THE MAUSOLEUM OF QILICH ARSLAN II IN KONYA

ZARIFA ALIKPEROVA

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2014

THE MAUSOLEUM OF QILICH ARSLAN II IN KONYA

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

Zarifa Alikperova

Boğaziçi University

2014

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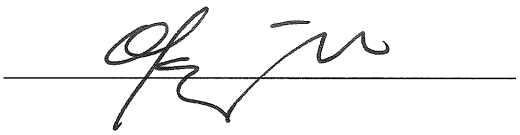
The thesis of Zarifa Alikperova
has been approved by:

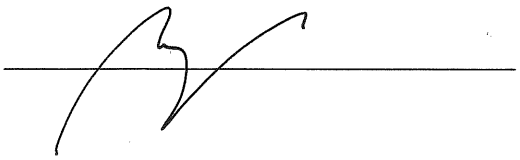
Assoc. Prof. Oya Pancaroğlu
(Thesis advisor)



Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu



Prof. Scott Redford
(University of London)



November 2014

Thesis Abstract

Zarifa Alikperova, The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II in Konya

On the ʻAla al-Din Hill in the city of Konya prominently stands a large imposing tomb tower with a conical dome. It is the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, the fifth Seljuk sultan of Rum (r. 1156-92), whose reign witnessed territorial expansion and political consolidation of the Seljuk state of Anatolia (1081-1308). Built in the late twelfth century, it is the only funerary structure with a decagonal plan in medieval Anatolia, which served as a burial place for the sultans and was hence closely associated with the ruling house.

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II has received much attention in scholarship. However, until the present, the scholarly accounts on the monument have been brief and descriptive, with a primary focus on the formal analysis of the building. The context within which the mausoleum was built has never been explored. Considering the importance of the monument for the history of the Seljuks of Anatolia as well as for the history of Islamic funerary architecture in medieval Anatolia, this thesis offers a study of Qilich Arslan II's mausoleum. In contrast to the former scholarship, it examines the historical and architectural context in which the building was constructed. By doing so, it sets the mausoleum within a broader perspective in order to achieve a better understanding of it.

Tez Özeti

Zarifa Alikperova, Konya'daki II. Kılıç Arslan'ın Türbesi

Konik kubbesi ile dikkat çeken II. Kılıç Arslan Türbesi, Konya ili sınırlarındaki Alaeddin Tepesi'nde yükselmektedir. Bu türbe, Selçuklu Devleti'nin Anadolu'daki bölgesel büyüme ve siyasal istikrarına tanıklık eden beşinci Anadolu Selçuklu Sultanı II. Kılıç Arslan'ın türbesidir. Ortaçağ Anadolu'sunda 12. yüzyılın sonlarında inşa edilen, on kenarlı planı olan tek türbedir. Türbe, sultanlar için bir mezar yeri olarak kullanılmış ve bu nedenle de hükümdarlık ailesiyle yakından ilişkilendirilmiştir.

II. Kılıç Arslan Türbesi, akademik araştırma konusu olarak oldukça ilgi çekmesine rağmen, şu ana kadar anıt üzerine yapılan akademik tartışmalar yapının biçimsel analizine odaklanmış, bu nedenle de kısa ve tasviri olmuştur. Türbenin inşa edilmesinde rol oynayan koşullar ise hiç araştırılmamıştır. Anıtın gerek Anadolu Selçuklu gerekse Ortaçağ Anadolu'sundaki İslami mezar mimarisi tarihi açısından önemi düşünüldüğünde, bu tez daha önceki akademik çalışmaların aksine II. Kılıç Arslan Türbesi'nin inşasında rol oynayan tarihsel koşulları ve yapının mimari bağlamını incelemektedir. Böylelikle türbe, öneminin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için bu çalışmada geniş bir perspektif içine yerleştirilmektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank scholars and friends who supported me in this thesis project. Firstly, I want to express my gratitude to my thesis advisor, Associate Professor Oya Pancaroğlu. Her lectures and writings played important role in my decision to study medieval Islamic art and architecture. Significant for this project was her guidance. Her critical comments and advices which she shared during our meetings were crucial in the development and completion of this thesis. Secondly, I would like to thank Associate Professor Çiğdem Kafescioğlu. Along with her lectures on theory and methodology in the history of art and architecture, I benefited from her insight and suggestions that helped me to give this thesis a final form. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Scott Redford, whose works were fundamental to this study and whose suggestions helped me in this project.

During my MA studies at Boğaziçi University in Turkey, I enjoyed friendship with a number of individuals, who were supportive and encouraging. I am particularly thankful to Deniz Bayram, Dileknur Ceylan, and Elmira Guseynova. Finally, I would like to thank my family in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. Despite the distance between us, I have always felt love and belief in me of my parents, Rustam Alikperov and Solmaz Alikperova, and my little sister, Sabina. This project would have been impossible without their support.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of Thesis

In the center of the city of Konya (Iconium), a former capital of the Seljuk dynasty in Anatolia (1081-1308), rises an ancient artificial mound, commonly known as ʻAla al-Din Hill or Alaeddin Tepesi. Today it is occupied by a green park and dotted with modern constructions. However, on its northern slope still stands a grand Seljuk mausoleum, with a conical dome that can be seen from a far distance. It is the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Built on the order of the fifth Seljuk sultan of Anatolia, Qilich Arslan II (r. 1156-92), it is one of the major places of holy devotion and tourist visitation in Konya and in Turkey nowadays.

The tomb is located in the courtyard of the Friday mosque which was erected during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Next to it stands the unfinished octagonal mausoleum of the Seljuk sultan ʻIzz al-Din Kayka'us I (r. 1211-19), which is dated to the early thirteenth century. The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II rests on a plinth and rises to a height of 23.75 meters above the ground. Made of stone, it represents the only Islamic mausoleum with a decagonal plan in the region. A high double stairway leads to the entrance of the tomb chamber, which is set within a large slightly pointed arch. Facing the northeast, the entrance niche rests on engaged columns and is supported by an elliptical arch with a rectangular indentation at its center. Above it is a square plaque, with a deeply carved floral design. Five windows are placed around the building, the dome of which was once covered with blue glazed tiles. Close to the base of the dome there are two epigraphic friezes. While the upper carries a white-on-blue tile inscription,

the lower is carved in dark stone. In the history of the Seljuks of Anatolia, the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II served as the primary burial place for the sultans, whose bodies were apparently mummified and placed in the crypt and symbolically marked by cenotaphs in the chamber. At present, the mausoleum contains eight cenotaphs that are attributed to the Seljuk sultans who ruled in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II holds an important place in the history of the Seljuks of Anatolia and in the history of Islamic funerary architecture in medieval Anatolia. The aim of this thesis is to investigate the context within which the building was built. In contrast to studies so far, it offers to examine the historical and architectural context in which the construction of the tomb tower took place. Making use of a variety of sources, which primarily include contemporary historical and geographical accounts, architecture, and epigraphic evidence, the study sets a broad perspective in order to achieve a better understanding of Qilich Arslan II's mausoleum.

The following section of this chapter provides glimpse into the history of monumental Islamic funerary architecture during the early and medieval times, with a particular focus on Anatolia where the Seljuks ruled from 1081 up to 1308. Discussing the major types of Islamic mausolea, it traces the penetration and evolution of Islamic mausolea in medieval Anatolia, where the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is one of the earliest funerary structures. This is followed by a separate section on scholarship on the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, which received attention among travelers, architectural and art historians, and others throughout the centuries.

Chapter 2 deals with the historical and cultural milieu in which the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was constructed. It examines the reign of Qilich Arslan II and

explores the Seljuk court culture in the second half of the twelfth century. Along with this, it looks at Qilich Arslan II's cultural and architectural activities, part of which was his commissioning of the mausoleum.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. It examines the site of the construction of the building and discusses architectural composition as well as decorative and epigraphic programs of the mausoleum. Furthermore, it investigates the architectural framework in which the monument was erected, providing insight into architectural culture in the medieval Islamic world and particularly in Anatolia.

Finally, chapter 4 is a conclusion. It overviews the thesis and stresses the importance of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II for the Seljuk dynasty. During the Seljuk period of rule, the tomb was venerated and presented with gifts. It is no coincidence that even today a number of people from Turkey and abroad make visits to it.

1.2 Funerary Architecture in the Early and Medieval Islamic World

Since the early centuries of Islam, the construction of a mausoleum to commemorate the dead was an issue of debate.[1] Although the Qur'an is silent on the matter, hadith literature (sayings of the Prophet) contains some negative positions

[1] For the dispute and opposition to the construction of mausolea in the Islamic world, see Thomas Leisten, "Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Shari'a toward Funerary Architecture," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990), 12-22; For the history of Islamic funerary architecture, see Oleg Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures, Notes and Documents," *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966), 7-46; Robert Hillenbrand, "The Mausoleum," in *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 253-330; idem, "The Development of Saljuq Mausolea in Iran," in *The Art of Iran and Anatolia from the 11th to the 13th Century AD*, ed. William Watson (London, 1974), 40-59.

regarding funerary architecture.[2] Along with prohibitions against visiting and praying at graves,[3] certain hadith accounts disapprove of raising a structure over the grave, so as to prevent it from turning into the place of worship.[4] Instead, such accounts postulate the principle of leveling of all tombs to the ground (*taswiyat al-qubur*), in order to lessen the corpse's suffering and to ensure that all believers are equal in death.[5] The controversy surrounding funerary architecture is further reflected in the writings (commentaries, treatises) of Muslim theologians and jurists, whose attitude toward the construction of the mausoleum is expressed with either justification of or ban on it throughout the early and medieval periods.[6]

Despite such disputes, mausolea were constructed in the Muslim lands since the early Islamic times. Following the burial of Prophet Muhammad (d. 632) in the house in Medina, which was subsequently enclosed in the mosque of the Umayyad caliph al-Walid I (r. 705-15),[7] the idea of a mausoleum gained certain acceptance and legitimacy

[2] It should be noted that hadith literature often includes contradictory opinions and rarely presents a single view on certain issues. This is also true for its position in regard to the funerary architecture (as well as to the funerary practices). See Leisten, "Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis," 12-13.

[3] Along with its ban on visiting and praying at graves, hadith literature also prohibits sitting at graves, making sacrifices on them, marking or attaching inscription on them, using lime mortar (*jiss*) and brick (*ajurr*) inside and on top of the grave and coating the outside of it with clay (*tin*). Ibid., 13.

[4] "This is also aimed against burials in buildings, especially houses, that existed before the burial took place, as well as new constructions." Ibid., 13- 14.

[5] Ibid., 13-16.

[6] Ibid., 16-18.

[7] Prophet Muhammad was interred in 'A'isha's house (*bayt*), which along with other houses and the court wall constituted "the *dar* of Muhammad in Medina." Ibid., 17. The grave of Prophet Muhammad was supposedly crowned with a dome in the late thirteenth century. See Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures," 8; Hillenbrand, "The Mausoleum," 253.

in the Muslim society.[8] It is commonly assumed that the earliest Islamic mausoleum is Qubbat al-Sulaibiyya, a no longer extant octagonal plan building which was constructed for the Abbasid caliph al-Muntasir (r. 861-62) by his Greek mother Hubshiyya in Samarra, Iraq, in 862.[9] In the following centuries, mausolea were already all around the vast geography of the medieval Islamic world, spreading in the lands of Central Asia, Iran, India, Syria, Anatolia, Egypt, and Spain.

The erection of a mausoleum was obviously costly and its patrons were generally from the upper echelons of society. Various terms were used to refer to the funerary building in the Muslim community. Among them are *turba* ("dust" in Arabic), *qabr* ("grave" in Arabic), *qubba* ("dome" in Arabic), *gunbad* ("dome" in Pahlavi/Middle Persian), *mashhad* ("place of witnessing" in Arabic), *qasr* ("castle" in Arabic), *madfan* ("place of burial" in Arabic), *marqad* ("place of rest" in Arabic), *mazar* ("place of visit" in Arabic), *'imarat* ("building" in Arabic), and *rawza* ("garden" in Arabic).[10] These terms designated the burial place of either an individual or a family.

[8] Muslim laws governing land ownership also contributed to the acceptance and legitimacy of the funerary architecture during the early and medieval times. According to them, the construction of a mausoleum was permissible when it took place on owner's land. However, it was condemnable if the mausoleum was erected "on land that was open and unclaimed (*musbala/sakhra*), in a public cemetery (*maqbara musbara*), or land that had been turned into waqf land for public purposes (*waqf 'amm*)." See Leisten, "Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis," 18-19.

[9] Later, another two Abbasid caliphs al-Mu'tazz (r. 866-69) and al-Muhtadi (r. 869-70) were also buried in the Qubbat al-Sulaibiyya. See Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures," 14-15. It is important to note that the examination of textual sources by Yusuf Raghib and the recent study of mausolea in Central Asia by Melanie Dawn Michailidis suggest that the construction of mausolea might have begun even before the ninth century. See Y. Raghib, "Les premiers monuments funeraires de l'Islam," *Annales Islamologiques* 9 (1970), 21-36; M. D. Michailidis, "Landmarks of the Persian Renaissance: Monumental Funerary Architecture in Iran and Central Asia in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," Ph.D. diss. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007).

[10] For the discussion on terminology in medieval Islamic funerary architecture, see Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures," 7-13; Hillenbrand, "The Mausoleum," 255-60.

By the eleventh century, the two major types for a mausoleum were defined. These were a domed square chamber and a tomb tower, exemplified in the Samanid mausoleum (dated to the late ninth-early tenth centuries) in Bukhara, Uzbekistan, and the Gunbad-i Qabus (1006-7) in Gurgan, Iran, respectively.[11] The origins of the domed square chamber and the tomb tower are a matter of scholarly debate.[12] Along with the impact of Roman and Byzantine mausolea, the former type is associated with ossuaries used by Iranian people. Likewise, the latter type, which is compared to palatial towers and minarets, the so-called "victory-towers" built in Central Asia and Iran, is linked to pre-Islamic Iranian tombs. In addition to this, both the domed square chambers and the tomb towers are associated with the impact of nomadic tents, which is chiefly due to the practice of tent burial among Arabs and Turks. Obviously, the origins of the two funerary genres are obscure and there is a need for a thorough investigation of them in order to shed light onto them.

The history of the domed square mausolea shows that they had a broad appeal in the medieval Islamic world. They commemorated rulers, their family members and state/military officials as well as Companions of the Prophet, members of the *ahl al-bayt* (literally, family of the Prophet), Quranic/Biblical figures, and martyrs. Likewise,

[11] For the domed square chambers and the tomb towers in the medieval Islamic world, see Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures"; Hillenbrand, "The Mausoleum"; Michailidis, "Landmarks." Also, see А. С. Бретаницкий, *Зодчество Азербайджана XII-XV вв. и Его Место в Архитектуре Переднего Востока* (Москва, 1966), 101-20; Abbas Daneshvari, *Medieval Tomb Towers of Iran. An Iconographic Study* (Lexington: Mazda Publishers, 1986).

[12] See Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures"; Hillenbrand, "The Mausoleum," 268-69 and 273-77. Also, see Esin Emel, "Al-Qubbah al-Turkiyyah. An Essay on the Origins of the Architectonic Form of the Islamic Funerary Monument," in *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici* (Naples, 1966), 281-313; Guitty Azarpay, "The Islamic Tomb Tower: A Note on Its Genesis and Significance," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari (Malibu, 1981), 9-12; Katharina Otto-Dorn, "The Ambivalent Character of the Seljuk Tomb Tower," in *First International Congress on the History of Turkish-Islamic Science adn Technology*. Vol. 5 (Istanbul: I. T. Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1981), 33-55; Daneshvari, *Medieval Tomb Towers of Iran*, 1-17; Michailidis, "Landmarks".

the history of the tomb towers demonstrates that they enjoyed popularity in Iran, specifically in the mountainous region south of the Caspian Sea and subsequently in the northwestern provinces. They memorialized primarily the members of the ruling elite. One of the main formal differences between the domed square chambers and the tomb towers was in the ratio of width to height. Thus, in the former it rarely exceeded 1:2, whereas in the latter it ranged from 1:3.5 to 1:5.5.[13] Moreover, the square plan mausolea had one or more entrances, often adhering to the form of *chahar taq* (literally, "four arches"), which offered an entry on each side of the building. On the other hand, the tomb towers, which took circular, flanged, or polygonal (octagonal, decagonal, dodecagonal) forms, had a single entrance that was usually set high off the ground. Both domed square mausolea and tomb towers generally had a single chamber. In addition to this, the latter often had a crypt, particularly in the twelfth century. The domed square chambers and the tomb towers were usually covered with a hemispherical dome, although the latter often had a conical dome as well. In the twelfth century, it was common for these two types of Islamic funerary architecture to constitute part of major urban architectural complexes, which would include a mosque, a madrasa, a hospital, a khanqah, and/or other structures (for example, the mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar (1140s-60s) in Merv, Turkmenistan, and the mausoleum of Mu'mina Khatun (1186) in Nakhchivan, Azerbaijan).

The history of Islamic funerary architecture in Anatolia is traced to the second half of the twelfth century. Anatolia was an eastern domain of Byzantium and came under Muslim rule after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, when the Byzantine army under the command of Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1067-71) was crushed by the Great

[13] See Hillenbrand, "The Mausoleum," 282-83.

Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan (r. 1063-72). By 1081, a branch of the Seljuk family had established itself in Anatolia, with the capital first in Nicaea (İznik) till 1097 and then in Konya. Yet, it was not the only Muslim power in the region. The Turkmen dynasties of the Danishmendids, the Mengujekids, and the Saltukids also set their own rule in and around the Anatolian cities in the aftermath of the Battle of Manzikert - the first in Niksar, Sivas, and Malatya, the second in Divriği, Erzincan and Kemah, and the third in Erzurum.[14] Each of these ruling houses - the Seljuks, the Danishmendids, the Mengujekids, and the Saltukids - engaged in building mausolea. In the course of the late twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries, the Seljuks, however, gradually supplanted the neighboring Muslim states and dominated the Anatolian region. Nevertheless, in 1243 they faced a great defeat at hands of the Mongols in the Battle of Kösedağ and became their vassals. Despite the changing political atmosphere, the construction of mausolea went on in Anatolia, which was still under the rule of the Seljuks. By the early fourteenth centuries, Anatolia was thus dotted with monumental Islamic mausolea.

The mausolea in medieval Anatolia evolved from the two contemporary major types of Islamic funerary architecture. The dominant genre was, however, the tomb tower, which was initially associated with medieval northern Iran but spread in Anatolia

[14] It should be noted that in the aftermath of the Battle of Manzikert (1071), the Turkmen dynasties of the Artukids (1101-1409) and the Shah-i Armanids (1100-1207) were established on the territory of the present-day Turkey in the east which is broadly known today as Anatolia or *Anadolu* (in Turkish). Ruling in Upper Mesopotamia (Diyar Bakr) and over the region near the Lake Van (Ahlat), respectively, these dynasties were much attached to the histories of their regions - Syria and Iraq in the case of the former and Iran and Transcaucasia in the case of the latter. The focus of this study is, however, on those ruling houses that directly participated in and shaped the history of medieval central Anatolia (like the Seljuks, the Danishmendids, the Mengujekids, and the Saltukids). See F. Taeschner and H. Louis, "Anadolu," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Two*. Accessed 17 November 2014, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/anadolu

in the late twelfth century.[15] In general, the Anatolian tomb towers were squatter in proportion in comparison to those in Iran.[16] They were small and not as tall as the latter. The buildings took polygonal (octagonal, decagonal, and dodecagonal), cylindrical or square forms. They had one or more entrances and consisted of an upper chamber and a crypt underneath it. Their interiors were bright and embellished with niches. Moreover, they often had a mihrab and at least one cenotaph. Sometimes a drum was used to provide the transition to the dome, which was usually conical in shape and, like the domes of the Iranian tomb towers, had a double-shell roof system. Like in Iran, the Anatolian tomb towers could stand alone, but could also form part of architectural complexes. The history of their construction shows that until the 1250s they were built chiefly in memory of important political figures (for example, the mausolea of Amir Saltuk in Erzurum, Mama Khatun in Tercan, Abu al-Qasim in Tokat, and others). Nevertheless, in the period that came after, they often commemorated important individuals from religious milieu - *sayyids*, *shaykhs*, *babas*, and *pirs* and in most cases served as holy sites of visitation or *ziyarat* (for example, the mausolea of Shaykh Osman Rumi and Pir As'ad in Konya, Shaykh Badr al-Din in Ilgın, and others).[17]

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[15] For the discussion on Islamic funerary architecture in medieval Anatolia, see Ülkü Ülküsal Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum of the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," Two Vols., Ph.D. diss. (University of Michigan, 1970); idem, "An Introduction to the Study of the Anatolian Türbe and Its Inscriptions as Historical Documents," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* (Malazgirt Zaferinin 900 cü Yıldönümü Özel Sayısı) (İstanbul, 1971), 73-86; idem, "The Impact of the Mongol Invasion on Turkish Architecture," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9/ 1 (1978), 23-32; M. Oluş Arık, "Erken Devir Anadolu-Türk Mimarisinde Türbe Biçimleri," *Anatolia* IX (1969), 57-100; Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri. 1-Selçuklu Dönemi* (Ankara: Güven Matbaası, 1986), 277-352; Hakkı Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1996), 447-77.

[16] For the comparative study of the tomb towers in Iran and Anatolia, see Gönül Öney, "Comparison of a Group of Anatolian Seljuk Türbes with Great Seljuk-Ilkhanid Türbes in Iran," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Feher (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 665-89; idem, "İran ve Anadolu Selçuklu Türbelerinin Mukayesesi," *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi* III (1981), 41-66.

[17] See Bates, "The Impact of the Mongol Invasion," 25; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 477.

Islamic funerary architecture in medieval Anatolia displayed a variety of forms. Centered on the octagonal, circular, and square plan tomb towers, it also included domed square chambers (for example, the mausolea of Shaykh Alaman and Avhad al-Din Kirmani in Konya, Shaykh Shuja al-Din in Antalya, and others). Despite the same architectural plan, the proportion of breadth to height, as one of the major formal differences, defined domed squares and tomb towers. Thus, it did not usually exceed 1:1.4 in the former and ranged from 1:1.5 to 1:2.5 in the latter.[18] At the same time, rectangular mausolea were also popular, often forming the so-called *iwan* type mausolea. These mausolea had a wide arched opening entrance leading to the chamber that was covered with a hemispherical dome (for example, the mausolea of Sad al-Din ʻAli in Karaman, Amir Yavtash in Akşehir, Gomech Khatun in Konya, and others). Like the tomb towers, the domed square chambers and the *iwan* type mausolea usually had a crypt and were part of architectural complexes, commemorating both ruling and religious elite.

