come from tile work on the great īwān of the Sirçali medrese of 1242 (Pl. XXXIX).¹⁵ Another feature which may have its origin in Konya is the curled foot of the band which seeks to unify the supports by linking the upper and lower features. This may be related to the curled foot of the mouldings on a plaque on the wall of the ^cAlā al-Dīn mosque (Pl. XL). The arch form of this plaque, being rather broad, is also that of the Sahib Ata frieze arch. The curled termination to a moulding would appear to be Byzantine in origin.¹⁶

Together with the key pattern nich frames and the linking mouldings, the torus loops above the frieze arch and the faceted looping figure above the

15. Ibid, no. 4211.

16. Mendel, op.cit. p.18, mentions this moulding, but not à propos of Sahib Ata, and says that it is "un emprunt direct aux monuments chrétiens de Syrie". R. Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, Harmondsworth, 1965, pl.39B shows an example for Qal^cat Sim^cān, c. 470, and in pl.39A an example of a mainly horizontal linking moulding. Perhaps such features also existed nearer in time and place to Konya. Mendel, op.cit., p.18, points out that the arcade at the top of the ^cAlā al-Dīn façade is re-used Byzantine, as are some of the columns in the interior. The pilasters of the entrance door bear a remarkable resemblance to some at Din Bir Kilise which I visited on 3rd August, 1972, but the linking moulding does, however, appear on St. Gregory Abohamrentz at Ani of the tenth century. Utudjian, op.cit. pl. 157.

a greater importance than is common in Seljuk architecture and a study of Utudjian's work²¹ seems to bear this out. Before deciding positively that the tori of Sahib Ata are Armenian inspired one should consider that they might also have been a feature of the Byzantine architecture which has mostly disappeared from central Anatolia but whose influence on the Seljuks in Konya has been noted by Sarre.²² I say this because I shall argue later that the influence of Armenia, or Armenia through Divriği, becomes much more evident in the portal of the İnce Minareli medrese portal. The bold tori may be simply another indication of Kalūk's willingness to use and transform motifs which he found in Konya, whether Islamic or not.

Another evidence of the independence of the designer is the bold re-use of the sarcophagus with Gorgons' heads. Re-use of capitals and columns was not uncommon and we have seen the re-use of turned slabs on the İshaklı han and the Taş medrese. The re-use of figural representations was not unknown, Laborde's²³ picture of the walls of Konya shows a

21. Utudjian, op.cit., passim, but for example Haridjavank monastery of the thirteenth century, pl. 188. At this date Islamic influence of these could be argued and while this is possible in some degree it seems nevertheless evident that the articulation and decoration of a façade by mouldings is an East Christian tradition of long standing.

22. Sarre, Reise, Ch. V.

23. Laborde, op.cit., plates not numbered.

nude statue incorporated into them and figural fragments may also be used to decorate hans, for example the Kadin han.²⁴ The re-use of a figural representation on a mosque portal is, however, unique among the Seljuks.

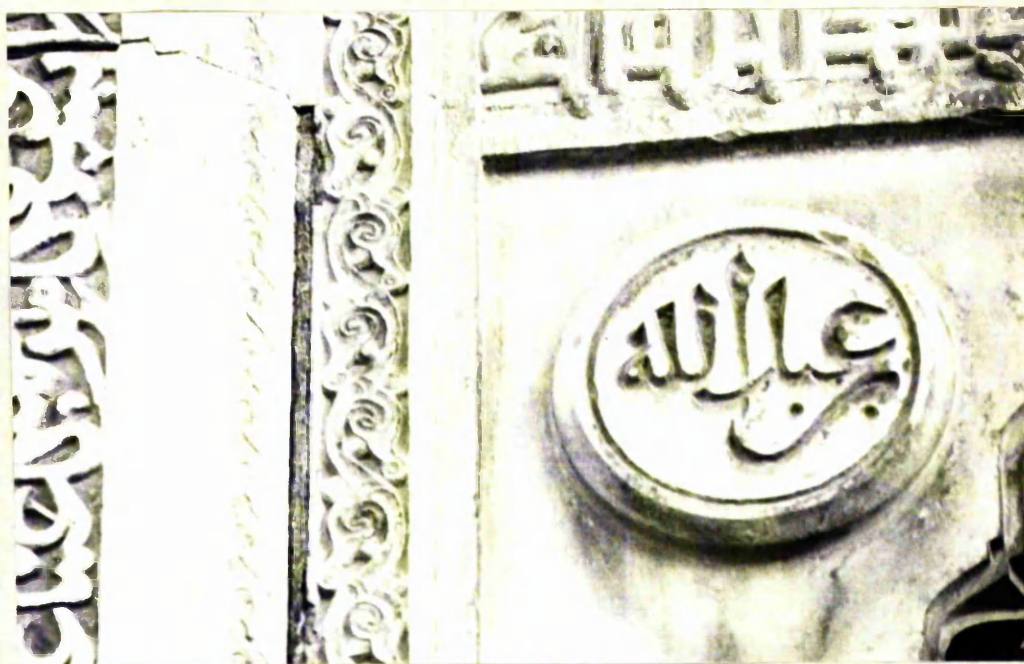
The extensive koranic quotation dealing as it does with the reward of believers and the punishment of unbelievers might lead one to think that the composition was the work of a convert. Löytved signals a smaller excerpt from this sūrat on the door of the ^cAlā' al-Dīn mosque so that one cannot make too much of the point; however, the use of a koranic inscription as a framing band is another innovation of Kalūk, as far as Konya is concerned.²⁵

The Sahib Ata mosque, like the İnce Minareli medrese (and also the Çifte Minareli medrese of Sivas) employs a pointed arch. I am uncertain whether this should be considered an example of Persian or Mongol influence.²⁶

24. Erdmann, op.cit. no. 10, pl. 57. Erdmann says however that the han is so named (Kadin - lady) because it was founded by a woman, p. 49.

25. Though of course long koranic inscriptions were used earlier in other areas of Islam. cf. A Maricq and G. Wiet Le minaret de Djama: la découverte de la capitale des sultans ghoriens (XIIe-XIIIe siècles), Paris, 1959, p.25. The whole sūrat 19 of "Mary" is used on the minaret.

26. Rogers, Kunst des Orients, argues that even after the Mongol conquest Persian influence is slight in Anatolian architecture.



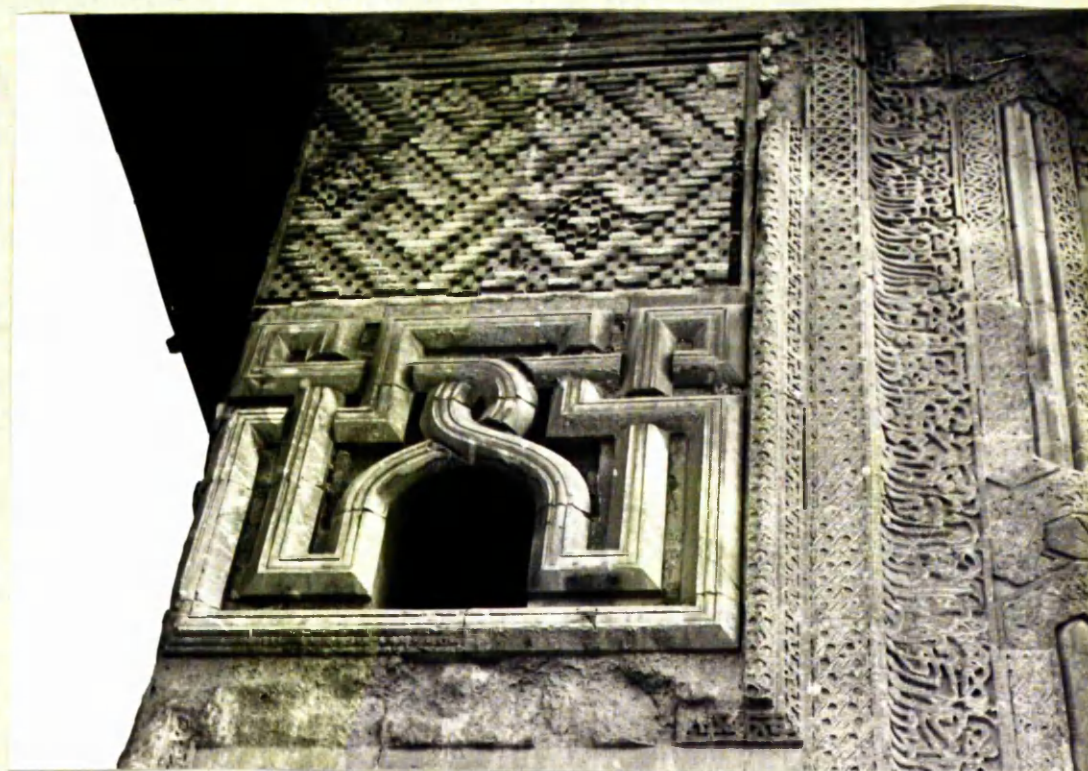
XVII. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, designer's signature, i.

XVIII. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, designer's signature, ii.



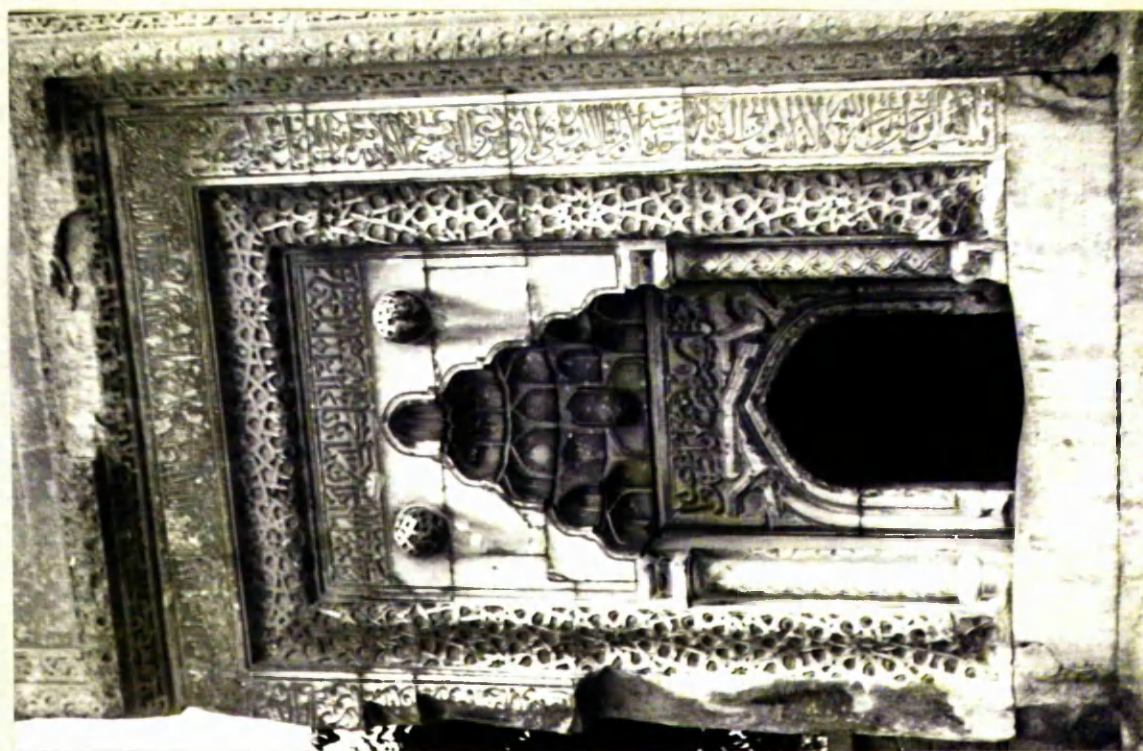
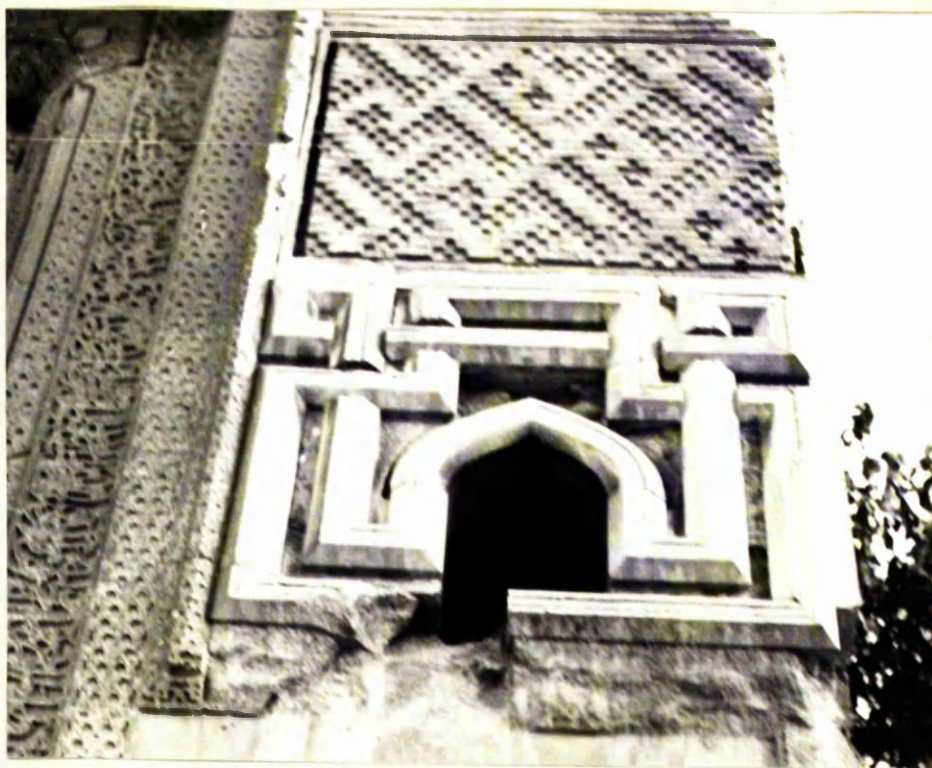
XIX. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, designer's signature, i.

XX. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, designer's signature, ii.



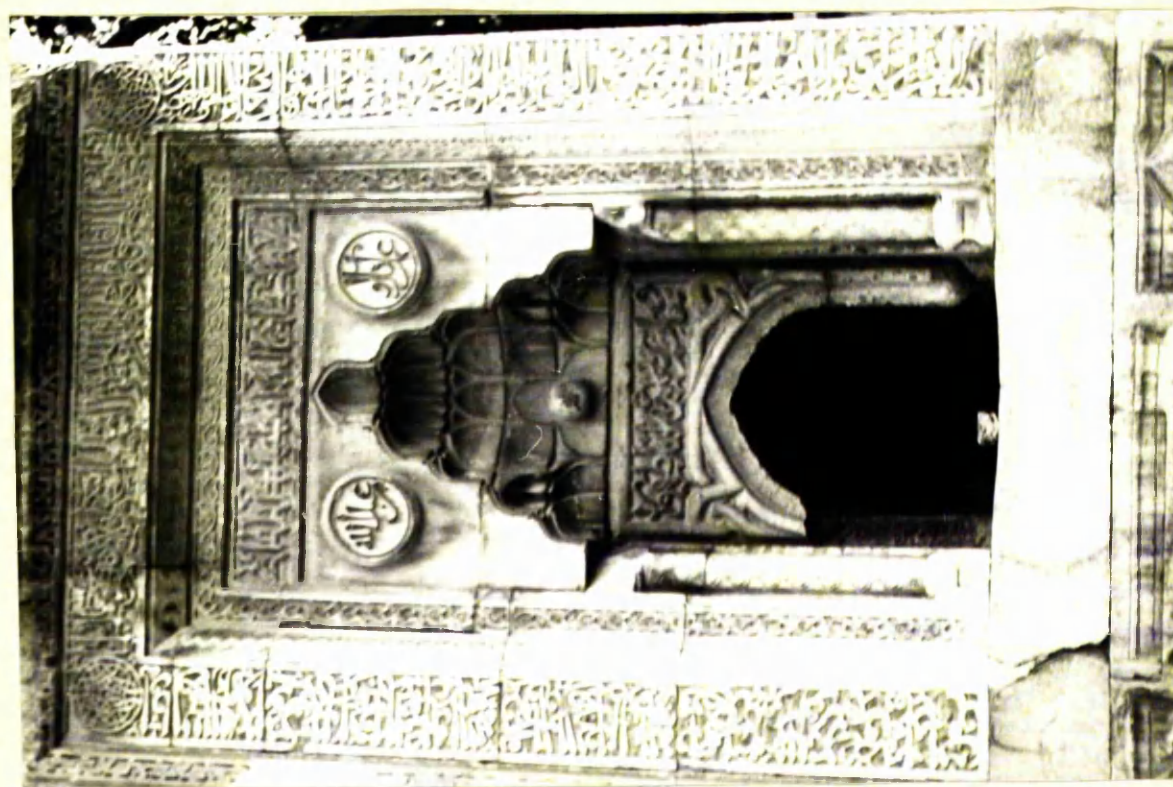
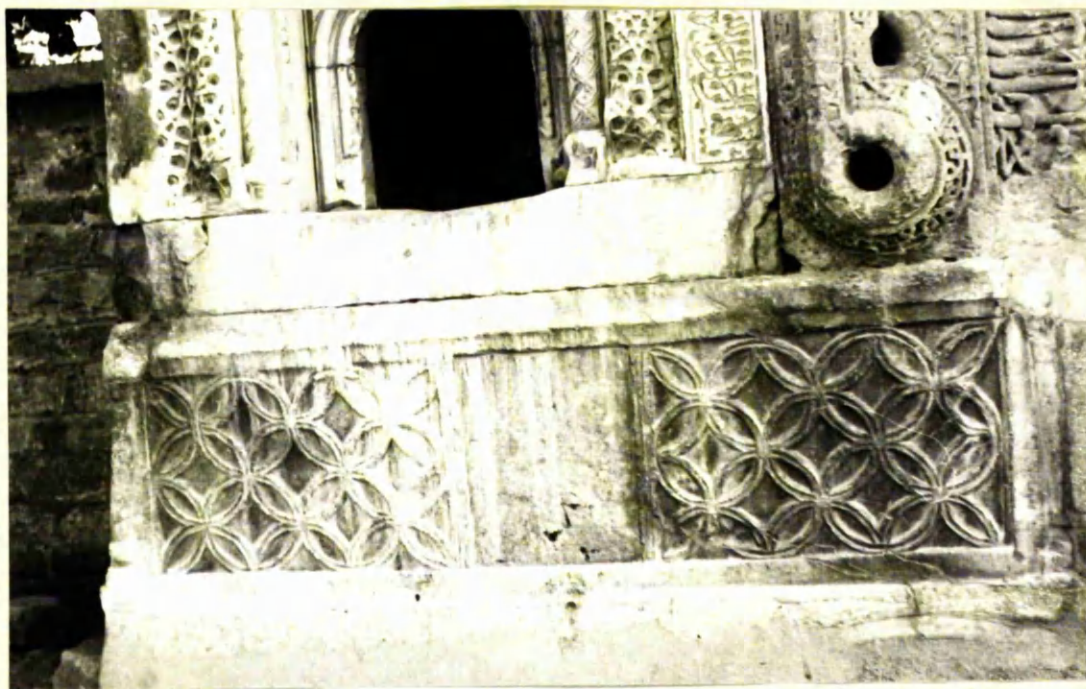
XXI. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, portal.

XXII. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, left key pattern feature.



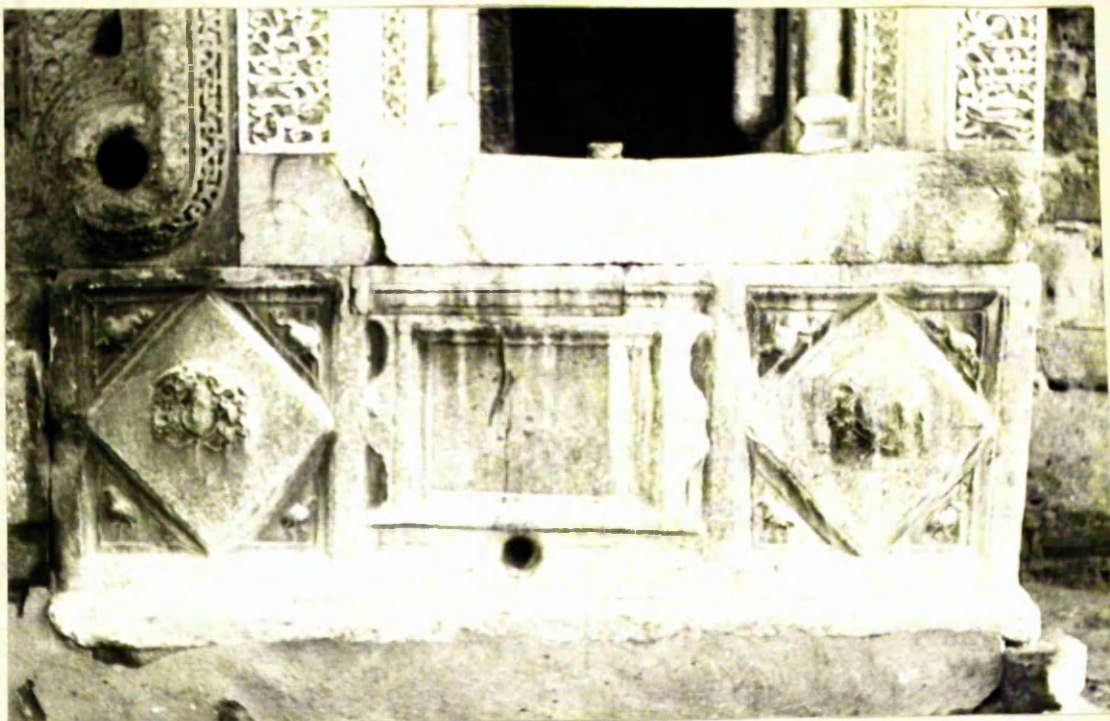
XXIII. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, right key pattern feature.

XXIV. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, left sebil niche.



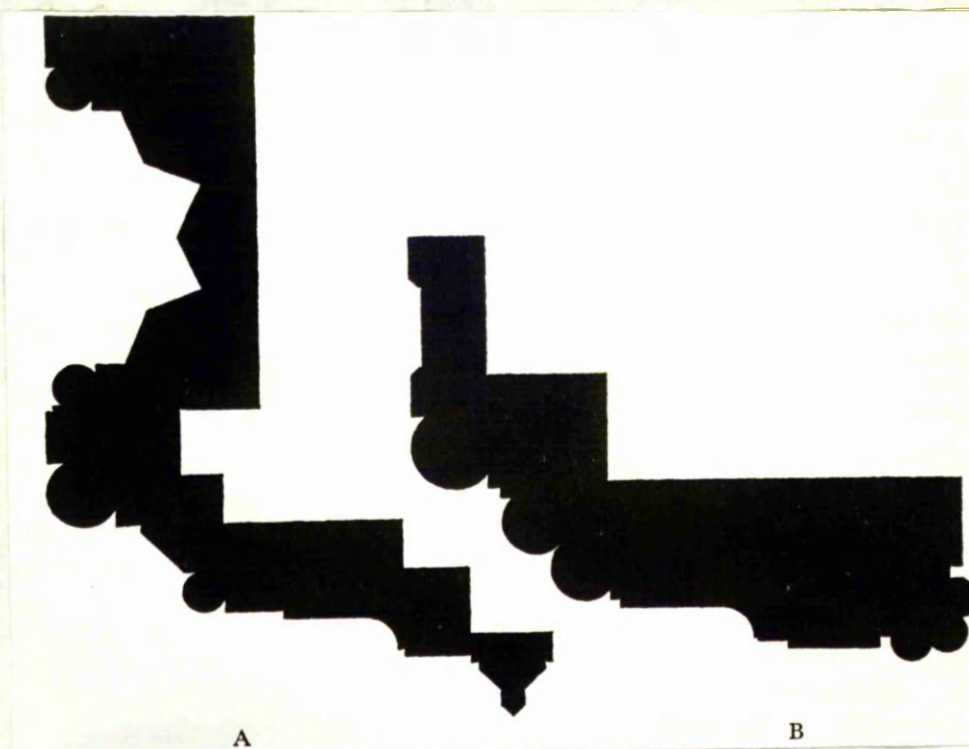
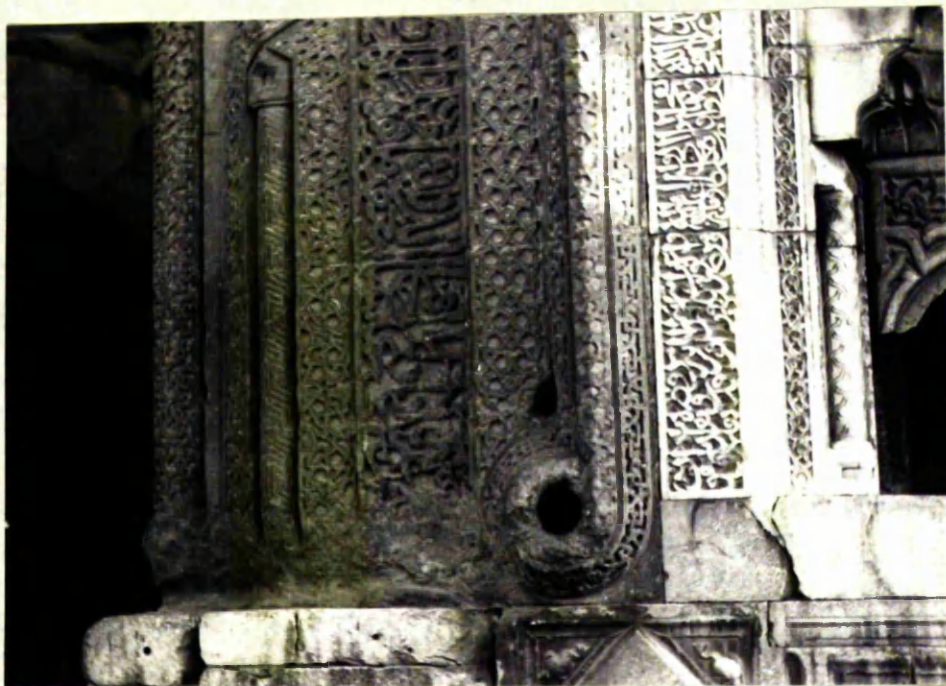
XXV. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, left sarcophagus.

XXVI. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, right sebil niche.



XXVII. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, right sarcophagus.

XXVIII. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, linking moulding.

