GENDER, IDENTITY AND PATRONAGE: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF MEDIEVAL ANATOLIA (1200-1350)

SİNAN AS

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2016

GENDER, IDENTITY AND PATRONAGE: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF MEDIEVAL ANATOLIA (1200-1350)

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

Sinan As

Boğaziçi University

2016

Gender, Identity and Patronage: The Role of Women in the Urban Transformation of Medieval Anatolia (1200-1350)

The thesis of Sinan As

has been approved by:

Assoc. Prof. Oya Pancaroğlu _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu _____

Assoc. Prof. Aslı Niyazioğlu _____

July 2016

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Sinan As, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....

Date 08.05.2016

ABSTRACT

Gender, Identity and Patronage: The Role of Women Patrons in the Urban Transformation of Medieval Anatolia (1200-1350)

This thesis is on the roles women patrons played as active agents of medieval Anatolian architectural and urban transformations during the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries. It focuses on the female patronage by discussing two examples of medieval Anatolian women patrons: Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun. Their multi-functional building projects in Tercan and Kayseri are studied within the political and socio-economic context of the period. As opposed to the extant scholarly literature which examines the buildings and patrons in a descriptive and formalistic approach, this thesis aims to broaden the discussion of female patronage by emphasizing concepts like gender and identity. By comparing medieval Anatolian women patrons and their buildings with their male counterparts and contemporary female patrons in Ayyubid Syria, it aims to understand the situation of women patrons. In addition to questioning the multi-cultural backgrounds of the patrons as well as the artistic and architectural repertoire which they ordered, the thesis argues that women patrons of Anatolia were important components of the cultural transformation of medieval Anatolia.

ÖZET

Cinsiyet, Kimlik ve Banilik: Ortaçağ Anadolu'sunda Şehirsel Dönüşümde Kadın Banilerin Rolü (1200-1350)

Bu tez, on ikinci ve on üçüncü yüzyıllarda Ortaçağ Anadolu'sunun mimari ve şehirsel dönüşümünde etkin rol oynamış kadın baniler üzerinedir. Ortaçağ Anadolu kadın banilerinden Mama Hatun ve Mahpari Hatun örneklerini inceleyerek kadın baniliği üzerinde yoğunlaşır. Bu banilerin Tercan ve Kayseri'de yer alan külliyelerini dönemin politik ve sosyo-kültürel kontekstinde incelemektedir. Yapıları ve banileri betimleyici ve formalist bir açıdan inceleyen literatürün aksine bu tez kadın baniliğini cinsiyet ve kimlik gibi konseptlerle genişletmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ortaçağ Anadolu kadın banilerini dönemin erkek banileri ve Eyyubi dönemi Suriye kadın banileriyle kıyaslayarak, onların durumunu anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Ayrıca bu tez, kadın banilerin ve seçtikleri sanatsal ve mimari repertuarın çok kültürlü geçmişini sorgulayarak kadın banilerin Ortaçağ Anadolu'sunun kültürel dönüşümdeki etkin gücünü öne sürmektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to express my gratitude to my advisor Associate Prof. Oya Pancaroğlu for being so patient and motivative during my thesis. I am grateful for her intellectual support and advices in the process of writing the thesis. Besides her contribution to this thesis, she is the one who inspired and encouraged me for studying Islamic art and architecture. I also wish to express my gratitude to professors Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu and Aslı Niyazioğlu for their invaluable advices.

During my undergraduate and graduate studies, I have been financially supported by TÜBİTAK-BİDEB. I am grateful for their support, which enabled me solely focus on my studies.

I would like to thank to Naz Özkan, Beste Yıldırım, Yeşim Mercan and Seher Çetin for their friendship and motivation.

Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, Serdar As and Emine As, and my sister Nihan Yaşar deserve the appreciation for being so supporting and considerate. They all did their best to help and comfort me. Without them, I could not achieve this.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION……1

1.1 Statement of thesis……..1

1.2 Review of scholarship…….……4

CHAPTER 2: THE CASE OF MAMA KHATUN…….……..…..10

2.1 Introduction……10

2.2 The caravanserai……..……13

2.3 The tomb…….……17

2.4 Mama Khatun complex in the context of Saltukid architecture…….……21

2.5 Mama Khatun complex in the context of 1190s/1200s…….....23

CHAPTER 3: THE CASE OF MAHPARI KHATUN……...29

3.1 Introduction……29

3.2 The Mahpari Khatun complex in Kayseri…….…….....31

3.3 The caravanserais of Mahpari Khatun……45

3.4 The patronage of Mahpari Khatun in the context of the 1230s……..48

CHAPTER 4: GENDER AND ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE……53

4.1 Patronage of multi-functional complexes by women…….55

4.2 The caravanserais and trade……....60

4.3 Female tombs with ambulatory and courtyard……...63

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION: ROYAL WOMEN AND IDENTITY……..70

APPENDIX: IMAGES…...…….……84

REFERENCES……..120

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The Mama Khatun Complex……...84

Figure 2. Tercan and the position of the complex……..85

Figure 3. The plan of the Mama Khatun caravanserai……86

Figure 4. The portal of the caravanserai…….87

Figure 5. The decorative details of the portal niche…….…..88

Figure 6. The courtyard of the caravanserai……...89

Figure 7. The caravanserai routes and caravanserais of the Seljuk period…….90

Figure 8. Major urban centers in Medieval eastern Anatolia……..91

Figure 9. The plan of the Mama Khatun tomb……92

Figure 10. The tomb tower of Mama Khatun…….93

Figure 11. The portal of the tomb……...94

Figure 12. The detail from the main portal…….95

Figure 13. The Mu‘mina Khatun tomb in Nakhchivan……...96

Figure 14. The drawing of Mu‘mina Khatun tomb…….97

Figure 15. The drawing of Köşk Medrese…….....98

Figure 16. The tomb of Suli Pasha, Köşk Medrese……99

Figure 17. The Aprank Monastery, near Tercan……...100

Figure 18. The plan of Erzurum……101

Figure 19. The Citadel Mosque and Tepsi Minare……...…102

Figure 20. The plan of the Citadel Mosque……..……..…103

Figure 21. The plan of ‘Izz al-Din Saltuk tomb……104

Figure 22. The ‘Izz al-Din Saltuk tomb……...…….105

Figure 23. The location of Kayseri……...…106

Figure 24. The plan of Kayseri, the Mahpari Khatun complex……107

Figure 25. The plan of the Mahpari Khatun complex……..……108

Figure 26. The plan of the madrasa and the tomb…….109

Figure 27. The portal of the madrasa……110

Figure 28. The plan of the Mahpari Khatun mosque……111

Figure 29. The western portal of the mosque……...112

Figure 30. The eastern portal of the mosque…….113

Figure 31. The tomb of Mahpari Khatun……..114

Figure 32. The tombs around the Mahpari Khatun tomb……..115

Figure 33. The cenotaphs of Mahpari Khatun tomb…….116

Figure 34. The detail from the tomb…….117

Figure 35. The caravanserais of Mahpari Khatun…….118

Figure 36. The plan of Hatun Hanı……...……119

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of thesis

Medieval Islamic architecture of Anatolia is a reflection of complex relations between patrons, artists and cultures. There is a considerable number of medieval Islamic buildings which were patronized by women patrons. These women used architecture to show their economic and political power. Plans, decorative repertoires and inscriptional panels of these buildings tell us about their actions and status in the medieval world. Yet, due to the limited number of inscriptional and other documentary evidence, it is difficult to contextualize the patronage activities of most women patrons. Mama Khatun, a Saltukid queen (r.1190-1200/1), and Mahpari Khatun, the wife of the Seljuk sultan 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I (r. 1219-1237) and the mother of sultan Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237-1246), were two prominent figures in medieval Anatolia whose distinctive multi-functional projects help us to understand the broader dynamics of contemporary female patronage. Apart from their building projects, these women give us a good reflection of royal womenhood, power relations and political rivalries. Mama Khatun was a warrior queen in eastern Anatolia and Mahpari Khatun was a very strong queen mother whose patronage was comparable with the sultanic projects. In terms of their political status, Mama Khatun was obviously more powerful than Mahpari Khatun. The location and importance of Kayseri and Tercan were quite different. These similar aspects of royal power and contextual differences bring the opportunity of comparison and discussion.

The multifunctional complex of Mama Khatun which was probably built at the end of the late twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century is located in Tercan, a small town between Erzincan and Erzurum. The complex consists of a caravanserai, mosque, bathhouse and a tomb. As a unique example of Saltukid architecture, the caravanserai of the complex, which is the biggest building within the complex, is a plain building related to the concentrically planned caravanserais of Anatolia. In terms of its scale and its location on the Silk Road trade routes, it marks the economic involvement of Mama Khatun. The mosque and the bathhouse of Mama Khatun complex have been largely re-built. Thus, they are not covered in my thesis. The tomb of Mama Khatun, which was built within a circular enclosing wall, is a highly decorated tomb with Armenian and Islamic elements.

Mahpari Khatun was the most productive woman patron of medieval Islamic Anatolia. In the heart of Kayseri, she ordered a multi-functional complex in 1238, during her son's reign, which includes a mosque, madrasa, double bathhouse and her tomb. The different positions of the structures in this complex indicate gradual building phases. The scales of the mosque and madrasa and the double bathhouse are compatible with the sultanic structures of Seljuk Anatolia. As in the Mama Khatun tomb, we see the concept of a tomb within a courtyard in Kayseri. This common point between the two cases directed me to ask further questions about this concept and the women patrons. Mahpari Khatun also patronized at least two caravanserais in the Tokat region. There are five more caravanserais traditionally linked to her. This is another point in common with Mama Khatun. With this rich patronage activity, her case is a good example to illustrate the political and economic networks of a Seljuk woman patron.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the female patronage of medieval Anatolia by analyzing the cases of these two prominent women patrons. As opposed to the repetitive and formalistic nature of much of extant scholarship on medieval Islamic architecture of Anatolia which overlooks the agency of women and their cultural networks, this thesis seeks to evaluate female patronage by considering the artistic and architectural production together with a discussion of gender and identity. This perspective can help us to widen our vision of the female patrons of Anatolia who contributed to the formation of the Islamic architecture of Anatolia. Furthermore, studying patronage is beneficial for asking new questions about socio-economic context, gender relations, identity and urban dynamics, which we cannot learn from other sources and subjects of study.