The traditions from the eastern Islamic lands, Central Asia and particularly Iran, shaped the Anatolian mausoleum. However, it was also open to architectural and artistic impacts from the neighboring Muslim lands of Syria, Ahlat, Iraq, and Egypt as well as from Christian cultures (Greek, Armenian, and Georgian). The main medium of construction was stone, the traditional material of Anatolia. The epigraphic program comprised chiefly Qur'anic verses and foundation texts written in Arabic, but at times verses in Persian were used as well. The decoration generally consisted of geometric, floral, and at times figural (human and animal) designs. At the same time, glazed

[18] For the proportion of breadth to height in medieval Anatolian mausolea, see Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*.

tilework, which acquired a prominent role in the architecture of Anatolia in the thirteenth century, was also applied. By the early fourteenth century, Anatolia, which was once a Christian domain occupied by monasteries, churches and martyria, was thus gradually transformed into an Islamic realm, wherein along with mosques, madrasas, khanqahs, and caravanserais stood Islamic mausolea with their high profile conical domes soaring into the sky.

1.3 Review of Scholarship

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II has garnered much attention in scholarship since the nineteenth century. In 1849 and 1862 it appeared in the illustrations of the ʻAla al-Din Hill which were made by Charles Texier, whose focus was on the history, geography, and archaeology of Asia Minor.[19] In 1896 and 1897 it was described in travel accounts on Asia Minor, which were composed by Friedrich Sarre and Clement Huart, respectively.[20] Along with this, the mausoleum was featured in studies on epigraphy. In 1895 it was mentioned in the work of Huart, who dealt with Arabic inscriptions in Asia Minor.[21] Later, in 1907 the monument was also noted in a

[19] See Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*. Volume Two (Paris, 1949); idem, *Asie Mineure: Description Geographique, Historique et Archeologique des Provinces et des Villes de la Chersonnese d'Asie* (Paris, 1962).

[20] See Friedrich Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien. Sommer 1895. Forschungen zur Seldjukischen Kunst and Geographie des Landes* (Berlin, 1896), 39-56; idem, *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst. Geschichtliche Untersuchung und Aufnahme Muhammedanischer Backsteinbauten in Vorderasien und Persien* (Berlin, 1910), 123-24; Clement Huart, *Konia. La Ville des Derviches Tourneurs. Souvenir d'un Voyage en Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1897), 10-12.

[21] See C. Huart, *Epigraphie Arabe: D'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1895), 48.

monograph devoted solely to epigraphy on Seljuk monuments in Konya by Julius Harry Löytved, who served as the German consul of the city at that time.[22]

Subsequent to the early Western scholarly interest, Qilich Arslan II's mausoleum was discussed in Turkish literary and scholarly circles starting in the twentieth century. In 1923 it was, for example, mentioned in an anonymous guide book on Konya. In 1939 it appeared in a book of the architect Şehabettin Uzluk, who briefly described the mausoleum along with other standing monuments in the city.[23] With growing interest in Islamic funerary architecture in medieval Anatolia (ca. 1150-1450) in the second half of the century, the monument was also regularly included in studies dealing with mausolea. In 1969 the mausoleum was discussed by Oluş Arık, who in his survey focused on formal analysis of Anatolian funerary structures built during the period between the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries.[24] In 1970 the mausoleum was documented in a doctoral study by Ülkü Ülküsal Bates, who was primarily concerned with architectural analysis of mausolea that were constructed during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries in Anatolia.[25] Later, in 1986 and 1996 the tomb tower of Qilich Arslan II was published in catalogues of Orhan Cezmi Tuncer and Hakkı Önkal, respectively, whose aim was to reflect on evolution of mausolea that were erected during the Seljuk period of rule in Anatolia, specifically between the second half of the twelfth century and the early

[22] See Julius Harry Löytved, *Konia. Inschriften der Seldschukischen Bauten* (Berlin, 1907), 27-28 and 30.

[23] See *Konya ve Rehberi* (İstanbul, 1923), 73; Şehabettin Uzluk, *Konya Abideleri* (Konya, 1939), 5.

[24] See Arık, "Erken Devir Anadolu-Türk Mimarisinde Türbe Biçimleri," *Anatolia* IX (1969), 70-71.

[25] See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum of the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," Ph.D. diss. (University of Michigan, 1970), 29-37.

fourteenth century.[26] Each of the scholars provided a lengthy description of the building, which was supplemented with measurements and accompanied by plans, sections, and photographs. Apart from this, the mausoleum also featured in publications dealing with Islamic art and architecture in medieval Anatolia, as exemplified in the works of Doğan Kuban, Oktay Aslanapa, and Michael Meinecke.[27] In addition, it appeared in a monograph on the history of Konya by Hakkı İbrahim Konyalı and was included in studies on the ʻAla al-Din Mosque complex by Mehmet Zeki Oral and Yaşar Erdemir.[28]

Until now, the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II has received largely descriptive assessment. Along with the partial reading and documentation of its epigraphic program, the descriptions of the tomb tower were usually brief and quite repetitive. The aim of the scholars was to generally introduce the building as part of the history of the Seljuks of Anatolia and their architectural and artistic culture. Preoccupied with the categorization and classification of Islamic mausolea in medieval Anatolia according to form, region and cities in chronological order, they were much concerned to place the mausoleum in the narrative of the evolution of Anatolian Islamic funerary architecture. With the focus on formal features of medieval Anatolian mausolea, which are more than

[26] See Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri. 1-Selçuklu Dönemi* (Ankara: Güven Matbaası, 1986), 178-83; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1996), 185-90.

[27] Doğan Kuban, *Anadolu Türk Mimarisinin Kaynak ve Sorunları* (Istanbul, 1965), 153; idem, *Selçuklu Çağında Anadolu Sanatı* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2002), 223; Oktay Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, cilt II (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Yayınları, 1972), 127; idem, *Anadolu'da İlk Türk Mimarisi. Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi* (Ankara, 1991), 99-100; Michael Meinecke, "Kılıçarslan (Alaeddin) Türbe," in *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien. Teil II: Katalog* (Tübingen, 1976), 222-32.

[28] Hakkı İbrahim Konyalı, "Alâ-ed-Din Türbesi," in *Konya Tarihi* (Konya, 1964), 576-85; Mehmet Zeki Oral, "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri," *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi* 1 (1957), 45-74; Yaşar Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri* (Konya, 2009), 170-91.

200 in number,[29] they often stressed the unique decagonal plan of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. It is no coincidence that such a notable monument, which functioned as a dynastic burial place of the Seljuk sultans, was selected for the cover of the front page of Tuncer's book, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*, while its plan and section were depicted on its back cover page. Within this dominant formalistic approach that largely characterizes Western and Turkish scholarship of the last century,[30] the historical and architectural context in which the construction of the tomb tower of Qilich Arslan II took place has never been investigated. Considering the work of art/architecture as an integral part of history, this thesis thus offers to examine the context in which the building was erected in order to understand it in its own right.

[29] See Bates, "An Introduction," 78; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 476-77.

[30] See Oya Pancaroğlu, "Formalism and Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the Early Twentieth Century," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007), 67-78.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL MILIEU

This chapter is concerned with the historical and cultural milieu in which the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was built. It deals with the patron of the monument, Qilich Arslan II, whose reign brought territorial expansion and political consolidation to the Seljuk state. Furthermore, it examines the Seljuk court culture in the second half of the twelfth century, which was marked by the penetration of Persian culture that gained momentum and by the Seljuks' engagement with the local Christian environment. Finally, it reflects on cultural and architectural activities of Qilich Arslan II, part of which was his construction of the mausoleum.

The Seljuks of Anatolia (1081-1308) were a Sunni Turko-Muslim dynasty.[31] They were from the house of Seljuk (d. after 985), the leader of the Qinik tribe of Oghuz Turks, and traced their lineage back to Seljuk's son, Arslan Isra'il.[32] In this regard, they were family relatives of the Great Seljuks (1035-1194), who ruled over Central Asia, Iran and Iraq and were descended from Seljuk's son Mika'il. The relationship between the two dynasties were, however, quite tense. The disagreement had to do with the right to rulership. According to the old Turkic concept of rule, authority rested within a whole family, though on a principle of seniority. Thus, when,

[31] For the general history of Seljuks of Anatolia, see Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*: *Siyasi Tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gaziye, 1071-1318*. (İstanbul, 1971); Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071-1330*, trans. J. Jones-Williams (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1968); idem, *The Formation of Turkey*. *The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans. and ed. Peter Malcolm Holt (Longman, 2001); Speros Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Söngül Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs. Evolution of a Dynasty* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014); Andrew C. S. Peacock, "Saljuqs III. Saljuqs of Rum," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Accessed 17 November 2014, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/saljuqs-iii

[32] See A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 60-68.

after the death of the Great Seljuk sultan Tughril (r. 1039-63) in 1063, rulership passed to the young Alp Arslan, nephew of Tughril and son of Chaghri, Arslan Isra'il's son Qutlumush (d. 1064), as a senior member of the Seljuk family, declared himself sultan.[33] Moreover, he justified his act with the claim that his father was the best and the most senior of the tribe.[34] The clash between him and Alp Arslan resulted in the defeat and death of the former. Nevertheless, in 1081, Qutlumush's son Sulayman (d. 1086) claimed Seljuk authority in Anatolia and a new chapter in the history of that branch of the house of Seljuk was thus begun.

The rise to power of Seljuks of Anatolia was not smooth and easy. In 1097 their first capital city of Nicaea (Iznik) was seized by the armies of the First Crusade (1096-99), which passed through Anatolia to Jerusalem. Moreover, in the same year, the Seljuk army under the command of Qilich Arslan I (r. 1092-1107), son of Sulayman, was crushed by the Crusaders in the Battle of Dorylaion (Eskişehir). Besides this, the conflicts between the Seljuks and the Great Seljuks continued. In fact, like his father Sulayman b. Qutlumush, Qilich Arslan I died in the battle against the Great Seljuks. It was the political dissolution of the western half of the Great Seljuk state (western Iran and Iraq) in 1118 and the then growing power of the Turkmen dynasty of Danishmendids in Anatolia that finally led each of the Seljuk dynasties to turn to own internal affairs.

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[33] Due to the fact that Tughril did not have own children and his brother Chaghri had predeceased him, succession to his position was disputed. Initially, Chaghri's son Sulayman became sultan after the death of Tughril. However, he was soon removed in favor of Alp Arslan, another son of Chaghri. It appears that the eldest member of the family, Qutlumush, was not even considered for the rulership of the Seljuk house that led him to openly rebel against Alp Arslan. Ibid., 63-68. Also, see A. C. S. Peacock, "Nomadic Society and the Seljūq Campaigns in Caucasia," *Iran and the Caucasus* (2005), 219-20.

[34] Ibid. Also, see Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of Seljuk Turks from Jami' al-Tawarikh*: *An Ilkhanid Adaptation of the Saljūqnāmā of Zahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī*, trans. Kenneth Allin Luther and ed. Clifford Edmund Bosworth (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001), 45.

The fortunes of the Seljuk state of Anatolia began to rise during the reign of Mas'ud I (r. 1116-56).[35] Engaged in the contest for power with the Danishmendids, the leading Muslim dynasty in Anatolia at the time, Mas'ud managed to reduce them to a vassal status in the early 1140s. Moreover, in 1146 he successfully put down the Byzantine siege of Konya, the city which had by then been established as an official capital of the Seljuks. In the following year, he was victorious over the army of the Crusaders that camped at Dorylaion on their way to Edessa (Urfa). Working for the political consolidation of the Seljuk sultanate, Mas'ud also dealt with the Zangids (1127-1230s), the Turkmen dynasty established by *atabeg* 'Imad al-Din Zangi (r. 1127-46) in Syria and the Jazira. The relations between the two ruling houses were tense due to Mas'ud's annexation of the cities near the Syrian frontier like Mar'ash (Kahramanmaraş) and Ra'ban in the 1150s. By doing so, the Seljuk sultan, who was in fact a father-in-law of Nur al-Din Mahmud b. Zangi (r. 1146-74), the son and successor of 'Imad al-Din Zangi, extended the Seljuk borders far beyond the area around Konya. With a vision of a strong and large political entity, Mas'ud thus set a ground for the next Seljuk ruler to further build the Seljuk sultanate in Anatolia.

2.1 Reign of Qilich Arslan II (r. 1156-92)

Qilich Arslan was the eldest son of Mas'ud I. He started his career under his

[35] For the reign of Mas'ud I, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 158-96; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*; Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*; Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs*, 42-53.

his father, usually accompanying the latter on various military campaigns.[36] Besides a late joint campaign on Armenian Cilicia in 1155-6, he was with Mas'ud during the takeover of Mar'ash in 1150 as well as of Besni (Behesne), Kaysun (Göksun) and Ra'ban in the next year, the lands which had been under Crusader control. In 1151 he also joined his father in seizing 'Ayntab (Gaziantep), which was just ceded by the Franks to the Byzantines. A *malik* over the region of Elbistan since its conquest by the Seljuks in 1144, Qilich Arslan was subsequently granted these newly conquered territories in rule by Mas'ud I.

Qilich Arslan ascended the Seljuk throne in 1156 after the death of Mas'ud I in the autumn of the same year. Struck by illness upon his return from the campaign against Cilicia, Mas'ud, in anticipation of the end of his days, divided his territorial domains among his three sons - Qilich Arslan, Dawlat, and Shahanshah.[37] In accordance with the Turkic tradition of collective sovereignty based on the notion of seniority in the family, he designated his eldest son Qilich Arslan as his successor, placing him on the throne and putting a crown on his head in Konya.[38] However, Qilich Arslan's accession to the throne did not pass uncontested. Following the death of

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[36] For the reign of Qilich Arslan II, see O. Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi: İslam Alemi, Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lugati,* cilt 6 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1940), 688-703; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 197-236. Also, see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*; Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*; Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs*, 54-79.

[37] See Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 688; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 197.

[38] See Matthew of Edessa, *The Chronicle: Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, MD, New York and London: University Press of America, 1993), 265. Niketas Choniates, *O City Byzantium*, trans. Harry J. Magouliates (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 66. The designation of the successor by Mas'ud I is also briefly mentioned in the anonymous *Seljuknama*. According to this source, among the three sons of the Seljuk sultan one was complacent, the other was a house decorator, and the third was intelligent, to whom the rulership was thus given. *Anonim Selçukname*, trans. Feridun Nafız Uzluk (Ankara: Örnek Matbaası, 1952), 25; Also, see Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs*, 55-57.

Mas'ud, the struggle for power immediately broke out between him and his brothers. To settle down disputes over his right to rulership, Qilich Arslan strangled and killed Dawlat, which in turn caused the younger Shahanshah to flee to his domain of Ankara (Ankyra) and Çankırı (Gangra).[39] To end intrigues in the court and secure his own power, Qilich Arslan ordered to be put to death many Seljuk officials, among whom were, for instance, the chief vizier and *qadi* (judge) of his father as well as a number of *amirs* (military commanders) who formerly served Mas'ud I.[40] Having reassumed his authority, Qilich Arslan turned to the extension and consolidation of his rule in Anatolia.

Like his father Mas'ud I, Qilich Arslan II undertook a policy of territorial expansion and establishment of political unity within Seljuk realms, which were confined mainly to the central Anatolian plateau in the mid twelfth century. Thus, following expansionist campaigns in the southeast of Anatolia by Nur al-Din Mahmud b. Zangi, the *atabeg* of Mosul and Aleppo who exploited the Seljuk succession quarrels in 1156 to assert his own position, Qilich Arslan engaged in reestablishing Seljuk control over the disputed territories along the Syrian frontier with the Zangids.
In 1157 he reestablished the Seljuk control over Kaysun. In the same year, through an alliance with the Crusaders, he also retook the cities of 'Ayntab and Ra'ban on the Syrian border. Being so close to Syria itself, he even invaded the Principality of

[39] It is unknown what lands were given by Mas'ud to his middle son Dawlat. Concerning Ankara and Çankırı, it is known that these cities were conquered in 1144 by Mas'ud from the Danishmendids and were allotted to Shahanshah in 1156. See Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 688; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 197; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 100; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 24.

[40] Matthew of Edessa, *The Chronicle*, 265.

Antioch, which was then under the rule of Nur al-Din in the east and the Crusaders in the west, and laid siege to its chief city of the same name.[41]

In 1164, with the death of the Danishmendid *amir* Nizam al-Din Yaghibasan (r. 1142-64), a former vassal of Mas'ud who, upon the latter's death, had reestablished his own independent rule in Sivas (Sebastea), Qilich Arslan launched vast military campaigns into that dynasty's territories in north-central Anatolia.[42] Having seized the Danishmendid province of Jahan in Cilicia in 1164, Qilich Arslan succeeded in establishing his authority over the provinces of Darende, Geduk and Elbistan which was recently lost to Yaghibasan in 1165. By 1175, he had taken control over the Danishmendids' major cities such as Kayseri (Caesarea), Amasya (Amaseia), Niksar (Neocaesarea) and Tokat (Comana) as well as over one of their capital cities, Sivas, an

[41] According to Gregory the Priest, who continued the chronicle of Matthew of Edessa for the latter half of the twelfth century, Qilich Arslan II even wrote letters to Nur al-Din asking him to return the territory which Mas'ud set as border between the Seljuks and the Zangids. However, this did not bring any result and he launched his attacks. Matthew of Edessa, *The Chronicle*, 270. For Qilich Arslan II's military ventures in south-east of Anatolia, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," 689; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 199-200; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 99-102; Also, see Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb (New York: Dover Publications, 2002), 338-39. Here, it is also important to note that in 1157, upon Qilich Arslan II's attack on 'Ayntab, Nur al-Din gave back to the Seljuks the lands he had captured. It is known, however, that the disputed territories on Syrian border were later lost again to Nur al-Din who, being preoccupied with military advance of his lieutenant Shirkuh and Salah al-Din in Egypt, seems to have submitted them again to the Seljuk sultan in 1167. In 1173, following his re-taking of Kaysun along with Marzban, Besni and Mar'ash, Nur al-Din faced attack of Crusaders that led him to make truce with Qilich Arslan and to submit to him in the same year all lands he had previously seized from the Seljuks. Yet, it appears that he did not give back all; for example, it seems that Ra'ban remained in his possession as it later passed to the Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din. Qilich Arslan's attempt to reconquer the city was not successful in 1179 as his army was defeated by the Ayyubid forces.

[42] For Qilich Arslan II's campaigns on Danishmendids' territorial domains, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 691-92; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 203-205; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 102; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 27.

important trading post to the Black Sea in the north.[43] By then, Qilich Arslan also took the cities of Ankara and Çankırı from his brother Shahanshah, who was a son-in-law of Yaghibasan, supported by the Danishmendids in his struggle for power against his brother. In 1178, after a siege of four months, Qilich Arslan took at last Malatya (Melitene), the last remaining capital city of the Danishmendids, and thus gained control over a major point of communication between the Anatolian plateau and Mesopotamia. Apparently, this put an end to the Danishmendids, one of the leading Muslim powers in the region, and the Seljuk sultanate became the main Muslim authority in Anatolia. Consequently, according to the anonymous *Seljuknama*, the name of Qilich Arslan II was recited in the *khutba* by the Artukids ruling over the province of Diyarbekir (Diyar Bakr) and the Nisanids, holding control over its major city of Amid, came to kiss his hand, while the Saltukids in Erzurum and the Mengujekids in Erzincan declared their submission to the Seljuk sultan.[44]

Important from military and political points of view was Qilich Arslan II's defeat of the Byzantine army under the command of Manuel Komnenos (r. 1143-80) at Myriokephalon near Lake Eğirdir in 1176.[45] Claiming that Qilich Arslan neglected the treaty concluded in Constantinople in 1162, particularly its main terms such as the

[43] Like many early and medieval Turco-Muslim dynasties, the Danishmendids had more than one capital city, due to the concept of collective family sovereignty, which implied the installment of family members into different cities and thus the emergence of several capital cities. For the history of the Danishmendids, see O. Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi: Saltuklular, Mengücikler, Sökmenliler, Dilmaç Oğulları ve Artuklular'ın Siyasî Tarih ve Medeniyetleri* (İstanbul: Turan Neşriyat Yurdu, 1973).

[44] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 25-26. Also, see S. Mecit, "Kingship and Ideology under the Rum Seljuqs", in *The Seljuqs: Politics, Society and Culture,* eds. Christian Lange and S. Mecit (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 68.

[45] For the battle of Myriokephalon, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 691-94; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 205-211; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 103-106; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 29-31.

return of important Byzantine cities that he had conquered and the prevention of incursions by nomadic Turkmen tribes, the Byzantine emperor arranged a great campaign with troops and provisions from all of his empire and set off against Konya.[46] Preoccupied with eastern campaigns at that time, Qilich Arslan offered a renewal of the treaty which, however, was rejected by Manuel. The clash between the two armies resulted in disastrous defeat of the Byzantine forces which suffered great losses leading the Byzantine emperor to accept this time the sultan's offer of truce, promising him not only to destroy his recently rebuilt towns of Dorylaion and Soublaion on the Anatolian plateau,[47] but also to send to him one hundred thousand gold and silver coins, as well as horses and felts.[48] Regarded as a second major triumph after the famous Battle of Manzikert in 1071, which opened Anatolia to the Seljuks, the Battle of Myriokephalon firmly ensured the Seljuk presence in Anatolia. It destroyed the Byzantine hope to re-establish the land route through Asia Minor to the Holy Land and to bring Crusader states - Principality of Antioch, County of Tripoli, and Kingdom of Jerusalem - under their authority.[49] Moreover, if there was still hope in the Byzantine court to reconquer

[46] Regarding the Byzantine cities mentioned in the treaty they are not specified. The other major terms of the 1162 agreement required from Qilich Arslan II to have the same friends and enemies as the Byzantine emperor and to provide military support to Manuel whenever there is a need. For the account of the terms of this treaty, see particularly John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York, 1979), 158; Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 77; Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," 690; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 202.

[47] See Choniates, *O City Byzantium*, 107.

[48] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 25.

[49] See Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 95-98; Mecit, "Kingship and Ideology under the Rum Seljuqs", 77 (note 22). It is important to note that the Crusader states were established in the aftermath of the First Crusade (1095-99). Along with the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli and the kingdom of Jerusalem, there was also the County of Edessa which was however conquered by 'Imad al-Din Zangi in 1144, the event that led to the Second Crusade.

the central Anatolian plateau, it was ultimately lost.[50] A turning point in the history of Byzantines and Seljuks, the Battle of Myriokephalon enhanced the political prestige of Qilich Arslan II on the international arena. Not only many captives were delivered to Baghdad, Syria and Egypt for sale,[51] but also ambassadors with victory screeds (*fath-nama*) proclaiming the Seljuk victory were sent by Qilich Arslan II to the Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi (r. 1170-80), to the neighboring Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din (r. 1169-93), and to the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa I (r. 1152-90), thus spreading the news far beyond the realm of Anatolia.[52]

The Battle of Myriokephalon, which took place at a time when Qilich Arslan was primarily concerned with the unification of Turco-Muslim Anatolia in the east and with politics in Syria and Mesopotamia, did not result in the acquisition of new lands for the Seljuks.[53] Indeed, eager to smooth the conflict, Qilich Arslan not only offered a peace treaty to Manuel before the battle but also after, when he sent to the latter such gifts as a horse with silver-mounted bridle, a manger for use in solemn processions, and a long, two-edged sword.[54] Nevertheless, following the death of Manuel Komnenos in 1180 and the subsequent fragmentation of Byzantium weakened by dynastic disputes over the throne, Qilich Arslan, who had by then consolidated his rule over the eastern

[50] See Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 693; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 210; Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey*, 31.