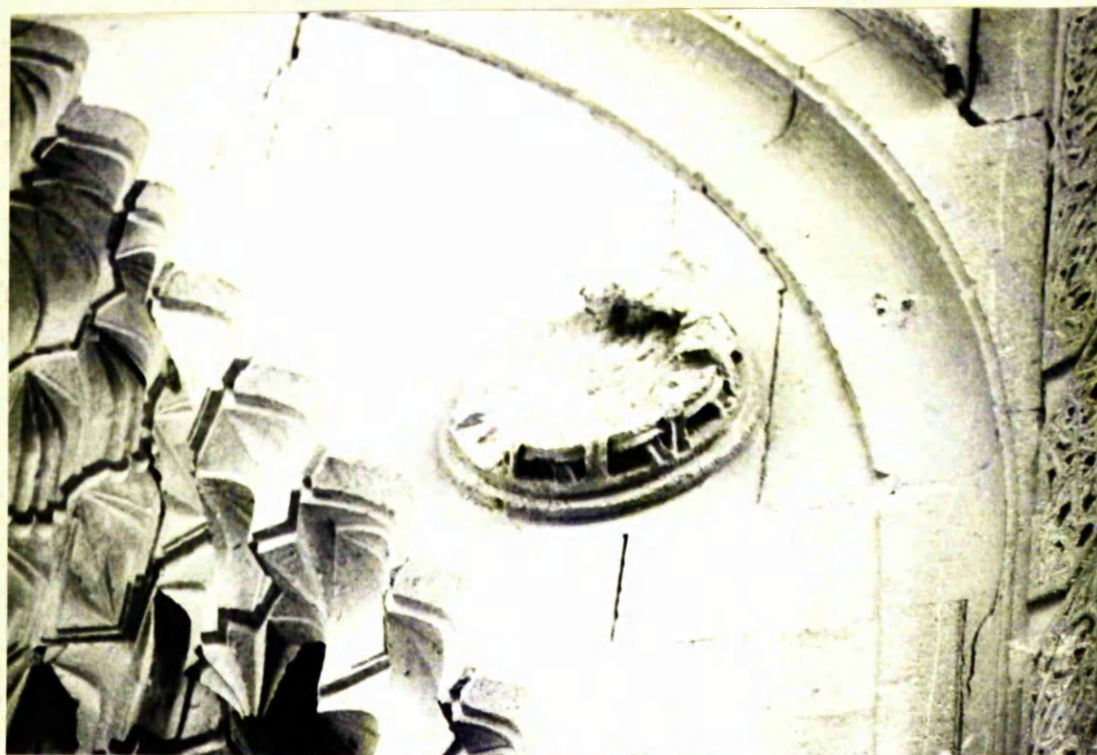


XXIX. @ Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, termination of moulding and framing bands.

XXX. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque and Ince Minareli medrese profiles (after Rogers, Anatolian Studies, Figs 4A and B).

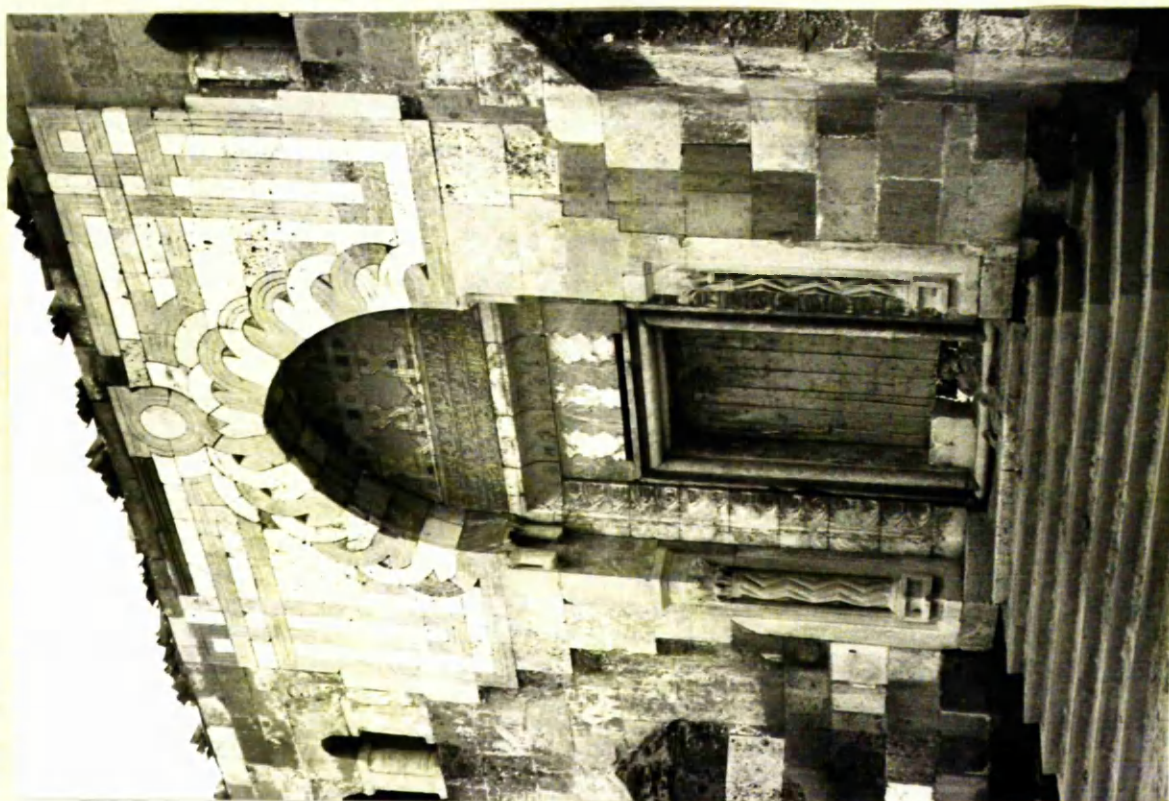


- XXXI. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, crossing bands.
- XXXII. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, upper portion of central section.



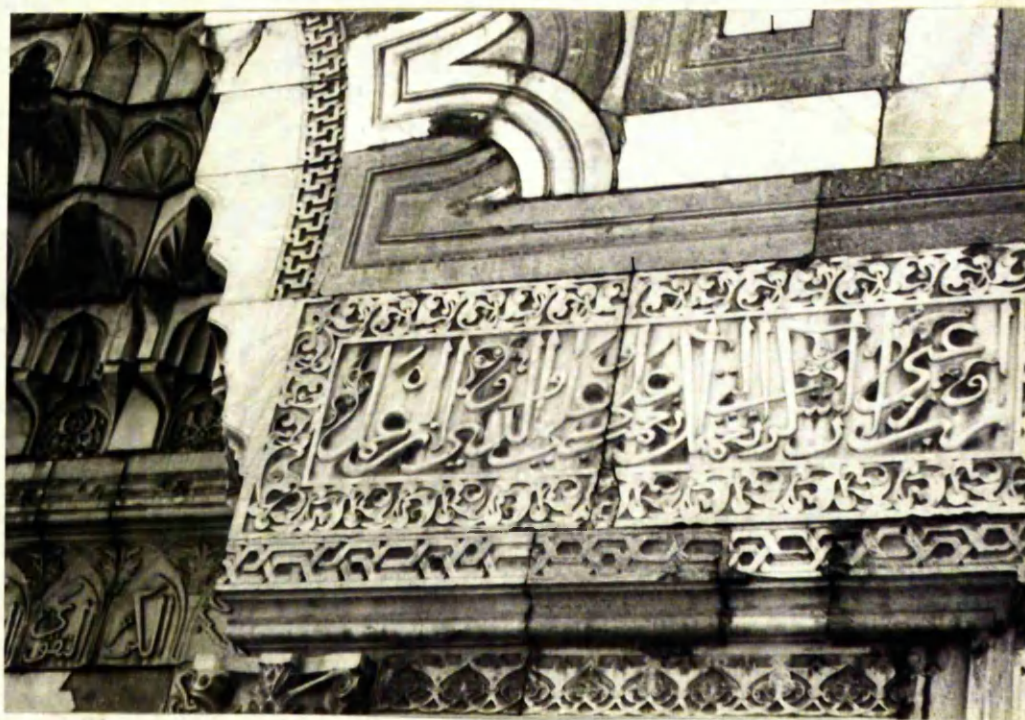
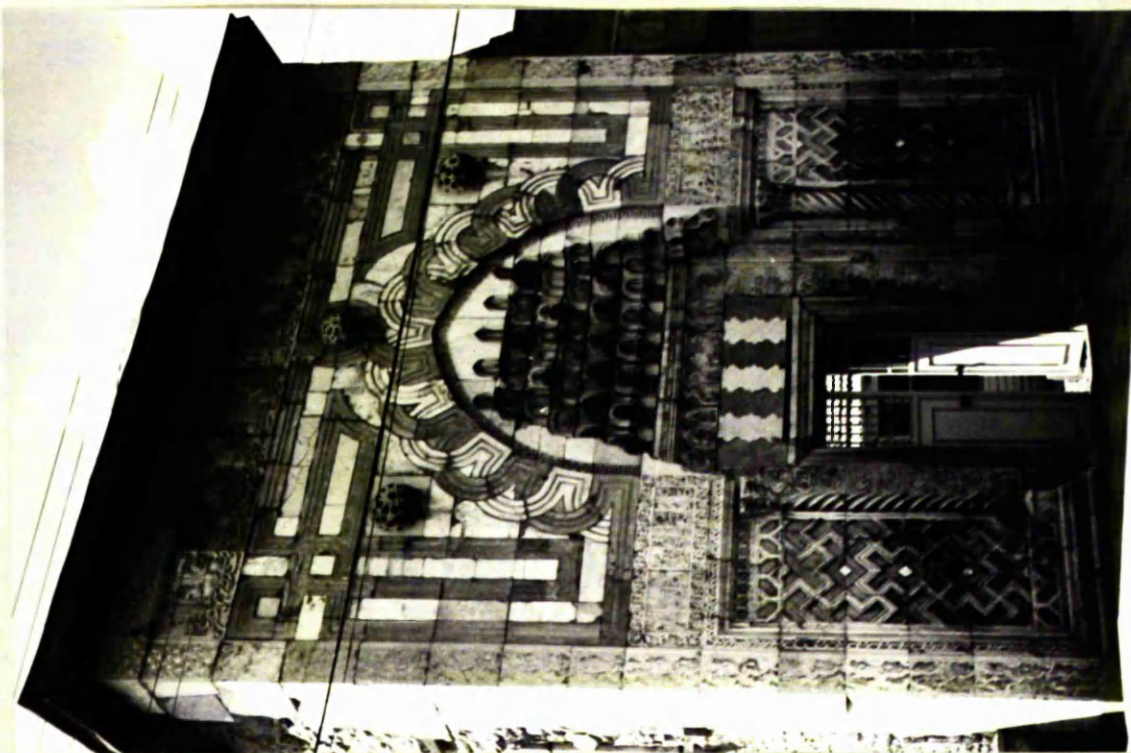
XXXIII. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, boss.

XXXIV. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, doorway.



XXXV. Konya, Sahib Ata mosque, side column.

XXXVI. Konya, 'Alā' al-Dīn mosque, door or window.



XXXVII. Konya, Karatay medrese, portal.

XXXVIII. Konya, Karatay medrese, scroll-work.



XXXIX. Konya, Sirçali medrese, tile-work of great īwān.

XL. Konya, ^cAlā'al-Dīn mosque, plaque.



XLI. Divriği, Ahmad Shāh mosque, North portal.

THE İNCE MINARELİ MEDRESE AT KONYA

Inscriptions

The İnce Minareli¹ medrese in Konya bears no foundation inscription, a rarity for a building of this importance, hence the name of the founder is not recorded on it, nor the date. The justification for including it among the foundations of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī is to be found in Løytved :

"Nach Aussage von Hiesigen, die die betreffende Stiftungsurkunde gelesen haben, ist der Erbauer Fachreddin Ali, genannt Sahib Ata, der auch das Laranda Mesdschid und dahinter liegende Chanekjah hat errichten lassen. Der Architekt Kelul ist auch derselbe wie on dem Laranda Mesdschid und Nalindschi Turbe." 2

The justification for treating it immediately after the Sahib Ata mosque is, for the moment, the practical one that it is convenient to treat these two works of Kalūk in sequence. The designer's signature read by RCEA, no.4431, as "Oeuvre de Kalūk, fils de ^cAbd-Allah"³ has, like that of the Sahib Ata, been corrected by Edhem⁴ to Kalouk (Kalūk). The signature is in a higher position on the façade and is more grandly written, two reasons for believing that the İnce Minareli is probably the later building (Pls. XIX, XX). The inscription is in

1. Named after its "slender minaret", Løytved, op.cit. p.69.

2. Løytved, op.cit. p. 69.

3. Ibid, no. 73.

4. Mendel, op.cit. p. 113¹ as above.

relief and not incised as on the Sahib Ata mosque.

The outer inscription band is, like that of Sahib Ata, from sūrat 48, 1-13, "The Victory"⁵ while the central one is from sūrat 36, 1-31, "Yā Sīn".⁶ This is again a suitable choice for a convert : a warning to those whose fathers were heedless.

5. Løytved, op.cit. no. 74.

6. Ibid, no. 75.

Description.

The portal is entirely of stone⁷ (Pl. XLII). Dorothy Lamb⁸ is of the opinion that an upper cornice may once have existed, and this seems not impossible, since the cornice immediately below the present protective roofing seems to be a restoration; apart from this it is in good repair save for some damage towards the base. The composition of the portal is unusual and it extends unusually far from the main wall,^{8a} having a complete vaulted chamber behind it.

The frames consist of an outer triple torus and three bands (Pls. XXX, XLIII-XLIX). The triple torus rises from a framed base cube and forms a knot at one third the height of the facade. The sides of this knot form triple points (Pl. L). The first band is floral. It is composed of a double interlace of four strands and is characterised by drooping florets on the outer sides. The second band is a lightly incised type of elongated key pattern, it runs under the third band above the base. The last band curves inwards at its outer edge and bears an inscription in relief.

7. Dr. R. Mason of University College tells me that a sample of similar stone (taken from the Sirçali medrese repairs) is a lava, probably of local origin, biotite dacite, which is of uniform texture and which might be carved with relative facility, while resisting weathering.

8. Lamb, op.cit. pp. 50-51.

8a. It projects 540 cm., the usual projection is in the order of 100-200 cm., e.g. Ishakli han, hall 98 cm., court 140 cm., Gök medrese 180 cm.

The central section of the portal is composed in three vertical planes. A first plane forms a cornice of two pairs of round-headed arches (or two pairs of units of round-headed arcade) which are linked in the centre by a pendant curve (Pl. LI), below and behind this is another plane, and below and behind this the doorway recess. The cornice is rimmed with fine grooves at its inner and outer edges, between which is set a torus decorated with an interlace of two fine tori crossing in saltire. This moulding rises from framed cubes, like column bases set rather less than two thirds of the way up the façade. The torus is interrupted by the pendant curve.

In the second plane below the unsupported centres of the units of arcading are roundels bearing the signature of the designer. Below these are two motifs of key pattern type in relief; they are ornamented by double grooves. Their upper edge is straight while their lower edge follows the line of the arch below them. These features are surrounded by a double scroll with single florets towards the inside of the band (Pl. LII). At the point of the key feature the band unite to continue downwards beside the arch.

On the chamfered side of the first plane, but lower in level than the key figures, are two floral features (Pl. LIII). A floral crest projects away from the background, below this are two round sectioned "stems" which cross midway and meet lower down in a

three pointed "root". The strip between the "stems" is filled with a twist with floral ends, and it is framed by a scroll with florets on either side.

The arch of the doorway recess has a flat head as though a pointed arch had been separated by the passage of the inscription. The transition from the upper forward plane to the lower back plane is effected by a curve. Within the curve of the arch at the sides are large floral features (Pl. LIV). Though there is some correspondence in general effect between the large floral features and the smaller ones their treatment is rather different. The larger ones are, if the word is not out of place, rather more naturalistic; its florets are more separated and have a sinuous quality; grooves running along them give an air of naturalism. The upper part of this feature is undercut to a remarkable extent. The lower part of the stem is ringed with a thick half moon below which the stem fans out to form a segmented cone with five canulations and then retracts to form a similar cone inverted (Pl. IV). The large floral features are surrounded by panels of floral work except immediately above the upper cone.

At the level of the gateway outside the usual corner columns there are, on either side, two additional ones which taper to their lower ends to meet a ball; below this is the semblance of a tassel. These columns bear a scale pattern. The main columns also bear this pattern but embellished with a floret on each scale.

Their capitals are of two rows of acanthus; there are no bases. The plinth below these columns is plain but this may be simply restoration. The side niches are traced though they have no cavity. They are bordered with a pattern of fine grooves which interlace at intervals (Pl. LVI).

The door has a pointed arch. The spandrels above it are filled with panels with plain bosses. One of the most unusual features of this portal is the inscription band, damaged at both ends, which rises on the right of the door, loops with the descending band over its head and proceeds up through the arch of the portal recess to cross over the descending band on the pendant curve of the first plane of the central section where a marked projecting ridge is left between the two bands (Pls. LVII-LXII).

A decorative panel on the base of the minaret bears out several of the decorative themes of the portal. Two niche-shaped panels are filled with floral decoration from which floral crests project (Pls. LXIII, LXIV). These niches are surrounded by a framing torus which can be construed as "continuous" but which in effect follows the line of the niches and then encloses them in a square; lozenges over the head of the niches form a link with the loop over the portal door, a raised crossing in saltire half-way down the niches recalls the knots of the outer torus of the façade, the moulding round the upper cornice and the framing of the side niches, the crossings at the bottom recall the key pattern figures.

Comment.

The portal of the İnce Minareli medrese is extremely skillfully constructed in such a way that the transitions from block to block are almost completely masked (see especially Pl. LVIII). In more conventional portals the courses are able to run regularly⁹ for the most part, but here a veritable jigsaw puzzle must have been worked out before the construction stage. Even the intentional contrast of blocks usual in the voussoirs of the doorway has been omitted. This gives it an effect of smoothly hanging fabric.

The portal does not resemble any other in its entirety;¹⁰ however, a considerable number of comparisons of detail may be made.

Comparisons with the foundations of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī

İshakli han.

Curiously enough, comparisons can be made between the İshakli hall portal and the İnce minareli

9. In the earlier constructions there is little attempt to conceal the transitions from block to block, or perhaps one should say that it is employed intentionally. At the Alay han, undated, cf. Ogel, op. cit., pl. 3a, the octagon bands may be read as a series of units, at the Sivas hospital, 1217, pl. 7, the transitions are rather regular though more concealed by a more complicated pattern at the Konya-Aksaray Sultan han, 1230-40, pl. 14, the notion of disguising the transitions seems to prevail.

10. It is the Seljuk portal most frequently shown in popularising works.

portal. The slanted soffit of the former has a certain resemblance to the curving transition of the latter though the use of the blocks is dissimilar. However, a slanted soffit appears at the back of the porch chamber so that the designer would certainly be conscious of this type of form (Pl. LXV). A second point is that the grooved fan heads at the lower end of the soffit have a resemblance to the grooved cones below the greater floral forms. The resemblance is a visual one since cones on the İnce Minareli are not functional and are everted; nevertheless, the similar placing of these unusual features is interesting. It would seem quite likely that Kalūk might have seen and re-interpreted these features; it would even be possible that he had designed the earlier¹¹ portal himself at a stage in his career when he was not yet grand enough to add his signature.

Sahib Ata mosque.

Though the composition as a whole is very different, various details are similar. Inscription is prominent on both portals, and part of the "Victory" sūrat is used on both. The key pattern features round the niches on the minaret supports of Sahib Ata are clearly related to those in the second plane of the

11. I hazard the word "earlier" here; in view of the date of the Divriği group, 1228-9, any sequence is possible.

central section of the Ince Minareli in that they are both in relief. Both portals employ plain tori, on the Sahib Ata as stated above, on the Ince Minareli a triple torus as the outer frame, torus as the "stem" of the lesser floret and as the frame to the minaret panel. The Sahib Ata shows an interest in bands which loop with each other in the third and fourth framing bands, in the Ince Minareli this theme is taken up by the central inscription. The effect of these same third and fourth bands with a torus between is echoed by the cornice moulding of the Ince Minareli, and in this case the torus bears in relief the pattern which is incised on the chamfered frame of the right sebil of Sahib Ata. Finally the doorways of both have pointed arches, which is not the case with the ^cAlā' al-Dīn mosque nor the Karatay medrese.

I would suggest that the Ince Minareli is the later composition; since the designer's name is more prominent; since the composition is more sophisticated and effective; and since I believe that the difference between the two buildings could be explained by the designer's experiencing the influence of the Mengüçk complex of 1228-9 at Divriği.¹² The fact that

12. CIA, III, i-ii no. 41, the North door, no. 43, the West door, no. 44, the hospital door, are all 626 H. (1228-9). Gabriel, MTA II, p.188 suggests that the "portail de l'Est" might be a few years later in date. I have the verbal assurance of Mrs. Yolande Crowe, 19th September, 1972, that this feature is to be considered as of the same building period as the rest of the structure, and that it is a "window". It seems to share the ambiguous nature of the ^cAlā' al-Dīn feature, but as with this the distinction is not crucial to its influence on decoration.

Ince Minareli shows more strongly the influence of a distant site would seem to be a sign of later experience, however, since the Divriği building is earlier than Sahib Ata nothing can be quite certain; one could postulate a designer trained at Divriği forced at a later date to ape the ways of Konya, and fearing to put a bold signature to the result.

The two main differences between the Sahib Ata mosque and the Ince Minareli medrese, the minaret supports apart, are the absence in the latter of mugarnas and of the use of marble. Conventional mugarnas are only used at Divriği on the East portal (or window) and there only as a border. The tradition for a mugarnas niche is not however very strong in Konya either since besides the Sahib Ata mosque only the Karatay medrese has one and that is unconventional in form. The tradition for marble, on the other hand, is strong in Konya with the ^cAlā'al-Dīn mosque, the Karatay medrese and the Sahib Ata mosque.

Comparisons with the mosque and hospital at Divriği.

Hospital of Turan Malik, Divriği.

The portal of the hospital does not employ a mugarnas niche, but, with a pillar before its window, could possibly give a lead to the idea of an arch cut by a vertical division (Pl. LXVI). More important, however, is its use of tori. Two tori rise on its outer edge, knot as they turn horizontally outwards,

and rise to form a four pointed head of rather "drain-pipe" effect. This termination recalls the triple points of the knot on the torus at the side of the Ince Minareli and at the "root" of the lesser floret, while the knot recalls the framing of the minaret panels.

In the interior a torus decoration is also used below the springing of the vault of the great īwān (Pl. LXVII). This has a knot at the centre, while at its inner edge it has a vertical figure in which the bands cross and the top projects from the walls. Though not identical this is the closest parallel I have seen to the lesser floral feature of the Ince Minareli. One may also note the close proximity of a fan decoration in the vault though this is, of course, on a different scale and in a different setting from that below the greater floret of the Ince Minareli.

Mosque of Ahmad Shāh at Divriği, North door.

The North door avoids the use of conventional muqarnas, but supplies the idea of supporting members under the frieze arch (Pl. XLI). This might have influenced the Ince Minareli's greater florets though in their case the support is a visual effect only. Another factor in the composition is the use of tori at the sides with an "incident" at one third the height of the building. In the case of the Ince Minareli this is a knot, in that of the North door it is as though a column base were placed on a column capital; this feature may also

have some bearing on the cone and inverted cone of the great floret of the Ince Minareli.

The probability of the relation between the large floral forms on the Divriği door and those on the Ince Minareli has been noted by several authorities.¹³ The size and daring undercutting seem to be definite links, the treatment is, however, rather different since the flowers of Divriği are ornamented surfaces while those of Konya are cut in the round. The overlap of the flowers at Divriği shows the skill in unconventional block cutting, noted above on the Ince Minareli portal, but at a yet greater pitch of ingenuity (Pl. LXVIII). Another feature of interest is the projecting floral crest at the head of the Divriği arch (Pl. LXIX). The lesser florets of the Ince Minareli project forward as do the crests on the minaret panels. Less conspicuous than the crests, but important since they appear not only on the Ince Minareli but at Erzurum and at Sivas, are moonshaped clasps, which at Divriği and on the Ince Minareli ornament floral stems (Pl. LXX).

Mosque of Ahmad Shāh at Divriği, West door.

The possibility of an influence from the West door at Divriği seems to have been overlooked, and yet here also there are links (Pl. LXXI). The West door

13. Notably Saladin, op.cit. p.455, and Sakisian op.cit. p.67.

employs a round-headed arch though this is probably not important for the İnce Minareli. More interesting is its overall effect of finely controlled, predominantly floral patterning in low relief. Among the bands of the West door there seems to be a predilection for the type of pattern which combines two or four floral scrolls into a skein of figures which may, for convenience, be said to resemble the "ace of Spades". A two-stranded version of this pattern runs round the arch, while a four-stranded version rises on the outer side of this and the outermost band is a version less obviously stranded and in descending order. The floral band of the İnce Minareli is of "ace of Spades" type, resembling most closely the middle band of the three just mentioned.

The West door seems also to be the first door in Anatolia to make extensive use of panels of floral decoration as opposed to bands (Pl. LXXII). Above the door these panels are bordered with plain strips and a contrast is made with an area of plain stone in the side niche position. Panels with plain borders characterise the third plane of the central section of the İnce Minareli and contrast with the plain spandrel over the door and the blank side niches.

Another point is that on a side face of the door there appears a bird with a moon-clasp round its fan shaped tail (Pl. LXXIII). This might suggest the moon-clasp round the grooved cone of the greater floral feature of the İnce Minareli.

Comparisons with other portals.

Çifte Minareli medrese, Erzurum.

Various features link the Divriği portals, the İnce Minareli with the Çifte Minareli medrese, (Pl. LXXIV), but this, like the İnce Minareli, is undated. Since both these dates are unknown and since there is also the possibility of the influence of Divriği on both buildings being independent we can make no definite statement on the transmission of motifs. Nevertheless it would seem probable to me that the İnce Minareli influenced the Çifte Minareli. Of the forms which are held in common the dominating "ace of spades" type outer framing band, and the use of a triple torus with a polygonal "eyelet hole" at one third its height as frame to the niche on the minaret support would be directly transmitted. The double headed eagle on the "palm tree" in the niche is to be found on the side of the North door at Divriği and not on the İnce Minareli. However, I would argue that the designer of the Çifte Minareli was aware of the İnce Minareli since the "palm tree" is more similar to the İnce Minareli floral feature than to the broad leaved features of Divriği. It also has a moon-clasp round it. More than this however, the niche frame terminates with a moon-clasp over a tassel. The tassel is not, I think, a feature of Divriği, but it appears on the tapering columns of the İnce Minareli, though without the moon-clasp. It would therefore seem probable that the designer of the

Çifte Minareli had combined two disparate forms seen on the Ince Minareli, and that the Çifte Minareli is therefore later. The moon-clasp and tassel combination appears, as we shall see, on the Gök medrese in Sivas, but Michael Rogers argues¹⁴ that this is later than the Çifte Minareli. If, as has been suggested above, the designer of the Çifte Minareli followed the composition of the Sahib Ata mosque he must have had some contact with Konya, though of course this could possibly have been before the building of the Ince Minareli.

The Sultan han on the Kayseri-Sivas road.

One contribution to the Ince Minareli façade could come from the Sultan han.¹⁵ This is the second, key pattern frame, which is used on the Sultan han hall portal in the second and third position.

Fortunately, one field of influence need not preclude others, so that one may also make extra-Islamic comparisons.

14. Rogers, Anatolian Studies, pp. 63-85.

15. Erdmann, op.cit. no. 26, the hall dated 1232-6, and pl. 147.

The classical swag.

Perhaps the most curious feature of the Ince Minareli portal is that which I have called the "pendant curve". Such a form would seem inimical to Islamic design sense¹⁶ dominated as it is by the niche form, nor is it to be found in East Christian architecture. I would suggest that it may be related to the classical swag. I would recall the classical statue set into the walls of Konya in Laborde's picture. In the museum at Konya today one may see a collection of stonework found in the region; one fragment shows a classical swag while a Byzantine sarcophagus shows a later example of the form (Pls. LXXV, LXXVI).

16. The nearest approach would seem to be a downwards feature dividing two arches as in the ^cAdiliya at Damascus, 567-619 H., E. Herzfeld, "Damascus: studies in architecture", Ars Islamica, XI-XII, 1946, Fig.90, or on the Ahlat Ulu kumbet 672 H. (1273) (?), Aslanapa, op.cit. fig. 79, but these do not have the full-bellied look of a swag.

Comparisons with East Christian art.

The possibility of the influence of East Christian forms on the İnce Minareli mentioned by Saladin¹⁷ has been further studied by Dorothy Lamb. She suggests various parallels which may be divided into three categories : the influence of architecture, the influence of architectural forms in manuscripts, the influence of decoration in manuscripts.¹⁸ She offers these parallels as a partial explanation only and adds the caveat that the majority of motifs point to the Sahib Ata mosque and "away from the Armenian churches".¹⁹

Architecture

Lamb mentions the "tendency to divide the arch-scheme vertically",²⁰ which I presume refers to the two

17. Saladin, op.cit. p.460¹ "La floraison touffue et bizarre de cette ornementation arménienne rappelle d'une façon frappante celle des ornements de certain manuscrits byzantins."