Chapters 2 and 3 cover the architectural patronage of Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun, respectively, with an emphasis on their political contexts, geographical, economic and cultural settings, the local artistic traditions, urban and suburban dynamics, gender differences and their reflection on their buildings. To have a better understanding, each type of building is examined within its group. Other women and men patrons are also introduced to show the complex picture of medieval Anatolian patronage.

Chapter 4 focuses on three themes illustrated by the cases of Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun. The concept of women's tombs, the multi-functional complexes and their transformative urban roles, and the economic networks through the patronage of caravanserais are examined. The concept of women's tombs gives the opportunity to discuss the gender and architecture relations. A specific kind of a tomb concept which applied in the Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun tombs are compared with other examples. The theme of women's multi-functional complexes

aims to show the women's role in the formation of urban and suburban contexts. Women's projects created focal points for the development of new neighborhoods around them. Moreover, their economic activities are revealed through their caravanserai projects.

Chapter 5 is a conclusion. In this chapter, I return to the question of gender and identity by discussing the role of religion, conversion and identity among female members of medieval Anatolian dynasties. Moreover, other women figures from the Ayyubid and Mongol worlds are included to situate the Anatolian case in a comparative analysis. The Ottoman womem are also studied, in order to see the changes and continuities in Anatolia.

1.2 Review of scholarship

The buildings, which women patronized, have been studied since the establishment of the disciplines of art and architectural history in Turkey. However, the focus of these studies does not prioritize the questions of womanhood and identity. As the dominant feature of a formalistic approach, the plans, decorative elements and the question of origin are studied. It is a recent development that some art and architectural historians have started to challenge this literature with the rise of social and cultural history, feminist literature, gender studies within the fields of art and architectural history.

The first article, which surveyed female patronage in medieval Islamic Anatolia, was written by Ülkü Ülküsal Bates in 1978.[1] This early work of Bates laid the foundation for a comprehensive study of the subject. She covered both Seljuk and

[1] Bates, "Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey," 245-260.

Ottoman women patrons which is helpful for understanding the continuities and changes between these periods. The article was published in English so its impact on Turkish art historiography was ultimately limited. In 1991, Aynur Durukan published a more inclusive study which covered most of the women patrons of medieval Anatolia.[2] She categorized the women patrons under three rubrics: those women who built their own buildings, building projects which were built in the name of women and those women who ordered renovation projects. This differentiation was an important step, because it enabled further and more refined questions about the role of women in architectural patronage.

Despite the fact that these pioneer works have opened a new chapter in the male dominated field of art and architectural historiography, they did not truly challenge the existing formalist literature. Both studies focused on the buildings without taking into the consideration the politics, economy and culture that surrounded them. They remained largely descriptive rather than venturing into contextual analysis. Until the 2000s, we do not see a visible break in this descriptive and formalistic approach. The article of Ahmet Akşit which examined the tomb of al-Malika al-'Adiliyya, the Ayyubid wife of 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I, can be singled for contextualizing the construction and patronage of this tomb in its particular political context. However, it should also be noted that Akşit is a historian rather than an art historian and his contribution was not motivated by issues pertaining to architectural history.[3]

A number of recent studies on the female patrons of medieval Anatolia written in languages other than Turkish is an indication of the rising academic

[2] Durukan, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatında Kadın Baniler," 15-36.
[3] Akşit, "Melike-i Adiliye Kümbetinde Selçuklu Devri Saltanat Mücadelesine Dair İzler," 239-245.

interest towards this issue. Ethel Sara Wolper devoted a considerable portion of her book to the contextualization of women patrons of Anatolia in the late thirteenth century within religious and Sufi practices, political conflicts and gender relations.[4] Through a close examination of Sufi buildings, Wolper indicated that these places functioned for the dissemination of Sufi practices by a new elite after the Mongol conquest. Oya Pancaroğlu's article on the mosque-hospital complex in Divriği for which Turan Malik, a Mengüjekid princess, was a co-patron, is an example of a holistic approach to medieval patronage.[5] Pancaroğlu revealed Turan Malik's patronage in Divriği within a framework of Mengüjekid political, economic and cultural life as well as the local and interregional artistic dynamics of medieval art and architecture of Anatolia.

Antony Eastmond's article on Mahpari Khatun and her patronage, which is the most documented case within the female patrons of medieval Anatolia, brings up the question of religion and identity for the royal women of the Seljuk court.[6] According to Eastmond, the patronage activities of Mahpari Khatun may be the result of her conversion and state acts. Even though the perspective of the article gives us a wide range of points about the patronage of Mahpari Khatun, I find problematic his sharp divisions for the religious life of the period and the state policies. I think we can be more skeptical about the religious identities of these women if we consider the religious plurality of medieval Anatolian world. Thus, I see the points of Rustam Shukurov who sheds light on the dual religious identity of the Seljuk harem with the dominance of Christian women more convincing than

[4] Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia*.
[5] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği: A History of Relations and Transitions," 169-194.
[6] Eastmond , "Gender and Patronage Between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century," 78-88.

Eastmond.[7] Moreover, there is not sufficient evidence to support claims for the issue of state policy versus personal decisions. Moreover, Macit Tekinalp and Rustam Shukurov's articles[8] on the palace churches in Konya, Alanya, Bayburt and İspir can be seen as a strong argument for the dual religious identity of the Seljuk harem.

Patricia Blessing is another art historian who studied the patronage of Mahpari Khatun.[9] Her approach in the article is broad enough to cover all of Mahpari Khatun's patronage activities within the political and socio-economic context of medieval Anatolia. In terms of the inscriptional analysis and comparative discussion, Blessing's article provides an important step for the study of female patrons in Anatolia. Blessing's article brought together the existing literature, however it does not raise a new discussion. Scott Redford's contribution to the history of female patrons is the epigraphic evidence he studied in detail. For the Uluborlu mosque which was patronized by 'Ismat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, the Seljuk wife of 'Ala' al- Din Kayqubad I, and the citadel of Bayburt to which Khalisat al-Dunya wa'l-Din, the daughter of the Mengüjekid ruler of Erzincan, made additions, Redford revealed the complex networks of patronage in which women patrons took part. His research identified the links between the words and politics of medieval Anatolia.[10]

Some of this recent research has brought a new dimension to the study of patronage introducing concepts of gender, identity and interest in a contextual analysis. The patrons have become prioritized in the discussion of buildings. Apart

[7] Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine identity of Seljuk Princes,"115-150.
[8] Tekinalp, "Palace Churches of the Anatolian Seljuks: tolerance or necessity?,"148-167. Shukurov, "Churches in the Citadels of İspir and Bayburt: An Evidence of 'Harem Christianty'?", 713-23.
[9] Blessing, "Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia and a Discussion of Mahbari Khatun's Mosque Complex in Kayseri," 475-526.
[10] Redford, "Paper, Stone, Scissors: 'Ala' Al-Din Kayqubad, Ismat Al-Dunya Wa 'l-Din, and the Writing of Seljuk History,'' 151-170. Redford, "The 1213-14 Seljuk Citadel Inscriptions at Bayburt", 101-144.

from the benefits of this literature which helps us to go beyond the limited discussion of style and form, there are also two major reasons which make this approach necessary.

Firstly, gender is an important distinction to make when analyzing male and female patrons together. Women patrons were also part of the medieval Anatolian architectural transformation. Especially in cities like Kayseri, we see an immense impact of women patrons. Without understanding the roles of women, our perspective of architectural patronage remains incomplete and biased. The gender perspective is also necessary to understand the gendered spaces. The buildings related to women like the tombs and Sufi hospices should be analyzed to understand the functions of and circulations within buildings.

Identity is the second beneficial concept with which we can challenge the descriptive and one-sided narratives which reduce the artistic and architectural traditions to purely Islamic and Turkish categories. By using the concept of identity, I mean a combination ethno-religious and dynastic identities. This concept is important for this thesis because it directs us to ask further questions about the socio-cultural structure of the period and the stories of these women. The multi-cultural environment of medieval Anatolia where Turkish-Islamic culture mixed with the local Byzantine, Armenian and Georgian cultures can be observed in the medieval Anatolian buildings. Thus, rather than relying on classifications based on ethnic cultures, for the study of patronage, we can underline the plural identities of the patrons who ordered these buildings.

In my thesis, I prioritize these two major points in order to locate the medieval Anatolian buildings within the cultural context in which the women patrons

lived. This helps us to contextualize the narratives of the female patrons of medieval Anatolia.