[51] See Turan, citing Arab historian Ibn al-Azraq (1116/7-1176/7), in *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 209.

[52] See Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 694; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 210; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 106.

[53] See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 104-105; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 31.

[54] See Choniates, *O City Byzantium*, 106-107.

borders, turned his military activities onto Byzantine lands in the west.[55] In 1182 he took Uluborlu (Sozopolis) and subsequently Kütahya (Cotyaion) and Eskişehir fell to his rule. Within this expansion the Seljuks' territorial border reached the region of Denizli and moved as far as Aydın. Moving to the south, Qilich Arslan also set siege to Antalya (Attaleia) on the Mediterranean coast which however did not bring any result. Yet, in his correspondence with the patriarch of the Jacobite Church in Antioch, Michael the Syrian (1126-99), the Seljuk sultan, who appears to have by then occupied seventy-two Byzantine fortresses, boasted that his vast conquests stretched to the sea and now encompassed the lands that had never been occupied by Turks before.[56]

According to the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates (1155-1216), Qilich Arslan was a physically ill-proportioned man, with dislocations of his hands at joints and slight limp that led to gibes against him, including even calling him *Koutz Arslan* ("Halt Arslan") by Andronikos I Komnenos (r. 1183-85).[57] Nevertheless, despite his supposedly misshapen body, Qilich Arslan brought vast territorial expansion to the Seljuk state between 1160s and 1180s. The decline of the Danishmendid dynasty after the middle of the twelfth century, speeded by the succession quarrels caused by the death of Yaghibasan, obviously allowed Qilich Arslan to pursue his expansionist plans, specifically toward the east. On the other hand, the failed Byzantine military expedition

[55] For the Seljuks' expansion to west, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 695; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 213-15; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 105; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 32.

[56] See Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 3, trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899-1924), 394-95; Also, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 695; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 214-15.

[57] See Choniates, *O City Byzantium*, 69. It is also interesting and important to note that in the account left by Gregory the Priest it is pointed out that in his struggle for the throne Qilich Arslan II feared his brother Dawlat not only because he was "generous to all and had a more comely face", but also because his body had "a stronger build than his." In this sense, this observation further strengthens Choniates' comment regarding the physical appearance of Qilich Arslan II. See Matthew of Edessa, *The Chronicle*, 265; Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 699; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 229-30.

against Konya in 1176 not only consolidated the Seljuks' position on the central Anatolian plateau and made it possible for them to focus on their eastern frontiers, but also allowed them to move to the west in the early 1180s. Not less significant for the realization of Qilich Arslan's ambition to expand the Seljuk borders was the dissolution of the Zangids' rule in Syria with the death, in 1174, of Nur al-Din, who intervened in Anatolian politics and provided support to the Danishmendids. Although the subsequent rise of Ayyubids under Salah al-Din in Syria and Egypt presented new political and military challenges to the Seljuk sultan, with their eyes on Anatolia and backing of another rival Turkmen dynasty of Artukids of Hisn Kayfa (Hasankeyf), Qilich Arslan II still succeeded in establishing political unity over the Seljuks' domains. With his ambitious territorial claims, exemplified in his famous title *sultan bilad al-Rum wa al-Arman wa al-Afranj wa al-Sham* ("sultan of the lands of Rum, Armenia, Franks and Syria"),[58] he brought under his authority central, southwestern and northeastern parts of Anatolia. Exalted as *abu al-fath* ("the father of conquest," or literally "the conqueror"),[59] Qilich Arslan thus became the supreme ruler in Anatolia.[60]

Yet, besides successful military strategies and tactics, there was also a careful course of diplomacy with the ruling Muslim and Christian dynasties that allowed Qilich Arslan II to rise to such heights of power when the political landscape in Anatolia and in neighboring regions was constantly changing. During his reign, the Seljuk sultan participated in the exchange of embassies and gifts and made a number of treaties,

[58] See Mehmet Zeki Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 5 (1962), 29.

[59] Ibid.; Friedrich Sarre, *Konya Köşkü*, trans. Sahabeddin Uzluk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1967), 55.

[60] See Choniates, *O City Byzantium*, 70; Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 218.

concerned mainly with territorial possession, with the Danishmendids, the Zangids, the Ayyubids, the Byzantines, and the Crusaders. In order to set a ground for close and friendly relationship, he also sought marriage alliances. It is known, for example, that in 1164, wishing for alliance against the Danishmendids, he asked for the hand of one of the daughters of Saltuk, the ruler of Erzurum, while supposedly in or soon after 1176 he looked for marriage with one of Frederick Barbarossa I's daughters.[61] At the same time, Qilich Arslan pursued marriage contracts for his children. According to the Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athir (1160-1223), the Seljuk sultan wanted to wed his son Malikshah to the daughter of the Ayyubid sultan Salah al-Din.[62] Although this alliance did not take place, Qilich Arslan managed to arrange marriages for his daughters with members of the Turkmen ruling dynasties in Anatolia, giving Seljuka Khatun to the Artukid ruler of Amid, Nur al-Din Muhammad (r. 1175?-85), and 'Ismati Khatun to the Mengujekid ruler of Erzincan, Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah (r. 1162 or 1165-1225).[63] Combining military and diplomatic skills, Qilich Arslan II thus consolidated and firmly assured the Seljuk power on the medieval political scene.

[61] For Qilich Arslan II's bride from the Saltukid house, see Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-tarīkh. The Years 541-589/1146-1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin. Part Two*, trans. Donald S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 157. On her way to the Seljuk court Saltuk's daughter was seized by the Danishmandid amir Yaghibasan who ordered her to renounce Islam, so that her marriage with Qilich Arslan would be annulled; after, when she reverted to Islam, Yaghibasan married her to his nephew Dhu'l-Nun. For Qilich Arslan's marriage proposal to one of the daughters of Frederick Barbarossa I, who also did not arrive at the Seljuk court as she died before departure, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 697; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 221; Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I*, 99-100.

[62] Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle. Part Two*, 403.

[63] Suzan Yalman, " 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seljuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," *Muqarnas* 29 (2013), 167; Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği: A History of Relations and Transitions," *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ* 3 (2009), 174.

The reign of Qilich Arslan II lasted thirty-six years and, according to Michael the Syrian, it was "illustrious."[64] Marked by the political consolidation, it also witnessed economic growth of the Seljuk state of Anatolia, when gold and silver coinage - dinar and dirham, respectively - began to be minted in the sultanate. Circulating chiefly in regional and international transactions, it expanded the economic sphere of the Seljuk state of Anatolia, which previously relied mainly on the copper coinage, generally used in local exchange.[65] Yet, despite the prosperity and stability that came to the Seljuk Anatolia under Qilich Arslan II, the late period of his rule was, however, full of anxiety and tumult.

During 1185 and 1187, the Seljuk sultan had to deal with the vast movement of Turkmen tribes, which took place under leadership of a certain Rustam.[66] Moving from Azerbaijan, Turkmen nomads came in search for pasture and booty to eastern Anatolia. However, soon following their arrival, clashes with local Muslim and Christian population took place. As a result, chaos came to the Seljuk state.

Apart from the problem of Turkmen nomads, who were difficult to control, Qilich Arslan also had to deal with a family conflict in the late twelfth century. Supposedly in 1186, in accordance with the Turkic concept of the family sovereignty,

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[64] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 3, 410.

[65] For Seljuk coinage, see Halit Erkiletlioğlu and Oğuz Güler, *Türkiye Selçuklu Sultanları ve Sikkeleri* (Kayseri, 1996); Şevki Nezihi Aykut, *Türkiye Selçuklu Sikkeleri*: *I. Mesud'dan I. Keykubad'a kadar, 510-616/1116-1220 (*İstanbul: Eren, 2000). For general information on Seljuk economy, see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 155-73; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 86-99.

[66] For the Turkmen movement, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 695-96; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye,* 215-16; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 110-11; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 38-39.

Qilich Arslan divided his domains among his sons,[67] granting Sivas and Aksaray (Archelaus) to Malikshah, Ankara to Mas'udshah, Elbistan to Tughrilshah, Kayseri to Sultanshah, Tokat to Sulaymanshah, Malatya to Qaysarshah, Niksar to Berkyaruqshah, Niğde to Arslanshah, and Uluborlu to Kaykhusraw.[68] Having appointed his uncle and nephew, Sanjarshah and Argunshah, to Ereğli and Amasya, respectively, Qilich Arslan himself remained the sole sovereign of the Seljuk state of Anatolia and continued residing in Konya, his seat of power. Yet, in 1189, following the conflict between the eldest son of Qilich Arslan, Malikshah, and the Seljuk vizier, Ikhtiyar al-Din Hasan, who eventually left the Seljuk court, the former took control of Konya and began to rule in the name of his father, whom he deprived of "his freedom of action"[69] and subjugated

[67] There is confusion in medieval literature about how many sons Qilich Arslan II had. According to Aksarayi, Qilich Arslan had fifteen sons, whereas Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraus mention that he had twelve sons; yet, Ibn Bibi notes that there were eleven sons. See, Kerimüddin Mahmud Aksarayi, *Müsameretü'l-Ahbar*, trans. Mehmet Nuri Gencosman (Ankara, 1943), 126; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 3, 410; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu al-Faraj*, vol. 2, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 341; Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, trans. Mehmet Nuri Gencosman (Ankara, 1941), 21; idem, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye fi'l-Umuri'l-Ala'iye (Selçuk Name)*, 1 vol., trans. Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996), 31-32. This ambiguity over the number of Qilich Arslan II's sons in medieval texts is also reflected in scholarship. Thus, while Turan considers that their number was really eleven (Suleymanshah, Berkyaruqshah, Tughrilshah, Sultanshah, Malikshah, Qaysarshah, Arslanshah, Mas'udshah, Sanjarshah, Argunshah, and Kaykhusraw), Cahen assumes that they were indeed ten, though one of them whose name is unknown probably died at early age and disappeared in history. Moreover, according to Cahen, Sanjarshah and Argunshah, who are considered by Turan to be sons of Qilich Arslan II, were rather brother and nephew of the Seljuk sultan, respectively. While the question concerning the number of sons Qilich Arslan II had remains open due to the existing uncertainty in and dearth of sources for the period under consideration, Cahen's latter view is reflected in the account of the Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athir, who mentions that Qilich Arslan gave Amasya in rule to his brother's son, in other words to Argunshah. Taking into account the facts that there is nothing known about Sanjarshah and Argunshah in contemporary texts and there is absence of numismatic evidence to verify them as sons of Qilich Arslan II, Cahen's suggestion regarding the sons of Qilich Arslan II seems very plausible and is considered in this study. See Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 696; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 217; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 111; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 39; Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle. Part Two*, 403.

[68] For Qilich Arslan II's partition of lands and subsequent rise of quarrels within the Seljuk royal family, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 696 and 699; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye,* 216-20 and 225-29; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 111-14; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 39-42.

[69] See Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle. Part Two*, 395.

to his own authority. With the aim to become the chief sovereign of the Seljuk state, Malikshah even compelled Qilich Arslan to take back Malatya from his brother Qaysarshah, although the intervention of Salah al-Din on behalf of the latter prevented this from happening. Then, however, Malikshah decided to go against his brother Sultanshah in Kayseri and took Qilich Arslan with him, who during the siege of the city had escaped to the court of his son there. Nonetheless, his stay in Kayseri did not last long as Sultanshah pursued his own ambitious plan of independent rulership which did not include helping his father to regain the throne in Konya. For an uncertain period of time, Qilich Arslan led a wandering life, moving from one son to another in search for shelter and support, until he came to his youngest son Kaykhusraw in Uluborlu. It was with the help of the latter who offered his troops to his father and accompanied him in the campaign against Malikshah in Konya that Qilich Arslan succeeded in reestablishing his authority there. Forcing his eldest son to flee, Qilich Arslan thus regained the Seljuk throne and proclaimed Kaykhusraw as his successor.

However, in 1190, when Qilich Arslan II was still held in captivity by Malikshah in Konya, the Third Crusade, led by Frederick Barbarossa, entered the territories of Seljuk Anatolia.[70] In the late 1180s, in his correspondence with the German emperor, Qilich Arslan II had promised the latter that he "would put his goods and people at the disposal" of the German army and "would give everyone access to markets and an unhindered passage through his lands."[71] Nevertheless, instead of this,

[70] For the Third Crusade passing through Seljuk Anatolia on its way Jerusalem, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 697-99; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye,* 220-24; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 112-14; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 40-41.

[71] See Ricardus, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. Helen J. Nicholson (Ashgate, 1997), 59.

the Crusaders encountered attacks of Turkmen tribes as well as of the Seljuk army itself under the command of Malikshah, who then dominated Qilich Arslan and acted in accordance with his own will. Having defeated Malikshah's forces, the Crusaders immediately laid siege to Konya and soon entered the city. Despite the attempts of Qilich Arslan to settle the conflict through negotiation, the Crusaders began plundering the Seljuk capital. Lasting five days, the sack of Konya severely undermined the already shattered authority of Qilich Arslan II. In order to bring order into his domain, the Seljuk sultan therefore concluded an agreement with Frederick Barbarossa, which provided the latter a safe passageway through the Seljuk Anatolia with accompanying hostages that had to be returned to the Seljuks upon the end of the Crusaders' journey in the Seljuk lands.

Qilich Arslan II died in his late seventies in the year 1192. According to the anonymous *Seljuknama*, he was poisoned by Ibn Avariz, a member of the Gabrades family, who worked in the Seljuk court.[72] Moreover, the source points to the involvement of Kaykhusraw in the death of Qilich Arslan, hinting that the poisoning was carried out on the order of his son.[73] While this information still waits for its verification, most sources agree that in 1192, during the siege of the city of Aksaray held by Malikshah, Qilich Arslan got seriously ill. As a result, he decided to move back to Konya, where he soon died and was buried. [74]

[72] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 26.

[73] Ibid, 26-27.

[74] For the death of Qilich Arslan II, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II", 699; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 225-29.

2.2 Court Culture

The Seljuks were adherents of Sunni Islam and their court paid allegiance to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, the religious and spiritual leader in the medieval Islamic world. Qilich Arslan II, who is described as one of the *mujaddidan-i Islam* ("renewers of Islam") by the fourteenth century *qadi* Ahmad of Niğde,[75] was known for his ghazi spirit and support of jihad campaigns against the Christians.[76] Holding the titles such as *rukn al-Islam wa al-muslimin* ("pillar of Islam and the Muslims"), *hafiz bilad Allah* ("guardian of the lands of God"),[77] and *mazhar kalimat Allah* ("manifestation of the word of God"),[78] he was also bestowed with the title *sultan* by the caliph, whose authority he acknowledged on his coinage.[79]

Cultivating Muslim culture, the Seljuk court drew on Turkic, Arab and particularly Persian cultural traditions. In fact, as a dynasty of Turks who came to Anatolia from the eastern Islamic lands, the Seljuks were much attached to the culture of Iran, which held high prestige in the medieval Islamic world. With their kin relationship to the Great Seljuks, who ruling over Central Asia, Iran and Iraq embraced Persian language and traditions, they continued this cultural trend in Anatolia. It is during the reign of Qilich Arslan II that this became particularly evident.

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[75] See A. C. S Peacock, "Ahmad of Niğde's al-Walad al-Shafiq and the Seljuk past," *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004), 102.

[76] See Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 26 and 29.

[77] Ibid.

[78] See Sarre, *Konya Köşkü*, 85.

[79] It is unknown when the investiture of the title *sultan* on Kılıç Arslan II by the Abbasid caliph took place. It might have been initially self-assumed. However, its use along with the name of the caliph on the Seljuk coinage, specifically gold and silver coinage, points to its official conferment presumably around/in 1178. See Mecit, "Kingship and Ideology under the Rum Seljuqs," 68.

Along with the use of Turkic for communication, particularly in daily life, and Arabic in dealing with religion and jurisprudence, the Seljuks used Persian in their court, which as a language for literary expression is first attested in Seljuk Anatolia in the second half of the twelfth century. *Kamil al-Ta'bir* ("A Complete [Collection] of Dream Interpretations"), which is the earliest extant literary work from the Seljuk court, was composed in Persian by Hubaysh b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad Tiflisi (d. 1203-4), an outstanding scholar and intellectual of the time who also wrote on medicine, lexicography, poetics, astrology and Quranic hermeneutics. This manual of dream interpretation was dedicated to Qilich Arslan II, with whom the author seems to have had close relations.[80] Thus, under Qilich Arslan, Persian language, which by then was a written *lingua franca* in the east,[81] gained firm ground to be further fostered in Seljuk Anatolia.[82]

Names of male members of the house of the Seljuks of Anatolia provide a further glimpse into the integration of the Persian culture into the Seljuk court. It appears that since the late eleventh century, along with zoomorphic Turkic names such as Arslan ("lion") and Tughril ("gyrfalcon"), as well as Arabic names, particularly from the Old Testament, such as Sulayman, the Seljuks of Anatolia used the ancient Persian

[80] See Tahsin Yazici, "Ḥobayš b. Ebrāhim b. Moḥammad Teflisi," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Accessed 17 November 2014, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hobays-b-ebrahim-b-mohammad-teflisi

[81] See Richard N. Frye, "Development of Persian Literature under Samanids and Qarakhanids," in *Islamic Iran and Central Asia (7th-12th centuries)*, ch. XXIII (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), 73.

[82] It is important to note that according to Cahen, Qilich Arslan II's letter to Salah al-Din with congratulations on the capture of Jerusalem (1187) was in Persian, if it is believed to be authentic. See C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 227; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 141.

royal title *shahanshah*, which was revived by the Buyids of Iran in the tenth century,[83] as a name. The earliest known case in Seljuk history is the son of Qilich Arslan I, Shahanshah (r. 1110-16), who was born in the late eleventh century and governed as *malik* over Mosul before his ascension to the throne in 1110.[84] Later, the youngest son of Mas'ud I, who was born either before or after the early 1140s and ruled over Ankara and Çankırı, was also given the name Shahanshah. In view of the Seljuks' fascination with the Persian past, it is not surprising that Qilich Arslan II gave his sons names all ending with the Persian affix *shah*, meaning "king": Sulaymanshah, Berkyaruqshah, Tughrilshah, Sultanshah, Malikshah, Qaysarshah, Arslanshah, and Mas'udshah. In fact, the Seljuks of Anatolia appear to have been familiar with names compounded with "shah" since the late eleventh century as is revealed in the name Shahanshah.[85] However, it was under Qilich Arslan II that this practice reached such importance in the Seljuk court, so that almost all of his sons now carried it in their personal names. Yet, to his youngest son, born in the period between 1170 and 1180, Qilich Arslan II gave a

[83] See Deborah G. Tor, "Shāhānshāh", in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, ed. Gerhard Bowering (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 492; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Lakab", in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Two*. Vol. 5, 618-31. Also, for the detailed discussion on the revival of the title *shahanshah*, see Wilfred Madelung, "The Assumption of the Title Shāhānshāh by the Būyids and the Reign of the Daylam (Dawlat Al-Daylam)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 28/2 (1969), 84-108.

[84] The period of rule of Shahanshah is at times ascribed to Malikshah in medieval literature, which hence led to some confusion among scholars. However, the study of medieval texts by Turan and the general consensus in scholarship assert that the successor of Qilich Arslan I and predecessor of Mas'ud I was called indeed Shahanshah. See, Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 149 and 154, fts. 2 and 17, respectively; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*.

[85] The founder of the Seljuk state of Rum, Sulayman (d. 1086), is sometimes referred to as Sulaymanshah in medieval texts, written particularly by Muslim authors in later periods. Yet, in scholarship he is generally known as Sulayman. Indeed, it is with this name that his son Qilich Arslan I is at times mentioned, specifically in contemporary Christian accounts, being thus known not only as Qilich Arslan but also as Sulayman as well as Ibn Sulayman, that is the son of Sulayman. In this regard, in this study the founder of the Seljuk state in Anatolia is considered as Sulayman and not as Sulaymanshah. See Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 96, ft. 42; Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey*, 11; Peacock, "Saljuqs."

mythological Persian name, Kaykhusraw. Known for the defeat of the Turanian king Afrasiyab as well as for wise and just rulership, Kaykhusraw was indeed the greatest of the Avestan Kayanid kings recorded in *Shahnama* ("Book of Kings"), the epic poem composed in Persian by Firdawsi in 1010, which enjoyed enormous popularity in the medieval Islamic courts.[86] Although the presence of a copy of that (illustrated) text at the court of Qilich Arslan II can only be hypothesized, oral transmission of its narrative about the Persian past would at least keep alive memory about it, which was zealously upheld at the Seljuk court.[87] Within this cultural continuity with the Iranian world, Qilich Arslan II thus set a tradition of giving princes from the Seljuk house ancient heroic Persian names and closely connected the Seljuks of Rum to the past of Iran.

Epigraphic evidence, which starts to come from Seljuk Anatolia from the middle of the twelfth century, shows that, along with Turkic and Arabic titles, Persian titulature was used in designation of the rulership of Qilich Arslan II.[88] The earliest use of Persian titles is found in an inscription on the minbar of the Friday mosque in Aksaray, which was begun by Mas'ud I in the 1150s and completed by Qilich Arslan in 1156. Then a

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[86] For the reign of the Iranian hero Kaykhusraw, see Firdawsi, *The Epic of the Kings: Shah-nama, the National Epic of Persia***,** trans. Reuben Levy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 99-145. The earliest mention of the mythological Kayanid kings comes from the sacred book of Zoroastrians, *Avesta*. By the seventh century, their history was also rendered in the Sasanian royal book *Khwaday namag* ("Book of Kings"). Following the translations of that book into Arabic and Persian by Muslims during the eighth and tenth centuries, it was Firdawsi who successfully brought its rendition in his *Shahnama*, which he dedicated to Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 997-1030). Providing the most extensive account on the history of ancient Iran, his work became the chief source for medieval Muslim dynasties to learn about the glorious past of Iran. See Oktor Skjærvø, "Kayāniān **(**Kayanids)", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Accessed 17 November 2014, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kayanian-parent; Touraj Daryaee, "National History or Kayanid History: The Nature of Sasanid Zoroastrian Historiography," *Iranian Studies* 28/3-4, Summer/Fall 1995, 129-41.

