MARITIME FORTIFICATIONS OF ARWAD AND ALANYA FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURIES: LIMINAL SHORES

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2024

MARITIME FORTIFICATIONS OF ARWAD AND ALANYA FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURIES: LIMINAL SHORES

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

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2024

Maritime Fortifications of Arwad and Alanya

from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Centuries: Liminal Shores

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ABSTRACT

Maritime Fortifications of Arwad and Alanya

from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Centuries: Liminal Shores

This thesis analyzes the fortresses built by the Ayyubids and Crusaders on Arwad Island in Syria between the 12th and 14th centuries, alongside Alanya's city walls, the Red Tower, and the Tersane, constructed by the Seljuks in the 13th century, from a maritime perspective. It examines how these constructions reflected the strategic motivations of their patrons, particularly Salah al-Din and Ala al-Din Kayqubad, to maintain a presence at sea, where the Crusaders held significant power. The thesis argues that the targeted audience of these fortifications extended beyond land to the sea, aiming to build visibility for maritime observers. This visibility was meticulously designed for distinct groups, such as the Crusader navy, the Italian city-states led by Venice, Lusignan Cyprus, and Muslim and non-Muslim merchants. The study highlights the deliberate efforts to integrate religious, political, and economic messages into these coastal fortifications by analyzing the architectural elements and decorative programs of Arwad and Alanya. Furthermore, by addressing the naval issues faced by both the Ayyubids and Seljuks and their strategies for maritime presence, this research fills a gap in the existing scholarship. It provides a new layer of understanding to the concept of maritime visibility in medieval Islamic architecture and demonstrates the importance of naval power and sea-oriented visibility in the architectural patronage of the liminal shores of Arwad and Alanya.

ÖZET

On Birinci Yüzyıldan On Dördüncü Yüzyıla
Arvad ve Alanya'nın Deniz Tahkimatları: Eşikte Kıyılar

Bu tez, 12. ve 14. yüzyıllar arasında Suriye'nin Arvad Adası'nda Eyyubiler ve Haçlılar tarafından inşa edilen kaleler ile 13. yüzyılda Selçuklular tarafından inşa edilen Alanya'nın şehir surları, Kızıl Kule ve Tersaneyi deniz perspektifinden analiz etmektedir. Bu yapılar, Haçlıların önemli bir güce sahip olduğu denizlerde varlıklarını sürdürmek isteyen özellikle Salah al-Din ve Ala al-Din Kayqubad'ın stratejik motivasyonlarını nasıl yansıttığını incelemektedir. Tez, bu tahkimatların hedef kitlesinin karanın ötesinde denizi de kapsadığını ve denizden görülebilirlik sağlamak amacıyla tasarlandığını savunmaktadır. Bu görünürlük, Haçlı donanması, Venedik öncülüğündeki İtalyan şehir devletleri, Lusignan Kıbrıs ve Müslüman ve gayrimüslim tüccarlar gibi farklı gruplar için titizlikle tasarlanmıştır. Çalışma, Arvad ve Alanya'nın mimari unsurları ve dekoratif programlarını analiz ederek, bu kıyı tahkimatlarına dini, politik ve ekonomik mesajların bilinçli bir şekilde entegre edilme çabalarını vurgulamaktadır. Ayrıca, hem Eyyubilerin hem de Selçukluların karşılaştığı donanma sorununu ve denizdeki varlık stratejilerini ele alarak, mevcut literatürdeki bir boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırma, ortaçağ İslam mimarisinde denizden görülebilirlik kavramına yeni bir anlayış katmakta ve Arvad ve Alanya'nın eşikte kıyılarında deniz gücü ve deniz odaklı görünürlüğün mimari himayede ne kadar önemli olduğunu göstermektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my professor and advisor, Prof. Oya Pancaroğlu. This thesis would not have been possible without her unwavering support, patience, and invaluable feedback throughout every stage. Her courses during my undergraduate and graduate studies were transformative and encouraged me to pursue my interests. I am grateful to her for helping me discover this path.

I would also like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Prof. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu for agreeing to be a jury member and for including me in the esteemed Aptullah Kuran Archive Digitization Project. Her graduate seminar courses, coupled with my archival experience, have contributed immensely to my academic growth, and I cannot adequately express my gratitude.

My sincere thanks to Asst. Prof. Suzan Yalman for accepting to be on my thesis jury. Her research on Medieval Anatolia, particularly in Seljuk art and architectural history, has been a profound source of inspiration and has greatly influenced the development of this thesis.

I would also like to thank The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK) for providing me financial support through the TÜBİTAK-BİDEB 2210/A Program.

My days at Boğaziçi University were made memorable and manageable by the support of Berkin Hızlan, Onur Eren, and Nesibe Dilekçi. Every moment spent on campus, every coffee shared, and your constant encouragement mean the world to me. Additionally, my heartfelt thanks to Betül Aslan, whose unwavering friendship,

belief in me, and patience, despite the tediousness of listening to my concerns, have been a cornerstone throughout this journey.

Lastly, I am deeply thankful to my friends Ayşe Ballı, Aslı Barış, Dr. Ayşe Poyraz, Büşra Tetik, and Merve Nur Yuvalı. Despite the distance between us, they have always made me feel as though they are right by my side, and I am grateful for their unwavering support over the past twelve years.

Words cannot express how grateful I am to my family. To my siblings, Hamid, Hamza, and Merve, and my sister-in-law, Svetlana, you have no idea how happy I am to be your big sister. To my parents, Aysel and Yakup, I could not have reached this point without your endless support and belief in me. Though I am far away and will be for a while longer, feeling your constant love is incredibly special to me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Statement of thesis 1

1.2 Liminality and liminal shores..... .4

1.3 Maritime perspective..... 6

1.4 Literature review 7

CHAPTER 2: ARWAD ISLAND..... 14

2.1 Historical background of Arwad Island 14

2.2 The East and West Fortresses 37

2.3 The shared defensive elements in Crusader and Islamic military architecture..... 44

2.4 The chained feline/lion/cheetah reliefs 52

2.5 Maritime fortresses and their intended audience 61

2.6 Arwad and Tartus: Island versus mainland..... 66

CHAPTER 3: ALANYA..... 71

3.1 Historical background of the Rum Seljuks 72

3.2 Inscriptions and decorative programs of the city walls of the Rum Seljuks: Sinop, Antalya, and Konya 74

3.3 Patronage of Ala al-Din Kayqubad I in Alanya..... 83

3.4 Inscriptions and frescoes: Sea-facing visibility..... 89

3.5 Maritime presence of the Rum Seljuks 111

3.6 A gaze from the sea..... 120

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION..... 124

APPENDIX: FIGURES 128

REFERENCES..... 204

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of the Levant cities 128

Figure 2. Map of Tartus and Arwad..... 129

Figure 3. Satellite image of Arwad 130

Figure 4. Aerial view of Arwad 130

Figure 5. Map of Arwad …….....131

Figure 6. Remaning of the sea wall in the west side of Arwad..... 131

Figure 7. East Fortress from the sea 132

Figure 8. Plan of the East Fortress 133

Figure 9. Entrance of the East Fortress 134

Figure 10. Inscription panel of the East Fortress 135

Figure 11. Chained feline figure stone relief 135

Figure 12. Hidden machicolation of the East Fortress..... 136

Figure 13. Semi-circular squinches of the East Fortress..... 137

Figure 14. Box machicolations of the East Fortress 138

Figure 15. Corner machicolations of the East Fortress 139

Figure 16. Plan of the West Fortress..... 140

Figure 17. Entrance stairs of the West Fortress 141

Figure 18. Entrance of the West Fortress..... 142

Figure 19. Inscription panel of the West Fortress..... 143

Figure 20. Chained lion figure stone relief 144

Figure 21. North courtyard of the West Fortress 144

Figure 22. Main courtyard of the West Fortress 145

Figure 23. Northwest round tower 146

Figure 24. Domes and minaret of the West Fortress mosque 147
Figure 25. New entrance and box machicolation of the north façade 147
Figure 26. Corner machicolations of the West Fortress 148
Figure 27. Elevated courtyard of the southeast round tower 149
Figure 28. Stairs of the elevated courtyard 149
Figure 29. Entrance loggia of the West Fortress 150
Figure 30. Two-pointed arches of the loggia 151
Figure 31. Round towers of the Krak des Chevaliers 152
Figure 32. Saone castle from the east 152
Figure 33. Burj al-Ramla and Burj al-Haddad 153
Figure 34. Plan of the Burj al-Ramla and Burj al-Haddad 154
Figure 35. Box machicolations of the Krak des Chevaliers 155
Figure 36. Box machicolations of the Aleppo citadel 156
Figure 37. Box machicolations of the Damascus citadel 157
Figure 38. Chained lion relief of al-Wazir caravanserai in Aleppo 158
Figure 39. Chained lion relief of Pasha Khan in Tokat 158
Figure 40. Tower of Lions reliefs in Cairo citadel 159
Figure 41. Lion relief of the Krak des Chevaliers 159
Figure 42. Lions' Gate in Jerusalem 160
Figure 43. Lion reliefs of the Harran gate 160
Figure 44. Lion reliefs of the el-Barur caravanserai in Harran 161
Figure 45. Dog reliefs of the Harran citadel 162
Figure 46. Ulu Beden Tower lion reliefs 163
Figure 47. Bowl depicting a cheetah 164
Figure 48. Bowl depicting a cheetah 165

Figure 49. Entrance of the Sidon castle ……..…166
Figure 50. Lion reliefs of the Sidon castle ..... .166
Figure 51. Donjon from the sea, Tortosa 167
Figure 52. Drawing of Arwad Island 167
Figure 53. Inscription of Sultan Izz al-Din Kaykaus, Sinop 168
Figure 54. Bilingual inscription of Badr al-Din Abu Bakr, Sinop 169
Figure 55. The north gate of Konya city walls..... 170
Figure 56. Map of Alanya city walls..... 171
Figure 57. Map of Alanya city walls..... 172
Figure 58. Red Tower from the north 173
Figure 59. Aerial view of the Tersane..... 174
Figure 60. Tersane..... 175
Figure 61. Tersane from one of the vaulted galleries to the sea 176
Figure 62. “al-minnetu lillah” inscription on the north side of the Red Tower 177
Figure 63. Inscription of the architect Abu Ali al-Halabi on the Red Tower 177
Figure 64. Foundation inscription from the northern side of the Red Tower 178
Figure 65. Foundation inscription on the southern side of the Red Tower..... 178
Figure 66. Slope leading from the entrance of the Red Tower towards the port 179
Figure 67. Southern foundation inscription from the wall walk 180
Figure 68. Seaward inscription of the Tersane tower 181
Figure 69. Seaward inscription of the Tersane tower from below..... 182
Figure 70. Tersane and Tophane towers from the roof of the Tersane 183
Figure 71. View of Alanya and the Tersane 184
Figure 72. Tersane from the sea..... 185
Figure 73. Seaward inscription of the Tophane tower 186

Figure 74. Seaward inscription of the Tophane tower 186
Figure 75. Las Navas de Tolosa banner 187
Figure 76. Woven green banner of the Marinid Sultan Abu Sa'id 'Uthman 188
Figure 77. Detail in woven green banner of the Marinid Sultan Abu Sa'id 'Uthman 189
Figure 78. Ottoman flag captured by King Jan Sobieski from the tent complex of Kara Mustafa Pasha..... 190
Figure 79. A calligraphic page on the frontispiece of a manuscript written in Samandria for Suleyman I in 1526..... 191
Figure 80. Red-yellow frescoes in the pavilion of Qılıch Arslan II, Konya 192
Figure 81. Elevations of the south staircase building with reconstruction of the zigzag decoration, Aspendos..... 192
Figure 82. Red Tower painted plaster in imitation of ashlar masonry..... 193
Figure 83. Heraldic fresco of Alara Castle..... 194
Figure 84. Frescoes of the exterior of the Ortakapı 195
Figure 85. Frescoes of a crenellation near the Ehmedek 196
Figure 86. Three crenellations of the second tower east of the Bayrak Kulesi..... 197
Figure 87. Tersane and Tophane towers from the sea 198
Figure 88. Tersane and Tophane towers from the sea 198
Figure 89. Drawing of an 18-benched ship..... 199
Figure 90. Red Tower from the north 200
Figure 91. Red Tower from the north 201
Figure 92. Red Tower from the north 202
Figure 93. The Medici-Lazara map of Alanya..... 202
Figure 94. Off-shore view of Alanya drawn by Francis Beaufort 203

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of thesis

This thesis evaluates the fortresses built by the Ayyubids and Crusaders on Arwad Island in Syria between the 12th and 14th centuries, together with the city walls, Tersane (shipyard), and Red Tower in Alanya, which were (re) constructed by the Seljuks in the 13th century by approaching these structures from a maritime perspective. It examines how these constructions reflected the motivation of their patrons, particularly Salah al-Din and Ala al-Din Kayqubad, to exist at sea where the Crusades had the undeniable dominant power. By claiming that the targeted audience of these walls and fortresses also existed at sea and that their patrons focused on this audience to build visibility, it discusses how the maritime reflection of the land-based conflicts of the Ayyubids and the Rum Seljuks against the Crusaders and the Italian city-states can be seen through their architectural patronage of the coast.

While the successful campaigns of Salah al-Din (r. 1171-1193), the Sultan of the Ayyubids (1171-1260), against the Crusaders and his capture of Jerusalem as well as impregnable fortresses, have been notably attention-grabbing and well-studied, the use of the navy he established in the fight against the Crusaders has not attracted as much attention. However, preparing a navy to counter the Crusader navy, primarily comprised of Italian city-states, and its combined use with the land army demonstrates Salah al-Din's efforts to strengthen his forces both on land and at sea, which should be considered together to be fully understood. On the other hand, Salah al-Din’s construction projects, such as the citadel of Cairo, the reconstruction of captured Crusader castles, and the fortification efforts along the coastline, display his

commitment to defensive military architecture, which has again been more frequently analyzed from the perspective of the first two while the coastal construction efforts have remained in the background.

Arwad, located two and a half kilometers away from the city of Tartus in Syria, is a relatively small island, measuring 800 meters in length and 450 meters in width. Despite its small size, the island has two fortresses built during the 12th and 13th centuries, alongside remnants of a Phoenician-era sea wall and a jetty that divides the harbor, some parts of which have survived to the present day. The island's strategic importance is highlighted by its history during the Crusader period, when it was captured by the County of Tripoli at the beginning of the twelfth century, subsequently seized by the Ayyubid navy to be used as a military base in 1180, and then envisioned by the Crusaders as a ray of hope for the reconquest of the Holy Lands from the fall of Acre in 1291 until 1302, transforming it again into a military base. The Knights Templar were a military order that played a significant role not only on Arwad but also in its surroundings, most notably Tartus. Established in 1119 by Hugues de Payens and a group of knights to safeguard Christian pilgrims journeying to the Holy Land, their influence spread across Christendom, with significant holdings such as Chateau Pelerin, Sidon, and Tortosa, and a network stretching from Jerusalem to Famagusta. However, their decline began in the early 14th century, following the loss of the island of Arwad to the Mamluks in 1302 and the disbandment of the order by Pope Clement V in 1312.[1] These all emphasize the importance of Arwad in understanding the previously underexplored maritime tensions between the Crusaders and the Ayyubids and its impact on the island's defensive architecture.

[1] Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 1-5.

Rum Seljuk presence along the Mediterranean coast began with the conquest of Antalya by Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (r. 1192-1196; 1205-1211), the Sultan of the Rum Seljuks (1081-1307), in 1207. This was followed by the re-conquest of the city in 1215 by Sultan Izz' al-Din Kaykaus I (r. 1211-1220) after a rebellion supported by Lusignan Cyprus. Sultan Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-1237) then surrendered Alanya in 1221. With the Armenian lord Kyr Vard accepting the siege, the existing city walls were strengthened and expanded, and symbols of the city, the Red Tower and the Tersane, were also built along with the walls. Kayqubad's restoration and expansion of the city walls of Alanya, the construction of the Tersane and the Red Tower, and the building of royal garden pavilions and caravanserais in the hinterlands of Alanya, particularly considering the deliberately chosen inscriptions and decorative program of the walls, have been extensively studied. However, evaluating Alanya's monumental military architecture and deliberate decorative architecture alongside the Seljuk navy reveals that the impact of the city's status as a port city on its urban fabric and, consequently, its decorative program has not been thoroughly studied. Therefore, instead of merely mentioning that Alanya was the Sultan's winter residence, where the Tersane and navy were also based, this study discusses the city from a previously unexplored perspective that considers both its monumental military structures and its decorative program through the lens of its maritime visibility.

The aim of this thesis is to jointly evaluate the maritime fortifications of Arwad and Alanya from the 11th to the 14th centuries, to understand how the concerns of existing economically and politically along the coastline—beyond the land military activities of the Ayyubids and Rum Seljuks—have been reflected in the construction works on the liminal shores.

1.2 Liminality and liminal shores

The concept of being ‘on the threshold’ is not just a characteristic of a particular period or a choice for port cities; rather, it is inherent to their nature as places that exist "betwixt and between."[2] This liminal state can only be truly understood by viewing port cities through the lens of the sea. In other words, it can be argued that during a time when boundaries extended beyond the land and the rulers of the land and sea were often equated, the sea imparted its own liminality onto the port cities and coastlines it touched.

Until now, this liminality has been studied primarily through the lens of port cities’ multireligious, multiethnic, and multilingual characteristics, focusing on the ambiguous borderlines along the coast and their impact on the inhabitants of these cities. However, Baader and Wolf's exploration of liminality through their analysis of urban representations in manuscripts has led to a reconsideration of this concept in the context of the Ayyubid and Rum Seljuk port cities of Arwad and Alanya.[3] The notion of liminality has been evaluated through the lens of these port cities' visibility and their maritime interactions.

It is evident that the constant negotiation of power, along with the convergence and dispersion of people and goods, contributes to the social and cultural fabric of port cities. However, the Ayyubids and Rum Seljuks, who fought to demonstrate their presence at sea to the powers on land, mirrored each other in a series of significant decisions made by successive sultans in their struggle against the Crusaders. Motivated by the desire to establish a presence at sea, both states sought visibility along the coastline.

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[2] Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage,” 4-20.
[3] See, Baader and Wolf. “A Sea-to-Shore Perspective Littoral and Liminal Spaces of the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean.”

> [I]f we think, after all, that the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea...The ship is the heterotopia par excellence.[4]

Foucault's concept of heterotopia refers to real places that exist outside of ordinary spaces, functioning as "other" spaces that represent, contest, and invert the usual relationships between other sites. As he mentions, the ship can juxtapose multiple spaces, and this is dictated by the fluid boundaries of the sea and the ongoing liminality of port cities.[5]

Although not as much as ships, port cities are places where different spaces are represented and coexist, and this coexistence is in a constant state of negotiation. In other words, rather than merely establishing military superiority with a fleet, ships convey the sultan's representation beyond the sea through their liminality and presence, much like a relief or heraldic emblem on a facade demonstrates the sultan's patronage, power, and representation to those who come from outside. Although both in the chapters on Arwad and Alanya, efforts have been made to examine the navies of both states, discussing the establishment of navies, their use alongside land armies, and the continuation of economic interests at sea, it can be said that the navy and ships have an identity beyond their military role. This identity is influenced by the extent to which the sultan wants to be "visible" in constructing that identity.

Liminal shores can be defined as areas where multiple layers of visibility from land to sea and, more importantly, from sea to land can be achieved, enabling this visibility to be quickly transferred across the sea. Therefore, when looking from Syria's Arwad Island to Alanya in the Lands of Rum, it can be said that—even though not exactly from the same period—the sultans Salah al-Din and Ala al-Din

[4] Foucault, “Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias,” 46-49.
[5] Foucault, 46-49.

Kayqubad aimed for the same visibility, which added a distinct character to the coastal architecture.

1.3 Maritime perspective

> Geographically marginal to the grids of academic inquiry, the watery world seems to fall between our conceptual cracks as well. When not ignored altogether, maritime topics are routinely relegated to subfields on shipping or migration, pirates or fisheries. That ocean basins are sliced in half on our classroom maps only reinforces their academic invisibility. By contrast, the prestigious, central fields — as defined not only by cartographers but by doctoral committees, job listings, and publication categories—are overwhelmingly conceived in terrestrial terms.[6]

While cultural identity, cross-cultural exchange, and anthropological studies are increasingly drawing attention to maritime and seascape studies, maritime/coastal architecture is not yet one of these areas of focus. Cities, islands, and ports, which have been the subject of sufficiently detailed studies, could gain new significance when approached from the sea and reconsidered from the perspective of those arriving by sea. As with Arwad and Alanya, examining these locations from a maritime viewpoint is valuable and necessary not only for architectural and decorative programs but also for understanding the background of certain political and economic decisions.

This thesis aims to reassess the city walls, towers, and decorative programs of the liminal cities of Arwad and Alanya from a maritime perspective and to investigate the impact of the sultans' motivations for presence at sea on maritime architecture. Although Ayyubid and Seljuk studies, as examined below, are occasionally considered together—albeit insufficiently—this thesis seeks to highlight the importance and even necessity of jointly evaluating the motivations for maritime

[6] Bentley et al., *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*, 1.

presence of prominent figures like Salah al-Din and Ala al-Din Kayqubad. This is not only to draw attention to the issues of naval power and visibility but also to underscore the benefits and necessity of considering these contemporary states together.

1.4 Literature review

Although defensive architecture consists of structures built with a motivation for protection as a reflection of concerns; city walls, fortifications, and castles go beyond the initial concerns, being repeatedly repaired and rebuilt, providing more than just defense and secure spaces. They emerged as lively, multi-period structures that reflected the self-image of their patrons and were experienced in daily life by the people they protected beyond times of turmoil. To understand the Rum Seljuk city walls and Crusader castles, one must look at Byzantine Anatolia and Islamic defense architecture in the Levant, respectively, and comprehend these structures' multiperiod nature and dynamic existence despite their thick, static walls and high fortifications. However, challenges such as dating difficulties due to renovations and repairs, the use of diverse chronological and periodic approaches in existing studies, and factors like range and scale complicate assessments both within and between these structures, ultimately leading to each period being largely studied in isolation.

Initially, the study of Crusader castles was dominated by romantic and patriotic sentiments[7], assessing the castles solely within the context of monumental defensive architecture and as representations of the presence of the Crusader armies in the region. It would not be incorrect to say that the studies from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were written with these sentiments in

[7] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 9.

mind.[8] For example, T.E. Lawrence's 1909 book *Crusader Castles* was quite successful from a survey perspective but evaluated the castles only within the context of European architecture.[9] Particularly after the French occupation of Syria in 1921, research expanded due to archaeological excavations and observations by French researchers, but evaluations still primarily focused only on monumental examples such as Kerak, Krak des Chevaliers, Chastel Pelerin, and Beaufort, and solely within the context of defensive architecture.[10] In D. Pringle's studies, there was a shift away from these monumental architectural evaluations to focus on smaller-scale structures, and through their survey, the connections between castles and towers became more clearly defined.[11]

Hugh Kennedy's 1994 book *Crusader Castles* offers a remarkably comprehensive study and also considers the interaction of Crusader fortresses with Byzantine, Armenian, and Muslim defensive architecture, which had been overlooked until then. However, the lack of a comprehensive study evaluating the defensive architecture of the Holy Lands between the 11th and 13th centuries in conjunction with their Muslim contemporaries in the region is a significant barrier to fully understanding the defense architecture that had to continuously renew itself due to the siege technologies and weapon advancements of the era, likely built by skilled artisans who sometimes collaborated across these regions. Ayyubid defensive architecture is also characterized by studies centered around monumental

[8] For a comperehsive critical historiograhy of Crusader castles see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*. See for example, Emmanuel Guillaume Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*; Michaud, *Histoire des croisades;* Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terra Sainte*.
[9] See, Lawrence and Pringle, *Crusader Castles.*
[10] See for example, Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale;* Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem;* Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte* and *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem: Étude Historique, Geographique et Monumentale.*
[11] See, Pringle, *Secular buildings in the Crusader Kingdom.*

examples—essential studies, such as the construction of Salah al-Din's Cairo city walls, his son Al-Zahir Ghazi's (r. 1193-1216) extensive reconstruction of the Aleppo walls, and his brother al-Adil's (r. 1200-1218) repairs and reconstruction of the Damascus walls.[12] While these studies examine the structures in a broader context, unlike the Crusader Castle studies, it would not be incorrect to say that the potential interactions with Crusader fortresses in the region have not been extensively evaluated.

Unfortunately, the situation in Anatolia does not present a much different picture from that in Syria. Studies on Byzantine walls focused on imperial cities such as Istanbul and Iznik in the late 19th and early 20th centuries are based on masonry, dating, and politically-centered descriptions.[13] Later on, for example, in 1983, A. W. Lawrence's article "A Skeletal History of Byzantine Fortification" addresses the issues mentioned earlier and, unlike the cities that had been extensively studied up to that point, regions like Philippi, Samothrace, Miletus, and Pergamon began to find their place in the literature through archaeological excavations.[14]

Nikos D. Kontogiannis's book, published in 2022, *Byzantine Fortifications: Protecting the Roman Empire in the East*, examines Byzantine fortifications from the fourth to the fifteenth century. It touches upon topics such as how city walls were experienced during peacetime, briefly indicating that they had functions beyond mere defense.[15] However, the absence of more comprehensive studies on the changes in Byzantine military architecture from the seventh to the fifteenth century hinders making extensive deductions for both the Byzantine period and subsequent periods, particularly the Rum Seljuk era.

[12] See, Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*; Tabbaa, "Defending Ayyubid Aleppo."
[13] See, Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* and Schneider, "The City Walls of Nicaea."
[14] A. W. Lawrence, "A Skeletal History of Byzantine Fortification," 204-210.
[15] Kontogiannis, *Byzantine Fortification,* 222.

Scott Redford and Suzan Yalman's studies on the Rum Seljuk period, which address the mentioned issues and suggest various ways to overcome them, are among the sources that inspired the Alanya section of this thesis. In his research on the inscriptions found on the city walls and towers of Sinop, Bayburt, Antalya, and Alanya, Scott Redford has argued for the influence between Seljuk architecture and that of Northern Syria and the Ayyubids, particularly through inscriptions.[16] His extensive studies on the Alanya city walls, gates, the Red Tower, the Tersane, and garden pavilions form the basis of my efforts to understand the Ayyubid-Seljuk relationship from a maritime perspective.[17] Suzan Yalman's work, the first comprehensive study of Kayqubad's architectural patronage, elucidates how Kayqubad's constructed self-image and royal language can be understood through the buildings he commissioned.[18] This perspective, combined with Redford's studies, provides crucial insights into the deliberate choices made by Kayqubad in Alanya, paving the way for this thesis.

To effectively explore the relationship between the Ayyubids and the Rum Seljuks, it is crucial to consider the intertwining aspects of their political history, architectural developments, and the 'mechanisms of cultural transfer, as meticulously examined by Redford.[19]

The political history between the Ayyubids and the Rum Seljuks is marked by both conflict and alliance, reflecting the complex dynamics of medieval Islamic geopolitics. Invasions were a common aspect of this relationship, as both dynasties sought to expand their influence over strategically important regions. Sultan Ala al-

[16] See, Redford, "Mamalik and Mamalik."
[17] See, Redford, *Landscape and the state in medieval Anatolia.*
[1818] See Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum,* Chapter 1.
[19] Redford, "Mamalik and Mamalik: Decorative and Epigraphic Programs of Anatolian Seljuk Citadels," 306.

Din Kayqubad, launched military campaigns into Ayyubid territories, highlighting the aggressive expansionist policies of the Seljuks. Pancaroğlu demonstrates that especially in the eastern Anatolia these geostrategic rivalries had a form to claim pilgrimage site and by claiming that to assert power over the regions where the borders were in constant flux.[20] However, these conflicts were paralleled by such as a strategic marriage that fostered alliances. For instance, Kayqubad's marriage to a daughter of Ayyubid Sultan al-Adil exemplifies how matrimonial ties were used to cement political relationships and ensure mutual cooperation between these two Sunni states.

The exchange of architects, builders, and artisans played a significant role in the architectural emulations experienced by both the Ayyubids of Syria and the Rum Seljuks. The movement of artisans from Syria to Anatolia epitomizes this cultural and architectural transfer. The involvement of notable Syrian architects such as Abu 'Ali al-Halabi and Muhammad ibn Khawlan al-Dimashqi, who brought with them advanced techniques and styles that influenced the architectural landscape of Seljuk Anatolia. These architects were instrumental in introducing features from military architecture like slot machicolations and sophisticated inscriptional programs and the use of sultanic titles.[21] This transfer of architectural knowledge and style underscores a dynamic interaction where Seljuk cities adopted and adapted Ayyubid innovations, leading to a hybrid architectural identity that blended local Byzantine influences with Syrian expertise.[22]

[20] See, Pancaroğlu, "Caves, Borderlands and Configurations of Sacred Topography in Medieval Anatolia."
[21] Redford, "Mamalik and Mamalik: Decorative and Epigraphic Programs of Anatolian Seljuk Citadels," 308, 341.
[22] Redford, 309.

Redford argues that the relationship between the Ayyubids and the Rum Seljuks was characterized by a complex web of envy and emulation.[23] The transfer of architectural knowledge was not merely a byproduct of political alliances but a deliberate strategy to enhance the prestige and power of each dynasty. The presence of Syrian architects in Anatolia, coupled with the adoption of Ayyubid inscriptional styles, indicates a conscious effort by the Seljuks to incorporate and elevate Syrian architectural innovations within their own urban centers.

This thesis presents a new perspective on the exchange of artists, architects, and craftsmen and their role in the relationship between the Ayyubids of Syria and the Seljuks of Rum, emphasizing three key points. First, it highlights the lack of comparative studies on Ayyubid and Crusader military architecture, despite the fact that these two rival polities employed common architects and craftsmen even in siege and warfare technologies. Understanding the interactions between Crusader architecture and local architectures, such as Byzantine, Armenian, and Islamic, is crucial not only for comprehending Crusader architecture itself but also for gaining insights into the Crusaders and their contemporaries. Secondly, this thesis suggests that alongside the previously mentioned craftsmen, architects, and ceramic artists, maritime crews could also play a role in the transfer of know-how. Just as Salah al-Din's navy included rowers, sailors, and soldiers from Egypt and Ifriqiya, the Seljuks may have also relied on local craftsmen and maritime personnel. Although there are still many uncertainties, this perspective offers a significantly different view. Thirdly, the maritime perspective proposed by this thesis can be analyzed and compared for both states. This perspective goes beyond the similarities in naval policies and economic relationships and aims to understand the architecture of coastal cities and

[23] Redford, 309.

the impact of the sea on this architecture. By doing so, it seeks to shed light on how maritime activities and interactions influenced the architectural developments and strategic approaches of both the Ayyubid of Syria and the Seljuk of Rum.

CHAPTER 2

ARWAD ISLAND

2.1 Historical background of Arwad Island

The Phoenician civilization, emerging along the coastal regions of what is today known as Syria, Lebanon, and Israel, traces its roots back to the Canaanites of the Bronze Age, a group frequently referenced throughout the biblical narratives. In Genesis X, the sons of Canaan are referred to as 'Arvadites,' and in Ezekiel, as helpers and rowers of Tyre. By the onset of the first millennium BCE, these people had established themselves in a network of prosperous, independent city-states, chiefly along the Mediterranean coast. Arwad Island is the northernmost of the four main Phoenician city-states and is the only one within modern-day Syrian territory. To the south, the city-states of Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre are within the borders of Lebanon (Fig. 1). Sherratt notes that these city-states had commercial independence during the Bronze Age and expanded their spheres of influence through established trade relations.[24] One of the most significant factors that made these four city-states important was their ability to influence distant regions through trade while maintaining solid relationships with the surrounding local settlements. Particularly in the Iron Age, Sherratt points out that the city-states developed at strategic points more for commercial gain than territorial expansion for that reason.[25] Thus, Arwad was strategically a significant island city-state on the northern Syrian coastline.

As for the Phoenician period, there is less information about the island compared to other city-states. The main reason for this is that archaeological studies have yet to be conducted on the island. Apart from a very brief examination by

[24] Sherratt, "The Growth of the Mediterranean Economy in the Early First Millennium BC," 361.
[25] Sherratt, 367.

Ernest Renan in 1860, research related to the Phoenician history of the island, including coins and a few inscriptions, has been very limited.[26] Although studies related to the Hellenistic and Roman periods are also quite limited, it is essential to consider these periods within the historical context to understand the strategic importance of the island—one of the key points this thesis tries to demonstrate about the island.

Located about two and a half kilometers off the coast of Tartus in Syria, Arwad Island measures 800 meters by 450 meters (Fig.2, Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). The northernmost and southernmost parts of the island are rocky, making them less suitable for settlement compared to the inner parts. Rey-Coquais notes that the island's southern side is shallower compared to the north.[27] Indeed, the southern tip has been formed by filling in between rocks. The northern side of the island rises about 10 meters above sea level, and the highest point on the island is 27 meters, located at the site of the West Fortress. On the east side facing Tartus, there are two harbors separated by a jetty and the East Fortress. The most magnificent remaining part of the sea wall, dating back to the Phoenician period, alongside the West Fortress, stands on the west side. As mentioned above, beyond strategic points, the relationships with the mainland were important for the city-states during the Phoenician period. Therefore, understanding the impact of Arwad Island on the mainland is significant.

In October 1860, Ernest Renan, appointed by Napoleon III, arrived at the port of Beirut and conducted various archaeological excavations in the Phoenician city-states, facilitated by the presence of the French army in the region. He planned these

[26] For numismatic see, Elayi, "Gerashtart, King of the Phoenician City," and Elayi and Elayi, "Un nouveau trésor d'Arwad."
[27] Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, 54.

excavations across four city-states – Arados, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre, and he intended the Arados excavation in three sites: Arados (i.e. Arwad), Antarados (Tartus), and Amrit (Marathus), which is located 6 km south of modern-day Tartus.[28] It is quite clear that the main reason Renan planned the excavation in these three sites was due to the Arwad's relationship with Antarados. Antarados, now known as Tartus, derives its name from Anti-Arados, meaning "the town facing Arwad." Contrary to Renan, Rey-Coquais asserts that the island's sphere of influence on the mainland was broader.[29] Although it is not entirely possible to fully understand how it was during the Phoenician era, based on iconographic and archaeological findings, Rey-Coquais identifies the island's influence extending north to Jableh, east to Raphanea and Masyaf and south to Tell Kazel.[30] He argues that the island's continued existence was definitely dependent on the mainland, necessitating the possession of forest for shipbuilding and agricultural lands.[31] Furthermore, he mentions the need for access to significant overland trade routes beyond sea trade, which has been achieved since they controlled the route to northern Syria and the route from the south to Syria known as Homs's Gap.[32] Rey-Coquais's inference, especially about the Hellenistic period, aligns with the excavations conducted by Al-Maqdissi in Amrit for the Phoenician period. Al-Maqdissi notes that Amrit was used from the Early Bronze Age to the Mamluk period but could never be considered a city, always dependent on Arwad.[33] Renan also mentions that Amrit was used by Arwad as a suburb until the Seleucid period, and besides having a temple, it was also

[28] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 3.
[29] Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, 109.
[30] Jableh is located approximately 60 kilometers north of Arwad along the Syrian coast. Raphanea lies about 70 kilometers inland to the northeast of Arwad. Masyaf is situated further inland, approximately 90 kilometers to the northeast. Tell Kazel, an archaeological site near the coast south of Tartus, is approximately 20 kilometers from Arwad. See, Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, 109-116.
[31] Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, 59.
[32] Rey-Coquais, 72.
[33] Al-Maqdissi, "Amrith dans la Pérée d'Arados," 467-8.

utilized as a quarry and a cemetery.[34] Although it cannot be definitively stated that the boundaries of the Arwad region during the Phoenician period were the same as those identified by Rey-Coquais for a later period, the consistency with Amrit, the only excavation site for Phoenician period research in the region, allows for the suggestion that the regional boundaries of the later period roughly align with those of the early period. It would not be incorrect to state that the island depended on the mainland and undoubtedly influenced its immediate surroundings, even if these boundaries cannot be precisely delineated.

On Arwad Island, the structures dating back to the Phoenician period, as identified by various researchers and still partially present on the island, are the sea wall and jetty. Renan describes the sea wall as "truly Phoenician work"; it encircles the island and was constructed with multiple rows of massive stones, reaching a height of ten meters and a width of two meters in some of the surviving sections.[35] Based on the construction technique of the wall, Renan points out its similarity to Amrit and asserts that the sea wall must definitely be dated to the Phoenician period.[36] Rey-Coquais, however, notes some problems. Even though it is generally dated to the Phoenician period, the surviving parts were not constructed in a single period, indicating that caution should be exercised in dating.[37] This sea wall, which has witnessed numerous sieges and wars, has been repaired over time, sometimes rebuilt from scratch, and it is essential to keep in mind that the issue of multiperiod seen in city walls can also be observed in this sea wall that encircles the island. The lack of significant changes in stone repair techniques across different periods and the

[34] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 97.
[35] Renan, 39.
[36] Renan, 39-40.
[37] Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, 59.

scarcity of information from sources discussing the island makes it difficult to date the standing parts.

It is possible to trace the remains of the sea wall starting from the northeast of the island. Although the northern part of the island does not contain any historical structures that have survived to the present day, Savignac mentions explicitly the presence of cut stones and large stone blocks similar to those seen in the sea wall in the northeastern part.[38] Additionally, this area houses an ancient cistern and two tombs carved out of the rock. While there are no standing structures in the northern part now, the presence of cut stones mentioned by Savignac indicates that this part of the island was also utilized.[39]

In the northwest part, at a location marked as 'Point B' by Savignac (Fig. 5), lies the most magnificent section of the sea wall that has become a symbol of the island (Fig. 6). This wall was constructed on a rock base about two meters high, with a height of ten meters, and built with four rows of stones. As observed by Renan, the stones were placed with minimal intervention to their main mass and without using any mortar to bind them together.[40] Near Point B, Savignac observed an ancient channel about one meter wide and noted that it extended towards the island's interior.[41] He also mentions a horizontal opening placed in the wall, resembling an upper ledge, but states it is unlikely to be a door; however, the presence of a gate in the sea wall at the southeastern tip of the island indicates that the island was not accessed solely from the harbor.[42]

[38] Savignac, "Une Visite a l'ile de Rouad," 569.
[39] Savignac, 569.
[40] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 39.
[41] Savignac, "Une Visite a l'ile de Rouad," 570.
[42] Savignac, "Une Visite a l'ile de Rouad," 570.