CHAPTER 2

THE CASE OF MAMA KHATUN

2.1 Introduction

The Mama Khatun complex in Tercan includes a caravanserai, masjid, bathhouse and a tomb and is dated to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.[11] Although there is no inscription or other formal document that is related to any of these buildings, the attribution of the complex to Mama Khatun, a Saltukid ruler, is not disputed. According to the sources, she ruled the Saltukids between 1191 and 1200/1.[12] Faruk Sümer described Mama Khatun as a powerful queen and a commander who tried to survive in the last days of her dynasty. The Saltukid dynasty was one of the pioneer Turkish dynasties in Anatolia after the Battle of Manzikert. Their capital city was Erzurum (Erzen-i Rum/Arz-ı Rum) which was probably conquered in 1071. This dynasty became a leading actor in the eastern Anatolian and the southern Caucasian political context in the twelfth century. In 1202, the Seljukids annexed their territories and the rule of the dynasty came to an end.[13]

The complex is located in Tercan,[14] a small town between two major cities of eastern Anatolia, 98 km to the east of Erzincan and 93 km to the west of Erzurum. To the north of Tercan, Bayburt connects the coastal line of the Black Sea to inner Anatolia. Trabzon was the major port of the eastern Black Sea. Economically, Trabzon served as hub for the north-south and east-west oriented trade. Thus, in the

[11] See Appendix, Figure 1.
[12] Sümer, *Selçuklular Devrinde Doğu Anadolu'da Türk Beylikleri*, 35-36. Faruk Sümer corrects the misinterpretation of Osman Turan about the source of Imad al-Din Isfahani by showing the actual translation of the text. In terms of dating and accuracy, his work is more reliable than Turan. See Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, 33-34. See the Arabic text with Turkish introduction and notes, Isfahani, *Barq al-Shami*, İstanbul, 1979.
[13] For a general account of the dynasty, see Sümer, 15-45.
[14] See Appendix, Figure 2.

larger regional context, Trabzon is an important city. This region is mostly characterized by high plateaus and mountains. These cities and towns are linked through the valleys. Tercan sits on a relatively low valley between the mountain ranges of the area. The town was established on the north bank of the Karasu River. Unlike Erzurum and Erzincan which were the capital cities, respectively, of the Saltukids and the Mengüjekids, Tercan does not appear to have had a significant political position in the Saltukid period. When the project was undertaken, Tercan was not an urban center. We do not know the pre-Saltukid layout of Tercan. Thus, it is probable that the Mama Khatun caravanserai was not (?) built in a pre-existing town. Even today, Tercan is a relatively minor settlement between Erzincan and Erzurum. It is more likely that her project triggered further settlement to this area.

The Mama Khatun complex is located towards the eastern part of the town. It is very close to the Karasu River. The bathhouse is located to the east of the caravanserai while the masjid is located to its north. The tomb stands to the east of these three buildings. Dating the complex is problematic because none of the buildings in the complex have an inscribed date. There are various suggestions for dating based on written sources and typological analysis.[15] Suut Kemal Yetkin proposed a date between the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth century. On the other hand, Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal came up with a different explanation by employing the Eshab-ı Kehf Han near Afşin (first quarter of the thirteenth century) as a typological indicator for Mama Khatun complex based on their common elements. For him, the caravanserai in Tercan can be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century. In order to have a reasonable explanation for the dating, we should rely on the literary evidence which mention the Saltukids and Mama Khatun by combining

[15] Yetkin, "Mama Hatun Türbesi, " 75. Ünal, *Les Monuments Islamiques anciens de la ville d'Erzurum et de sa region*, 152.

this knowledge with the typological perspective which is elaborated further below. Unfortunately, the bathhouse and the masjid which are parts of the complex are not mentioned in detail in the studies on the complex. Ayşıl Tükel Yavuz[16] gave just brief information about their positions and Ünal also evaluated the tomb and the caravanserai in an isolated method. This is a problematic approach which misses the larger picture that one can obtain through evaluating the complex as a whole, rather than focusing solely on the artistically and architecturally impressive or original sections. The extant mosque which is on the north side of the complex was built after the First World War and the bathhouse which is to the northeast of the caravanserai was heavily changed and restored throughout time.[17]

The location of masjid brings some questions about the complex and its relation to the settlement. It may have been built later to serve for the residents of Tercan who settled around the complex. This approach may explain the necessity of building a masjid next to the caravanserai. In other words, the masjid could be seen as a part of the town rather than a small masjid traditionally included to the caravanserai projects. As far as we know that there is no masjid found within the caravanserai. Furthermore, it is a centrally planned caravanserai which does not have qibla orientation. On the other hand, the masjid could be a later construction with the expansion of the town. The same question is relevant for the bathhouse. However, by looking at the closeness of the buildings to each other as parts of a multi-functional complex, we can assume that all of these buildings were part of the original project.Although it is important to assume—with caution—that the bathhouse and

[16] Yavuz, "Anadolu'da Eşodaklı Selçuklu Hanları," 195.
[17] http://www.erzincankulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,57391/tercan.html

the mosque are integral to the medieval complex, the loss of their original aspect does not make it possible to include them further in the discussion.

2.2 The caravanserai

The Mama Khatun caravanserai is a concentrically planned building measuring 51 meters by 51 meters.[18] The thick outer walls of this massive structure were enriched with the addition of cylindrical corner buttresses, making it look like a fortress. The heavy image of the buttressed walls was softened with the small windows and minor buttresses along the walls. The portal of the caravanserai is on the east façade which projects beyond the façade.[19] The barrel vaulted space of the entrance was decorated with two small niches on the left and right. Unlike other parts of the building which are quite plain, these niches are decorated with muqarnas hoods. Just below the muqarnas hood there is a five-pointed star motif that is identical with the star decorations of the Mama Khatun tomb[20] which is a strong evidence for the architectural relationship between the tomb and the caravanserai. The corridor which connects the entrance to the open courtyard has a stairway to the roof, two doors which open to vaulted rooms and four niche-like spaces. This corridor ends with a transversal corridor which has entrances for other rooms and the stables extending along northern and southern sides of the building. These large stables are barrel vaulted. The courtyard has five rooms and one iwan on the northern and southern sides.[21] On the western side there are three iwans which open to the courtyard and two big rooms in the corners. As in many caravanserais, lighting is minimal in the

[18] See Appendix, Figure 3.
[19] See Appendix, Figure 4.
[20] See Appendix, Figure 5.
[21] See Appendix, Figure 6.

rooms of this caravanserai. There are small windows above the doors of the rooms but these are not large and only provide dim lighting. Moreover, there are two upper galleries which can be reached from the stairs next to the entrance. Ayşıl Tükel Yavuz suggested that the upper galleries of caravanserais were used for the protection of the building with their crenellations. However, in this case, there is no crenellation which could be used for protection. She proposed that these galleries in the Mama Khatun caravanserai could be used for storage or the slaves. Actually, it is difficult to interpret such rooms even though we assume that the building was used for mainly commercial activities.[22]

In terms of its plan, the Mama Khatun caravanserai is among the concentrically planned caravanserais of Anatolia. The Alara Han near Antalya (1231) and the Eshab-ı Kehf Han in Afşin (first quarter of the thirteenth century) are the well-studied caravanserais of this type. With the new studies, more concentrically planned caravanserais have been added to the typology: the Mirçinge caravanserai (1230) in Divriği, the Sevserek caravanserai (first half of the thirteenth century) in Malatya, the Yerhan caravanserai (first half of the thirteenth century) in Erzincan.[23] Even though they have differences in their plans, the close distances between these concentrically planned caravanserais (with the exception of Alara Han) suggest a regional preference for this kind of architectural plan. Yavuz claimed that the different geographic areas in which they were built argue against the idea that climatic factors were decisive in the construction of these caravanserais. Instead, especially for the case of Alara Han, she proposes a defensive purpose for this kind

[22] Yavuz, 195-199. and Ünal, 144, 149,150. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, 243-245. Erdmann's study does not include the Mama Khatun caravanserai.
[23] Özkarcı, "Eshab-I Kehf Hanı," 446; Yavuz, "Mirçinge Han ve Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Eşodaklı Kervansarayları Arasındaki Yeri," 41-55; Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray Des 13. Jahrhundrets* , 184-188; Sakaoğlu, *Türk Anadolu'da Mengücekoğulları*, 431-440; Ünal, "Sevserek Hanı (Malatya-Pötürge) ve Yerhan (Erzincan-Refahiye)Hakkında Bir İnceleme," 952-968.

of a plan.[24] However, apart from Alara Han, the majority of these buildings are concentrated in the eastern part of inner Anatolia like Sivas, Erzincan and Malatya where harsh climatic conditions are observed. Thus, a geographical concern could explain the preference for this type of caravanserai. The major common element of these structures is the placement of courtyard, rooms and iwans, stables and service spaces in concentric rings. The open or the closed courtyard at the center of the core is lined with rooms and iwans and encircled by the stables. Furthermore, the sophistication in the differentiation of the spaces according to their function is another remarkable feature of these caravanserais.[25]

There is no other Saltukid example of a caravanserai which I can compare with the Tercan example. To understand the economic context of this building, I looked at the Mengüjekid caravanserais which are the closest examples which can be compared with the Mama Khatun caravanserai. Furthermore, the geographical closeness means that they were probably affected by the similar flows of the east-west and north-south trade networks.[26] The sources give the names of several Mengüjekid caravanserais around Divriği and on the roads of Divriği.[27] There are two contemporary Mengüjekid caravanserais which can be compared with the Mama Khatun caravanserai: The Burmahan caravanserai (mid twelfth century) which is between Sivas and Erzincan and the Mirçinge caravanserai which is located between Erzincan and Malatya.[28] In terms of their architectural plans, they are quite different from the Tercan example. The Mirçinge caravanserai with its tiny proportions cannot be compared with Mama Khatun's project. However, the Burmahan is the biggest one (24 meters by 52 meters) in the Divriği region. The position of the courtyard and

[24] Yavuz, 201.
[25] Ibid, 203-204.
[26] See Appendix, Figure 7.
[27] Sakaoğlu, 432.
[28] Ibid, 433-438.

the other facilities are completely different from the central plan of the Tercan caravanserai. On the other hand, this building project also includes a bathhouse and a masjid in it. Unlike the Tercan complex, they were included within the plan of the caravanserai.[29]

The caravanserai of Mama Khatun is the oldest surviving example of its type. This shows the importance of her patronage within the Anatolian context. Before 1210, caravanserais were largely built around the trade routes between Konya, Akşehir and Beyşehir, the heartland of the Seljukid dynasty. There are three caravanserais on Konya-Beyşehir route: The Altınapa Han (1201-1202), the earliest Seljuk caravanserai in Anatolia[30], the Kuruçeşme Han (1207-1210)[31], and the Kızılören Han (1205)[32]. The Argıt Han (1201-1202)[33] and the Dokuzun Han (1210)[34] are located around Akşehir. The Eli Kesik Han[35] and Alay Han[36] are located in Derbent and Aksaray, respectively. In terms of dating, typology and location, the Mama Khatun caravanserai can therefore be considered as a pioneering building project in medieval Islamic Anatolia.