18. Lamb, op.cit. p.52. The argument is developed over pp.52-54.

19. Ibid, p.51. She also mentions "certain interlacing bands of stucco inscriptions in the Qara Serai built by the Zenghid Lulu" and refers to F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld Archäologische Reise in Euphrat- und Tigris- Gebiet, 4 vols, Berlin, 1911, vol.III pl. XCVI-XCVII. The inscription band does not in fact have much similarity to that of the İnce Minareli since it is backed with floral scrolls, however, an "ace of spades" band is shown. Pl. CVI of the same building shows stucco panels with floral decoration.

20. Lamb, op.cit. p.52.

pairs of units of arcading of the cornice, and says that this is a common Byzantine form, citing the divided window of the church of St. Amphilochius on the Acropolis hill at Konya. I believe that this monument has disappeared; however, I think we could agree that the double window is a Byzantine form,²¹ and also, as Lamb continues,²² that "blind niches commonly have this vertical division with merely a consol instead of a central support." An example of this form, which is of considerable interest from the point of view of Ince Minareli composition, occurs on the monastery of Noravank at Amaghuu (Pl. LXXVII).²³ Here we find the double arch on either side and a central figure between. The use of knotting tori is also of interest as is the framed panel in the lower register of the façade. The monastery is dated as of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I do not wish to suggest that it is a direct influence on the Ince Minareli medrese but that it is a product of East Christian design showing clearly some of those features which on the Ince Minareli are unusual in the Seljuk context.

21. See R. Krautheimer, *op.cit.*, for example pl.152A, Hosios Lukas, Theotokos, c.1040.

22. Lamb, *op.cit.* p.52. See for example Krautheimer, *op.cit.* pl. 55B, Ravenna, Baptistery of the Orthodox, c.400-50.

23. Utudjian, *op.cit.* pl.200, monastery of Noravank of the XII and XIV centuries.

The cornice of the Ince Minareli is nevertheless not entirely like a pair of divided arches since it has no supporting members on the inner sides. It has to some extent the nature of an arcaded cornice, and it has been compared by Stryzowski²⁴ to romanesque cornices. A cornice similar in form appears on the cathedral of Alba Iulia in Romania (Pl. LXXVIII);²⁵ perhaps others once existed in central Anatolia.

Architectural forms in manuscripts.

Lamb points out that a double arch often occurs as a frame in Armenian canon tables. It must be admitted that the arches used have most usually flat heads, though versions with pairs of round headed arches can occur (Pl. LXXIX).²⁶ In East Christian art the niche form is often associated with a hanging curtain. I should like to suggest that a reminiscence of these curtains might account for the curious tapering columns which appear beside the usual side columns of the Ince Minareli medrese (Pls. LXXX, LXXXI).²⁷

24. J. Stryzowski, Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa, 2 vols, Vienna, 1918. Vol.II p.805 he makes the comparison and adds „Im altchristlichen Kirchenbau Syriens kommen ähnlich fortlaufende Bogen vor“.

25. G. Oprescu (ed) Istoria Artelor in Romania, 2 vols, Bucharest, 1968, Vol.I, pl.106 and p.124 tells us that it was rebuilt in 1246.

26. Father M. Janashian, Armenian miniature painting of the Armenian academy at San Lazzaro, Venice, 1966, Pl. XLVIII from an eleventh century canon table.

27. F. Macler, Miniatures arméniennes, vies du Christ, peintures ornementales (Xe au XVIIe siècles). Paris, 1913. pl.11, from a manuscript of the ninth to tenth century, p.12. L.Dournovo, Armenian miniatures, trans.J.Underwood, London, 1961, p.49, Gospel of Mugni, mid-eleventh century.

Decoration in manuscripts.

Saladin and Lamb have suggested that the large floral forms of the İnce Minareli may be accounted for by the decoration of East Christian manuscripts. Though the precise form of the florets is not often paralleled, the large scale of the floret in relation to the arch of the canon table beside it is, and in some cases there is a similarity of form (Pl. LXXXII).²⁸ Lamb also points out the fondness of the Armenians for knotted decorations on capital letters. On such capitals, and the crosses which often stand opposite them on a page, a straight line is sometimes seen to transfix a ring or disc; this may perhaps be the origin of the form which seems more like a moon-shaped clasp on the İnce Minareli medrese (Pl. LXXXIII).²⁹

To these lines of comparison suggested by Lamb I should like to add another; this is the representation of Heaven in East Christian iconography.

I have mentioned before the curiosity of the pendant curve of the cornice and suggested that its form may be related to the classical swag. I think, however, that a further explanation may be offered for its place

28. S. Der Nersessian, Armenian manuscripts in the Freer gallery of art. Washington D.C. 1963. Pl.19 fig.38, Four Gospels 1253.

29. DerNersessian, op.cit. pl.26 fig.50, Four Gospels 1253.

in the composition. As mentioned, a descending curve at the head of a composition is not an Islamic form; it is, however, frequent in Byzantine compositions as a representation of Heaven. This representation of Heaven is usually, though not always, centrally placed and in many cases a line, indicating an intervention of Heaven in terrestrial affairs, descends from it. This is often the case in baptisms (Pl. LXXXIV).³⁰ A representation of Heaven of this sort may also appear in compositions which do not represent a biblical subject (Pl. LXXXV).³¹ I suggest that Kalūk recalled this form of composition in his use of the pendant curve and the central line formed by the inscription, but not necessarily that he used it with symbolic intention.

I think that the composition and decoration of the Ince Minareli medrese portal is only to be explained if we believe that the designer was of sufficiently independent mind to embrace the eclecticism suggested by the preceding comparisons. Unfortunately, we cannot know if Kalūk actually made a journey to Divriği, though the number of comparisons make some connection seem very

30. S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XIIe, XIIIe et XVe siècles de la bibliothèque des pères Mèkhitaristes de Venise. Paris, 1934, Pl. XXVI, dated 1193.

31. C. Diehl, La peinture byzantine, Paris, 1933, Pl. LXXXV, from the Barberini Psalter, end of the eleventh century.

probable; the transmission, if such it is, could perhaps have been achieved by some such means as a pattern book or travelling work team. As to the East Christian side, Byzantine buildings must still have existed in Konya and Armenian and Byzantine manuscripts would have been accessible among the mixed population of the Seljuk state.³²

32. Cahan, *op.cit.* pp. 326-7, the "reasonably good" condition of the non-Muslims before the Mongol conquest continued after it.



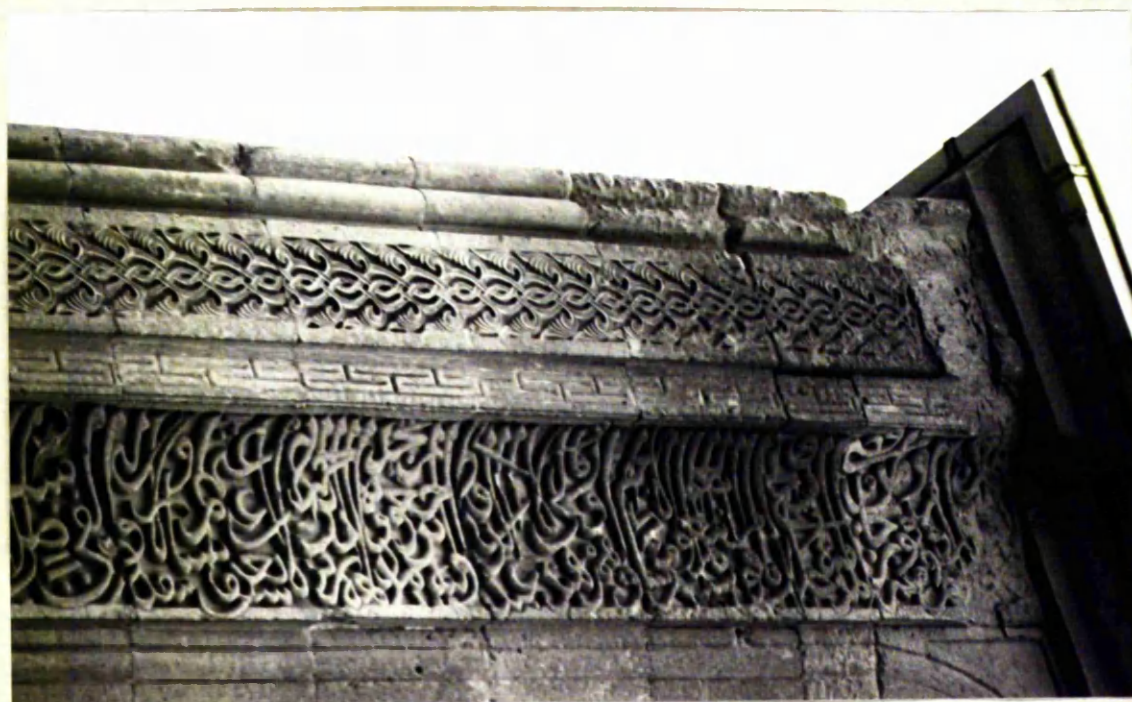
XLII. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, portal.

XLIII. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, framing inscription, i.



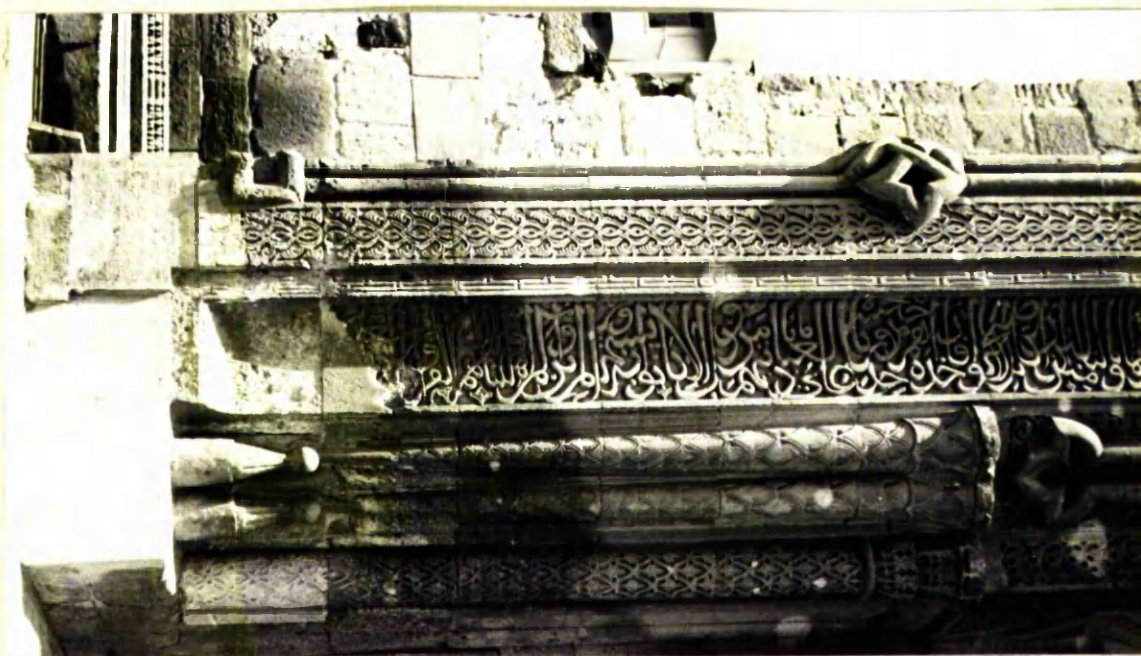
XLIV. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, framing inscription, ii.

XLV. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, framing inscription, iii.



XLVI. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, framing inscription, iv.

XLVII. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, framing inscription, v.



XLVIII. Konya, İnce Minareli medrese, framing inscription, vi.

XLIX. Konya, İnce Minareli medrese, framing inscription, vii.



- L. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, knot of framing torus.
- II. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, cornice.



- LII. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, key-pattern feature.
- LIII. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, lesser floral feature.



LIV. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, greater floral feature.

LV. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, cone and inverted cone.



LVI. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, head of side niche.

LVII. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, central inscription, i.

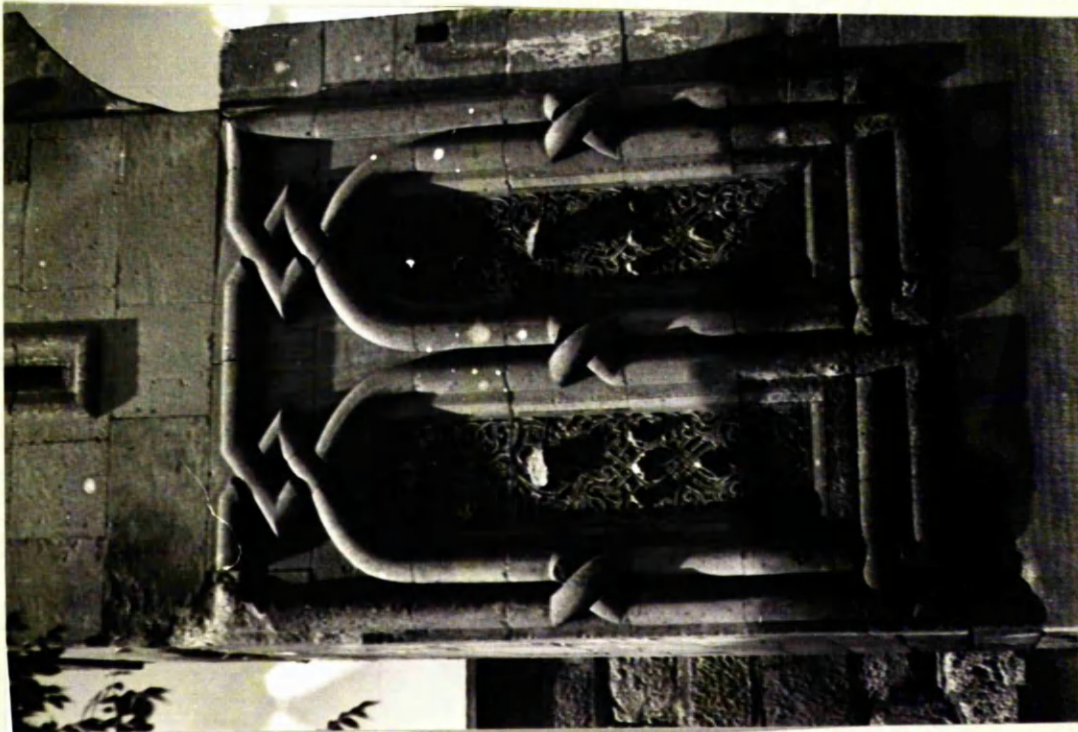


LVIII. Konya, İnce Minareli medrese, central inscription, ii.

LVIX. Konya, İnce Minareli medrese, central inscription, iii.



- LX. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, central inscription, iv.
 LXI. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, central inscription, v.



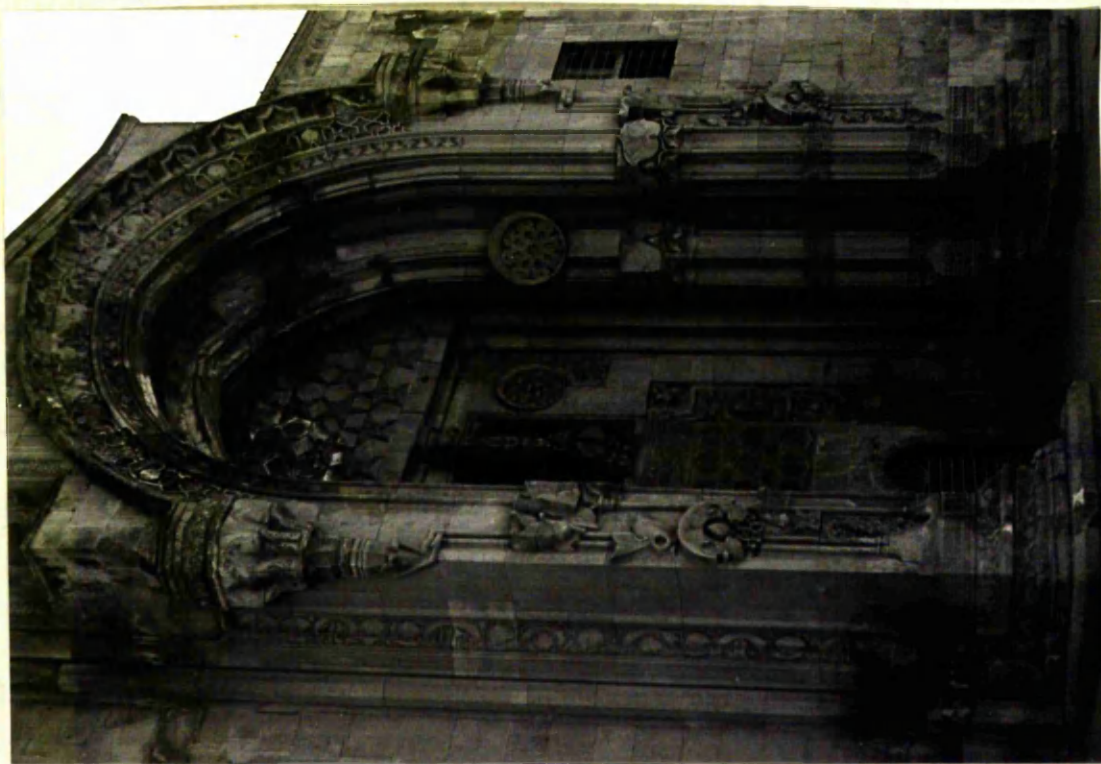
LXII. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, central inscription, vi.

LXIII. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, minaret panels.



LXIV. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, detail of minaret panels

LXV. Konya, Ince Minareli medrese, soffit to rear of porch chamber.



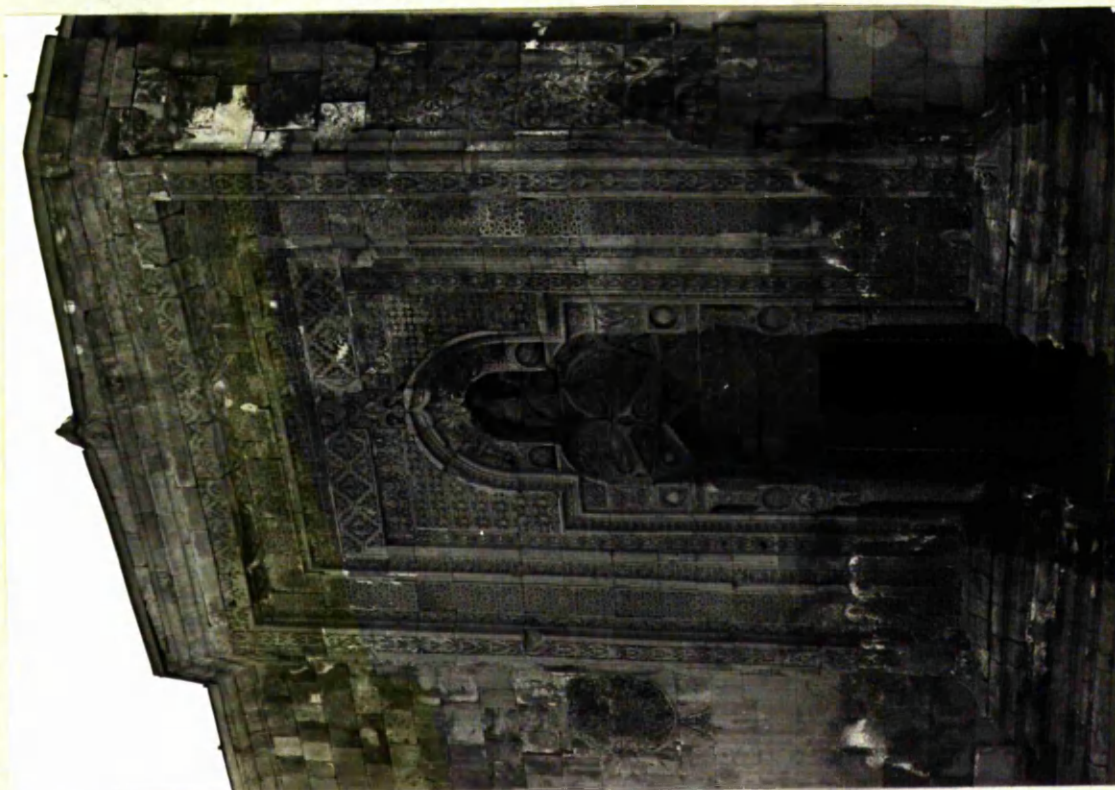
LXVI. Divriği, Turan Malik hospital, portal.

LXVII. Divriği, Turan Malik hospital, arcosolium of great İwan.

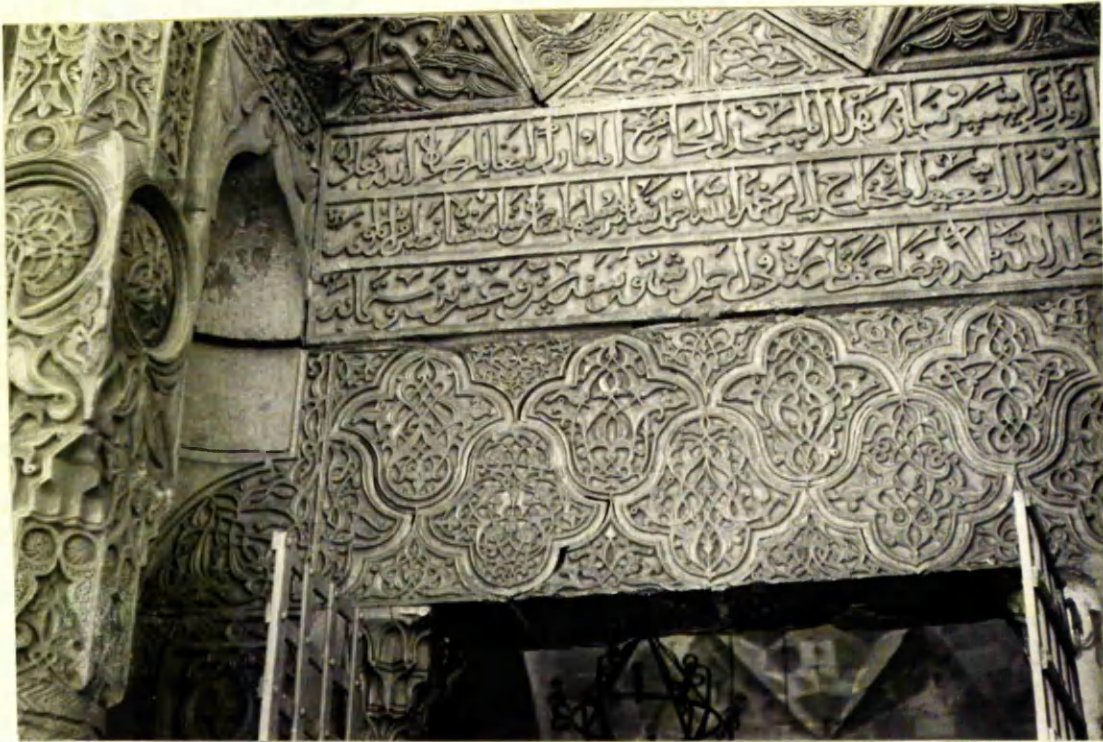


LXVIII. Divriği, Ahmad Shāh mosque, floral feature of North portal.

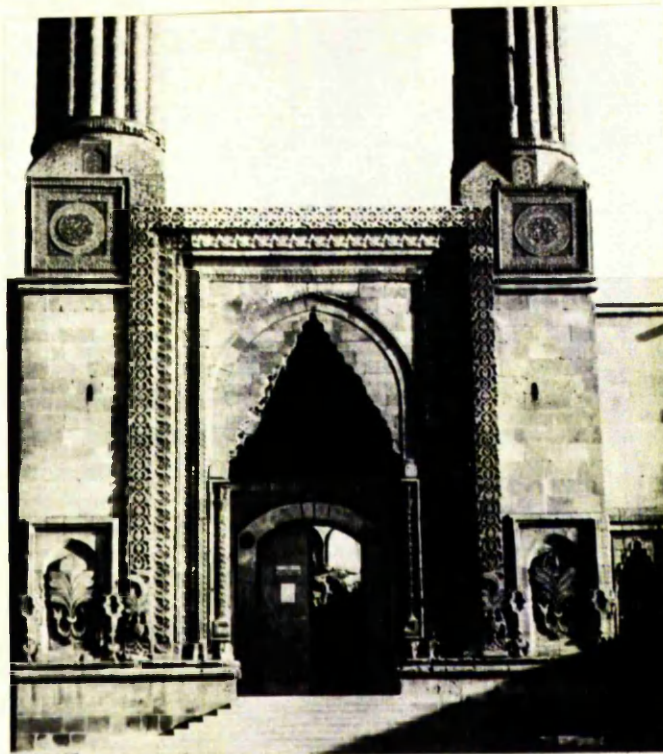
LXIX. Divriği, Ahmad Shāh mosque, floral crest of North portal.



- LXX. Divriği, Ahmad Shāh mosque, moon-shaped clasps on North pōrtal.
- LXXI. Divriği, Ahmad Shāh mosque, West portal.

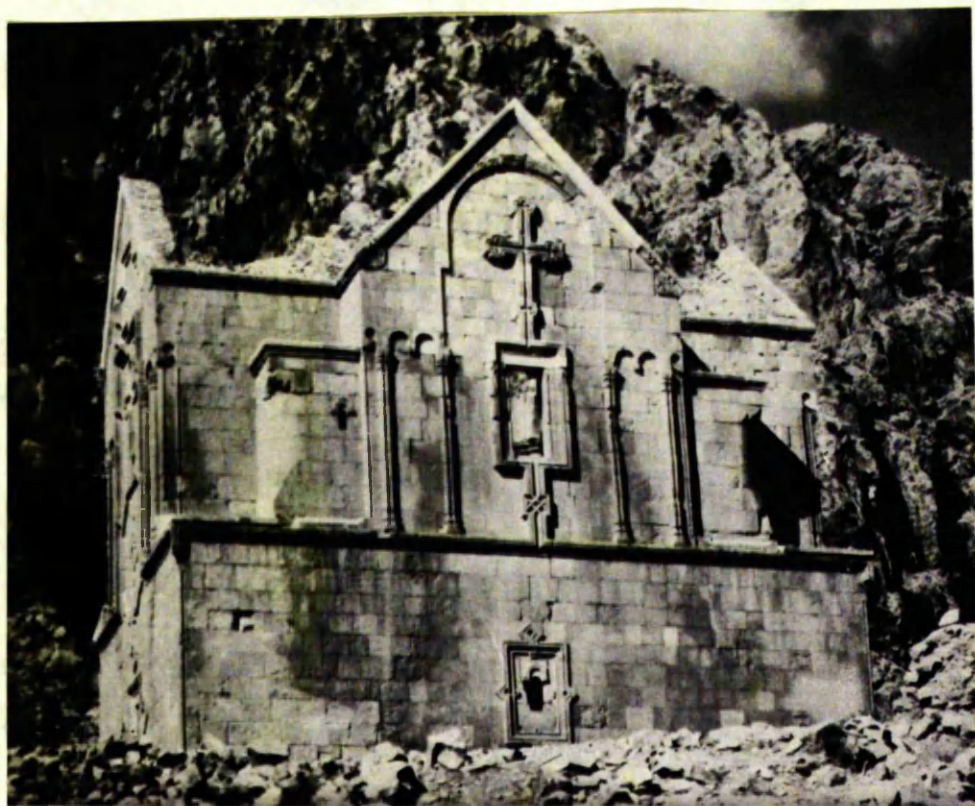


- LXXII. Divriği, Ahmad Shāh mosque, lintel of West portal.
- LXXIII. Divriği, Ahmad Shāh mosque, side face of West door.