Moving from northwest to southwest, especially in the middle part of the island, only traces of the sea wall can be observed. As one approaches the southern part, the presence of the sea wall becomes more evident, and in the southwest corner, there is a section where two rows of stones are preserved. From the southwest to the southeast, the traces of the sea wall continue in a relatively straight line. Savignac mentions a gap of about six meters in the wall line, approximately 40 meters towards the north, i.e., towards the harbor, suggesting it could be a gate leading to the sea.[43] Additionally, he notes that there are openings about half a meter wide in the wall stones in this area, which might have been used as vessels for storing ashes.[44]

On the eastern side of the island, facing the mainland, Tartus, there is a jetty separating two harbors. This jetty, approximately 80 meters long and 20 meters wide, was constructed from massive stone blocks similar to those used in the sea wall; they occasionally reach lengths of five to six meters, a height of two meters, and a width of one and half meters. The two harbors, referred to as the north and south harbors and separated by the jetty, differ in utility. The latter, being deeper and better shielded from the north winds, is a more effective harbor. Renan compares the Arwad harbors to those of Sidon and Tyre, noting its superiority in terms of anchorage.[45] The dating of these harbors goes back to the Phoenician period, and Savignac discusses that the jetty, similar in stonemasonry to a now no longer standing structure in the northeast, could have been constructed in the same period.[46] Consequently, the two structures from the Phoenicians that are still observable on the island are the sea wall encircling the island and the jetty separating the harbors.

[43] Savignac, 573.
[44] Savignac, 573.
[45] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 40.
[46] Savignac, "Une Visite a l'ile de Rouad," 569.

In the Hellenistic period, Arrian describes in his book *The Anabasis of Alexander* the surrender of the island to Alexander in 333 BC,

> He [Alexander] then went in person toward Phoenicia; and on the march he was met by Strato, son of Gerostratus, king of the Aradians and of the people living near Aradus [i.e. Arwad]. But Gerostratus himself was serving in the fleet with Autophradates, as were also the other kings of both of the Phoenicians and the Cyprians. When Strato fell in with Alexander, he placed a golden crown upon his head, promising to surrender to him both the island of Aradus and the great and prosperous city of Marathus, situated on the mainland right opposite Aradus.[47]

In this account, it is clear that Arwad surrendered without a fight and that the island and its surroundings, particularly Marathus (Amrit), were under allegiance to the Phoenician king Gerashtart (r. 339-333 BC). This indicates that the island's connections with the mainland persisted into the 4th century BC, mainly that Amrit region remained linked to the island. About a year after the conquest of Arwad, following the capture of Sidon and Byblos, it is recorded that Alexander received assistance from the king of Aradus during the siege of Tyre; alongside the king of Byblos and the Sidonians, the king of Aradus aided Alexander with an 80-ship fleet in the conquest of Tyre.[48]

López-Ruiz remarks that the Phoenician identity persisted in some aspects until the Roman period following Alexander's conquest of the region.[49] Rey-Coquais, while noting that Arwad and other Phoenician cities were subdued during the Hellenistic period, argues that Arwad, in particular, continued to exert influence and was relatively semi-independent.[50] However, making inferences about the island of Arwad during this period is quite challenging. Initially, although written primary sources mention the island's existence, understanding its political structure and the

[47] Arrian, *The Anabasis of Alexander,* 111.
[48] Arrian,, 124-5.
[49] López-Ruiz, *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, 14.
[50] Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, 124.

state of its sea walls and fortresses is not feasible. For instance, Pseudo-Skylax, likely writing around the time of Alexander's conquest, mentions the presence of Arwad's harbor and its enclosure in his *Periplous*.[51] As for material evidence, a bilingual inscription is the only object found on the island to date that can provide information about the island's condition during the Hellenistic period. French Lieutenant Albert Trabaud purchased this inscription from an islander after the French navy occupied Arwad island, then under Ottoman control, in September 1915, and it showcases the enduring Phoenician identity of the island in the 3rd century BC, with Phoenician used alongside Ancient Greek.[52]

Just like in the Hellenistic period, obtaining precise information about the island during the Roman period is quite challenging. Although there are references to Aradian sailors in the Roman navy, understanding the condition of the island's fortifications is not feasible.[53] Some objects from the Roman period identified by Renan and later by Savignac indicate that the island was inhabited during Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, the primary reason for not being able to make definitive inferences about these objects like steles, statues, reliefs, coins, inscriptions is the unknown locations where they were excavated on the island. Renan began the Arados excavation in 1861; however, when informed by the French

[51] Shipley, *Pseudo-Skylax's "Periplous,"* 77-8.
[52] This bilingual inscription in the Louvre Museum cataloged (inventory number AO 7676) as having been sold to the museum in 1921 by Albert Michel Antoine Trabaud, measures 23*42*50 cm and was engraved on a limestone block. https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010123319. It comprises three lines in Ancient Greek and two lines in Phoenician. Briquel-Chatonnet argues that this inscription is distinct from other bilingual inscriptions of the period. In contrast to inscriptions from places like Athens, where the primary language is Phoenician and which often contain more information than their Ancient Greek counterparts, this inscription from the significant Phoenician city-state of Arwad, dated to 235 BCE, does not prioritize Phoenician. Briquel-Chatonnet suggests that the prominence of Ancient Greek over Phoenician in this inscription indicates that by the time it was written, Phoenician might not have been actively spoken on the island. Yet, the inclusion of a Phoenician translation signifies an intent to preserve or reflect a Phoenician identity. This inscription is one of the latest examples of bilingual inscriptions, illustrating the transitional nature of languages and identities in this region. See, Briquel-Chatonnet, "Les inscriptions phénicio-grecques."
[53] Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, 147.

army that he might not be able to stay in Syria for long, he stayed on the island for only four days before moving to Amrit.[54] He reports that he was not well-received by the islanders and, instead of searching for small objects in the south of the island, he prioritized the Amrit excavation, which he deemed more important because of the Melqart temple.[55] Therefore, although it is thought that most of the objects cataloged by Renan and transferred to the Louvre Museum likely came from the south of the island, the lack of a detailed report on the excavation and the brief time spent on the island make it difficult to be certain about the context of the excavated objects.[56]

The most significant problem related to the objects found on the island after Renan's excavation and in Lieutenant Trabaud's small museum—established right after the French occupation of the island in 1915, and probably located in the Western Citadel—is that it is unknown where on the island they were found or excavated. Only one of these objects was recorded by Savignac as in situ. In the West Fortress's north courtyard's southwest tower, a basalt stone with an Ancient Greek inscription was found within a fireplace room. Savignac recorded this inscription by candlelight but could not decipher it entirely, but he mentioned that the name Cronus from Greek mythology could be read.[57] This spolia material found in situ suggests to Savignac that there likely were structures on the island from the Hellenistic or Roman period and that stones found on the island were used in constructing the West Fortress.[58]

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[54] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 6-7.
[55] Renan, 6-7.
[56] For the objects catalogued see, Renan, *Mission de Phénicie, Planches,* 4-5. For objects of Arwad origin, listed under Renan as archaeologist in the Louvre Museum, see invertory numbers: E 4901, AF 12134, AO 29508, AO 4836, AO 4842, AO 4829, AO 4863, AO 5975, AO 4832, AO 4853, AO 4949, AO 5713, AO 31149, AO 31150, AO 5711, AO 5712, AO 5720, AO 1190, AO 4869. The problem in the museum online collection records is the island being listed under various names such as Arvad, Arwad, Arados and Rouad.
[57] Savignac, "Une Visite a l'ile de Rouad," 579.
[58] Savignac states that the beginning of each of the five lines of this stone block, as well as the fourth and fifth lines, are damaged—they cannot be fully read. However, he notes that the inscription likely

In addition to the Phoenicians being accomplished in monumental architecture and city walls, Aradus is mentioned in Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, written around 30-20 BC during the Roman period, specifically for these features. In the section "On Machinery for Defence," Vitruvius writes,

> Diognetus was an architect of Rhodes, and received from the state a fixed salary proportionate to his professional skill and as an honorarium. In his time a certain architect from Aradus, Callias by name, came to Rhodes and gave a public lecture, at which he displayed the drawings of a city wall, and thereupon he set up a machine with a revolving crane which seized a siege engine as it approached the ramparts, and removed it within the city. When the Rhodians saw the design, they admired it, and withdrew the appointed salary from Diognetus and gave the post to Callias.[59]

The fact that Arwad, seen as a safe refuge island woven with massive stones, is mentioned in Vitruvius' section on defensive architecture in the first century BC, including city walls and defense weapons, illustrates that the island's identity with its sea wall and defense architecture extended from the Phoenician to the Roman periods.

It can be said that the island lost some of its influence after the Roman period. This is partly attributed to the revitalization of the city of Antarados (Constantia) by Constantius II in 346 AD, which led to its subsequent rise.[60] While partially accepting this, it is important to understand how the relationship between the mainland and the island evolved after this period, in which periods or events and for what reasons it was mentioned together with or separately from the mainland. Indeed, information about the island's sea wall and fortresses is generally visible when there were hostile relations between the mainland and the island, from

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continues on the other three sides, but because of the placement of this spolia, he argues, which was used in the construction of the West Fortress, it cannot be wholly read. Savignac, "Une Visite a l'ile de Rouad," 579-80.

[59] Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 359-61.

[60] For the history of the city see, "Ṭarṭūs" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Online (EI-2 English)*. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7422 and Abdülkerim Özaydın, "TARTÛS", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tartus

Muawiya's conquest of the Byzantine island in 650 to the last territory lost by the Crusaders in the Holy Land in 1302. Therefore, rather than the complex history of the northern Syria region from the 7th to the 14th centuries, the key events providing information about the island's sea wall and fortresses are studied in sequence: the conquest of the island by Muawiya in 650, the importance of the island's port for the Crusader navy during the First Crusade, the siege of the island by the Ayyubid navy in 1180 and its use as a base for attacks on the County of Tripoli in Tartus, and finally, its use again as a base by the Crusaders until 1302 following the conquest of Acre and Tartus by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf in 1291.

2.1.1 From the 7th century Islamic conquest to the 14th century fall of the island as the last Crusader stronghold

Muawiya (d. 680), the Umayyad governor of Syria, conquered Cyprus in 649. Despite initial attempts to gain permission for an invasion from the Caliphs in 643 and 645, it was only in 649 that Muawiya successfully launched a naval raid on Cyprus. Leading a large fleet from Palestinian coasts, he attacked Salamis (Constantia). Subsequently, he also captured the island of Arwad in 650.[61] The fact that Arwad was conquered after Cyprus is particularly noteworthy. While a nearby territory like Tartus was conquered, the reasons why this small island was not taken during the conquest of Syria have not been extensively discussed.[62] Conrad suggests that Muawiya's motivation to conquer the island stemmed from the Byzantine navy's increased presence after the conquest of Cyprus, posing a threat not only to Cyprus but also to the Syrian coastline.[63] In this regard, it was crucial for

[61] See, Zavagno, "Two hegemonies, one island," and "No Island is an Island."
[62] For the only critical source on the subject see, Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 321.
[63] Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 322.

Muawiya to capture the island, which was so close to the mainland, to prevent the Byzantines from using it as a military base. Al-Tabari (d. 923) conveys Muawiya's desire for a naval campaign prior to the conquest of Cyprus, quoting Sayf ibn Umar:

> In the time of 'Umar b. al-Khattab, Mu'awiyah pleaded with him about naval campaigns (ghazw al-bahr) and the closeness of the Byzantines to Hims. He said, "In one of the villages of Hims the inhabitants hear the barking of (the Byzantines') dogs and the squawking of their chickens." [He pressed 'Umar] until he was on the verge of being won over.[64]

Conrad, based on Sayf ibn Umar's accounts, argues that while this place is considered to be Cyprus, it was actually the island of Arwad.[65] The proximity of Tartus, located in the Hims military base area, and the discomfort caused by the Byzantine-held island being so close to the mainland make it more likely that the discussed initial campaign was meant for Arwad rather than Cyprus. Even if we accept Conrad's inference, it still does not sufficiently explain why the island was targeted after Cyprus. Regarding the conquest of Arwad, the most detailed information among Arabic sources is provided by the 9th century historian Ibn Atham al-Kufi in his work *Kitab al-Futuh*. He narrates the conquest of Arwad by detailing how Muslims, led by commander Junada ibn Abi Umayya under the order of Muawiya, captured a Greek from Arwad and used his information to locate and conquer the island. Guided by a Greek, Junada's force of 4000 men sailed on twenty ships and launched a surprise attack on Arwad at night, overpowering the islanders and securing the citadel. Following their victory, Junada imposed a truce and the jizya (poll tax) on the islanders in the citadel before returning safely to the Syrian coast with the spoils, which were then divided among the Muslims after giving a portion to the caliph 'Uthman.[66]

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[64] Tabari, *The Crisis of the Early Caliphate,* 26.
[65] Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 382.
[66] Ibn Atham al-Kufi, *Kitab al-Futuh*, 366-7.

While highlighting the significance of capturing the island, this account offers very limited information about Arwad during Muawiya's era. Given the island's visibility from the Tartus coast and its inevitable connection with the mainland, and considering Conrad's discussion of the discomfort caused by its proximity to Byzantine territory, it seems unlikely that Muawiya did not have detailed knowledge about the island. Furthermore, Conrad points out that Ibn Atham al-Kufi's conquest narrative contains traditional elements—such as 4000 soldiers, jizya, and tribute—it conveys the conquest without providing detailed information about the island.[67] A notable point in Ibn Atham al-Kufi's account for this thesis is that Junada ibn Abi Umayya captured the citadel and negotiated the peace treaty within it.[68] Nevertheless, it is unclear which fortress on the island this was or whether it was the sea wall.

The *Book of Curiosities*, an anonymous Arabic cosmographical treatise dating from between 1020 and 1050 AD, is highly valued for its unique illustrations and texts. This manuscript is divided into two parts: celestial and terrestrial matters, featuring distinctive maps and diagrams unparalleled in Greek, Latin, or Arabic traditions.[69] The treatise provides significant insights into the works of 9th to 11th century Muslim astronomers, historians, and travelers, making it a crucial source for the study of Islamic cartography and cosmology.

It features a uniquely original map of the Mediterranean, the earliest surviving map in any language to depict the sea in such detail. Found only in Manuscript A, this map presents a dark green oval of water with 120 islands drawn as circles.[70] The island of Arwad is detailed in label 76, as circled in the figure,

[67] Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 354-64.
[68] The author uses word "حصن" (ḥiṣn) throughout this part.
[69] Rapoport and Savage-Smith, *An eleventh-century Egyptian guide*, 1-35.
[70] Rapoport and Savage-Smith, 447.

which states: "The island of Wārid (i.e. Arwad), which has a harbour, but the island is in ruins."[71] Additionally, the book provides further information about the island's conquest, mentioning that,

> The island of Ruwādh (Arwād), now in ruins, used to be one of the most prosperous islands. Junādah ibn Abī Umayyah conquered it. It had a city called Arwād, built by King Rodos. It had 21 churches, 7 talismans (ṭilasmāt), and a spring called ʿAbū Qālīs, revealer of mysteries. Whoever drinks from it on the morning of a Friday that falls on the 3rd of April will understand the language of birds and wild animals and all mysteries.[72]

As Ibn Atham al-Kufi's *Kitab al-Futuh* mentions a commander named Junadah ibn Abi Umayyah, this book corroborates the same name. However, unlike Ibn Atham al-Kufi, the map states that the island was destroyed. Indeed, as mentioned below, it is likely that the island was in ruins when the map was drawn.

Unlike Ibn Atham al-Kufi and the *Book of Curiosities*, al-Tabari's account from al-Waqidi describes the island as 'close to Constantinople' and mentions that the island was deserted and in ruins after the conquest.[73] Narratives about the island's conquest can also be found in Eastern Christian sources. Conrad indicates that Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785) provides the most accurate information and he tries to analyze the intertextuality between Muslim and Eastern Christian sources and how the conquest narrative was constructed.[74] The accounts of the island's conquest in the surviving texts, which used Theophilus of Edessa's account, are not significantly different from each other.[75] Among these sources, the *Kitab al-unwan* by Agapius (d.ca. 942) differs significantly from the accounts of Ibn Atham al-Kufi and al-Waqidi. Agapius's narrative of the conquest continues as follows,

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[71] Rapoport and Savage-Smith, 450.
[72] Rapoport and Savage-Smith, 479.
[73] Tabari, *Between Civil Wars: The caliphate of Muʿāwiyah,* 172. Regarding the confusion between Constantia (Salamis) and Constantinople, see Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 381.
[74] Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 321-2.
[75] For sources that use Theophilus of Edessa's account, for example: Dionysius, Michael the Syrian (d. 1196), Bar Hebracus (d. 1286), Chronicle of 1234, Theophanes (d. 818), and Agapius (d. ca. 950), see Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 321-348.

> In the third year of the reign of 'Uthman, Mu'awiya sailed across the sea and proceeded to Cyprus and conquered it. He had with him 1700 ships full of heavily armed troops and equipment, and on (Cyprus] and the islands surrounding it he took many people prisoner. Then word reached him that the forces of the Greeks were making their way toward him, so he went back to Syria and descended upon Arwad. But though he exerted his utmost effort, he could not take it. So he sent a bishop called Tuma, and (the latter) asked them to leave the island and to withdraw to Greek territory (al-Rum) so that the Arabs could occupy it. But when the bishop arrived among them they detained him and neither allowed him to return to Mu'awiya nor paid any heed to his message. Then Mu'awiya went back to Damascus, since it was the beginning of winter and also because he was close to the sea. When this winter ended and spring began, Mu'awiya went back to the island of Arwad with forces mightier and more copious than the earlier time, descended upon [the place], and pressed a very tight siege upon them. When the people of Arwad (al-Rud) saw the dire straits they were in and the forces that loomed over them, they requested a guarantee of security according to which they would depart for Syria and settle wherever they wished. Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan agreed to their terms, and they departed from the island. When they departed, Mu'awiya ordered that its walls be razed. So [Arwad] was razed, put to the torch, and burned.[76]

Firstly, Agapius provides more detailed information about the island's conquest than the Muslim sources. Unlike al-Waqidi, who describes the island as close to Constantinople, or Ibn Atham al-Kufi, who does not provide a specific description, Agapius clarifies this information. Secondly, after Muawiya's conquest of Salamis in Cyprus, the Byzantine presence did not wholly cease in Cyprus or the Levant.[77] Therefore, Muawiya's view of the Byzantine navy as a threat, his desire to capture the island on his return to Syria, his unsuccessful initial siege, his persistent search for a middle ground, and his sending of Thomarichos (the Bishop of Apamea)[78], illustrate the significance of the island's conquest. The islanders' refusal of the offer might have been due to expectations of aid from a possible Byzantine fleet or their reluctance to resettle in Byzantine territories instead of Syria.[79] However, one thing

[76] Agapius. *Kitab al-'unwan*, 346. Translation by Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 328-329.
[77] For this discussion see Zavagno, "Two hegemonies, one island," and Zavagno, "No island is an island."
[78] Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 341.
[79] Conrad, 342-3.

is certain: the island withstood the siege and forced Muawiya to wait until spring. During the second siege, the navy was unsuccessful again, and the islanders left the island on condition of resettling in Syria. This shows that the island could resist even a more prepared and powerful navy; hence, Muawiya had the island's walls demolished. Agapius does not mention any fortress or tower; only the walls of the island were demolished, and other Eastern Christian sources also state that the walls were demolished, and the island remained uninhabited and in ruins.
This suggests that Agapius and other sources may be referring to the sea wall; Ibn Atham al-Kufi's account of the citadel being captured and the truce that happened there might refer to the sea wall or the West Fortress, or it could just be a classic narrative developed within a conquest story.

After the conquest and subsequent desolation and abandonment of the island by Muawiya, and with Tartus gaining prominence, Arwad's strategic importance seems to have decreased. However, a better understanding of the strategic importance of the coastline, Cyprus remaining a neutral zone, and the perception of the northern Syrian coasts as dangerous even after the conquest of Arwad indicate ongoing strategic concerns. For instance, Nuaym ibn Hammad (d. 843), in his work *Kitab al-Fitan*, which is an apocalyptic text, describes the Syrian coastline as a hostile region and expresses fears of potential attacks by the Byzantine Empire from cities like Tartus.[80] During the 8th and 9th centuries, the maritime front of the northern Syria region was particularly seen as dangerous and vulnerable to attacks.

In 968, during the eastern campaign of Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros Phokas (r. 963-969), cities such as Hims, Tripoli, Acre, and Tartus fell under

[80] Nuaym ibn Hammad, *The Book of Tribulations,* 269, 274. and for examples of apocalyptic texts regarding the discussion see, Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad," 352.

Byzantine control.[81] However, after the Fatimids' conquest of Cairo, the Fatimid fleet was moved to Egypt, which escalated tensions at sea between the Byzantines and the Fatimids. This tension spurred the Fatimids to intensify their efforts to protect the Palestinian and Syrian coastlines as part of their defensive strategies. For instance, the Fatimid general Manjutakin launched attacks on several coastal cities, including Alexandria, between 992 and 995.[82] Shortly after that, in 995, Byzantine Emperor Basil II (r. 976-1025) embarked on a campaign to Syria. Honigmann notes that the emperor was unsuccessful in his siege of Tripoli but managed to resettle Armenians in Tartus on his return and had the city's walls repaired.[83] A year later, Aleppo and Tartus faced an attack under the command of Manjutakin, but this assault also failed.[84]

During the First Crusade from 1095 to 1099, the last of the four Crusader states to be established was the County of Tripoli, founded by Raymond of Saint-Gilles (r. 1102-1105) in 1102 in Tartus. Despite being the last established and least studied, this county holds strategic importance for the Crusaders and Syria's dynamic politics. Since 1070, the region had been governed by the Banu Ammar, a Fatimid vassal, but the Banu Ammar dynasty directed Raymond towards Jerusalem when the Crusades were in the region, viewing them as an end to the Fatimid dominion.[85] After the Crusaders captured Jerusalem in 1099, Raymond was unable to secure Tripoli immediately and served as a proxy for Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118) in Latakia.[86] In 1102, after conquering Tartus, Raymond

[81] Honigmann, *Bizans Devletinin Doğu Sınırı*, 93.
[82] Honigmann, 105.
[83] Honigmann, *Bizans Devletinin Doğu Sınırı*, 105. Honigmann does not provide a reference about the settlement of Armenians in the region. Regarding the reconstruction of Tartus, the source he cites also does not provide information about the Armenians settled in the area. See, Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, 94-97."
[84] Honigmann, *Bizans Devletinin Doğu Sınırı*, 105.
[85] Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon in the Twelfth Century*, 14-17.
[86] Lewis, 18.

began constructing a new castle on Pilgrims' Mount in Tripoli and laid siege to the city. However, following Raymond's death in 1105, the county was contested between William Jordan of Cerdanya and Bertrand of Toulouse.
Bertrand fully conquered Tripoli in 1109, and the capital moved from Tartus to Tripoli.

Lewis explains that the primary reason the siege of Tripoli initiated by Raymond in 1102 lasted seven years was the Fatimids' ability to resupply the city by sea, with the Crusaders lacking sufficient power to block this support.[87] Although the presence of the Crusader navy in the Eastern Mediterranean is well-known, studies often focus on Antioch and Jerusalem. Hence, the naval operations during the conquest of Tripoli and other Syrian coastal cities are generally overlooked. Hillenbrand highlights this point and argues that the coastal location of the Crusader states, except for the County of Edessa, and their prolonged presence in the Holy Lands were primarily due to naval power; yet, studies on the Crusader navy remain inadequate.[88] Pryor also discusses the need to understand the relationship between the land forces and the navy during the First Crusade, noting that while the navy provided support in terms of troops, ammunition, supplies, and communication, it also relied on the land army for freshwater supply.[89] For instance, during the First Crusades, when the army headed towards Jerusalem, they adjusted their route closer to the coast in anticipation of resupply from ships from Antioch and Cyprus. However, the fleet could only reach as far as Arqa due to the lack of a port and had to withdraw north without delivering aid. During this time, part of the fleet used the port of Arwad Island.[90] This demonstrates that even before the establishment of the

[87] Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon in the Twelfth Century*, 30.
[88] Hillenbrand, *Islam and the Crusades*, 298.
[89] Pryor, "A View from a Masthead," 102.
[90] Pryor, 143-4.

County of Tripoli, the Crusaders utilized the island, with its strategic significance enhanced due to its port, proximity to land, and likely sources of freshwater.

The Ayyubid dynasty, founded by Salah al-Din (r. 1171-1193) marked a significant period in the fight against the Crusaders. Originally serving as a general for the Zangids, Salah al-Din countered the Crusader forces effectively and took control of Egypt. By 1171, he had declared the end of the Fatimid caliphate and established the Ayyubid Sultanate. Recognizing the importance of a naval force to combat the Crusaders, Salah al-Din undertook significant efforts to refurbish and enhance the Fatimid fleet, which he used effectively in campaigns and sieges from 1169 until the start of the Third Crusade (1189-92).[91]

Like the studies on the naval perspective of the Crusades, the Ayyubid navy and its impact in battles against the Crusaders have generally been overlooked. However, the capture of Syrian and Lebanese coastal cities by the Crusaders, which posed a threat to Egypt, prompted Salah al-Din early on to recognize the need for an offensive navy to defend Egypt. Starting these preparations in 1172, Salah al-Din increased the salaries of sailors and procured essential materials such as iron, wood, timber, and resin from Italian city-states for shipbuilding.[92] During his visit to Alexandria in March 1177, he ordered the construction of a fleet, which continued until the spring of 1179.[93] Ehrenkreutz notes that the 80-ship fleet was split into two: the first 50 ships were tasked with protecting the Egyptian coast, while the remaining 30 were assigned to launch attacks against the Crusaders on the Syrian coast.[94] The first major attack was carried out on the port

[91] See, Ehrenkreutz, "The Place of Salah al-Din."
[92] Ehrenkreutz, "The Place of Salah al-Din," 240.
[93] Ehrenkreutz, 240.
[94] Ehrenkreutz, 241.

of Acre in the same year, when the Ayyubid navy managed to seize the port for two days, boosting confidence in the fleet's capabilities.

After an agreement between Salah al-Din and Baldwin IV (r. 1174-1185), King of Jerusalem, in 1180, the navy shifted its focus from the south to the north. In the same year, the Ayyubid navy occupied the island of Arwad, which was under the control of the County of Tripoli, and used it as a base to launch attacks on Tartus, also under the control of the County of Tripoli.[95] While the duration of the Ayyubid navy's stay on Arwad is not known, this fleet was tasked with conducting assaults along the northern Syrian coastline, and the next notable attack by this navy was the unsuccessful assault on Beirut in 1182.[96] After the Battle of Hattin in 1187, important port cities like Acre, Ascalon, Sidon, and Beirut were captured by Salah al-Din, leaving the Crusaders without a major naval base, except for the ports of Tripoli and Tyre. The capture of Jerusalem, Acre, and other coastal cities after 1187 highlighted the importance of coordinated operations between Salah al-Din's naval and land forces in his strategy against the Crusades.

In addition to ensuring the navy's strength at sea, Salah al-Din made significant decisions regarding constructing and renovating coastal fortifications. For example, following the truce with King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem in 1180, Salah al-Din launched attacks on areas excluded from the agreement, like Arwad. He also ordered the construction of defensive walls in key coastal cities within the boundaries of the agreement, such as Damietta, Tinnis, and Suez.[97] After the battle of Hattin, this defendive building activity continued, and Acre is a vital example of the importance of such construction. When Salah al-Din captured it, his advisors

[95] Ehrenkreutz, “The Place of Salah al-Din,” 241-3.
[96] Ehrenkreutz, 243.
[97] Ehrenkreutz, 243.

recommended demolishing its fortifications. They expressed concerns that the Crusaders might attempt to retake Acre with naval support, potentially turning it back into a major Crusader military hub.[98] Ehrenkreutz notes that Salah al-Din did not heed this advice; instead, he began the construction of a new wall to strengthen the city's defenses[99]. The targeting of Acre's port at the onset of the Third Crusade and its recapture in 1191 with naval support, which reinstated its status as a significant Crusader center, prompted Salah al-Din to order the demolition of other coastal cities, notably Sidon. Considering the examples of Damietta, Tinnis, Suez, and Acre together, it is evident that Salah al-Din not only launched naval attacks but also simultaneously constructed defenses in coastal cities. Despite advice for demolition, his decision to build a new fortification in Acre demonstrates his keen understanding of the importance of defense architecture in coastal cities.

Hillenbrand asserts that Salah al-Din was the first sultan to use a navy against the Crusaders effectively.[100] He strengthened the navy and ensured its coordination with the land army, significantly advancing the maritime tension with the Crusaders by constructing garrisons, castles, and walls along the coastline. However, despite capturing nearly all the major coastal cities except Tripoli and Tyre, Hillenbrand notes that Salah al-Din and his successors could not withstand the naval power of the Third Crusade, which began in 1189.[101]

Following its recapture by the Thirs Crusades in 1191, Acre served as the Crusader headquarters. The next major phase of Muslim counter-Crusade activity took place in the Mamluk period: Sultan Baybars captured the Principality of Antioch in 1268, Sultan Qalawun seized Tripoli in 1289, and Sultan al-Ashraf

[98] Ehrenkreutz, 247.
[99] Ehrenkreutz, "The Place of Salah al-Din," 247.
[100] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 567.
[101] Hillenbrand, 569.

conquered Acre and Tartus in 1291, marking the end of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. Despite Acre being seen as the last territory lost by the Crusaders in the Holy Land, they actually retreated to the island of Arwad from 1291 to 1302. Alain Demurger highlights that Arwad should be viewed as a continuation of the Crusaders' plans in the Holy Land and was used as a military base.[102] Indeed, the alliance between Ilkhanate ruler Ghazan (Mahmud Ghazan) (r. 1295-1304) and King Hethum II (r. 1289-1303) of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia against the Mamluks and Ghazan's subsequent attempts in 1299 to form an alliance against the Mamluks by sending letters to King Henry II of Cyprus (r. 1285-1324), the Hospitaller, the Templars, and the Teutonic Order, encouraged the knights stationed on Arwad Island to continue their presence and raised the possibility of them recapturing the Holy Lands.[103] This alliance launched naval attacks from Cyprus to Rosetta, Alexandria, Acre, and Tartus in 1300.[104] During this time, Templar knights led by Jacques de Molay, along with the Hospitallers, the Lord of Tyre, and Guillaume de Villaret, were stationed at the base on Arwad Island. However, Ghazan's failure to support the knights in landing in Tartus and his postponement of the campaign against the Mamluks led some knights to retreat to Cyprus.[105]

From this point on, as Demurger indicates, it would not be incorrect to say that the Crusaders were aware that a full-scale attack was unlikely, and thus it was necessary to defend the island.[106] Consequently, the island's defenses were strengthened until the Mamluk attack in November 1302. At the time of the siege by a 16-ship Mamluk fleet, 120 knights, 500 archers, and 400 soldiers remained on the

[102] Demurger, *The Last Templar*, 95.
[103] Demurger, 97.
[104] Demurger, 100.
[105] For the alliance between Mongols and Armenians, see, Dashdondog, "The End of Mongol-Armenian Relations."
[106] Demurger, 106.

island.[107] Despite many knights having returned to Cyprus, the presence of such a significant number of troops, primarily Templar knights, indicates the Crusaders' determination to protect the island as the last piece of the Holy Lands. Eventually, despite initially dominating from the First Crusades to the fall of Acre, the Crusader navy was ineffective in providing support due to reliance on aid from Cyprus. In other words, the Crusader army on Arwad was essentially forced into a land battle because they lacked the naval strength to respond to the Mamluk naval blockade. According to *The Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre*, the Mamluk navy attacked from two points on the island, and after a period of fighting along the coast, the Crusader army under Bartholemé de Quincy was forced to retreat to "the tower in the middle of the island."[108] Following this retreat, the remaining knights were forced to negotiate. However, contrary to the terms of the agreement, the knights were not allowed to go to any Christian land of their choice; many were killed, and some were taken as prisoners to Cairo.[109] Ultimately, in 1302, the Crusader's presence in the Holy Land ended with the fall of Arwad Island, and the Crusaders retreated to the Kingdom of Cyprus.

The decline of Arwad began in the 4th century with the increasing prominence of Tartus, pushing the island into the background. The information that can be gleaned about the island and its potential defensive architecture has emerged during periods of hostile relations between the island and the mainland. Key historical events highlight the strategic importance of Arwad in crises: Muawiya's conquest of the island in 650, the Crusader navy's use of the island in 1099 when they could not approach the mainland for resupply, the Ayyubid navy's use of the island in 1180 to

[107] Demurger, 107.
[108] Demurger, *The Last Templar*, 107. and Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre,* 161.
[109] Demurger, 107.

attack Crusader-controlled Tartus, and finally, the Crusaders using the island as a last resort and a military base until 1302. These turning points underscore the island's significance whenever there is a crisis between the island and the mainland.

To understand the Eastern and Western fortresses of Arwad, it is essential to focus on these turning points, examine both Crusader and Islamic defensive architectures of the Levant, and place the island within the context of its complex political history, which has often been overlooked in previous studies. This approach will help comprehend the full scope and significance of Arwad's historical role and fortresses.

2.2 The East and West Fortresses

Although the East Fortress is known by the islanders as an Ayyubid fortress, it has not been considered part of Ayyubid architecture to date. Instead, it is thought to belong to the Mamluk and/or Ottoman period, with only one study suggesting this, and there is almost no research on the fortress.[110] Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the West Fortress is not mentioned as a Crusader fortress in any catalog of Crusader fortresses and defensive architecture.[111] A detailed architectural examination in this section will show that both fortresses possess characteristics that can be evaluated within the 12th and 13th century Islamic and Crusader fortress architecture, where they share common features, such as round towers, arrow slits, and machicolations. Therefore, initially, this part provides descriptions of the fortresses,

[110] For the only study about the dating of the fortresses of Arwad and suggesting Mamluk and/or Ottoman period see, Abdelhamid, "Notes on the Architecture."

[111] To exemplify, the island's castles are not included in the catalogues of: Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom*; Lawrence and Pringle, *Crusader Castles;* and Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles.* Boas mentions the fortress on the island, stating, "There are only fragmentary remains of the Templar castle located in the center of the island." However, apart from noting the use of the island as a base until 1302 by the Crusaders, he does not discuss its architecture. See, Adrian Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, 226.

followed by an examination of the styles and uses that were common to both land and sea fortresses in the 12th and 13th centuries Islamic and Crusader defensive architecture in order to highlight the presence of 'turning points' in the island. Lastly, the placement and iconography of the image of a chained feline figure on both sides of the entrance gates of the two fortresses, executed at different times and in different styles, will be examined in relationship to both Islamic and Crusader fortress architecture.

2.2.1 The East Fortress

The East Fortress, known to the islanders as "al-burj al-Ayyubi," is located near the eastern tip of the island, close to the beginning of the jetty that separates the harbors (Fig. 7). The fortress is square-shaped, measuring 27 meters on each side, and features round towers at the northeast and southeast corners facing the harbor (Fig. 8). Currently, there is a newly opened entrance on the eastern wall, but the main entrance is located on the west side. The main entrance has a pointed arch, and the lintel above the door threshold extends from both sides of the doorway where the arch begins, made of marble (Fig. 9). Above the entrance is an inscription panel with zigzag patterns, similar to one in the West Fortress (Fig. 10). Although the inscription is largely worn, Savignac says the panel gives the date of construction of the fortress but does not specify the date, and currently, the inscription remains undeciphered.[112] The inscription exhibits simple craftsmanship with uneven line spacing and lines that extend upwards at the ends, indicating it was written without any preliminary preparation. On both sides of the entrance arch, stone relief panels depict a feline figure chained to a tree (Fig. 11). These panels, made of the same

[112] Savignac, “Une Visite a l’ile de Rouad,” 574.

stone as the fortress, are discussed in detail below, along with similar figures from the West Fortress. Another decorative element at the main entrance is the recessed niches on both sides of the door, formed in the shape of two hands coming together and positioned symmetrically above the pointed arch.[113]

At the entrance, there is a bench on either side of the door threshold. This type of bench is called a mastaba. They were mostly used in residential and religious structures[114] and it can be said that the use of such benches in military defense architecture is generally not logical. From a defensive architecture standpoint, the most significant feature of the door is the hidden machicolation beneath the arch (Fig. 12). This machicolation is bisected by the keystone at the top of the pointed arch to strengthen the arch. However, the machicolation and the door were constructed together, and it seems unlikely that the benches were added during the construction of the main entrance with the machicolation.

The courtyard of the fortress measures 11 meters by 11 meters and is accessed through a barrel-vaulted passageway. The entrance was probably a bent passageway, as dotted double line on the plan demonstrate, which suggests that it did not open directly to the courtyard but instead forced those who entered to take a 90-degree turn to the right and then a 90-degree turn to the left. This is a defensive feature of military architecture. The rooms around the courtyard open on to it with round and pointed arches and doors. Additionally, some rooms have windows opening on the courtyard. At the end of the vaulted passageway, on the right, is a staircase leading to the first floor. However, if the entrance of the fortress was originally designed as a bent passageway, these stairs could only have been accessed

[113] The recessed niches can be seen on the far right side and right above the entrance gate in the photograph in Figure 9. Additionally, in Figure 12, the one above the entrance can be seen from below.
[114] Rabbat, *Mamluk History through Architecture,* 80.

from the courtyard. The first floor, like the ground floor, has rooms surrounding the courtyard. The room opposite the entrance on the east side has a pointed arch and is cross-vaulted, unlike the domed rooms on either side. A staircase from first floor leads to the next level, where there is a wall walk. On the second floor, in addition to the arrow slits of the first floor, there are vaulted crenellations around the roof, and each crenellation has an arrow slit. The northeast and southeast round towers have arrow slits on the first floor and crenelated parapets on the roof, indicating that defense was conducted on each level of the towers. Additionally, the towers are supported by semi-circular squinches on the eastern façade (Fig. 13).

Another defensive element on the east wall is a box machicolation with a sloping roof, supported by four corbels and equipped with arrow slits (Fig. 14). Other machicolations in the fortress are located at the northwest and southwest corners (Fig. 15). Both of these box machicolations are supported by a corbel at the very corner and a corbel on each side, making them three-corbelled, and have arrow slits on both sides.