When we map the medieval cities and the trade routes between them, these buildings give a meaningful understanding of the economic context of eastern Anatolia.[37] Erzurum, Erzincan, Sivas and Malatya were the major cities and towns like Divriği and Tercan were probably trying to attract trade routes with their multifunctional services. Trabzon which is close to Tercan was also a commercial

[29] Ibid, 435.
[30] Erdmann, 29-32. Acun, *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, 77-87.
[31] Erdmann, 33-36. Acun, 513.
[32] Erdmann, 45-49. Acun, 511.
[33] Erdmann, 32-33. Acun, 481.
[34] Erdmann, 36-39. Acun, 490.
[35] Erdmann, 39-40. Acun, 495.
[36] Erdmann, 81-83. Acun, 51-75.
[37] See Appendix, Figure 8.

center for the international trade. Such a significant project could help Mama Khatun to enhance her town with the commercial activities around the region.

2.3 The tomb

The Mama Khatun tomb, which has been studied more than any other building of the complex, is situated to the east side of the caravanserai.[38] Just like the caravanserai, it does not have a foundation inscription. Datable to the turn of the thirteenth century, it is a highly distinct funerary structure within a circular enclosing wall.[39] The octagonal tomb is composed of eight lobed sides topped with a conical cap.[40] Except for its portal, the circular enclosing wall has a plain exterior, but on the inside (facing the ambulatory) there are eleven deep niches with pointed arches which may have been designed to hold the cenotaphs of Mama Khatun's family or relatives. Currently, there are a number of cenotaphs in the niches and the ambulatory. One of these is dated to 1202.[41] These burials as well as other tombstone outside the circular enclosing wall show that the tomb triggered further burials in this location. The ambulatory between the tomb and the enclosing wall is paved with curved hewn stones.

The main area of decoration is the portal on the circular wall, seven meters high.[42] With its engaged columns, geometric decoration and a muqarnas hood, the portal reflects contemporary trends. There are two elongated niches on both sides of

[38] See Appendix, Figure 1.
[39] Ünal, *Les Monuments*, 129-142. Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 385-390; Aslanapa, *Anadolu İlk Türk Mimarisi: Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi*, 103-104. Yetkin, 75-81; Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri: 1. Selçuklu Dönemi*, 115-119. Sinclair, 245-246. See Appendix, Figure 9.
[40] See Appendix, Figure 10.
[41] Yetkin, 75.
[42] See Appendix, Figures 11-12.

the portal. These niches were common in medieval Georgian and Armenian churches which could be an inspiration for the Mama Khatun tomb in terms of building techniques and aesthetic concerns. We also see the usage of elongated niches in the Sitte Melik tomb in Divriği (1196).[43] The frames around the niches, the external frames of the portal, the engaged columns and the muqarnas cells were decorated with geometric patterns. The most interesting thing about this geometric design is the variety of stars which it incorporates. Above the inscriptional band of the muqarnas portal, there are two rosettes.

There are five inscriptions on various parts of the portal. The surface just above the entrance and the second arch which frames the muqarnas is inscribed with Qur'anic verses (112: 1) in Kufic style. The inscription which gives the name of the architect and his origin in Ahlat—Abu al-Nima b. Mufaddal al-Ahwal al-Khilati—is, unlike the others, in thuluth style. It starts from the right side of the doorway recess and continues on the left. The last two inscriptions are in the form of two five-pointed stars which decorate the upper parts of the engaged columns. They give the names of the prophet and the four caliphs.

The tomb chamber which rises 10.50 meters above ground level has, like many Seljuk and Saltukid tombs, two storeys. Four steps lead to the crypt which is covered by a cross vault, 2.45 meters high. The main chamber is reached by seven steps. The segmental lobed articulation of the exterior continues in the interior which has a diameter of 13.15 meters and consists of eight semicircular niches framed by moldings that converge at the center of the dome. Unlike the main portal which is highly decorated, the portal of the tomb chamber is quite plain. It is a low arch

[43] Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengüjek in Divriği", 35-36 and for a closer view of the niche see fig. 2.5, 37. Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği", 181.

without decoration on it. The building is lit from the door, from the window above the niche facing the door, and from the windows over the second niche from the entrance to the right and left. These three small windows with pointed arches have rectangular frames on the outside.

A close parallel to the Mama Khatun tomb is the Mu'mina Khatun tomb (1186-1187) in Nakhchivan.[44] Mu'mina Khatun was a member of Ildeniz dynasty which was established in Iranian Azerbaijan (the second half of the twelfth century) by a family of atabegs in the service of the Great Seljuk Empire. In the Mu'mina Khatun tomb example, there is an indication for an enclosing wall which had a monumental gate, accompanied by two cylindrical minarets.[45] Today, these structures do not exist. In terms of its building date and relative geographical closeness, it should be considered as a strong case for comparison with the Mama Khatun tomb. Other comparable examples of a tomb within a courtyard include the Mahpari Khatun tomb in Kayseri (1238) and the so-called Köşk Medrese tomb in Kayseri (1339).[46] The latter was built by the founder of the Eretna dynasty, 'Ala al-din Eretna (1344-1352) for his wife Suli Pasha.[47] When we look at women's tombs with an ambulatory or a courtyard in the larger geography including the Mu'mina Khatun tomb in Nakhchivan, the Mahpari Khatun and the Köşk Medrese tombs in Kayseri, we see a common approach among these buildings. The number as well as the chronological and geographic spread of examples are enough to suggest a gender aspect to this specific typology which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[44] See Appendix, Figures 13-14.
[45] Tuncer, 21; Yazar, *Nahcivan'da Türk Mimarisi*, 90-104.
[46]Edhem, *Kayseri Şehri*, 132-140. Gabriel, *Monuments turc d'Anatolie I*, 67-70. Şaman and Yazar, "Kayseri Köşk Hanikahı," 301-314.
[47] See Appendix, Figures 15-16.

Oktay Aslanapa claimed that such enclosing walls can be traced to Central Asian examples.[48] In Aslanapa's *Türk Sanatı* and *Anadolu'da İlk Türk Mimarisi*, the chronological order and the major stylistic reference were defined according to the Central Asian history. He supported his claim by giving examples from the excavations from Tagisken, near the Aral Lake. The tombs which were found are dated between the fourth and sixth centuries BCE. The enclosing walls and the domes of the tombs are comparable features. He refused the idea of the Scythian roots and claimed a Hun origin for these buildings. Orhan Tuncer followed a similar perspective by locating the building within a "Turkish-Islamic" architectural tradition with an emphasis on the refutation of the ideas, which claim local Anatolian impacts on the building. For him, the plan, the idea and the conception of the tomb are all Islamic although he also admitted that there can be local Christian elements in the decorative elements.[49] Suut Kemal Yetkin linked the building Mama Khatun tomb to the Islamic context by giving the example of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (even though it is not a funerary building) and the Qubbat al-Sulaybiyya which was patronized by the Greek mother of Abbasid caliph al-Muntasir in Samarra for his son.[50] In the center of two outer octagons, which create a hallway, there is a square chamber room. Doğan Kuban had a different attitude towards the local Christian connections. He showed the examples of centrally planned buildings from Ani and focused on the possibility of local impact on the plan.[51] Parallel to Kuban, Oluş Arık also supported the eastern Anatolian and Caucasian elements of the tomb of Mama Khatun.[52]

[48] Aslanapa, 104.
[49] Tuncer, 118.
[50] Yetkin, *Türk Mimarisi*, 69-72.
[51] Kuban, *100 Soruda Türkiye Sanatı Tarihi*, 130.
[52] Arık, *Erken Devir Anadolu-Türk Mimarisinde Türbe Biçimleri*, 92.

In fact, the Aprank monastery, about 15 kilometers to the south-west of Tercan, is a very close example for considering the possible impact of local Armenian architectural and artistic production on the Mama Khatun tomb.[53] Although there is no date on the monastery, the two monumental *khatchk'ars* on site are dated to 1191 and 1194, making them contemporary with the Tercan complex. The Aprank monastery is situated within a circuit of wall which seems built for effect and status rather than defense.[54] This can be seen as a connection between the tomb and existing Armenian architectural practices in the same region. Moreover, the Aprank *khatchk'ars* recall the form and decoration of the Muslim tomb stelae of Ahlat which is also the place from which the architect of Mama Khatun's tomb originated.[55] To summarize, it is necessary to locate these kinds of buildings in a broader understanding which combines the overarching Islamic elements and the local Anatolian visual culture.

2.4 The Mama Khatun complex in the context of Saltukid architecture

In order to locate the Mama Khatun complex within Saltukid architecture, Erzurum is an important place to begin where a number of Saltukid buildings have survived. Until the end of the tenth century, the city had been continuously conquered and destroyed by the two forces, Arabs and Byzantines. The Turkish incursions in the eleventh century intensified and finally, following the Great Seljuk victory at

[53] See Appendix, Figure 17.
[54] http://www.virtualani.org/aprank/index.htm.
[55] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital", 186.