LXXIV. Erzurum, Çifte Minareli medrese, portal (after Unal, op.cit. Pl. XXIII, Ph. 58).

LXXV. Konya archaeological museum, classical fragment.



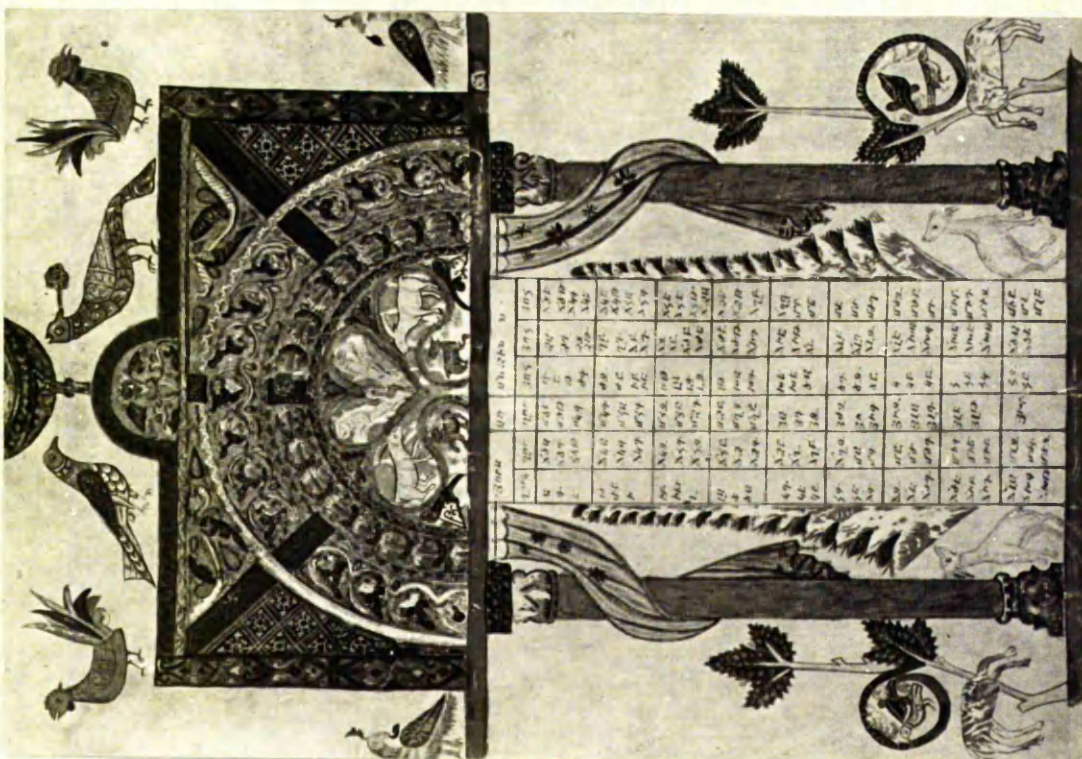
LXXVI. Konya archaeological museum, Byzantine sarcophagus.

LXXVII. Amaghov, monastery of Noravank (after Utudjian, op.cit. Pl. 200).



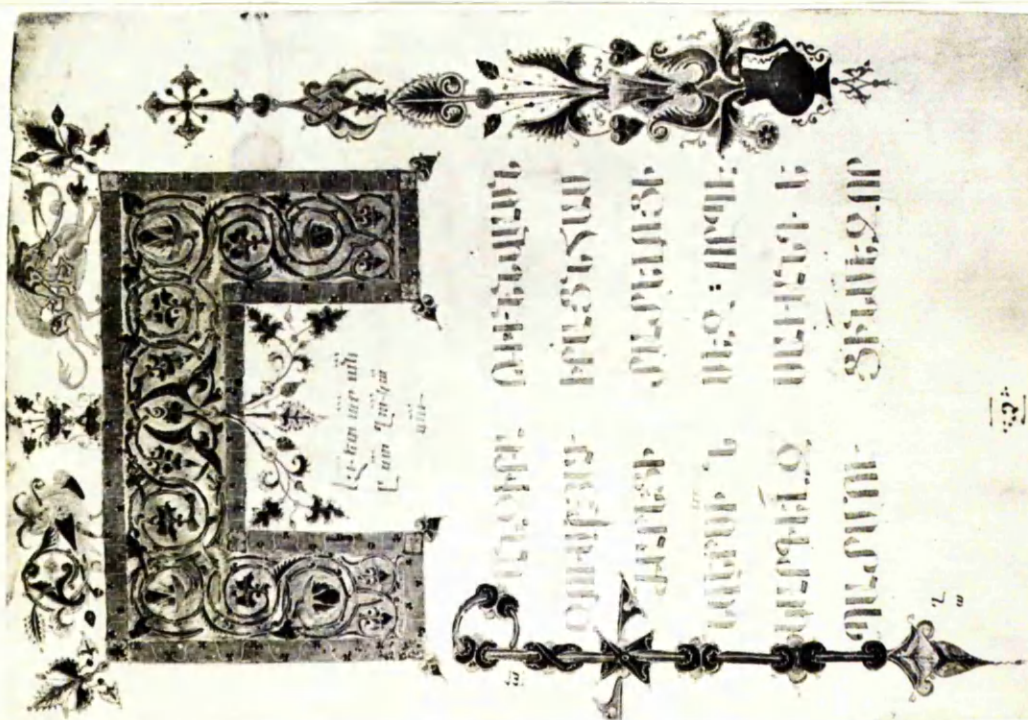
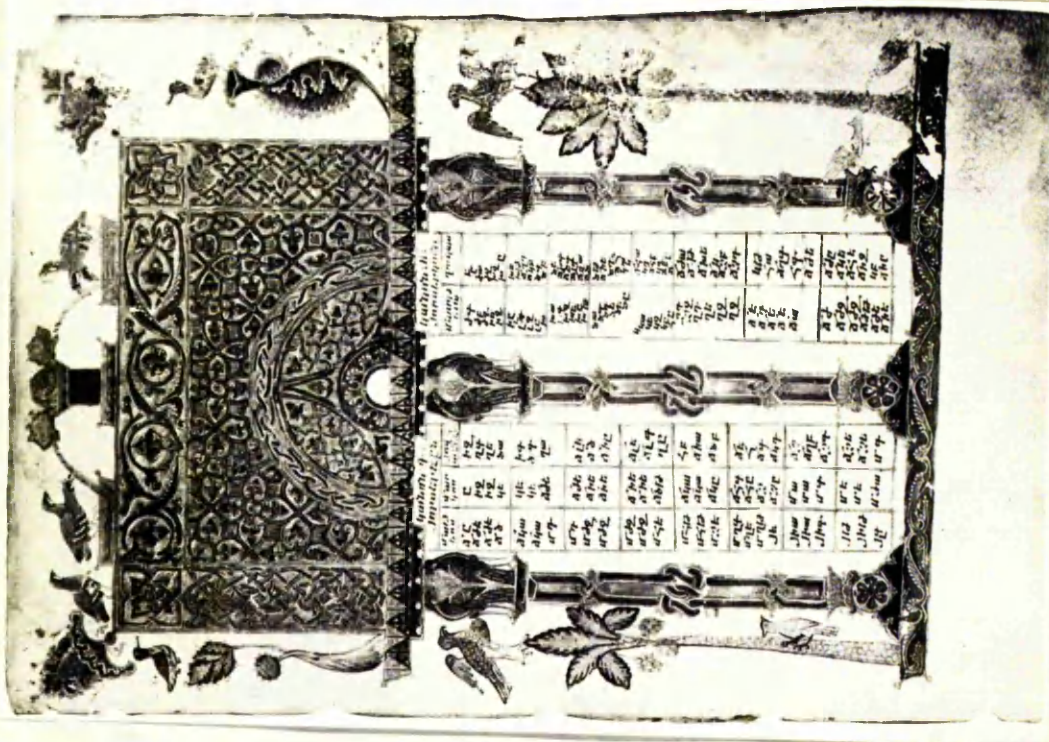
LXXVIII. Romania, cathedral of Alba Iulia, detail of North apse (after Istoria Artelor in Romania, Vol. I, Pl. 106).

LXXIX. Armenian canon table of the eleventh century (after Janashian, op.cit. Pl. XLVIII).

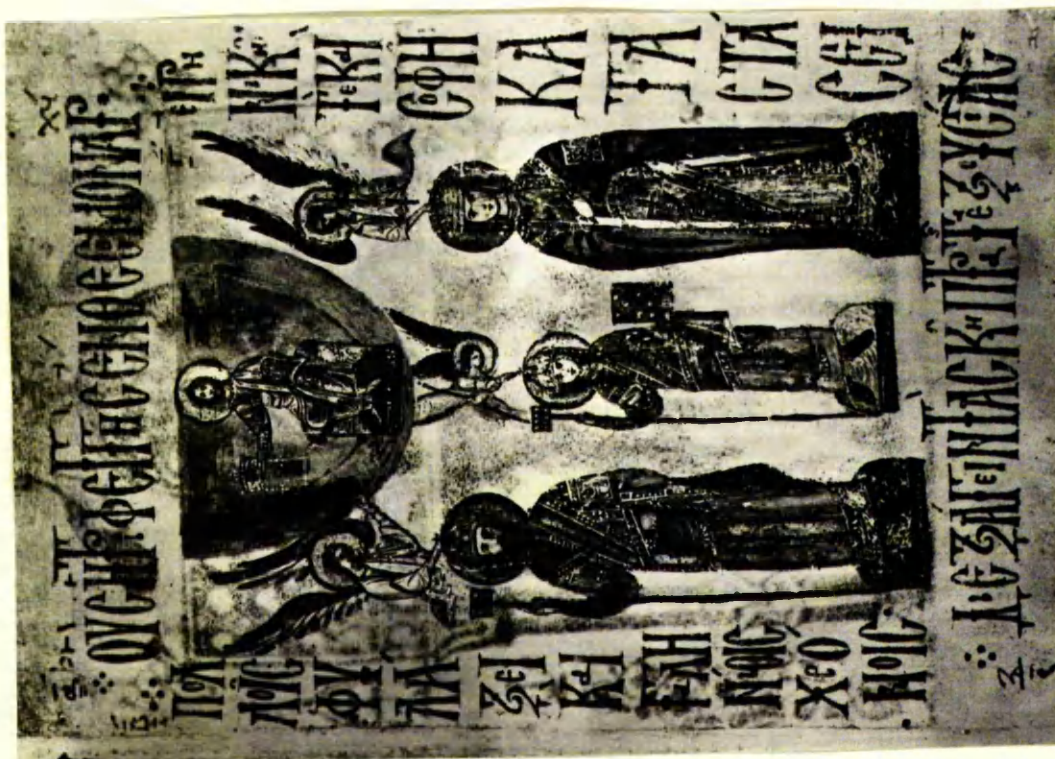


LXXX. Armenian arched composition from the ninth to tenth century (after MacIer, op.cit. Pl. 11).

LXXXI. Armenian canon table, gospel of Mugni, mid-eleventh century (after Dournovo, op.cit. p. 49).



- LXXXII. Armenian canon table, four gospels of 1253 (after Der Nersessian, Freer, Pl. 19, fig. 38).
- LXXXIII. Armenian canon table, four gospels of 1253 (after Der Nersessian, Freer, Pl. 26, fig. 50).



- LXXXIV. Baptism from an Armenian manuscript of 1193 (after Der Nersessian, Venise, Pl. XXVI).
- LXXXV. Emperor and family from the Barberini Psalter of the late eleventh century (after Diehl, op.cit. Pl.LXXXV).

A HANIKAH AT AKŞEHİRInscription

The Taş medrese at Akşehir is now used as a museum; inside is displayed the foundation stone of the hanikah built by Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī which Huart¹ and also Sarre² had seen lying by the portal of the medrese.

RCEA no. 4479, reads it :

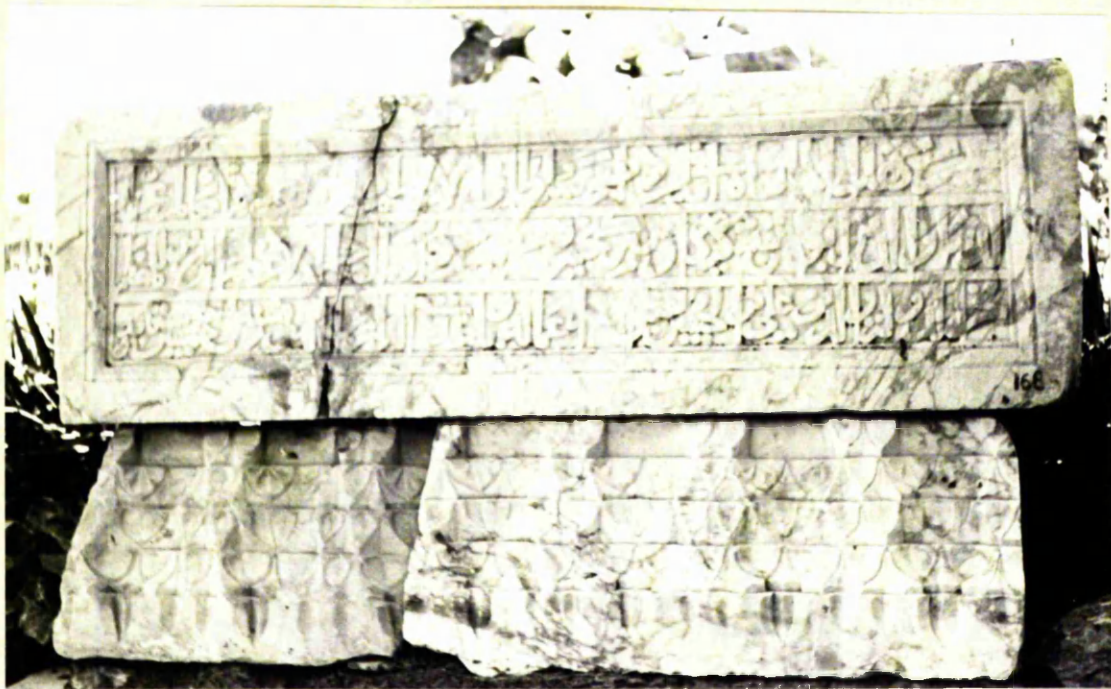
"Ce monastère a été construit durant les jours du sultan auguste, l'ombre de Dieu dans le monde, ^cIzz al-dunyā wal-dīn Abul Fath Kaikāwus, fils de Kaikhusraw xxxxx sultan, par l'auguste homme d'état, le vizier magnifié Fakhr al-dawla wal-dīn ^cAlī, fils d'al-Husain, - que Dieu agrée ses oeuvres et lui fasse atteindre ses espoirs en ce monde et en l'autre! - en l'année 659 (1261)."

(Pl. LXXXVI).

This is the first inscription in which Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī uses the title of vizier الملك الأعظم الوزير الأعظم. The titles used make a nice contrast with those on the Taş medrese built in Akşehir eleven years earlier and one cannot help thinking that it must have been dictated with satisfaction. The mention of "hopes in this world" is an interesting touch.

1. Huart, Revue sémitique, no.14. This is the first inscription in which he recognised our Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī.

2. Sarre, Reise, p. 22.



LXXXVI. Akşehir, inscription of hānākah.

THE SAHIBIYE MEDRESE AT KAYSERI

Inscription

RCEA no. 4595 reads the foundation inscription as follows :

"La construction de ce collège béni a été ordonnée durant les jours du sultan auguste, le roi des rois magnifié, Ghiyāth al-dunyā wal-dīn Abul-Fath Kaikhusraw, fils de Kilidj-Arslān, - que Dieu éternise sa royauté ! - par l'esclave qui espère la miséricorde de Dieu, l'homme d'Etat ^cAlī, fils d'al-Husain - que Dieu embellisse ses fins ! - dans les mois de l'année 666 (1268)."

This inscription does not feature in Huart's collection. The sovereign mentioned is Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw III, who acceded in 1265

The title of the founder is more modest than that of the hanikah at Aksehir of 1261. The humble العبد has reappeared, and, though it is indeed الصاحب, which is rendered "l'homme d'Etat", the title فخر الدولة والدين has been omitted.

RCEA no. 4567 gives the inscription of a fountain built in November 1266 (safar 665 H.) which once stood opposite the medrese.¹ In this the founder is referred to as

العبد الصاحب

1. I believe the fountain has been destroyed. There is now a vast building site opposite the medrese.

Description

The portal of the Sabibiye medrese has been restored at the base and at the top (Pl. LXXXVII). The restoration at the base is a refinement on that which appears in Gabriel's photographs² since the framing bands are now indicated upon it. The restoration of the base has been carried out in stone of the same colour as the rest of the portal; that of the top appears to be in stone of a lighter colour though perhaps it may be expected to weather. An unusual feature of this portal, some bands of decoration on the side face, have been carried forward to make a cornice along the top. I do not know of anything which justifies this restoration though it is visually effective. The restoration provides the outer tori of the framing bands with capitals. This may be justified since capitals are used in such a position on the Hacı Kiliç medrese.³

The framing consists of a decorated torus at the angle and four bands (Pls. LXXXVIII, LXXXIX). The torus is decorated with deep grooves running in spirals which change regularly per block to create a zig-zag effect. A plain strip separates this from a band of two rows of muqarnas arranged on their side to point

2. Gabriel, MTA Vol. I, pls. XV, XVI 1.

3. RCEA, nos. 4314 and 4315, the mosque and medrese of Hacı Kiliç are both of 647 H. (1249).

inwards to the centre. A second band curves inwards at its outer edge and is decorated with a complicated floral pattern. This pattern is arranged horizontally with apices of the florets pointing, for the most part, outwards, while the subsidiary lobes point inwards. The third band is of geometric ornament: a series of interlocked hoops (of the same shape as the frieze arch) proceed from each side of the band with their points towards the centre, between these other bands proceed from the side, cross upon themselves to form nearly square ends and return to the side of the band. The square ends are interlocked in the centre of the band to form a distinct central strip which is reminiscent of key pattern. The fourth band is a narrow chamfer on which hexagonal figures of lozenge shape are interlocked with pairs of strips in saltire running through their centres.

In the central section the foundation inscription comes immediately below the cornice as it has been restored. The spandrels above the frieze arch are plain except for two figures in the rosette position described by Gabriel as:

"les restes informes de deux mufles de lion en ronde-bosse, mutilés par les Sunnites". ⁴

The frieze arch is outlined by a thin plain torus (Pl. XC). The arch shape is unusual in having straight facets from the top, and thereafter a stiff curve to the vertical.

4. Ibid, p.65. While this damage may have been the work of sunnites at some date it should not be inferred that the Seljukids themselves were not "good sunnī"; see Cahen op.cit. p. 249.

It is decorated with interlaced floral patterns which resolve themselves into quadrilobed figures. The pattern is not quite consistent suggesting that the blocks were carved before they were set in place. The area below the frieze arch is filled with a dense pattern of Y-shaped units. These are arranged so that one arm of the Y is horizontal; however, unity of direction has not been achieved: the majority point to the right, but on top left-hand block and the second right-hand block they point to the left. This seems a further indication that the blocks, or some of the blocks, were not carved in situ.

There are eight rows of muqarnas with niches of floral pattern under the lowest rank. Below these is a geometric band, below this an inscription, and below this is a row of interlocked blocks. The arch of the door is a segment of a circle; it is ornamented with a row of interlocked ovals which alternate one simple with one with additional curls at its ends (Pl. XCI). The step which now leads down to the threshold has been caused by the raising of the road level since Gabriel's visit.

The side columns combine floral with geometric pattern, florets on a scroll are enclosed in hexagonal figures. The capitals are of two rows of relatively naturalistic acanthus resting on a torc (Pl. XCII).

Geometric panels are set above the side niches. The niches are framed by two scrolls running "in canon". The niche heads are elaborate. The frieze arches have

flat facets to the crown and are decorated with geometric pattern. On the left hand niche the area above the arch is filled with a pattern of Y-shapes and that below with Z-shaped voids. There are five rows of muqarnas. On the right there are rosettes in the spandrels and a Z pattern below the arch and four rows of muqarnas (Pls. XCIII, XCIV).

Comment

Either from local taste or from the nature of local stone,⁵ or both, portals in Kayseri are characterised by decoration in low relief. This decoration is predominantly, though not exclusively, geometric. Composition is characterised by a certain severity which is seen at its most extreme in the West portal of the mosque of Khwand Khātūn (Pl. XCV).⁶

At first sight the Sahibiye medrese appears to conform to the Kayseri style, but closer inspection reveals some divergencies. A torus moulding occurs at

5. C. Erentöz and I. Ketin edd. Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü Yayınlarından: 1:500 000 Ölçekli Türkiye Jeoloji haritası (Turkish Geological Survey) Kayseri, Ankara, 1963, p.58 mentions the existence of basalt flows on Erciyes (Mount Argaeus). I think that this is the stone employed for building in Kayseri. The hardness of basalt might affect the type of pattern chosen.

6. Gabriel, MTA, Vol. I p.40. The mosque of Khwand Khātūn is dated 635 H. (1237-8), he conjectures that the medrese was built later and finally the mausoleum. He does not mention a time span but presumably it was not great. RCEA 4146 and 4147, both date the mosque as 635 H.

the outer edge of the portals of the Hacı Kiliç and Khwand Khātūn medreses (Pl. XCVI), but these are decorated with geometric pattern, while the zig-zag moulding of the Sahibiye seems to be more typical of Konya, as on the ^cAlā' al-Dīn mosque and the Sirçali medrese (Pl. XCVII) but it is also used on the Sultan han on the road from Konya to Aksaray⁷ (Pl. XCVIII). The acanthus capitals of the inner columns of the Sahibiye medrese also seem more typical of Konya style, as on the buildings mentioned above, rather than Kayseri where capitals tend to be very restrained, as for example those of the Khwand Khātūn medrese. Even among decorations of geometric type there is a link with Konya since the band of lozenges on the chamfer is identical with the outer band of the portal framing of the Sahib Ata mosque.

The framing bands appear to draw on those of the Hacı Kiliç complex. A mugarnas band is used on the Hacı Kiliç medrese,⁸ while a band whose pattern may be described as floral and which is organised horizontally appears on the Hacı Kiliç mosque.⁹ The Hacı Kiliç mosque also has a band, the fourth, on which the interlocking of geometric pattern produces the key-pattern effect which is so striking in the third band of the Sahibiye medrese.

7. Erdmann, op.cit. no. 25, begun 1229.

8. Ögel, op.cit. pl. LV, 103.

9. Ibid, pl. LV, 104.

4 (Liv)

Another interesting aspect of the advance of floral pattern is its combination with geometric pattern on the inner columns. The tendency had always been to keep separate floral scrolls from geometric pattern of the straight-lined type,¹⁰ though floral rosettes may appear in straight-lined pattern as on the Sirçali medrese, and geometric forms which are not of straight-lined type appear among the flowers at Divriği. A cautious introduction of floral forms other than rosettes into a straight-lined pattern is, however, to be seen above the side niches of the Khwand Khātūn mosque in Kayseri (Pl. XCIX), and again in the same position on the Hacı Kiliç mosque.¹¹

The unusual shape of the frieze arch is taken up later by the Khudavend Khātūn mausoleum of 1213 at Niğde.¹² Its floral pattern is a Kayseri feature, the Hacı Kiliç mosque and medrese and the Khwand Khātūn medrese having floral patterns here. The pattern over the arch of the doorway is a development of that on the Khwand Khātūn medreses (Pl. C).

10. Non-floral work involving regularly curving lines might of course be described as "geometric" but the type of pattern intended by "geometric" here, as throughout, is that of straight lines whose development has been studied in an article by S. Ogel, "Bemerkungen über die Quellen der anatolisch-seldschukischen Steinornamentik" Anatolica Vol. III, 1969-70, pp. 189-194.

11. "Ogel, op.cit. pl. LVI, 108.

12. Gabriel, MTA, Vol. I, pl. XLV, dated 712 H. (1312), p.148.

A dense filling pattern under the frieze arch is not a feature of Kayseri buildings, though the mausoleum of Khwand Khātūn uses a dense filling in the spandrels above arches. A filling under the frieze arch appears on the hall portal of the Ağzikara han¹³ not far from Kayseri.

Lions in the spandrels, one of which is striding, appear on the hospital of Kaḡ-Kāwus of 1217/8 at Sivas.¹⁴

The Sahibiye medrese built by Fakhr al-Dīn °Alī in 1267/8 but unsigned by a designer stands in the course of Fakhr al-Dīn °Alī's patronage between the Sahib Ata mosque at Konya signed by Kalūk and the Gök medrese of Sivas signed by Kālūyān al-Qūnawī. In style it leans towards the buildings of Konya in general, and in particular it shares a geometric pattern with the Sahib Ata mosque, but in time it is closer to the Sivas building.

It is to be regretted that we have no other dated buildings for the middle period of Fakhr al-Dīn °Alī's patronage which might have shed some light on the question which is sometimes raised of the possible relationship, or even identity of Kalūk and Kālūyān. In particular the loss of a thermal establishment at Ilgin is to be regretted since it was contemporary with the Sahibiye medrese and was signed by Kālūyān.¹⁵ It

13. Erdmann, op.cit. no. 27, pl.174, dated probably 1242/3.

14. Gabriel, MTA, Vol. II, pl. XXXV.2., dated 614 H (1217/8), p.150.

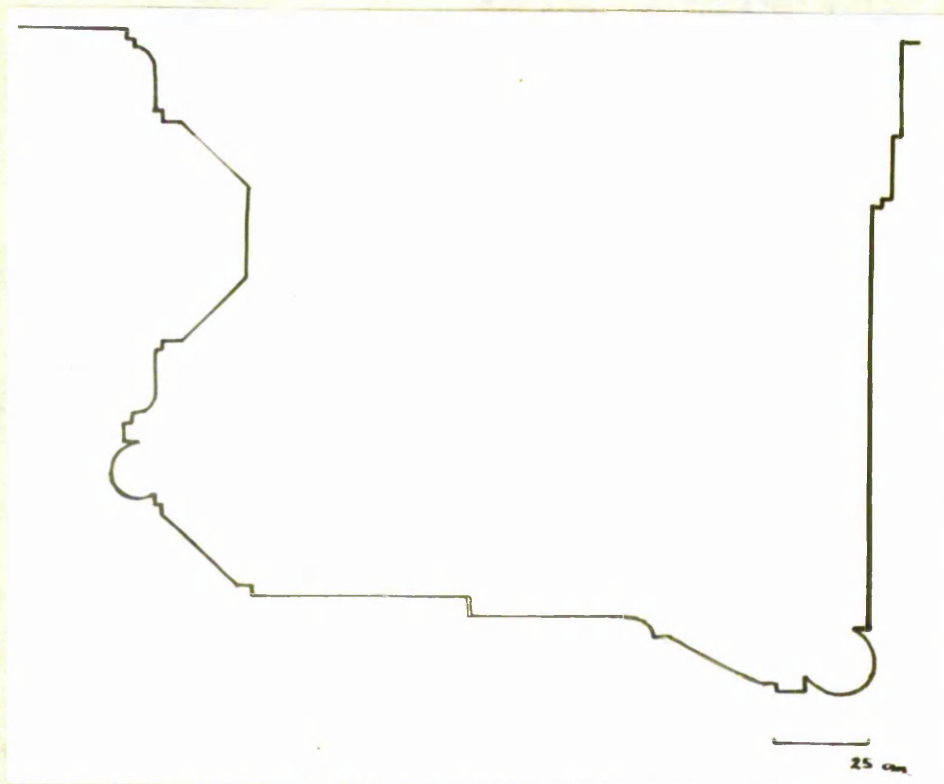
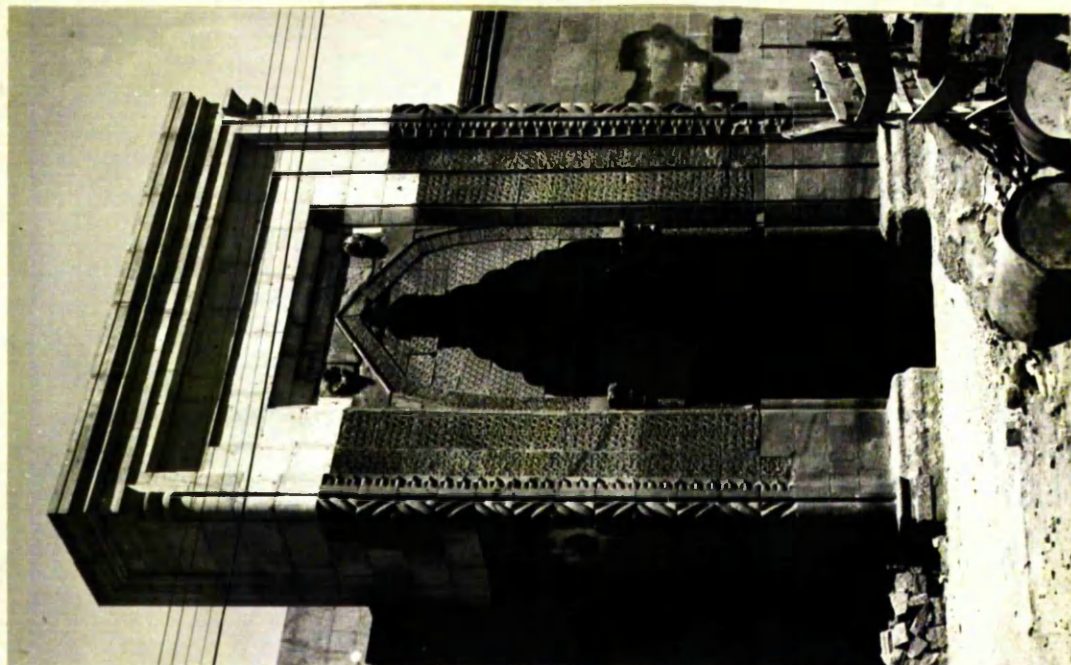
15. Ferit and Mesut, op.cit. p.119. Erdmann, op.cit. p.199, makes the point of this unfortunate loss.

would have been interesting to see if Kālūyān's Sivas style were already evident, or if it resembled more the Sahibiye medrese.