[87] See Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*; idem, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye fi'l-Umuri'l-Ala'iye (Selçuk Name)*, 2 Vols.; Muhammad Ravandi, *Râhat-üs Sudûr ve Âyet-üs-Sürûr*, trans. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1957). Also, see Peacock, "Ahmad of Niğde's al-Walad al-Shafiq," 97.

[88] For the recent discussion on the titulature of Qilich Arslan II, see Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs*, 57-61.

crown prince, Qilich Arslan is described there as *al-amir al-isfahsalar*,[89] which is a combination of an Arabic word for a military commander, *amir*, and an Arabicized version of the Middle Persian military title *spah-salar* or *spah-bad*.[90] Initially associated with *amirs* in service of the Great Seljuks in Iran and Syria, this title also carried its Sasanian connotation of high-ranking commanders, who were usually responsible for the control and protection of frontier regions.[91] In this sense, Qilich Arslan's rule over Elbistan and the lands lying to its south that constituted his appanage at the time of his service as *malik* was made explicit in this title. In addition, the epigraphic record on the minbar of the congregational mosque in Aksaray mentions Qilich Arslan as *pahlawan al-Rum wa al-Arman*.[92] This is a title which not only includes a Persian epic term for warrior champion or hero, *pahlawan*, but also refers to the geographical realm encompassing the lands of Byzantium and Armenia that belonged to and were fought for by Qilich Arslan, respectively.[93] Besides this, the undated epigraphic record on the minbar of the citadel mosque in Konya, which was founded by Mas'ud I in 1155-56 and later patronized by Qilich Arslan II, refers to him as *shahanshah al-'azam*.[94] This title is also recorded in an architectural inscription that comes from the pavilion, which was

[89] See Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 26.

[90] See O. Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengüjek in Divriği: Constructions of Dynastic Identity in the Late Twelfth Century," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 42; C. E. Bosworth, "Isfahsālār, Sipahsālār," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Two*. Vol. 4, 204-209.

[91] See Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengüjek in Divriği," 42.

[92] See Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 26.

[93] For discussion on geographic designations in medieval Islamic titulature, see Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengüjek in Divriği," 38-40.

[94] See Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 29-30.

once part of Qilich Arslan's palace built in Konya and dated to 1173-74.[95] Combining the imperial title of ancient Persian kings, *shahanshah*, and the Arabic epithet "great" in superlative form, *'azam*, *shahanshah al-'azam* implies "the greatest king of kings." Known to have been used by the Great Seljuks,[96] the title explicitly demonstrates the growing power of the Seljuk sultan of Anatolia Qilich Arslan II. Having adopted it, he thus forged an intimate link between the two dynasties of the house of Seljuk, who were also known as rivals over the right to rulership over it.[97] Obviously, the Persian titulature of Qilich Arslan helped him to engage in a broad discourse on power in the medieval Islamic world. Hence, towards the late twelfth century, when Turkic titles gradually lost importance[98] and Arabic titles and epithets enjoyed popularity exemplifying Islamic rulership on Seljuk art, architecture and coinage, Persian titles, which were applied only on artistic and architectural inscriptions, allowed Qilich Arslan II to magnify his military might and heroism as well as his rulership as the greatest king of kings.

Due to their historic connection with the eastern Islamic lands, the Seljuks of Anatolia were affiliated with Persian culture. In fact, Qutlumush, the ancestor of the Seljuks of Anatolia, is reported to have been given governance of Caucasia as well as of

[95] See Sarre, *Konya Köşkü*, 85; For the dating of the pavilion, which is based on the analysis of the wood sample taken from the structure, see Peter I. Kuniholm, "Dendrochnologically Dated Ottoman Monuments," in *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll (New York, 2000), 132-33.

[96] See Kenan Çetin, *Selçuklu Medeniyeti Tarihi* (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2011), 23-24.

[97] See above the introduction section.

[98] In fact, the use of Turkic titles is recorded only once in Seljuk Anatolia, where it appears on the *minbar* of the Friday mosque in Aksaray in reference to Qilich Arslan II as *alp inanç kutlug bilge*. See Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 26.

the Caspian provinces of Iran,[99] which are particularly known in history for the endurance of pre-Islamic Iranian cultural heritage during the medieval period.[100] Moreover, in the aftermath of conflicts between the Seljuks of Anatolia and the Great Seljuks, the former's princes were often taken as captives and kept at the court in Iran.[101] It is known that Sulayman, son of Qutlumush and founder of the Seljuk state in Anatolia, was hosted along with one of his uncles as well as with his brothers at the court of Alp Arslan, then based in Rayy, following his father's defeat by the Great Seljuk sultan in 1064. It was after the death of Alp Arslan in 1073 that Sulayman managed to escape and subsequently came to the lands of Anatolia.[102] Yet, following his own death during the confrontation with the Great Seljuk forces in Syria in 1086, his son and the next successor of the Seljuk throne, Qilich Arslan I, was taken, together with his brother(s), as a captive to the court of Malikshah (r. 1072-92) at Isfahan. Just like his father, he was able to flee when the latter died, in the year 1092.[103] Moreover, when he died in the clash with the Great Seljuks in 1107, his son Shahanshah was captured in Mosul and sent to the court of the Great Seljuk sultan Muhammad Tapar (r. 1105-18), then centered in the city of Hamadan. It was only after about two or three

[99] See Peacock, "Nomadic Society," 217-19 and ft. 59.

[100] See C. E. Bosworth, "The Persistent Older Heritage in the Medieval Iranian Lands," in *The Rise of Islam*, vol. 4, eds. Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 32.

[101] See Ann K. S. Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 224.

[102] For the captivity and coming to Anatolia of Sulayman, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 45-50.

[103] For the captivity and coming to Anatolia of Qilich Arslan I, ibid., 95-96.

years that Shahanshah left and moved to Anatolia, where he reestablished Seljuk rule.[104] Though captives, these Seljuk princes, as members of the royal house of Seljuk, must have been integrated into the courtly life of the Great Seljuks, where Persian language and Persian ideals of rulership prevailed along with the Islamic principles.[105] Having spent years in the Great Seljuk court, the early Seljuk dynasts of Anatolia would thus have been well familiar with Persian culture, which was nurtured by the Great Seljuks since the late eleventh century.

Obviously, the penetration of Persian culture into the Seljuk court in Anatolia began before the middle of the twelfth century and the names of the early Seljuk dynasts as well as the early titulature of Qilich Arslan II attest to this. However, it was under Qilich Arslan II that it gained momentum. Indeed, his rise to power coincided with the gradual decline of the Great Seljuks, with whom the Seljuks of Anatolia had quite tense relationships. Initially, the Seljuks of Anatolia laid their claim to rulership on the basis of their Seljuk identity.[106] Thus, following the political turmoil in the east, marked with the Oghuz Turks' capture of Sanjar (r. 1118-57) in 1153 and the death of that last Great Seljuk sultan in Merv in 1157,[107] they viewed themselves as legitimate successors to their distant relatives and as heirs to their cultural legacy. Recognizing the broad appeal of Persian culture in the medieval Islamic world, Qilich Arslan II apparently encouraged its penetration into the Seljuk court in Anatolia.

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[104] For the captivity and coming to Anatolia of Shahanshah, ibid., 149 and 153.

[105] See Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire," 224.

[106] See Peacock, "Nomadic Society," 220.

[107] See Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World," 135-57.

Nevertheless, the Seljuks of Rum did not simply perceive themselves as continuators of the Great Seljuks to foster Persian culture in their court. From the beginning of their rule in Anatolia, their engagement with it, particularly in regard to the Persian past, appears to have been different from that of the Great Seljuks. This is specifically indicated by their choice of the use of the ancient Persian regal title *shahanshah* as a name. Although the Great Seljuks employed this title in their official titulature,[108] to my knowledge they did not use it as a name.[109] Indeed, throughout the period of their rule, they remained largely attached to the use of Turkic and Arabic names, although they often employed the ending compound *shah* in names, as is exemplified in the name of the famous Great Seljuk sultan Malikshah (a combination of Arabic *malik* and Persian *shah*, both of which mean "king").[110] As has been described above, the Seljuks of Anatolia also used Turkic and Arabic names as well as the affix *shah* in names. Nevertheless, unlike the Great Seljuks, they embraced ancient Iranian names as well. Being at the height of his power in the 1170s, Qilich Arslan II named his youngest son Kaykhusraw and thus began the Seljuk naming practice associated with the Kayanid kings from the *Shahnama*. Integration of the memory of the Persian past into the Seljuk court in Anatolia is further reflected in the titulature of Qilich Arslan II, which appears to have drawn on that of the Great Seljuk court. As has been discussed above, during his rule as *malik*, Qilich Arslan II was designated as *al-amir al-isfahsalar*

[108] See D. G. Tor, "The Long Shadow of Pre-Islamic Iranian Rulership: Antagonism or Assimilation," in *Late Antiquity*: *Eastern Perspectives*, eds. Teresa Bernheimer and Adam Silverstein (Oxford, 2011), 150; Çetin, *Selçuklu Medeniyeti Tarihi,* 22-25.

[109] See Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World," 1-202; Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs. A History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 198-99.

[110] Ibid.

and *pahlawan*. Yet, as the Seljuk sultan of Anatolia, he embraced the title *shahanshah al-'azam* and was known by the titulature *sa'id salatin al-'arab wa al-'ajam* ("chief of the sultans of the Arabs and the Persians"),[111] which, reflecting his claim to rulership far beyond the confines of Seljuk domains in Anatolia, evoked the Great Seljuk Malikshah's title *mawla al-'arab wa al-'ajam* ("master of the Arabs and the Persians").[112] In the panegyric written for Manuel Komnenos by the Byzantine court rhetorician Euthymios Malakes in 1162, Qilich Arslan II is placed in one lineage with the Achaemenid kings of the ancient Iran, Darius and Xerxes.[113] However, despite their engagement with the pre-Islamic Persian past, the Seljuks of Anatolia did not trace their genealogy back to it, a fact which is also true for the Great Seljuks. Indeed, the Seljuks of Rum were proud of their royal descent from the house of Seljuk as well as their family link with the Great Seljuks,[114] on whose Perso-Islamic model of rulership they drew themselves.[115] Adopting Persian names and titulature, they also patronized Persian literature which flourished under the Great Seljuks. It seems therefore to be no coincidence that by the twelfth century, when the Great Seljuk state was gradually collapsing and the Seljuks of Anatolia firmly established themselves in Konya with the

[111] See Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 29; Sarre, *Konya Köşkü*, 85.

[112] See Dimitri Korobeinikov, "'The King of the East and the West': The Seljuk Dynastic Concept and Titles in the Muslim and Christian Sources," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, eds. Andrew C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 70 and 73; Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengüjek in Divriği," 38.

[113] Cited from *Noctes Petropolitanae*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1913; repr., Leipzig, 1976), 165, in Alexander Beihammer, "Defection Across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations," *Speculum* 86/3 (2011), 636.

[114] See Korobeinikov, "'The King of the East and the West'," 76-79.

[115] See Mecit, "Kingship and Ideology under the Rum Seljuqs," 63-78; Korobeinikov, "'The King of the East and the West'," 68-90.

Muslim court based on Persian cultural traditions, the term "Persian" began to be applied to the latter in contemporary Byzantine histories and chronicles.[116] Generally known as "Turks" before that time, the Seljuks of Rum were from now on thus "Persians", the term which had formerly been reserved to denote the Great Seljuks.[117]

Certainly, people moving from the politically destabilized eastern Islamic lands with their Persianate background to Seljuk Anatolia, where prosperity and stability came under Qilich Arslan II, must have been particularly welcomed at the latter's court.[118] Yet, the Seljuk court was also open and inclusive, where people of various ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds coexisted side by side. Located in the former eastern domain of Byzantium, where the overwhelming majority of population was Christian (Greeks and Armenians), the Seljuks used to negotiate and cooperate with the locals.[119] In fact, the first Seljuk capital in Nicaea, which was however lost to the Crusaders in 1097, was officially gained through alliance between Sulayman and the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos against the Normans in 1081.[120] To secure

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[116] See Koray Şevki Durak, "Defining the 'Turk': Mechanisms of Establishing Contemporary Meaning in the Archaizing Language of the Byzantines," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, Band 59/2009, 70-71(specifically for the table showing the use of the term "Persian" in Byzantine histories and chronicles produced during the eleventh and late thirteenth centuries) and 75-77; Rustam Shukurov, "The Byzantine Classification of the Turks: Archaization or Academic Traditionalism," in Φιλοπάτιον: *Spaziergang im Kaiserlichen Garten. Schriften über Byzanz und seinen Nachbarn*, eds. Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger and Falko Daim (Mainz, 2012), 288-91.

[117] See Durak, "Defining the 'Turk'," 75-77.

[118] See Carole Hillenbrand, "Rāvandī, the Seljuk Court at Konya and the Persianization of Anatolian Cities," *Mesogeios* 25-26 (2005), 157-69.

[119] For relationship between the Seljuks and the Christians, specifically the Byzantines, see Nevra Necipoğlu, "Turks and Byzantines (Eleventh and Twelfth centuries)," in *The Turkic Speaking People*: *2000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans*, eds. Kuban Doğan and Ergun Çagatay (Munich, London, 2006), 254-65; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, "Twelfth-Century Byzantine and Turkish States," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16 (1991), 35-51; Beihammer, "Defection Across the Border of Islam and Christianity," 597-651; Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs*, 127-80.

[120] See Beihammer, "Defection Across the Border of Islam and Christianity," 609.

power in view of the changing political conditions in Anatolia, the Seljuk sultans, such as Shahanshah and Mas'ud I, also made visits to the Byzantine court in Constantinople.[121] In turn, the Seljuk court welcomed members of the Byzantine court in Konya, which became permanent seat of the Seljuk rule from the early twelfth century. Mas'ud I is known, for instance, for having hosted Isaac Komnenos, brother of the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118-43), and his eldest son John Komnenos. The latter, being accused of treachery against the Byzantine emperor, even stayed in the court of Mas'ud, converted to Islam and became son-in-law of the Seljuk sultan.[122]

The evidence at hand shows that Qilich Arslan II continued engaging with local Christian environment. It is known that he had a chancellor named Christopher, an official named Gabras from the prominent Byzantine family of the Gabrades, and a Christian physician from Edessa.[123] Moreover, his court hosted sons of the commander-in-chief of the Byzantine army John Vatatzes, Manuel and Alexios, as well as a Byzantine aristocrat from Alaşehir (Philadelphia) Theodore Mangaphas.[124] Born supposedly of a Christian wife of Mas'ud I, who appears to have been a granddaughter of the Grand Prince Sviatoslav II of Kiev (r. 1073-76), Qilich Arslan II also had a Christian wife, who was a Byzantine of Greek origin and gave birth to his son

[121] Ibid., 633.

[122] See Necipoğlu, "Turks and Byzantines", 258; Beihammer, "Defection Across the Border of Islam and Christianity," 618-22.

[123] See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 101, 103, and 251; idem, *The Formation of Turkey*, 26, 30, and 159.

[124] See Beihammer, "Defection Across the Border of Islam and Christianity," 631.

Kaykhusraw.[125] Besides this, Qilich Arslan enjoyed close contacts with Michael the Syrian, the patriarch of the Jacobite Church of Antioch between 1166 and 1199, with whom he engaged in discussions on religion and whose prayers he praised for having brought victory to the Seljuks.[126] In fact, in 1162, following his visit to Constantinople, where he stayed for about three months to make a treaty with Manuel Komnenos in the face of a threatening alliance between the Danishmendids, the Zangids and the Byzantines, Qilich Arslan became a spiritually adopted son of the Byzantine emperor.[127] It is also important to note that in his proposal to marry one of the daughters of Frederick Barbarossa I, made presumably after the Battle of Myriokephalon, Qilich Arslan reportedly even promised the latter his own conversion to Christianity as well as that of his subjects.[128] Although this notification could simply have been part of the imagination of Otto of St Blasien (d. 1223), a German Benedictine chronicler, who thus attempted to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over Islam,[129] Qilich Arslan's alleged promise of conversion did not take place as the would-be bride unexpectedly died.

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[125] See R. Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 116-17 and 128; D. Korobeinikov, "A Sultan in Constantinople: the Feasts of Ghiyath al-Din Kay-Khusraw I," in *Eat, Drink and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium*, Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honor of Professor A. A. M. Bryer (Vol. 13), eds. Leslie Brubaker and Kallirroe Linardou (Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 101-102.

[126] See Florence Jullien, "Michael the Syrian," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Accessed 17 November 2014, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/michael-syrian; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 3, 394-95; Also, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," 700; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 230-31.

[127] For Qilich Arslan II's visit to Constantinople in 1162 and his adoption as son by Manuel Comnenos, see particularly Choniates, *O City Byzantium*, 67-69. Also, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," 690; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 201-202.

[128] See Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," 697; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 221.

[129] See Korobeinikov, "A Sultan in Constantinople," 103, ft. 51.

Establishing and maintaining contacts with Christians, particularly local, the Seljuks assimilated and accommodated themselves into life in Anatolia. As powerful suzerains in the region, they also laid claim to the territorial and geographical possession of the lands of Rum (*diyar-i Rum* in Persian and *bilad al-Rum* in Arabic) or the lands of Romans/Byzantines. This is exemplified in the Seljuk title *sultan bilad al-Rum* ("sultan of the lands of Rum"), which was first held by Qilich Arslan II.[130] Aspiring to the Roman/Byzantine past, the Seljuk ruler even gave one of his sons the name Qaysarshah, a combination of the Roman/Byzantine imperial title "*Caesar*" and Persian "*shah*". Obviously, along with the integration of Muslims and Christians into the Seljuk court, both Muslim (Turkic, Persian, and Arabic) and Christian (primarily local Greek and Armenian) cultures shaped and defined it. Apparently, the cultural atmosphere in the Seljuk court was far from being mono-faceted but rather quite complex.[131] Thus, established within the principles of Islam, the Seljuk court would draw on Persian cultural traditions and values that would assist to project its ideology of rulership and legitimize its rule in the medieval Islamic world; yet, it would also engage with the surrounding Christian environment and uncover its legacy that would in turn help to assert Seljuk authority and power in the land of Rum.

[130] See Mecit, "Kingship and Ideology under the Rum Seljuqs," 69. It is important to note that the reference to the land of Rum was already used in the title of Masud I - *malik bilad al-Rum*. See Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 26.

[131] See A. C. S. Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life in Saljuq Anatolia," in *Turco-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 191-222.

2.3 Cultural and Architectural Activities of Qilich Arslan II

During his reign Qilich Arslan II was keenly involved in cultural and architectural activities in his domain. He was interested in philosophy and was a patron of a Persian philosopher named Kamal al-Din. According to Michael the Syrian, the latter accompanied the Seljuk sultan on his visit to Malatya in 1181 and participated in religious debates there.[132] Toward the late period of his reign, Qilich Arslan also welcomed and hosted the mystic philosopher Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 1191), known as *shaykh al-ishraq* ("the master of illumination"), at his court in Konya.[133] There, Suhrawardi worked and spread his teaching about Platonic philosophy and Zoroastrian principles through the "ancients" of Greece and Iran,[134] which must have been of great appeal to the Seljuk sultan with his interest in ancient pasts. Besides this, Qilich Arslan was engaged with the science of astrology. He was a dedicatee of the manual on dream interpretation by Hubaysh b. Ibrahim from Tiflis.[135] Moreover, in 1186, in fear of a universal flood, which was predicted by many astrologers of the time, he reportedly spent large amounts of money for excavations in the ground and construction of underground houses that would provide shelter for people.[136]

Among the major concerns of Qilich Arslan was also architectural patronage. He rebuilt the city of Aksaray ("White Palace") and by 1156 completed the construction of

[132] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 3, 390-91. Also, see Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," 700; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 230-31.

[133] Yalman, " 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated," 152 and 169.

[134] Ibid.

[135] See Yazici, "Ḥobayš b. Ebrāhim b. Moḥammad Teflisi."

[136] Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, 320. Also, see O. Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," 700-701; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 231-32.

the Friday mosque there, which was begun by Mas'ud I in the early 1150s.[137] Welcoming immigrants from Azerbaijan to settle in Aksaray, which was designated as *dar al-zafar*, *dar al-jihad*, and *dar al-ribat* due to the successful military campaigns against the Danishmendids often launched from there, Qilich Arslan endowed the city with the madrasa Muzafarriyya as well as with commercial establishments.[138] It was near Aksaray that in the late twelfth century Qilich Arslan II supposedly ordered the construction of Alay Han.[139] A work of the architect Tutbeg b. Bahram from Ahlat, it was a large scale building with a prominent *muqarnas* portal, which is generally regarded as the first Seljuk caravanserai. At the same time, Qilich Arslan is credited with the rebuilding of the citadel walls in Konya as well as the walls of Malatya, in 1173-74 and 1180-81, respectively.[140] In fact, as the capital of the Seljuk state of Anatolia, Konya was the center of the architectural patronage of the sultan of Rum. There, in the city's citadel, Qilich Arslan continued the building of a mosque first founded by Mas'ud I in 1155-56.[141] Near it, he built a palace, of which nothing has

[137] See O. Pancaroğlu, "Aksaray," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Three*. Accessed 17 November 2014, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/aksaray; *Anonim Selçukname*, 25; Hamdallah Mustawfi Qazwini, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulub composed by Hamd-allah Mustawfi of Qazvin in 740 (1340)*, transl. G. le Strange (London, 1915), 96. For the Friday Mosque, see Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 26-29.

[138] For the madrasa Muzafariyya, see Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1958), 48. For commercial establishments, see *Anonim Selçukname*, 25.

[139] For Alay Han, see Bekir Deniz, "Alay Han," in *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, ed. Hakkı Acun (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007), 51-75; Turan, "Kılıç Arslan II," 701-702; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye,* 234.

[140] For walls in Konya, see Ü. Bates, citing *Seyahatname*, III, ed. by A. Cevdet and N. Asim (Istanbul: Ikdam Matbaasi, 1314-18 H.), 18-19, in her "Evliya Çelebi's Comments on the Saljuqs of Rum," in *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, ed. R. Hillenbrand (California: Mazda Publishers, 1994), 260. For walls of Malatya, see Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, 310.

[141] See Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered," *Artibus Asiae* 51 (1991), 54-74; Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 29-34.

survived except a pavilion, which is dated to 1173-74.[142] Within this palatial complex, Qilich Arslan II also erected an iwan hall for royal audiences.[143] In addition, he built a decagonal mausoleum in the citadel.[144] It is in this mausoleum that Qilich Arslan ultimately found a resting place. Visually embodying the power and glory of the Seljuk sultan, this monument is the focus of the next chapter.

[142] See Sarre, *Konya Köşkü*; Kuniholm, "Dendrochnologically Dated Ottoman Monuments," 132-33.

[143] See Bates, citing *Seyahatname,* III, 18-19, in "Evliya Çelebi's Comments," 260.

[144] For the tomb tower, see chapter three.