Manzikert in 1071, Erzurum became a base for the emerging Saltukid dynasty which started to control the area around the city.[56]

Erzurum had a citadel and an outer wall system in the Saltukid period. Including the tomb of Emir Saltuk which is located outside of the city walls, all of the remaining Saltukid structures of the city are located around the Tabriz gate.[57] This tendency should be studied further to understand the post-Byzantine urban fabric of Erzurum. The two Saltukid structures, the Citadel Mosque[58] and the tower/minaret (now called Tepsi Minare or the Clock Tower), are located in the citadel.[59] The mosque with its modest plan looks like a combination of the tombs of the region and the mosques. It is topped with a conical cap. The muqarnas details of the dome and the geometrical decoration of the external frame of the mihrab are the major elements of the decoration.[60] The tower in the citadel which is attached to the wall is a cylindrical brick structure. It has a Kufic inscriptional band on it. In the nineteenth century, it was turned into a clock tower.[61] The Great Mosque was built in 1179/1180 by Malik Muhammad, the brother of Mama Khatun. The mosque has been largely restored through time.[62] Finally, the largest and the most interesting one of the three tombs of Erzurum is linked to the Saltukid ruler, 'Izz al-Din Saltuk (r. 1132-1168), the father of Mama Khatun.[63] The tomb has two storeys. The crypt has a rectangular plan and it is barrel vaulted. The octagonal tomb is cut by pediments and above these the structure takes a cylindrical form. It is topped by a slightly swollen

[56] Gündoğdu, Bayhan and Arslan, *Sanat Tarihi Açısından Erzurum*, 18-22; Ünal, *Les Monuments*, 7-8. Turan, 44-50.
[57] See Appendix, Figure 18.
[58] See Appendix, Figures 19-20.
[59] Sinclair, 201-202.
[60] Gündoğdu, 175-177; Beygu, *Erzurum Tarihi, Anıtları, Kitabeleri*, 97; Arık, "Erzurum'da İki Cami (Two Mosques in Erzurum," 149-159; Ünal, 15-22.
[61] Gündoğdu, 177-178; Beygu, 93-97; Ünal, 23-27.
[62] Sümer, 43. Turan, 50. Gündoğdu, 161.
[63] Other three tombs which have no date or inscription are typologically classified as thirteenth and fourteenth century-buildings. Thus, I only focus on the first one. See Appendix, Figures 21-22.

conical cap. On the sides of the octagonal part, there are false niches which are divided by small columns. The cylindrical part is also decorated with false niches which are decorated with figural elements including animals and a human head. The interior of the tomb is topped by a large and high dome with its transitional squinches.[64]

What is seen in Erzurum is a group of buildings which show characteristic features but have no further examples within the Saltukid architectural tradition to compare. There is no caravanserai or a bathhouse in Erzurum with which we could compare at least the plan and scale of Mama Khatun's buildings in Tercan. The re-built Tercan mosque can give no clue about its connections to the capital. However, some observations can be made by comparing the Mama Khatun tomb to the Emir Saltuk tomb. First of all, in terms of their plans and designs, they each represent a distinct type among the medieval Islamic tombs of Anatolia. Their plans and decorative elements differ from each other and from the majority of contemporary tombs. This creative approach can be seen as a period of time when many artistic elements were used for new designs. All these differences make the picture more complicated for the Mama Khatun complex.

2.5 The Mama Khatun complex in the context of 1190s -1210s

The Saltukid dynasty maintained their hold in the eastern Anatolian region despite frequent clashes with the Georgians. The father of Mama Khatun, 'Izz al-Din Saltuk (r. 1132-1168), was captured by the Georgians in 1154.[65] He was saved by the other

[64] Beygu, 88-91. Altun, *Ortaçağ Türk Mimarisinin Ana Hatları İçin Bir Özet*, 31; Önkal, 29-32; Tuncer, 122-128.
[65] Sümer, 29-33.

Turkish rulers like Sökmen and the Artukid rulers at that time. This alliance was strengthened through political marriages between the daughters of ‘Izz al-Din and these rulers. Shah Banuvan was married to Sökmen, the ruler of the Shah-i Arman dynasty which ruled in the Ahlat region. Another daughter whose name we do not know was the spouse of Toqan Arslanlı Devletshah, the ruler of Bitlis-Erzen. The Seljuk ruler Qılıch Arslan II (r. 1156-1192) also requested to marry one of ‘Izz al-Din’s daughters. However, this woman was abducted by the Danishmendid ruler, Yağıbasan, while on her way to her wedding with her dowry. She was forcefully married to Zünnun, the nephew of Yağıbasan. This created a war between the Seljuks and the Danishmendid but she remained as the wife of Zünnun. According to the Georgian sources, around 1183 and 1189, Nasr al-din Muhammad (also known as Malik Muhammad), the son of ‘Izz al-Din Saltuk, was the ruler in Erzurum with his two sons. In his period, the capital city was attacked by the Georgians. The Georgian sources also give information about Muzaffer al-Din, said to be a grandson of ‘Izz al-Din Saltuk, but it is not clear if Muzaffer al-Din was the son of Nasr al-Din Muhammad. He is mentioned as having converted to Christianity to marry the Georgian queen Tamar around 1188/1189.[66]

It is difficult to explain the reason behind the political power of Mama Khatun who could achieve to become a ruler, despite her nephews. It is probable that she replaced her brother as the ruler around the late 1180s. Historically, there are two turning points in which Mama Khatun is mentioned in a chaotic political context. First, in 1191, she is seen as a pro-Ayyubid figure who helped them attack Manzikert which was held by the Shah-i Arman. In 1200, she is mentioned again in a communication with the Ayyubids apparently in search of a co-ruler and a spouse. In

[66] Ibid, 33-35. Peacock, “Georgia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th centuries,” 130.

the same year, however, the Ayyubids received news that she was arrested and deposed by members of her dynasty. That is the last time she is mentioned in any source. Even in these brief mentions, one can sense the political environment in which Mama Khatun tried to maintain her position. Probably, her close connections to the Ayyubids was a matter of survival and with this potential marriage, she was aiming to protect herself from the fate that she faced.[67]

To locate her situation within the political context of this period, one can focus on the intersections, rivalries and alliances in eastern Anatolia, Transcaucasia and especially Syria. The Mengüjekids of the Erzincan region maintained pro-Seljuk politics in this period through marriages between the two dynasties or joining the Seljuk campaigns. Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah (r. c. 1165-1225) was the prominent political figure of the main branch of the dynasty in Erzincan and Kemah.[68] He was married to 'Ismati Khatun who was a Seljuk princess.[69] This can be seen as a major example of the Mengüjekid-Seljuk marriage alliances. Their daughter Seljuk Khatun was married to her cousin 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I (r. 1211-1220).[70] Khalisat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din was probably married to Jahanshah, the independent Seljuk ruler of Erzurum, and Turan Malik may have been married to Ahmadshah, the ruler of the Divriği branch of the Mengüjekids.[71]

The Divriği branch of the Mengujekids was ruled by Shahanshah around 1190s.[72] The Shah-i Arman, on the other hand, drew a relatively low profile, because of their ongoing defensive policies to survive under the constant attacks of the

[67] Sümer, 35-36.
[68] Ibid, 5-7.
[69] Sakaoğlu, 70.
[70] Ibid, 75-78.
[71] Ibid, 78-79.
[72] Sümer, 10.

Georgians, the Ayyubids and the Great Seljuks.[73] In 1203-4, they were heavily destroyed and massacred by the Ayyubids resulting in significant damage to this important medieval city.[74] Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah (r. 1196-1204), the Anatolian Seljuk sultan, and his policies towards eastern Anatolia are important. The collapse of the Great Seljuks in 1194 created a power vacuum in eastern Anatolia. In order to expand in this direction, Sulaymanshah gradually began to conquer Cilicia and take control of the territories of the Mengujekids and Saltukids, including Erzincan and Erzurum.[75] During Sulaymanshah's Georgian campaign, the Saltukid dynasty was annexed in 1202.[76]

Under these harsh political and military circumstances, patronage activities continued to flourish in the eastern Anatolian cities. The Mama Khatun complex was part of this building activity on the eve of turmoil. This complex was probably built at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century, just around the time when Mama Khatun was deposed and the Saltukid territories were annexed by the Seljuks. The architect of the tomb whose name was inscribed on the portal gives us a possibility of discussing the complex within a large architectural context. Abu al-Nima b. Mufaddal al-Ahwal al-Khilati, the architect of the Mama Khatun tomb, originated from Ahlat. Ahlat's location was a point of social and cultural intersections. However, the constant attacks and destructions of the Ayyubids, Georgians and the Khwarazmshahs from the turn of the thirteenth century through the 1220s led to a decline in the city life. Earthquakes destroyed most of the buildings of the city in 1275-6. Today what is left are the monumental tombstones where the artistic skills of the city can be observed as well as later medieval tomb

[73] Turan, 113-123.
[74] Sümer, 54-55.
[75] Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 669-670.
[76] Peacock, 133-134.

towers.[77] As it was mentioned, the forms of *khatchk'ar*s were blended with Islamic decoration on the tombstones. Both these artistic traces and the names of architects from Ahlat on the buildings of medieval Anatolia like the Seljuk Alay Han (possibly before 1190) in Aksaray and the Mengujekid Sitte Melik tomb (1196-97) in Divriği (both signed by the architect Tutbeg b. Bahram al-Khilati) show how Ahlat was a source of artistic and architectural inspiration for the wider region.[78] The closest example of patronage to Mama Khatun in that specific time span is the Mengüjekid tomb of Sitte Melik in the Divriği built for the local Mengujekid ruler, Shahanshah.[79] "The employment of the same architect by the Seljuks and the Mengüjekids underlines the critical role played by the mobility of artists, combined with the competitive aspect of patronage in the 1180s and 1190."[80] Apart from its Ahlat connection, it is also crucial to note the name of the Sitte Melik tomb. The title "sitte" comes from the Arabic *sayyida* for lady and raises the question of royal female patronage or endowment for Shahanshah's tomb. From a tax register in 1530, we see "Türbe-i Sitti Melike Hatun" as the title of the tomb. This woman could be the wife or daughter of Shahanshah who made endowments for him.[81]

In addition to the Ahlat connection of the Mama Khatun complex, tombs with enclosing walls are also important to identify the architectural context of Tercan. Mu'mina Khatun tomb in Nakhchivan which is dated to 1186-7 is an important example.[82] The tomb was built for Mu'mina Khatun (or Zahida Khatun) by her son Jahan Pahlavan (r. 1175-1186), a ruler of the Ildeniz (or Eldigüz) dynasty. This

[77] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex," 185-186; Sümer, 47-56, 65-84.
[78] Deniz, "Alay Han," 51-75.
[79] Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengüjek," 35-42 and for the inscription blocks of Alay Han and Sitte Melik see figures 2,7 and 2,8 ; Önkal, 43-47.
[80] Ibid, 42.
[81] To see the detailed discussion and evidence about the question of Sitte Melik tomb, see the note 18 in Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengüjek".
[82] Pancaroğlu, 42.

dynasty ruled over Iranian Azerbaijan and Caucasian Albania from the second half of the twelfth century to the early decades of the thirteenth. Before the destructions in twentieth century, the Mu‘mina Khatun Complex included a tomb and a masjid within an enclosing wall which had two minarets on its portal.[83] Today, there is only the tomb. This typology interestingly appears in the female contexts. Historically, the Mu‘mina Khatun may have been seen as an inspiration for the architect of Mama Khatun tomb with the concept of enclosing wall.