2.2.2 The West fortress

The Western Fortress is located on the west side of the island, atop its highest rocky area. Although it is noted that this area has been used since the Phoenician period and that the fortress was built over an existing structure, no archaeological excavations have been conducted, and Renan dismissed both fortresses as Muslim structures not worthy of study.[115]

The Western Fortress measures 68 by 48 meters, with round towers at every corner except the northeast (Fig. 16). Due to its location on a high rocky area, the

[115] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 41.

entrance is reached by a staircase approximately two to two and a half meters high and about two meters wide, extending from the north façade (Fig. 17). The design of the main entrance is quite similar to that of the East Fortress. The pointed arch entrance does not have a marble lintel like the East Fortress, but the entrance step is made of similar marble stone (Fig. 18).[116] Benches are present on both sides of the entrance, but unlike the fortress's main limestone material, they are made of marble and appear to have been added later. As in the case of the East Fortress, the panel for the inscription has a frame with a zigzag pattern, but here the inscription itself is missing (Fig. 19). On either side of the door, there are relief panels of chained lion/feline/cheetah figures (Fig. 20), which are different from those in the East Fortress and are discussed below.

The entrance hall is L-shaped, forming a bent passage between the gate and the main courtyard. The passage consists of a sequence of three cross-vaulted sections of unequal size with a 90-degree left turn between the second and third sections. The courtyard is accessed from the third section. Each of the cross vaults are constructed of brick.

The fortress has two courtyards. The main courtyard measures 37 meters by 26 meters and is surrounded by 18 cross-vaulted rooms. The smaller courtyard to the north measures 24 meters by 8 meters and is accessed by a vaulted passageway on the northwestern corner of the main courtyard (Fig. 21). The cross-vaulted rooms surrounding the main courtyard are each equipped with a fireplace and have a door and window giving onto the courtyard (Fig. 22).

[116] I could not find a photo showing the entrance step. For the entrance step, which is clearly visible in a video about the island, see: Safartas Platform's -which is a platform for documenting scenes from daily life in Syria by filming neighborhoods and streets- YouTube video about the island of Arwad. https://youtu.be/rxrTJ2RozK8?si=36Tetw9JU7jGfDcC at 9:08.

The northwest and southwest towers of the fortress are round towers and can be said to be made of the same stonework. However, from the fortress's layout, especially the continuation of the corner inside the northwest tower (Fig. 23), it seems that these round towers were either built in place of cornered rectangular towers or added to the corners of the fortress. The transformation of rectangular corner towers into round towers is significant for dating the fortress and particularly for evaluating it in the context of Crusader fortress architecture, which is examined below. Both towers offer defensive features on two levels, with arrow slits and pointed arch recesses, and are accessed from the lower floor by a wall walk.

The only mosque on the island is in the northeast corner of the main courtyard. The main entrance to the mosque was originally a door from the courtyard leading to the main two-domed prayer area through a pointed arch. However, today, access to the mosque is provided through a new entrance on the north façade. Unlike the rooms around the courtyard, which are cross-vaulted, the main prayer area of the mosque is two-domed, with a rectangular minaret between the two domes (Fig. 24).

In addition to the vaulted recesses and arrow slits on the roof of the mosque, there is a wall walk and crenelated parapets with arrow slits extending along the path. At the northeast corner of the fortress, where the new entrance to the mosque and stairs are located, there are box machicolations. On the east and north facades of the corner, the sloping roof machicolations are supported by four corbels (Fig. 25). At the very corners, two box machicolations are supported by a main corbel placed at the corner and a corbel on each side (Fig. 26).

As can be understood from the crenellations, arrow slits, vaulted recesses, and the box machicolations, the domes of the mosque were likely added later

because the distance between the dome and the machicolations is quite restrictive for defense. This situation suggests that rather than the mosque being added to this corner later - as it is the only place of worship on the island and no source mentions any mosque built after the conquest in 650, nor have any remains been detected - it is more likely that the domes and minaret were added later.

The most unusual corner of the fortress is the southeast corner because it is larger than the other two round towers and has an elevated courtyard (Fig. 27). The entrance to this round tower, which has a diameter of 17 meters, is accessible from the courtyard, but the entrance is divided into three and has enclosed dead spaces on both sides. The tower's top floor is like a courtyard accessible from the east and south facades by a few steps up. There is no direct passage from the tower's courtyard to the elevated courtyard below. On the east facade of the fortress, a staircase near the tower leads to the elevated courtyard, and from this courtyard, a door directly inside the tower also provides access to the tower (Fig. 28). The elevated courtyard is irregularly shaped. The wall extending west from the tower along the west facade of the fortress then turns towards the east, and the original line cannot be followed due to a school built there today. However, on the west side of the courtyard, there are round arch recesses now filled with stones. On the east wall of the courtyard, arrow slits were placed, and at the very eastern end of the corner, a column was vertically placed to strengthen the wall.

Finally, the area accessed by stairs to the upper floor, located above the entrance door, is quite interesting. This room, facing the courtyard, has two windows placed very close to each other. The east wall facing the entrance is a two-pointed arch loggia (Fig. 29). As Abdelhamid points out, these arches are made with a red-and-white stone ablaq effect and supported in the middle by a stone

column.[117] Additionally, half of each column capital was ornately placed to face the loggia. When viewed from the east facade, it seems that the parapet wall currently aligned with these columns might have been added later, indicating that the east wall of this loggia might be originally designed as an open room with two pointed arches (Fig. 30). Abdelhamid also notes traces of decoration on the room ceiling.[118] Hence, this room is a special area designed with an ablaq effect, ornamental column capitals, and plaster decorations on the ceiling, facing Tartus to the east of the island.

2.3 Shared defensive elements in Crusader and Islamic military architecture

The round towers, machicolations, and arrow slits of both fortresses are essential for dating the structures. Evaluating these features within the context of Crusader and Islamic fortress architecture is crucial. Additionally, understanding how these features overlap in the Levant is necessary. Therefore, the incorporation of round towers into both Crusader and Ayyubid city walls and fortress architecture and the common use of box machicolations by these polities will be initially examined. Moreover, the iconography of a feline/lion/cheetah figure chained to a tree in Islamic architecture and the Crusader coastal fortress of Sidon will be analyzed together. I argue that the East Fortress might have been built during the Ayyubid navy's occupation of the island, while the West Fortress, having similar features to the 12th and 13th century Crusader fortresses and being the largest and most defense-oriented fortress on the island and the southeast tower may have been where the Crusaders were possibly forced to retreat and negotiate in 1302.

As mentioned above, the East Fortress has round towers at both corners facing the harbor on its eastern facade. The presence of box machicolations at the

[117] Abdelhamid, *"*Notes on the Architecture*,"* 113.
[118] Abdelhamid, 113-4.

northwest and southwest corners shows concern for defense on all sides. However, the box machicolation between the two eastern round towers and their support with semi-circular squinches suggest a defense focused on the harbor side. It is evident from the external masonry that these two round towers have undergone renovation, but the layout indicates that these corners were not converted from rectangular to round towers; they were constructed as round towers. In contrast, the round towers at the northwest and southwest of the West Fortress, as observed from the continuation inside the tower at the northwest corner, are round towers added to the corners later.

Kennedy notes that after the 1187 Battle of Hattin, Crusaders preferred not to use square towers due to their vulnerability to mining and their incorporation of dead zones, and round towers replaced these towers.[119] For instance, the fortified castle of Krak des Chevaliers, built over the castle previously known as Hisn al-Akrad and given to the Knights Hospitaller by Raymond of Tripoli II (r. 1137-1152) in 1144 to defend the eastern border of the County of Tripoli, had square towers during its construction between 1142-1170, unlike its five round towers on the western outer wall built after the earthquake of 1202 (Fig. 31). Kennedy suggests that the need for this change was recognized in the aftermath of the Battle of Hattin as square towers provided insufficient defense, leading to a preference for round towers thereafter.[120]

However, monumental examples of round towers can be seen before the 13th century at Krak des Chevaliers. Kennedy points to the round towers built during the Fatimid period in Cairo at Bab al-Futuh (1087) and Bab-Zuwayla (1092), highlighting the Armenian architects likely responsible for their construction and noting early examples of round towers in North Syria and Jazira.[121] For instance, he

[119] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 113-4.
[120] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 115.
[121] Kennedy, 19.

mentions the strengthening of the city walls of Edessa, controlled by the Crusaders in 1122, which was carried out by the city's Armenian ruler, Count Joscely I (r. 1118-1131) , using round towers.[122] Additionally, the walls of Anavarza in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, built between 1111-1129, incorporated round towers along the southern outer walls.[123]

In Crusader fortresses, round towers in the early 12th century can be seen at Saone Castle, also known as Qal'at Salah al-Din (Fig. 32). Built on a 10th century Byzantine fortress, Saone Castle was part of the Principality of Antioch from 1108 until it was conquered by Salah al-Din in 1188, and its current state largely reflects constructions from this period. Kennedy identifies two round towers on the eastern curtain wall as some of the earliest 12th century examples found in Crusader fortresses.[124] Moreover, the round towers that the Crusaders renovated along the eastern wall of the Byzantine fortress might have been originally constructed as round towers. Kennedy raises questions about whether these towers were built round during the Byzantine era and merely renovated by the Crusaders, but ultimately, these round towers and the curtain wall's towers near the donjon to the east were constructed by the Crusaders in the 12th century.[125] He emphasizes that this ultimately draws attention to the Crusader fortresses' integration with the existing Byzantine wall and fortress architecture, as well as the influence of Armenian architecture and the use of round towers in the region during the Byzantine period, with Saone being a significant example.[126] The replacement of square towers with round towers and their presence in Crusader architecture even before Hattin are

[122] Kennedy, 17-8.
[123] Kennedy, 17-8.
[124] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 86.
[125] Kennedy, 95.
[126] Kennedy, 95.

significant examples of both post-Hattin renovations and the early Crusader architecture's interaction with Byzantine and Armenian architecture.

The use of round towers in Ayyubid architecture, especially to understand Salah al-Din's motivation for the city wall and fortress construction, is noteworthy at the Citadel of Cairo. For instance, Creswell notes that Salah al-Din had two monumental round towers, Burj al-Ramla and Burj al-Haddad, built between 1176 and 1183 to control the passageway between the citadel and the Muqattam hills to the northeast of the enclosure (Fig. 33).[127] These two round towers, which have been expanded post-Salah al-Din but were initially constructed as round during his reign (Fig. 34), demonstrate that round towers were also used in the 12th century Ayyubid defensive architecture, as evidenced in significant city fortifications like those of Cairo.

Box machicolations can also be seen as an early example in Crusader fortresses, notably at Saone Castle. Kennedy discusses the presence of three-corbelled box machicolations in two of the fortress's towers.[128] He suggests that these corbels could have also supported wooden machicolations instead of stone. However, the fact that the machicolated parapets provide defense at two levels of the walkway and the presence of arrow slits indicate that the tower was well-planned in the 12th century, incorporating numerous defensive elements, including box machicolations.

The most significant example of box machicolation constructed by the Crusaders can be seen at Krak des Chevaliers. Although not precisely dated, masons' marks indicate Crusader box machicolations supported by three corbels on the west and east curtain walls (Fig. 35). Dated to the late 12th and early 13th centuries, Kennedy remarks that such advanced examples interestingly coincide with other

[127] Creswell, "Archaeological researches at the Citadel of Cairo," 119.
[128] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 93-95.

Ayyubid fortresses being constructed at the same time.[129] For instance, the machicolations in the entrance block built during the reinforcement of Aleppo's citadel by Salah al-Din's son, Al-Zahir Ghazi (r. 1193-1216) (Fig. 36) , and those in Damascus's citadel constructed by Salah al-Din's brother, Al-Adil (r. 1200-1218), between 1203 and 1216 (Fig. 37), closely resemble those at Krak des Chevaliers.[130] Due to the uncertain dating of the Crusader machicolations at Krak des Chevaliers, Kennedy points out it is unclear whether the Crusaders or Ayyubids first used box machicolations; however, it is noteworthy that both employed probably the same masons skilled in defensive architecture.[131]

The interaction between local architecture and evolving defense architecture due to sieges has often been discussed. However, this change is not only observed among Ayyubid emirs or Crusader Military Orders but also shows commonalities between the two groups, indicating a dynamic exchange rather than a static isolation within each. This interaction, especially during renovations, complicates the dating of these fortresses but also highlights the significant use of common architectural elements due to shared concerns or strategic necessities.

When examining the examples of round towers and box machicolations in both Ayyubid and Crusader fortresses for dating the fortresses of Arwad Island, it is apparent that both fortresses were constructed during the 12th and 13th centuries. However, as mentioned, past datings have either labeled the fortresses merely as Muslim structures or dated them to later periods. Therefore, the location of the fortresses and the island’s relationship with the mainland necessitate a reassessment of these datings.

[129] Kennedy, 155.
[130] Kennedy, 155.
[131] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 156.

As previously noted, despite being commonly known among the islanders as al-burj al-Ayyubi, the only study on the island's fortresses by Abdelhamid, referencing Evliya Celebi's observations, claims that the East Fortress is an Ottoman construction from the 17th century, but built in the Mamluk style.[132] He points out that the benches at the entrance gate were frequently used during the Mamluk period.[133] As mentioned above, Rabbat states that the mastaba/entrance bench is more commonly used in religious and residential buildings. If these benches are considered within a defensive system, their aesthetic value, while applicable to a castle entrance gate, may not be practical for a castle in terms of defense. Furthermore, the hidden machicolation found at the entrance gate of the East Fortress are functionally incompatible with the benches. Secondly, Evliya mentions that due to attacks by pirates from Arwad Island, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in 1658 ordered the construction of a fortress on the island after ships from Acre, Sidon, Beirut, and Damascus heading to Tripoli were assaulted.[134] According to Evliya, a solid quadrangular fortress with an entrance facing the east was constructed and there were soldiers on the island who guarded the bastions.[135] Although Evliya's mention of a fortress facing the harbor might imply the East Fortress, the entrance of the East Fortress is on the western facade, while the entrance of the West Fortress is on the eastern side.

Furthermore, about a hundred years after Evliya, French merchant and traveler Paul Lucas, who sought refuge in Arwad's harbor during a storm while heading to the port of Latakia, provides information regarding the fortresses of the island. Lucas notes that the agha of the island invited him and greeted him at the

[132] Abdelhamid, *"*Notes on the Architecture*,"* 120.
[133] Abdelhamid, 120.
[134] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 399-402.
[135] Evliya Çelebi, 400.

fortress.[136] He accessed the fortress's entrance via stairs that were three feet wide.[137] The East Fortress is at ground level with its entrance on the ground floor; however, the West Fortress was built on the highest rocky part of the island, and, as mentioned earlier, its entrance was elevated about two to two and a half meters and reached by stairs. Moreover, Lucas also states that the island's fortress was built almost square on rock.[138] He notes that the crenellations of the fortress had bronze cannons bearing the Arms of France and the Venetian mark.[139]

The fact that the West Fortress is larger than the East Fortress and that each room opening onto the courtyard has a fireplace suggests these rooms were used for residential purposes, which aligns with the 18th century use of the island as a place of exile for those sentenced to kalebend (imprisonment within a fortress) and/or cezirebend (exile to an island).[140] In fact, in 1894-95, it was reported to the Governor of Beirut, under the Ottoman empire, that there were forty worn rooms on the island, and it was proposed that rather than letting them remain idle, they should be repaired and sold. However, after consulting with the military, the Governor of Beirut said it was politically inappropriate, and instead, he ordered the repair of the rooms.[141]

Considering Evliya's account, followed by Paul Lucas's observations, and finally, the functional role of the island during the Ottoman period, it would not be incorrect to say that the West Fortress was used for at least official purposes and that the island's governor was based there and this could also explain the decorated loggia above the entrance. It is more likely that both the West and East Fortresses were repaired in response to pirate attacks under the orders of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha.

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[136] Lucas, *Voyage Du Sieur Paul Lucas Au Levant*, 155.
[137] Lucas, 155.
[138] Lucas, *Voyage Du Sieur Paul Lucas Au Levant*, 156.
[139] Lucas, 156.
[140] For the examples see, Koyuncu, "Osmanlı Devleti"nde Sürgün Arvad Adası Örneği."
[141] BOA, ML.EEM. / 248 - 9 -

Though both fortresses were built in the 12th and 13th centuries, classifying the fortresses strictly as either Ayyubid or Crusader is problematic because, as seen, both architectures employed the same defensive features at the same time. Therefore, reevaluating the position of the fortresses is crucial to understanding the concerns that led to their construction.

The West Fortress, positioned at the island's highest point and built with spolia stones as observed by Savignac, might be in the area where structures dating back to the Phoenician period were built, though, without archaeological excavation, this remains speculative.[142] However, its commanding view over both the island and the open sea suggests it could have been constructed when there was no settlement in Tartus and no hostile relations with the mainland, specifically to guard against threats from the sea. Similarly, considering the position of the East Fortress, its location dominating the mainland, and the concern to protect the harbor suggests it might have been built during hostile relations with the mainland. Therefore, the East Fortress might have been constructed around 1180 during the Ayyubid navy's occupation of the island to dominate attacks on Tartus and to protect the fleet in the harbor, which could explain why such a small island would have two fortresses.

Following the Crusaders' withdrawal from Acre to Cyprus in 1291, some stayed on Arwad until 1302, working to strengthen its fortifications. This period involved repairs to at least part of the island's sea wall and both fortresses, as noted in *The Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre*. In 1302, when the Mamluk navy

[142] Savignac, "Une Visite a l'ile de Rouad," 567. Similarities in architectural planning can be observed when comparing the orientation and spatial organization of the Western Fortress's plan on Arwad Island with those of the Amrit temple. The north-south orientation of the Ma'abed temple in Amrit, along with its courtyard-centric design, closely resembles the layout of the Western Fortress. Since no excavation has been carried out, this claim remains speculative. For Amrit excavations see, Al-Maqdissi, "Amrith dans la Pérée d'Arados." And for similar Phoenician temple plan in Sicily see, Nigro, "The Temple of the Kothon at Motya."

attacked the island, the Templar chronicle mentions that the knights retreated to a "tower" in the middle of the island.[143] I argue that this tower might have been the southeast tower of the West Fortress which was not constructed simultaneously with the other towers but was later expanded with an elevated courtyard and equipped with recessed arrow slits on each face. Moreover, it seems that the Crusaders, who used the island as a military base for about ten years, primarily utilized and fortified the West Fortress. The transformation of corner towers into round towers aligns with the Crusaders' post-Hattin policies implemented in the fortresses in the Holy Land. Additionally, the presence of bronze cannons bearing the Arms of France and the Venetian mark, as mentioned by Paul Lucas, in the West Fortress suggests that it might have served as a primary base for the Crusaders during their occupation. This strategic utilization highlights the ongoing military significance of the West Fortress, underscoring its role as a crucial point of defense and command during turbulent times.

2.4 The chained feline/lion/cheetah reliefs

Finally, the stone relief panels of feline figures chained to a tree, found at the entrances of both the East and West Fortresses, are particularly interesting because, while they are symmetrically placed on either side of the doors and use the same iconography, their styles suggest they were not crafted in the same period. The feline figure at the East Fortress was crudely drawn, far from a clear depiction of a lion or panther (Fig. 11). The figure is depicted with a tail extending along its back and a face where only the eyes are distinctly visible, lacking detail. Although the figure

[143] Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre,* 161.

appears as if it is walking, it is chained to a tree. The craftsmanship of the figures on both sides of the door indicates that the same artisan made them.

As previously mentioned, the figures at the West Fortress entrance are also depictions of felines/lions /cheetah chained to a tree (Fig. 20). However, these representations are more sophisticated compared to those at the East Fortress. Described as possibly resembling a "passant lion," these figures could be compared to the dynasty emblem of Sultan Baybars during the Mamluk period.[144] The tradition of placing lion figures at the entrances of fortresses, city walls, bridges, and caravanserais is a common practice dating back to ancient Near East traditions.[145] Lions are seen as noble, protective, and strong, often symmetrically placed in pairs at entrances. These examples in Arwad are part of this tradition and have been discussed by Abdelhamid, who considered them alongside Ottoman-era examples, suggesting they could have been made in the 17th century.[146] For instance, the relief of a lion with a chain around its neck at the entrance of the al-Wazir caravanserai, built by Qara Muhammed Pasha between 1678-1682 in Aleppo (Fig. 38), and the chained lion/dog figures at the entrance of the Paşa Han built by Vezir Abaza Mehmed Pasha in 1752-53 in Tokat indicate the Ottoman period (Fig. 39), though stylistically, these examples do not closely resemble those in Arwad. Particularly, the crudely depicted figures at the East Fortress might point to an earlier date.

Following the capture of Arwad by the Mamluk navy from the Crusaders in 1302 and until the Ottoman conquest of Syria in 1516, the island was under Mamluk control, during which possible Mamluk renovations might have incorporated elements like the feline figures, particularly considering the lion/panther emblem

[144] Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 9.
[145] Weber, "Two (?) Lion Reliefs from Iron Age Moab," 86.
[146] Abdelhamid, "Notes on the Architecture," 119.

associated with Sultan Baybars. Baybars often depicted his emblem with the lion/panther in a walking pose, with its tail curved over its back. Although the emblems on coins, doors, bridges, towers, and caravanserais do not always stylistically match, they clearly represent a lion or panther. For example, the Tower of Lions built by Baybars in 1260 within Cairo Citadel (Fig. 40), the southeastern and southwestern round towers of Krak des Chevaliers rebuilt after Baybars' siege in 1271, and the lion figures on the entrance gate (Fig. 41), as well as the Lions' Gate in Jerusalem built in 1273 (Fig. 42), which features lions facing each other on both sides of the gate, share distinctive characteristics such as the face depiction, tail position, and walking stance, despite some stylistic variations.

Compared to these, the feline figure in the East Fortress significantly deviates from the lion/panther depiction, being crudely drawn as mentioned. In the West Fortress, the figures are more sophisticated than those in the East but seem to reflect a later iteration of the iconography seen in the East Fortress. Notably, both Mamluk and Ottoman examples (except Tokat Paşa Han) lack the critical attributes seen in the Arwad examples: the chain and tree. Considering the chain and the feline figure, especially when the depictions in the East Fortress are considered to predate those in the West Fortress reliefs, they point to the Ayyubid period.

L.A Mayer notes that the earliest instance of a lion emblem used by Mamluk Sultans actually appears during the Ayyubid period, particularly in the Harran Gate built between 1211-1220.[147] Balog also points out that lion depictions were present before the Mamluks, referencing Fatimid lead weights and Salah al-Din's copper coins.[148] Although no primary written sources confirm the use of a dynastic emblem by the Ayyubids, it is known that lion figures were used both during the Ayyubid era

[147] Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 9. Also see, Balog, "New Considerations on Mamlūk Heraldry," 185.
[148] Balog, "New Considerations on Mamlūk Heraldry," 194.

and in 13th century Anatolia.[149] As Mayer describes, the use of the lion figure as a royal image during the Ayyubid period is evident in the Harran Gate of Urfa (Edessa) constructed by Al-Malik al-Adil's son, al-Muzaffar Ghazi, during 1211-1220 (Fig. 43).[150] The gate features roughly depicted lions held by chains by human figures in relief on either side. Shortly after that, while the region was still under Ayyubid control, the el-Barur Caravanserai was built by al-Hajj Husam al-Din Ali Abu Imad b. Isa, in 1228-29. It is located 27 kilometers southeast of Harran, in modern-day Göktaş, has a cross-legged human figure holding chains that control two lions, as depicted in the profile (Fig. 44).[151]

Both Ayyubid examples, while not stylistically identical to the ones on Arwad Island, share the iconography of the lion/panther/feline figures being depicted in chains—a motif not found in the Mamluk period but clearly present in datable Ayyubid examples. The presence of these examples in the Urfa-Harran region suggests that this area could have been the origin of the depiction of lions in chains. Moreover, the findings of D.S. Rice during his 1951 excavation at Harran Citadel strengthen this possibility. The southeast gate of the citadel, commissioned by Mani ibn Shabib, a Numayrid emir who controlled Diyar Mudar, in 1059, features the Sura Al-Ikhlas on its inscription and was flanked by paired dogs depicted in chains (Fig. 45).[152] While this gate distinctly shows dogs as opposed to the later lion/feline examples, it represents the earliest dated instance where chained animal figures were used in the decorative program of an entrance. This iconographic choice, later continued by the Ayyubids in the region, could suggest that the depiction of lions, considered noble and protective, was preferred over dogs, as seen

[149] For Anatolia see, Öney, "Anadolu Selçuk Mimarisinde Arslan Figürü."
[150] Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 9.
[151] Gündoğdu, "Tokat'tan Bir Kaç Figürlü Kabartma Hakkında," 79.
[152] Rice, "Medieval Ḥarrān," 63-64.

on Salah al-Din's copper coins. Aside from lions, which may have been preferred over dogs, cheetahs trained by being chained offer another depiction alternative. However, before discussing the depiction of cheetahs, it is essential to note the lion reliefs on the Diyarbakır city walls from the Artuqid period in the Jazira region. These reliefs highlight the significance of lion imagery in the region, particularly in military architectural structures such as castles and towers.

The Artuqid dynasty made significant additions to Amid's city walls during their rule, beginning in 1183 when Amid became their capital.[153] In the western wall, just south of the Urfa Gate, stands one of the most imposing towers from these additions: Ulu Beden Tower. Commissioned by the Artuqid ruler al-Malik al-Salih Mahmud in 1208-9, Ulu Beden Tower was designed by architect Ibrahim bin Ja'far.[154] The relief on this tower is particularly noteworthy. At the top two corners of the central plaque, there are winged, human-headed lions, while the bottom corners are adorned with bulls (Fig. 46). Above the inscription, the Artuqid double-headed eagle is prominently displayed. Although the lions are not comparable to the Ayyubid examples in the region and on Arwad Island—due to their human-headed depictions—they are significant as an excellent example of lion imagery on the city walls in the Jazira region.

The training of cheetahs in the Islamic world was a sophisticated and culturally significant practice.[155] Cheetahs, known for their incredible speed and hunting abilities, were trained by highly specialized keepers and used in organized royal hunts, symbolizing power and prestige. This tradition was meticulously documented by Usama ibn Munqidh (d. 1188), a 12th century Syrian knight, poet,

[153] See, Canard, M., Cahen, Cl., Yinanç, Mükrimin H. and Sourdel-Thomine, J., "Diyār Bakr", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.
[154] Öney, "Anadolu Selçuk Mimarisinde Arslan Figürü," 13.
[155] See, Viré, 'Fahd.' In Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition.

and courtier, who served in the courts of various rulers, including during the Ayyubid period under Salah al-Din. In 1174, he was called to Salah al-Din's court, and in 1183, he presented his highly autobiographical book, *Kitab al-I'tibar* (The Book of Contemplation), to Salah al-Din, his final patron.[156] In the book, Usama provides detailed accounts of cheetah training and their usage in organized hunting. For example, he not only mentions his father's two cheetah-trainers and the hunts they embarked on with them but also notes that the Zangid atabeg had cheetahs and used them while hunting.[157] Trained by being chained and carried on horseback during hunts, cheetahs were also depicted on ceramics and ewers due to their courtly values. As Pancaroğlu notes, the depiction of cheetah hunting scenes on objects like the St. Louis ewer vividly illustrates a cheetah pursuing gazelles, reflecting the longstanding cultural importance of this practice in the Islamic world.[158]

The feline/lion figure in the East Fortress, depicted as chained to a tree, closely aligns with the context of cheetahs being trained by being tied up. Given its significant courtly value, depicting a cheetah chained to a tree at the fortress gate can be interpreted as a display of power and status. Additionally, the fact that it is mentioned by Usama ibn Munqidh, a Syrian knight, during this period further supports the argument that the fortress might have been constructed during the Ayyubid era. However, two important points contradict the likelihood of this depiction being used in the fortress. First, as Viré also highlighted, cheetahs were not used as heraldic symbols even during the Mamluk period, which extensively utilized heraldic imagery.[159] Unlike dogs, lions, and other feline figures, cheetahs seem to have been preferred more on objects rather than in heraldic contexts (Fig. 47 and 48).

[156] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation,* 29.
[157] Usama ibn Munqidh, 170, 236, 230.
[158] Pancaroğlu, "Potter's Trail: An Abu Zayd Ewer in the St. Louis Art Museum," 400-403.
[159] Viré, 'Fahd.' In Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition.

Second, the small size of Arwad Island, with barely any vegetation, let alone animals and hunting grounds, raises questions about why such a depiction would be chosen for the island. While it might make sense as a display of power if the fortress was indeed constructed during the Ayyubid period, a depiction related to hunting in a fortress on an island requires careful consideration. Nevertheless, the depiction of the cheetah chained to a tree convincingly explains the absence of trees and/or chains in earlier depictions and aligns with the context mentioned during the island's politically tumultuous 12th and 13th centuries.

Before reassessing the reliefs in Arwad, examining the surviving example of the Crusader coastal fortress, Sidon Castle, and its gate's lion figures are helpful. The fortress can provide further context on how animal imagery, particularly lions, was utilized across different periods and styles in the region, reflecting a blend of symbolic meanings and architectural traditions.

Sidon, controlled by the Crusaders from the end of the 11th century until its capture by Salah al-Din in 1187, was abandoned after the conquest and reoccupied by the Crusaders about ten years later. Although the city remained under Crusader control until 1291, except for an attack in 1253 that resulted in the death of two thousand Christians, the castle built during this period was later rebuilt by the Ottoman emir Fakhr al-Din in the 17th century.[160] The other castle that survives today is the coastal castle, constructed in 1227-28 by pilgrims who wanted to welcome Frederick II (r. 1220-1250) to the Holy Lands.[161] The castle also housed some Crusaders after the fall of Acre; however, after a few months, as the castle's fall became apparent, they abandoned it and moved to Cyprus. Built about a hundred meters from the shore on a rocky elevation and connected to the shore by a raised

[160] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 121.
[161] Kennedy, 122.

pathway, the castle underwent at least four renovations until 1291.[162] The castle's primary defense faced the mainland, connected by the elevated path. Kennedy notes that during the initial construction phase, square towers built by the Templar knights were expanded southward—toward the mainland—and reinforced with vaulted arrow slits.[163] Especially from the south facade to the southeast corner of the castle gate, Roman columns were horizontally placed to strengthen the walls, a technique also used by the Templar knights to strengthen the southeast tower of Arwad's West Fortress.

The existing gate of the castle, known to have been expanded by the Templar knights between 1260-91, is dated to this period because of masons' marks. The gate has a pointed arch, and right above it are two rows of corbels that seem part of a machicolation, with only one point remaining standing (Fig. 49). If that is the case, there was likely a symmetric set of soldier-like stone reliefs at the first level of the corbels, but only one can still be discerned. On each side of the door are symmetrically placed lion reliefs, one of which is significantly damaged (Fig. 50). These reliefs, like passant lions, resemble Mamluk examples of the time in their body posture but are closer to the winged lion figures with manes that began to be used by the Venetian city-state during the same period. Pedani raises the question of a possible link between the depiction of the winged lion first appearing in the Venetian duke's seal in 1261 and Sultan Baybars' use of the lion as a dynastic emblem, suggesting a contemporaneous emergence of lion emblems in Venice and Egypt.[164] The analysis of these simultaneous appearances of lion emblems, though beyond the

[162] Kennedy, 122.
[163] Kennedy, 122.
[164] Pedani, "Mamluk Lions and Venetian Lions 1260-1261," 10.

scope of this thesis, highlights the interaction between Crusader and Muslim blazons, observable since the Zangid dynasty.[165]

The lion reliefs on the gate of Sidon's sea castle might be a result of interaction with Islamic architecture in the region.[166] If so, the Templar knights who constructed the gate and later retreated to Arwad could have replicated the known lion figure but adapted it based on the iconography seen at the East Fortress. Either way, the chained lion/feline/cheetah reliefs at both fortresses on Arwad point to an Ayyubid style of the 12th and 13th centuries. However, why these figures were clearly made at different times and depicted with trees remains unknown. The defensive architecture of Arwad, similar to that of Saone Castle, and its iconographic interaction with the North Syria and Jazira region are evident. If the East Fortress was built during the Ayyubid period, its feline figure could have been depicted according to the regional tradition and later, during renovations, added to the West Fortress by the Crusaders or Mamluks. Both Baybars' and subsequent sultans' use of a lion figure and the entrance of the only surviving Crusader sea castle make both cases plausible.

In conclusion, aside from the frequently mentioned double-headed eagle reliefs associated with Salah al-Din and the studied decorations of Crusader religious

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[165] Balog, "New Considerations on Mamlūk Heraldry," 183.

[166] It is quite interesting that Dussaud mentions several towers near the port of Tripoli and identifies one of these as The Lion Tower (Burj al-Siba'). The reason why this tower, described as a Crusader castle in a postcard, is attributed to the Crusaders and called the Lion Tower requires further investigation. See the postcard: https://www.postcardman.net/asia/4758-liban-tripoli-tour-des-lions-batie-par-les-croises-ed-messageries-maritimes.html However, Dussaud mentions that these towers were built by the Mamluks after the Crusaders withdrew from the region, and only the Burj al-Ades tower could be dated earlier. See, Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale,* 76-77. Although the round arch entrance gate and the ablaq technique in the postcard indicate that the tower may have been built during the Mamluk period, the subject requires more detailed research. The only source I have found so far about the tower states that there are relief decorations depicting lions on its facade and that it was built by Sultan Qaitbay but does not provide source. Carter, et al., *Syria & Lebanon,* 332. A study on the decorative program of the other destroyed towers in the region would be quite important for understanding the interaction between Crusader and Islamic architecture along the coast.

architecture, the interaction of both architectural styles is evident in the fortifications of Arwad Island. The island's fortresses, with their mixed architectural elements and decorative motifs, serve as physical remnants of the dynamic exchanges between Crusader and Islamic forces, reflecting the adaptive and syncretic nature of fortification strategies in response to the evolving political and military landscapes of the time.

2.5 Maritime fortresses and their intended audience

Fortresses, city walls, and fortifications are often considered purely defensive, but they are symbolic entities with functions beyond defense. In the 12th century, in the Holy Land, both the Crusaders and Muslims obsessively built fortresses[167], which were primarily intended for defense, maximizing territorial control with limited military force, and providing protected areas. However, for both sides, there was a battle over the visibility that these fortresses embodied. Initially, they were built on major roads, protecting important routes for pilgrimage and trade, supported by the navy with manpower and equipment directly beneficial to the army, as well as skilled individuals like stone and quarry masters.[168] Yet, as Hillenbrand points out, every fortress built on these critical routes was a constant reminder of the Crusaders' presence in the Holy Land, a materialization of their control network, and a significant aspect of psychological warfare.[169] Fortresses, although reflecting the concerns of their patrons and their times in different ways, were fundamentally built on these common reasons. Hillenbrand also notes that on their religiously motivated journeys, the Crusaders' fortresses in the Holy Lands

[167] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 578.
[168] Hillenbrand, *Islam and the Crusades*, 312-3.
[169] Hillenbrand, 312.

claimed land and power much more ruthlessly than religious architecture did.[170] Therefore, evaluating these fortresses as symbolic entities in their regions is just as necessary as considering their military architectural elements—such as moats, towers, arrow slits, and machicolations.

The capture of Saone Castle in 1188 by Salah al-Din was admiringly described by ‘Imad al-Din Isfahani and Ibn Shaddad, who likely never saw the castle themselves.[171] The castle’s seemingly unreachable location and reputation as impregnable demonstrate that Salah al-Din's control over the castle symbolized power beyond mere physical conquest. This can be seen not only through the Muslim conquests of Crusader cities or fortresses but also through the internal power struggles among Muslims. Salah al-Din’s construction of the Cairo citadel to consolidate his power in the former Fatimid Cairo, and the city walls built and/or reinforced in Aleppo by Salah al-Din’s son Al-Zahir Ghazi and in Damascus by Salah al-Din’s brother Al-Adil, exemplify this. When considering the target audience, the construction, capture, and demolition of fortresses aim to influence those in the nearby region, at strategic or sacred sites, or those symbolically under its influence, as seen in the castle of Saone example. Fortresses along the coast and inland should be re-examined in light of who exactly their target audience was. Rather than suggesting that the target audience for inland fortresses is less significant, those along the coast offer an intriguing perspective when approached from the sea. When examined through the motivations of being seen as a political and military display and a threat, the dual target audience for coastal fortresses becomes apparent: the gaze from both land and sea. The intended audience of the maritime fortresses on Arwad Island, which have survived in the Holy Lands to this

[170] Hillenbrand, 309.
[171] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 471.

day, for Salah al-Din and the Crusaders, involves approaching from liminal coastlines where power constantly changed hands and trying to understand both their Muslim and Crusader maritime policies. This topic will be explored in this part of the thesis.

The War of St. Sabas began in 1256 when a Genoese merchant anchored a Venetian ship in the port of Acre, a vessel he had bought from pirates. This brutal and destructive conflict between three Italian city-states—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa—lasted until 1270 and significantly diminished the naval power of the Crusaders.[172] Madden argues that although the war started over a stolen ship, it actually escalated due to the desire to exclusively control the port of Acre, a significantly important port, and seize control of the tower dominating the harbor.[173] The reason these city-states, which had supported the Crusader land armies with their fleets since their first campaigns and played a significant role in their successes, entered into such a conflict in 1256, specifically in Acre, is directly linked to the navy that Salah al-Din began to establish in 1172 and the trade agreements he made with these city-states.

In 1172, Salah al-Din made agreements with the Italian city-states to procure materials necessary for building his navy[174]; he made commercial agreements with Pisa, Venice, and Genoa in 1173, 1175, and 1177, respectively, and granted privileges to each.[175] As a result, the Italian city-states were able to trade comfortably, especially in important coastal cities like Alexandria.[176] Due to these agreements, the city-states, which comprised the most significant, and arguably the only, part of the Crusader navy, experienced conflicts between their commercial

[172] Madden, "The War of Towers," 212.
[173] Madden, 211-213.
[174] Ehrenkreutz, "The Place of Salah al-Din," 240.
[175] Day, "The Impact of the Third Crusade," 162.
[176] Day, 162.

interests and their commitment to the Crusaders. A reason for Salah al-Din's policy was precisely to prioritize their commercial interests, thereby weakening the Crusader navy.[177] However, Salah al-Din's conquests following the Battle of Hattin in 1187, including the capture of many ports along the coast, increased competition in the remaining areas controlled by the city-states. Thus, as Day highlights the city-states renowned for particular markets in specific regions transitioned to city-states competing within confined spaces.[178] The War of St Sabas began in 1256 with the Genoese and Venetians driven by a desire to own the port of Acre and the tower that dominated it. Madden suggests that the war should be referred to as the War of Towers instead of the War of St. Sabas and argues that "as in most medieval Italian towns, towers were not just fortified structures designed to defend the quarter and attack its neighbours, but a visible sign of the power of their owners in a city in which power was always in flux."[179]

Indeed, at the start of the war, the Pisans, initially supporting the Genoese, switched sides to Venice, and together with the Venetians, conquered Acre with their fleet and ended the war by demolishing the Genoese tower. The Templar of Tyre notes about Lorenzo Tiepolo, the captain of the Venetian navy,

> In the course of the various remarks Sir Lorenzo Copa Copia [Tiepolo] said to the Genoese consul that he would not depart from Acre until he could take one of the stones from the foundation of the Genoese tower to Venice. You must know that he did exactly as he said he would.[180]

Lorenzo Tiepolo's identification of the Genoese presence in Acre with the physical presence of the tower, and his act of taking a stone from the destroyed tower

[177] Day, 161.
[178] Day, 164.
[179] Madden, "The War of Towers," 215.
[180] Crawford, *The "Templar of Tyre,"* 24.

to Venice, show that the Crusaders were also engaged in a symbolic power struggle over defensive architecture, similar to Salah al-Din and the subsequent emirs.