CHAPTER 3: THE MAUSOLEUM OF QILICH ARSLAN II

This chapter is concerned with the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. It discusses the site where the tomb was constructed. Along with this, it examines the building itself, with a focus on its architectural composition as well as its decorative and epigraphic programs. In addition, it analyzes the architectural framework in which the mausoleum was built.

3.1 Site

The city of Konya is dominated by an artificial mound which rises at its center. Today, it is popularly known as the ʻAla al-Din Hill or Alaeddin Tepesi due to the vast building activities in Konya and beyond of ʻAla al-Din Kayqubad I (r. 1220-37), the grandson of Qilich Arslan II, whose reign is considered to mark the Golden Age in the history of the Seljuks of Anatolia.[145] However, according to archeological reports, the history of the hill goes back to prehistoric times.[146] Although the hill's history is largely

[145] Responsible for the building of the walls of Konya, ʻAla al-Din Kayqubad is also associated with the expansion of the Friday Mosque there and the renovation of the palace of Qilich Arslan II. As such, these buildings are popularly known as the ʻAla al-Din Mosque (Alaeddin Cami) and the ʻAla al-Din Pavilion (Alaeddin Köşkü), respectively. Due to the popularity of ʻAla al-Din Kayqubad as one of the greatest Seljuk sultans of Anatolia, even the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II and the unfinished mausoleum of ʻIzz al-Din Kayka'us I are at times also referred to as ʻAla al-Din Mausoleums (Alaeddin Türbeleri). It is no coincidence that the hill where the citadel is located and the park that covers it today carry the honorific of Kayqubad I, ʻAla al-Din. For more on the architectural patronage of ʻAla al-Din Kayqubad, see See Suzan Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ʻAla al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-1237)," Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 2010).

[146] See Mahmut Akok, "Konya Şehri İçindeki Alâeddin Tepesinde Türk Tarih Kurumu Adına Yapılan Arkeolojik Kazıların Mimari Buluntuları," *Belleten* 39 (1975), 217-24; Also, see Mustafa R. Abicel, "Konya Alaeddin Camii'nde Yapılan Onarımlar ve Zemin Güçlendirme Çalışmaları ile Alaeddin Tepesinin Sorunları," in *Vakıf Haftası Restorasyon ve Vakıfların Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etkileri Semineri* (7-13 Aralık 1987), (Ankara, 1988), 27-70.

obscure, it is known that the hill was a site of Byzantine settlement at the time of the Seljuk occupation of Konya in the late eleventh century. Following the seizure of Nicaea, the first capital of the Seljuks, by the Crusaders in 1097, Konya became a new capital of the Seljuk state of Anatolia in the early twelfth century. Consequently, Konya became the center of the architectural patronage of the Seljuk sultans, whose focus was chiefly on the ʻAla al-Din Hill (figs. 1 and 2).

At present, the ʻAla al-Din Hill is occupied by green park and dotted with modern buildings. However, once it was a site of the Seljuk citadel, an official residential and governmental quarter of the Seljuks of Anatolia. The extant architectural constructions from the Seljuk times include a Friday mosque with two mausolea in a courtyard (the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II and the mausoleum of ʻIzz al-Din Kayka'us I) and a pavilion located near it in the north of the ʻAla al-Din Hill. This area of the hill was excavated in 1941, 1971, and 1982.[147] Below, along with architecture, I will discuss archeological reports, textual sources and epigraphic evidence in order to provide insight into the Seljuk citadel, where the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was built in the late twelfth century.

The construction of citadels enjoyed popularity in the Islamic world since the middle of the eleventh century. [148] This phenomenon was associated with the rise of

[147] See M. Akok, "Konya'da Alâiddin Köşkü Selçuk Saray ve Köşkleri," *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* XII (1968), 47-73; idem, "Konya Şehri İçindeki"; Erol Yurdakul, "Konya-Alâaddin Camii 1971 Yılı Avlu Kazısında Yeni Buluntular," *Ön Asya* VI (1971), 8-9; Haluk Karamağaralı, "Konya Ulu Camisi," *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi* 4 (1982), 121-32.

[148] See O. Grabar, "Palaces, Citadels and Fortifications," in *Architecture of the Islamic World*, ed. George Michell (London, 1978), 65-79; Jere L. Bacharach, "Administrative Complexes, Palaces, and Citadels. Changes in the Loci of Medieval Muslim Rule," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts. Urban Structure and Social Order*, eds. Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi (New York, 1991), 111-28; S. Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia: Seljuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey* (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2000), 56-61.

Turkic military elite, which was ethnically and linguistically distinct from a subject population over which it ruled (for example, the Great Seljuks of Iran, Central Asia and Iraq, the Zangids of Syria, the Ayyubids of Egypt, and others). It is thus no coincidence that there was a need for a fortified center of rule, which would provide safety and security for rulers.

According to archeological studies, the Seljuk citadel in Konya was fortified.[149] Its fortification walls were supposedly of Byzantine origin. In 1173-74 Qilich Arslan rebuilt the walls of the citadel. However, in 1190, a severe damage was caused to them by the Third Crusade, which was led through Anatolia by Frederick Barbarossa. The citadel walls were then repaired by ʻIzz al-Din Qilich Arslan III (r. 1204-5) in 1204.

The earliest epigraphic record from the citadel of Konya comes from a wooden minbar. Signed by a craftsman Mengi Birti al-Haji from Ahlat, it was commissioned by Mas'ud I, who founded a Friday mosque (popularly known today as ʻAla al-Din Mosque/Alaeddin Cami) there in 1155-56.[150] After the death of Mas'ud, the construction of the mosque was continued by his son Qilich Arslan II. There is much debate in scholarship regarding what constituted the earliest Seljuk mosque in Konya, which was largely expanded by ʻIzz al-Din Kayka'us I and ʻAla al-Din Kayqubad I in the first half of the thirteenth century and nowadays consists of a hypostyle hall in the east, a central domed chamber with mihrab, and an irregular enclosed area in the west. The scholarly opinion is divided between the hypostyle prayer hall, which was popular

[149] See Akok, "Konya'da Alâiddin Köşkü," 52. For the discussions on the fortification of the Konya citadel, see Redford, *Landscape and the State*, 60, ft. 164; Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 251-55. Also, see Bates, "Evliya Çelebi's Comments," 260.

[150] For the Friday mosque in Konya, see Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque"; Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 265-76; Oral, "Anadolu'da sanat değeri olan ahşap minberler," 29-34.

in the central Islamic lands (Iraq), and the domed chamber, which was common in the eastern Islamic lands (Central Asia, Iran).[151] Moreover, in view of Scott Redford, the northeastern part of the courtyard of the present-day mosque might have been a site of a fifth-century Byzantine church, which was converted into a mosque by the Seljuks and then expanded.[152] Obviously, there is a need for a new archaeological investigation of the mosque site which will help solve questions concerning its formation and expansion.

To the north of the Friday mosque stood a palace.[153] It is no longer extant, except a pavilion (popularly known today as ʻAla al-Din Pavilion/Alaeddin Köşkü). Today, it is a one-storey structure. However, originally it was a two-storey pavilion. Like medieval Islamic palaces, such as the Alhambra in Granada (Spain), it had a balcony with an arch framed by tile inscription that provided a view of the city.[154] The inscriptional record from the pavilion reveals that it was built during the reign of Qilich

[151] Among the scholars who think that the hypostyle prayer hall of the Friday mosque in Konya constituted the earliest Seljuk mosque in the city are, for example, Celal Esad Arseven, Doğan Kuban, Yılmaz Önge, Aptullah Kuran, and Haluk Karamağaralı. See D. Kuban, *Anadolu Türk Mimarisinin Kaynak ve Sorunları*, 114-20; H. Karamağaralı, "Konya Ulu Camisi"; A. Kuran, "The Citadel of Konya (Matthews Lectures in Columbia University in 1981)," in *Selçuklular'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Mimarlık/Architecture in Turkey from the Seljuks to the Republic*, eds. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, Timur Kuran (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 158; Yaşar Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri* (Konya, 2009), 45-48, 62. Among the scholars who think that the central domed chamber with mihrab of the Friday mosque formed the earliest Seljuk mosque in Konya are, for instance, Friedrich Sarre, Mehmet Önder, Mehmet Zeki Oral, İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, Oktay Aslanapa, Michael Meinecke, and Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger. See Y. Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*, 42-44, 48-52, 54-56, 63-64; N. Asutay-Effenberger, "Konya Alaeddin Camisi Yapım Evreleri Üzerine Düşüncüler," *METU JFA* 2 (2006), 113-22.

[152] See Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque."

[153] For the palace in the Konya citadel, see Sarre, *Konya Köşkü*; Akok, "Konya'da Alâiddin Köşkü"; S. Redford, "Thirteenth Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery," *Ars Orientalis* 23(1993), 220-21; Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 261-63. Also, see Kuniholm, "Dendrochnologically Dated Ottoman Monuments," 132-33.

[154] See Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 263.

Arslan II. Dated to 1173-74, the pavilion was later also repaired by ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad. Archaeological studies show that the structure was originally erected on the fortification wall, a practice which was also known in medieval Byzantium.[155] Thus, it combined both palatial and military functions.

Within the palatial complex, Qilich Arslan II also erected an iwan, a vaulted hall open at one end. Although there are no architectural remains of it, according to the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (d. 1684-85), it competed with the *taq-i kisra*.[156] Popularly also known as *iwan-i kisra*, this denoted the Sasanian palace in Ctesiphon, specifically its iwan hall which provided a setting for court rituals and ceremonies.[157] As a symbol of authority, the iwan hall held an important place among Muslim rulers, who regarded the Sasanian example as a model.[158] Reportedly vying with the *taq-i kisra*, the monumental iwan from the Seljuk palace in Konya can thus be regarded as an expression of Qilich Arslan II’s desire to evoke the past and perhaps even to surpass it. The tradition of the construction of iwan to serve as the audience hall, where ruler would meet with his subjects and dispense justice, was later also continued in the Anatolian Seljuk palaces, such as those in Kubadabad and Alanya, built in the thirteenth century.[159]

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[155] See Akok, “Konya’da Alâiddin Köşkü,” 52; Redford, “Constantinople, Konya, Conical Kiosks, Cultural Confluence,” in *Proceedings of the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium* (Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Foundation, 2010), 42.

[156] *Seyahatname*, III, 18-19, cited by Bates in “Evliya Çelebi’s Comments,” 260. Also, see Qazwini, *The Geographical Part*, 97-98.

[157] See Nasser Rabbat, “Mamluk Throne Halls: “Qubba” or “Iwan?,” *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 202 and 208.

[158] See Gülrü Necipoglu, “Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Islamic Architecture,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 170.

[159] See Redford, “Constantinople, Konya,” 47, ft. 19.

To the south of the Friday mosque stood a Byzantine church, which is known as a church of St. Amphilochius and Aflatun masjid.[160] Presumably built in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, the building was demolished in the early twentieth century because of the risk of collapse. According to the Arab scholar al-Harawi (d. 1215), who visited Konya supposedly in the late twelfth century, the church was a burial site of the ancient philosopher Plato, who is known as Aflatun in the Islamic world.[161] Likewise, in view of a fifteenth century Russian pilgrim named Basil, who passed through Konya on his way to Jerusalem, the building was a burial ground of a Christian bishop Amphilochius (d. after 394).[162] It is hence no coincidence that the structure is popularly associated with Plato/Aflatun and St. Amphilochius. During the Seljuk period, the church continued to function as a church, serving Christian subjects of the Seljuk court. Its conversion into a mosque took place under the Ottomans, supposedly in the late fifteenth century.

As part of the architectural complex in the citadel, a decagonal mausoleum was built on the order of Qilich Arslan II in the late twelfth century.[163] Originally, the tomb stood on its own, close to the mosque and the palace. However, at present, it stands in the courtyard of the mosque, specifically to the west of the prayer hall and to the north

[160] For the church in the Konya citadel, see Semavi Eyice, "Konya'nın Alaeddin Tepesinde Selçuklu Öncesine Ait Bir Eser: Eflâtûn Mescidi," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 4 (1970-71), 269-302; Macit V. Tekinalp "Palace Churches of the Anatolian Seljuks: Tolerance or Necessity?" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 33/2 (2009), 148-67; Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 126-28.

[161] See Yalman, citing Harawi's *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage (Kitab al-Isharat ila ma'rifat al-Ziyarat)*, trans. J. W. Meri (Princeton NJ: Darwin Press, 2004), 152, in "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 126. Also, see Tekinalp, "Palace Churches," 159.

[162] See Yalman, citing B. de Khitrowo's *Itineraires Russes en Orient* (Geneva: Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1889), 256, in "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 126. Also, see Tekinalp, "Palace Churches," 159-60.

[163] For the detailed discussion on the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, see section two of this chapter.

of the domed chamber with mihrab which faces the south. According to Kuban, the tomb does not fit the plan of the mosque and might have thus been built on the site of a Christian chapel or martyrium.[164] Nevertheless, there exist no data to verify whether or not the tomb was erected on a pre-existing structure. Moreover, the present location of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II in the courtyard of the mosque is due to the expansion of the mosque that took place in the first half of the thirteenth century. In this regard, it is important to note that the tradition of bringing together a mausoleum and a mosque was not uncommon in the medieval Islamic world, as exemplified in the mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar (1140s-60s) in Merv, which stood attached to the Friday mosque.[165] However, the presence of a mausoleum in the courtyard of a mosque was unusual at the time, although later this would also be repeated in Mahbari Khatun's complex (1254-84) in Kayseri.[166] The intentions behind the Seljuks' inclusion of a tomb into the mosque's courtyard are not clear. In view of scarcity of sources, it can only be hypothesized that pilgrimage to the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, which served as a dynastic tomb of the Seljuks of Anatolia, was thus encouraged.[167]

[164] See Kuban, *Anadolu Türk Mimarisinin Kaynak*, 153; Also, see Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque," 59.

[165] See R. Ettinghausen, O. Grabar, M. Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650-1250* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 146.

[166] See Patricia Blessing, "Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia and a Discussion of Mahbari Khatun's Mosque Complex in Kayseri," *Belleten* 78 (2014), 475-526.

[167] See Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque Redford," 69-71; Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 278.

In 1219, near the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, an octagonal mausoleum was begun by 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I.[168] Unlike his predecessors, this Seljuk sultan of Rum wanted to be buried in an own tomb. According to Redford, this may have stemmed from the dispute over his succession to the throne and "desire for personal aggrandizement."[169] However, 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us died in 1219 when his mausoleum was still under the construction. It is supposed that due to the contest for power between him and his brother and successor, 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad, the latter left the tomb unfinished.[170] Nevertheless, like Qilich Arslan II's mausoleum, the mausoleum of 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us was included into the courtyard of the enlarged mosque. The tomb might have also been intended to be part of the pilgrimage visitation.[171] Nonetheless, as it was deliberately left incomplete after the death of 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us, it seems unlikely that it would have been included into the pilgrimage route.

Besides this, the Konya citadel is considered to have had a madrasa. This view is based chiefly on a reference in the Altun Aba waqf document (1202) to a "royal madrasa" (*madrasa sultaniyya*) that stood in Konya.[172] Nevertheless, due to the lack of any evidential data, this view remains hypothetical.

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[168] For the mausoleum of 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I in Konya, see Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 34-37; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 64-69.

[169] See Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque," 69-70.

[170] Ibid, 69-71.

[171] See Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum," 278.

[172] See Turan, "Şemseddin Altun-Aba, Vakfiyesi ve Hayatı," *Belleten* 11 (1947), 197-235; idem, "Kılıç Arslan II," 701; Asutay-Effenberger, "Konya Alaeddin Camisi Yapım Evreleri," 118.

The Seljuk citadel in Konya was a seat of power and rule. Resting on the ‘Ala al-Din Hill, it was a fortified site, which like many Muslim citadels, had a Friday mosque, where *khutba* (Friday sermon) was read, and a palace, where sultan and his retinue resided. Like the citadel in Granada, which had a dynastic cemetery where the rulers of the Nasrid dynasty (1230-1492) were buried,[173] the Konya citadel served as a royal burial ground for the Seljuk dynasts who were interred in the mausoleum built by Qilich Arslan II. However, unlike in Granada, where dynastic cemetery was located within palatial enclosure, in Konya the dynastic tomb originally stood on its own, although it was incorporated into the mosque’s courtyard in the thirteenth century. Moreover, the citadel in Konya had a mausoleum of ‘Izz al-Din Kayka’us I as well as a church and supposedly a madrasa. Like palaces and mosques, churches existed, in fact, in many Seljuk citadels in Anatolia. Besides the Konya citadel, they were present, for example, in the citadels of Alanya, Bayburt, and Ispir, reflecting religious openness of the Seljuk court.[174] Nevertheless, there exists no information, to my knowledge, regarding the use of a madrasa in the citadels of the Islamic world. As has been noted above, its presence in the Konya citadel is also hypothetical.

Unfortunately, there is little known about a life in the citadel, court ceremonies and processions that took place there. However, it is obvious that the citadel was closely linked with the Seljuk dynasty. Patronizing grand architectural projects in the Konya citadel, the Seljuk sultans lived and governed as well as were buried there.

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[173] See D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 105.

[174] See Tekinalp “Palace Churches”; R. Shukurov, “Churches in the Citadels of Ispir and Bayburt: An Evidence of ‘Harem Christianity’?,” in *Polidoro. Studi offerti ad Antonio Carile* (Spoleto, 2013), 713-23.

3.2 Building

Today, following the main entrance to the Friday mosque from the east and walking through the door just to the right of it, one enters a large courtyard. There, close to the north-west corner of the prayer hall stands the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II.

Known as *turba-i salatin* ("tomb of sultans") and *kunbadhana-i salatin* (literally, "tomb of sultans"),[175] the tomb of Qilich Arslan II served as the chief burial place for the Seljuk dynasts since the late twelfth century. In this regard, it is important to note that before its construction, the Seljuk rulers did not have any dynastic burial ground. Sulayman (d. 1086), the founder of the Seljuk dynasty, was killed and buried in Aleppo, whereas Qilich Arslan I (d. 1107), who drowned in the River Khabur, was interred in Mayyafariqin (modern Silvan).[176] Likewise, Shahanshah (d. 1116), who was choked to death on the order of Mas'ud I, was buried supposedly in or near Konya.[177] Qilich Arslan II's construction of the mausoleum in the citadel of Konya thus set a new tradition for the Seljuk sovereigns, who consequently were buried there.

Although the history of the construction of the tomb is associated with Qilich Arslan II, the idea of a mausoleum may have belonged to his father, Mas'ud I. Presumably in 1144-45, Mas'ud ordered the transfer of the coffin of his father Qilich Arslan I from Mayyafariqin to Konya.[178] However, when the coffin was half way from the Seljuk capital, the Georgians reportedly began incursions into the southeast of

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[175] See *Anonim Selçukname*; Ibn Bibi, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye*.

[176] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 23-24; Aksarayi, *Müsameretü'l-Ahbar*, 126. Also, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 81-82 and 110; H. Önkal, *Selçuklu-Osmanlı Sultanları ve Türbeleri* (Ankara, 1999).

[177] See Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 160.

[178] The story about the coffin of Qilich Arslan I is reported by Konyalı with reference to the seventeenth century Ottoman chronicler Müneccimbaşı. See Konyalı, "Alâ-ed-Din Türbesi," 582-83.

Anatolia. Consequently, the body of Qilich Arslan I was brought back to Mayyafariqin. It is unknown where Mas'ud planned to bury his father in Konya. Like many rulers in medieval Islamic world - for example, Ismail b. Ahmad (r. 873-907), founder of the Samanids' mausoleum in Bukhara,[179] al-Mu'izz (r. 953-975), founder of the Fatimids' tomb (*turba al-za'faran* or "the tomb of saffron") in Cairo,[180] Timur-Tash (r. 1122-53), founder of the Artukids' tomb in Mardin,[181] and others - Mas'ud may have thought of the construction of a mausoleum, which would serve the Seljuk dynasty and link it with the capital. Nevertheless, it was his son and successor, Qilich Arslan II, under whom this was realized.

The date of the construction of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is unknown.[182] Its architectural and artistic composition points to the late twelfth century and it is generally considered to have been built before the death of Qilich Arslan II in 1192. In fact, it has been suggested that the construction of the monument took place in the last quarter of the century,[183] specifically in the period after 1178[184] or between 1180 and

[179] See Michailidis, "Landmarks," 40-50.

[180] See Caroline Williams, "The Cult of 'Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo. Part II: The Mausolea," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985), 39.

[181] See Carole Hillenbrand, "The Establishment of Artuqid Power in Diyār Bakr in the Twelfth Century," *Studia Islamica* 54 (1981), 150.

[182] There is no record of the date of the erection on Qilich Arslan II's mausoleum. It was suggested that it was either not inscribed or was simply erased from the foundation inscription. For the scholarship on the mausoleum, see Huart, *Konia*, 10-12; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 48; idem, *Denkmäler*, 123-24; Löytved, *Konia*, 27-28; Oral, "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri"; Arık, "Erken Devir Anadolu," 70-71; Konyalı, "Alâ-ed-Din Türbesi," 576-85; Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 29-37; Kuban, *Anadolu Türk Mimarisinin Kaynak*, 153; idem, *Selçuklu Çağında Anadolu Sanatı*, 223; Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, 127; idem, *Anadolu'da İlk Türk Mimarisi*, 99-100; Meinecke, "Kılıçarslan (Alaeddin) Türbe," 222-32; Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*, 178-83; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 185-90; Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*, 170-91.

[183] See Arık, "Erken Devir Anadolu," 70.

[184] See Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 186.

1190[185] and, even in the early 1190s.[186] Certainly, the power and prestige that Qilich Arslan attained after the Battle of Myriokephalon against the Byzantines in 1176 and the elimination of the Danishmendids in 1178 might explain his commissioning of the mausoleum in the second half of the 1170s.[187] However, it seems that its dating can be placed even earlier. It is known that the first years of rule of Qilich Arslan were full of struggle for power with the family members and neighboring Muslim and Christian rulers. Therefore, it is unlikely that the construction of the mausoleum could take place then. Nevertheless, it seems quite possible that the tomb tower was raised in the first half of the 1170s. Indeed, it was the time when Qilich Arslan was on the rise to power and was engaged in patronizing the rebuilding of the citadel walls (1173-74) and the construction of the palace (1173-74) in Konya.[188] Thus, the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II might have been built during the period that stretched from the early 1170s up to 1192.

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is a free-standing structure. However, at an uncertain time it was attached to the Friday mosque, specifically to the prayer hall to its east and to the northern wall extension of the mihrab chamber to its west. In 1975, upon

[185] See Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*, 178.

[186] See Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*, 180.