In the socio-political turmoil of the 1190s and 1200s, Mama Khatun and her position in the political scene is a very interesting aspect of medieval Islamic Anatolia. Both as a woman and as a ruler of a minor dynasty, she probably had a very difficult life time. It seems that, in order to strengthen her position, she pursued a pro-Ayyubid policy. This can be explained as a way of political balance towards the existing Anatolian Seljuk threats to her dynasty. She appears to have been deposed in or around 1200 and, from that moment, we do not know what happened to her. The Saltukid dynasty collapsed just two years after she was deposed. Tercan should have a meaning for her situation, a place for exile or of limited authority. However, this grand complex reflects the power and patronage of a medieval queen. and can be taken as a sign of her dynastic prestige, whether before or after her dethronement. Apart from its commemorative function centered especially on the tomb of the founder, it is also important to take into consideration the commercial side of the story of the Mama Khatun complex. The Mama Khatun caravanserai was one of the pioneer projects on the roads of eastern Anatolia. To sum up, Mama Khatun appeared as a prominent patron in the formation of medieval Islamic architecture in Anatolia.

[83] Yazar, 91-92.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE OF MAHPARI KHATUN

3.1 Introduction

Mahpari Khatun (Mahperi/Huand/Hunad Khatun) was the mother of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237-46) and one of the wives of 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I (r.1219-37). She is one of the most important female patrons of medieval Islamic Anatolia with her project in Kayseri and several caravanserais in various places.[84] There is little evidence about her life until her patronage activities during her son's reign. According to Osman Turan, with references to Ibn Bibi and other contemporary sources, she was the daughter of Kyr Vard, the ruler of Kalanoros (later renamed Ala'iye, modern Alanya) who was probably Greek.[85] According to Ibn Bibi, he gave one of his daughters - her name does not appear in the source - in marriage to Kayqubad after the siege of Kalonoros in 1221.[86] She lived in a politically and economically prosperous period of the Anatolian Seljuk state but also experienced the difficulties of the post-Kösedağ period.

[84] Blessing, "Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia and a Discussion of Mahbari Khatun's Mosque Complex in Kayseri," 475-526. Durukan, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatında Kadın Baniler," 16-18. Bates, "Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey," 246. Uyumaz, "Türkiye Selçuklu Sultanları, Melikleri ve Melikelerinin Evlilikleri," 371-372. Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 336-337. Eastmond, "Gender and Patronage Between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century," 78-88. Crane, "Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia," 49-50.

[85] Blessing, 481-482. Turan, 336-337. About the origin of the father of Mahpari Khatun, there are different explanations. Turan claimed that Kyr (Kyrios) was a Byzantine yet, at the same time, he claimed an Armenian origin for him. On the other hand, according to Claude Cahen and Rustam Shukurov, he was Greek. Both the geography and the title of Kyr Vard support the latter idea. See Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey- The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, 53. Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," 117. For background on Kalonoros, Mahpari Khatun and Kayqubad's building activities in Kalonoros, see. Redford, *Landscape and the state in medieval Anatolia: Seljuk Gardens and pavillions of Alanya*. Turkish translation of it, *Anadolu Selçuklu Bahçeleri*.

[86] Ibn Bibi, *Selçukname*, 78-80.

In order to understand the dynamics which shaped the life of Mahpari Khatun, it is necessary to start with the post-1204 conditions of Anatolia. In 1204, Constantinople was invaded by the Latins. This power vacuum in Byzantium created an opportunity for the Seljuk sultans and allowed Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (r.1205-1211) to take Antalya in 1207. In terms of economic networks in the Mediterranean world, it was a major gain. He also expanded the territories of the Seljuks to the east by attacking the Armenian and Ayyubid lands. In 1214, Sinop was conquered by ‘Izz al-Din Kayka’us I (r.1211-1220). This was an important step for the Seljuks to seize power in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Antalya which rebelled in 1212 was retaken by him in 1216. Thus, when ‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad I came to power in 1220, the Seljuk state was already a maritime power which could expand its territories against the Byzantines and the Ayyubids as the two major rivals. In the reign of Kayqubad, Kalonoros was taken as part of the naval strategies. In 1227, Sudaq, a Crimean port, was conquered by Kayqubad. The same expansionist policy was applied to the smaller Turkish dynasties like the Mengüjekids which were annexed one by one. The rise of Khwarezmian threat on the eastern borders led to tensions which culminated in 1230 in the Battle of Yassıçemen. With the collapse of the Khwarezmians serving as a buffer zone between the Seljuks and the Mongols, Anatolia became open to the Mongol expansions.

After Kayqubad’s death in 1237, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II was enthroned. The conditions of his accession created a difficult period for the Seljuks. Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II came to power with the support of an ambitious amir, Sa‘d al-Din Köpek, who created a period of terror by executing many Seljuk amirs and officials as well as being probably responsible for the murders of the Ayyubid

wife of ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad and her sons who were potential rivals to the throne.[87] Mahpari Khatun was probably involved to some degree in this transition for her son. As a young sultan, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II was largely under the influence of Sa‘d al-Din Köpek. His reign was marked by revolts and the Mongol invasion. In 1240, the revolt of Baba Ilyas’s followers created an internal chaos which decreased the central authority. Following the Battle of Kösedağ in 1243 the Mongol victory reduced the Seljuk authority in Anatolia which nevertheless survived until 1308.[88] Despite the fact that written documents from this period are limited in scope, there is a large number of architectural remains which show the artistic and socio-economic aspects of the Seljuks.[89]

3.2 The Mahpari Khatun complex in Kayseri

The major patronage activity of Mahpari Khatun was the building complex in Kayseri. The Mahpari Khatun complex includes a mosque, a madrasa, the tomb of the founder, and a bathhouse. It is the first multi-functional building complex of the Seljuks.[90] Kayseri (formerly Caesarea) is located in central Anatolia at the foot of the extinct volcano Mount Erciyes on a fertile plain.[91] Kayseri was controlled from 1071 until 1169 by the Danishmendids.[92] After the annexation of the city by ‘Izz al-Din Qılıch Arslan II (r. 1156-92), Kayseri became one of the major urban centers of the

[87] Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 403-411.
[88] For a general account of the Anatolian Seljukid history, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*. Cahen, The *Formation of Turkey*. Specific accounts for the period of Kayqubad, see Uyumaz, *Sultan 1. Alaeddin Keykubad devri Türkiye Selçuklu Devleti Siyasi Tarihi (1220-1237)*.
[89] To have a general idea about the artistic production of the Anatolian Seljuks see, Kuban, *Selçuklu Çağında Anadolu Sanatı*. Fırat, *Selçuklu Sanatı*. Ögel, *Anadolu Selçuklu sanatı üzerine görüşler*.
[90] Aslanapa, *Anadolu’da Türk Mimarisi, Başlangıç ve Gelişmesi*, 46.
[91] See Appendix, Figure 23.
[92] For a detailed account of the post-1071 period of Kayseri, see Çayırdağ, “Selçuklular Dönemi’nde Kayseri,” 115-161. Çabuk and Demir, *Türk Dönemi Kayseri Kenti ve Mahalleleri*, 26-33.

Seljuks. This can be observed in the density of the Seljuk projects in the city.[93] Unlike Tercan, Kayseri had already been a developed urban center when Mahpari Khatun patronized her project in the city.

The Mahpari Khatun complex was built outside of the eastern city walls across from Yeni Kapı, one of the gates of the city.[94] The mosque and the madrasa are attached to each other at their respective corners where the tomb of Mahpari Khatun creates a kind of a link for these two buildings. Some of the columns in the northwestern corner of the mosque were removed in order to locate the tomb within this area. It can be said that the decisive role within the complex belonged to the construction of the tomb. The mosque and the madrasa were partially adapted for the tomb. The bathhouse sits in front of the mosque façade at a different angle. This interesting combination of the complex will be explained in connection with the sequence and dating of its individual parts.