Another building which might have told us more about the relationship between Kalūk and Kālūyān is the Nalinci Baba mausoleum at Konya. Though undated and not bearing Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's name this building was signed by Kalūk;¹⁶ it would therefore at the least have enlarged our knowledge of Kalūk's style but it might possibly have done more since from the fragments remaining it seems to have preferred geometric to floral ornament (Pl. CI). Might it, for instance, like the Sahib Ata mosque, have shared some pattern with the Sahibiye medrese ?

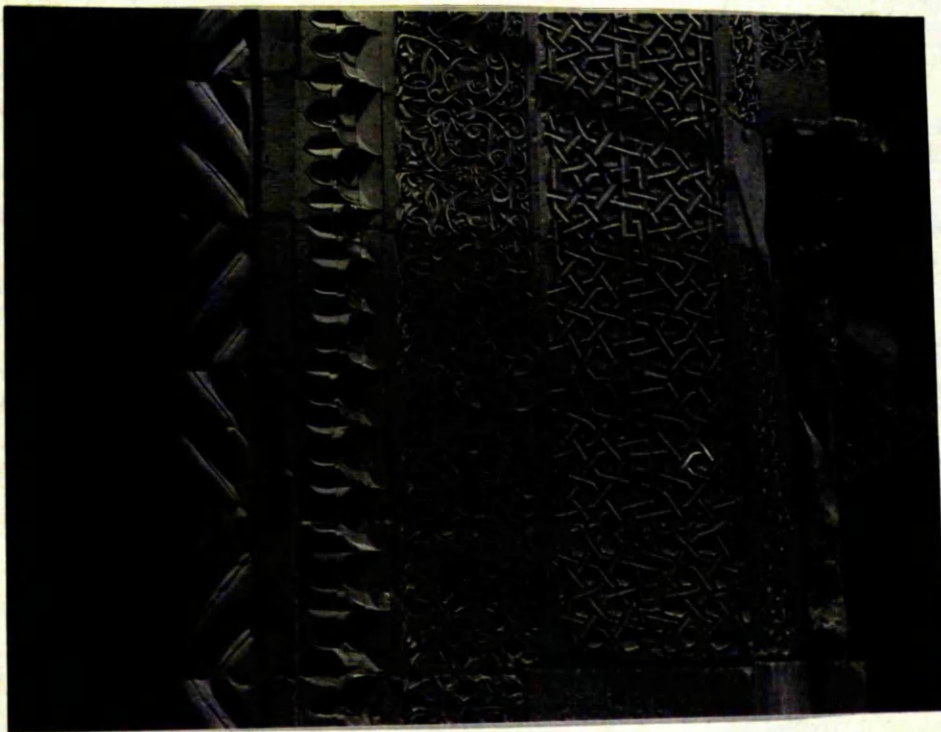
In the absence of any evidence about the designer of the Sahibiye and in default of the comparative material mentioned we must fall back upon the remark that Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's taste for independent designs appears to be consistent since he must have approved this scheme which is bold among the other Kayseri works.

16. Løytved, op.cit. no. 78 gives the signature of the Nalinci Baba mausoleum, but does not mention a date, nor that it was under the patronage of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī. Ferit and Mesut are inclined to place it under Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's patronage, op.cit., pp. 119-120.



LXXXVII. Kayseri, Sahibiye medrese, portal.

LXXXVIII. Kayseri, Sahibiye medrese, profile.



LXXXIX. Kayseri, Sahibiye medrese, framing bands

XC. Kayseri, Sahibiye medrese, frieze arch.



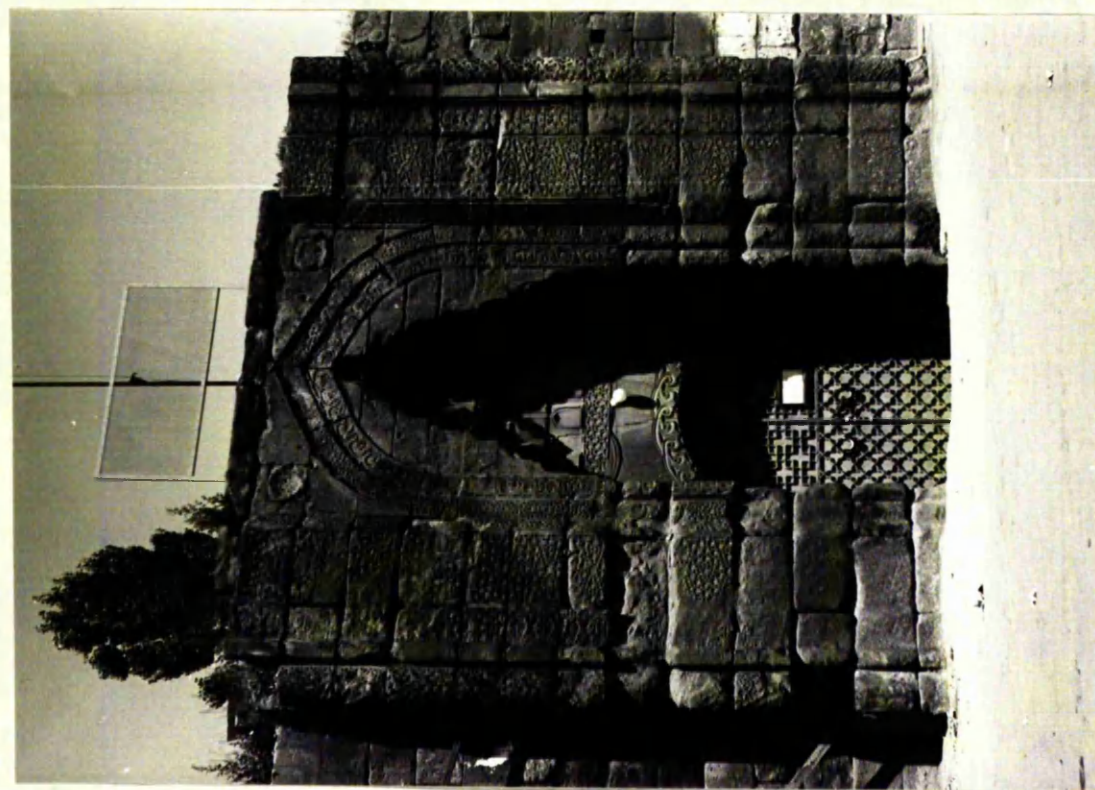
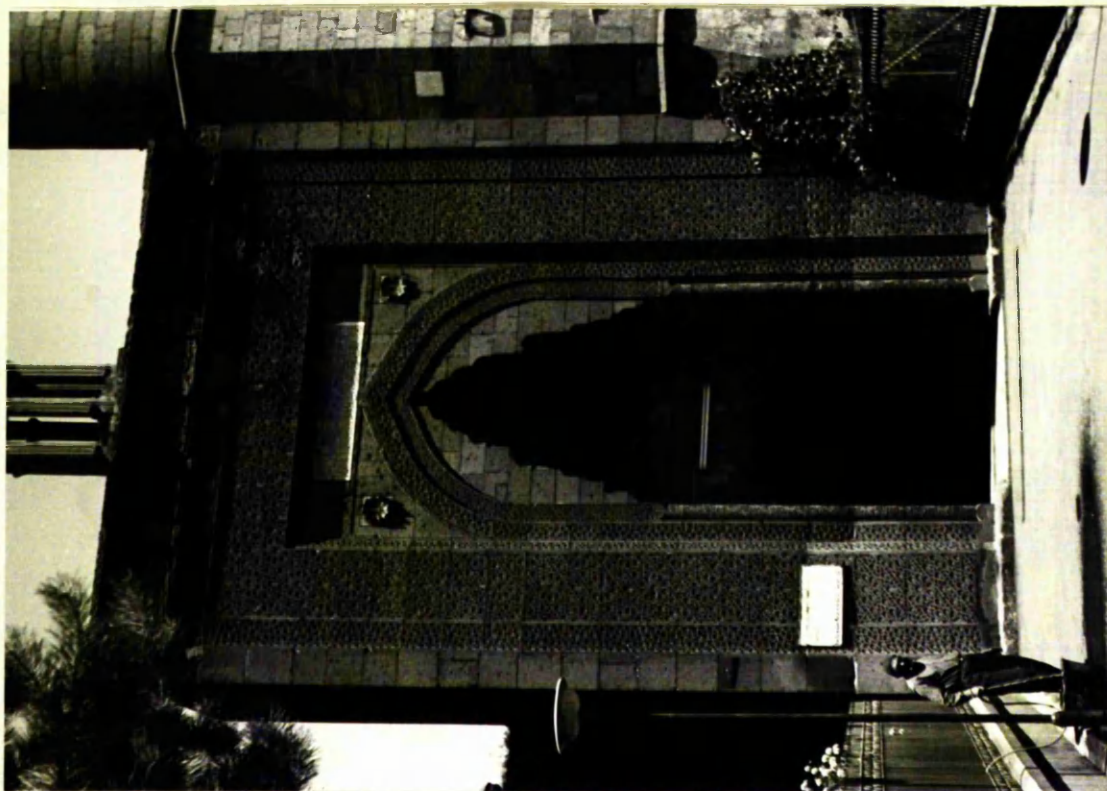
XCI. Kayseri, Sahibiye medrese, ornament of doorway.

XCII. Kayseri, Sahibiye medrese, capital of side column.



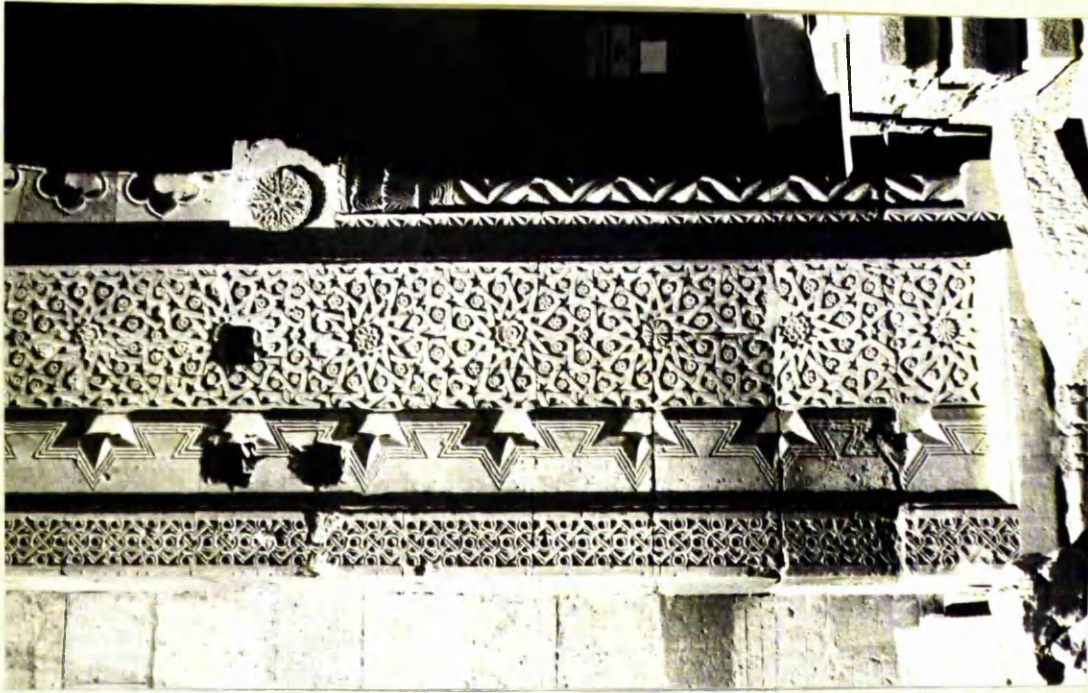
XCIII. Kayseri, Sahibiye medrese, left side niche.

XCIV. Kayseri, Sahibiye medrese, right side niche.



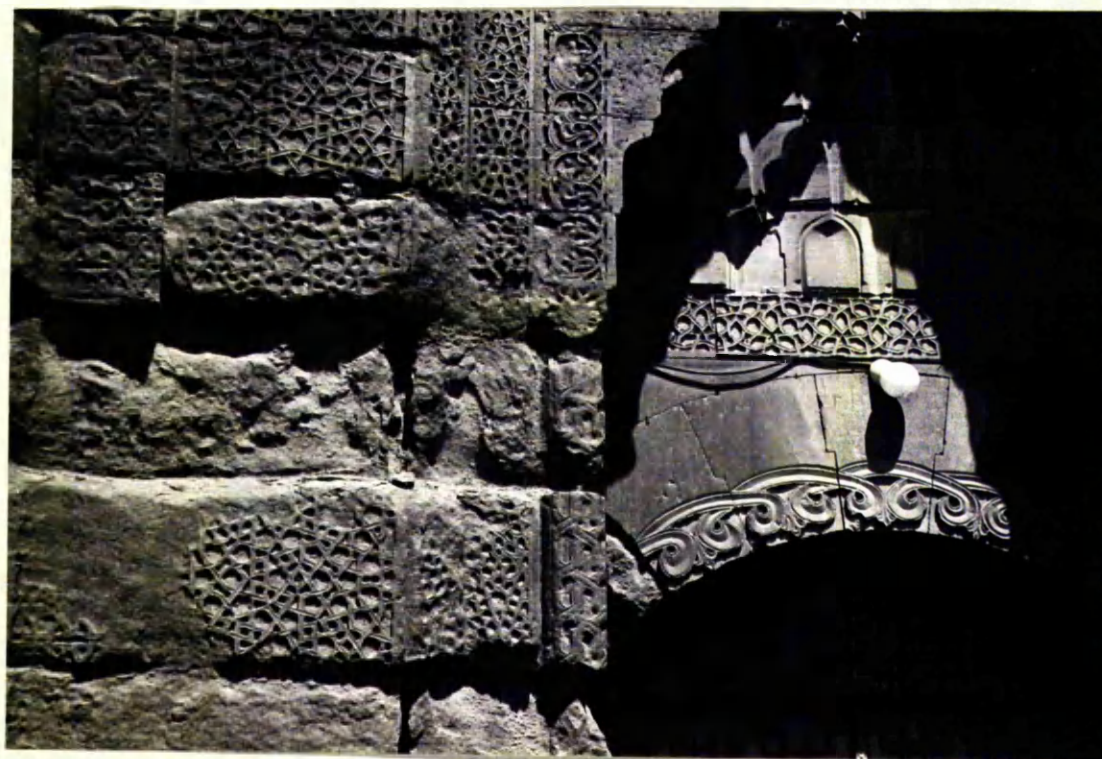
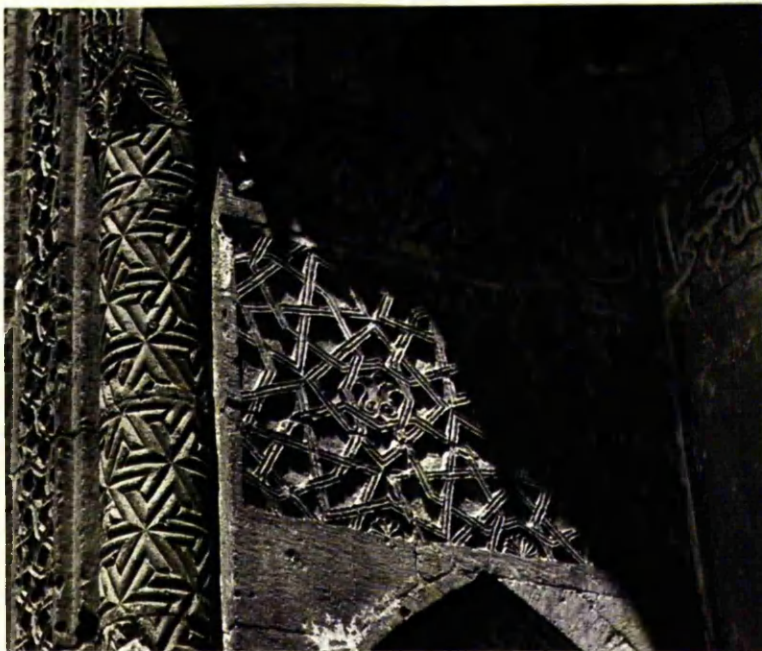
XCV. Kayseri, Khwand Khātūn mosque, West portal.

XCVI. Kayseri, Khwand Khātūn medrese, portal.



XCVII. Konya, Sirçali medrese, side column.

XCVIII. Konya-Aksaray Sultan han, court portal.



XCIX. Kayseri, Khwand Khātūn mosque, area above left side niche of West portal.

C. Kayseri, Khwand Khātūn medrese, ornament of doorway.



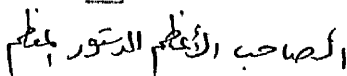
CI. Konya, fragments of Nalinci Baba kumbet.

"THE GÖK MEDRESE AT SIVAS

Inscriptions

RCEA, no. 4640, reads the foundation inscription over the doorway as follows :

"La construction de ce collège béni a été ordonnée durant les jours de l'empire de l'auguste sultan, le roi des rois magnifié, Ghiyāth al-dunyā wal-dīn Kaikhūraw, fils de Kilidj-Arslān - que Dieu éternise son empire ! - par le chef d'Etat auguste, le ministre magnifié, le père des bonnes oeuvres et des bienfaits, Fakhr al-dawla wal-dīn ^cAlī, fils d'al-Husain, - que Dieu lui donne une heureuse fin ! - le 1er muḥarram de l'année 670 (9 août 1271)."¹

Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's status as vizier is proclaimed . Another inscription, RCEA no. 4645, which CIA² informs us is at the head of the portal, does not mention the vizier :

"Construit durant les jours du sultan auguste, le roi des rois magnifié Ghiyāth al-dunyā wal-dīn Kaikhūraw, fils de Kilidj-Arslān, que Dieu éternise son empire !"

1. CIA, III, i-ii, no. 9.

2. Ibid, no. 10.

It is, however, interesting to note that the vizier has a particularly grandiloquent inscription on the great īwān in which the sovereign is not even mentioned,

RCEA, no. 4641 :

"La fondation de ce collège béni a été ordonnée, pour se rapprocher de Dieu, par l'auguste homme d'état, le ministre magnifié, maître des maîtres des Ara(bes et des Persans) les traces de la générosité, la solidité de l'empire dominateur, l'ordonnance de la communauté florissante, le pere des bonnes actions, des obéissances et des bienfaits, Fakhr al-dawla wal-dīn ^cAlī, fils d'al-Husain, - que Dieu lui accorde une bonne fin ! - le 1er muharram de l'année 670 (9 août 1271)." 3

The inscription on the frieze arch does not appear to have been read. The signature of the designer is carried on two niche-shaped plaques in the doorway recess just above the capitals of the side columns, RCEA no. 4646, reads it :

"Oeuvre de maître Kālūyān al-Kūnawī." 4

CIA⁵ suggests that this may represent the Greek name *καλοῦννης* but also notes⁶ the possibility that it

3. Ibid, no. 13.

4. Ibid, no. 11. Huart, *Revue sémitique*, no. 66, had read the name as Kāloyaz (?). Rogers, *Anatolian Studies*, p.80, has Kālūyān ibn al-Qunawī.

5. CIA, III, i-ii, p.21.

6. Ibid, p.21⁴. This is the continuation of the contribution of P. Kalemkiarian quoted above à propos the Sahib Ata mosque (see p. 40.).

might be formed from Kalūk (here expressed in the conjectural Armenian form of Keghug) with a plural to indicate the name of a family. The note continues :

"Dès lors, كلو يان pourrait être pour كلوكيان c'est-à-dire يان + كلوك, et l'architecte de Siwas était peut-être le fils ou un parent de celui de Konia. A l'appui de cette hypothèse un peu risquée, nous montrerons que tous les monuments signés de ces deux noms appartiennent, par leur style, au courant oriental et portent des inscriptions en naskhi seljoukide." 7

7. We are referred to CIA, III, i-ii, 6¹, where "seljuk" naskhi is characterised by "des lettres plus irrégulières, plus serrées, souvent enchevêtrées, avec des corps plus petits et des hampes plus allongées" in contrast to Ayyubid naskhi which has the opposite characteristics. This note also adds a gloss to the term "oriental" : "des édifices dont le style trahit des éléments d'origine orientale (arménienne ou caucasienne)". Edhem and Van Berchem, therefore, though cautious as to the national origin of the designer himself, do appear to see Armenian elements among the works at Konya. We must regret again that the Konya volume did not appear.

Description.

The portal of the Gök medrese is flanked by the supports of two minarets; it is executed in grey and white marble (Pl. CII'). It is in good repair save for the bases of the minarets which have lost most of their decoration and for the part of the framing bands over the central sections which is missing; it is however rather grimy. The decoration is extremely opulent.

The brick bases of the minarets are set down into the composition. The bases are divided into two superposed squares, the lower of which bears a circle of brick. The side faces of the bases are ordered in the same way. A band of decoration runs under the side face of the base and then under its front face and up its inner side where it is capped by a feature resembling in shape a Muslim tombstone, which bears a floral pattern. It is to be supposed that this band once ran across the top of the portal; it is decorated with a row of niche forms which run horizontally within the band. Below this band on the minaret supports runs a horizontal extension of the outer, geometric, framing band of the portal proper.

The lower part of the support is framed with a triple torus in grey marble (Pl. CIII). This is crested with a bold figure of floral origin which,

nevertheless, gives rather the effect of an anthropomorphic figure.⁸ Below the crest on the front face of the support the moulding is made to frame an inscription and below this again it enclosed an arched aperture within an eight-pointed star. A square of moulding round the star is made to kink in to meet four of its points. From this square the moulding runs down the sides of a niche form, and terminates on either side of it with a moon-clasp and tassel. The niche encloses a "tree" (Pl. CIV) below which is an inscription on an octagonal plaque so set as to make a rather weak echo of the eight-pointed star above. The base of the minaret is plain. A similar triple torus frame occurs on the side faces of the supports (Pl. CV), it has the same crested head as that on the front but at half its height a single torus arch with triple pointed head with a small floral crest and finials surmounts an inscription in plaited kufic (Pl. CMI).

The portal has five framing bands (Pls. CVII,⁹ CVIII). The first band is, as mentioned above, geometric, making an effect not unlike a linked skein of tabulae

8. Rogers, Anatolian Studies, p. 71. "Jerphanion is going too far, I think, in seeing a human figure stylised here". Rogers' note 24 gives a reference for this opinion to Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne, Beirut, 1929, p. 82. I have found only a work of this name of the preceding year which discussed the G8k medrese between pp. 81-84, which does not express this opinion, G. de Jerphanion, Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne, 2 vols, Beirut, 1928. Did Jerphanion produce another work in the following year amplifying his opinions?

9. Rogers, Anatolian Studies, fig. 3B.

ansatae, this pattern is however backed by a lower layer of floral pattern. The second band seems to be a development from the idea of a mugarnas band, but also partakes of the nature of a band of half stars. It is interpreted florally and is deeply cut in two layers, the lower of which appears in a shadowy way below the upper. In the upper layer florets head the tri-lobed arch forms, which, along the inner edge, are the equivalent to half-stars, while florets produce two branchlets against the outer edge. Alternating with the tri-lobed arch forms are floral "ace of Spades" forms. The third band has two facets which are extroverted. It bears a chain of tri-lobed niches with waists above their bases. A floret appears in each niche form. The fourth band is a single scroll with florets on either side headed upwards. The fifth band is again on two facets extroverted. It bears a type of "ace of Spades" pattern with florets filling the figures and the side intervals. A base frieze runs below the framing bands.

In the central section an inscription runs across the top of the façade. The area of spandrel above the frieze arch is filled with floral pattern (Pl. CIX). Around holes in the rosette position, which may once have contained bosses, the pattern modulates to the type of pattern which may be produced with a compass, that is to say, not straight line geometry but a similar effect with slightly curved lines. The area

below the inscribed arch is treated in a similar way. The frieze arch contains an inscription. A plain recessed stepped border is left round the mudarnas niche which has thirteen rows. Small bosses appear on alternate panels below the lowest rank, and below these an inscription. Below this is an unusual border in which units of two tiered floral forms project on slight bays. The spandrel above the door is decorated with a floral pattern. The arch of the doorway is a segment of a circle with joggled voussoirs of two colours (Pl. CX). In the centre is a crest which rather resembles a butterfly. At the junction of arch and jambs there are clusters of animal heads.¹⁰

The side columns are framed with a torus bearing a lightly inscribed scale pattern. The columns themselves are carved with a double lattice with floral ends and diamond shapes in the intervals. They stand

10. E. Diez, "The Zodiac Reliefs at the Portal of the Gök Medrese in Siwas", Artibus Asiae, Vol. XII, 1949, pp. 99-104, identifies the animals as related to the Turco-Mongolian animal zodiac. He says, rather bafflingly, "Instead of the Chinese, the Turco-Mongolian Zodiac, which is identical with the Chinese, is here portrayed", p.101. He identifies the animals represented as : rat, ox, leopard, hare, crocodile or dragon, serpent, horse, sheep or ram, ape, bird or cock, dog, pig or boar. He believes the cock and the dog have disappeared. K. Otto-Dorn, Kunst des Islam, Baden-Baden, 1964, p.155, interprets the "pig" as an elephant. Diez does not see the use of these figures as evidence of Mongolian influence, but as the influence of work, possibly by Christian artists, emanating from Syria and North Mesopotamia. He cites animal figures on capitals brought from Hama to Boz Uyük and stucco work at Qara Saray near Mosul, pp. 103-4.

on framed cube bases. The capitals are in two tiers, the upper one floral and faceted, the lower round. The designer's signature appears in the reveal above the capitals (Pls. CXI, CXII).