[187] With the focus on the titulature of Qilich Arslan II, which is inscribed on the mausoleum and describes him as *sultan bilad al-Rum wa al-Sham* ("sultan of the lands of Rum and Sham"), Önkal and Erdemir even suggest that the tomb was erected particularly after the Seljuks' elimination of the Danishmendid dynasty in 1178 when the way to Syria or Sham was open. However, it is important to note that as the sultan of Rum, Qilich Arslan's interest in the neighboring lands of Syria was quite old. In fact, the early reign of Qilich Arslan saw not only his reconquest of the cities on the Syrian border, but also his invasion into Syria in the late 1150s (see section on the reign of Qilich Arslan II in the chapter two (2.1)). See Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 186; Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*, 178.

[188] It is interesting to point out that the rebuilding of the city of Aksaray by Qilich Arslan II is dated to 1155 in the anonymous *Seljuknama* (written in the thirteenth century), but to 1170-71 in the account of the Persian geographer Qazvini (d. c. 1350). See *Anonim Selçukname*, 25; Qazwini, *The Geographical Part*, 96.

the end of the restoration works on the site, the tomb tower was finally set free (figs. 3 and 4).[189] Concurrently, the opening on the eastern side of the mausoleum, which was supposedly made in the thirteenth century and the function of which is quite debatable, was shuttered.[190] The building was thus returned to its original design.

Qilich Arslan II's mausoleum rests on a ten-sided plinth, which currently raises it up to about 1 meter above the ground (figs. 5, 6, and 7).[191] The total height of the tomb tower reaches 23.75 meters. Made chiefly of stone, the building has a decagonal plan[192] and is covered with plain walls pierced by five windows. The latter are set within rectangular surrounds, which are of Byzantine origin and of undetermined date, except the main exterior frame.[193]

The base of the dome features two epigraphic friezes. The lower frieze is carved in dark stone. Its inscription is much damaged and difficult to decipher. Reportedly, it included a eulogy to Qilich Arslan II in Persian that covered all sides of the mausoleum

[189] See Abicel, "Konya Alaeddin Camii'nde Yapılan Onarımlar," 29-30; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 188.

[190] The opening on the eastern side of the mausoleum was supposedly made during the reign of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad, who ruled between 1219 and 1237. See Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque," 71-72. Along with the view that this opening was made to serve as an entrance, there is also a belief that it was first made to serve as a window (supposedly for veneration) and then, at an uncertain time in history, it was turned into an entrance. Still, it is known that during the twentieth century, specifically till the middle of the 1970s, the opening on the east of the mausoleum served as the entrance to the chamber from the prayer hall. See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 29; Meinecke, "Kılıçarslan (Alaeddin) Türbe," 224; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 188; Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*, 177.

[191] It should be noted that the plinth of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was made of stone, although today it is covered with marble.

[192] The entrance side of the mausoleum that is oriented toward the northeast is 3.78 meters wide and each of its nine other sides measure between 3.40 and 3.50 meters in width. See Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*, 172.

[193] It is unknown to what period of the Byzantine art/architecture these window surrounds belong.

except its front side.[194] There, in turn, the foundation inscription in Arabic was set directly above the entrance of the building. Written in *naskh* script, it consists of two lines which reveal:

(1) the construction was ordered (*amara bi-'imara*) by the great sultan (*al-sultan al-mu'azzam*), keeper of the world and the religion (*'izz al-dunya wa al-din*), pillar of Islam and the Muslims (*rukn al-islam wa al-muslimin*), pride of the princes and the sultans (*fahr al-muluk wa al-salatin*), slayer of the polytheists (*katil al-mushrikin*)
(2) sultan of the lands of Rum and Sham (*sultan bilad al-rum wa al-sham*), the Conqueror Qilich Arslan son of Masud son of Victorious Qilich Arslan (*abu al-fath Qilich Arslan bin Mas'ud bin Qilich Arslan nasir*), the Commander of the Faithful (*amir al-muminin*), may God glorify him[195]

Stressing and glorifying the lineage of the Seljuk sultan back to his famous grandfather Qilich Arslan I, the inscription thus legitimizes and extols the rulership of Qilich Arslan II, whose secular power as sultan and religious authority as Muslim ruler are exalted in his lofty titles.

The upper frieze on the mausoleum carries a white-on-blue tile inscription in *naskh* script. It contains the Throne Verse from the Qur'an (*ayat al-kursi*, 2: 255) that emphasizes God's majesty.[196] The verse is accompanied by the divine names of God, known as "the most beautiful names" of God (*al-asma' al-husna*), such as *al-haqq* ("the Real, supreme Truth"), *al-qayyum* ("the Self-Subsisting"), *al-tawwab* ("the Repentant"),

[194] See Oral, "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri," 56.

[195] Ibid. The translation of the foundation inscription is mine.

[196] Ibid. The frieze was reportedly restored in 2006. See Rüçhan and Oluş Arık, *Tiles, Treasures of Anatolian Soil: Tiles of the Seljuk and Beylik Periods* (Istanbul: Kale Group Cultural Productions, 2008), 32.

and others.[197] The top of the building is crowned with a conical dome which is made of brick. Formed by ten triangular facets, it was once covered with blue glazed tiles.

Facing the northeast, the entrance to the mausoleum is placed high off the ground and approached by a double stairway. It is set within a large slightly pointed arch (fig. 8). A photograph taken by Sarre in the early twentieth century shows two columns standing in front of it (fig. 9).[198] Today nothing is known about these columns which were removed at an uncertain time in the last century. Their dating is undetermined. However, their function appears to have been related to the support of a canopy over the entrance. This suggestion is supported by the presence of five stone corbels that project from the wall on the front façade. As has been noted in scholarship, these corbels must have been used for the maintenance of a roof above the entrance, which is no longer extant.[199] The dating of the corbels is also undetermined. Together with the columns, they may not have formed the original design of the entrance to the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II.

The entrance niche is framed by the decorative bands with floral design. Based on the stylistic grounds, these decorative bands are supposed to have been added in the post-Seljuk period.[200] The entrance niche rests on engaged columns and is supported by an elliptical arch. The central part of that arch has a rectangular indentation, forming the

[197] See Kerim Türkmen, "Konya Sultanlar Türbesi İçerisindeki Sandukalar Üzerinde Yer Alan Kitabeler," *Konya Kitabı* X (2007), 666.

[198] See Sarre, *Denkmäler*, 124.

[199] See Oral, "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri," 49; Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*, 178; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 186-87.

[200] See Semra Ögel, *Anadolu Selçukluları'nın Taş Tezyinatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1966), 14.

so-called Bursa arch. Such type of the arch characterizes Ottoman rather than Seljuk architecture and may not belong to the original design of the niche. On the flat surface above the entry is located a square plaque. Carved with floral design, it is Byzantine spolia which is of undetermined date.

Located above the arched niche is the window, which repeats the form of the elliptical arch of the doorway and contains an Arabic inscription in a rectangular panel (fig. 10). It gives the name of the architect, who is Yusuf b. ʻAbd al-Ghaffar. However, unlike the name, the inscribed *nisba* (name of relation) of the architect is difficult to decipher. In scholarship it received different reading versions such as *al-haqq*, *al-harji*, *al-marji*, *al-juhi*, and *al-hojani*.[201] The last reading of the *nisba*, which was suggested by Oral who examined the inscription *in situ* in the early 1950s, is so far largely accepted in the scholarly literature. The architect (or his family) is thus supposed to have been from the city of Hojan, which is located to the southeast of Nishapur in Iran.[202]

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[201] The *nisba* of the architect was recorded as *al-haqq* (الحق) in Huart, *Epigraphie Arabe*, 48 (n. 31); Löytved, *Konia*, 30; Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 32. The version of the *nisba* as *al-harji* (الحرجى) was published in the anonymous guide book on Konya, entitled *Konya ve Rehberi*, 73. The reading of the *nisba* as *al-marji* (المرجى) appeared in *Repertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arabe (RCEA)*. Vol. X, eds. Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, Gaston Wiet (Paris, 1939), 178 (n. 3860); Uzluk, *Konya Abideleri*, 53; Leo Ary Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* (Geneve, 1956), 134; Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten*, 223. The reading of the *nisba* as *al-juhi* (الجوحى) was suggested by Konyalı, who thus assumed that the architect was from Juha, a village to the east of Baghdad in Iraq. See Konyalı, "Alâ-ed-Din Türbesi," 578-79; Zeki Sönmez, *Başlangıcından 16. Yüzyıla Kadar Anadolu Türk-İslam Mimarisinde Sanatçılar* (Ankara, 1989), 179. The reading of the *nisba* as *al-hojani* (الحوجنى) was proposed by Oral. See his "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri", 56 and 69 (fig. 15).

[202] See Oral, "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri," 56, ft. 34. Here, it is necessary to point out that the architect's *nisba al-hojani* (الحوجنى) received different interpretation in several scholarly publications. It is supposed that besides the city of Hojan (حوجن) in Iran, it might refer also to the city of Khujand (خجند) in the present-day northwestern Tajikistan. See Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, 127; Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*, 180. However, it appears that if the *nisba* had referred to the latter city, it would have been written as *al-khujandi* (الخجندى); yet, it is indeed *al-hojani*, implying Hojan. Today Hojan/Khujan (خوجان/حوجن) is a village in Darbqazi district of Nishapur province in Iran.

A large wooden two-wing door with deeply carved stylized floral design opens into the chamber of the mausoleum (fig. 11).[203] The interior is circular in plan (fig. 12). The walls are pierced with ten niches which are deep and semicircular. Once, they also included the niche on the east. Although it was turned into the opening presumably in the thirteenth century, it still features a half-round arch above it. In keeping with the niches, the top of the entrance on the northeast is covered with a semicircular arch as well, so that the visual harmony and unity is preserved in the interior space of the building. The chamber is lit by small windows located close to the dome on the northeast, east, southwest, and west, while the window on the southeast is shuttered. Besides them, the window which currently covers the entrance also provides some additional light.[204] The base of the inner hemispherical dome is highlighted in blue paint, which is also partly visible on the surface of the dome itself. However, it is of undetermined date and may not reflect the original decoration.[205]

Two rows of cenotaphs, which are attributed to the Seljuk sultans of Anatolia who ruled in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, stand in the mausoleum's chamber

[203] The entrance to the chamber of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is closed nowadays. For the door, see Rüstem Bozer, "Eğri Kesim Tekniğine Anadolu'dan Bir Örnek: Konya II. Kılıçarslan Türbesi'nin Ahşap Kapı Kanatları," *IX Vakıf Haftası Kitabı* (1992), 227-36.

[204] It is unknown when the window was placed to cover the entrance on the northeast. The old photograph of the mausoleum published in the early twentieth century shows that already then it was there. Apparently, the opening on the east then served as the main entry into the chamber from the prayer hall. As has already been noted above, it was shuttered in 1975. For the photograph, see Sarre, *Denkmäler*, 124.

[205] Unfortunately, little is documented about the renovation works that the mausoleum went through in the last century. In his publication in 1939, Uzluk mentions floral decoration that embellished the interior of the chamber of the mausoleum, which according to him belongs to the post-Seljuk period. See Uzluk, *Konya Abideleri*, 5. Moreover, a photograph, taken by Gönül Öney in the second half of the last century, shows that the borders of the interior arched niches were highlighted in blue paint, which was most probably added in the post-Seljuk period as well. See Arık, *Tiles*, 31.

(fig. 13). They are eight in number, with six placed close to the main entrance in the southern direction and two near the western wall. Initially, they were all covered with blue tiles. Yet, throughout the centuries they went through a number of changes. Already in the early thirteenth century, some of the cenotaphs were renovated with new blue tile decoration.[206] Severe alterations to them took place in the post Seljuk period, specifically under the Ottomans in the late nineteenth century, when they were both refurbished and repaired.[207] As a result, today three are coated in lime mortar and plaster and only four are entirely decorated with blue tiles, which do not, however, preserve their original arrangements. This blue tile work is also present on the lower part of one of the cenotaphs close to the south wall. Nonetheless, its top is covered with the refurbished tile work of greenish blue color, which distinguishes it from the rest.

The blue tiles of the cenotaphs feature inscriptions written in *naskh* script in white. Although these are much damaged and difficult to decipher, they appear to carry mainly quotations from the Qur'an.[208] Moreover, one of the cenotaphs, standing second in the row close to the entrance, is inscribed with the name of the founder of the mausoleum, Qilich Arslan b. Mas'ud.[209] In addition, the cenotaph standing first in the same row carries the names Sulayman and Qilich Arslan, which are supposed to refer

[206] See Meinecke, "Kılıçarslan (Alaeddin) Türbe," 230-31.

[207] Ibid., 224-29. It should be noted that the cenotaphs, or some of them, were renovated by the Ottomans already in the fifteenth century. Later, during the 1880s and the early 1890s, when the restoration work was carried out on the Friday mosque in Konya, the cenotaphs were repaired and refurbished. Their present appearance is largely due to the late Ottoman work on them. Also, see Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*, 182-90.

[208] See Türkmen, "Konya Sultanlar Türbesi," 666-68.

[209] See Oral, "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri," 55.

either to Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah b. Qilich Arslan II (r. 1196-1204) or to his son, ‘Izz al-Din Qilich Arslan III b. Sulaymanshah.[210] It is very likely that each of the cenotaphs originally carried the name of the Seljuk ruler for whom it was made. Nonetheless, the recording of most of those names is lost.

Still, on the basis of the textual sources, it can be assumed that besides Qilich Arslan II,[211] Mas’ud I,[212] Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah,[213] Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (r. 1292-96, 1205-11),[214] ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad I,[215] Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237-46)[216] and Rukn al-Din Qilich Arslan IV (r. 1249, 1259-65)[217] were buried in

[210] Ibid. The inscription does not feature the ending “shah” in the name of Sulayman. In fact, it has survived only on two tiles.

[211] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 26; Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 48 and 55; idem, *El Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, cilt 1, 131-32 and 154.

[212] See Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 48 and 55; idem, *El Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, 131-32. Here, it is also important to note that according to the seventeenth century Ottoman chronicler Müneccimbaşı, Mas’ud I was buried in Amasya. However, this appears to be a wrong assumption. It is known that after the campaign to Armenian Cilicia in 1156, Mas’ud got ill. Consequently, he returned to Konya. There he soon died and was buried. See Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 195.

[213] See Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 55; idem, *El Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, cilt 1, 154.

[214] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 28; Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 48 and 55-56; idem, *El Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, cilt 1, 154.

[215] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 29-31; Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 188; idem, *El Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, cilt 1, 457.

[216] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 33; Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 228; idem, *El Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, cilt 2, 87-88.

[217] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 36; Aksarayi, *Müsameretü’l-Ahbar*, 169-71. It should be noted that there is a mausoleum that bears the name of Rukn al-Din Qilich Arslan IV in Aksaray. Dated to the late thirteenth century, it was built in memory of the Seljuk sultan who was killed there in 1265. See Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 83-86.

the mausoleum.[218] The information lacks regarding the burials of other Seljuk sultans in the tomb in Konya. In this regard, it is important to note that due to the struggle for power with ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad I, ‘Izz al-Din Kayka’us I was buried in distant and provincial city of Sivas on the order of the former.[219] Moreover, because of the political destabilization in Anatolia after the Seljuk defeat to the Mongols in 1243, ‘Izz al-Din Kayka’us II (r. 1246-61) fled to Byzantium and then to Crimea, where he died.[220] Besides this, the death of ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad III (r. 1298-1303) reportedly took place in Isfahan, Iran, where he was killed during the visit of the Mongol Ilkhanid court.[221] Regarding Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw III (r. 1265-84)[222] and Ghiyath al-Din Mas’ud II (r. 1282-98, 1303-8),[223] they were supposedly buried in Erzurum (or Erzincan) and Amasya, respectively. Lastly, nothing is known about the burial of ‘Izz al-Din Qilich Arslan III, whose death is also obscure.[224]

[218] There is confusion in scholarship regarding the identities of the Seljuk sultans who were buried in the mausoleum. See Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye,* 688-89; Konyalı, “Alâ-ed-Din Türbesi,” 583-84; Önkal, *Selçuklu-Osmanlı Sultanları ve Türbeleri*, 15-30; Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*, 42-44 and 183-85. According to the modern panel on the entrance of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, it served as a burial ground for Mas’ud I, Qilich Arslan II, Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I, ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad I, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II, Rukn al-Din Qilich Arslan IV, and Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw III.

[219] See Redford, “The Alaeddin Mosque,” 69-71.

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[220] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 35; Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 300-302; idem, *El Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, cilt 2, 243-47; Aksarayi, *Müsameretü’l-Ahbar*, 163-64.

[221] See Aksarayi, *Müsameretü’l-Ahbar*, 325. Also, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 634.

[222] See *Anonim Selçukname*, 44. Also, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 583-84.

[223] See Aksarayi, *Müsameretü’l-Ahbar*, 334. Also, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 644. It should be noted that there is a mausoleum (dated to the middle of the fourteenth century) that is locally attributed to Ghiyath al-Din Mas’ud II in Amasya. See Bates, “The Anatolian Mausoleum,” 251-54.

[224] See Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 38-42; idem, *El Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, cilt 1, 96-97 and 104-108; Aksarayi, *Müsameretü’l-Ahbar*, 128-29.

It is true that the Seljuk sultans whose death and/or burial are not recorded in any literary sources might have been interred in the tomb of Qilich Arslan II. The number of the Seljuk cenotaphs may have thus even exceeded their present number of eight.[225] However, this remains hypothetical, although it is certain that one of the aforementioned sultans was buried in the tomb.

Below the chamber of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is located the crypt.[226] Its door is just below the entrance of the mausoleum and is approached by a stairway. The interior of the crypt has a circular plan. Lit by four small windows,[227] it is covered with a shallow hemispherical dome, which is made of rubble stone and filled with plaster. In accordance with the old Turkic burial practice, the Seljuk sultans of Anatolia were most likely mummified after the death and their bodies were brought to and kept in the crypt. Today, no mummies are, however, present here.[228]

[225] See Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye,* 688-89.

[226] Like the main entrance to the chamber, the entrance to the crypt of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is closed nowadays.

[227] See Oral, "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri," 49. In general, windows in a crypt have their openings in the plinth of the mausoleum. Today, there is, however, no trace of any window opening on the plinth of Qilich Arslan II's tomb, which was renovated in the last century, presumably its second half.

[228] The number of the mummies in the crypt should have corresponded to the number of the cenotaphs standing in the tomb chamber. In his discussion on the mausoleum published in 1965, Konyalı mentions six mummies, which were once seen by old people whom he consulted. According to Konyalı, the mummies were taken out of the crypt and lost in the early twentieth century. See Konyalı, "Alâ-ed-Din Türbesi," 582 and 584-85. Here, it is also important to note that recently twenty-five skulls and bones were reportedly found in the crypt of the mausoleum. However, they still need to be examined in order to verify to whom they might belong and whether they might belong to the Seljuk period. See Mehmet Çayırdağ and Halit Erkiletlioğlu, "Selçuklu Anıt Kabir Kümbethane'de Medfun Selçuklu Hanedanı ve Cesetlerinin Kemik Yapıları I," *Türk Dünyası Tarihi Dergisi* (2006), 24-30.

3.3 Architectural Framework

The construction of mausolea enjoyed popularity in the medieval Islamic world. In Anatolia, which was penetrated by Turks following the Battle of Manzikert (1071), Islamic mausolea spread since the twelfth century, particularly its second half. The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is one of the earliest funerary structures in the region. The aim of this section is to shed light onto the architectural framework in which the tomb was built. This will, in turn, help better understand architectural culture in medieval Anatolia, particularly in regard to Islamic mausolea built there.

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was built in the form of a tomb tower. Along with a domed square chamber, the tomb tower was a popular type of Islamic funerary architecture in medieval times. The origins of the tomb tower as well as the domed square chamber are obscure.[229] However, it is known that in contrast to the domed square mausolea which had a broad appeal in the Islamic world, the tomb towers were erected exclusively in Iran. Initially, their construction was associated with Iranian dynasties, such as the Ziyarids (927-1090) and the Bavandids (761-1349), who ruled in the south of the Caspian Sea, specifically over the regions of Tabaristan (Mazandaran) and Gurgan. With the coming of the Great Seljuks to Iran in the eleventh century, the tomb towers also gained popularity among Turks. In the twelfth century they proliferated in the northwestern regions of medieval Iran, namely Azerbaijan, where *atabeg* dynasties such as the Ahmadilis and the Ildegizids ruled over Maragha and Nakhchivan, respectively. Since the middle of the century, they also began to spread beyond Iran. Besides Central Asia, they gained popularity in Anatolia. There they

[229] For the history (and bibliography) of early and medieval Islamic funerary architecture, see section two in chapter one (1.2).

became the dominant genre of Islamic funerary architecture and were constructed by the Seljuks, the Danishmendids, the Mengujekids, and the Saltukids.

Like the tomb towers in Iran, especially those built in the northwestern provinces, the tomb towers in Anatolia usually consisted of a single chamber and a crypt underneath it, as exemplified in the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. However, the Anatolian tomb towers were generally squatter in proportion in comparison to the Iranian tomb towers. Moreover, they were mostly small, lacking an emphasis on height which characterizes the Iranian tomb towers. Yet, this was not the case with the tomb of Qilich Arslan II. Built at the height of 23.75 meters above the ground, this grand mausoleum was the highest funerary structure during the Seljuk period of rule in Anatolia. In fact, its height was unsurpassed till the late fourteenth century, when the mausoleum of Jalal al-Din Rumi in Konya, which is dated to the late thirteenth century, was rebuilt by the Karamanid ruler ʻAla al-Din ʻAli Bey (r. 1357-98), reaching the height of 24.50 meters.[230]

The chief medium of the construction of the tomb tower of Qilich Arslan II was stone. Stone was in fact the main building material in Anatolia.[231] Many Anatolian tombs are characterized by stone masonry, which was also popular in the neighboring regions such as Syria and Jazira. However, brick, which was the traditional building material in Central Asia and Iran, was also often used in the construction of the mausolea in Anatolia. The lack of information about the building practices in Anatolia

[230] See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 76-77; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 358-64.

[231] For the discussions on the building materials in medieval Anatolia, see Ögel, *Anadolu Selçukluları'nın Taş Tezyinatı*; G. Necipoğlu, "Anatolia and the Ottoman Legacy," in *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity* (New York and London, 1994), 141-49; Also, see Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 431-37; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 465-67.

does not allow us to answer the question concerning the choices behind the use of stone or brick in the construction of a building. Nevertheless, the combination of stone and brick was frequently employed in the Anatolian architecture. This is also true for the mausolea built in the region. While brick mausolea usually had a stone plinth, stone mausolea often had a brick dome. This was done for technical reasons - stone which was more durable than brick provided a solid elevation to the brick structure, whereas brick which was a lighter material provided lightness and flexibility to the stone structure.[232] The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is one of those stone mausolea in Anatolia which had a brick dome.