Dating of the Mahpari Khatun complex is a widely studied subject which has brought several explanations to this question. The mosque has a date—1238/AH 635—on both of the mosque's two portal inscriptions. However, the other buildings have no inscribed date. The French archaeologist and architectural historian Albert Gabriel who studied the complex in the 1920s claimed that the first step of the construction was the mosque.[95] On the other hand, in 1960, Mahmut Akok concluded that the mosque and the madrasa were built together and the tomb was added later.[96] The research of Haluk Karamağaralı brought a totally different story of construction of the complex. He argued that the small courtyard where the tomb sits may have been the site of an earlier building, perhaps a baptistery which may already have

[93] Kuban, 60. For a general account of the city, see Edhem, *Kayseri Şehri*.
[94] See Appendix, Figures 24-25.
[95] Gabriel, *Les monuments turcs d'Anatolie,* 39-40. Blessing, 490.
[96] Akok, "Kayseri'de Hunad Mimari Külliyesinin Rölövesi," 6-7.

been adapted for Muslim burial and was not removed until the construction of the Mahpari Hatun tomb.[97] According to Karamağaralı, the male section of the bathhouse is the oldest part of the complex and even built before 1238 possibly by Kayqubad I.[98] In the second building phase, the madrasa was built, to which the mosque was later added. The madrasa can be attributed to the patronage of Kayqubad around 1235.[99] In this chronological sequence, the mosque is accepted as the third building of the complex with the addition of the female section of the bathhouse in 1238.[100] By comparing the stylistic elements of Döner Kümbet (1285), a tomb in Kayseri, with the Mahpari Khatun tomb and taking into consideration the literary evidence from Ibn Bibi mentioning the mother of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II in 1254, Karamağaralı assigned the tomb to the last phase of the construction sequence, around 1260-1270.[101]

3.2.1 The bathhouse

Following the chronological suggestion of Karamağaralı, the bathhouse was the first building of the complex. The bathhouse of Mahpari Khatun complex which is in front of the western entrance of the mosque consists of two sections; the male section in the eastern part and the female section in the west.[102] The entrances of both sections are from the western wall of the structure which is across the street from the citadel. It has a different orientation from the rest of the complex and partially obscures the view of the complex from the citadel. Yet, this helps us to date the building sequence, because the male section was oriented towards the main street

[97] Karamağaralı, "Kayseri'deki Hunat Camisinin Restitüsyonu," 207.
[98] Karamağaralı, 216. This phase could be built by Kayqubad I.
[99] Ibid, 212-213. Blessing, 490.
[100] Karamağaralı, 216.
[101] Ibid, 216.
[102] See Appendix, Figure 25.

which led to Yeni Kapı and Sivas Kapı of the citadel. The priority of the madrasa construction, apart from the street orientation, was the *qibla*, since madrasas were constructed with masjids. This explains the different construction dates and orientations of the madrasa and the bathhouse. On the other hand, the female section was added to the male section which had already been altered by the construction of the mosque. The female section was decorated with glazed tiles similar to those found in Kubadabad, one of the palaces which was built by Kayqubad in the 1220s.[103] These two evidences suggest that the female section was built around the same time as the mosque by Mahpari Khatun in 1238.

Including the Mahpari Khatun bathhouse, there are four recorded medieval (post-Byzantine) bathhouses in the center of Kayseri. The first one is the bathhouse of the Külük complex which was a Danishmendid work.[104] It is in the western side of the walled city. The construction date is unknown. There are two inscriptions and dates which give the later renovations respectively in 1210 by a woman called Atsız Elti, a descendant of the last Danishmendid ruler, and in 1335 by Ibn-i 'Alam al-Din Külek. The second one is Birlik (Kümbet) Hamamı which is also located in the western part of the city, outside the walls, very close to the Gevher Nesibe Complex.[105] The date is unclear. The third one, the Sultan Hamamı is close to the Mahpari Khatun complex.[106]

Kayseri as one of the major Seljuk cities was an important urban center at the heart of Anatolia. Thus, we can correlate the function of those bathhouses as a part of

[103] Akok, 11-12. Karamağaralı, 214. Önge, "Kayseri Huand (Mahperi Hatun) Külliyesinin Hamamı ve Yeni Bulunan Çini Tezyinatı," 10-11, 17. Yurdakul, "Son Buluntulara Göre Kayseri'deki Hunat Hamamı," 141-151. Kuran, *Selçuklulardan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Mimarlık*, 93-94. For a detailed account on the Kubadabad tiles, see, Arık, *Kubadabad-Selçuklu Saray ve Çinileri*. Önge's work includes photos from the bathhouse including the tiles, see. Önge, *Anadolu'da XII-XIII. Yüzyıl Türk Hamamları*, 191-208. Denktaş, *Kayseri'deki Tarihi Su Yapıları (Çeşmeler, Hamamlar)*, 161-7.
[104] Önge, 131-40. Denktaş, 139-147.
[105] Ibid, 141-4. Denktaş, 147-149.
[106] Ibid, including the photos and plans of the building, 145-154. Denktaş, 150-55.

this service network that the Seljuk structures gave. On the other hand, Mahpari Khatun's double bathhouse can be seen as a major contribution to the urban development of Kayseri. To add this kind of a service to the outside of the city walls created a focal point for the new neighborhoods around the complex. Apart from their functions for the urban residents, bathouses were also economic sources for the complexes wih which they were associated. For instance, both the Külük and Mahpari Khatun bathhouses were part of multi-functional complexes. Thus, these buildings probably subsidized the maintenance of the madrasas and mosques. An Ottoman court record from 1617-18 shows that the bathhouse of Mahpari Khatun was rented for economic purposes.[107] It was probably the same in the Seljuk period.

3.2.2 The madrasa

The madrasa is one of the thirteenth-century Anatolian madrasa examples which have an open courtyard and two iwans in the longitudinal axis. It is at ninety degrees with respect to the mosque.[108] The entrance iwan is small whereas the one on the eastern side of the building is quite monumental. The building is rectangular measuring 42 by 28 meters. The porticoes of the open courtyard are supported by piers on three sides. The part which is in front of the large iwan is supported by two columns. Behind the southern and northern porticoes, there are eight rooms per side. On the left and right sides of the large iwan there are two large rooms. The right one gives an access to the tomb of Mahpari Khatun. This access wall which is thicker than the madrasa walls raised the questions of dating. There are also smaller rooms on each side of the entrance. Similar to the mosque, the madrasa also has a fortified

[107] Denktaş, 167.
[108] Blessing, 487. Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, 70-73. Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri: Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devri*, 109-113. Gabriel, 46. See Appendix, Figures 25-26.

image because of the massive walls and the buttresses. This creates a harmonious image for the two buildings. The position of the complex which is outside of the city walls may evoke the question of security behind this approach. However, these structures were designed for aesthetic purposes in a close communication with the citadel next to the complex.[109] In terms of decorative elements, the madrasa is a plain building with the major part of the decoration concentrated on the portal.[110] The portal, just like the portals of the mosque, is a repetition of the classical Seljuk portals with its muqarnas hood and geometric frames. Due to the harsh weather conditions of Kayseri, the decorative elements of the portal have been damaged.

The inclusion of a madrasa in the period of the growing popularity of Baba Ilyas, a Turkmen spiritual leader, may be related to the Seljuk promotion of orthodox Sunni Islam.[111] If we accept the chronology of Haluk Karamağaralı, the madrasa is dated to the period of Kayqubad I and, Mahpari Khatun, by including this structure as one of the major components of the complex, supported the same ideological policy. This project can be seen as a sign of Mahpari Khatun's emphasis on Islam which was underlined in the portal inscriptions of the mosque. Kayseri has many madrasas from the medieval period. These are the Külük madrasa built by the Danishmendids,[112] the madrasa of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I built in 1205,[113] the Avgunlu madrasa from the first half of the thirteenth century,[114] the Saraceddin madrasa of 1238[115] which is an open courtyard type of madrasa and quite similar to the Mahpari Khatun madrasa and the Hacı Kılıç madrasa from 1249.[116] The density

[109] Sözen, 112-113.
[110] See Appendix, Figure 27.
[111] Eastmond, 80.
[112] Çayırdağ, 126. Kuran, 12-14.
[113] Kuran, 65-67.
[114] Aslanapa, 86-7. Kuran, 67-69.
[115] Kuran, 73-74. Sözen, Vol. 1, 11-13.
[116] Aslanapa, 90. Kuran, 75-77.

of these madrasas in Kayseri shows the great impact of the madrasa culture in the city. Thus, the Mahpari Khatun madrasa can be seen as an addition to the existing madrasa network of the city. However, with its fine ashlar masonry, the Mahpari Khatun madrasa can be seen as a massive example.

3.2.3 The mosque

The Mahpari Khatun mosque was built in 1238 on a rectangular plan, with internal measurements of 43 by 52 meters.[117] The mosque has two portals, one on the eastern and the other one on the western side, which contrast with the thick walls articulated only by small windows placed high up.[118] These massive walls are supported by three corner buttresses: two of these are square and the one on the west is octagonal. There are also three minor buttresses between the big ones. This creates a fortress image from the outside.[119] The mosque is divided into ten bays and eight aisles which are covered by vaults supported on square pillars. The order of the aisles and the bays are interrupted in three areas: in front of the mihrab where a dome sits, the central mini courtyard, which was an open space, later covered with a dome and the northwestern corner of the building where the tomb was constructed. The courtyard's measurement is two bays wide and three bays deep. When the mosque was constructed, the courtyard was smaller, however, it was enlarged with the tomb construction. The tomb of Mahpari Khatun is placed slightly off-center within the courtyard which is situated on the northwestern corner of the mosque.

[117] Karamağaralı, 210. Blessing, 484. See Appendix, Figure 28.
[118] See Appendix, Figures 29-30.
[119] Blessing, 484. Aslanapa, 46.