The War of Towers is crucial for understanding the dual audience for the coastal constructions, from sea to land and vice versa. In Acre, the quarters and towers of the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans were initially seen by the city's Military Orders and then by the Crusaders in general, who held the region, and Muslims, but most notably, by a wider audience stretching to Venice. However, the shifting power dynamics and the audience from the sea issue have not been considered regarding the maritime fortresses.

Salah al-Din's construction and strengthening of fortresses and citadels in coastal cities, along with the establishment of his navy and the strategic division of his forces for the defense of Egypt and attacks on Syria, demonstrate his comprehensive approach to military strategy. Additionally, his trade agreements and the privileges he granted to the Italian city-states suggest that he also considered the maritime audience. The importance he placed on capturing the coastline can be seen as analogous to capturing the fortresses held by his land army. Upon re-evaluating Arwad in this context, the fortresses can be viewed in relationship to the audiences targeted by both Crusaders and Ayyubids. The East and West Fortresses built on the island during the 12th and 13th centuries, attributed above respectively to the Ayyubid and Crusader periods, suggest that both were constructed and repaired with the hostile relationship between the island and the mainland in mind, thereby targeting both the maritime audience with the navy and the land-based audience due to their psychological and symbolic power.

Contrary to the approach that Christians were superior at sea and Muslims on land, the presence of the Muslims at sea is as noteworthy as Crusaders on land during

their campaigns and monumental fortresses. The efforts and needs for existence at sea must be understood, and with the example of Arwad Island, it can be seen that the anxiety of Muslims to have a maritime presence, initiated by Salah al-Din's naval policies, and the architectural interaction of the island fortresses with the Levant, especially the northern Syria and Jazira region, reveals the liminality of the coastline where power was constantly shifting and audience was always larger.

2.6 Arwad and Tartus: Island versus mainland

Could the island's sea walls and two fortresses have any target audience beyond the naval presence and struggle for control at sea? As mentioned, the island is only about two and a half kilometers from the shores of Tartus and can be easily seen from the coastline. This proximity gives Arwad a distinct difference from Alanya, which will be examined in the next chapter. The visibility of Arwad Island is twofold: the presence of its structures and their visibility from the sea. Arwad's visibility extends to being clearly seen from Tartus. The political tension and hostile relations between the island of Arwad and the mainland Tartus during critical periods have already been examined. To further understand the mutual visibility between Arwad and Tartus, a discussion on the Crusader walls of Tartus will be analyzed.

The Templars received land in Tortosa from William, Bishop of Tortosa, in 1152 to build a new castle on an existing structure after Nur ad-Din briefly occupied and destroyed parts of the city.[181] The Templars fortified the city, turning it into a significant stronghold in the north. Despite Salah al-Din's attack in 1188, where he captured most of the city but failed to take the donjon, the Templars regained control

[181] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, 256.

and continued to fortify the area until its fall to the Mamluks in 1291, just after the fall of Acre.

Regarding Crusader defensive architecture, Kennedy notes that the Templars built a massive castle on a flat site, which still houses the most complete surviving 12th century Crusader cathedral, known as the Cathedral of Our Lady of Tortosa.[182] The castle, which served as the Templars' headquarters, underwent significant modifications and expansions over time and cannot be fully seen today due to the city's fabric.

By the time of Salah al-Din's attack in 1188, the castle was already a strong fortress, having been rebuilt by the Templars in 1152. The fortifications included two parallel defensive lines on all sides except the west, with a central keep flanked by towers on its northwest and southeast corners.[183] The outer walls were equipped with projecting towers, and there was a ditch and an inner line of walls with commanding towers.[184]

The inner enceinte featured vaulted chambers for shooting galleries and firing platforms, with rectangular openings and arrow slits. The donjon, which now only survives to the first-floor level, was a square structure with a basement divided into two rectangular chambers (Fig. 51). It was later strengthened with shooting galleries and additional towers to enhance its defensive capabilities.[185]

Due to the city walls of Tartus now being integrated into the urban fabric, it is challenging to draw precise conclusions about how Arwad and Tartus could see each other. However, the most notable part of Tartus's city walls, at least for this thesis, is the donjon located right by the sea. This donjon, which prevented Salah al-Din from

[182] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 132-138.
[183] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, 256.
[184] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 132-138.
[185] Kennedy, 132-138.

fully capturing the city in 1188 and where some Templar knights sought refuge, may no longer appear on the shoreline due to land reclamation. However, its western part was originally on the shoreline.

Firstly, Tartus is visible from Arwad Island, especially from both fortresses. Although it is difficult to distinguish specific details on the shoreline, the mainland is quite visible from the island's eastern side facing the mainland. While it may not be possible to see the city walls and donjon of Tartus clearly from the island or vice versa, it is significant that the donjon, where the Templar knights resisted Salah al-Din, faces the eastern fortress of the island. The presence of two fortresses on the island can be understood in the context of the island-mainland relationship. Despite the Eastern Fortress protecting the harbor, the Western Fortress, potentially an older structure, likely dominates the small island. The Eastern Fortress may have been constructed not only to protect the harbor but also to maintain visibility towards the mainland, suggesting a strategic desire to monitor Tartus. Therefore, while the donjon on the shore of Tartus was part of the fortress, it was undoubtedly built to observe the sea, provide maritime defense, and possibly protect against threats from the sea, similar to the motivations behind the construction of the Eastern Fortress on Arwad.

Additionally, as briefly mentioned above, Arwad Island, one of the four major Phoenician city-states, likely positioned its fortress on the western side, facing the open sea, because no threat was expected from the mainland. This implies that the need for the Eastern Fortress could arise later.

Unlike the illustrated manuscripts depicting Alanya, no such manuscript has been found illustrating Arwad Island. However, Luigi Mayer's depiction of the island

from the northwest side and the sea in 1819 is quite remarkable (Fig. 52).[186] His drawing, showcasing the massive sea walls on the western side of the island, also portrays the monumental visual presence of the round tower of the Western Fortress at the island's highest point. Although some sections of the island's sea walls have maintained their height to this day relatively, the sheer size and durability of the blocks have ensured their partial survival over the centuries. As Savignac mentioned, these large blocks were sometimes split, and the fact that the surviving sections are farthest from both the eastern and western fortresses suggests that the sea walls blocks were likely spoliated in the construction of the fortresses and probably houses.[187]

Despite being a small island measuring 800 meters by 450 meters, Arwad Island has been inhabited since the Phoenician period. This makes it a highly valuable island, characterized by its immense sea walls made of massive blocks, harbors, and two fortresses. Arwad's status as Syria's only island, its frequent change of control, its relationship with the mainland, and its highly strategic location contribute to its complex and intriguing political history. Understanding the island's role between the 11th and 14th centuries is crucial for comprehending both Islamic and Crusader naval presence in the Levant, the maritime struggle for control, and the efforts of Islamic navies alongside the much-studied Crusader fleets. Arwad provides a unique perspective on Salah al-Din's counter-crusader naval strategies, illustrated through military architecture and maritime vantage points.

In his book *Arados et sa Pérée*, Rey-Coquais begins the section on the island's history with the statement, "Qui possède Rouad [Arwad] contrôle ou menace

[186] Mayer, *Interesting Views in Turkey: Selected from the Original Drawings,* 55.
[187] Savignac, “Une Visite a l’ile de Rouad,” 568-569.

toute la côte syrienne."[188] Initially, I thought this statement was somewhat exaggerated. However, considering the island's repeated use during critical times and the fact that even in the 20th century, during France's occupation of Syria, the island was the first to be occupied and used as a base by the French army, it is clear that Rey-Coquais's assertion is justified.

[188] Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, 91.

CHAPTER 3

ALANYA

Conquered by the Rum Seljuk Sultan Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-1237) in 1221, Alanya is a significant Seljuk city, even though it was the last port city seized after Antalya and Sinop. Alanya's importance is highlighted by its use as a winter royal city and the survival of its monumental structures, such as the Red Tower and the Tersane (shipyard), to the present day. This chapter will approach Alanya's city walls from the perspective of the sea's influence on its architecture, considering the sea as an active observer. This will allow an assessment of the sea's impact on the construction, inscriptions, and decorative programs of this vital port city, alongside the Seljuk navy and the state's economic activities in the Mediterranean.

The chapter will begin with the historical background of the Rum Seljuk, followed by a description of the city walls built before Alanya's—specifically those of Sinop, Antalya, and Konya—and the inscriptions and decorative programs present in these cities. This will set the stage for understanding the decorative program in Alanya before its development as a winter royal city.

Next, the strategic importance of Alanya in the region before Kayqubad's conquest and construction activities will be discussed, emphasizing the sea's influence on the city before providing a detailed description of the city walls.

The final and most comprehensive part of the chapter will evaluate the decorative programs of the city walls, the Red Tower, and the shipyard through inscriptions and frescoes. It will argue that Kayqubad considered the sea as an active observer in the city's construction process, with the decorative program reflecting this maritime audience. The section will also explore who this audience might have

been, detailing important observers such as the Seljuk navy, Lusignan Cyprus, Italian city-states, and Muslim and non-Muslim merchants. This detailed and conscious decorative plan will be examined from a maritime perspective for the first time.

3.1 Historical Background of the Rum Seljuks

The Seljuk Rum sultanate's origins trace back to the period before the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 when the Byzantine Emperor Romanus IV Diogenes (r. 1068-1071) was defeated by the Great Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan (r. 1063-1072).[189] This defeat allowed the Turks, who had already been active in Eastern Anatolia, to extend their influence further into the region amidst ongoing Byzantine civil wars. Sulayman b. Qutlumush (r. 1075-1086), as a founder of the Seljuk Rum, established himself in Nicaea in 1078. The city was recognized as the Seljuk capital by 1081. Sulayman's reign saw him expanding the state's control to the west until a treaty in 1081 with Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus (r. 1082-1118) set new boundaries. Sulayman continued to extend his territory, capturing parts of Cilicia and attacking Antioch by 1084, solidifying his rule over regions including Konya and Aksaray before his death in the same year.

After Sulayman's death, the early Seljuks of Rum faced instability. Later, with his son, Qılıch Arslan I (r. 1092-1107) returned from captivity in 1092, and by his marriage to the daughter of Çaka, who was an emir in west Anatolia, he strengthened both his and the state's position in the region. Despite gains, the resurgence of Byzantine power and the arrival of the First Crusade (1095-1099) challenged Seljuk's dominance. Nicaea was taken by the Crusaders and Byzantines in

[189] For the general history of the Rum Seljuks, see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 1968; Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında* Türkiye; Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*; Peacock, "Saljuqs III. Saljuqs of Rum," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*.; Peacock, *Early Seljūq History*; Peacock and Yıldız, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*; Mecit, *The Rum Seljuks.*

1097, and Qılıch Arslan I was defeated at Dorylaeum the same year. He later shifted his focus eastward, successfully capturing strategic locations like Mosul, asserting his rule despite the ongoing internal Seljuk rivalries. After his death in 1107, the Rum Seljuks no longer held a dominant position in eastern Anatolia; dominance shifted across various dynasties, like the Danishmendids and the Saltukids, with other minor dynasties. Under Sultan Masud's leadership from 1116, there was a modest resurgence. Masud, leveraging alliances and marriages, initially served as a vassal but gradually expanded his influence, especially following the disarray among the Danishmendids. His reign was marked by strategic gains and an attempt to consolidate power through familial alliances.

Qılıch Arslan II's rule (r. 1155-1192) marked a period of consolidation and territorial expansion despite significant challenges. His reign was troubled by internal disputes and external threats from neighboring rulers like the Zangid ruler of Aleppo, Nur al-Din (r. 1146-1174), and the Byzantine Empire. His reign ended in a division of his territories among his relatives, leading to fragmentation and internal conflict, which was exacerbated by the passing of the Third Crusade through Anatolia, culminating in the sack of Konya.

After Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I's (r. 1192-1196; 1205-1211) second reign, he focused on consolidating power by appointing his sons as provincial governors, securing strategic locations such as Malatya and Tokat, which helped maintain tighter control over the vast territory. His significant achievement during this period was the conquest of Antalya in 1207, which provided the Seljuks with a crucial Mediterranean port. He died in 1211, and his elder son Izz al-Din Kaykaus I (r. 1211-1220) eventually ascended to the throne amid internal conflicts, including a rebellion in Antalya assisted by Lusignan Cyprus. However, he successfully

reasserted control over Antalya between 1215 and 1216. His reign was notable for further territorial acquisitions, including the capture of Sinop in 1214, which allowed the Seljuks to extend their influence over trans-Anatolian trade routes.

The period of Ala al-Din Kayqubad I (r. 1220-1237) is often considered the zenith of the Seljuk sultanate. His reign started with formal recognition from the Abbasid caliph, which underscored Kayqubad I's dominance over Anatolia'sMuslim population. His successful military campaigns against Cilicia and Sudak and his extensive construction projects further expanded Seljuk's influence, including significant fortifications like Alanya and Konya; palaces like Kubadabad in Beysehir, Keykubadiye in Kayseri and Alanya's citadel palaces and several royal garden-pavilions.

The most devastating impact came with Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II's (r. 1237-1246) defeat at the Battle of Kösedağ in 1243 by the Mongol general Bayju. The aftermath saw the sultan fleeing to Konya and then Antalya while Mongol forces destroyed significant cities like Sivas and Kayseri. Finally, the Seljuk sultanate became a vassal of the Mongols. From this point, the Seljuk sultans were relegated to secondary roles, influenced mainly by Mongol-appointed officials.

3.2 Inscriptions and decorative programs of the city walls of the Rum Seljuks: Sinop, Antalya, and Konya

The study of the city walls of Sinop, Antalya, and Konya offers a unique lens through which to examine the Rum Seljuks' approach to inscriptions and decorative programs.[190] Instead of detailing each city's architectural descriptions, political

[190] For the detailed studies on these city walls see, Redford, "Sinop in the Summer of 1215,"; Behçet, "Sinop Kitabeleri, 35-45"; Behçet, "Sinop Kitabeleri (1), 43-49"; Ülkütaşır, "Sinop Kitabelerinden Basılı Olmayan Birkaç Metin, 157-59"; Ülkütaşır, "Sinop'ta Selçukliler Zamanına Ait Tarihi Eserler," 112-151; For Antalya see, Redford and Leiser, *Victory Inscribed*.; Redford, "A Newly Read

contexts, and the current state of their walls, this introduction aims to explain the significance of these three cities and set the stage for the city walls of Alanya.

These three cities were selected due to their strategic importance and the distinct ways they reflect the Rum Seljuks' use of inscriptions and decorations as tools of political and cultural expression. Sinop, a vital Black Sea port, exemplifies hierarchical patronage through its detailed inscription program. Antalya, with its strategic maritime position, showcases the sultan's direct involvement through its fetihname and fortification repairs following a significant rebellion. Konya, the Seljuk capital, demonstrates the symbolic use of spolia to create a "public text" that reinforced the Seljuk rulers' legitimacy and connection to both Islamic and pre-Islamic traditions.

This chapter will explore how these cities' walls serve not merely as defensive structures but as canvases for expressing political power, religious devotion, and cultural identity. By examining the inscriptions and decorative elements of Sinop, Antalya, and Konya, the chapter will uncover the broader narrative strategies employed by the Rum Seljuks, revealing their sophisticated use of architecture as a medium for political and ideological messaging. This analysis will prepare the reader for a deeper understanding of how these elements influenced the fortifications and decorative programs of Alanya.

3.2.1 The city walls of Sinop: Hierarchical patronage

Sinop, located at the northernmost tip of Anatolia, was a significant Black Sea port city during the Byzantine period. From 1204 to 1214, it was controlled by the

Inscription on the Walls of Antalya," 177-183; Redford, "Documentation of the 613 H. Inscription on the City Walls of Antalya, Turkey," 1-3; Tevhid, "Antalya Surları Kitabeleri," 165-176. For Alanya see, Konyalı, *Alanya*; Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya)*; Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri*.; For Konya see, Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*.

Comneni of Trebizond, established in Trebizond (modern Trabzon) by Alexios and David Comnenus in 1204.[191] The conquest of Sinop by Izz al-Din Kaykaus I (r. 1211-1220) in November 1214 was crucial as it marked the beginning of the Rum Seljuks' maritime presence in the Black Sea. This conquest also initiated a detailed and well-considered epigraphic and decorative program for the city walls of the Rum Seljuks.

Ibn Bibi provides a detailed account of the conquest, noting that those familiar with the city advised that the fortress should be besieged.[192] Subsequently, soldiers or spies assigned by Kaykaus I captured Emperor Alexios of the Comneni of Trebizond while he was hunting near Sinop, leading to prolonged negotiations that convinced the locals to agree to the siege.[193] Ibn Bibi's mention of the fortress's strength being conveyed to the sultan before the conquest and Kaykaus I ordering the repair of the city walls afterward indicates that the walls were robust enough to withstand the siege but were ultimately rebuilt after the conquest.

The fifteen inscriptions on the curtain walls and towers of the Sinop city walls provide a comprehensive view of a hierarchical patronage program.[194] This program is instrumental in understanding the state's court structure, detailing each emir's title, the regions under their control, the locations of their patronage activities, and the positioning and visibility of their inscriptions. Redford's analysis classifies this hierarchical program into three distinct levels.

The earliest of these inscriptions, dating to May 1215, was placed on the inner side of the main gate, Lonca Gate, the only inscription on the inner side of the

[191] For the history of city see, J.H. Kramers, and Suraiya Faroqhi. "Sīnūb". In P. Bearman (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Online (EI-2 English).* Also see, Redford, "Medieval Anatolian Arsenals at Sinop and Antalya."
[192] Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 61.
[193] Ibn Bibi, 61-64.
[194] Redford, "Sinop in the Summer of 1215," 1-2.

walls, and it belongs to Kaykaus I (Fig. 53).[195] It is a small inscription, but the only one flanked with lions on both sides. At the top of the hierarchy is this inscription of the sultan and the two military governors on the eastern walls. One of them is the military governor of Kayseri, Baha al-Din Qutlughja, who had the title of *subashi* (commander). The other and most prominent figure in the entire inscription program is Husam al-Din Yusuf, the military governor of Malatya and *isfahsalar* (commander-in-chief of the army). He is featured in two inscriptions: the longest one, written in Arabic, and a second, poetically crafted one in Persian.[196] Moreover, the scribe of his inscriptions, one of the architects of the walls, Abu Ali al-Halabi, displays excellent use of Arabic along with excessive use of Ayyubid-style sultanic titles.[197] This suggests that Abu Ali al-Halabi, who was also the architect of Alanya's Red Tower and Tersane and probably of the city walls of Konya as well, was employed by the military governor who held the most esteemed position in the hierarchy in Sinop.

Besides the two military governors, another governor with an inscription on the eastern walls is Badr al-Din Abu Bakr (Fig. 54). During the conquest, he was the governor of Simre and later became the governor of Sinop, which is notable for his bilingual Greek and Arabic inscription on the Lonca Gate.[198] Placed at a low, highly visible spot, this inscription likely addressed the city's local populace. Additionally, similar to how Husam al-Din Yusuf's scribe was Abu Ali al-Halabi, this inscription bears the signature of Najm al-Din Yawash, the scribe of Baha al-Din Qutlughja, the military governor of Kayseri, who was also at the top of the hierarchy.[199]

[195] Redford, 1-2.
[196] Redford, 6.
[197] Redford, 32-33.
[198] Redford, "Sinop in the Summer of 1215," 22-23.
[199] Redford, 8, 12-13.

On the second tier are the relatively large inscriptions of the governors of Amasya and Sivas, located on the western walls. Besides the governors of these cities, there is an inscription of Abdallah al-Mihrani, the only non-Anatolian in the entire inscription program, although his title is unclear.[200] The significance of this second tier, in contrast to the first, is that the emirs did not hold military positions. Lastly, on the third hierarchical level are the inscriptions of governors from smaller cities like Honaz, Aksaray, and Tokat.[201] These inscriptions are small and less visible due to their placement on the southern walls facing the sea and the northern walls at a high elevation.

The hierarchical nature of the inscriptions on Sinop city walls is evident, considering the emirs' titles, the cities they governed, the expenses they incurred, their locations on the city walls, and their lengths and visibility. This suggests that the emirs were directly involved in the inscription program. Whether this hierarchical organization resulted from Kaykaus I leaving the city after the conquest—due to his desire to attack the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia and to recapture Antalya following a rebellion in 1212, thereby allowing the emirs to include their regions and titles in the inscription program in his absence—will become more apparent by examining the inscriptions of Antalya.

3.2.2 The city walls of Antalya: *Fetihname* and the Sultan's presence

Antalya served as a critical port for the Byzantine navy and, in conjunction with Cyprus, facilitated economic relations with Egypt and the Levant.[202] Ibn Bibi notes

[200] Redford, 17.
[201] Redford, 16-17.
[202] For the history of the city see, Taeschner, F. "Antalya". In P. Bearman (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Online (EI-2 English)*, (Brill, 2012).; Erten, *Antalya Tarihi*; Redford and Leiser, *Victory Inscribed.*

that Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (r. 1192-1196; 1205-1211) captured the city in 1207 primarily for its economic importance, as Frankish merchants were hindering Muslim merchants from Egypt and Alexandria on the coast of Antalya.[203] However, in 1212, the local population, with support from Frankish Cyprus, rebelled against the Seljuks and maintained their independence until Izz al-Din Kaykaus I reconquered the city in 1216.[204] This rebellion is notable not only as the sole uprising against Seljuk rule but also for its duration of four years. The repair of the city walls and the inscription program initiated by Kaykaus I after his conquest can be seen as a response to this rebellion as well as a symbol of victory.

Kaykaus' inscriptions on the curtain walls and four towers of Antalya's fortifications serve as *fetihname, i.e.,* declaration of triumph detailing the siege, conquest, and subsequent events. The *fetihname* was carved into 41 spolia column sections, with 26 still in situ and seven preserved in the Antalya Museum.[205] Positioned to face the city, the inscriptions can be seen as a direct proclamation to the local populace. In line with the tradition of *fetihname* literature[206], the text begins with a confession of faith and attributes the victory to God. It justifies the reconquest by pointing to the revolt and then presents Kaykaus I along with his sultanic titles. The final sections describe the siege, the reconquest, and the reconstruction efforts, concluding with praise for God's assistance as it begins.[207]

Leiser and Redford argue that the *fetihname* directly reflects Sultan Izz al-Din Kaykaus I's patronage.[208] The calligraphy and style of the inscription are of a higher

[203] Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 43-46.
[204] Ibn Bibi, 58-60.
[205] Redford and Leiser, *Victory Inscribed,* 96. The rest of the inscription is missing but as Redford states, they were recorded by Tevhid. See, Tevhid, "Antalya Surları Kitabeleri."
[206] For the *fetihname* tradition see, Redford and Leiser, *Victory Inscribed,* 79-87.
[207] Redford and Leiser, *Victory Inscribed*, 107-113.
[208] Redford and Leiser, 115-117.

standard than typical Seljuk lapidary inscriptions.[209] Moreover, unlike the inscription program in Sinop, which predominantly features emirs' contributions to reconstruction, the inscriptions in Antalya emphasize the sultan's own involvement. Apart from the *fetihname*, only two other inscriptions from the same period exist on the citadel towers: one for Husam al-Din Yusuf referred to as *subashi*, who holds the title of *isfahsalar* in Sinop, and another for Mubariz al-Din Ertokush, mentioned as an *emir* who governed Antalya before and after the rebellion.[210] Ertokush was a key figure in Seljuk maritime politics, governing the Seljuks' first port city, Antalya, which was referred to as *dar al-thaghr* (the capital of the maritime frontier).[211] He also later played a crucial role in Ala al-Din Kayqubad I's (r. 1220–1237) conquest of Alanya, which is discussed below.

The sultan's presence in Antalya, whether due to his residence in the city after the conquest, his direct financing of the construction, the city's four-year rebellion, or a combination of these factors, distinguishes the inscription program here from that in Sinop. Nonetheless, the Antalya city walls represent a continuation of a deliberate and conscious inscription program initiated in Sinop. The use of spolia material for the *fetihname*, its strategic placement facing the city, and its content addressing both the reconquest's justification and the sultan's construction activities underscore this intentional decorative program which can also be seen in Konya, where spolia materials were used even more extensively than in Antalya. This later provides valuable context for understanding the use of frescoes on the city walls of Alanya, along with the inscriptions.

[209] Redford and Leiser, 117.
[210] Redford and Leiser, 99-101.
[211] For the biography of Ertokush see, Turan, "Müb'arizeddin Er-Tokuş ve Vakfiyesi," 415-426.

3.2.3 The city walls of Konya: Spolia and symbolic messages

Before moving on to the Konya city walls and the extensive inclusion of spolia materials besides the inscription programs, it is necessary to understand how the Seljuks, from a broader perspective, perceived spolia materials. Redford argues that the widespread Seljuk practice of incorporating spolia from ancient ruins, such as in Aspendos, Sinop, Alanya, and Konya, highlights a pragmatic approach to construction, underscored by a deep appreciation for the past.[212] However, this reverence or appreciation was not merely practical but was infused with symbolic significance, as these ancient materials were often selected for their historical and talismanic properties. This perspective enriches the understanding of how the Seljuks viewed their architectural endeavors—as links to a broader historical narrative that conferred legitimacy and continuity.

Yalman's focus on Konya during Sultan Ala al-Din Kayqubad I's (r. 1220–1237) reign, when he immediately started rebuilding city walls in 1221, complements Redford's broader view by detailing the deliberate composition of the city walls as "public texts."[213] In her exploration of the Seljuk use of spolia in the architectural projects of Konya, Yalman delves into the symbolic and practical aspects of this practice, emphasizing its role in self-fashioning and legitimizing the rule of Ala al-Din Kayqubad I.[214] She argues that incorporating spolia in the Konya walls was a deliberate act of cultural and political messaging, creating a "public text" that communicated the Seljuk rulers' connection to both the ancient and Islamic pasts.[215] The walls of Konya, which Kayqubad I actually took part in its design, as described

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[212] Redford, "The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique," 148–156; Redford, "City Building in Seljuq Rum," 268-269.
[213] Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, 31-32. Yalman borrows the term "public text" from Irene Bierman. See, Irene Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text.*
[214] Yalman, "Repairing the Antique," 232.
[215] Yalman, 226-231.

by Ibn Bibi, were adorned with inscriptions from the Qur'an, hadiths, and verses from the Persian epic, the Shahnama—this mixture of texts aimed to create a powerful narrative of divine and historical legitimacy (Fig. 55).[216]

Including classical statuary, such as the figure of Hercules and other Roman sculptures, within the Konya walls is particularly notable. This highlights that these elements were repurposed to fit into a new narrative of Seljuk power. For example, the alto relievo, depicting a Roman prince receiving a globe symbolizing world dominion, was adapted to emphasize the Seljuk sultan's imperial ambitions.[217] The sculptures' placement and restoration efforts indicate a conscious strategy to blend Islamic and classical iconography, reinforcing the Seljuk claim to spiritual and temporal authority.

Furthermore, Yalman points out the philosophical and mystical dimensions of the spolia's use, drawing on the works of the Sufi mystic Suhrawardi and his *Philosophy of Illumination* (Hikmat al-Ishraq).[218] Suhrawardi's ideas on light and emanation provide a framework for interpreting the spolia as manifestations of divine light and wisdom. This connection to Neoplatonic thought further enriched the symbolic meaning of the Konya city walls, linking the Seljuk rulers to a broader intellectual and spiritual tradition encompassing both Islamic and pre-Islamic elements.[219]

Therefore, the "public text" created by the Konya city walls was a multi-layered narrative that integrated historical, religious, and philosophical references. By combining texts from the Qur'an and Shahnama with classical sculptures and

[216] Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 99-100; Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, 40.
[217] Yalman, "Repairing the Antique," 230.
[218] Yalman, 226-233.
[219] See the chapter 4 "Aladdin's Light: Illuminationism and Signs of Kayqubad as a Cosmic Ruler" in Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, 323-422.

inscriptions, Kayqubad I crafted a complex message of legitimacy and continuity. This message was not only intended for the local population but for a wider audience who might have encountered the walls, heard or read about them, so carry what Kayqubad I aims to achieve.

3.3 Patronage of Ala al-Din Kayqubad I in Alanya

Kayqubad's conquest of Alanya and its transformation into a royal city marked a significant construction and architectural development period. This section begins by outlining the historical background of Alanya, emphasizing its strategic importance and the process through which it became a royal city. The discussion then transitions into a detailed architectural analysis of key structures, including the city walls, the Red Tower, and the shipyard. A central argument presented is the unique nature of Alanya's fortifications compared to other Seljuk city walls, particularly in terms of its maritime context. By viewing the sea as an active observer, the analysis explores how elements such as city walls, inscriptions, frescoes, and banners were integrated into a comprehensive decorative program designed to engage this maritime audience. Furthermore, the section assesses the Seljuk shipyard, naval fleet, and economic activities in the region, highlighting how the state incorporated the sea into its political and economic strategies. This perspective offers a nuanced understanding of the maritime influence on Seljuk architecture and the broader implications for the state's policies and interactions with the sea.

3.3.1 Historical context of Alanya

Alanya, known as Kalonoros, holds a prominent position due to its strategic location and natural defenses on the southern Anatolian coastline.[220] The region's earliest known settlers likely chose the area for its defensibility. During the Hellenistic period, fortifications were established on the castle rock, with evidence surviving along the eastern, northern, and western sides. The Hellenistic influence continued with the fortification of the hinterland and attempts to manage water resources, suggesting an early strategic importance tied to its geographical features.

The Roman era further highlighted Alanya's significance, primarily due to its role in the Mediterranean timber trade. Roman rule brought infrastructure development, including roads and fortifications, enhancing connectivity along the difficult southern coast.[221] The Roman influence is visible in the widespread architectural remnants and inscriptions found throughout the surrounding countryside, indicating prosperity and expansion of settlement during this period. Despite this, Alanya remained relatively isolated due to the rugged Taurus Mountains and its peripheral role in major maritime activities.

The Byzantine period marked a continuation of Alanya's marginal status, though it retained economic importance through the timber trade, essential for the Byzantine navy. The settlement in the region significantly declined after the Justinianic period, especially following the Arab invasions. This decline was reflected in the shift from constructing large basilican churches to building smaller,

[220] For the history of the region see, Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia.*; Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien Vienna*; Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia;* İdris Bostan, "ALANYA", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi; Taeschner, "Alanya". In P. Bearman (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Online (EI-2 English)*, (Brill, 2012).; Doğan, “Alanya’da Kızılca Şehir Kalesi ve On İkinci Yüzyılda Akdeniz,” 370-379.
[221] Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia,* 5-13.

more modest structures within the remnants of earlier buildings. By the Comnenian period in the 12th century, strategic reoccupations of sites like Syedra and Iotape/Aydap in the southeast of Alanya occurred, indicating intermittent attempts at renewal.[222]

After Kayqubad I ascended the throne, he embarked on the conquest of Alanya. The city, controlled by Kyr Vard, an Armenian lord, was captured through negotiation after two months of siege in 1221. As Ibn Bibi mentions, negotiations ensued, and Kyr Vard ultimately surrendered the fortress in exchange for lands in Akşehir and the marriage of his daughter to Kayqubad I.[223] Following the conquest, Kayqubad I renamed the city *Ala'iyya* after himself. Unlike the city walls of Konya, which began construction immediately after Kayqubad I became sultan, he undertook extensive fortifications and other buildings in Alanya five years after the conquest. He eventually ordered the (re) construction of robust defensive walls that connected the fortress atop the castle rock to the harbor below. These fortifications included the Red Tower, and the Ehmedek and İç Kale citadels, which housed barracks and storerooms. The construction also addressed the challenge of water supply by incorporating numerous cisterns within the fortifications.

The construction efforts in Alanya were not limited to military architecture. Kayqubad I also invested in building garden-pavilions within the city and its hinterland.[224] Near the main watercourses and springs, these enclosed two-story pavilions demonstrate through their uniformity of building type, standardized building materials, techniques, and decoration that they were built during the reign of

[222] Redford, 22-23.
[223] Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 94-98.
[224] For the comprehensive study of garden pavilions see, Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia.* See also, Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya),* 41-48; Karamut, "Syedra 1997 Kurtarma Kazısı ve Temizlik Çalışmaları,"; Karamağaralı, "Alanya Gülefşen Kasrı Kazısı,"; Yavuz, "Alanya'nın Demirtaş (Syedre) Bucağındaki Köşk."

Kayqubad I, during which the sultan and the court used Alanya as a winter-royal city.[225] Their decoration, especially the zigzag and checkerboard plaster paints, is discussed in detail below, along with the frescoes and plasters of the Alanya city walls.

It can be argued that the region's relative isolation ended with the Seljuk conquest. Their arrival marked a transformative period, integrating Alanya into the broader eastern Mediterranean economy. However, despite the extensive building activities, the Seljuk hold on Alanya and the surrounding region faced challenges after Kayqubad I. The state's expansion was part of a coordinated effort towards the Levant, but it was eventually hindered by the Mongol invasion. The Seljuks suffered a significant defeat at the Battle of Kösedağ in 1243, which weakened their control over their territories. Nevertheless, Alanya remained within the Seljuk realm, and Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237-1246), Kayqubad's successor, continued to utilize the city as a retreat until his death, highlighting the importance of its location.

3.3.2 Architectural analysis of the city walls of Alanya

The first detailed description of Alanya's city walls was provided by Konyalı[226], whose division of the walls into sections was subsequently used by Lloyd and Rice. (Fig. 56 and 57).[227] However, rather than following the traditional order of descriptions, the city walls will be described starting from the top of the castle, the İç Kale, and descending towards the Tersane area. Following this ordering, the city walls, the Red Tower, and the Tersane will be detailed in this section before evaluating their inscription and fresco programs in the next one.

[225] Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia,* 30.
[226] See, Konyalı, *Alanya*.
[227] See, Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya).*

The Fifth Sector, İç Kale, i.e., the inner citadel, is strategically located at the highest point of the promontory. This sector features thick walls and multiple towers that offer extensive views of both land and sea, which were crucial for monitoring and defense. Inside the İç Kale were large cisterns essential for water storage during sieges and vaulted halls along the eastern and northern perimeters. Notably, in the southeast corner, there is a three-courtyard place, in the northwestern Adam Atacağı Pavilion, and near the entrance, the twelfth-century Byzantine triconch church is situated.

The Fourth Sector lies south of the Ehmedek and serves as a critical passageway to the citadel. This sector is fortified with substantial walls and towers, incorporating elements from the Hellenistic period into the Seljuk architecture.[228] Within this sector, there is an arasta and a bedesten from the post-Seljuk period. As for religious architecture, this sector has a mosque built by Suleyman I, likely constructed over the foundations of an earlier Seljuk mosque, and the thirteenth-century Aksebe Türbesi.

The Third Sector is dominated by the Ehmedek, a complex fortification built on the remnants of an older Hellenistic fortress.[229] This area was strategically positioned to oversee land approaches from the east and west. The Ehmedek includes three main towers linked by heavy walls and extensive residential quarters added during the Seljuk period. Large halls and multiple cisterns within this sector provided essential living and defense facilities.

The Sixth Sector of Alanya's city walls, characterized by its rocky terrain, is situated to the southwest of the citadel and is largely abandoned today. However, the presence of four Byzantine chapels embedded within the walls and a Seljuk hamam

[228] Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya),* 27.
[229] Lloyd and Rice, 25.

indicate that the area was once occupied. This sector also encompasses the twelfth-century monastery on Cilvarda Burnu. Access to the monastery historically involved a path through this sector, but much of this route has been lost over time.[230]

The Second Sector, known as Tophane, has curtain walls with towers and stretches from the Aşağı Kapı in the east, through the Kale Kapısı, and ends at the Ehmedek. The rubble masonry walls make dating problematic, but it can be said that since the area connects the harbor to the upper hill of the citadel, the fortifications were largely repaired after the Seljuk conquest.[231]

The triangular area between the Red Tower, the Tersane, and the Aşağı Kapı defines the First Sector. The landmark of Alanya, the Red Tower (Fig. 58), is an octagonal structure with a diameter of 29 meters at its base and a height of 33 meters. It has five levels: the ground floor, first floor, mezzanine, open roof, and roof terrace. The ground floor includes a central octagonal pier with a gallery leading to openings on seven of the outer faces. The first floor features intricate bays and galleries, with twin staircases on the northwest side. The mezzanine has defensive openings, while the open roof contains vaulted bays and a water cistern. The terrace on top is supported by the vaults below and has staggered defensive openings.[232]

The Tersane was designed to build and secure large ships of the Seljuk navy (Fig. 59 and 60).[233] It features five vaulted galleries, nearly 57 meters long and up to 40 meters deep, separated by partition walls with arched openings. The vaults are reinforced with projecting ribs ending in small corbels and are strengthened by pairs

[230] Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya),* 38-40.
[231] Redford, "Medieval Anatolian Arsenals at Sinop and Alanya," 550. Lloyd and Rice, and Konyalı state that the walls are mainly Seljuk construction. See, Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya),* 20-25; Konyalı, *Alanya*, 151-153.
[232] Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya),* 11-16.
[233] I would like to thank Furkan Tuncer for his assistance in Alanya, helping me photograph the Tersane and Tophane Towers from the boat, as well as photographing the inscription of the Tophane Tower and Tersane with a drone.

or groups of light holes (Fig. 61).[234] To the south of Tersane, there are two towers. The tower closer to the Tersane is known as the Tersane Tower. Further south is the larger Tophane Tower. Both towers were constructed with defensive architectural considerations to protect the Tersane and control access.