The dome of Qilich Arslan II's tomb had a double-shell system, consisting of inner hemispherical dome and outer conical one. The double dome system was applied in the architecture since the early Islamic times, as exemplified in the Dome of the Rock which was commissioned by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 685-705) in Jerusalem.[233] The earliest use of the double dome in Islamic funerary architecture is associated with the two Kharraqan tomb towers (dated to 1067-68 and 1093) that are located on the road between Qazvin and Hamadan in Iran.[234] In the course of the twelfth century the double dome system (either two hemispherical/conical domes or a hemispherical dome topped by a conical one) was often employed in the construction of mausolea in the medieval Islamic world, particularly in the east.[235] By the late twelfth

[232] See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 437.

[233] See O. Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959), 33-62.

[234] See David Stronach and T. Cuyler Young, "Three Seljuq Tomb Towers," *Iran* 4 (1966), 6.

[235] See Michailidis, "Landmarks."

century, it also gained popularity in Anatolia and the double dome of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is one of the earliest examples to this.

The tomb of Qilich Arslan II had a plan of decagon. It is true that in Anatolia many mausolea had polygonal forms - often octagonal and at times dodecagonal.[236] However, there is no other structure with a decagonal plan in the region, apart from the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Nonetheless, it is known that the decagonal plan was used in the construction of mausolea in medieval northern Iran. These are the tomb towers, such as the Gunbad-i Qabus (1006-7) in Gurgan,[237] the tomb of Mu'mina Khatun (1186-87) in Nakhchivan,[238] and the Gunbad-i Qabud (1196) in Maragha[239] (figs. 14, 15, and 16). Besides the plan of the building itself, the decagonal form was also used in the plan of a plinth and in the designation of a dome, as exemplified in the tomb of Qilich Arslan II as well as in the tomb of Mu'mina Khatun and the Gunbad-i Qabud. Yet, the interior of the tomb of Qilich Arslan II was circular in plan, as was also the case in the Gunbad-i Qabus and the tomb of Mu'mina Khatun. Obviously, both in Iran and Anatolia the relationship between different parts of the building was arranged through the use of geometry. However, while the use of the decagonal form(s) in architectural design of mausoleum was not restricted to any ruling house in Iran (for

[236] See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum"; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*; Also, see the works of Arık and Tuncer. In addition, it is interesting to note that besides the architecture, the polygonal (hexagonal-octagonal) forms were also used in the making of tabourets in medieval Islamic courts. See S. Redford, "Portable Palaces: On the Circulation of Objects and Ideas about Architecture in Medieval Anatolia and Mesopotamia," *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), 382-412.

[237] See Michailidis, "Landmarks," 105-8; idem, "The Lofty Castle of Qabus b. Voshmgir," in *Tradition and Innovation in Early Islamic Iran*, eds. E. Herzig and S. Stewart (I. B. Tauris, 2011), 121-38.

[238] See Turgay Yazar, *Nahcivan'da Türk Mimarisi (Başlangıcından 19. Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 90-104.

[239] See Carol Bier, "The Decagonal Tomb Tower at Maragha and Its Architectural Context: Lines of Mathematical Thought," *Nexus Netw J* 14/2 (2012), 251-73.

example, the Ahmadilis and the Ildegizids), it was associated chiefly with the Seljuk dynasty in Anatolia, who dominated most of the region since the late twelfth century.[240] In addition to the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, the decagonal form was also used in the mausoleum of the Seljuk sultan 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I (1219-20) in Sivas. Located at one of the side iwans of the hospital, this tomb had a decagonal drum and a dome covered with ten triangular facets (fig. 17).[241] It was only in the late fourteenth century, when the Seljuk dynasty was no longer in existence, that the decagonal form was employed in the designation of a drum and a dome of a pentagonal mausoleum in Ankara, locally known as Yörük or Yürüyen Dede.[242]

The prominent feature of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was its portal that led to the entrance niche. In contrast to the latter which was much renovated in the post-Seljuk period,[243] the portal still retains its original design, being set within a large slightly pointed arch. The use of pointed arches in architectural designs was a common practice in the medieval Islamic world.[244] In Anatolia, besides the tomb of Qilich Arslan II, the pointed arch was, for example, also used in the portal of the mausoleum of 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I (1219) in Konya. However, unlike the latter where the arch rested on columns, the arch in Qilich Arslan II's mausoleum rested on two notable impost blocks which were inserted into the walls of the structure. Through the adoption of these plain and sizeable impost blocks, which were often used in the arrangement of arches in

[240] See Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, 129.

[241] See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 284-86; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 383-90.

[242] See Arık "Erken Devir Anadolu," 72-73.

[243] See this chapter's section on the building, 62-63.

[244] See Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650-1250*.

Roman and Byzantine architecture, the design of the portal was adapted to the local traditions.[245] This seems to be not coincidental. Qilich Arslan II was indeed the first Seljuk ruler holding the title *sultan bilad al-Rum* ("sultan of the lands of Rum"). The portal of the tomb that he commissioned may have thus reflected his interest in the cultural heritage of the lands of Rum or the lands of Romans, as the Byzantines regarded themselves, as well as his claim over it.

The epigraphic program of the tomb of Qilich Arslan II included a foundation text in Arabic, which was set near the base of the dome on the front side of the building. The use of Arabic in the foundation inscription of a building was a well-established tradition in the medieval Islamic world and foundation texts of many Anatolian mausolea attest to this.[246] Besides this, Qilich Arslan II's tomb had an Arabic inscription which was set in a rectangular panel on the front window. It revealed the identity of the architect, who was Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Ghaffar. Demonstrating the importance given to the profession of the architect, the architect's signature was, however, rarely inscribed in medieval Islamic times.[247] This is also true in regard to mausolea built in Anatolia and in other Muslim regions.[248] Furthermore, the verses from Qur'an which were widely used on Islamic architecture (mosques, madrasas,

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[245] See А. В. Бунин, *Градостроительство Рабовладельческого Строя и Феодализма*. Том I (Москва, 1979), 86-119. For the discussion on the use of Greco-Roman and Byzantine elements in the Islamic architecture, see Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden, 1986); Yasser Tabbaa, "Survivals and Archaisms in the Architecture of Northern Syria, ca. 1080-ca. 1150," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 29-41; Finbarr B. Flood, "The Medieval Trophy as an Art Historical Trope: Coptic and Byzantine "Altars" in Islamic Contexts," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001), 41-72; Julian Raby, "Nur al-Din, the Qastal al-Shu'aybiyya, and the Classical Revival," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004), 289-310.

[246] See Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 470.

[247] See Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works*; N. Rabbat, "The Pedigreed Domain of Architecture: A View from the Cultural Margin," *Perspecta* 44 (2011), 6-7.

[248] See Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 470.

caravanserais, mausolea, etc.) were also applied on the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. They were set on the upper frieze that surrounded the base of the dome. Besides the Throne Verse that emphasized the majesty of God, the frieze contained *al-asma' al-husna*, or "the most beautiful names" of God. However, in contrast to the popularity of the Throne Verse, the divine names of God were seldom used on mausolea, as is evident in Anatolia and in other lands of the medieval Islamic world.[249] In addition, the Qur'anic inscriptions also covered the cenotaphs standing in the chamber of the tomb of Qilich Arslan II. Nevertheless, they are much damaged and their content is lost. Yet, like the above mentioned inscriptions, they were written in *naskh* script which, along with Kufic and *thuluth* scripts, was frequently applied on Islamic architecture in medieval times.

Along with the inscriptions in Arabic, the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was inscribed with Persian verses. Set on the lower frieze surrounding the base of the dome, the verses carried a text of eulogy, which is at present much damaged and hardly discernible. In this regard, it is important to note that Persian texts were often used on mausolea in the medieval Islamic world, particularly in the east where they appeared even in the foundation inscriptions (for example, the Mil-i Radkan (1016-21) in Iran, the mausoleum of Shah Fazl (1055-60) at Safid Buland, modern Kirgizstan, and others).[250] The tomb of Qilich Arslan II has the earliest extant Persian inscription in

[249] See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 472-76; Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 471.

[250] See Michailidis, "Landmarks," 101-3 and 108-9.

Anatolia.[251] In fact, Persian was the literary language of the Seljuk court and was inscribed even on the walls of the Seljuk cities such as Konya, Sivas, and Sinop.[252] In general, Persian inscriptions were, however, rarely used on mausolea in medieval Anatolia (apart from the tomb of Qilich Arslan II, among the examples are, for instance, the tomb of ʻIzz al-Din Kayka'us I in Sivas, the tomb of Fakhr al-Din ʻAli or Sahib Ata (dated to the late thirteenth century) in Konya, and the tomb of Nur al-Din b. Sentimur (1314) in Tokat).[253]

The decoration of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II included floral design. It was applied on the wooden door of the tomb that led to the chamber.[254] Widely employed on Islamic architecture, floral motifs were often used to decorate wooden doors of buildings (for example, al-Azhar mosque (dated to the late tenth-early eleventh centuries) in Cairo, Egypt, and the mausoleum of Mahmud (ca. 1030) in Ghazna, Afghanistan).[255] Besides the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, many Anatolian mausolea had floral decoration. Along with this, they also often had geometric and at times figural (human and animal) designs (for example, the tomb known as the Döner Kümbet (dated to the late 1270s) in Kayseri and the mausoleum of Khudavend Khatun (1312-13) in Niğde).

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[251] According to Bernard O'Kane, the earliest extant Persian inscription in Anatolia is at the entrance to the mausoleum of ʻIzz al-Din Kayka'us I (1220) in Sivas. However, the presence of the Persian inscription on the tomb of Qilich Arslan II (1170s-1192) makes it clear that it has indeed the earliest extant Persian inscription in Anatolia. Bernard O'Kane, "The Uses of Persian on Monumental Epigraphy in Turkey," in *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, eds. Geza David and Ibolya Gerelyes (Budapest, 2009), 506; idem, *The Appearance of Persian on Islamic Art* (New York, 2009), 37.

[252] See O'Kane, "The Uses of Persian," 505; idem, *The Appearance of Persian*, 35-41.

[253] See Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 471.

[254] See Bozer, "Konya II. Kılıçarslan Türbesi'nin Ahşap Kapı Kanatları."

[255] Ibid., 230.

Along with the floral design, the decoration of the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II included tilework. Since the late eleventh century, the use of glazed ceramic became prevalent in the Islamic architecture, particularly in the east.[256] The earliest use of glazed tiles on architecture in medieval Iran is associated with the Kharraqan tomb tower which is dated to 1093.[257] The tomb of Qilich Arslan II is one of the earliest structures with glazed tile decoration in Anatolia. Obtained from cobalt oxide, glazed tiles in the color of blue made up the upper frieze that surrounded the dome of Qilich Arslan II's mausoleum. Like the dome of the contemporary tomb of Mu'mina Khatun as well as the Gunbad-i Qabud, the dome of Qilich Arslan II's tomb was also covered with blue tiles, which enhanced visual appearance of the building.[258] Moreover, the blue tiles were used to clad the cenotaphs standing in the tomb chamber. Like the tiled upper frieze, they were also embellished with inscriptions written in white. Glazed tile decoration gained popularity in Anatolia particularly in the thirteenth century, when a number of artists and craftsmen fled from the eastern Islamic lands (Iran and Central Asia) due to the Mongol invasion. However, by and large, tiles were rarely used in the decoration of mausolea built in Anatolia (among the best examples are the tomb of 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I in Sivas and the tomb of Fakhr al-Din 'Ali (Sahib Ata) in Konya).[259]

[256] See Donald Wilber, "The Development of Mosaic Faience in Islamic Architecture in Iran," *Ars Islamica* 6/1 (1939), 16-47.

[257] See Bier, "The Decagonal Tomb," 270, note 6.

[258] Among the examples of a mausoleum with a blue dome built before the Mongol invasion are also the tomb of Sultan Sanjar in Merv and the tombs of the Khorezmshahs, Il Arslan (r. 1156-72) and his son Tekesh (r. 1172-1200), in Urgench, modern Turkmenistan.

[259] See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 469-72; Önkal, *Anadolu Selcuklu Türbeleri*, 467-68.

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was covered with reused material or spolia. This is evident in the window surrounds and in the square plaque carved with floral motifs above the entrance. Both the window surrounds and the square plaque are of Byzantine origin, although their dating is undetermined. As a former eastern domain of Byzantium, Anatolia was rich in objects dated to Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times.[260] Spolia was often used in the Seljuk building projects - for example, in the Friday mosque in Konya as well as on the city walls of Konya, Alanya, and Sinop.[261] As exemplified in the tomb of Qilich Arslan II, spolia was also used in the construction of the Anatolian mausolea.[262] Reuse was certainly an easy and an efficient method of building. However, studies show that there were also other reasons behind the use of spolia on Islamic architecture, which were related to politics, religion, ideology, and culture.[263] The incorporation of spolia into the tomb of Qilich Arslan II, where it was displayed on the five windows and prominently set above the entrance, suggests that it was not used merely as a building material. Reflecting engagement with the local cultural environment, it resonates in fact with Qilich Arslan II's claim of rulership over the lands of Rum and on their Roman/Byzantine legacy.

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was a work of Yusuf b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffar, who or whose family was supposedly from Hojan, the city which is located to the

[260] See Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 148-56.

[261] Ibid.

[262] See Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 464.

[263] See Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum"; Flood, "The Medieval Trophy as an Art Historical Trope"; Raby, "Nur al-Din, the Qastal al-Shuʿaybiyya, and the Classical Revival"; E. Zeynep Yürekli Görkay, "Legend and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire: The Shrines of Seyyid Gazi and Hacı Bektaş," Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 2005), 225-39.

southeast of Nishapur in Iran.[264] In this regard, it is important to note that architects and craftsmen of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds worked in the Seljuk court - along with Christians (Greeks, Armenians, and Georgians), there were builders and artisans from Muslim lands such as Syria, Ahlat, and Iraq, as well as from Iran and Central Asia.[265] The information is lacking about schools/workshops where architects worked and trained in medieval Anatolia. This is also true for Yusuf b. ʻAbd al-Ghaffar, who masterfully executed the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II in both stone and brick. In addition to the tomb, Yusuf is also associated with the construction of the palace in the citadel of Konya.[266] Nevertheless, due to the lack of data to verify this view, it remains hypothetical.

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is one of the earliest tomb towers in Anatolia, where a number of mausolea spread particularly in the thirteenth century. The tomb embodies different traditions that existed in the medieval Islamic world at the time of its construction in the late twelfth century. Built by Yusuf b. ʻAbd al-Ghaffar, the architect whose origins were allegedly from Iran, the mausoleum was made of locally available stone and brick. Yet, it was erected in the form of the decagonal tomb tower which was popular in Iran and was marked by a portal which was built in Islamic and Romano-Byzantine tradition. Covered with Arabic and Persian inscriptions, the tomb was decorated with floral design and tilework, which constituted a shared visual language in the medieval Muslim courts. In addition to this, the monument was also

[264] See Oral, "Konya'da Alâ Üd-Din Camii ve Türbeleri," 56.

[265] See Sönmez, *Başlangıcından 16. Yüzyıla Kadar*; Zafer Bayburtluoğlu, *Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yapı Sanatçıları* (Erzurum, 1993).

[266] See Ş. Uzluk, "Felekabat Sarayı Konya'nın Neresinde İdi, Kim İnşa Ettirdi, Çatısını Hangi Mimar Çattı," in *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, cilt 1(Ankara, 1972), 380-81.

covered with Byzantine spolia. The architectural composition of the mausoleum visually exemplifies how complex architectural culture in Anatolia was. Penetrated by architects and craftsmen from different geographical regions, the Seljuk court was open to architectural and artistic impacts from Muslim regions such as Iran, Central Asia, Syria, Ahlat, Iraq, and Egypt as well as from Christian cultures (Greek, Armenian, and Georgian).[267] Within this fluidity of ethnic and cultural boundaries, architectural culture in medieval Anatolia obviously had a composite character, as different traditions were merged. This was also reflected on monumental Islamic funerary architecture in Anatolia.

[267] See Howard Crane, "Anatolian Saljuq Architecture and Its Links to Saljuq Iran," in *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (California: Mazda Publishers, 1994), 263-68; Marianne Barrucand, "The Miniatures of Daqaiq al-Haqaiq (Bibliotheque Nationale Pers. 174); A Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia," *Islamic Art* 4 (1991), 113-42.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

This thesis has discussed the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, with the focus on the historical and architectural context in which it was constructed. Attempting to shed light onto the historical milieu, it has examined the rulership of Qilich Arslan II, which was marked by the territorial expansion and political consolidation of the Seljuk state of Rum. Moreover, the thesis has investigated the Seljuk court culture during the reign of Qilich Arslan II, which was penetrated by Muslim (Turkic, Persian, and Arab) and Christian (primarily local Greek and Armenian) cultural traditions. In addition to this, the study has looked at the patronage of Qilich Arslan II, which encompassed not only astrology and philosophy, but also architectural projects. One of those projects was the mausoleum for the Seljuk dynasty in Konya.

Aiming to provide insight into the architectural context in which the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was constructed, the thesis has discussed the site where the monument was erected. Although today the building stands in the courtyard of the Friday mosque, originally it stood on its own, close to the palace and the mosque in the citadel of Konya. Furthermore, the study has examined the building, with the focus on its architecture, epigraphic program, and decoration. Besides this, it has analyzed the tomb within the architectural framework in which it was built. The thesis has shown that the tomb visually embodies different architectural traditions that existed in the medieval Islamic world at the time of its erection in the late twelfth century. In addition, it has pointed out that the tomb reflects complexity of architectural culture in medieval Anatolia.

The main focus of this thesis was the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II, where the Seljuk sultans were buried. However, it is important to note that females from the Seljuk house also had their own family mausolea. In Kayseri there is a mausoleum known as the Çifte Kümbet or Malika ʻAdiliyya (1247). It served as a burial ground for ʻIsmat al-Dunya wa ʻl-Din bint al-Malik al-ʻAdil Abu Bakr b. Ayyub, one of the wives of ʻAla al-Din Kayqubad I.[268] Moreover, the tomb also became a resting place for her two anonymous daughters who commissioned this mausoleum for her. Besides this, Kayseri has a mausoleum (1254-84) where Mahbari Khatun, mother of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II, was interred.[269] Forming part of a large architectural complex which included a mosque, a madrasa and a bath, the tomb also served as a burial ground for Seljuka Khatun, granddaughter of Mahbari Khatun.

Along with the tradition of dynastic mausolea, the Seljuk women were also buried near a saint or in own tomb. According to a local legend, Umm-i Khan, mother of ʻAla al-Din Kayqubad, was buried at the shrine of Sayyid Battal Ghazi, a hero of the early Islamic conquest of Anatolia.[270] Moreover, Gawhar Nasiba Sultan, daughter of Qilich Arslan II, was allegedly interred in a mausoleum that formed part of the madrasa-hospital complex (dated to 1205 and locally known as the Çifte Medrese) in Kayseri.[271] Likewise, Gomech Khatun, who was a wife of Rukn al-Din Qilich Arslan IV, was supposedly put to rest in a mausoleum (dated to the late thirteenth century),

[268] See Blessing, "Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia," 502-3.

[269] Ibid., 491-93.

[270] Ibid., 507.

[271] Ibid., 500-1.

which is located in the old cemetery in Konya.[272] In addition, Khudavend Khatun, allegedly a daughter of Rukn al-Din Qilich Arslan IV, was interred in an own mausoleum (1312-13) in Niğde.[273]

In contrast to the variety of burial traditions among the females from the Seljuk house, the Seljuk sultans were chiefly interred in one mausoleum which was built by Qilich Arslan II in the citadel of Konya. The tomb played an important role in the history of the Seljuks of Rum. It connected the Seljuks with their capital city of Konya which, as remarks the Seljuk chronicler Ibn Bibi, was the "home to the throne of the state".[274] Thus, it enhanced their political power and rule and strengthened their dynastic legitimacy.

The tradition of dynastic burial in the mausoleum was keenly followed during the Seljuk period. The best account to this are the efforts made by the Seljuks to bring back the body of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I to Konya, who died at the hands of Greeks near Alaşehir (Philadelphia) in 1211.[275] The reverence towards the tomb is also evident in the will of 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us II (d. 1261), who was dethroned and fled to Crimea, but on his deathbed asked his son Mas'ud to be buried in the mausoleum of his ancestors.[276] The tradition of dynastic burial in the tomb of Qilich Arslan II was famously broken, however, by 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I, who began the construction of own tomb near the dynastic mausoleum in the early thirteenth century. Nevertheless, his

[272] See Arık, "Erken Devir Anadolu," 88.

[273] See Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum," 193-200.

[274] See Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life," 198.

[275] See Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 55-56; idem, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye*, 154.

[276] See Ibid., *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 300-302; idem, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye*, 243-47.

tomb was left incomplete after his death, as if remind everyone of 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I's ignorance of dynastic traditions. Moreover, he was banished from being buried in the mausoleum of his family. Instead, he was buried in the distant city of Sivas on the order of his brother and rival, 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad I.[277]

During the Seljuk period of rule, the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II was visited and bestowed with gifts. A Qur'an stand, which was made of wood and carved with floral design, was presented to the tomb by 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I in the early thirteenth century (fig. 18). Today it is in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul.[278] Moreover, the interior of the mausoleum's chamber was embellished with carpets. At present, three extant wool carpets from the tomb are also in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul (figs. 19, 20 and 21). They are dated to the thirteenth century. In addition to the gifts, every Friday a horse stood near the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. According to Ibn Bibi, it was adorned with necklace and covered with red textile.[279]

The mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II is one of the major Seljuk monuments in Konya. Its importance as the dynastic burial ground of the Seljuk sultans was recognized by the Mongol general Bayju who visited Konya in 1252. Having ordered the demolition of the city walls, he reportedly did not touch the walls of the citadel out of respect for the Seljuks' dynastic tomb.[280] It is no coincidence that despite many centuries that have passed, even today people pay homage and make visits to the tomb.

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[277] See Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque," 69-71.

[278] For Qur'an stand and wool carpets, see Nazan Ölçer, *Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art*, ed. Danış Baykan (Istanbul: Akbank, 2002), 140-41 and 144-47.

[279] See Ibn Bibi, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye*, 154.

[280] See Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque," 72.

As a visual embodiment of the Seljuk past, the mausoleum invites us to further explore history and architecture of the Seljuks of Anatolia as well as of the Islamic world.