The side niches are framed with single scrolls with florets on either side. Within this a plain frame forms a loop at the head of the mugarnas niche and then runs down its edge. The mugarnas are in five rows. The columns of the niches are patterned with four-pointed stars and have capitals resembling those of the side columns. The niches have ten interior facets which are decorated by kufic ornament above and lightly incised polygons below.

Comment.

The portal of the Gök medrese is the largest and most ornate of those under the patronage of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī, however, since, as Rogers has demonstrated¹¹ its composition and decoration follow closely that of the Çifte Minareli medrese at Erzurum it has seemed advisable to resume this comparison first so that comparisons with Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's portals may be seen in relation to it.

11. Rogers, Anatolian Studies, the comparison between the portals is made pp.70-79.

Comparison with the Çifte Minareli medrese, Erzurum.

With regard to the minaret supports Rogers notes that the palm tree within a niche is in both cases framed by a triple torus terminating in a crescent and "fan base" ¹² (Pl. CXIII).¹³ With regard to the portal proper the profiles of the frames and side niches are similar, similar also are the profiles of the base friezes whose very existence is exceptional.¹⁴ Rogers also notes the double capital of the side columns with a lower part of "basketwork" and an upper part of "four or five flange-like or plume-like acanthus fronds".¹⁵ He then turns his attention to the pattern of the framing bands with particular reference to the relief of the carving. He finds that though the first bands

12. Ibid, p.70.

13. Unal, op.cit., pl. XXV, ph. 64.

14. Rogers, Anatolian Studies, pp.73-74. Rogers further points out that the base frieze is embellished with a "tapering, chrysalis-like object", in note 26 he remarks on the resemblance of this object to decoration on Ottoman documents of the seventeenth century but suggests that it could perhaps be associated with the bow as a symbol of ownership which is said to have appeared on Seljuk documents. He adds "it would be difficult to explain why it appears only in Erzurum and Sivas." It is not apparent from the above whether Rogers means that the object in question appears on the Gök medrese only in Sivas or whether he has seen the similar objects on the portal of the Çifte Minareli medrese of Sivas at either side of the third row of mugarnas from the top, and on the Buruciye medrese portal above the doorway, /MTA, II, pls. XLIII:I and XLVIII. Gabriel

15. Ibid, p.76. "In view of this enormous diversity (scil. of capitals) therefore, once again mere similarity is rather in need of explanation." The type occurs "in almost all Sivas monuments, as well as occurring in the İnce Minareli at Konya ... but it only occurs in Erzurum in one building, with the pilasters of the doorway of the Çifte Minare."

are different, the second, third and fourth are the same and the fifth is similar. I think that Rogers is mistaken about the fourth of the bands :

"In each case there is a curved meander with alternating leaves, and in each case the leaf is an adaptation of a palmetto" 16

since on the Çifte Minareli medrese there are two scrolls, one of which incorporates a full palmetto in its stem and the other a half palmetto; however this merely reduces the relation of the bands from sameness to similarity. Rogers notes that in both cases a torus frames the side column but that that of the Gök medrese is patterned, and that the decoration of the columns themselves is "on the same principle".¹⁷

Rogers argues that stylistically the Gök medrese would seem to follow the Çifte Minareli medrese, rather than the other way about, because it uses colour in the Konya fashion and marble which demands greater expertise : "it is too sophisticated to have been the trial piece",¹⁸ but in the appendix to his article he shows that the Çifte Minareli is in any case the earlier building since it is to be dated before 1265.¹⁹

16. Ibid, p.78.

17. Ibid, p.78. Rogers continues "rows of palmetti or foliate heads alternately right side up and inverted (vertical rows at Erzurum, horizontal at Sivas)". In fact the pattern at Sivas stresses the horizontal less than that of Erzurum. At Sivas the pattern has been inverted in alternating rows to form a lattice.

18. Ibid, p.73.

19. Ibid, pp.82-85.

Comparisons with the foundations of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī.

Sahib Ata mosque.

The Gök medrese is linked to the Sahib Ata mosque by the use of bi-colouration achieved by the employment of two materials. On the Sahib Ata portal white marble is used for the special features of the minaret supports whereas the Gök medrese clothes the portal in white marble except for the grey marble used for the decoration of the supports and the alternating voussoirs. The use of bi-colouration and marble is of course a feature of other Konya portals such as those of the ^cAlā³al-Dīn mosque and the Karatay medrese, or indeed the court portal of the Sultan han on the road from Konya to Aksaray.

The composition of the minaret supports of the Gök medrese may owe something to the Sahib Ata mosque as well as the Çifte Minareli since the scheme embraces the whole of the supports and not simply the lower part. The design for the Sahib Ata and the Gök medrese is tripartite so that we may say that there is some correspondence between the crest at the top of the Gök medrese tori and the upper niche of the Sahib Ata. The central eight-pointed star of the Gök medrese may well have been adopted from a similar motif on the wall of the ^cAlā³al-Dīn mosque in Konya (Pl. CXIV) but

the use of a bold framed figure may have been suggested by the upper niches of the Sahib Ata. It would seem that the designer may have approved the idea of such a motif but considered that a different form in a lower position made a more balanced composition. On the supports of the Gök medrese both the row of niche forms and the horizontal extension of outer, geometrical, framing band under the minaret base may be related to the connecting moulding which links the features of the supports of the Sahib Ata mosque; this contrasts with the separateness of the supports and the centre at the Çifte Minareli.

The scale pattern on the torus framing of the side columns of the Gök medrese is like that of the columns of the niches on the minaret supports of Sahib Ata (the pattern is also shared with the tapering columns of the İnce Minareli medrese).

In the central area both the Sahib Ata and the Gök medrese have an inscription under the framing bands and both seem to have had two bosses, or similar features, above and below the frieze arch.

Finally, a niche to the left of the Gök medrese portal has a spandrel decoration which seems to be related to those used at the Sahib Ata mosque (Pl. CXV).

Ince Minareli medrese.

It is to be presumed that the Ince Minareli was already in existence when the Gök medrese was built since, as Rogers²⁰ points out, a version of its composition occurs on the wall of the Çifte Minareli medrese of Sivas, built like the Gök medrese in 670 H. Several features shared by the Ince Minareli and the Gök medreses: the use of triple tori, moon-clasps and tassels, the use of an "ace of Spades" band, could, in the Gök medrese, have been derived from the Çifte Minareli medrese at Erzurum. However, one of the modifications of the tree form on the support of the Gök medrese which distinguishes it from that on the support of the Çifte Minareli medrese at Erzurum is the introduction of two side branches on which two leaves bend to clasp a bud or cone. These would appear to derive from the greater floral forms of the Ince Minareli medrese.

Another point of resemblance is the use on the Gök medrese of a floral crest on the doorway arch similar to those on the panels on the minaret of the Ince Minareli. This motif could however have been adopted directly from Divriği.

The almost complete covering of the Gök medrese portal in predominantly floral pattern puts it in the same current of style as the Ince Minareli.

20. Ibid, p. 71²⁵

Comparisons with portals at Divriği.

Some features held in common with the Divriği portals : the use of tori, moon-clasps and a band of "ace of spades" pattern, could have been transmitted by the Çifte Minareli medrese at Erzurum, though the example of Divriği may have reinforced this. Similarly the raised floral crest over the doorway might be due to the influence of the İnce Minareli medrese or the mosque of Aḥmad Shāh at Divriği.

Hospital of Turan Malik.

The cresting features of the minaret supports of the Gök medrese bear a certain resemblance to the ornaments on the capitals of columns in the hospital of Turan Malik at Divriği (Pl. CXVI).

Comparison with portals at Sivas.

Çifte Minareli medrese.²¹

Like the Gök medrese the Çifte Minareli seems to have experienced the influence of the Sahib

21. RCEA, no. 4644, 670 H (1271-2). A foundation of "Shams al-dunyā wal-dīn Muhammad, fils de Muhammad, le maître de la chancellerie (صاحب الايران)". CIA, III: i-ii, no. 21.

Ata mosque at Konya (Pl. CXVII). Though the supports of its twin minarets are concealed behind the framing of the portal instead of being exposed beside it the bases of the minarets can be seen on the inner side and they bear a criss-cross brick pattern like those of Sahib Ata and not the roundels of the Çifte Minareli of Erzurum and the Gök medrese. As on the Sahib Ata two of the framing bands cross over a torus whose pattern changes from section to section (Pl. CXVIII). The portal of the Çifte Minareli also shares with the Sahib Ata mosque, and with the İnce Minareli, the unusual characteristic of a pointed doorway arch²². The niche to the right of the portal which imitates the İnce Minareli composition (Pl. CXX) has already been mentioned (see p. 139,).

The narrow triple torus which outlines the müarnas niche is terminated by a moon-clasp and tassel which presumably shows the influence of the Çifte Minareli medrese in Erzurum, either directly or through the Gök medrese (Pl. CXXI).

The outer edges of the portal are embellished with an ornamentation which we can scarcely call a framing band since it terminates above the ground. This ornament terminates in two "capitals", (not a double

22. It is interesting to note that the reverse of the doorway shows the more usual segment of a circle arch (Pl. CXIX). Should the pointed arch of the front face then be regarded as simply decorative ?

"capital" since the upper one is already double) at about one third the height of the building (Pl. CXXII). At about two-thirds the height of the portal appears a feature which may be described as a hanging column with a tassel base below a boss (Pls. CXXIII, CXXIV). These ornaments may owe something both to the North door of the Divriği mosque and to the İnce Minareli medrese, since it is the Divriği portal which employs capitals as side ornaments, but the column terminated by a boss and tassel would seem to derive from the secondary side columns of the İnce Minareli.

The Çifte Minareli at Sivas employs projecting floral ornaments both of "butterfly" shape and of "rosette" shape (Pl. CXXV). From their exuberance it would seem unlikely that they were wholly inspired by the floral crests on the minaret panels of the İnce Minareli medrese, and that any influence of these must have been reinforced by that of the North door at Divriği.

Floral ornaments on the Çifte Minareli portal seem to have taken on a new freedom as in the capitals of the side columns and the lower "capital" of the outer hanging ornament. This freedom even approaches naturalism in the minuscule bunch of grapes hanging below the lower "capital". The area below the frieze arch is filled with a floral pattern which, like that of the Gök medrese, resolves itself into the type of geometric ornament which may be drawn with a compass (Pl. CXXVI).

On the Gök medrese this pattern is made to fit the space available; on the Çifte Minareli the pattern has the nature of "wallpaper" cut to fit the space. This may mean that the type of pattern was designed for the Gök medrese and copied by the Çifte Minareli. On the broad framing band of the Çifte Minareli we almost seem to see a struggle between floral and geometric pattern taking place. On either side the lower part of the band is floral, except for incidental geometric forms, but the upper part shows floral forms as a background to geometric pattern. The transitions between these patterns are skilfully managed but they are different on either side and not at precisely the same height so that we must assume a change of plan (Pls. CXXVII, CXXVIII). If the blocks were carved before being put in place it would be more likely that the floral pattern was the first idea, but if they were carved in situ in might be the geometric. Similarly, on the chamfer band we see floral pattern running over geometric pattern on the lower part, and under it on the upper part.

We cannot be sure what caused this change of plan but Rogers²³ has suggested that the lower, floral, pattern should be seen as Armenian in type.

23. Rogers in a lecture "Seljuk architecture and the Christian Minorities", at Birmingham University's seminar Byzantium and the East, 18th March, 1972.

To make an aesthetic judgement one might say that the more distinct pattern of the more geometric part is preferable, in this context. It may be that a new, possibly Armenian, pattern was found insipid and that the masons reverted to the older type of pattern.

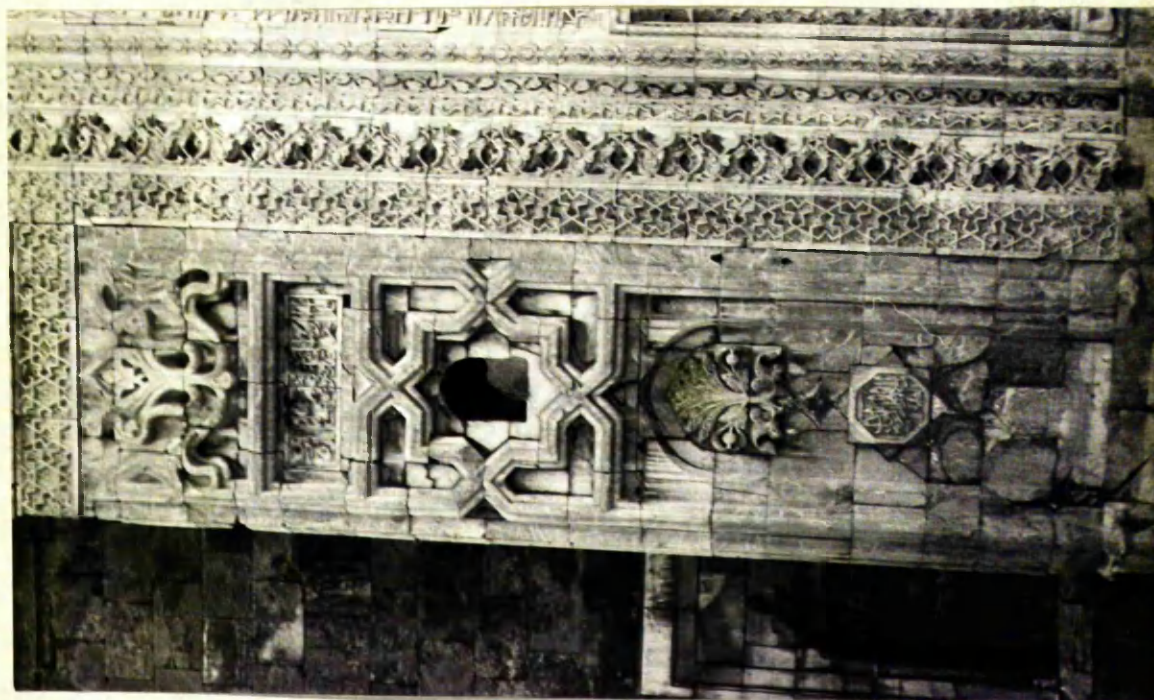
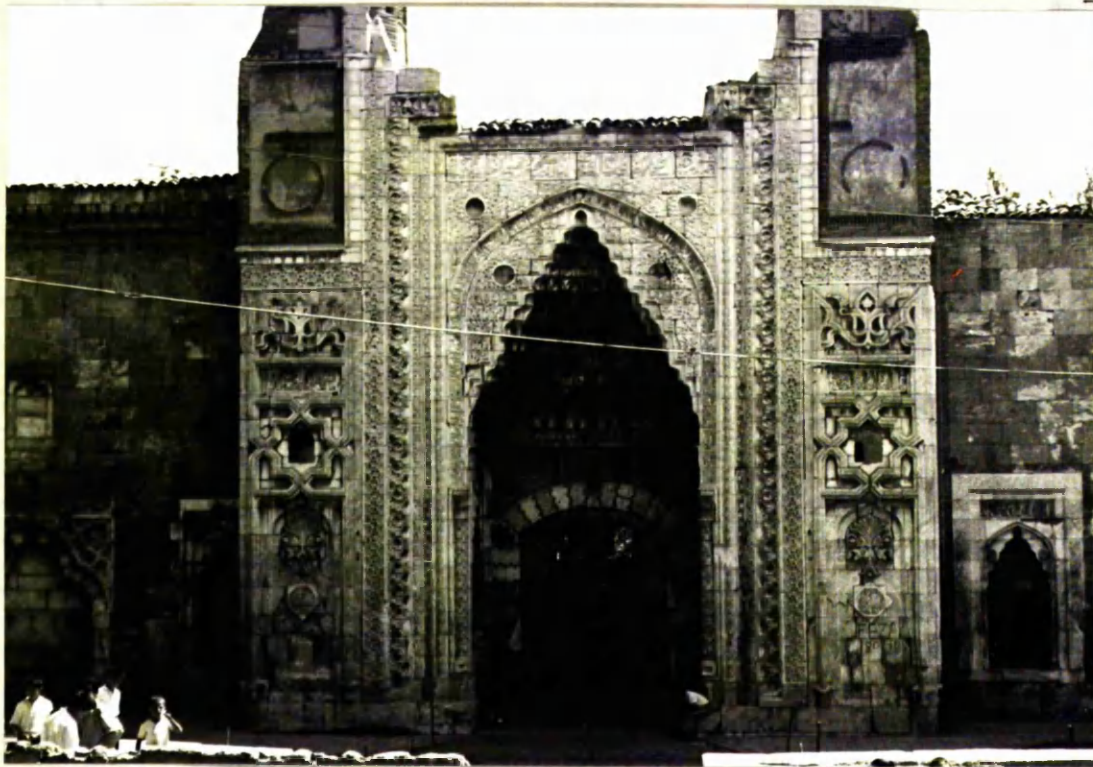
Buruciye medrese.²⁴

The Buruciye medrese has an unusual form in that it does not use a frieze arch (Pl. CXXIX). Like the Çifte Minareli it employs projecting floral forms and also circular "shields" which would seem to link it to the North door at Divriği. The "shields" are on hanging columns beside the central section; the columns terminate in features which are not unlike a tassel on a reversed tassel. A suggestion of hanging columns occurs as an outer border to the framing. A

24. RCEA, no. 4642, 670 H. (1271-2). Founded by "al-Muzaffar, fils de Hibat-Allah, al-Burūdjjirdī". CIA, III: i-ii, no. 16, the foundation inscription, no. 17, the signature. The editors comment on the signature, pp. 27-28, "Dans les monuments anatoliens la place où figure ce petit texte est réservée, en général, à la signature de l'architecte. Est-il permis de supposer que le fondateur de la madrasah fut son propre architecte, ou si l'on veut, que celle-ci fut fondée par un architecte de profession? Quoi qu'il en soit, le fondateur ne porte aucun titre qui le désigne comme un personnage officiel et le fait qu'un simple particulier pouvait élever un aussi bel édifice montre quel haut degré de prospérité Siwas avait atteint sous les seldjoukides." This interesting suggestion may raise the question whether the signature of the İnce Minareli medrese could be a parallel case; was Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī less personally connected with this building than we assume?

change of pattern occurs in the second framing band, but this is either intentional or is more competently managed than that of the Çifte Minareli since a floral feature divides the two patterns. The pattern of the upper part of the band shows floral tracery laid over geometric pattern (Pl. CXXX); the lower pattern is unusual in that it employs meandering lines which are not floral; it is as though a conventional geometric pattern had become fluid (Pl. CXXXI). The floral decoration of the area above the mugarnas is yet more free than that of the Çifte Minareli (Pl. CXXXII).

The Çifte Minareli and Buruciye medreses have various points in common with the Gök medrese : the richness of decoration, the use of raised floral forms, but their relation to each other is much closer, in particular they share an adventurous attitude to floral pattern. This attitude is also visible in the Gök medrese but does not there reach such a pitch of fervour. The Çifte Minareli is more closely related both to Konya work and to the Gök medrese than is the Buruciye medrese.



CII. Sivas, Gök medrese, portal.

CIII. Sivas, Gök medrese, minaret support.



CIV. Sivas, Gök medrese, tree form on the minaret support.

CV. Sivas, Gök medrese, crest on the side face of the minaret support.

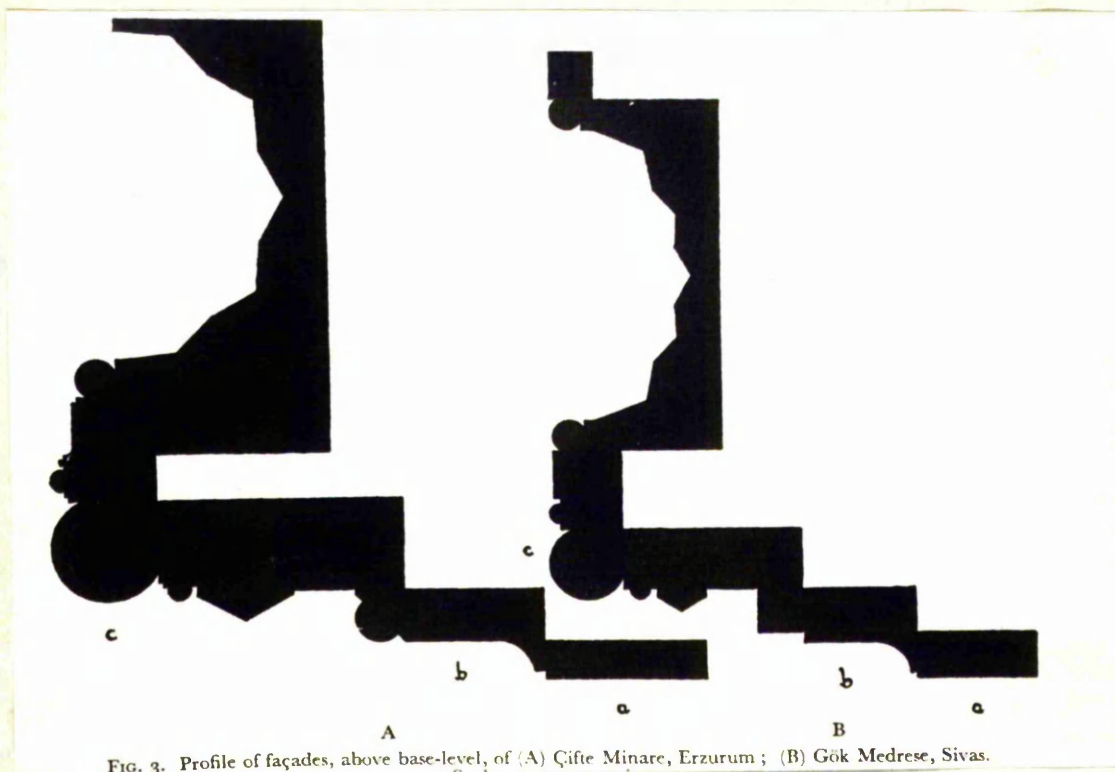
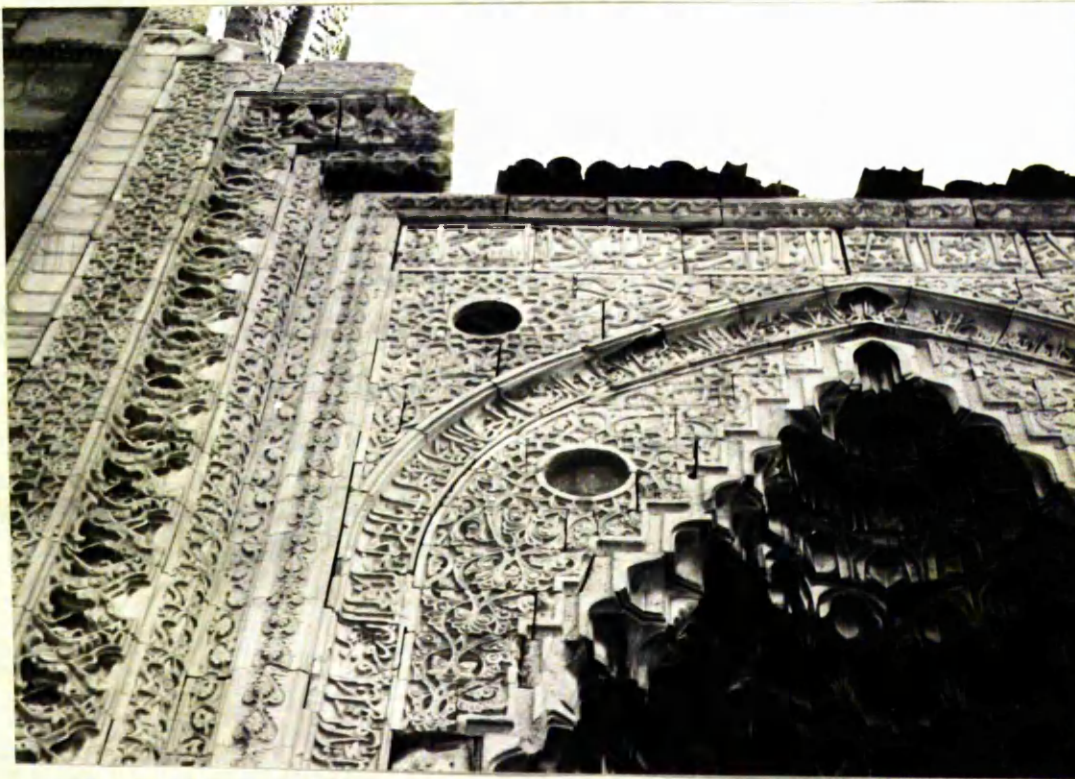
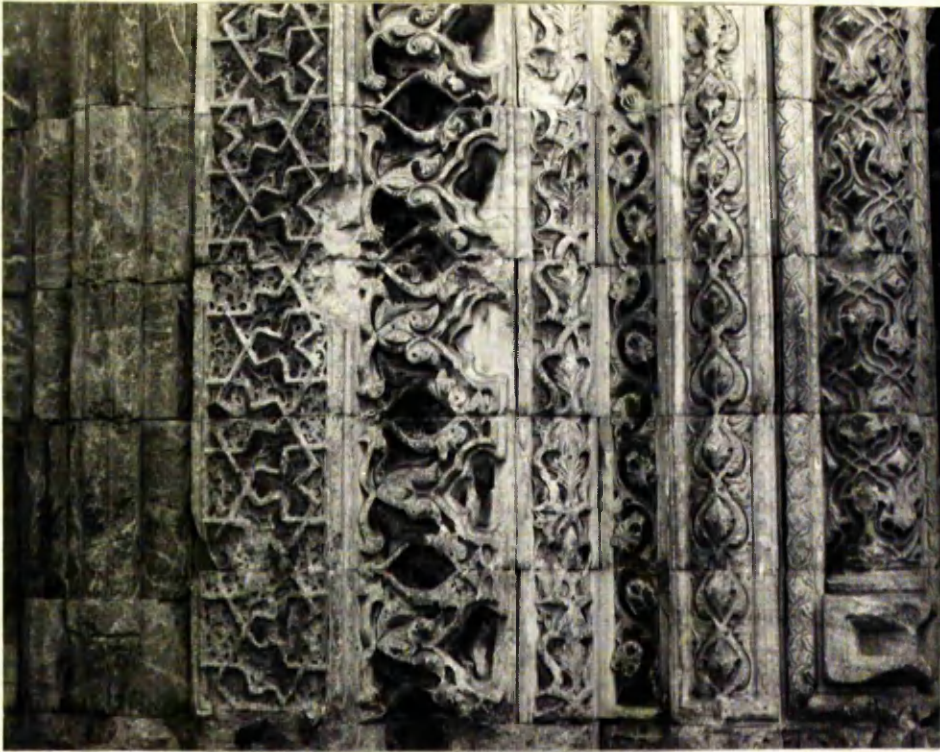


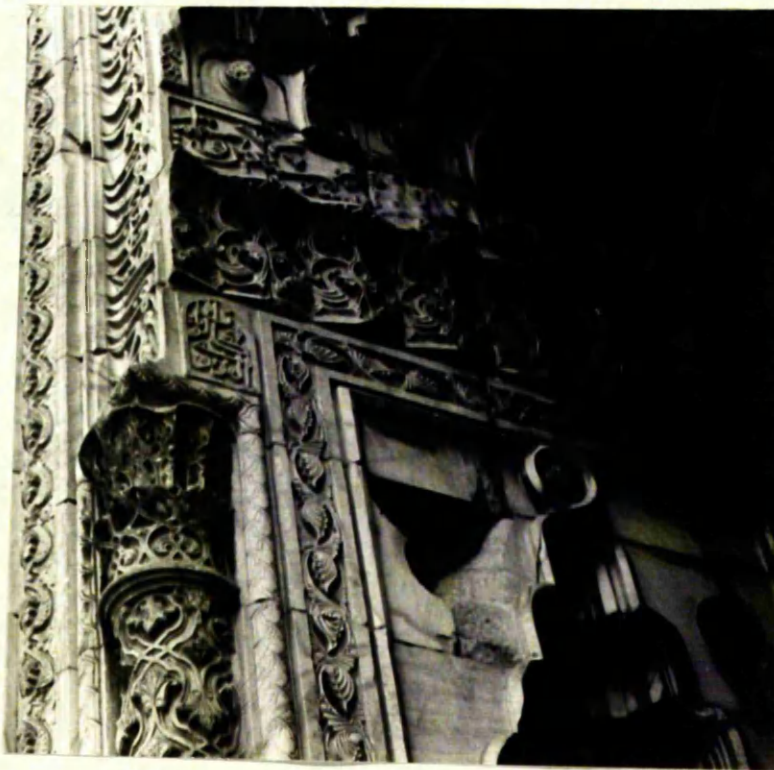
FIG. 3. Profile of façades, above base-level, of (A) Çifte Minare, Erzurum ; (B) Gök Medrese, Sivas.