3.4 Inscriptions and frescoes: Sea-facing visibility

It would not be incorrect to say that what distinguishes the city walls of Alanya from other Seljuk city walls is the role the sea plays in the city's architecture. This difference, initially noticeable through monumental examples of military architecture such as the Tersane and the Red Tower, is actually more pronounced upon detailed examination. It shows that the characteristics observed in the city walls mentioned above—court hierarchy, the presence of the sultan in the decorative program, the use of spolia, etc.—can also be observed here, and additionally, they help to observe the nautical perspective in Seljuk architecture. Discussed through the maritime perspective, this involves not only the existing topography and the implications of being a port city but also the significant role played by the sea and the audience approaching from the sea, which is detailed below, in the patronage of Alanya by Kayqubad. Although this perspective has been mentioned, particularly through some inscriptions, a comprehensive examination, including the decorative program of the city walls such as frescoes and inscriptions, along with the Tersane, the Red Tower, and the Seljuk navy, has not been conducted until now. In this section, inscriptions in the First Sector, and frescoes throughout the city walls will be examined first, showing that Alanya's decorative program, like the consciously designed projects of

[234] Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya),* 16-18.

the city walls, was a series of deliberate choices and that visibility from the sea was a significant concern in these choices.

Although the İç Kale and Ehmedek were used as the city's palace, military, and possible administrative centers, the inscriptions in these areas mainly mention the names of the emirs. The inscriptions on the Kale Kapısı and in Ehmedek list the names of the emirs Benek, Yaqut, and Qaraja, all bearing the title slave - with only Yaqut having the military title *utaqbashi* (master of the tent).[235] In contrast, the First Sector is where sultanic inscriptions are predominantly seen. However, this area has mostly been discussed within the context of its monumental examples of military architecture, such as the Red Tower and the Tersane, and its economic relationship with the port. Redford, however, suggests that this area might have been used as a palace. Considering Kayqubad's boat trips in his Kubadabad and Keykubadiye palaces, the presence of a Seljuk bath and sultanic inscriptions in this area supports Redford's argument. Reevaluating the function of the area is a good starting point to understand that the coastal defenses and the Red Tower need to be assessed not only architecturally but also with their inscriptions. However, as monumental examples of military architecture located on the coastline, the Tersane and the Red Tower necessitate evaluating this Sector in all aspects of its maritime components.

To begin with, the Red Tower has four inscriptions. The first, placed very high under the battlements facing the north side towards the city, is the motto of Kayqubad I, "al-minnetu lillah." (Fig. 62).[236] The second short inscription belongs to the architect Abu Ali al-Halabi, who is also mentioned on the city walls of Sinop (Fig. 63).[237] This inscription is located to the right of the tower's entrance gate and

[235] See, Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri*, 107-117; Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya)*, 59-61.
[236] Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, 42. Konyalı, Lloyd and Rice did not record this inscription. It was first published by Yardım. See Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri,* 75-76.
[237] Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri,* 85-86.

measures 64 by 52 cm. When I measured the inscription panel with a laser distance meter, which had not been precisely measured before, the top point of the panel was 7 meters above the ground. Considering the inscription is in Arabic, its dimensions, and its height above the ground, it can be said that although the inscription is significant as an architect's inscription, it was not placed with legibility as a primary concern.

The remaining two inscriptions are foundation inscriptions located on the north and south sides of the tower, both dating to 1226. The northern foundation inscription is a four-line inscription measuring 243 by 87 cm and is currently exhibited inside the tower (Fig. 64). The southern inscription is the longest one found in Alanya. Although the seven-line inscription has been studied in detail by Yardım (Fig. 65)[238], it is located on the southern side of the tower, on the slope leading from the entrance towards the port (Fig. 66). Without scaffolding, it is impossible to photograph the inscription closely or directly in front of it, and therefore, its dimensions cannot be measured. However, when I measured the inscription panel with a laser distance meter from directly beneath it, the top point of the panel was 8.74 meters above the ground. Considering it alongside the architect's inscription, it can be said that both inscriptions were placed at the same height, and taking into account the slope on the southern side of the tower, the southern foundation inscription was positioned higher from the ground compared to the architect's inscription.

The inscription is not only notable for being the longest but also for containing many sultanic titles. Yalman argues that this longest inscription in the city should be understood in the context of the internal tension between Kayqubad and

[238] Yardım, 77-84. For the translation of the southern inscription, see, Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, 206-209.

the emirs he suppressed and eliminated in 1223.[239] The titles used by Kayqubad I in the inscription, such as "reviver of justice in the worlds," "reviver of justice and equity," and "guardian of the oppressed against the oppressors," indicate his image as a just ruler.[240] As Ibn Bibi also tries to show the sultan's justice related to the rebellion, this can be interpreted as a direct reflection of an internal matter in the decorative program.[241] However, the inscription was placed facing the Tersane. Although the inscription on the north side of the tower is also a foundation inscription, it is noteworthy to question why this inscription was placed facing the Tersane. As mentioned above, the inscription is almost 9 meters above the ground and is very difficult to read. However, although it is not possible to read the inscription from the sea walls within the triangular area, the inscription panel is visible just below the horizontally placed spoliated columns when viewed from the wall walk from the Tersane to the Red Tower (Fig. 67).

The Tersane and Tophane towers have a total of four inscriptions. Two of these are located on the north faces, and the other two are on the east faces of both towers.[242] The inscriptions facing the sea on the east side of both towers are particularly noteworthy regarding their content and design.[243]

Firstly, the seaward side of the Tersane tower is notable for its exclusively religious content (Fig. 68 and 69).[244] This inscription was first published by Yardım in 2002.[245] Neither Konyalı nor Lloyd and Rice were able to see the inscription on the Tersane tower. As can be understood from the photo taken by Lloyd and Rice

[239] Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, 202-228.
[240] Yalman, 207-209.
[241] Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 105-110.
[242] Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri,* 90.
[243] Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri,* 90-91, 94-96.
[244] Since the path in front of the towers has been closed for a while, I was able to take a photo of the Tersane Tower from behind the closed door at the Tersane. See, Figure. 68.
[245] Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri,* 90-91.

from the Tersane towards the towers, the plants covered the inscription on the Tersane tower (Fig. 70). Even in the photos of the Tersane taken during the restoration of the Red Tower by Ali Saim Ülgen in 1952, it is clear that both the Tersane and Tophane towers were covered with plants, and the inscription on the Tersane tower was completely obscured. (Fig. 71). The inscription on the Tophane tower, however, was still discernible among the plants. The photos of the Tophane and Tersane towers from the 1970s in Nezih Eldem's Antalya-Alanya photo album also show that while the inscription on the Tophane tower maintained its visibility despite the plants, the inscription on the Tersane tower was still awaiting to be seen (Fig. 72).

As mentioned above, the inscription is notable for its exclusively religious content. The inscription, measuring 115 by 42 cm and consisting of six lines on three stone pieces, reads as follows,

1. لا اله الا الله - There is no god but Allah
2. الله وحده لا شريك - Allah alone with no partner
3. له محمد رسول الله هو - Muhammad is His messenger
4. يحيي (و) يميت و هو حي لا يموت - He gives life and causes death, and He is ever-living and does not die
5. بيده الخير و هو على - In His hand is all good, and He has power over all things
6. كل شيء قدير و اليه المصير - And to Him is the return of all things[246]

Although the inscription's exclusively religious content makes it distinct from other inscriptions in Alanya, its most significant feature is its location. Positioned on the seaward side of the tower, which is situated right next to the Tersane and likely used for its security, this inscription has led to two highly convincing arguments. The first is that its placement facing the sea is a message to Lusignan Cyprus[247], and the second is that considering the tower is thought to have existed in the pre-Seljuk

[246] Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri,* 90. Translation by the author.
[247] Redford, "Mamalik and Mamalik: Decorative and Epigraphic Programs of Anatolian Seljuk Citadels," 315-316.

period, it was directed at the non-Muslim inhabitants of the city.[248] By placing the inscription on this tower, it has been argued that both the conquest of the tower and its religious content served as a message to the city's non-Muslims.

Although it is not as attention-grabbing as the exclusively religious inscription, the inscription on the seaward side of the Tophane tower is also quite noteworthy (Fig. 73 and 74). The inscription uses spoliated marble and consists of three parts. The first part is the first two lines of the inscription, written on a roundel with a diameter of 58 cm that has been split in half. The second part is a rectangular panel measuring 150 by 52 cm located immediately below the roundel, containing the third and fourth lines of the inscription. The last part is the fifth line of the inscription on a 51 by 22 cm panel to the right of the rectangular piece.

This inscription is particularly remarkable for two main reasons. The first is the verse used in the first part of the inscription placed within the roundel and its context, and the second is the overall form of the inscription, which differs from other inscriptions. Before evaluating the inscription by considering both the verse and its form, the inscription reads as follows,

1. نصر من الله و فتح قريب - A victory from Allah and an imminent conquest
2. السلطان - The Sultan
3. المعظم علا الدنيا و الدين سلطان البر و ا - The supreme, exalted in the world and religion, Sultan of land and sea
4. البحرين أبو الفتح كيقباد بن كيخسرو برهان امير المؤمنين - Abu'l-Fath Kayqubad ibn Kaykhusraw, proof of the commander of the faithful
5. في سنة خمسة و عشرين (و) ستمائة - In the year six hundred and twenty-five[249]

The first line of the inscription, *nasrun min Allah wa fathun qarib* (a victory from Allah and an imminent conquest), is from Surah As-Saff (61:13)[250], but the verse is

[248] Redford, 315-316.
[249] Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri,* 94-96. Translation by the author.
[250] Another inscription consisting of this verse is currently in the Alanya Museum, with its exact origin within the castle unknown. Only these two examples of this verse have been recorded in Alanya.

not quoted in its entirety.[251] Unlike the sultanic title *abu'l-fath* (Father of Conquest) found in the southern inscription of the Red Tower, this verse does not indicate a completed conquest but rather points to a future one. If this inscription, with the verse *nasrun min Allah wa fathun qarib* taken from the middle of the verse, is interpreted in the context Yalman highlights, it can be seen as addressing Cyprus, the House of Lusignan, within the framework of a holy war, given its placement facing the sea.[252] Especially when considered alongside the purely religious inscription on the Tersane tower, which begins with the declaration of faith, the location and content of both inscriptions facing the sea suggest a reference to the holy war.

On the other hand, the form of the inscription, with the verse in the first line placed within a roundel resembling a seal and the title *al-sultan* in the second line, might represent a flag design transferred onto the inscription.[253] To support this assumption, examining both Seljuk flags and contemporary ones is necessary to understand this inscription better.

Flags have long been powerful symbols, often synonymous with political authority. They represented states, sultans, caliphates, and dynasties. The most significant connotation of a flag comes with its military context. Their design echoed several layers of symbolic messages of the sultans or states during a war, and losing or bearing a flag demonstrates both the complexity behind its tangible and intangible power.[254]

Redford questions why the checkerboard and zigzag patterns seen on Seljuk garden-pavilions, caravanserais, palaces, and city walls, along with the red color,

[251] The verse is "وَأُخْرَىٰ تُحِبُّونَهَا ۖ نَصْرٌ مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ ۗ وَبَشِّرِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ" and the translation is "ʿHe will also give youʾ another favour that you long for: help from Allah and an imminent victory. ʿSoʾ give good news ʿO Prophetʾ to the believers."
[252] Yalman, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, 46.
[253] I would like to thank Prof. Pancaroğlu for bringing the flags to my attention.
[254] Denny, "A Group of Silk Islamic Banners," 67.

were persistently used in some structures, given the known complex design and application methods in the Rum Seljuk state.[255] He argues that although no Seljuk flag has survived to this day, the tracking of the red color and these two patterns suggests that this design might have been transferred from textiles to architectural decoration.[256] He also discusses that the Byzantines' use of these patterns in flags, manuscripts, and military architecture could be one of the main sources for the Seljuks' extensive use, particularly in Antalya and its hinterland.[257] Although these patterns were thought to be borrowed from or inspired by textiles, neither Byzantine nor Seljuk manuscripts provide information on the inscriptions used on Seljuk flags. However, based on the seaward-facing inscription of the Tophane tower, and the round design and verse used in its inscription, examining verse selections, designs, and talismanic effects of contemporary and later Islamic states' flags is crucial for understanding the possible flag design during the Seljuk period and the Tophane inscription.

As mentioned above, the verse in the first line of the Tophane tower's inscription is taken from Surah As-Saff, verse 13 (61:13). The verse is not written in its entirety, but only the part announcing the conquest is taken from the middle of the verse. Such conquest verses or parts of verses, for example, the first verse of Surah Al-Fath (48:1), when considered in a war context, were likely used both for their brevity and their motivational value in the context of ghaza. The earliest example of flags using this verse is not found in the Lands of Rum but in Fez. Ali-de-Unzaga, in her examination of the Quranic inscriptions on the banner known as Las Huelgas, which is thought to have been captured by King Alfonso VIII of Castile (r. 1158-

[255] See, Redford, "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery."
[256] Redford, "Flags of the Seljuk sultanate of Anatolia," 67-74.
[257] Redford, 68-69.

1214) from the Almohad Sultan Muhammad b.Yaqub b.Yusuf al-Nasir (r. 1199-1213), at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, argues that the banner is Marinid rather than Almohad.[258] When considered alongside the banner of Marinid Sultan Abu Said Uthman, which is now in the Cathedral of Toledo, the similarities in the application of both banners aside, the verses from Surah As-Saff used in both and their placement could provide a starting point for understanding how the inscriptions on Seljuk flags might have been designed.

Starting from the horizontal inner part of the Las Huelgas banner (Fig. 75), the inscriptions proceed with the vertical left, vertical right, and horizontal bottom inscriptions, which contain verses 10, 11, and 12 of Surah As-Saff respectively—the vertical inscriptions contain verse 11, and the bottom inscription contains part of verse 12. As Ali-de-Unzaga notes, there is a rough ending at the bottom. It is unknown whether the full verse 12 and/or its continuation were on the banner.[259]

Another flag that uses verses from Surah As-Saff is the green flag of Marinid Sultan Abu Said Uthman from the early 14th century, measuring 2.8 by 2.2 meters (Fig. 76).[260] In the middle of the flag, within a rectangle containing 16 lobes in four rows, the shahada is inscribed, surrounded by verses from Surah Al-Baqara, 2:285 and 2:286, except for the bottom inscription. At the bottom are verses 9:128 and 9:129 from Surah At-Tawbah. The outer bands—except for the top horizontal band—contain verses 10 and 11 from Surah As-Saff. The most notable feature of Sultan Abu Said Uthman's flag is the use of verse 13 from Surah As-Saff in the

[258] Ali-de-Unzaga, "Qur'anic Inscriptions on the so-called 'Pennon of Las Navas de Tolosa and Three Marinid Banners," 241-247.
[259] Ali-de-Unzaga, "Qur'anic Inscriptions on the so-called 'Pennon of Las Navas de Tolosa and Three Marinid Banners," 256-257.
[260] Ali-de-Unzaga, 249.

bottom right corner, within a roundel, similar to the Tophane tower inscription, taking the middle part of the verse (Fig. 77).[261]

When both flags are considered together, it is striking that verses from Surah As-Saff are used in both, even though other inscriptions such as the shahada, verses from other surahs, and the ta'awwudh, i.e. seeking refuge in God, are also present. Moreover, on Abu Said Uthman's flag, the placement of verse 13 from Surah As-Saff in two lines within a roundel is particularly noteworthy. Before discussing the context of the surah, the use of the verse announcing conquest, and how Marinid flags might help understand the use of inscriptions on Seljuk flags, it is necessary to examine a few Ottoman flags to understand how verses might have been placed on flags.

The use of verses announcing conquest on Ottoman flags can be considered common, as evidenced by the flags that have survived to the present day. For example, the flag taken by King Jan Sobieski from Kara Mustafa Pasha's tent during the 1683 Siege of Vienna has, in its center, the shahada written twice, with verses 48:1-2 from Surah Al-Fath on the upper band and verses 48:3-4 on the lower band (Fig. 78).[262] The verses announcing the conquest from Surah Al-Fath were used in Ottoman flags even before 1683. However, an example of the use of Surah As-Saff similar to that in the Marinid banners can be seen in the 16th century.[263] During Suleyman I's Hungarian campaign that began in 1526, a calligraphic page on the frontispiece of a manuscript written in Samandria (modern-day Smederevo in Serbia) features verse 13 from Surah As-Saff, albeit not in its entirety (Fig. 79).[264] Binney states that this calligraphic page, found in the manuscript prepared for Suleiman in

[261] Ali-de-Unzaga, 257-259.
[262] Karl, “Two Ottoman Silk Flags and the Relief of Vienna, 1683,” 193.
[263] Karl, 196-197.
[264] Binney, *Turkish Miniature Paintings,* 23.

anticipation of the Hungarian campaign, aligns well with the campaign's context and should be seen as a prayer of goodwill presented to the sultan.[265] Denny suggests that, based on the design and context of the verse and the period, this page resembles flag designs used in the 17th century, proposing that this could actually be the first depiction of an Ottoman flag in a manuscript.[266] While the symbolic messages and war contexts of Ottoman flags are outside the scope of this thesis, the use of verses on flags and the underlying reasons are highly helpful in understanding Seljuk flags.

When evaluating Marinid and Ottoman flags together, certain conclusions can be drawn in terms of both the verses and the designs. First, it is not possible to conclude that every inscription on the flags was placed for direct legibility. As Ali-de-Unzaga shows, some inscriptions were placed to be read from both sides, while others remained quite small relative to the flag's overall proportions.[267] However, it is clear that the verses used on both Marinid and Ottoman flags are those announcing conquests, fitting tightly into the war context. These short and announcement verses might have been used for military propaganda purposes and, given their frequent repetition in the war context, could be read by soldiers who could see the flag or recognized the verses almost as an image. Discussing the verses as images is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, considering the context of the verses preferred on the flags and the deliberate choices, it is quite striking that verses were used with the same motivations in different geographies at different times, as seen from the flag inscriptions in 14th century Fez and 17th century Ottoman territories. Therefore, if we return from 14th century Fez to 13th century Rum Seljuk, the three-part inscription on the seaward side of the Tophane tower, with the first roundel part split in half and the

[265] Binney, 22-23.
[266] Denny, "A Group of Silk Islamic Banners," 72-73.
[267] Ali-de-Unzaga, "Qur'anic Inscriptions on the so-called 'Pennon of Las Navas de Tolosa and Three Marinid Banners," 239-255.

conquest-announcing verse placed at the top and the title *al-sultan* in the second line, reinforcing it as a sultanic inscription, complements Redford's argument that the use of zigzag and checkerboard patterns along with the red color on structures might have been a design influenced by textiles.[268] In addition to these patterns transferred from textiles to stone, marble, and brick, it can be considered that the inscriptions used on the flags were also included in the decorative program in the same manner. When the roundel on Marinid Sultan Abu Said Uthman's flag is evaluated together with the roundel on the Tophane tower, it suggests a possible influence from textiles to marble or vice versa. Given the intensity of the checkerboard and zigzag patterns used by the Seljuks as royal designs in Alanya, it is not incorrect to say that the inscription on the Tophane tower was placed on the tower almost like a flag. Before evaluating the visibility and target audience of the Tersane and Tophane inscriptions in relation to the city's military architecture, Seljuk navy, and commercial relations, the checkerboard and zigzag frescoes used on the city walls will be examined.

Fresco painting, a technique involving the application of pigment onto freshly laid lime plaster, allows the paint to become an integral part of the wall surface, ensuring durability and vibrancy. While the existence of frescoes is mentioned at some locations in Alanya, such as the Kale Kapısı, Ehmedek, and the palace in the İç Kale[269], research has long overlooked the examples of plaster and frescoes in various parts of the city walls.

The Seljuks' use of fresco and plaster for aesthetic purposes is evident in several instances.[270] The red-yellow frescoes in the pavilion of Qılıch Arslan II

[268] Redford, "Flags of the Seljuk sultanate of Anatolia," 67-74.
[269] Konyalı, *Alanya*, 183; Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya)*, 22-48.
[270] For the use of fresco and plaster by the Seljuks, see Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklular Mimarisinde Süsleme ve El Sanatları*; Yetkin, *Alara Kalesindeki Hamamlı Kasır ve 13. Yüzyıl Anadolu Mimarisindeki Yeri*.; Altıer, "Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisinde Bir Bezeme Türü: Boyalı Nakışlar."

within the Konya city walls are noteworthy (Fig. 80)[271], as are the zigzag and checkerboard patterns applied during the restoration of the ancient theater of Aspendos (Fig. 81).[272] The use of plaster to make rubble masonry walls appear as ashlar masonry in various structures further exemplifies their decorative approach; this technique can be seen in the Alanya city walls and the Red Tower (Fig. 82).[273] In Alara Castle, the space between two inscriptions was plastered and painted red, possibly featuring a heraldic symbol (Fig. 83).[274] The presence of zigzag patterns in garden-pavilions in the Alanya hinterland also illustrates this aesthetic intent.[275]

For practical purposes, plastering crenellations to strengthen them in the Alara caravanserai is a clear example.[276] Additionally, the plastering of rubble masonry, along with ashlar ones in the Evdir and Kırkgöz caravanserais, where the entire exterior was covered, demonstrates a blend of practicality and aesthetic considerations.[277] These examples demonstrate that the Seljuks extensively used fresco and plaster for both their decorative appeal and practical benefits.

A comprehensive examination of the frescoes found on the Alanya city walls has been conducted by Krabbenhöft.[278] His study identifies previously undiscovered frescoes, even in areas where some were already recorded, and he documented frescoes on the crenellations on the southern side of the city walls for the first time.

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[271] Redford, "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery," 221; Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia*, 103-104 and see, footnote 304.
[272] Redford, "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery," 222-223.; Redford, "The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique," 149-151.
[273] Redford, "The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique," 148-151.
[274] Yetkin, "Alara Kalesindeki Hamamlı Kasır," 79-80.
[275] Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia,* 87-90, 141-142.
[276] Tükel, "Alara Han'ın Tanıtılması ve Değerlendirilmesi." 446-448.
[277] See, Duggan, "The Paintwork and Plaster on Evdir and Kırkgöz Hans."
[278] I want to thank Nick Krabbenhöft for sharing the photographs and plans from his thesis with me. See, Krabbenhöft. *A Veneer of Power: Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Frescoes on the Walls of Alanya and Some Recommendations for their Preservation* (Master's Thesis), Koç University, School of Social Sciences, 2011.

Initially, the frescoes found throughout the city walls will be examined, followed by an evaluation of the frescoes on the southern walls.

Krabbenhöft notes that aside from the well-known plasterwork on the Kale Kapısı and Red Tower, a meticulously planned decorative program was applied at many points on the city walls.[279] After a thorough examination, he categorizes these into five series, which are distributed throughout the walls. The frescoes on the northern side are particularly notable due to their abundance and striking presence.

The first series includes plaster examples in the tower north of the Red Tower, featuring red-and-white checkerboard frescoes. The second series, located between the Aşağı Kapı and the Orta Kapı, comprises red-and-white checkerboard or striped frescoes. The third series, which showcases the most prominent examples, is found at the Orta Kapı (Fig. 84), covering an area exceeding fifty square meters with red-and-white checkerboard frescoes. The fourth series, similar to the second, is situated to the left of the gatehouse.[280]

Finally, Krabbenhöft highlights the frescoes in Ehmedek and the adjacent eastern walls (Fig. 85). He suggests that, since these frescoes were made during the period of Kayqubad I and Ehmedek was used as a main garrison, the intended audience for the frescoes in Ehmedek might be the soldiers.[281] Hence, from the Red Tower to Ehmedek, the frescoes were primarily meant for those approaching the city; however, in Ehmedek's highly preserved walls, reserved for the soldiers, the audience for the frescoes changed, but the design remained the same.

The plaster painting technique used in the region before the Seljuk period can also be observed in the church at Cilvarda Burnu. To create an ashlar effect, the

[279] Krabbenhöft, *A Veneer of Power,* 68.
[280] Krabbenhöft, 54-61.
[281] Krabbenhöft, 61.

plaster on both the interior and exterior surfaces of the church was inscribed and painted.[282] Moving from Cilvarda Burnu to the east, along the southern walls of the city, immediately east of the modern lighthouse, three crenellations (Fig. 86) and eleven more along the progressing wall of the Bayrak Kulesi were covered with red painted plaster. In the easternmost part, at Esat Burcu, nine crenellations were entirely painted red with plaster.[283]

Considering that the southern part of the walls from Cilvarda Burnu to Esat Burcu was not used, especially near the walls, and that the structures in this area, known as the Sixth Sector, such as the chapel of Arap Evliyası in which plaster was also used to create a cut stone effect on the eastern wall[284], it can be said that the examples of crenellations entirely covered with plaster and painted red from the modern lighthouse to Esat Burcu were made to be visible from the sea. Krabbenhöft states about this issue of visibility,

> Ships approaching Alanya from the west would have first passed Cilvarda Burnu before coming around the peninsula to the harbor. While the inscribed lines would have been invisible, the area has a long history of highlighting the joints of cut stone masonry with red paint. Given the effort to inscribe lines into the plaster, it is conceivable that the builders both whitewashed the final layer and painted the lines of ashlar masonry. With walls of shining white 'stone,' the church would have been a stark beacon against the red rocks and blue sky.[285]

The continuation of this effect from the pre-Seljuk period at Cilvarda Burnu and its subsequent use is quite significant. Extending the decorative program to the walls in a way that it can be seen from the sea necessitates evaluating the inscriptions on the Tophane and Tersane Towers in terms of their visibility from the sea. However,

[282] Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya)*, 38-39.
[283] Krabbenhöft, *A Veneer of Power*, 54-55.
[284] Krabbenhöft, 26.
[285] Krabbenhöft, 26.

before evaluating both together, it is necessary to return to the Tersane and its architecture.

If we consider the frescoes on the southern city walls, and seaward inscriptions of the Tophane and Tersane towers, it raises the question of where flags and banners might have been placed in this section, which contains monumental examples of military architecture. In his article examining the ships that the Seljuks might have used, Dağgülü mentions certain textiles that could have been used in the Tersane.[286] As discussed below in detail regarding the Seljuk navy, wooden ships were covered with flammable substances for water resistance and could catch fire quickly.[287] For this reason, fire arrows were often used to quickly and effectively destroy fleets in shipbuilding areas. Dağgülü suggests that the vaulted galleries of the Tersane might have been covered with leather curtains to prevent potential fires from setting the ships inside the Tersane on fire or to act as a barrier between the ships and fire during an attack.[288] He also mentions that these curtains could have served as a barrier against wind and cold for workers building ships in the Tersane during winter.[289] Although nothing believed to have been used for this purpose has survived to the present day, Dağgülü's practical insights into shipbuilding offer a different perspective when evaluated within the context of Seljuk textile art and other decorative features. If the five vaulted galleries of the Tersane were covered with leather curtains, could these curtains have been decorated in any way? If leather curtains were adorned with flags and banners, could the Tophane inscription also be an extension of this decorative program?

[286] Dağgülü, "Selçuklularda Gemi Yapımı 13.yüzyılda Alanya Tersanesi," 62.
[287] Dağgülü, 61-62.
[288] Dağgülü, 62.
[289] Dağgülü, 62.

Finally, Lloyd and Rice, as Konyalı also observed, mention that there were crenellations on the roof of the Tersane, and their drawings depict crenellations extending along the Tersane roof.[290] Some photos from the 1950s also show parts of these crenellations (Fig. 71). If we consider that some of the crenellations facing the sea from the lighthouse to Esat Burcu—although we know only a portion of them, the possibility that all were covered should also be kept in mind—were covered with frescoes, it can be assumed that this covering might have also been applied to the Tersane crenellations. Especially considering the purpose of the Tersane's construction, the navy, and the time the sultan spent in Alanya, the military purpose of the area becomes prominent. However, before evaluating these in the next section, it is necessary to understand the visibility and legibility of the Red Tower southern inscription, the Tophane and Tersane inscriptions, and the frescoes, and what the possible target audiences for these decorative programs might have been, we must first determine how visible and legible these decorative programs were.

3.4.1 Visibility and legibility

The question of why Alanya's longest inscription, one of the two foundation inscriptions of the Red Tower, emphasizing the sultan's justice and directly related to his elimination of the emirs in 1223, was placed on the south side instead of the north is important. It is not easy to read the inscription from underneath or while approaching it from the Tersane, as it is approximately 9 meters above the ground. Considering the location, height above the ground, and language of the inscription, legibility was certainly not one of the primary motivations. However, while it is not possible to read the southern foundation inscription from the wall walk of the sea

[290] Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya)*, 16-18.

walls when walking from the Tersane to the Red Tower, the panel just below the spoliated columns on the tower attracts attention.

Secondly, the Tersane and Tophane Towers have not yet been evaluated from the perspectives of visibility and legibility. Although the inscription stone just below the battlements of the Tersane Tower is different from the stones of the tower, it is not as noticeable from a distance today as the marble inscription of the Tophane Tower. Additionally, the Tersane inscription has only been evaluated on its own, without considering its possible relationship with other inscriptions. As evaluated above, not only verses but also inscriptions like the shahada, ta'awwudh, and names of caliphs have been used on flags. When the content and location of the Tersane inscription are considered together with the Tophane Tower inscription, can it be said that there is a composition between the two? In other words, could these inscriptions facing the sea actually be parts of a whole—essentially components of a complete flag? Evaluating these inscriptions together is a fruitful perspective for understanding their visibility rather than their legibility. Both were placed to be seen from the sea, and although the Tersane inscription is not as striking as the Tophane's today, it is unlikely that a gaze from the sea would miss either of them.

As detailed above, the Tophane Tower inscription is notable for its three-piece design. Its use of spoliated marble makes it stand out among the stones. However, similar to the Red Tower, it is not possible to read it from beneath the tower, even though it is placed closer to the middle rather than the top of the tower, like the Tersane Tower. Today, it is pretty difficult to read the inscription by looking up at the tower from the path in front of it. Therefore, as with the Red Tower, it can be said that legibility was not the primary concern when placing the inscription; instead, visibility was prioritized.

If both inscriptions were placed with the intention of being visible from the sea along with the frescoes on the seaward-facing crenellations of the city walls, their actual visibility from the sea has not yet been evaluated through any photographs taken from the sea. In the photo I took from approximately 72 meters away from both towers, from a boat 5 meters long and 85-90 cm above the water, it is quite difficult to distinguish the Tersane Tower's inscription from this distance; however, the Tophane Tower's stands out with its round marble section in the middle of the stone tower and the large rectangular panel below (Fig. 87).[291] Even when moving away from the Tersane towards the port by boat, the inscription on the Tophane Tower remains discernible (Fig. 88).

When evaluated in terms of visibility and legibility, it can be concluded that the three inscriptions in the First Sector were placed with a concern for visibility rather than legibility. However, if the inscription on the Red Tower is evaluated only in the context of visibility, the message contained in the inscription and the carefully chosen titles of the sultan would be diminished. In other words, even though visibility was preferred over legibility, the content of the inscriptions was carefully planned, and the inscriptions were meticulously executed because they were sultanic. Therefore, the possibility that the Tophane Tower inscription, which uses part of verse 13 from Surah As-Saff, was intended for a message beyond the announcement of conquest should be considered within such a deliberately crafted decorative plan.

The term "saff," meaning rank, row, or line, is used in various contexts within Islamic tradition and the Quran.[292] Initially, it referred to the straight rows of Muslim

[291] I would like to thank Furkan Tuncer for his assistance in Alanya, helping me photograph the Tersane and Tophane Towers and the Tersane from the boat, as well as photographing the inscription of the Tophane Tower with a drone.
[292] For an entry on Surah As-Saff, see, Sūrat al-Ṣaff. In *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān Online*, (Brill, 2018) doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQSIM_INDEX_sura_verses_S061

worshippers during prayers. Over time, it also came to symbolize different ranks and orders, encompassing both military and spiritual hierarchies. In the Quran, "saff" is mentioned six times, mostly in apocalyptic scenarios where humans and celestial beings are arrayed in rows before God on Judgment Day. Surah 61 Surah as-Saff, known as "The Battle Array", exemplifies this concept by describing believers fighting in organized ranks in verse 4. The surah further emphasizes the grave issue of hypocrisy among believers, highlighting God's severe displeasure towards those who proclaim faith with their tongues but fail to act accordingly. This admonition serves as a poignant reminder that true belief necessitates congruence between words and deeds. It also draws upon the historical narratives of Moses and Jesus, recounting the disobedience of Moses' followers despite witnessing clear signs, and Jesus' announcement of a prophet to come after him, Ahmad, who is understood to be Muhammad. These references serve as a warning to the Muslim community to avoid the pitfalls of past communities by maintaining sincerity and steadfastness in their faith and actions.

The emphasis on God's help and the imminent victory in the surah is directed towards the Muslims. However, with references to both Muslims who are not sincere and to followers of Moses and Jesus, the surah serves as a warning to all groups, both Muslims and non-Muslims. Although evaluating the verse in the context of Lusignan Cyprus and predicting the intended conquest might seem like a more plausible choice, the reasons for extracting this specific verse from its context require further analysis.

Given that the surah also serves as a warning to Muslims, could it be highlighting the inconsistency between the motivations and actions of the emirs who expressed their discontent and struggled to finance Kayqubad's construction

activities? As mentioned, even though the inscription fits more clearly within the context of a holy war, it is important to consider such weaker inferences. If this choice was indeed made based on the broader message of the surah, this inscription could be evaluated within the context of rebellion along with the southern inscription of the Red Tower, which also explains why this inscription was placed facing the Tersane. However, as noted, given that the verse was also used on flags in later periods, it would not be accurate to say that the Tophane inscription solely points to this weak connection. Nevertheless, Alanya's highly detailed and deliberately crafted decorative program, similar to other Seljuk city walls, requires considering these partially weak possibilities. Since one of the essential points overlooked in inscription studies is the failure to consider why certain verses were chosen, these weaker inferences would be a starting point.[293] Moreover, a comprehensive evaluation has not yet been conducted on the context of the verses used in primary sources like those written by Ibn Bibi.[294] In the same way that evaluating the contexts in which masterfully chosen verses were used in written sources and narratives is important and necessary, it is also crucial to assess the choice of verses in inscriptions.

[293] If evaluated in the context of Ibn Bibi, Yalman draws attention to the issue and stated in, *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, Chapter 4, footnote 132, "Unfortunately, as Sara Nur Yıldız has suggested, the poetry and Qur'anic citations in Ibn Bibi's text have been completely neglected in modern studies for being exaggerated and superfluous.'" See, Sara Nur Yildiz, *Mongol Rule in Thirteenth- Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282,* 3 vols., PhD. diss., The University of Chicago, 2006, 436-7.

[294] For example, Ibn Bibi states that after the conquest of Alanya, Kayqubad I recited a verse upon entering the castle due to the ease of the conquest. The verse is from Surah Az-Zumar (39:74), "The righteous will say, "Praise be to Allah Who has fulfilled His promise to us and made us inherit the ˹everlasting˺ land to settle in Paradise wherever we please." How excellent is the reward of those who work ˹righteousness˺!" For Konya Yalman highlights the conscious choice of selecting verses. She states, "...the extant excerpt from Konya underlines the importance of "deeds" in attaining Paradise. While the permanence of the deed—Konya's adornment with city walls—in this life is not stated but implied, the citation of the Qur'anic excerpt on the public and charitable work itself would have announced the sultan's guaranteed place in Heaven." In *Building the Sultanate of Rum*, 40-42.

If the sea is considered a target audience, who might constitute this audience? Four potential target groups can be identified: Lusignan Cyprus, the Italian city-states led by Venice, Muslim and non-Muslim merchants, and the Seljuk navy.

When examining the first two target groups, Lusignan Cyprus and Venice, in the context of holy war, they appear as plausible options that can also be situated within the context of the inscription programs. Indeed, following the conquest of Alanya in 1221, the earliest inscriptions in the city—those on the north side of the Tersane and the south side of the Red Tower, dated February 1226 and April 1226, respectively—are found on monumental examples of military architecture five years after the conquest. This suggests either that the state began to perceive these two entities as threats or that the display of power was extended to the sea, which means Lusignan Cyprus and the Italian city-states.

The latter two target groups, Muslim and non-Muslim merchants and the Seljuk navy, have not been considered in this context until now. Since Muslim merchants were involved in trade in the Eastern Mediterranean and conducted their business under Seljuk protection along with the existing non-Muslim merchants, it would not be incorrect to assert that their presence in the region made them a significant sea-based audience.

Lastly, and most notably, the fact that Alanya's Tersane became the naval center due to its shipbuilding activities, combined with its proximity to Armenian Cilicia and Cyprus and its strategic position along potential naval conquest routes, suggests that the navy was also an audience for the inscriptions and frescoes. The inscriptions on the Tersane and Tophane, viewed from this perspective, can be seen as messages to the navy, emphasizing holy war through their religious content and heralding future conquests. Despite the limited information available about the navy,

which makes it challenging to provide a detailed analysis, the evidence suggests that the naval forces were intended recipients of these monumental inscriptions and frescoes. In the next section, the Seljuks' economic and political presence in the region will be examined, detailing the last two target audience groups, Muslim and non-Muslim merchants, and what is meant by the navy.

3.5 Maritime presence of the Rum Seljuks

The strategic importance of both Antalya and Alanya, their roles in Mediterranean trade, and their status as the main center of the Seljuk navy have been discussed above. Ibn Bibi consistently cites economic reasons as the motivation for the conquests of most of the coastal cities, including Antalya, Sinop, and Sugdak, claiming that the conquests were undertaken to rescue oppressed Muslim merchants.[295] However, regarding the navy established after the conquest of Antalya, Ibn Bibi does not mention any details such as the use of the navy in the war strategies, the number of ships, or information about the naval soldiers. Although it is reported that the navy existed during the recapture of Antalya in 1216 and the conquest of Alanya in 1221[296], there are no details about its role during the sieges or after the conquests.

For instance, considering that the city walls of Alanya, as discussed by Redford and mentioned above, likely had fortifications between the upper castle and the harbor during the Byzantine period[297], one must wonder how close the navy could approach the First Sector and the southern part of the Second Sector, such as the Tophane area, where there is a tower dated to the Byzantine period which is

[295] Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 44, 61, 118-119.
[296] Ibn Bibi, 59, 95.
[297] Redford, "Medieval Anatolian Arsenals at Sinop and Alanya," 550.

today's Tersane tower. If we assume that Kyr Vard did not have any navy in the Alanya harbor, could the minimal mention of the Seljuk navy's presence in the conquest of Alanya suggest that the defense was concentrated on the northern city walls? If, as Ibn Bibi states, a group of ships "marching like great waves" besieged the sea side of the fortress, wouldn't this naval blockade have significantly turned the siege in favor of the Seljuks? During the two-month siege, although the cisterns within the castle might have assisted Kyr Vard, did he accept the siege because he could not receive supplies from the sea due to the Seljuk navy, or because he realized that the expected support from the sea -maybe from the Armenian Cilicia or Lusignan Cyprus- would not arrive?