APPENDIX A: ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Architectural complex on the ‘Ala al-Din Hill in Konya (After Texier, *Description de l’Asie Mineure*)

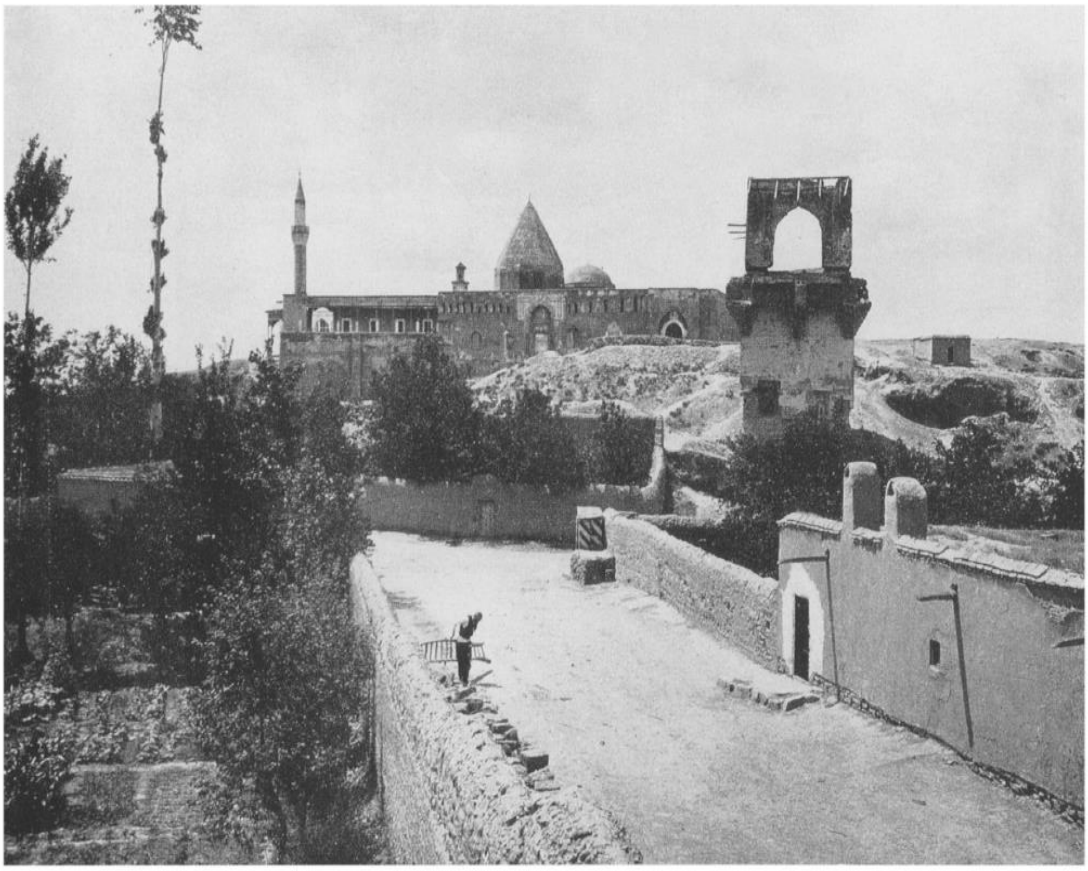

Fig. 2. Architectural complex on the ʻAla al-Din Hill in Konya (After Löytved, *Konia*)

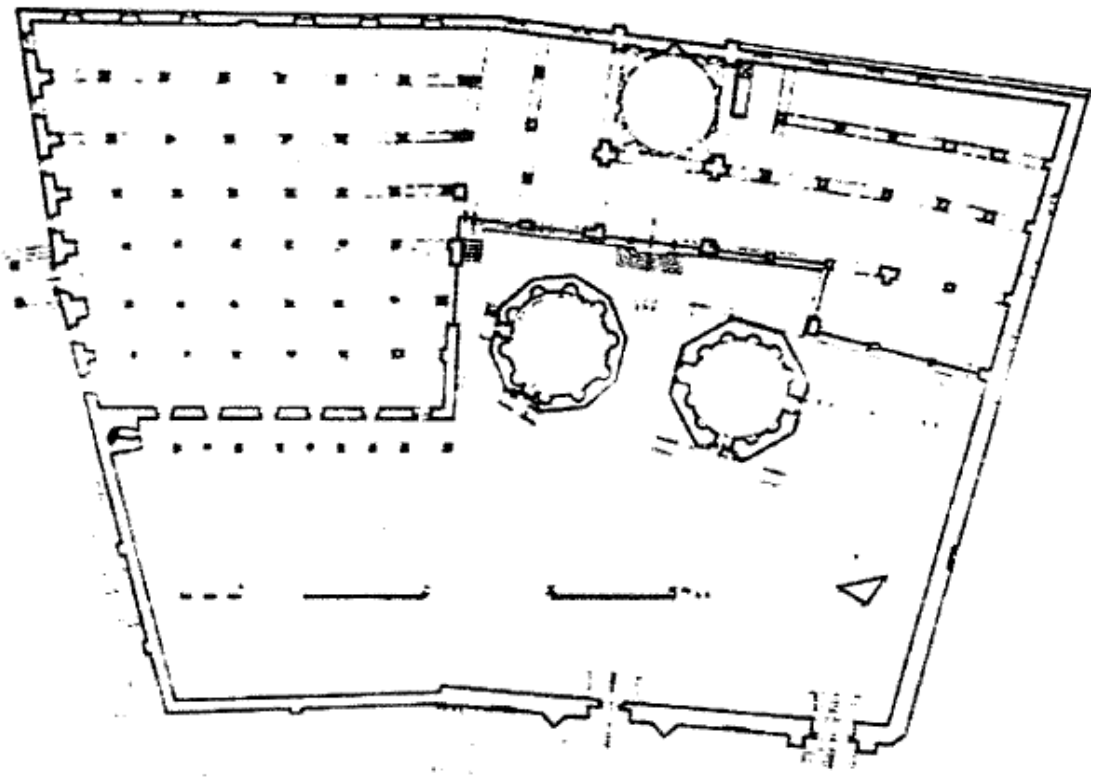

Fig. 3. The Friday Mosque in Konya (After Kuran, "Anatolian-Seljuk Architecture")



Fig. 4. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II in the courtyard of the Friday Mosque in Konya. To the right of it stands the Mausoleum of ‘Izz al-Din Kayka’us I.



Fig. 5. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II

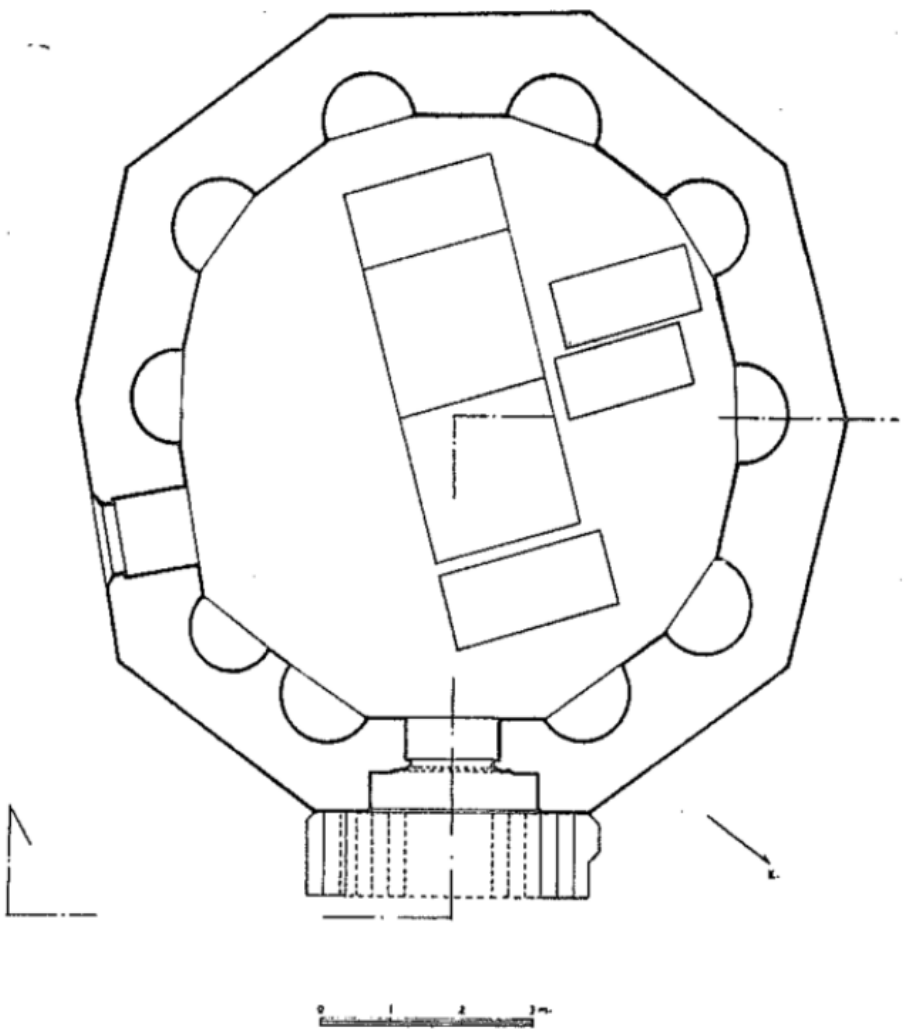

Fig. 6. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Plan (After Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*)

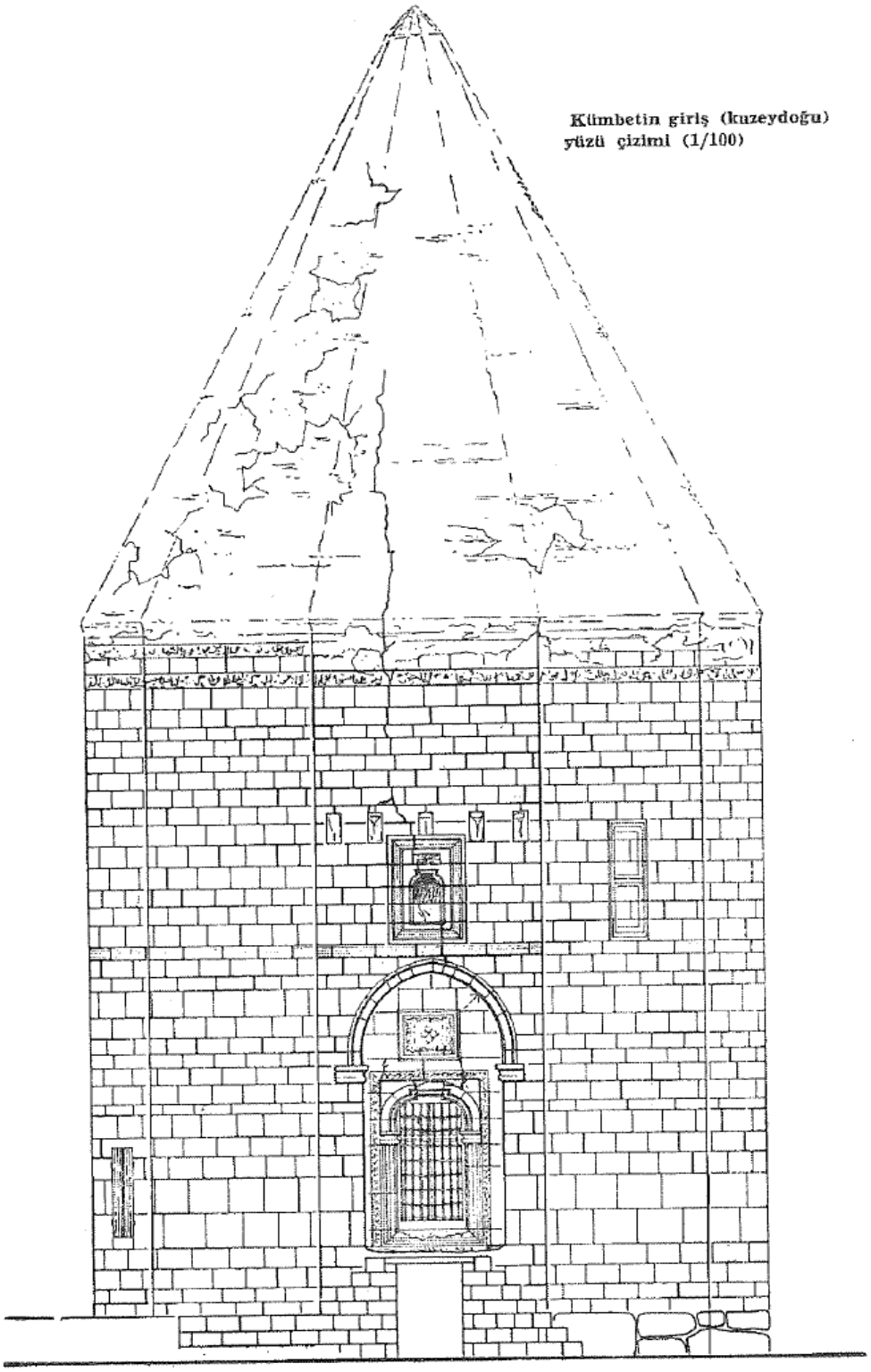

Fig. 7. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Elevation (After Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*)



Fig. 8. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Entrance



Fig. 9. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Entrance, early twentieth century (After Sarre, *Denkmäler*)



Fig. 10. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Architect's signature in the rectangular panel on the front window above the entrance

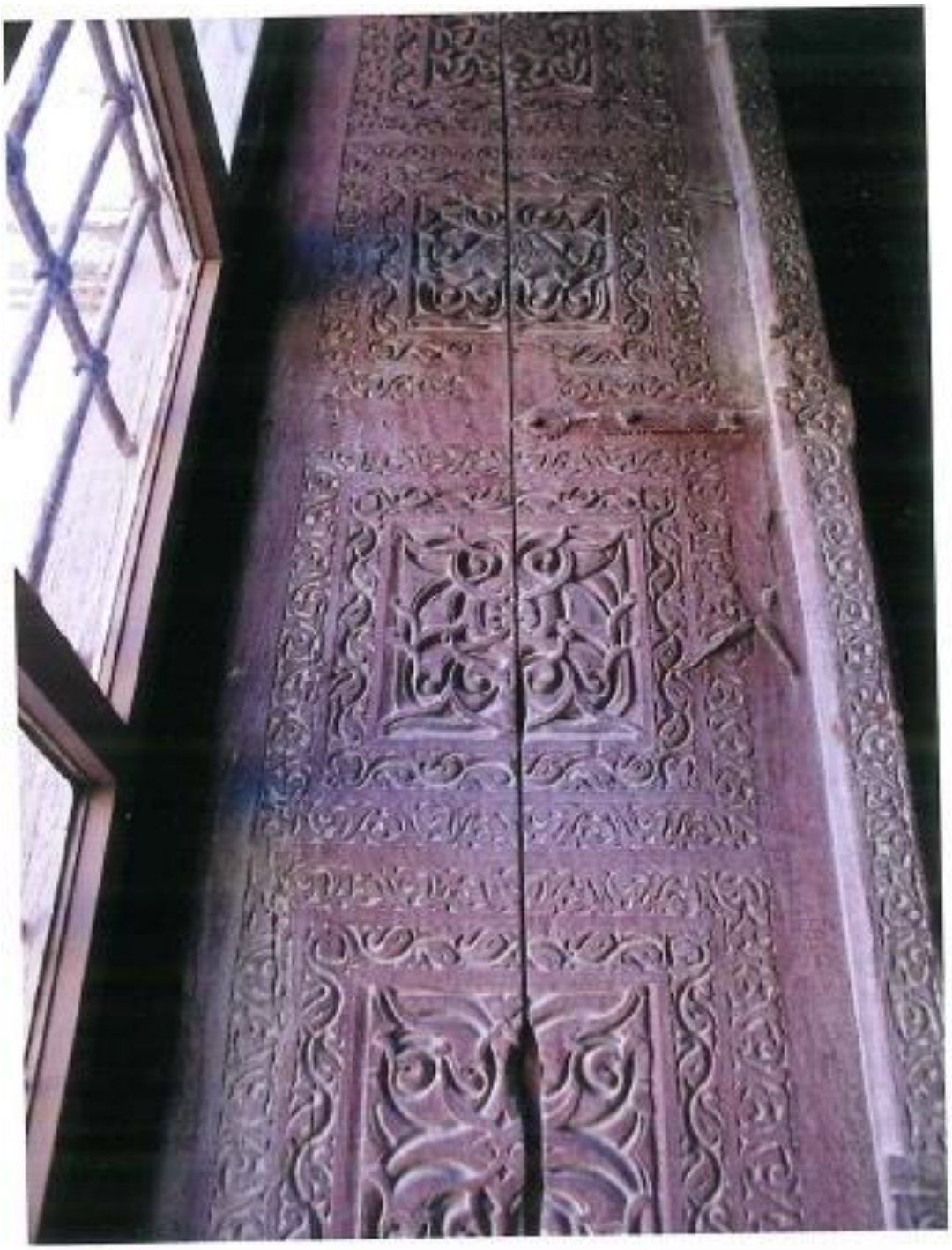

Fig. 11. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Door (After Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*)



Fig. 12. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Interior (After Erdemir, *Alâeddin Camii ve Türbeleri*)

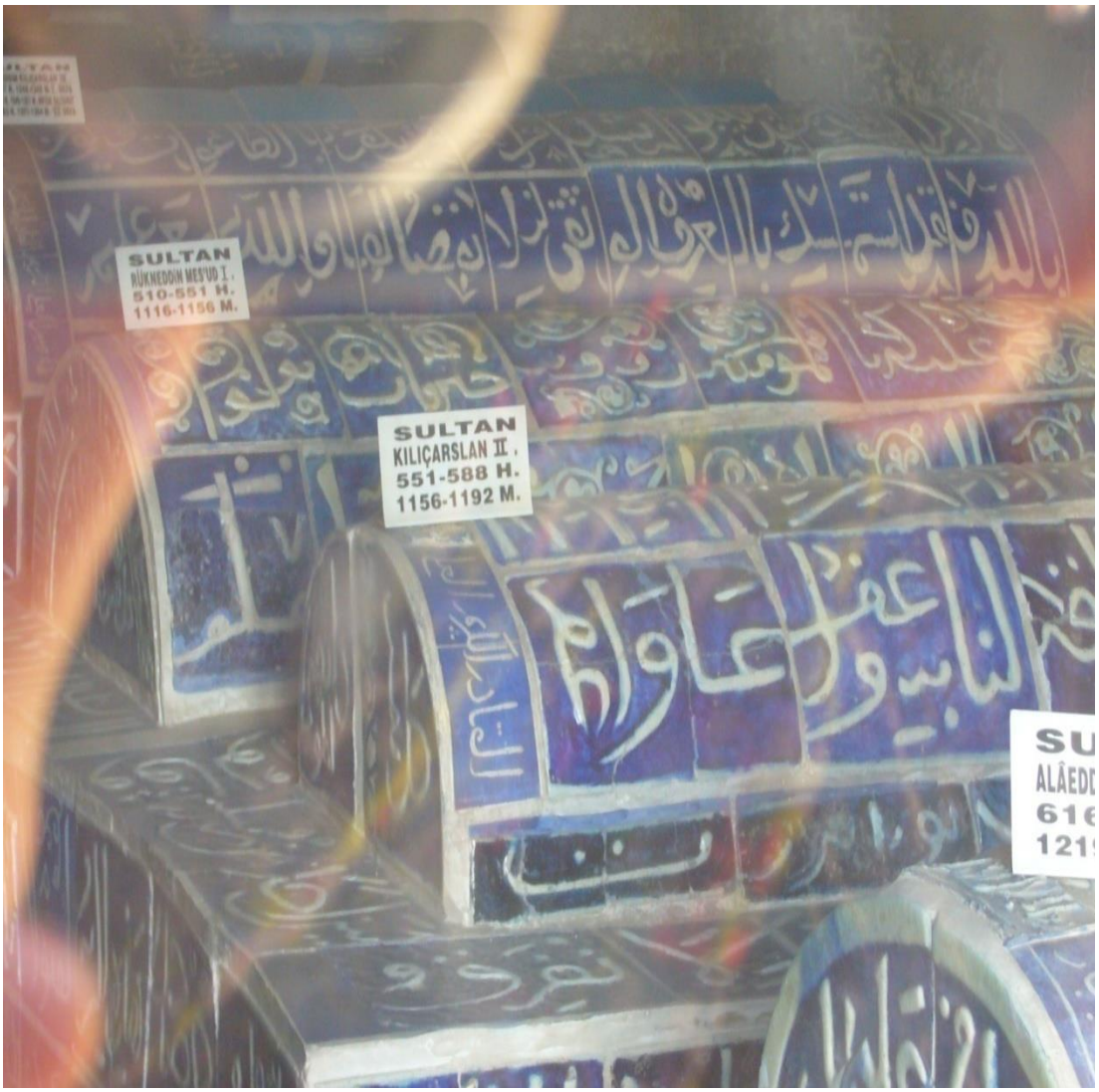

Fig. 13. The Mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II. Cenotaphs in the chamber



Fig. 14. The Gunbad-i Qabus in Gurgan (Archnet Digital Library)



Fig. 15. The Mausoleum of Mu’mina Khatun in Nakhchivan (Archnet Digital Library)



Fig. 16. The Gunbad-i Qabud in Maragha (Archnet Digital Library)



Fig. 17. The Mausoleum of ‘Izz al-Din Kayka’us I in Sivas



Fig. 18. Qur'an stand, presented to the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II by 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I in the early thirteenth century (After Ölçer, *Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art*)



Fig. 19. Wool carpet, dated to the thirteenth century (After Ölçer, *Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art*)



Fig. 20. Wool carpet, dated to the thirteenth century (After Ölçer, *Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art*)



Fig. 21. Wool carpet, dated to the thirteenth century (After Ölçer, *Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art*)

APPENDIX B: INSCRIPTIONS

1. Foundation inscription in the lower frieze near the base of the dome on the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II:

امر بعمارة السلطان المعظم عزالدنيا و الدين ركن الاسلام و المسلمين فخر الملوك و السلاطين قاتل المشركين سلطان بلاد الروم و الشام ابو الفتح قلج ارسلان بن مسعود بن قلج ارسلان ناصر امير المومنين اعز الله له

2. Persian inscription in the lower frieze near the base of the dome on the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II:

چون بر جهد ملك جهاد ... شد ...

3. Qur'anic verse (2:255) in the upper frieze near the base of the dome on the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم لا ثاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السمواث و ما فى الارض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشى من علمه الا بما شاء و سع كرسيه السمواث و الارض و لا يود حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم

4. *al-asma' al-husna* ("the most beautiful names of God") in the upper frieze near the base of the dome on the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II:

الملك القدوس الجبار المتكبر الخالق البارى الفتاح المبارى العليم الحق الحى القيوم البر التواب المانع الوارث العدل الغنى المومر و الموخر الله سميع الغفور القابض القادر الولى الخكم النور الماجد الواجد الكريم الباعث العلى العفو مالك المالك ذو الجلال و الاكرام

5. Inscription with architect's name in the rectangular panel on the front window on the mausoleum of Qilich Arslan II:

عمل یوسوف بن عبد الغفار

الحوجنی غفر الله له و لجمیع المسلمین

6. Inscription on the cenotaph of Qilich Arslan II:

االهم ارحم صاحب هذه التربه

السلطان الشهید الراجی الی ...

ابو الفتح قلج ارسلان بن مسعود

7. Inscription on the cenotaph belonging either to Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah b. Qilich Arslan II or to 'Izz al-Din Qilich Arslan III b. Sulaymanshah:

سلیمان ... قلج ارسلان

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