- CVI. Sivas, Gök medrese, ornament on the side face of the minaret support.
- CVII. Sivas, Gök medrese, profile (after Rogers, Anatolian Studies, fig. 3B).



CVIII. Sivas, Gök medrese, framing bands.

CIX. Sivas, Gök medrese, frieze arch.

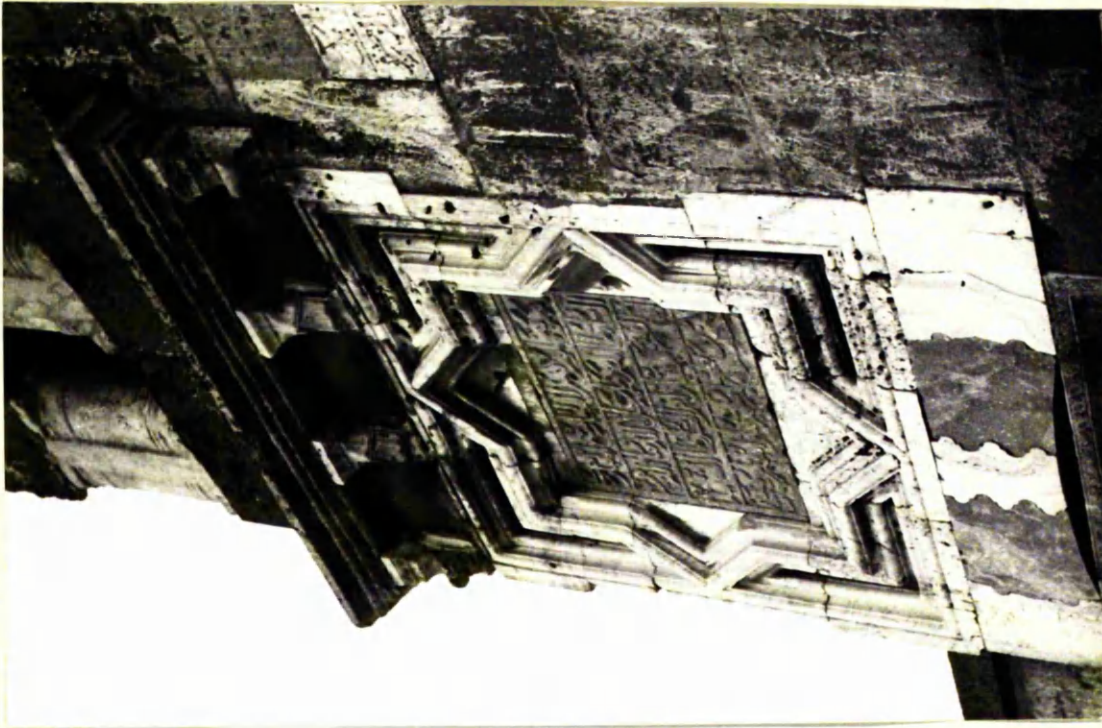


CX. Sivas, Gök medrese, doorway.

CXI. Sivas, Gök medrese, side columns and designer's signature, ii.

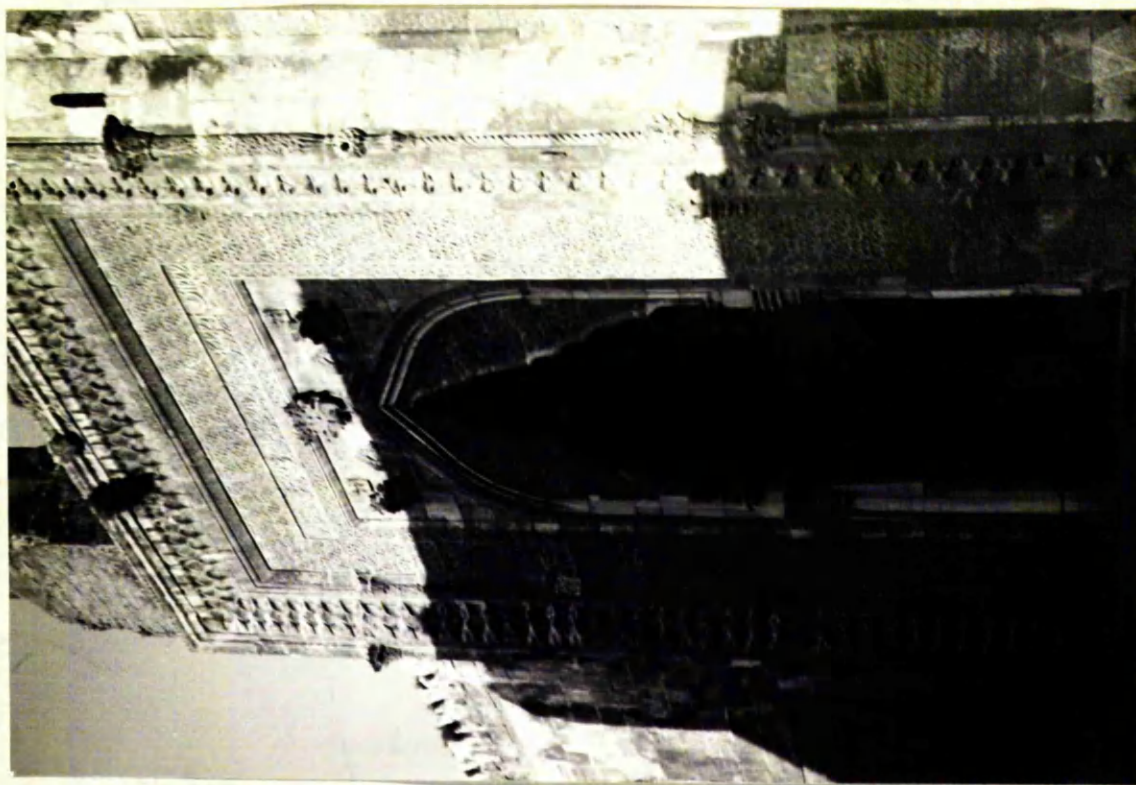


- CXII. Sivas, Gök medrese, designer's signature, i.
- CXIII. Erzurum, Çifte Minareli medrese, niche on minaret support (after Unal, op.cit. Pl. XXV, Ph. 64).

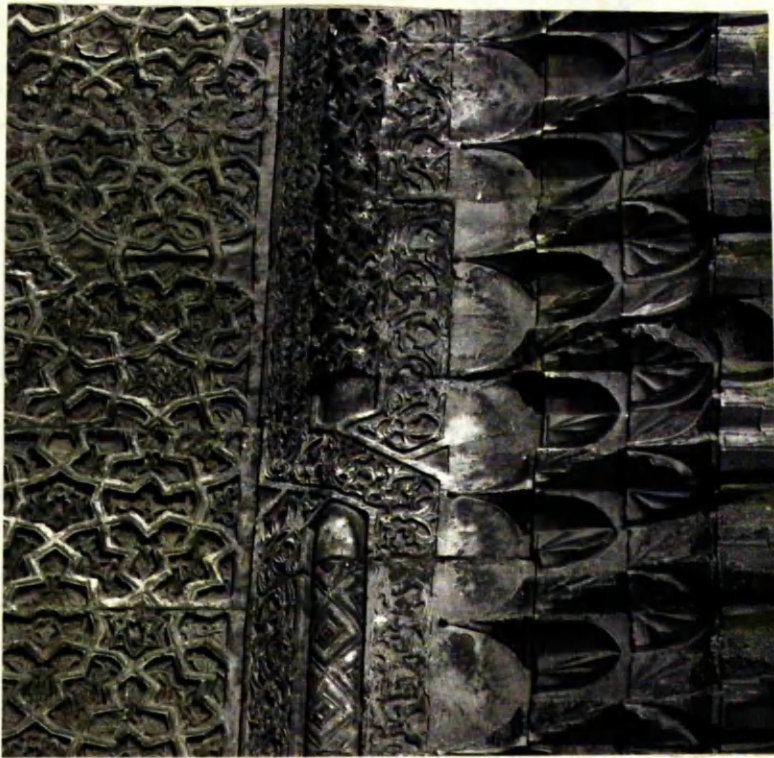


CXIV. Konya, ^cAlā' al-Dīn mosque, plaque

CXV. Sivas, Gök medrese, niche on façade.



- CXVI. Divriği, Turan Malik hospital capitals in the interior.
- CXVII. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, portal.



CXVIII. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, crossing bands.

CXIX. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, reverse of doorway.



CXX. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, niche on façade.

CXXI. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, border to mugarnas niche.



CXXII. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, termination of side ornament.

CXXIII. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, capital of hanging column.



CXXIV.

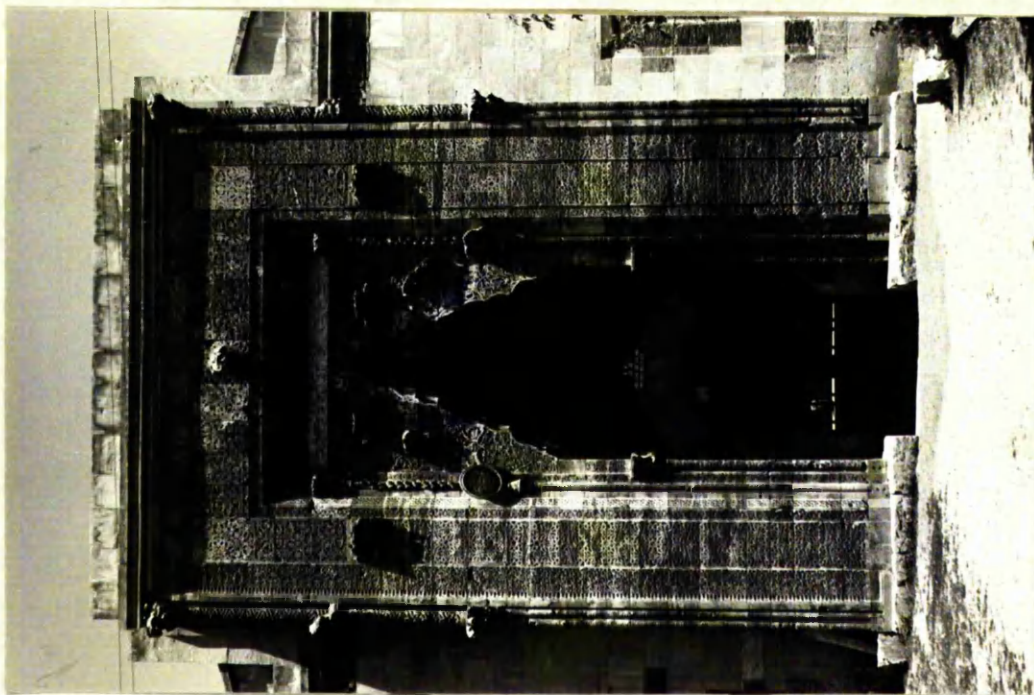
Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, base of hanging column.

CXXV.

Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, raised ornaments.

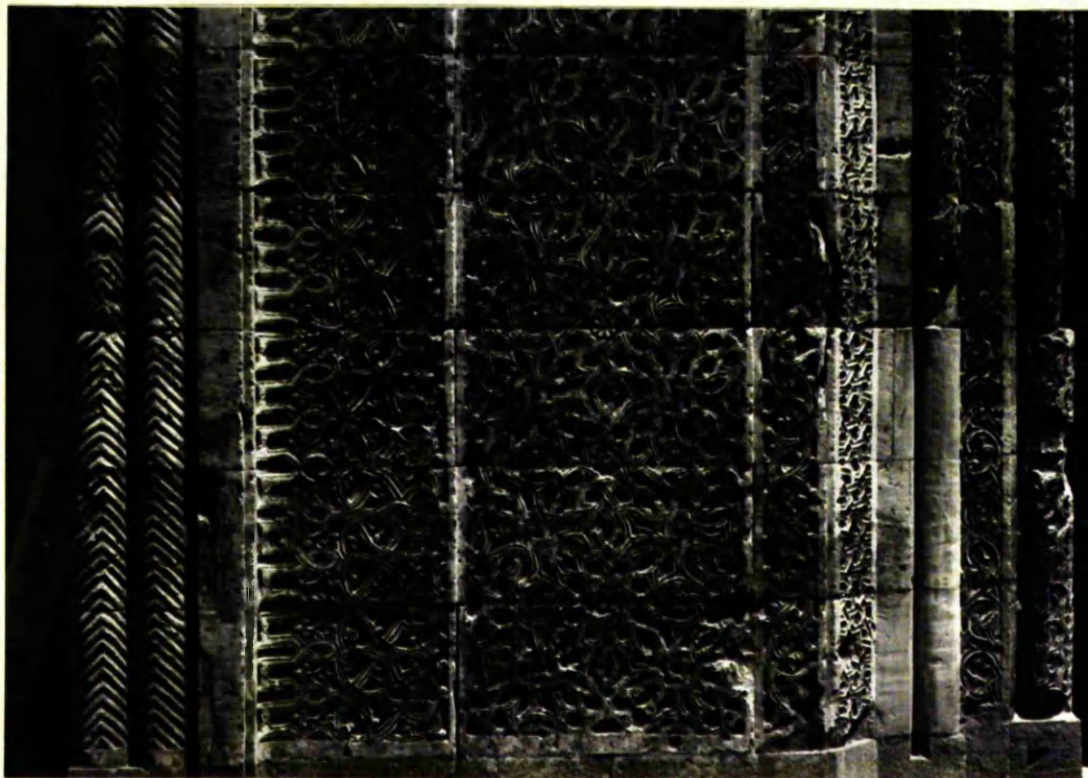
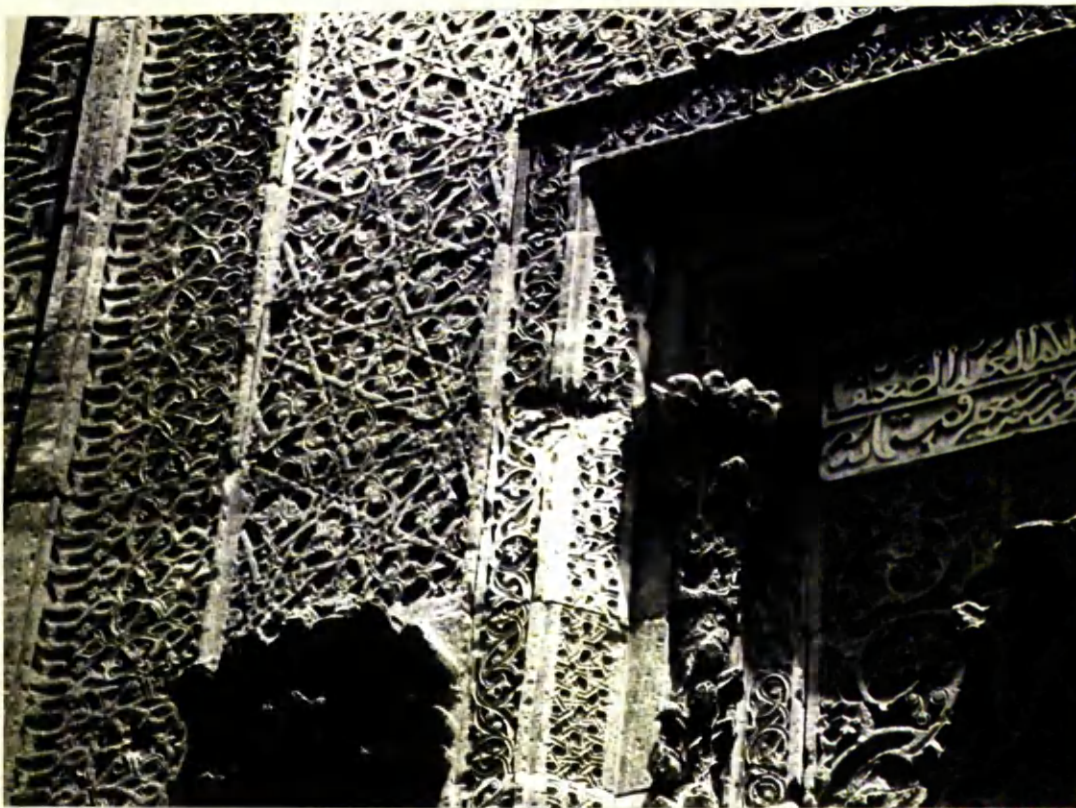


- CXXVI. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, pattern under frieze arch.
- CXXVII. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, change in pattern on left side of framing bands.



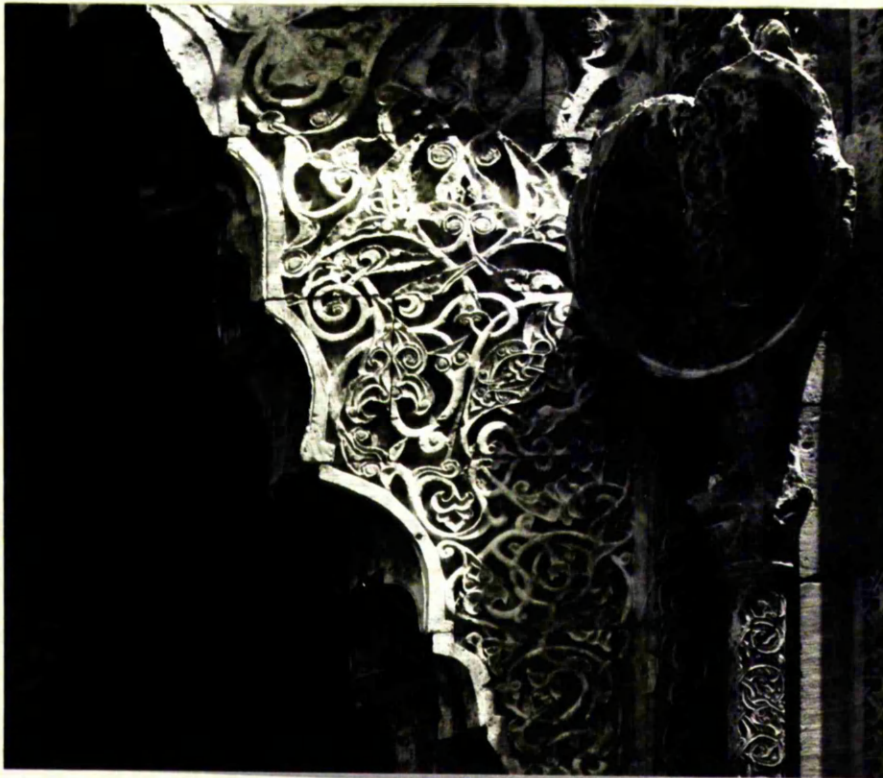
CXXVIII. Sivas, Çifte Minareli medrese, change in pattern on right side of framing bands.

CXXIX. Sivas, Buruciye medrese, portal.



CXXX. Sivas, Buruciye medrese, pattern of upper part of framing band.

CXXXI. Sivas, Buruciye medrese, pattern of lower part of framing band.



CXXXII. Sivas, Buruciye medrese, pattern above muqarnas niche.

THE HANIKAH ADJACENT TO THE SAHIB ATA MOSQUE AND
MAUSOLEUM AT KONYA

Inscription.

RCEA, no. 4779, reads the inscription of the
hanikah as follows :

" xxx Ce monastère béni a été bâti et fondé,
comme reposoir pour les pieux adorateurs de
Dieu, comme habitation pour les 'gens du banc'
qui révèrent Dieu, durant les jours de l'empire
du sultan magnifié, l'ombre de Dieu dans le
monde, Ghiyāth al-dunyā wal-dīn Abul-Fath
Kaikh^uraw, fils de Kilidj-Arslan, la preuve de
l'émir des croyants, - que Dieu éternise sa
royauté et perpétue son empire ! - par le faible
esclave qui espère la miséricorde de son Bien-
veillant Maître, ^cAlī, fils d'al-Husain, fils
du pèlerin Abū Bakr, - que Dieu agrée de lui
(cette oeuvre) ! - dans les mois de l'année 678
(1279)."

Huart, no. 50, had read the date as 668 H.
and Houtsma¹ did not change this reading; however
Løytved, no. 57, read 678 H. The fact that the Hanikah
is contiguous with Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's mausoleum² and

1. Houtsma, op.cit., p. 296.

2. RCEA, no. 4826, gives the date of the mausoleum
as muharram 682 H. (April 1283). That is to say six
years before the death of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī in 687 H (1288).

the tone of the inscription would seem to support the date nearer to the end of the patron's life. The patron's titles of honour are not used, but as on the Sahib Ata mosque portal the grandfather's name is mentioned.

Description.

I have taken no photographs of the portal since, on the 4th September 1972 in Konya, I was told categorically that the only access to the mausoleum was by a window in the mosque. Ferit and Mesut however show the photographs of a portal which may or may not still exist (Pl. CXXXIII).³

The framing appears to consist of three bands of geometric pattern followed by a chamfer with a floral pattern. The central section has a patterned frieze arch but no mugarnas niche. The inscription is on a trilobed plaque below the frieze arch. The door is of segment of circle type with consoles.

The side columns are patterned and have double capitals. There are no side niches.

The portal is protected by a porch supported by two columns which appear to be wooden.⁴ They have mugarnas capitals.

Comment.

The composition resembles that of the nearby Sirçali medrese of 1242 (Pl. CXXXIV) though the decoration

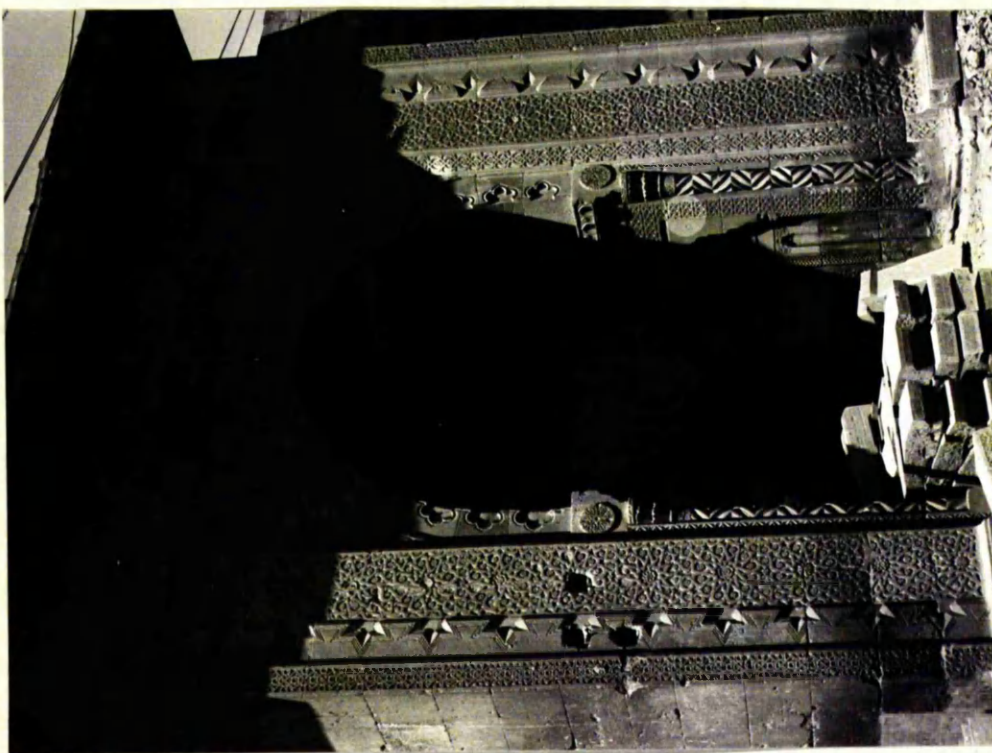
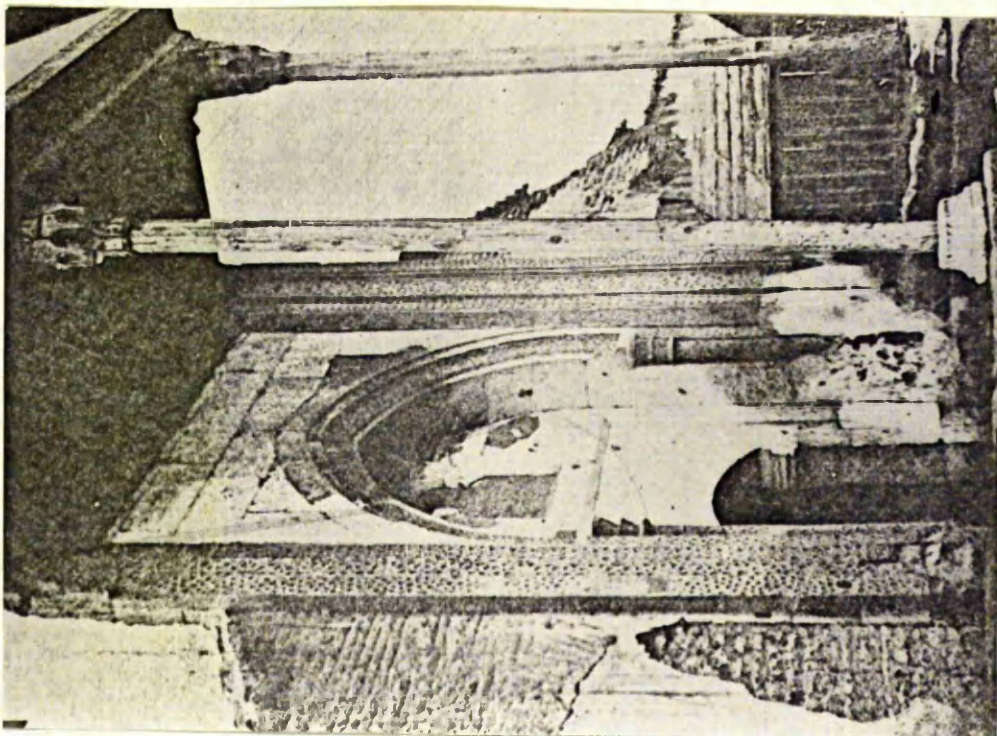
3. Ferit and Mesut, op.cit. pl. 15.

4. Aslanapa, op.cit. p. 123, the Sahib Ata mosque is the "oldest known wooden-columned mosque of the Anatolian Seljuks".

is less elaborate and also that of the Horozlu han⁵ six kilometers outside Konya built between 1246-9.

The portal does not seem to have a place in the development of exuberant portals under Fakhr al-Dīn^c Alī, but shows instead a reversion to older and simpler forms. The sobriety of the portal may be due in part to the purpose of the building it fronts. The dating of 678 H., eight years after the G8k medrese, might suggest that under the effect of the cares of state and advancing years the patron's interest in architecture had grown less; it should be remembered, however, that the interior of the mausoleum is richly decorated with tiles.