It is also intriguing that, despite Ibn Bibi's detailed accounts of Ertokush, there is no comprehensive information about the navy under his command. Ertokush, who served as the governor of Antalya during Kaykhusraw I's reign and was reappointed during Kaykaus I's reign, played a significant role during the conquest of Alanya by supporting the siege with the navy and negotiating with Kyr Vard due to their friendship.[298] He also led a campaign against Armenian Cilicia in the 1220s, capturing 40 castles, and was known for his desire to conquer Cyprus—a wish thwarted by Kayqubad I.[299] Despite Ibn Bibi's extensive mentions of Ertokush, who held the title of *amir al-sawahil* (general of the coasts), the absence of detailed information about the navy under his command remains quite puzzling.[300]

Only during the Sugdak campaign Ibn Bibi mentions the scale of the navy, noting that the people of the city sent an envoy to report that "they saw a moving forest of ships" and that "the sea was no longer visible due to the multitude of the

[298] See, Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 45, 94-98.
[299] Ibn Bibi, 130-131.
[300] For Ertokush's biography, see Turan, “Müb’arizeddin Er-Tokuş ve Vakfiyesi,” 415-426.

army."[301] Although this description was exaggerated, as Peacock also points out, the significance lies not in whether the Sugdak campaign was successful or in demonstrating the navy's power, but in the fact that such a siege was carried out in some time between 1220 and 1222, shortly after Kayqubad's ascension to the throne.[302] This indicates that an existing navy—one that predated the conquest of Alanya and the construction of its tersane—was capable of undertaking a campaign to Sugdak.

3.5.1 Tersane and ships

So, what can the Tersane tell us about a navy and ships about which we know almost only their existence and commander? The answer becomes clearer by examining the architectural structure of the Tersane, evaluating the ships of the period, and questioning how soldiers of pre-Seljuk Islamic navies were recruited.

Rather than being a port city, what makes Alanya significant is its fortress, which was built on a highly inaccessible peninsula, and its ability to utilize this topography with the help of its fortress architecture. Although its port was strategically more important than Antalya due to its proximity to Cilician Armenia and Lusignan Cyprus, its importance also lay in the easy availability of the timber necessary for shipbuilding and the overseas trade of this material, as well as the protection offered by the existing and reinforced fortress. Dağgülü highlights the vulnerability of the port and mentions that the two main towers protecting the Tersane were the Red Tower and Tophane tower.[303]

[301] Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi*, 120.
[302] Peacock, "The Saljūq Campaign against the Crimea," 148.
[303] Dağgülü, "Selçuklularda Gemi Yapımı 13.yüzyılda Alanya Tersanesi," 61-62.

Although shipbuilding is often discussed as the primary motivation for the Seljuks building the Tersane in Alanya, there were other purposes. Firstly, the ships built during this period were constructed either in temporary wooden structures along the coasts or directly on the shores.[304] However, the major drawback of this method is the vulnerability of the ships to any potential attacks from the sea. As mentioned above, due to the ships' wooden nature and the material used to make them waterproof, they could catch fire quickly. An attack at the end of the shipbuilding season, just before the ships were prepared to be launched into the sea, could result in significant losses of both resources and time. Therefore, building a permanent shipyard was not just necessary for ship construction but also crucial for protecting the ships and continuing the construction process during the winter. Additionally, as Dağgülü notes, the Tersane was constructed in a location least affected by winter storms and protected by the fortress.[305]

Although primary sources do not provide detailed information about the size of Seljuk ships or the rowers and soldiers on the ships, the construction, preservation, repair, and outfitting of the navy in the Tersane gives us insight into the ships.

Firstly, Dağgülü suggests that Seljuk ships may have been influenced by the contemporary ships of the Byzantines, Venetians, and Genoese that were prevalent in the region.[306] He mentions that shipbuilders from these regions might have been employed in Seljuk shipbuilding.[307] The mentioned ships are generally rowing vessels. Sailing ships, due to their weight (approximately 10-200 tons), suitability for high-volume trade, and the need for well-trained personnel to operate them, were less common. Instead, smaller-tonnage rowing vessels were typically used. These rowing

[304] Dağgülü, 58-62.
[305] Dağgülü, 62.
[306] Dağgülü, "Selçuklularda Gemi Yapımı 13.yüzyılda Alanya Tersanesi," 58-59.
[307] Dağgülü, 59.

vessels ranged from ships with up to 420 rowers and a length of 70 meters, accommodating 700 people, to ships with an average of 48 rowers and a length of 20-25 meters.[308] Dağgülü notes that the largest vaulted gallery in the Seljuk Tersane could accommodate two-tiered ships with 18 benches, each holding three rowers, totaling 108 rowers (Fig. 89).[309] Two bays could hold 18-bench ships, while the remaining three bays could hold ships with 17, 16, and 14 benches, respectively.[310] As a result, the Tersane, capable of holding five ships simultaneously, represented a significant step in construction activities. However, since the entire navy could not winter in the Tersane, it is likely that some ships were preserved in temporary wooden structures on land or directly on the shore. Therefore, the Tophane, Tersane, and Red Towers, which protected the Tersane, were probably also used to protect the ships wintering near the coast or on the shore.

Lastly, starting from the present-day Red Tower, the sea has been filled in both towards the port and to the north. This creates a distorted perception when trying to understand the tower's function and its interaction with the sea. As can be seen from photographs of the tower from the 1970s, the houses along the coastline were directly by the sea, and the tower was closer to the sea than it is now (Fig. 90, 91 and 92). If we consider the range of the Red Tower extending to the north, this area within the tower's range might have been used for shipbuilding, wintering, and protecting the ships.

[308] Dağgülü, 60.
[309] Dağgülü, 63.
[310] Dağgülü, 63.

3.5.2 Seljuk navy

Unlike the types of ships from which inferences can be made thanks to the Tersane, questions about the composition of rowers, soldiers, and crew in the Seljuk navy, and their hierarchy compared to the land army, unfortunately, have not been discussed so far. As Dağgülü suggests, the shipbuilders involved in naval construction might have been brought from regions with shipbuilding knowledge or employed local craftsmen.[311] Therefore, the multiethnic structures of cities like Antalya, Sinop, and Alanya, the diverse backgrounds of Seljuk emirs, the use of artisans from Syria in construction activities, and the possibility that Byzantine, Genoese, Venetian, and Ayyubid shipbuilders who built, repaired, or were familiar with these ships might have worked in the Seljuk navy after these ports changed hands, offer a different perspective for understanding cross cultural architectural interaction. This perspective has not yet been thoroughly examined, but it is noteworthy.

Another critical point is the composition of the ship crew beyond the shipbuilders. As mentioned above, apart from Ertokush, who held the title *amir al-sawahil* (general of the coasts), there is no detailed information about the navy's crew. Considering the ships that could be produced at the Tersane, the largest ship was thought to be one with 108 rowers and a maximum capacity of 120 people. This suggests that the rowers might also have been navy soldiers. Thus, the ship crew needed to have both naval knowledge and be soldiers.

One of the main reasons for the lack of detailed information about the navy, apart from the name Ertokush, may be related to the separation of know-how knowledge from command in maritime activities up until that period. In Islamic navies, if non-Muslims were included in the crew due to their nautical knowledge,

[311] Dağgülü, “Selçuklularda Gemi Yapımı 13.yüzyılda Alanya Tersanesi,” 59.

the difference between the ship's commander and the captain was noted in sources. For example, Tabari, quoting al-Waqidi, mentions that the sailors under the command of Abd Allah ibn Sa'd in Muawiya's navy were Egyptian (Coptic), while the soldiers were Muslim.[312] Wissa also states that Coptic sailors, rowers, and those knowledgeable in shipbuilding and repair technologies were conscripted into the navy, a practice that was applied during both the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.[313] Similarly, Bramoullé notes that the Fatimid navy comprised sailors from various ethnic groups, including Arabs, Copts, and Berbers, and while the exact ethnic origins of the captains and sailors were not always known, the navy required well-trained sailors from regions like Ifriqiya and Egypt.[314] As mentioned in the Arwad chapter, Salah al-Din also brought in sailors from Ifriqiya, thereby increasing the army's confidence in the navy. Although the details are not well known, the existing Muslim navies until the Seljuks showed not only a hierarchical but also a religious difference between rowers/sailors/shipbuilders and navy commanders. Could the rowers of the Seljuk navy have been non-Muslim slaves under the command of Ertokush? However, considering the size of the largest ship that could be built in the Tersane, the rowers also had to be soldiers, implying that a necessary distinction between ship crew and navy soldiers was not possible due to ships' capabilities, suggesting the navy might have been composed entirely of Muslim sailors. Although the answers to these questions are not clear, it can be suggested that the crew, as in earlier periods, consisted of knowledgeable local people or those brought in as slaves from the coastal areas, like Sinop and Antalya, and that a commander like Ertokush

[312] Tabari, *The Crisis of the Early Caliphate: The Reign of 'Uthman A.D. 644-656/A.H.24-35,* 74. Also see, Foss, "Egypt under Muʿāwiya Part I: Flavius Papas and Upper Egypt," and Wissa, "The Conscription of Egyptian Christian Sailors in Medieval Muslim Naval Warfare."
[313] Wissa, "The Conscription of Egyptian Christian Sailors in Medieval Muslim Naval Warfare." 399.
[314] Bramoullé, "Recruiting Crews in the Fatimid Navy (909–1171)," 19.

was appointed at the head of the navy. The integration of the navy with Ertokush's character might explain why the sources do not provide detailed information about the navy.

Although the training of the navy crew and the construction of ships took a long time, and the navy's dependence on mainland resources and the army was inevitable, the Seljuk state quickly became an effective force with its navy, which began in Antalya, continued in Sinop and Suğdak in the Black Sea, and reached its peak in Alanya during Kayqubad's reign. However, as evidenced by Kayqubad's refusal of Ertokush's desire to conquer Cyprus, the Seljuk navy was still not at a point where it could compete with Lusignan Cyprus and the Italian city-states in the region. Nevertheless, it would not be incorrect to say that the established economic relations indicated that there were interests beyond holy war for all parties involved.

3.5.3 Treaties and economic relations

While there is limited information about most of the aspects of the Seljuk navy, the existence of the Muslim merchants', although not very clearly, and also about the ships—come from the agreements signed between the Kingdom of Cyprus under the House of Lusignan and the Seljuks. These treaties, which Turan has examined in detail, show that although five agreements from the time of Kaykaus I have survived, the agreements actually began during the reign of Kaykhusraw I. The earliest document, a letter sent by Hugh I in 1214, mentions a six-year-long relationship, indicating that Kaykhusraw I entered into a trade agreement with Cyprus after taking Antalya from Pisan Aldobrandini.[315]

[315] Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*, 110.

Although the House of Lusignan, established in 1192, helped the people of Antalya in the rebellion that caused the city's reconquest, the agreements continued into the reign of Kaykaus I. This is evidenced by two letters from July and September 1216—approximately six months after the conquest—showing that trade agreements persisted post-conquest. This continuity suggests that the Seljuks, despite the rebellion, did not disrupt existing trade relations.[316] Similarly, the House of Lusignan sought to secure southern Anatolia due to occasional disruptions in their extensive Levantine trade routes since the Crusaders' power in the region started to decline.[317]

In the 1220 Venice-Seljuk treaty, between Kayqubad I and Venetian podestà Jacopo Tiepolo, while some points ensured the continuation of previous provisions—such as a 2% customs tax, free trade, and compensation—certain clauses particularly stood out.[318] These included provisions for mutual protection against pirate attacks and for handling ships in the event of storms or sinking, indicating the importance of the ships themselves beyond just trade. In other words, it can be said that although the agreements seemed primarily focused on protecting the goods within the ships, the inclusion of clauses aimed at safeguarding the ships themselves suggests that both parties recognized the significant value of the vessels, given that they could not be quickly replaced.

[316] Turan, 111.

[317] After the Battle of Hattin in 1187, the Crusader navy in the Levant, particularly the Italian city-states, lost some major ports. Although the Third Crusade revitalized the navy's influence and power, by the mid-13th century, it can be said that the Crusader presence in the Levant was unstable due to the prioritization of trade-focused interests and the rising power of the Mamluks. See, Chapter 2, subsection 2.5.

[318] Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*, 125-129. Also see, Martin, “The Venetian-Seljuk Treaty of 1220.”

3.6 A gaze from the sea

> Harbour cities structurally look in two directions, to the land and to the sea; this double engagement is often reflected in their urban structure. Harbour cities are constructed to see and to control the sea from strategic points, as they are built to be seen from the sea even if this visibility under certain circumstances could enhance their vulnerability. Not only lighthouses, but also minarets, bell towers, churches, and mosques can function as visual markers. They offer visibility both from land to sea and from sea to land…[319]

Let's imagine approaching Alanya by ship in the second quarter of the 13th century. Firstly, if you come from the West, you will see the western walls of the city and the shining white plaster paintings of the church at Cilvarda Burnu on red rocks. Then, as you approach the port, you will see the imposing Red Tower on the shore, built of red stone and brick, from which it gets its name, along with the Tersane and sea walls at the port. It would not be incorrect to say that someone approaching Alanya from the sea and encountering the fortress on the slope, the monumental Red Tower, and the Tersane -considered quite large for its time- would get the impression that the city was primarily a military and royal city at first glance. Especially during the winter months when Kayqubad used Alanya as a winter residence, with his court also with him, and the navy taking refuge in the Tersane and on the shore to spend the winter, along with part of the land army, it is evident that the city stood out both as a winter royal city and for its military and strategic importance. This initial view of the city provides the first layer of its visibility from the sea. This visibility includes the city walls, structures within the walls that can be seen from the sea, such as pavilions, minarets, and towers, and symbolic structures in the city's landscape, like the Red Tower, Tersane, and Tophane. The second layer of visibility involves the decorative programs of these structures. The frescoes on the seaward faces of the

[319] Baader and Wolf. "A Sea-to-Shore Perspective Littoral and Liminal Spaces of the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean," 12-13.

walls; all the inscriptions of the Red Tower, especially the south foundation inscription; the seaward-facing inscriptions of the Tersane and Tophane towers; and finally, the flags and banners, the designs and inscriptions of which we do not know but which were highly likely used in the First Sector provide the second layer of visibility from the sea. The third and final layer is the visibility that varies depending on what the observer, the intended recipient, sees in the desired structure. In other words, the Arabic inscription on the Tophane Tower may not be seen by a Venetian merchant or pirate as a verse announcing conquest but rather as a striking white marble inscription on the stone tower protecting the Tersane. However, for a Muslim rower in the Seljuk navy, or perhaps for everyone in the navy due to the imagery and familiarity of the verse, it would be a highly motivating inscription associated with the announcement of a holy war and along with the presence of sultan when they were in Alanya. On the other hand, while the inscriptions of the Red Tower stand as reminders of the sultan for everyone in the city, their meaning carries a different significance for the court.

> However, the liminality of harbour cities is not restricted to the first and primary threshold space -the passage from to land-, as monumentalized as this might be. The entry to the harbour and the first steps on land are stratified by various thresholds that are diversified according to the social and political status of who and what is arriving or who and what is departing. More intriguing in the present context is the fact that the liminal space of the harbour cities is a space articulated and organized if not controlled by a series of thresholds or even borders, from the landing ship up to the city gate on the land-side walls.[320]

Baader and Wolf aim to investigate the interplay of liminality and littoral dynamics in medieval and early modern Mediterranean harbor cities. They argue that these spaces are characterized by both their physical boundaries and visual representations

[320] Baader and Wolf, "A Sea-to-Shore Perspective Littoral and Liminal Spaces of the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean," 14.

created through architecture, objects, and images.[321] The authors emphasize these coastal areas' unique aesthetics and spatial dynamics, considering how legal, social, and political factors influenced their development.[322] By examining specific case studies—a miniature in a manuscript of the city of Palermo and a table with a view of the harbor of Livorno—they illustrate how these factors contributed to the distinct identity and function of harbor cities over time. For Alanya, rather than focusing on how the city's multireligious and multiethnic structure and its status as a port city influenced its architecture, this thesis develops Baader and Wolf's concept of harbor cities' "liminal" nature by examining how the Seljuks targeted the sea as an observing audience. As seen in the Medici-Lazara map of Alanya, produced during the Order of St. Stephen of Tuscany's raid in 1608, one can observe the impact of a maritime perspective on the map (Fig. 93) Mason states that,

> The area from the Kızıl Kule to the Esat Burcu is the part of Alanya on which the eye of a naval invader would have been most concentrated. If we look at the map for evidence that the cartographer was a member of the naval force there are several hints, such as the inclusion of detail at, and east of, the Kızıl Kule; the drawing of only the eastern face of the Tersane with no notion of the boatyard behind, which would have been visible from parts of the town (were the Knights aware that it was a boatyard?); the low wall to the South, more visible from the seaward than the landward; the ladder leaning against the wall by the Kızıl Kule (ex-Famagusta?). A marine provenance is, so far, likely. There is a sufficiently high proportion of accurate observation in this part of the map to justify using it, cautiously, as evidence to supplement standing architectural and fallen archaeological evidence.[323]

The area where a sailor can make the most detailed observations, from the Esat Burcu to the Red Tower, is depicted in the greatest detail on the map. Additionally, the view directly facing the shipyard in Francis Beaufort's 1812 engraving indicates that the gaze from the sea is concentrated at this point (Fig. 94).

[321] Baader and Wolf, 3-8.
[322] Baader and Wolf, 8-10.
[323] Mason, “The Medici-Lazara Map of Alanya,” 97.

The anticipation of the gaze from the sea is why the city walls of Alanya are different from other Seljuk city walls. Alanya was conceptualized with the sea as an active audience, and towers, shipyard, frescoes, and inscriptions were designed with this gaze in mind, considering how someone approaching the city from the sea would perceive it. This perspective attempts to provide us with a new viewpoint on city walls, urban planning, the sultan's self-fashioning, the state-building process, and how all these aspects are reflected in architecture.

Kayqubad, who spent winters in Alanya, extended the primary purpose of conquering Alanya beyond its natural beauty, pristine waters, and gardens. By consciously incorporating the sea into the decorative program, the sultan's image was intended to extend to the sea and beyond.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the maritime fortifications of Arwad Island and Alanya, focusing on the architectural patronage and motivations of the Ayyubids and Rum Seljuks from the 11th to the 14th centuries. Through a detailed exploration of these structures, it has highlighted how the Ayyubid and Seljuk rulers used coastal architecture as a tool for asserting their presence and power at sea, thereby reflecting broader geopolitical and economic ambitions.

The analysis of Arwad island demonstrates the strategic significance of its fortifications during the Crusader period. The Ayyubid navy's seizure of the island in 1180 and its subsequent role as a military base highlight the island's importance in the maritime conflicts of the era. This chapter delves into the architectural features of Arwad's fortifications, such as the remnants of Phoenician sea walls and the medieval fortresses built by the Ayyubids and Crusaders. By focusing on the Ayyubid period, it has tried to show how Salah al-Din utilized Arwad not only for its military value but as part of a broader strategy to challenge Crusader dominance in the eastern Mediterranean. The island's fortifications are analyzed in the context of the Ayyubid efforts to create a cohesive military strategy that integrated naval capabilities with land operations. This approach highlights the dual nature of Salah al-Din's military campaigns, where the sea served as both a battleground and a conduit for projecting power.

The chapter on Alanya explores the city as a pivotal port under the Rum Seljuks, with a focus on Ala al-Din Kayqubad I’s extensive construction projects. Following the Seljuk conquest in 1221, Alanya became a winter royal city and a

crucial maritime hub. The chapter provides a detailed architectural analysis of Alanya's fortifications, including the Red Tower, Tersane, and city walls. It emphasizes the deliberate use of inscriptions and decorative programs that were addressed from the sea. This architectural approach reflects the Seljuks' recognition of the sea as an active observer and a platform for displaying Seljuk sovereignty. The integration of spolia, inscriptions, and frescoes in Alanya's fortifications illustrates how Kayqubad's architectural patronage aimed to convey Seljuk power and identity to both local and and broader audiences, including the Seljuk navy, Italian city-states, Muslim and non-Muslim merchants and Lusignan Cyprus. This chapter reveals the complexity of Seljuk maritime strategy, which intertwined military architecture with economic and political objectives.

This thesis contributes to the field by offering a different understanding on how the Ayyubid and Seljuk architectural patronage was influenced by their maritime ambitions. It challenges the traditional land-centric narratives of medieval Islamic architecture by foregrounding the significance of maritime perspectives. By jointly evaluating the architectural strategies of these two polities, this study underscores the interconnectedness of the Mediterranean as a space of cultural and political exchange. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of considering maritime fortifications as dynamic elements within the broader geopolitical landscape, capable of conveying complex messages of power, identity, and cultural synthesis.

One important aspect of these complex messages is the legacy that Salah al-Din had and Ala al-Din Kayqubad sought to have. By the 14th century even in the western sources, Salah al-Din's legacy had transcended his well-known battles against the Crusaders, evolving into a figure associated with positive qualities. He is depicted alongside renowned figures like Plato, Aristotle, and Avicenna in Dante's

Divine Comedy, held a unique significance even to those who opposed him.[324] However, during his conquest of Jerusalem and notably at the Battle of Hattin, where he delivered one of the most significant defeats to the Crusaders in the Holy Land, he was also portrayed as a dark legend, and even as a sorcerer.[325] Despite this, within the Islamic world, Salah al-Din was revered for his victories and charismatic leadership, earning the title of the Conqueror of Jerusalem and continuing to serve as a role model for Islamic states' motivations for *ghaza* (holy war).

While Salah al-Din is primarily known for his land victories, his establishment of a navy and strategic economic alliances with Italian city-states likely set a precedent for contemporary and future leaders. Although it is unclear to what extent Ala al-Din Kayqubad was influenced by Salah al-Din's naval policies, or if he directly emulated them, the convergence of their policies reflects a shared motivation to establish a maritime presence against the Crusaders. The extent of Salah al-Din's influence on later sultans and the role his military strategies played as a model warrant further exploration beyond the scope of this thesis. However, examining the Ayyubid and Seljuk navies together, a topic not previously studied in conjunction, raises important questions about how they may have inspired each other in the Crusader-dominated Mediterranean. These questions highlight the need for a joint evaluation in future research, offering new perspectives on their strategic interactions.

Overall, this thesis not only has tried to enhance our understanding of the architectural history of the eastern Mediterranean but also provides a framework for future studies on the interplay between maritime strategies and architectural developments in medieval port cities. It invites further exploration into how liminal

[324] Eddé, *Saladin*, 465-9.
[325] Eddé, 470-477.

spaces, like those of Arwad and Alanya, shaped the course of historical events and the architectural legacy of their patrons.

APPENDIX

FIGURES

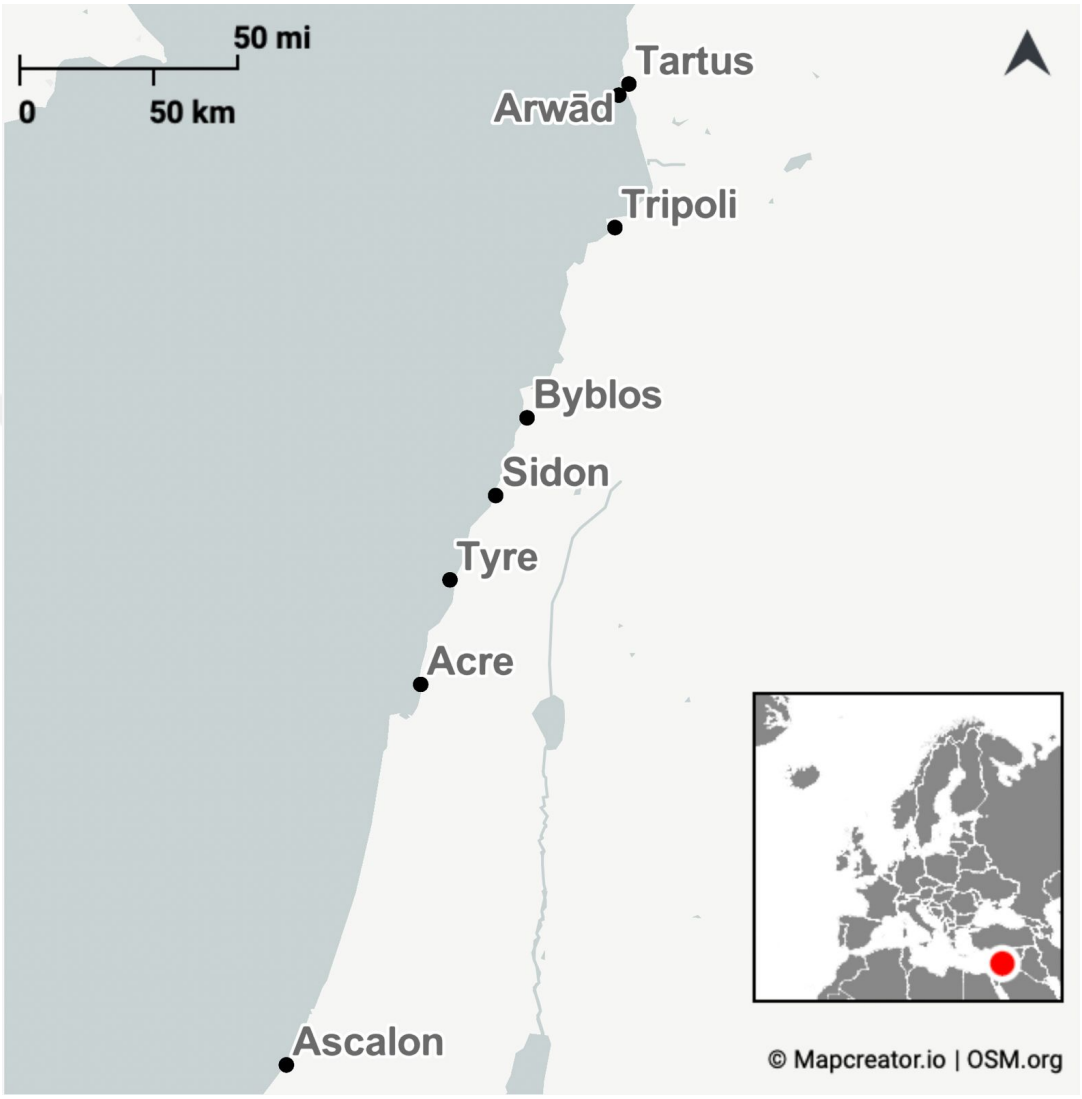


Figure 1. Map of the Levant cities, made by the author

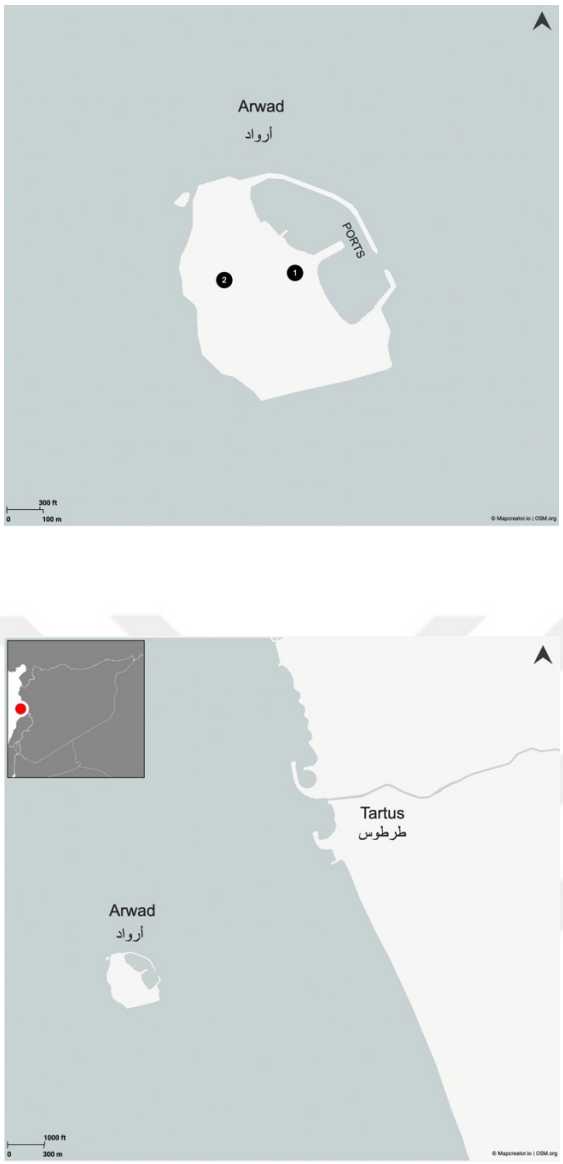


Figure 2. Map of Tartus and Arwad, made by the author



Figure 3. Satellite image of Arwad, NASA, Wikimedia Commons



Figure 4. Aerial view, Arwad, 28 July 1932, ALIPH – Alliance internationale pour la protection du patrimoine dans les zones en conflit

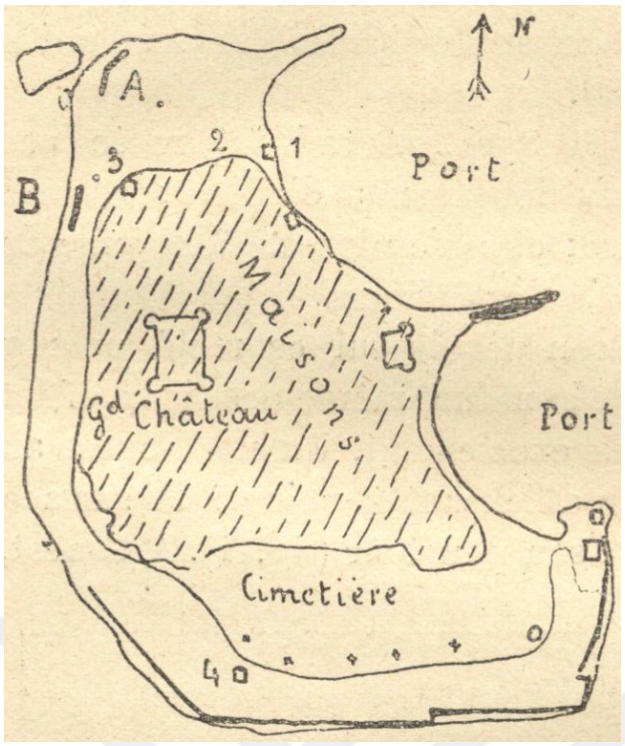


Figure 5. Map of Arwad by Savignac in "Une Visite a l'ile de Rouad."



Figure 6. Remaning of the sea wall in the west side of Arwad by Dick Osseman



Figure 7. East Fortress from the sea, Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée*, PL.VII-1

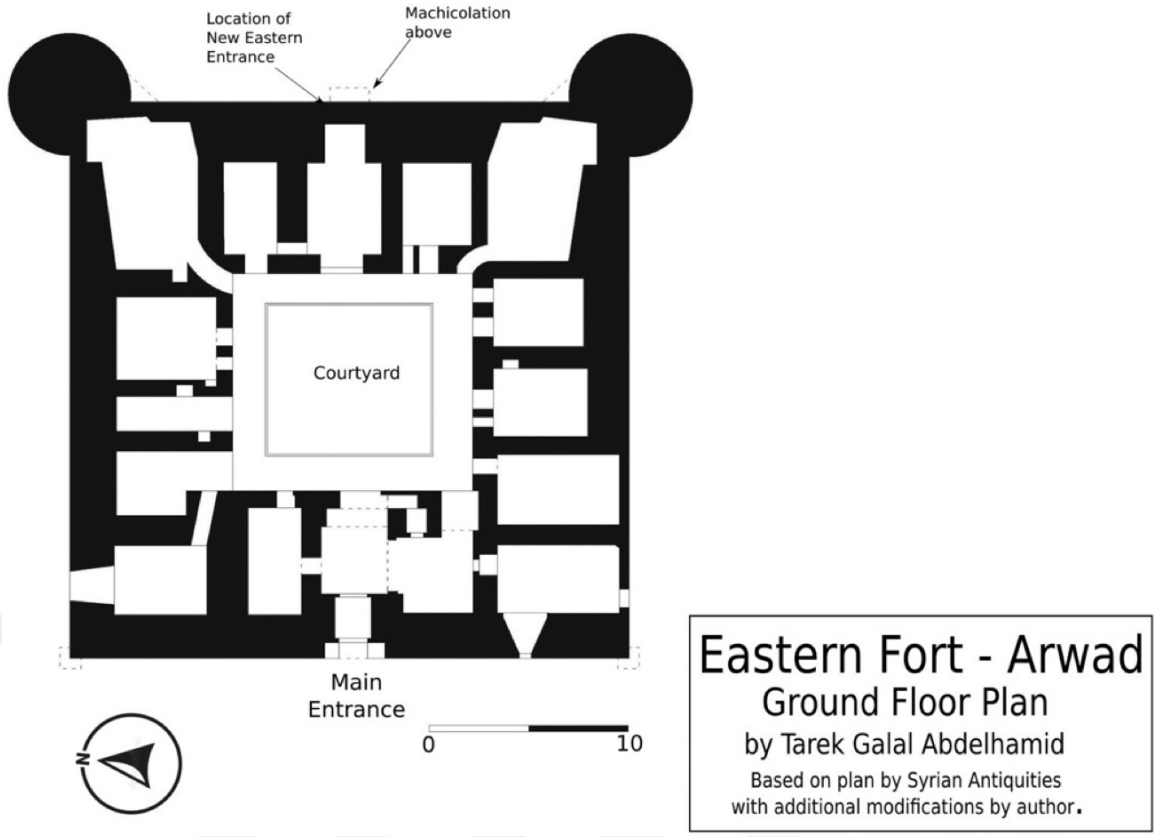


Figure 8. Plan of the East Fortress by Prof. Tarek Galal Abdelhamid in "Notes on the Architecture."



Figure 9. Entrance of the East Fortress by Stefan Weber in 2000, see Syrian Heritage Archive



Figure 10. Inscription panel of the East Fortress by Dick Osseman



Figure 11. Chained feline figure stone relief by Dick Osseman



Figure 12. Hidden machicolation of the East Fortress by Dick Osseman



Figure 13. Semi-circular squinches of the East Fortress by Prof. Abdelhamid



Figure 14. Box machicolations of the East Fortress by Dick Osseman



Figure 15. Corner machicolations of the East Fortress by Dick Osseman

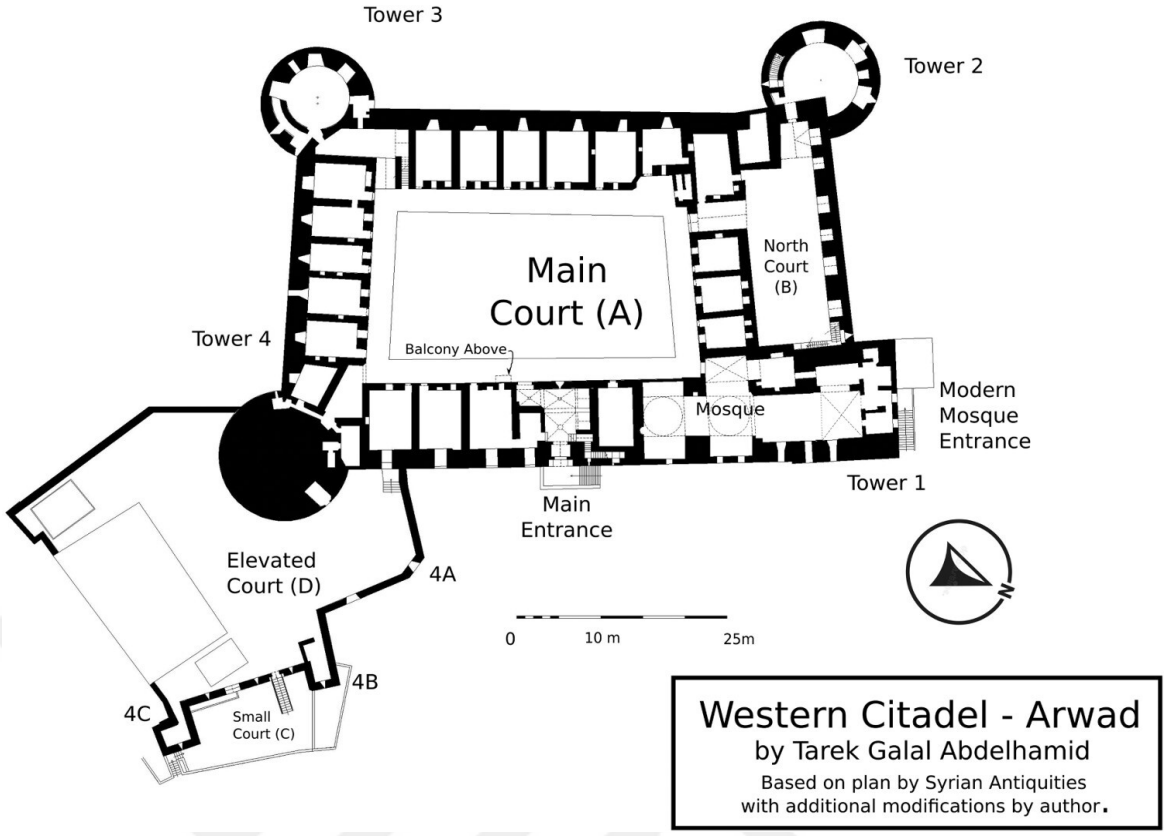


Figure 16. Plan of the West Fortress by Prof. Abdelhamid



Figure 17. Entrance stairs of the West Fortress on the left side by Stefan Weber in 2000, see, Syrian Heritage Archive



Figure 18. Entrance of the West Fortress by Dick Osseman



Figure 19. Inscription panel of the West Fortress by Prof. Abdelhamid



Figure 20. Chained lion figure stone relief by Prof. Abdelhamid



Figure 21. North courtyard of the West Fortress by Dick Osseman



Figure 22. Main courtyard of the West Fortress by Dick Osseman



Figure 23. Northwest round tower by Prof. Abdelhamid



Figure 24. Domes and minaret of the West Fortress mosque by Dick Osseman



Figure 25. New entrance and box machicolation of the north façade by Prof. Abdelhamid



Figure 26. Corner machicolations of the West Fortress by Prof. Abdelhamid



Figure 27. Elevated courtyard of the southeast round tower by Dick Osseman



Figure 28. Stairs of the elevated courtyard by Dick Osseman



Figure 29. Entrance loggia of the West Fortress by Prof. Abdelhamid

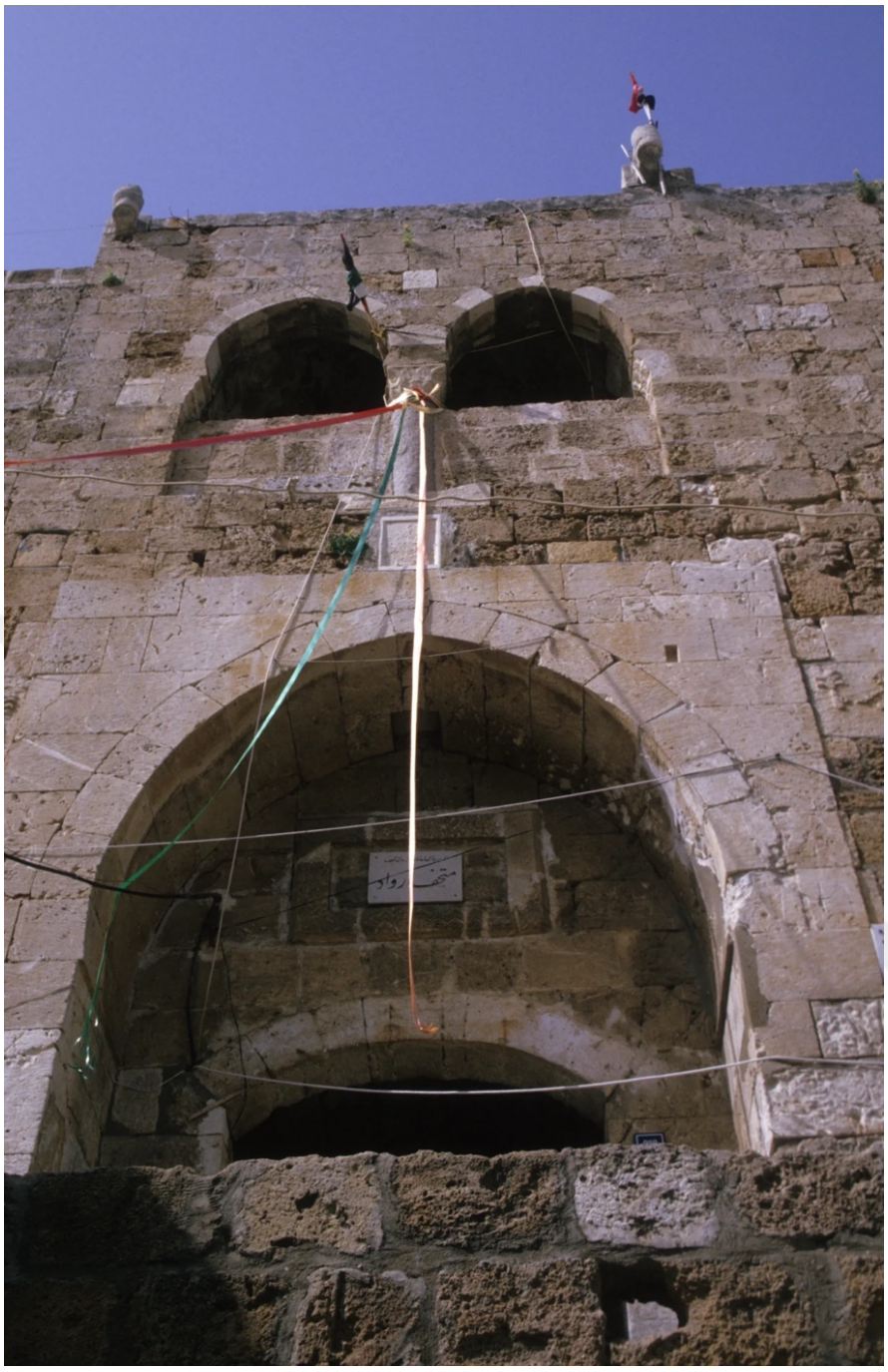


Figure 30. Two-pointed arches of the loggia by Stefan Weber in 2000, see Syrian Heritage Archive

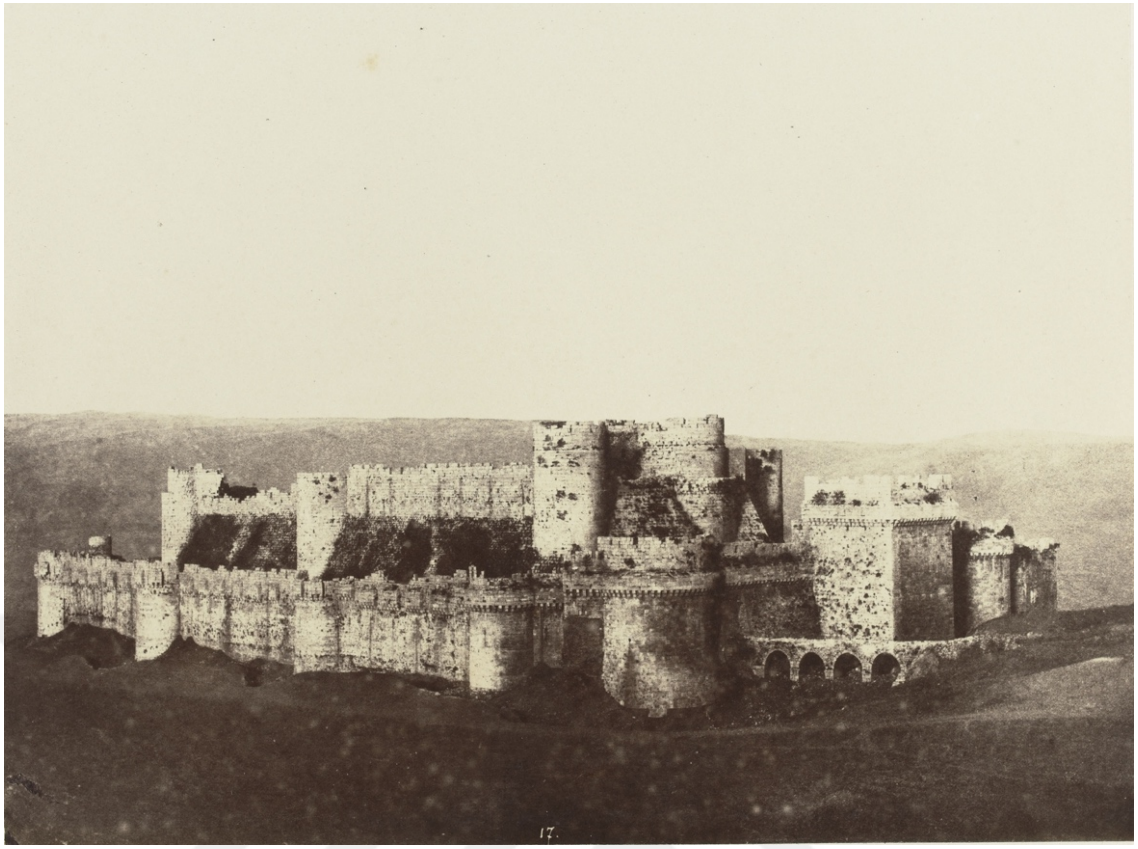


Figure 31. Round towers of the Krak des Chevaliers from the west by Louis de Clercq (1837-1901). Musée d'Orsay (PHO1986-133-2-17)



Figure 32. Saone castle from the east, Wikimedia commons by Anas al Rifai



Figure 33. Burj al-Ramla and Burj al-Haddad, by Tarek Torky "Towers of the Citadel of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi: Burg al-Ramla and Burg al-Haddad" in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum With No Frontiers, 2024

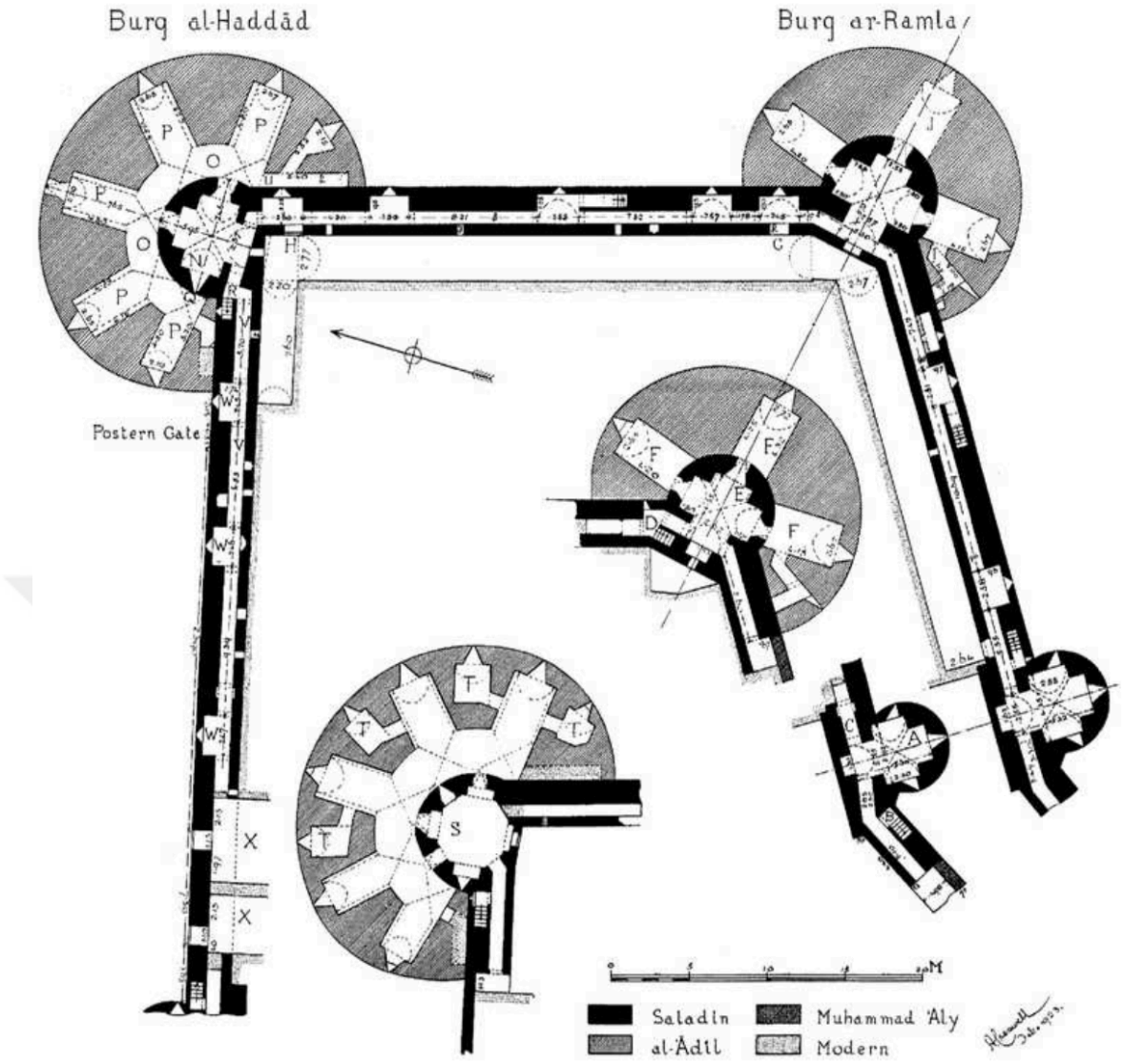


Figure 34. Plan of the Burj al-Ramla and Burj al-Haddad by Creswell in "Archaeological researches at the Citadel of Cairo," 116

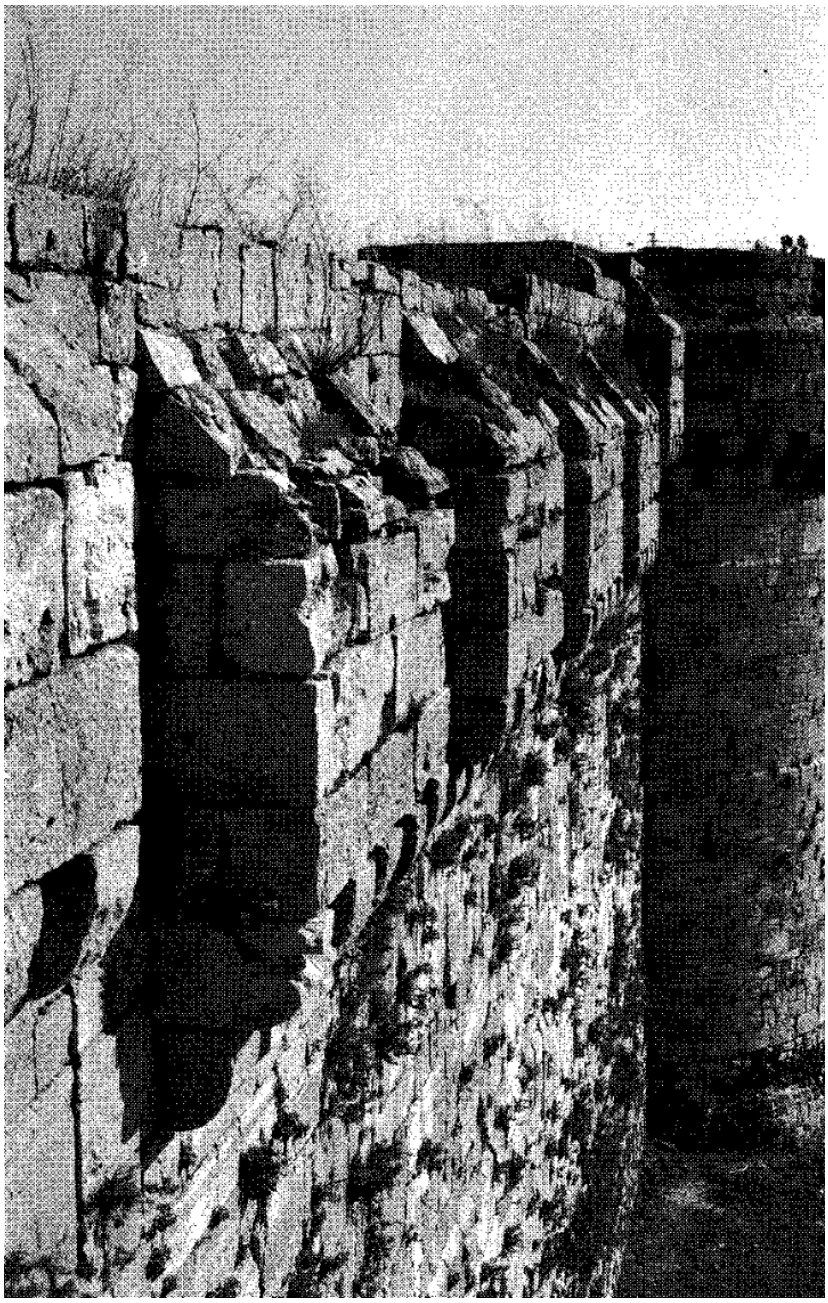


Figure 35. Box machicolations of the Krak des Chevaliers on west outer wall by Kennedy in *Crusader Castles*, 155



Figure 36. Box machicolations of the Aleppo citadel on the entrance block from south, Archnet

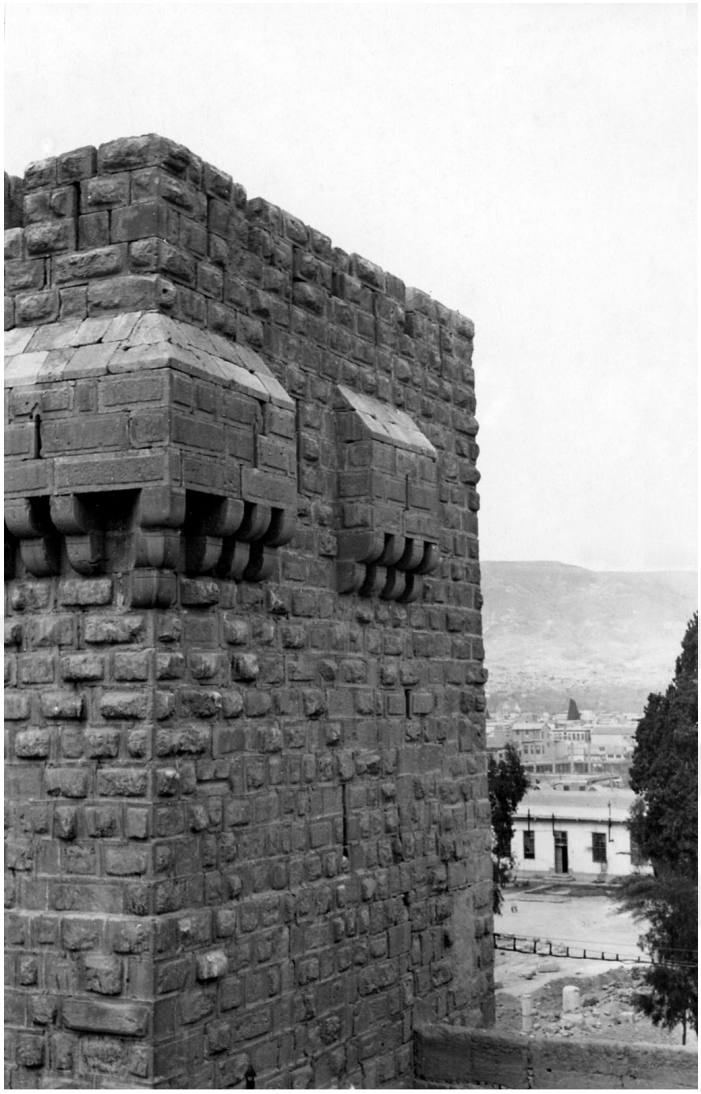


Figure 37. Box machicolations of the Damascus citadel, Archnet



Figure 38. Chained lion relief of al-Wazir caravanserai in Aleppo, Archnet



Figure 39. Chained lion relief of Pasha Khan in Tokat, Tokat Directorate of Culture and Tourism Archive



Figure 40. Tower of Lions relief in Cairo citadel, Tarek Torky "Tower of al-Zahir Baybars" in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum With No Frontiers, 2024



Figure 41. Lion relief of the Krak des Chevaliers, Simon Rousselot (2020, April 11), Krak des Chevaliers (Syria). *Mamluk Emblems Online Corpus*. Retrieved Feb 3, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.58079/rdmt

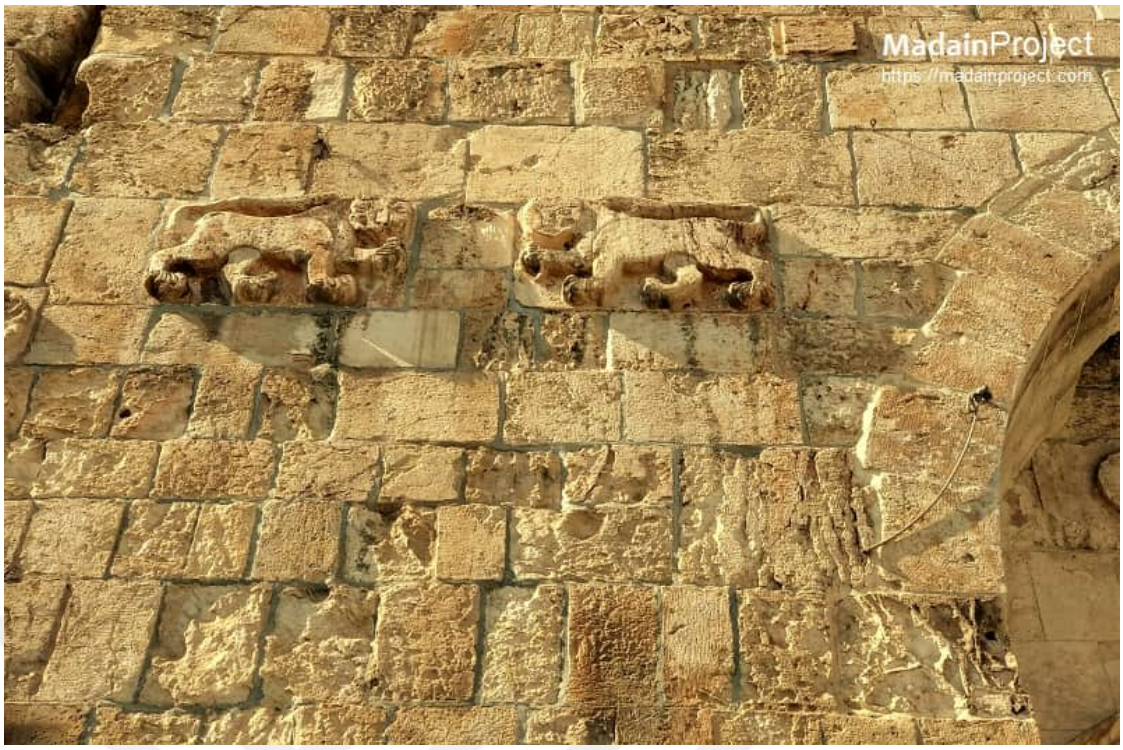


Figure 42. Lions' Gate in Jerusalem, from Madainproject.com (2022). Editors, Retrieved on Feb 03, 2024, from https://madainproject.com/lions_gate



Figure 43. Lion reliefs of the Harran gate, Archet

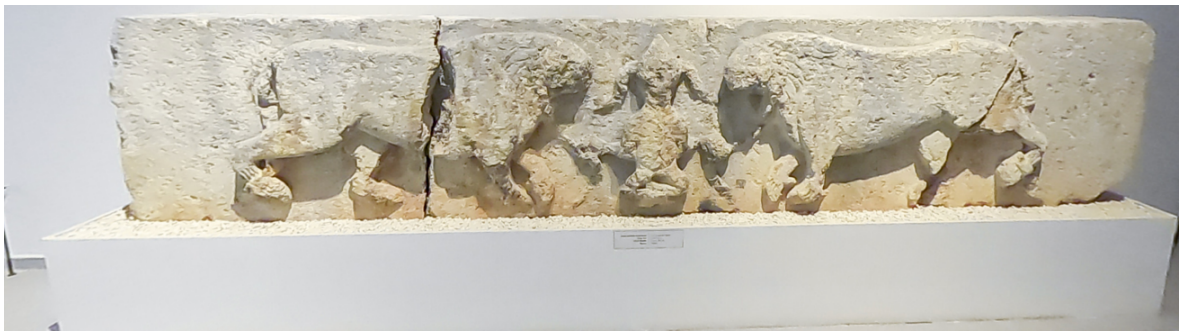


Figure 44. Lion reliefs of the el-Barur caravanserai in Harran, from onlinemuseum, Museum of Şanlıurfa



(*a*) Relief on west pier.



(*b*) Relief on east pier.

Figure 45. Dog reliefs of the Harran citadel in Rice, "Medieval Ḥarrān," Plate VII.



Figure 46. Ulu Beden Tower lion reliefs, 1208-9, Amid, Archnet



Figure 47. Bowl depicting a cheetah, Iran or Turkestan, Nishapur or Samarqand, 10th century, Ceramics, earthenware, white slip, slip-painted in yellow-staining black. LACMA Art Museum Council Fund (M.68.22.10). https://collections.lacma.org/node/236287



Figure 48. Bowl depicting a Cheetah, 10th century. Ceramic, earthenware, painted in yellow-staining black slip on a white slip ground under a transparent glaze. Brooklyn Museum, Frederick Loeser Fund,
73.165. https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/100270



Figure 49. Entrance of the Sidon castle, photo by Brian J. McMorrow

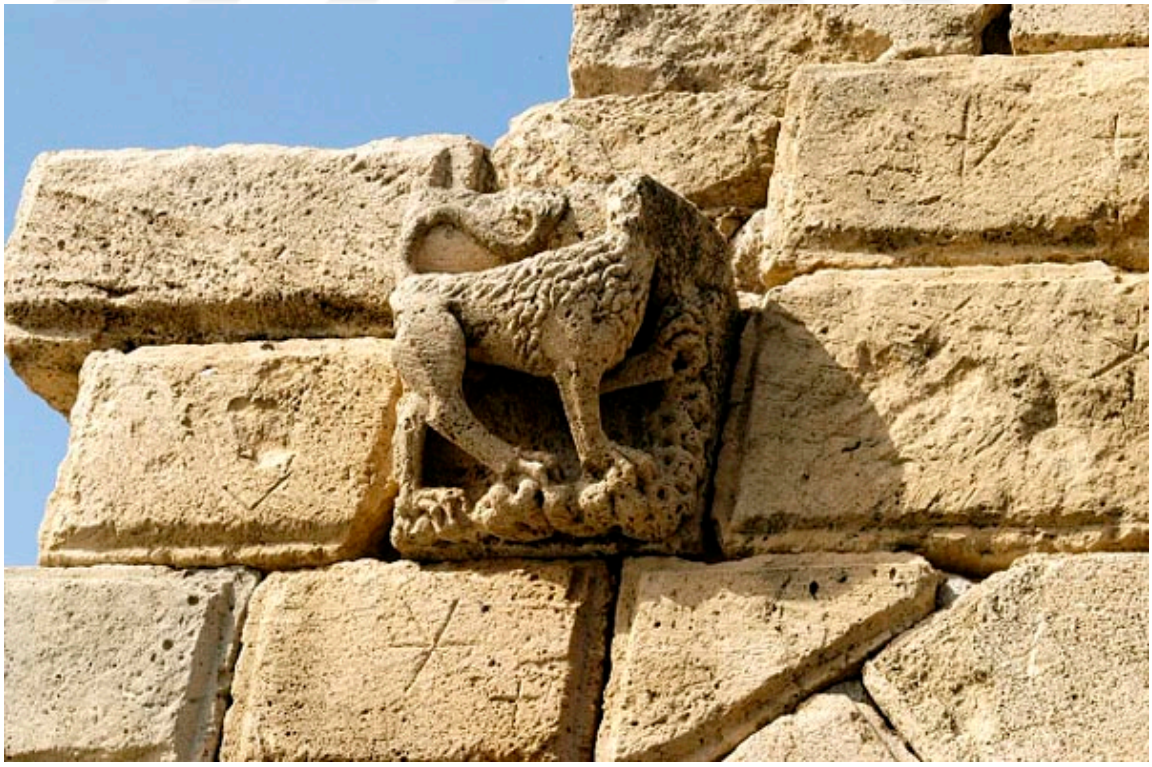


Figure 50. Lion reliefs of the Sidon castle, photo by Brian J. McMorrow

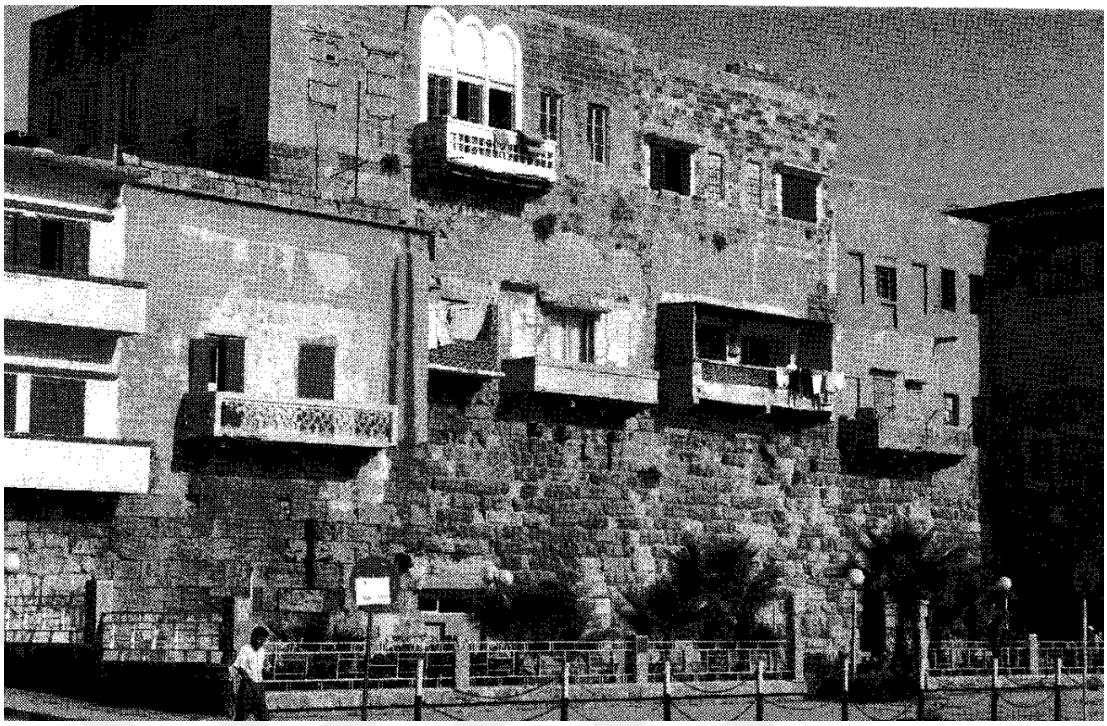


Figure 51. Donjon from the sea, Tortosa, Kennedy in *Crusader Castles*, 138



ISLAND OF TORTOSA.

Figure 52. Arwad Island, drawing by Luigi Mayer, (1819). *Interesting views in Turkey: Selected from the original drawings,* 55



Figure 53. Sinop citadel, 612/1215, inscription of Sultan Izz al-Din Kaykaus by Redford in "City Building in Seljuq Rum," 265



Figure 54. Sinop citadel, bilingual inscription of Badr al-Din Abu Bakr on the east wall by Redford in “The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique,” 152

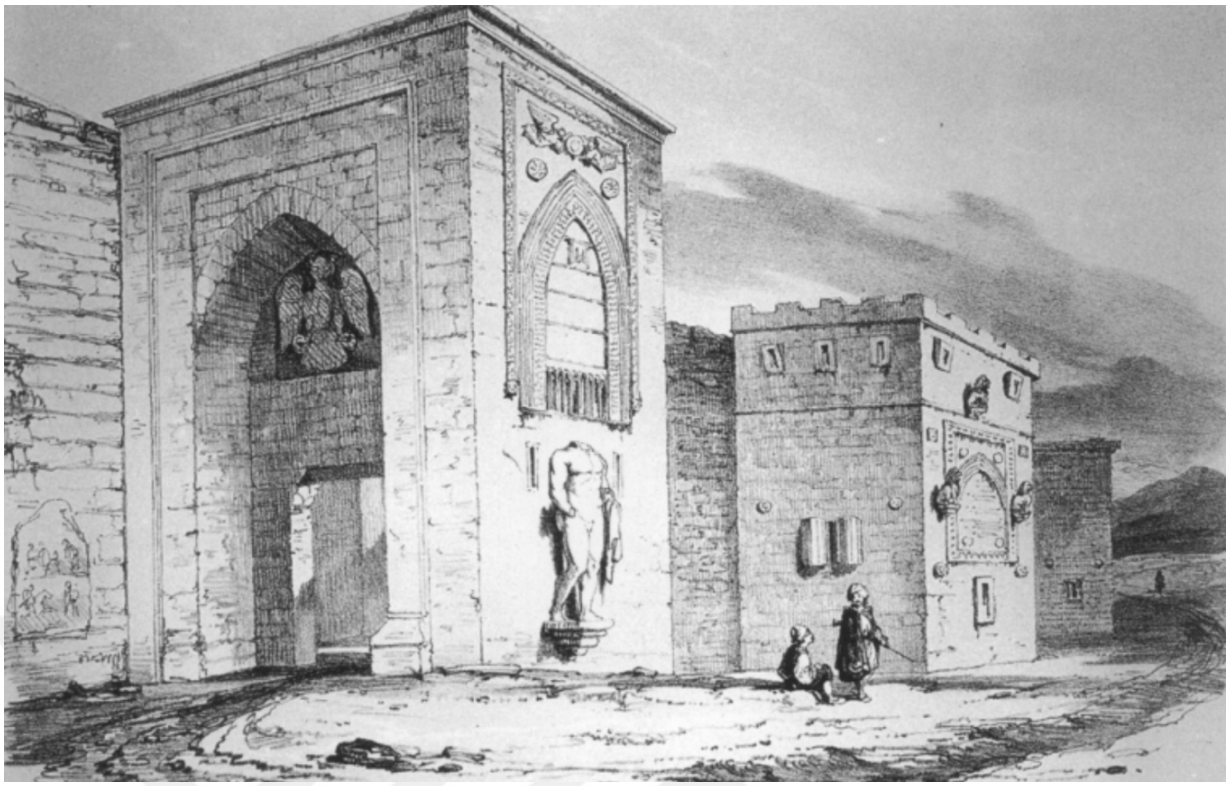


Figure 55. The north gate of Konya city walls in Léon De Laborde, *Voyage en Orient*: *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure.* Paris: Firmin Didot, 1838

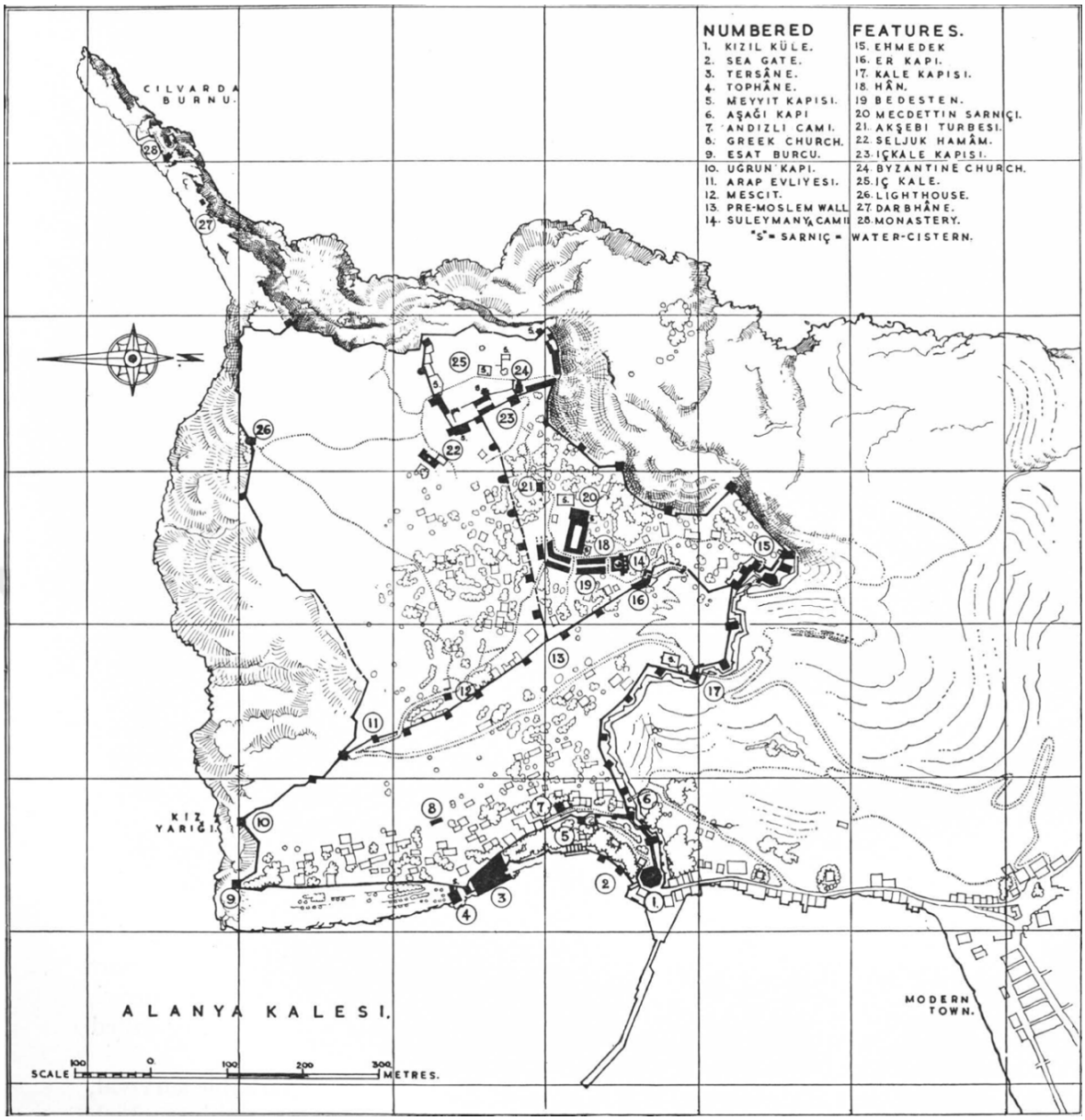


Figure 56. The map of Alanya city walls in Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya)*, 10

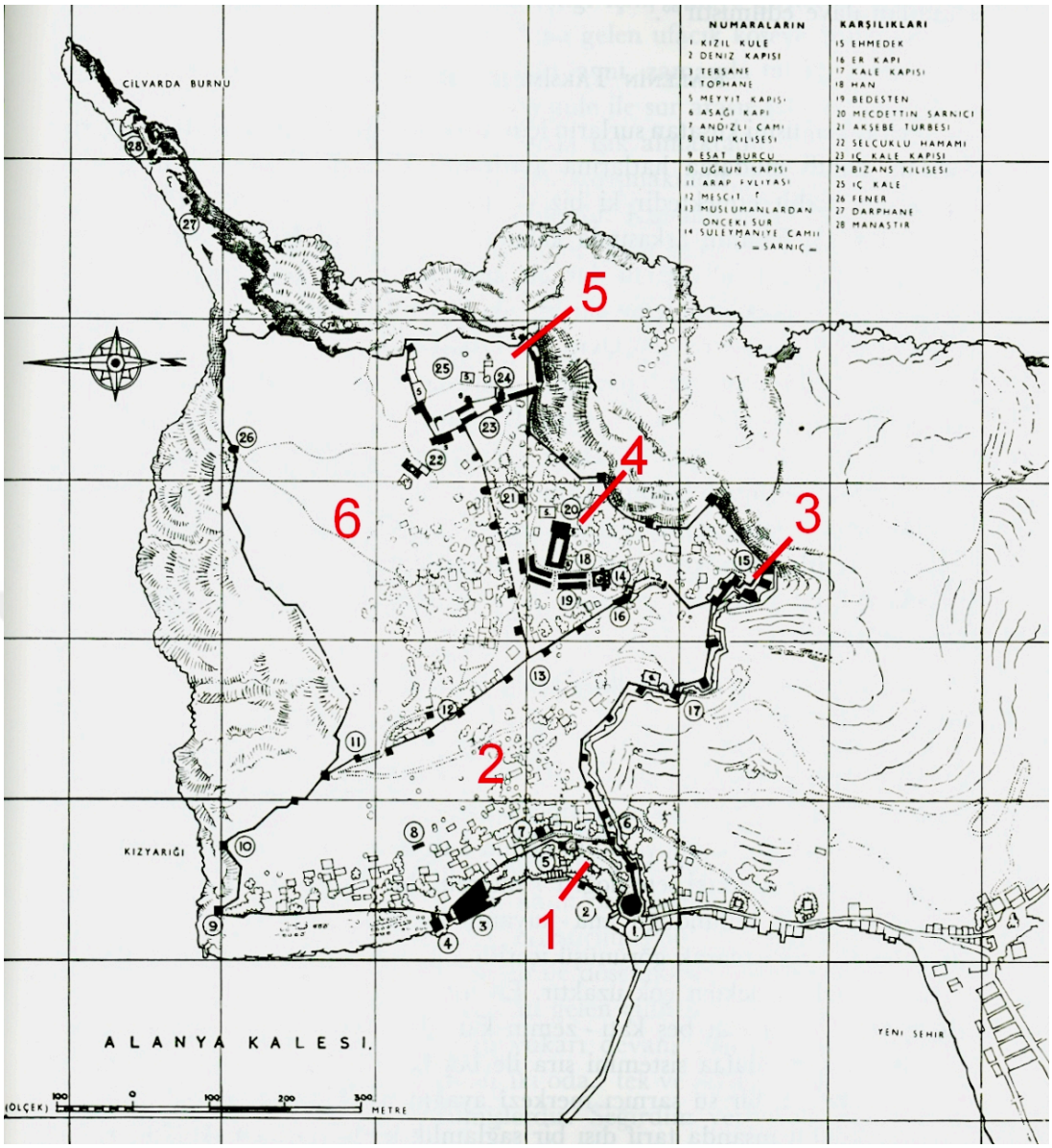


Figure 57. The map of Alanya city walls with the sector numbers indicated in Krabbenhöft, *A Veneer of Power,* 49