5. Erdmann, op.cit., no. 31 and pl. 207.



CXXXIII. Konya, portal of hanikah (after Ferit and Mesut, op.cit. Pl. 15).

CXXXIV. Konya, Sirçali medrese, portal.

Chapter III

The Designer or Designers.

The Sahib Ata mosque and the Ince Minareli bear the signature of Kalūk bin ^cAbdullah, the Gök medrese that of Kālūyān al-Qūnawī, the Ilgin thermal establishment is reported also to have borne this name. On this meagre information hang the problems concerning Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's designers : were they in fact the same man; were they relations; was the first of Armenian and the second of Greek stock ?

In the present state of our knowledge answers to any of these questions can only be tentative, nevertheless, since the existence of a line of continuity or of an influence external to Islam would affect our understanding of the portals, the question must be reviewed. Though it may seem that the evidence we can draw from the portals feeds our view of the problem of designers rather than the other way about the speculation should be maintained in the rather unpromising hope that new information may come to light.

What do we know or guess of Kalūk ? His name is not Islamic and may be Armenian. His patronymic may suggest that he is the son of a convert but if so the conversion has not run deep enough to produce an

Islamic name for the son. He has no nisba¹ and so is probably a Konya man. He shows originality in the design of the Sahib Ata mosque, and in the İnce Minareli, which we may presume to be later since he seems to claim an advance in status by the placing of his signature, and shows yet greater originality with, I have suggested, a distinct leaning to East Christian forms. It seems to me not impossible, though speculative, that he may also have been responsible for the earlier portals of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī. The fan-headed niches of the hall portal of the İshakli han suggest Armenian influence to me, and the portal of the Taş medrese appears to continue the form of the İshakli han court portal which, though not linked in form with the hall portal, would probably be by the same man as the hall portal. Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī appears to have remained faithful to the same designer for two Konya buildings but it is possible that the association extended further back.

However, the question which has most exercised scholars is whether the association extended further forward. Ferit and Mesut suggest a connection, which I think goes so far as an assertion of identity, on

1. Rogers, Kunst des Orients, p. 139, warns us not to place too great reliance on the presence of a nisba when a patronymic is used since it may refer to the origin of the craftsman's father. However, when the nisba is absent we may perhaps infer that the craftsman is of local origin.

the grounds that Kalūk may be a shortening of Kalūkwān² and that Kālūyān may, in its turn, be a version of this name. Ferit and Mesut also make the point that a literary source in Konya mentions a Kālūyān.³

"Ögel⁴ sketches a hypothetical career for Kalūk, though without stating belief in it, in which he would first create the portal of the Çifte Minareli at Erzurum, then the Konya buildings, and finally the Gök medrese at Sivas :

"Fourteen years later, the artist may have returned to the style of the Erzurum composition in Sivas, which some might think represents a tautological aspect in his old age. However, one should not overlook the fact that there are vivid and powerful new ideas represented in the Gök Medrese ... "

"Ögel also says, however :

"we may wonder if an artist would actually repeat himself to such a degree".

2. Ferit and Mesut, op.cit. p.120-1. I owe my notion of the contents of these pages to Rogers' comments, Anatolian Studies, p.80 and to Mr. Mustafa Ertürk of the Turkish Embassy in London. Ferit and Mesut mention a signature on the walls of Antalya dated 622 H.

قنوی (کلوکوان بن سیدار قنوی sic). Rogers quoting A. Tevhid, Antalya surlari kitabeleri (Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası, year 15, 1341) p.172, gives the nisha as Qunāwī). Rogers commenting on the possible relation of this name to Kālūyān says : "The occurrence of an additional alif in Kālūyān is not necessarily a problem, since there are many examples of ra'iyya names transliterated into Arabic in more than one way, reflecting different attempts to produce phonetic equivalents. So Kālūkwān and Kalūkwān could certainly be local variations of the same name - though we are not licensed to infer that the same person is intended in each case !"

3. "Ögel also mentions this, op.cit., p.176: "The name Kelūk is not mentioned in the literary sources at all, whereas Kalūyan is mentioned in the Menakib el-Arifin of Eflāki as the name of a painter (!) in the circle around the Mevlāna Celāleddin Rūmī."

4. Ögel, op.cit. pp.176-7.

Rogers believes that in spite of links between the Konya buildings and the Gök medrese the designers are two different men. Though his conclusion may well be correct his argument for it seems weak; he says :

"had the names been quite dissimilar it would never have occurred to anyone to suggest that the Gök Medrese was the work of the same craftsman (scil. as the Konya buildings). Whereas, in view of the evidence above (scil. his comparisons), we can assert confidently that the Çifte Minare in Erzurum was imitated by the craftsman of the Gök Medrese; and since Seljuk decoration is so various the very great similarity of these two buildings entitles us, I think, to suggest that they are the work of the same man. If this is the case it cannot be true that Kalūyan ibn (sic) al-Qunawī and Kalūk ibn Abdullah are the same person, since this would entail that in the 1250s or 1260s he had two utterly different styles, that of Konya and that of Erzurum." 5

To the first part of this argument one might say that it would of course be unreasonable to fly in the face of evidence and to suggest that the Sahib Ata mosque and the Ince Minareli medrese were by the same man if the signatures were "quite dissimilar", but in the circumstances one should rather question if we would have guessed, since their compositions are so different, that they were by the same man if the signatures were altogether absent. From this one could go on to say that if one man in the 1250s and 1260s could produce two designs so different he might well have been capable of a third in two exemplars, or indeed one in imitation of an existing design.

5. Rogers, Anatolian Studies, pp.80-1.

I think that the best evidence for considering that Kalūk and Kālūyān were two different people are the foundations of the year 1267/8. The Sahibiye medrese leans to Konya style but is not signed; the Ilgin thermal establishment was signed by Kālūyān. If Kalūk and Kālūyān were the same man, and if he were responsible for both the buildings of 1267/8, we would have to assume that he had employed his new signature for the one but not the other. In order to do this we should have to posit some exceptional circumstance such as a moment of disfavour when the Sahibiye was designed. A similar explanation would have to be found if we imagine that the Sahibiye alone was designed by Kalūk. I think it is therefore reasonable to assume that Kalūk had vanished from the scene at this point. It seems possible that the building at Ilgin might have been of lesser importance than a medrese in such a centre as Kayseri, it would therefore be possible that "the new man", Kālūyān, was allowed a signature on the less important building while actually being responsible for both, but if Rogers is correct in believing that the Çifte Minareli in Erzurum was the work of Kālūyān this would surely be sufficient to permit him to sign the Sahibiye medrese. It is probably best to assume two designers for the buildings of 1268: Kālūyān, possibly on trial, at

Ilgin, and someone else with Konya affiliations, perhaps a follower of Kalūk, at Kayseri.

This leaves us with Kālūyān as he appears at the Gök medrese. Even if we cannot repose entire confidence in his nisba the influence of Konya is clear in his composition. As to his "nationality", it seems to me that it would be necessary to choose between the Armenian and Greek origins offered for his name (pp. 128-129.) and I am not competent to judge between them. However, in the case of Kālūyān the question seems less important than for Kalūk since he does not introduce extra-Islamic forms but works within the canon of Divriği, Konya and Erzurum. We may say, however, that whether or not he was of the family of Kalūk he was artistically his son.

Chapter IV

The Patron

What can a study of the portals of his foundations tell us about Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī ? Perhaps they cannot tell us so much as we should like to know but nevertheless something of his career and personal taste.

Houtsma has said :

"Wir wollen erstens bemerken, dass die Inschriften selbst von seiner amtlichen Carriere Zeugnis ablegen" 1

but even this evidence raises certain problems. Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī appears as the builder of the Ishakli han in 647 H. (1249) before we have any record of him in the political field; nevertheless, he must be a person of some substance already, a man building his career, he signs this building **العبد**. A year later he builds the Taş medrese at Akşehir, not far from Ishakli and in this year he has made an advance in status to **العبد... فخر الدولة والدين... أميرداد**.² Cahen tells us that the partition of the kingdom between ^cIzz al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn probably took place in 1257 and that

1. Houtsma, op.cit. p. 296.

2. Cahen, op.cit., p. 344 tells us that Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī was **أميرداد** after 654 H., but here he seems already to have the rank.

Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī then became the vizier of ^cIzz al-Dīn so that he would seem to have this rank when he founds the Sahib Ata mosque. It is not however reflected in his title, where he is again referred to as العبد, I think one should conclude from this that he cuts a less grand figure in the capital, or must make a greater show of modesty there, since even in 678 H. (1279) on the door of his hanikah in Konya we find the same humble title and the vizier again mentions the name of his grandfather as though he needed this additional qualification to merit the respect of the populus.

A problem arises with the hanikah at Akşehir in 659 H. (1261), and the Ince Minareli which is probably to be dated to this period. The former bears the title الصاحب الأعظم الوزير الأعظم and shows a buoyant hope of worldly success, and the latter, if it is indeed under the patronage of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī, makes no mention of his at all. Does this simply reflect again the greater freedom he could enjoy in the provinces? Surely there is more in the difference than that since the Sahib Ata mosque bore his name. Had Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī in some way overreached himself, either by presuming too much in the title used on the Taş hanikah, or in some other way, so that some gesture of humility, such as a foundation of which he did not claim patronage, became necessary? Such a solution seems to me probable since on the Sahibiye medrese of 666 H. (1268) the title العبد الراي إلى رحمة الله تعالى الصاحب appears but فقر الدولة و الدين does not. This would seem to

indicate a compromise between the self-glorification of the Taş medrese and the self-abnegation of Konya.

The titles used on the Gök medrese of muḥarram 670 H. (9th August 1271), both that on the portal and even more that on the great īwān, seem to show the vizier as very securely established, and yet the moment is very close to his brief demotion. If the building was indeed deemed to be completed on the first day of the year, and if Cahen³ is correct in saying that the demotion took place in 670 H. one might surmise that the foundation had played some part in the dismissal, either that it was a sign to the pervāne that the vizier was getting above himself, or that it had suggested to ^cIzz al-Dīn that the vizier might have enough money - the demand for which precipitated the crisis - to assist him. If Cahen is mistaken, and the demotion is a little earlier, the foundation might appear, as to some extent, a thank offering. Ibn Bībī (as translated by Duda⁴) tells us that during his exile :

"Der Sāhib verblieb auch eine Zeitlang zu Hause, widmete sich häuslichen Angelegenheiten und war mit der Verwaltung des Grundbesitzes und der Liegenschaften sowie mit der Errichtung frommer Stiftungen beschäftigt."

3. Ibid, p. 343, indicates that it was between 670-671 H.

4. Ibn Bībī, Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī, trans. (into German) W.H.Duda, Copenhagen, 1959, p.294. The vizier was held captive at ^cOtmanğuc which Professor V.L.Ménage points out to me is probably the present day Osmancik between Kastamonu and Amasya.

It would fit very nicely to think that he was mulling over the plans of the Gök medrese, but if the dates are wrong they are wrong, and we must conclude that he was thinking of other foundations which were either never built or were lost since no other is recorded till the hanikah at Konya.

The hanikah at Konya, as mentioned above, bears a humble title for the founder and its inscription is of a pious tone suitable to a final work of patronage.

The part which we attribute to Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī's personal taste in the appearance of his portals must depend to some extent on the importance which we attribute to the designers; if we imagine that he gave them free rein then his rôle must diminish. However, I do not think that we are entitled to do this. The creation of his foundations must have been to Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī primarily a religious duty,⁵ perhaps in some cases also a political statement, and only in third place an act of artistic patronage, nevertheless there is evidence that persons of rank

5. Rogers, Kunst des Orients, pp. 162-3 considers the İshaklı foundation a hanikah (see my note p. 17²). This with two other hanikahs would suggest a fairly strong interest in Sufism in addition to the more conventional religion indicated by the building of mosques and medreses.

took a genuine interest in architecture at this period⁶ and the first two motives would in themselves require an object which he could consider worthy.

The salient feature of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's patronage appears to be his continuing approval of innovations. This is first seen in the fan-headed niches and round frieze arch of the Ishakli han hall portal, which I have suggested could, by reason of its East Christian appearance be an early work of Kalūk. The Taş medrese though not particularly adventurous may well have been by the designer of the Ishakli court portal, who is probably the designer of the hall portal, and so we must suppose that Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī was contented with his work. The unconventional nature of the Konya portals and of the Gök medrese has been sufficiently discussed. It is rather the portal of the Şahibiye medrese which is important for our view of the patron's taste and interest since this appears as a hiatus between the work of the two named designers, and here though perhaps less markedly we still find a taste for originality. This being so we may conclude that when Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī selected Kalūk and Kālūyān to work for him it was because he knew that their work would answer his taste.

6. Ögel, *op.cit.* p. 177 "It might be appropriate to add that the founders seem always to have had something to say. The Anatolian Seljuk sultans, princes and vezirs who built monuments were cultured people of refined taste." She quotes Ibn Bībī to say that 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I was proficient in "architecture, carpentry, sculpture, saddlery and painting."

Chapter V

The development of style in the thirteenth century.

"Ogel's account¹ of the development of style in the thirteenth century may be summarised as follows.

She first describes what one may call the standard form of the Seljuk portal.² In the early years of the century she sees an "archaic"³ group,

1. Ogel, op.cit., pp. 158-164.

2. Ibid, pp. 157-158 : "Anatolian Seljuk gateways are rectangular blocks of masonry averaging about 8 metres in height, 4 metres in breadth, and 2 metres in depth, which attain their monumental appearance through rising higher than the walls. It is possible to 'dissect' such a block into two distinct parts : the gateway recess representing the nucleus of the gateway, and its rectangular frame. The gateway recess either takes the form of a pointed-arched eyvan, or it may terminate in a small half-dome composed of mugarnas. Inside the recess there is found, ever unvarying in form, a broadly-arched door opening. Both to the right and left of the door, the inner side walls of the recess were frequently provided with small side-niches. These aid in giving an impression of spaciousness to the recess. The fundamental forms may have developed for some practical reason; they seem in fact to have had their origin in the caravansaraya, the earliest instance being seen in the Evdir Han (1215-1219)." The principle objection which I should make to this description is that the mugarnas^{niche} is not usually, perhaps never, a half-dome, the apex may be domical but the lower ranks take the shape of two short and one long side of a rectangle imposed on them by the plane of the doorway and the reveals in front of it. The second objection, as mentioned above (p. 20.) is that the form of the doorway arch is not "ever unvarying" since in some cases it is pointed.

3. Ibid, p. 158.

exemplified by the hospital at Kayseri, the Antalya Evdir han and the Aksaray Alay han. This is characterised by a geometric band in the second or third position, seven rows of mugarnas and rosettes as the only floral decoration. Floral pattern appears to be introduced by the Sivas hospital of 1217 which is more elaborate than the "archaic" group : "After the portals which form a simple whole, here is richness."⁴ In the line of development towards greater complexity the Sultan han on the road from Konya to Aksaray of 1229 "has a decorative composition in great scale", this building "is worthy of becoming a pattern for later caravansarays, and says the last word even from the beginning".⁵ Meanwhile under the Mengüçük rulers at Divriği a very different style was produced in their mosque and hospital : "In contrast to contemporary Seljuk work, here the plant motifs dominate",⁶ high relief figures are used and frames interpenetrate. Approaching the mid-century we come to the Kayseri Khwand Khātūn complex of 1236-8 : "an arrangement which we can now call classical".⁷

After the mid-century a new impulse comes from Konya as exemplified by the Sahib Ata mosque and

4. Ibid, p. 159.

5. Ibid, p. 159.

6. Ibid, p. 160.

7. Ibid, p. 161.

the İnce Minareli medrese :

"composition is essentially a surface network, but there are significant high-relief knots and composite imaginary plants. In comparison with the geometric, the floral patterns, also worked in low relief, gain an equal value. The inscription bands play a great part." 8

In Konya "plastic figures remain as strong accents without dominating";⁹ however, at the Çifte Minareli medrese at Erzurum¹⁰ "the surface is given a plastic style; it becomes the pattern itself".^{10a} The Çifte Minareli medrese is to be related to the Divriği buildings¹¹ because of its preference for floral patterns and high relief. The three medreses of Sivas of 1271/2 share with the Konya buildings qualities similar to those of Divriği. "Plastic style" appears on the minaret base of the Gök medrese, the double

8. Ibid, p.161. ["]Ögel attributes the date of 1258 to the İnce Minareli medrese.

9. Ibid, p.162.

10. Ibid, p.161, dates the Çifte Minareli medrese only to the second half of the thirteenth century, but says that it is the first portal to have twin minarets on side wings. This would imply that it is earlier than Sahib Ata. Unfortunately I cannot tell from the English summary if this is her opinion or a momentary lapse, but in her hypothetical career for Kalük (p.176) she makes the Çifte Minareli the earlier building.

10a. Ibid, p. 162.

11. Ibid, p.162. ["]Ögel adds: "Perhaps the passing of Divriği completely into the hands of the Seljuks had caused attention to be drawn in that direction". It is not clear to what period precisely Ögel refers. ^cAlā'al-Dīn is mentioned as suzerain in the foundation inscriptions of the Divriği buildings in 1228/9. Professor V.L.Ménage, whom I have consulted on the subject, tells me in a letter of 14th September 1972, that he does not see why Divriği should have become "more (or less) 'accessible' " later.

capitals of the Çifte Minareli, and the "relief leaves and the Rumis detached from the pattern frames"¹² of the Buruciye.

"Ögel dates the Hacı Kiliç complex of Kayseri at 1273/4,¹³ she says that though here "plastic style" remained alien "the geometrical-floral mixture exists here also".¹⁴ In 1291/2 the Eşrefoğlu mosque at Beyşehir follows the Gök medrese and the Çifte Minareli medrese of Erzurum. The hospital at Amasya of 1308 marks the end of the Seljuk development while bringing together its principal features :

"Surface-covering ornaments take their place beside the plastic style. Intersecting bands and double-plane decorations, relief work placed on bare ground in single file, a mixture of floral and geometric patterns, and slender columns surmounting one another are all to be seen together. While the façades present a mixed appearance in the Sivas structures, with their asymmetrical arrangement, here this problem is solved in a simple and mature way by placing two recesses on the two sides of the portal." ¹⁵

If we seek to isolate the trends of development in Ögel's account it seems to me that we find, on the one hand, what one may call a "conventional" line extending from the "archaic" group to Kayseri, and, on the other, a more variegated line of what may for

12. Ibid, p. 163.

13. RCEA, no. 4314, 4315, gives 647 H. (1249).

14. "Ögel, op.cit. p. 163.

15. Ibid, p. 164.

convenience be termed "unconventional" portals extending from Divriği to Sivas and embracing Konya and Erzurum on the way. The mark of the "unconventional" is a tendency to variety in the composition, in the decoration a greater interest in floral pattern and "plastic" forms, and some tendency to mix materials.

The distinction between the two lines should not be seen as rigid, several more or less conventional portals have features which I have suggested are rather to be associated with the unconventional ones. The Sultan han on the road from Konya to Aksaray has, on the frieze arch of the hall portal, a pattern of "ace of spades" type and its court portal employs marble of two colours in the side niches. The conventional portals of Kayseri (as remarked above, p. 116.) combine floral and geometric pattern. There is then some interpenetration as far as pattern is concerned, but an unusual form must place a portal more definitely in the "unconventional" group.

From the point of view of this study the importance of the portals of Rāḫr al-Dīn ^cAlī is remarkable since his foundations appear to be largely instrumental in carrying the line from Divriği to Sivas. Some unusual portals fall outside his group, notably those of the ^cAlā' al-Dīn mosque and the Karatay in Konya which show the influence of Damascus and Aleppo in their use of marble.¹⁶ The idea of bi-colouration

16. ["]Ögel, op.cit. p. 167.

was adopted by Kalūk and transmitted forward, as was the knot form, though not as the dominating factor in a composition. The other "unconventional" portal to fall outside the patronage of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī is, of course, the enigmatic portal of the Çifte Minareli at Erzurum.

The Sahib Ata mosque shows originality in new uses of forms existing in Konya, and, of course, in the matter of twin minarets on buttresses. It does not appear to be related to the Divriği buildings since the only feature it holds in common with them is the use of bold tori, and this may perhaps be accounted for as Armenian influence in both cases. Significant features of its design are the mouldings of the upper niches of the minaret buttresses and the linking moulding with a curled foot on these buttresses. The first derives from Konya forms; the second may also be so derived but may on the other hand indicate East Christian influence. The bands which cross over a central torus are an interesting feature derived from Konya and not taken up again till the Çifte Minareli at Sivas. The pointed doorway arch is an interesting departure among Anatolian portals.

The İnce Minareli is to be linked with the Sahib Ata mosque by its use of bold tori, key pattern features, the scale pattern used on its tapering columns and its pointed doorway arch; however, it is chiefly remarkable for its differences from it.

Since these differences take us even further from the norm of portal composition it should probably be considered later than Sahib Ata. The unusual composition may, I have suggested, be accounted for by East Christian influences from buildings and also from manuscripts, together, perhaps, with a contribution from classical remains. The influence of East Christian manuscripts may also account for the curious tapering columns. In the field of decoration the influence of Divriği seems very distinct. It appears in the skilful and imaginative block cutting. It is also shown by the preponderance of floral pattern, both in the importance given to an "ace of Spades" pattern and the use of floral panels. Further, it is shown by the greater and lesser floral forms, the moon-clasps, and the raised floral crests on the minaret panels.

The Çifte Minareli medrese at Erzurum should, I think, be placed in time between the İnce Minareli medrese and the Gök medrese. On the one hand it seems desirable to place it as close in time to the Gök medrese as possible in view of the similarities between them. On the other hand it may well owe something to the İnce Minareli medrese : it has a prominent "ace of Spades" band, the minaret base bears a tree form which is framed with a triple torus with side features, though these features could result from independent borrowing I think that the use, on the frame to the

tree, of a moon-clasp together with a tassel suggests that the designer had noted two features of the İnce Minareli and put them together. The tassel base does not occur at Divriği. If this is so then the composition of the Çifte Minarele medrese must follow the Sahib Ata in having twin minarets rather than the other way about.

The Gök medrese follows the Çifte Minareli at Erzurum, but not to the exclusion of Konya influences. Two colours of stone are used on the minaret buttresses, and on these appears a moulding round an upper niche which, though not imitating the form of that on Sahib Ata, does seem to follow another Konya feature. The tree of the lower niche has added to the form of the Erzurum tree branches like those of the greater floral feature of the İnce Minareli. There may also be a suggestion of the linking moulding of the Sahib Ata mosque on the Gök medrese buttresses. The raised floral crest over the Gök medrese door may derive from the İnce Minareli medrese or from Divriği.

The Çifte Minareli and Buruciye medreses of Sivas seem to make little reference to Erzurum, since the moon-clasp and tassel on the Çifte Minareli should more plausibly be attributed to the influence of the Gök medrese.¹⁷ They lean rather to Divriği with their

17. This^{is} dated 1 muharram and so must probably precede the other buildings of 670 H.

exuberant appliqué forms and decorative capitals. The Çifte Minareli medrese at Sivas seems to follow the Sahib Ata mosque in the shape of its doorway arch, the use of bands crossing over a torus, and also the pattern on the reverse of the minaret bases.

The floral pattern used in the spandrels of the Gök medrese may be in the tradition of Divriği and the İnce Minareli medrese. The floral pattern of the bands of the Çifte Minareli at Sivas however may have a different line of descent since it shows a mixture of geometric with floral pattern : a style which makes a cautious appearance at Kayseri towards the middle of the century. The patterns at Sivas may owe something to the presence of Armenian craftsmen, whose presence may also account for the treatment of the floral pattern above the mugarnas niche of the Çifte Minareli where a section of floral pattern is cut to fit the space available.¹⁸

I have tended to consider the development of the style of portals in the thirteenth century as a largely self-contained system within Anatolia, given the existence in Anatolia of the standard composition and decoration of portal which had its origin in Iran but which by this date may be considered to have taken

18. "Infinite" pattern in Islamic work tends to be geometric, whereas floral pattern is shaped to be within a band or fit a given space.

root in Anatolia,¹⁹ given the creation of Divriği in 1228/9,²⁰ given some influence from Aleppo and Mosul particularly in Konya towards the mid-century, and given the possibility of some East Christian influence.

Cahen²¹ believed that Iranian influence increased during the twelfth century, but I would rather follow Rogers'²² opinion that the Mongol conquest did not significantly affect architecture, at least insofar as the portals are concerned since they do not seem to present features requiring an Iranian explanation. The only two features which might seem to point towards Mongol influence would seem to me to be the occasional use of the pointed doorway arch and the group of animal heads on the Gök medrese. I do not think that much can be deduced from the use

19. There had been a change in the material used, from brick and stucco to stone, and the segment of a circle doorway arch had been adopted.

20. I do not wish to go into the question of the influences at work in the Divriği complex, since I look forward to the study of Mrs. Yolande Crowe on that subject. For the purposes of my argument once the buildings at Divriği had been completed the influence they contain became intra-Anatolian.

21. Cahen, op.cit. p. 347, is cautious about the "direct influence" of the Mongol conquest, but thinks the "indirect influence" resulting from the unification of the country, the presence of Iranian officials and contact with the Iranian court, and before Kösedağı Iranians fleeing before the Mongols all accentuated Iranian influence.

22. Rogers, Kunst des Orients, p. 143 : "There is (...) no decisive evidence for Cahen's contention that either the arts or architecture were significantly Iranian before the defeat of Köse Dag, or more Iranian after it."

of the pointed doorway arch since it is only in this position that it is untypical of Anatolia as it occurs in all other parts of buildings and in decorative niche forms. The use of the animal heads of the Mongol calendar on the Gök medrese might seem to be some sort of gesture to the overlords, but Diez²³ suggests that they derive rather from Syria and Northern Mesopotamia.

Within the development of the composition and decoration of portals in thirteenth century Anatolia the portals of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī gather up the South-Eastern influences present in Konya and add them to those of Divriği, these with some small admixture of East Christian forms they relayed on to Sivas.

23. Diez, op.cit. pp.103-4.

Conclusion

A study of the portals built under the patronage of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī and a comparison of them with contemporary works leads to the conclusion that the taste of an individual patron could be of decisive effect in pre-Ottoman Anatolia. Though the design of portals in general tends to follow a standard convention, and though details of the decoration are strongly influenced by the tradition of the city in which they are built, the portals of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī reveal a judicious originality both in their composition and their decoration. The Ishakli han shows a willingness to borrow East Christian forms, the Sahib Ata mosque appears to inaugurate the twin minaret form in Anatolia and makes interesting new uses of Konya features, the İnce Minareli medrese again appears to employ East Christian forms and borrows from the stock of decorations of Divriği, the Sahibiye medrese stubbornly maintains its independence with Konya features in the conservative city of Kayseri, and in the Gök medrese features from Konya and Divriği, united to a composition developed in Erzurum, may have guided the attention of other Sivas builders to those two cities. In addition, the course of Fakhr al-Dīn ^cAlī's career may be traced in the inscriptions of his foundations.

Though the relative importance of patron and designer cannot be distinguished at this distance of time,

the sequence of original works must reveal the taste of the patron as a guiding principal; when this has been admitted credit for the form which this originality takes should be given to the designers. The names of two of these, Kalūk and Kālūyān, are indicative of the syncretistic nature of Seljuk society and seem to support our contention that some of the original features derive from extra-Islamic sources. It seems probable that at least one other designer was employed, he of the Sahibiye medrese, perhaps another for the pre-Konya works, and possibly a third for the final Konya hanikah.

Though the portals keep many of their secrets, in particular the question whether composition and decoration have a precise symbolism - beyond the generalised glorification of Allāh, the Sultan, the patron and the designer - a detailed comparison can reveal strong probabilities about their relationships one to another.

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