Figure 58. The Red Tower, Alanya by Dick Osseman



Figure 59. Aerial view of the Tersane, captured using drone photography by the author



Figure 60. Tersane, Salt Research, Ali Saim Ülgen Archive, TASUH2140



Figure 61. Tersane, from one of the vaulted galleries to the sea by the author

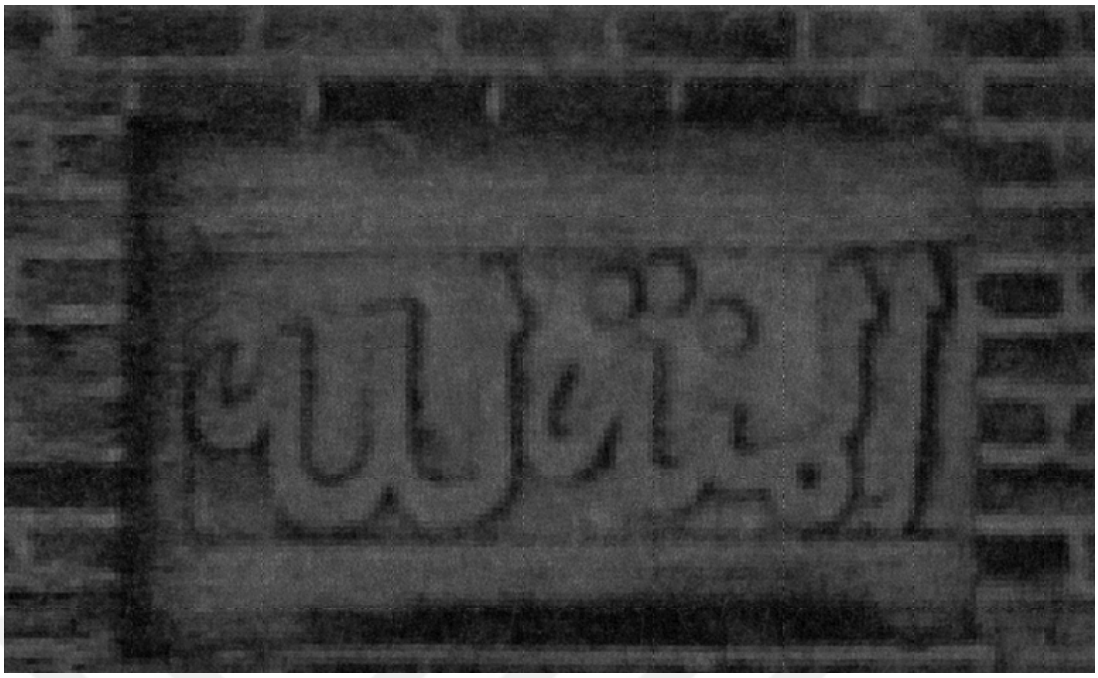


Figure 62. “al-minnetu lillah” inscription on the north side of the Red Tower in Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri*, 76

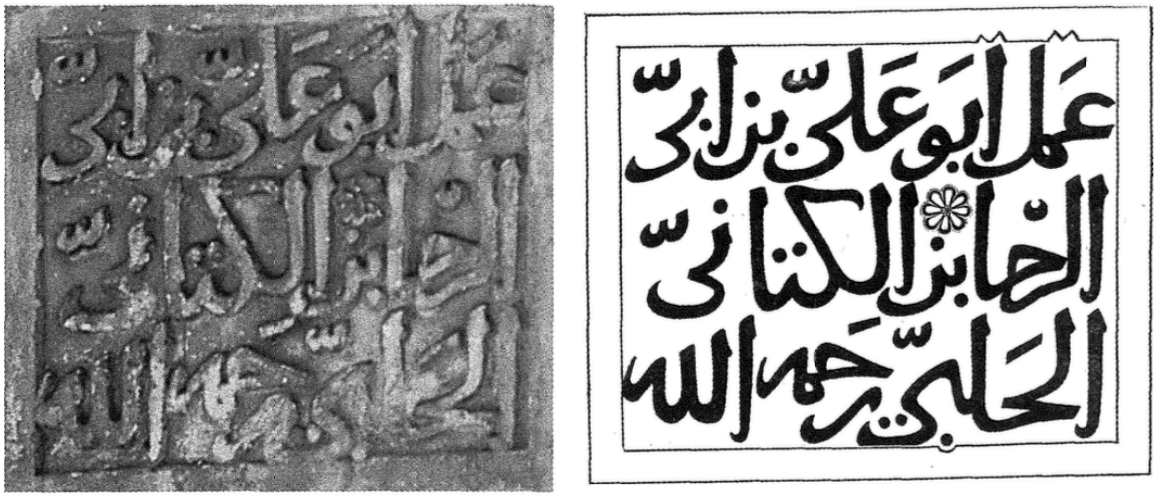


Figure 63. The inscription of the architect Abu Ali al-Halabi on the Red Tower in Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri*, 86



Figure 64. The foundation inscription from the northern side of the Red Tower, currently exhibited inside the tower, photo by the author

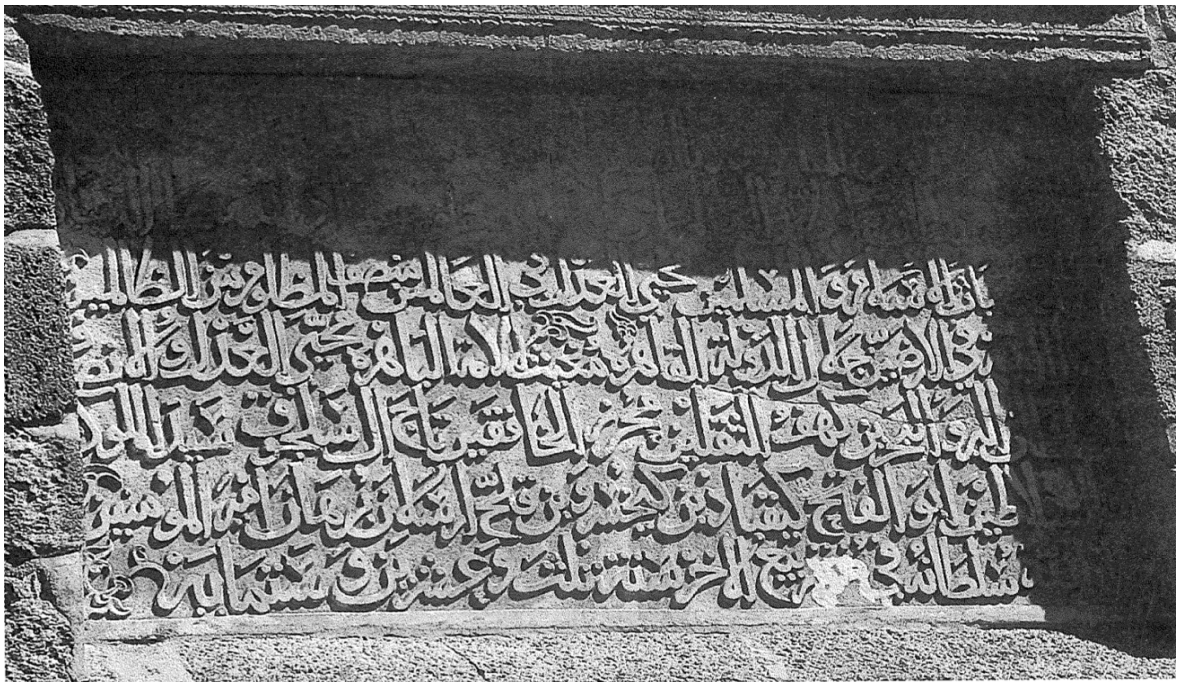


Figure 65. The foundation inscription on the southern side of the Red Tower in Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri*, 82



Figure 66. The slope leading from the entrance of the Red Tower towards the port, with the southern foundation inscription visible above. Photo by the author



Figure 67. The southern foundation inscription from the wall walk from the Tersane to the Red Tower, photo by the author



Figure 68. The seaward inscription of the Tersane tower in Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri*, 91



Figure 69. The seaward inscription of the Tersane tower from below, photo by the author

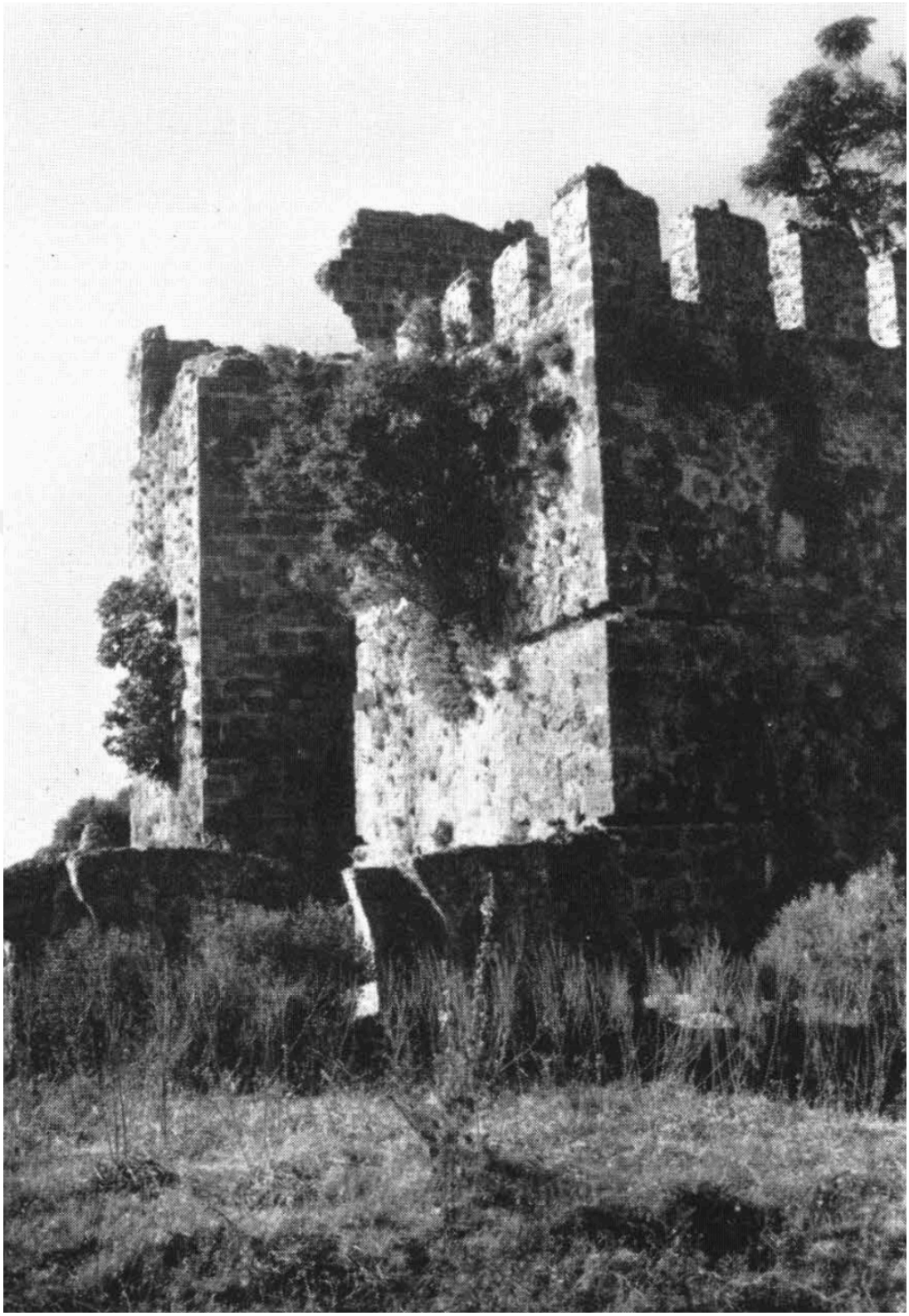
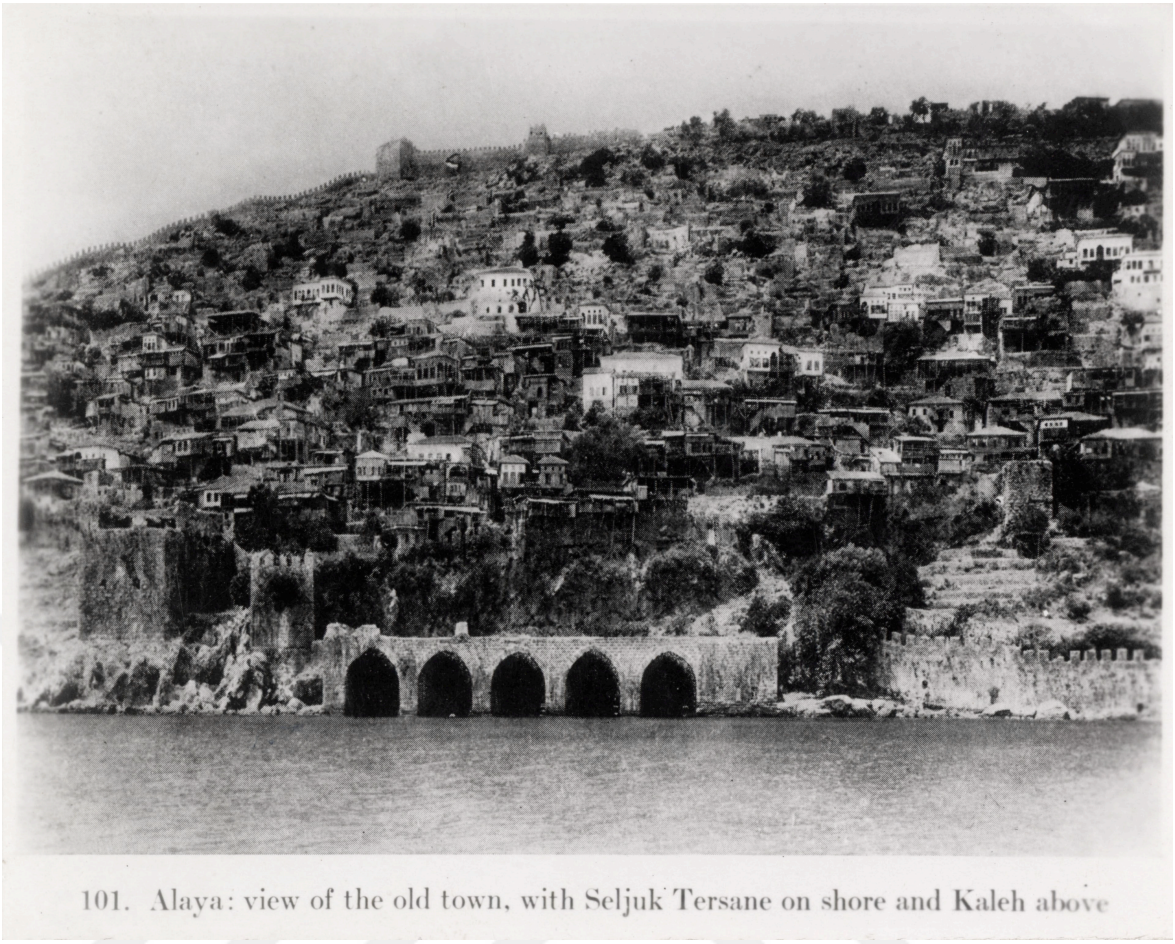


Figure 70. Tersane and Tophane towers from the roof of the Tersane, Lloyd and Rice, *Alanya (Ala'iyya)*, Plate V (a)



101. Alaya: view of the old town, with Seljuk Tersane on shore and Kaleh above

Figure 71. View of Alanya and the Seljuk Shipyard, Salt Research, Ali Saim Ülgen Archive, TASUH6292. https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/85698



Figure 72. Tersane from the sea, Salt Research, Nezih Eldem Archive, TNEHALY001006. https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/210694



Figure 73. The seaward inscription of the Tophane tower in Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri*, 96



Figure 74. The seaward inscription of the Tophane tower, captured using drone photography by the author



Figure 75. The so-called Las Navas de Tolosa banner at the Monastery of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Jerrilynn D., Dodds, ed. (1992) *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, 326



Figure 76. Woven green banner of the Marinid Sultan Abu Sa'id 'Uthman, AH 712/AD 1312, Cathedral of Toledo, Spain. Ali-de-Unzaga, "Qur'anic Inscriptions on the so-called 'Pennon of Las Navas de Tolosa and Three Marinid Banners," 249



Figure 77. Detail in woven green banner of the Marinid Sultan Abu Sa'id 'Uthman, AH 712/AD 1312, Cathedral of Toledo, Spain. Ali-de-Unzaga, "Qur'anic Inscriptions on the so-called 'Pennon of Las Navas de Tolosa and Three Marinid Banners," 249



Figure 78. The Ottoman flag captured by King Jan Sobieski from the tent complex of Kara Mustafa Pasha in 1683, Karl, "Two Ottoman Silk Flags and the Relief of Vienna, 1683," 193

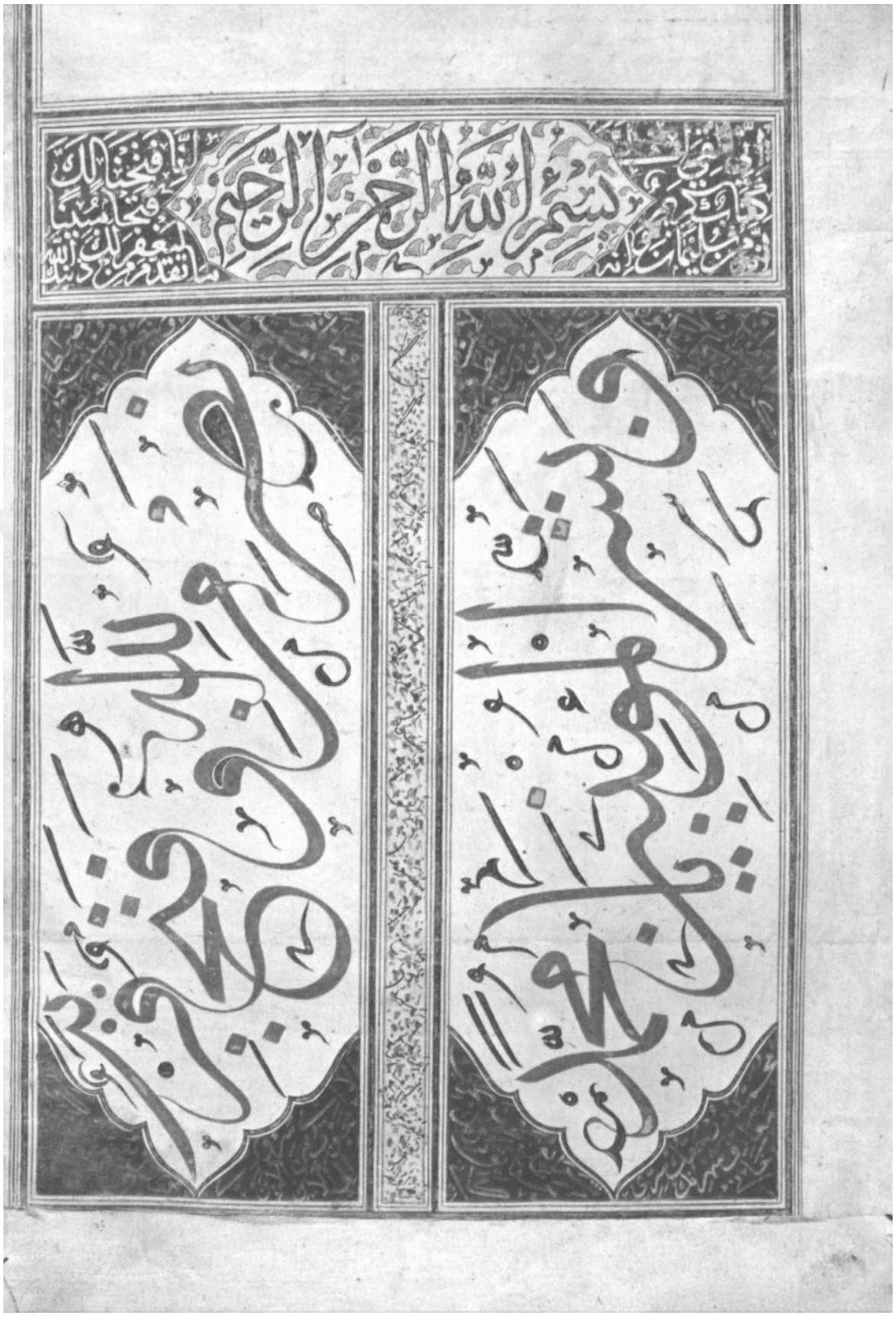


Figure 79. A calligraphic page on the frontispiece of a manuscript written in Samandria for Suleyman I in 1526, Binney, *Turkish Miniature Paintings,* 23



Figure 80. The red-yellow frescoes in the pavilion of Qılıch Arslan II, Konya in Krabbenhöft, *A Veneer of Power*, 38

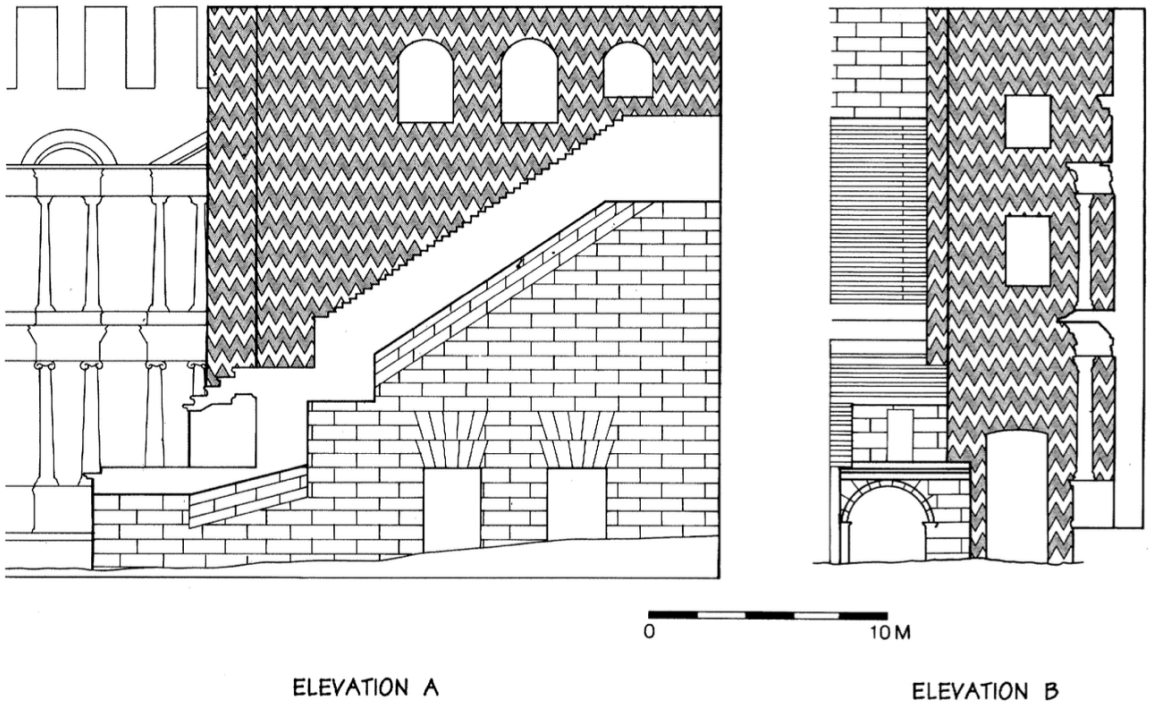


Figure 81. Elevations of the south staircase building with reconstruction of the zigzag decoration, Aspendos. Illustration by J.A. Perlmutter in Redford, "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery," 234



Figure 82. The Red Tower painted plaster in imitation of ashlar masonry in Redford, "The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique," 150



Figure 83. The heraldic fresco of Alara Castle, in Krabbenhöft, *A Veneer of Power*, 31 (Yetkin's photograph, see Yetkin, "Alara Kalesindeki Hamamlı Kasır," 71.)



Figure 84. The frescoes of the exterior of the Ortakapı by Krabbenhöft in, *A Veneer of Power*, 59



Figure 85. The frescoes of a crenellation near the Ehmedek by Krabbenhöft in, *A Veneer of Power*, 60



Figure 86. Three crenellations of the second tower east of the Bayrak Kulesi by Krabbenhöft in, *A Veneer of Power*, 56



Figure 87. The Tersane and Tophane towers from the sea, photo by the author



Figure 88. The Tersane and Tophane towers from the sea, photo by the author

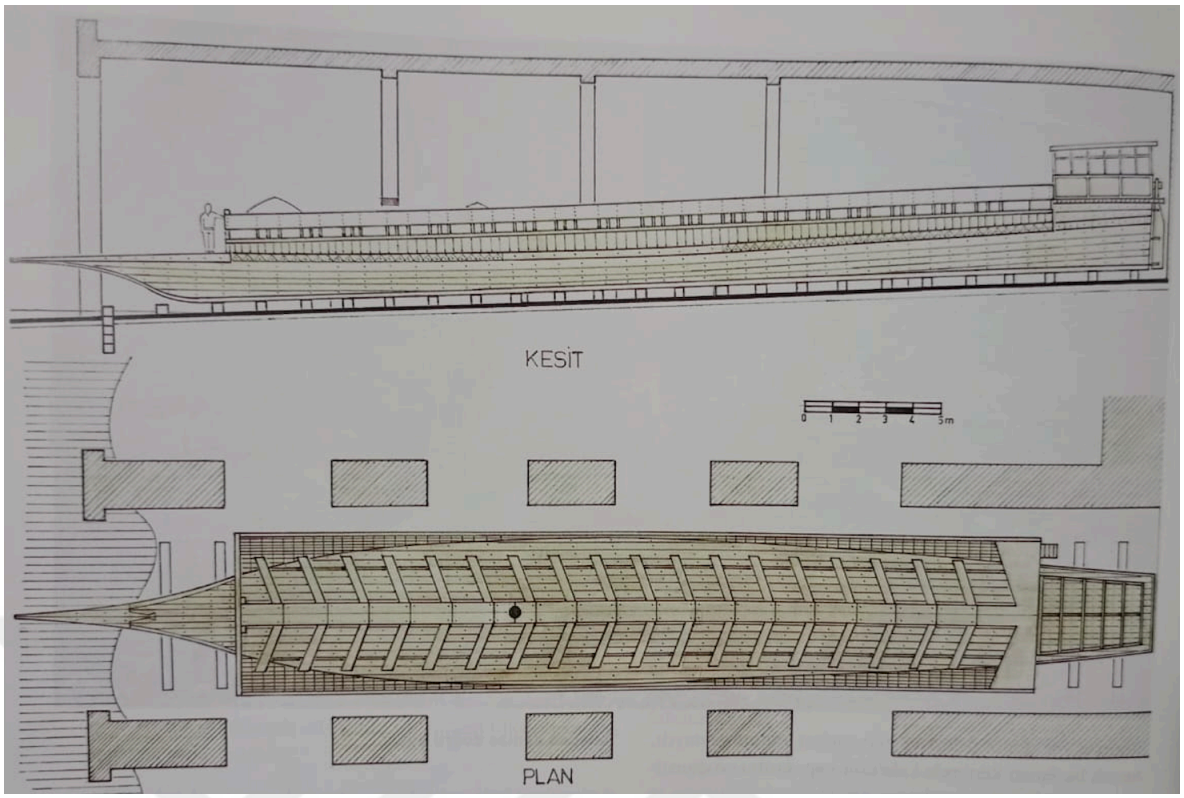


Figure 89. The drawing of the largest ship that can fit into the Tersane—an 18-benched ship, by İbrahim Başak Dağgülü in "Selçuklularda Gemi Yapımı 13.yüzyılda Alanya Tersanesi," 62



Figure 90. The Red Tower from the north, Salt Research, Nezih Eldem Archive, TNEHALY001008. https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/210694

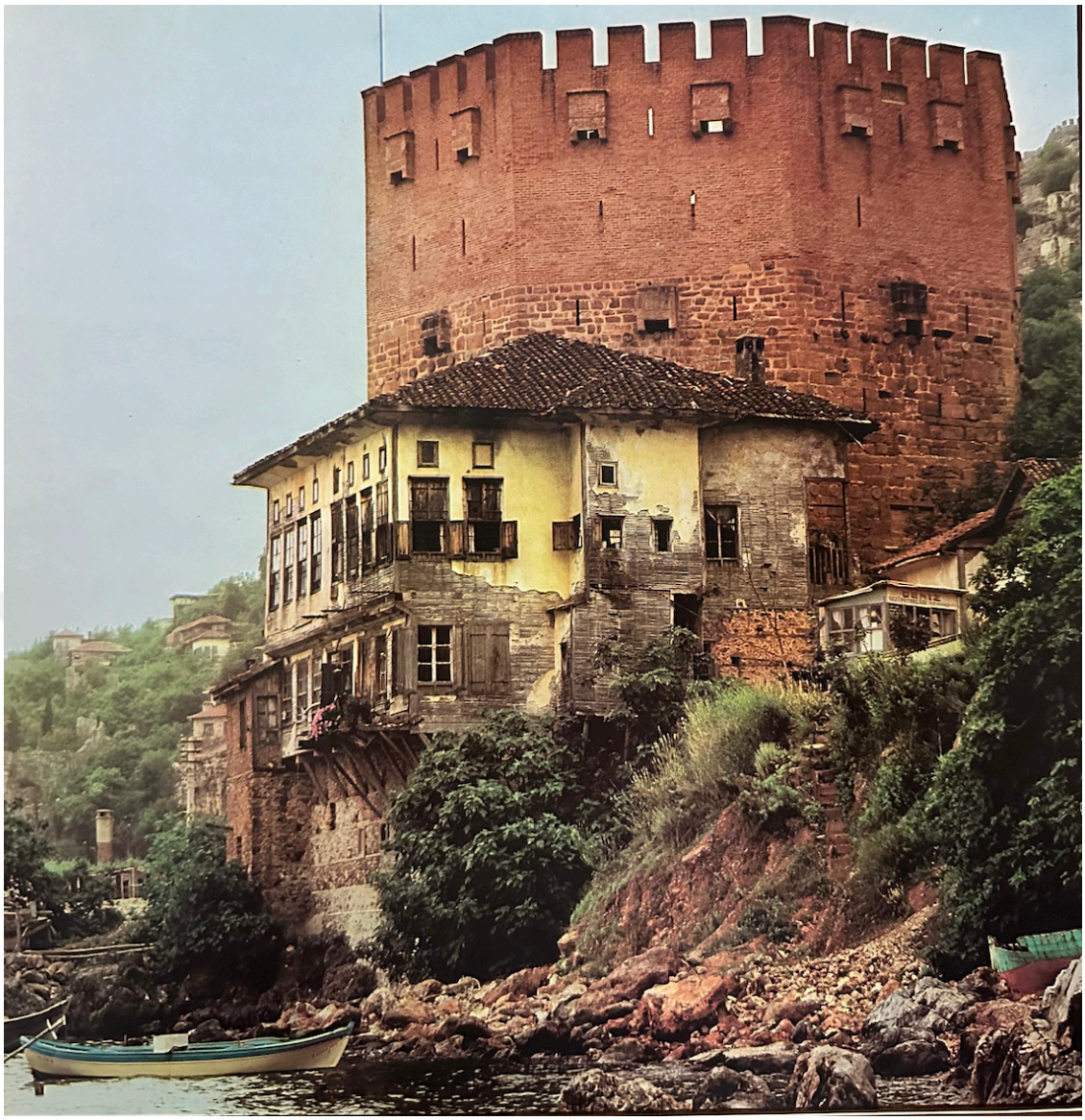


Figure 91. The Red Tower from the north, in “The calendar of 1978 by the Ministry of Culture, from October page.”



Figure 92. The Red Tower from the north, photo by the author

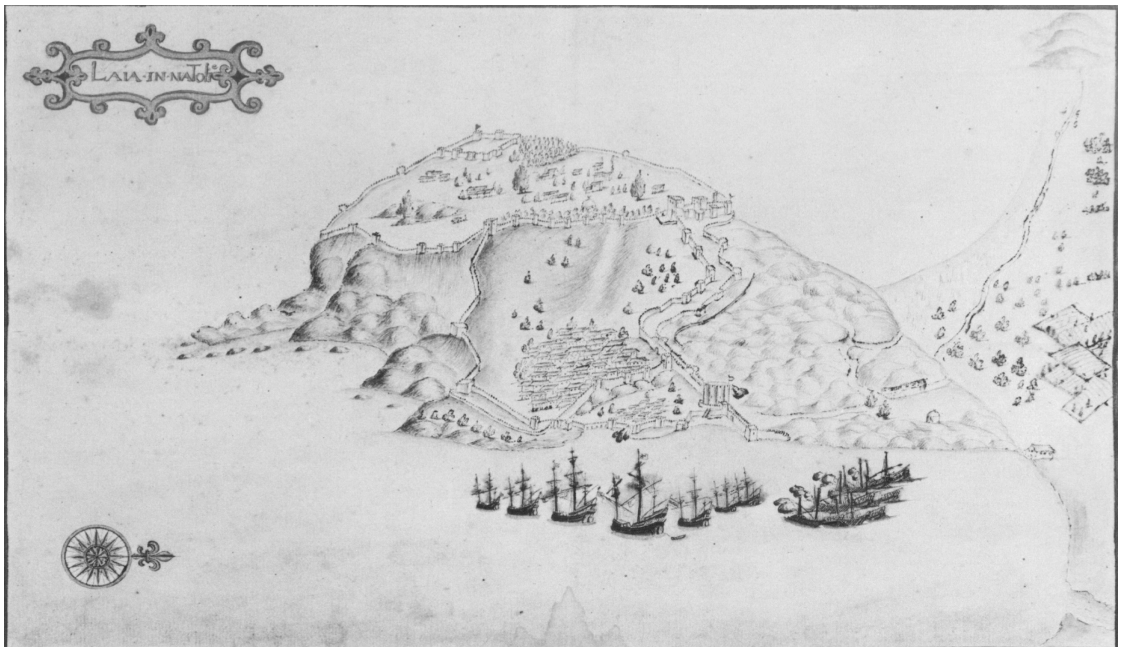


Figure 93. The Medici-Lazara map of Alanya, Mason, “The Medici-Lazara Map of Alanya,” Plate XIX

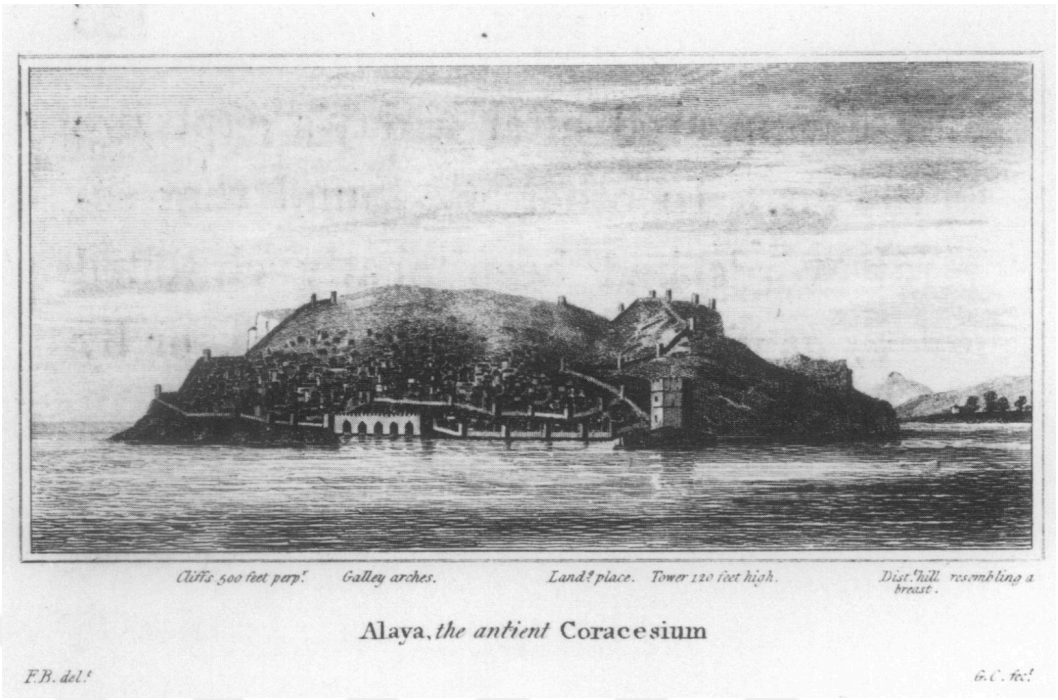


Figure 94. Off-shore view of Alanya drawn by Francis Beaufort, May 1812, Mason, "The Medici-Lazara Map of Alanya," Plate XXI (b)

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