The mihrab of the mosque has a combination of several decorative elements in which the muqarnas decoration was framed with the similar geometric star patterns of the portals.[120] Twisted engaged columns on the both sides of the mihrab have capitals with acanthus motifs. Below the muqarnas hood, there are three narrow and elongated niches within the mihrab. According to Oktay Aslanapa, this creative example is a part of the tradition which can be observed in the mihrabs dated to the period of Kayqubad.[121]

The portals of the mosque are highly decorated. The western portal which is next to the courtyard of the tomb which is bigger and more monumental with its decoration has geometric star patterns on its frame. Above the door, there are muqarnas hoods. There are two portal niches on the both sides of the entrance. The western portal shares the similar decorative techniques with muqarnas and geometric decorations on the frame.[122] Both portals have inscriptions which were inscribed on marble plaques. These inscriptions state the name of the patron with all her titles, and the date of construction. The inscription over the eastern portal of the mosque states as follows:

> "(It) ordered the construction of this blessed congregational mosque in the days of the greatest sultan, Ghiyath al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, the father of conquest, Kaykhusraw son of Kayqubad, the great queen, the wise, the ascetic, Safwat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, his mother, the opener of good deeds, may God perpetuate the shadows of her splendor and multiply her power, in Shawwal of the year 635 (May-June 1238)."[123]

The foundation inscription over the western portal is very similar to the eastern one. It also gives the name of Mahpari Khatun:

---

[120] For a detailed account on the mihrabs of the Seljuk mosques, see. Bakırer, *Onüç ve Ondördüncü Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Mihrabları*.
[121] Aslanapa, 47.
[122] Aslanapa, 47.
[123] Blessing's transliteration and translation, "(1) amara bi-'imara hadha 'l-jami' 'lmubarak fi ayam 'l-sultan 'l-a'zam Ghiyath al-Dunya wa 'l-Din abu 'l-fath Kaykhusraw b. Kayqubad (2) 'l-malika 'l-kabira 'l-'alima 'l-zahida Safwat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, walidahu, fatiha 'l-khayrat adama 'llah zilal (3) jalaliha wa da'afa iqtidahara fi shawwal sana khamsa wa-sittama'ia.", 489.

> "(It) ordered the construction of this blessed mosque in the days of the greatest sultan, Ghiyath al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, the father of conquest, Kaykhusraw son of Kayqubad, the great queen, the wise, the ascetic, Safwat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, Mahbari Khatun, may God perpetuate the shadows of her splendor and multiply her power, in the year 635 (1238)."[124]

Apart from an analysis of her honorific titles and their political meanings which will be discussed later, it is also significant to evaluate these inscriptions in the eyes of the thirteenth century spectators. Visually, the length and type of the texts create a focus towards the portals of the building. As it can be seen in figure 19, the portals of the mosque were oriented towards the Yeni Kapı which was opposite the mosque. Before the construction of the mosque, there was probably a direct route, passing between the bathhouse and the madrasa. With the construction of the mosque, spectators were directed to the mosque having two portals which indirectly link the flow of people. The mosque clearly affected the traffic of the region with its direction and attraction.

The location of the mosque in Kayseri is another issue of discussion. In 1230s, the city probably expanded as a major Seljuk city. The Muslim population of the city could affect these new projects and the development of Kayseri. Like many Anatolian cities the walled city of Kayseri is quite small in terms of having several architectural projects. This unavailability of the space inside the walled city and the existence of the Ulu Mosque of Kayseri next to the city bazaar may have directed Mahperi Khatun to find a better place for her project. This decision can be seen as the expansion of the Seljuk city to the new directions.

[124] Blessing's transliteration and translation, (1) Amara bi-'-imara hadh(a) 'l-masjid 'l-mubarak fi ayam 'l-sultan 'l-a'zam Ghiyath 'l-Dunya wa 'l-Din abu 'l-fath Kaykhusraw b. (2) Kayqubad 'l-malika 'l-kabira Safwat 'l-Dunya wa 'l-Din Mahbari (3) Khatun adama 'llah zilal jalaliha fi sana khamsa wa-thalathin wa-sittama'ia.", 489-490.

There are two mosques in the center of Kayseri which can be compared with the Mahpari Khatun mosque in terms of chronology. The first mosque is the Ulu Cami which was built in 1135 by the Danishmendid ruler Malik Muhammad Ghazi (r.1134-1143). It is within the city walls. Just like the Mahpari Khatun complex, it also had a madrasa next to it. Their plans are also similar with their mini courtyards at the center.[125] The second mosque is also a Danishmendid structure, the Külük mosque which was also a part of madrasa-mosque-bathhouse complex.[126] It does not have a date on it, however, it was renovated by Atsız Elti Khatun in 1210. It is located in the western side of the walled city. The Mahpari Khatun mosque, with its new location could be designed as an alternative to the existing mosques of the city. Moreover, it is larger than the Ulu and Külük mosques. To put the mosque within the contemporary mosque architecture, it is also necessary to understand the mosques which were patronized by Kayqubad. First, the Great Mosque of Malatya which was built by Kayqubad in 1224 is quite different from the Mahpari Khatun mosque because of its courtyard plan.[127] Other two mosque projects of Kayqubad in Konya (1220)[128] and Niğde (1223)[129] have very different plans and decorative programs. The Alaeddin Mosque of Konya was an ongoing project which was finalized by him. This is why it can be seen as a combination of several additions by different sultans. The Alaeddin mosque in Niğde is a smaller example but a better comparison which reflects the classical Anatolian Seljuk mosque architecture. It was built by an amir of Kayqubad I, Zayn al-Din Beşare. To summarize, the Mahpari Khatun Mosque was among the major mosques in its period, comparable with the sultanic mosques. This is an important indication for the political and economic power of Mahpari Khatun.

[125] Çayırdağ, 126. Çabuk and Demir, 29. Aslanapa, 14-16.
[126] Çayıdağ, 126. Çabuk and Demir, 30. Aslanapa, 16-17.
[127] Aslanapa, 38-42.
[128] Ibid, 31-35.
[129] Ibid, 35-38.

Apart from this typological comparison between the mosques which previously had been constructed and the Mahpari Khatun mosque, the most fruitful analysis may come from a comparison between her patronage and the mosque of ‘Ismat al-Dunya wa ‘l-Din (known as Alaeddin Camii or Ulu Camii), the cousin and wife of ‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad.[130] Mughith al-Din Tughrulshah (r. 1202-1225), the father of ‘Ismat al-Dunya, was the ruler of Erzurum as the head of an independent regional Seljuk authority. Her brother, Rukn al-Din Jahanshah, was killed by Kayqubad after the Battle of Yassıçemen. The marriage of Kayqubad and ‘Ismat al-Dunya occurred in this tragic context. The mosque, which burned down in 1910, was built by ‘Ismat al-Dunya in 1232, during Kayqubad’s reign. The most reliable evidence about the building is its surviving inscription.

> “This blessed masjid was built in the days of the reign of the greatest sultan, the great Shahanshah, God’s shadow on earth, ‘Ala’ al-Dunya wa ‘l-Din, Father of Victory, Kayqubad, son of Kaykhusraw, and with the wealth of the learned and just queen, ‘Ismat al-Dunya wa ‘l-Din, Quintessence of Islam and of Muslims, daughter of the martyred king Tughrulshah, son of Qılıch Arslan, may [God] extend her success, in Rajab of the year 629 (May 1232).” [131]

The inscriptional evidence which Scott Redford analyzed shows a highly complex network of relations within the Seljuk dynasty. The length, style and the size of the text as well as the emphasis on her economic independence and her own noble qualities seem to suggest a different case from the patronage of Mahpari Khatun. Unlike Mahpari Khatun, she was a member of the Seljuk ruling dynasty in her own right, claiming her relationship to her father’s authority in Erzurum. Even though

[130] The most detailed work about Ismat al-Dunya wa ‘l-Din is the article of Scott Redford which he analyzes the inscriptional evidence, see Redford, “Paper, Stone, Scissors: ‘Ala’ Al-Din Kayqubad, Ismat Al-Dunya Wa ‘l-Din, and the Writing of Seljuk History,” 151-170.
[131] Ibid, 154.

Uluborlu could not be seen as a major urban location for such a project, her royal and economic benefits reflect a different image.[132]

3.2.4 The tomb

The tomb of Mahpari Khatun is an octagonal structure which is located in the corner of the mosque within a small courtyard where the mosque is attached to the madrasa wall.[133] The tomb has no opening to the mosque or to the courtyard. It can only be entered from one of the cells located to the right of the major iwan of the madrasa. Even though many authors mention that the tomb has two storeys, this is not verified. It sits on a square base measuring 9 by 9 meters. The height of the structure is 16 meters. Because of the position of the tomb within the courtyard[134], only the conical dome can be seen from the outside of the complex. There are six windows on the structure which are divided by small columns. The interior has a mihrab and in the middle there are three cenotaphs: the marble one with inscriptions belongs to Mahpari Khatun, the one in the middle belongs to her granddaughter Saljuqi Khatun, the last one has no date or inscription.[135]

The decorative repertoire of the tomb is quite rich.[136] The marble base was decorated with rows of muqarnas niches. It is the only example in Anatolia which was not repeated again.[137] However, a more basic version of it, interestingly again on

[132] Ibid, 155-156.
[133] See Appendix, Figures 25-26.
[134] From the figure 27, you can see the tombs around the Mahperi Khatun's tomb. Today, they don't exist. See Appendix, Figures 31-32.
[135] Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*, 164-172. Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 113-4. See Appendix, Figure 33.
[136] See Appendix, Figure 34.
[137] Tuncer, 168.

a woman's tomb, is seen in the Hüdavent Hatun tomb (1312) in Niğde.[138] Above the muqarnas base, there are round mouldings which run along the height of the octagon. Above this decoration, there is an inscription from the Qur'an (II: 255) which runs around the top, before a muqarnas cornice. The sides of the tomb are divided with engaged columns which link the false arches. The inner parts of these arches were kept plain unlike the outer parts which were densely decorated with geometric and vegetal patterns.[139]

Like the portals of the mosque, the cenotaph of Mahpari Khatun reveals the intentions and identity of its patron:

> "This is the tomb of the lady, the veiled lady, the fortunate, the martyr, the ascetic, the servant, the devote, the fighter, the promoter of faith, the chaste, the just princess, the queen of the women in the world, the virtuous, the clean, Mary of her Age and Khadija of her Time, the well-known mistress who gives alms,at the expense of thousands [of riches], purity of the world and of religion, Mahbari Sultan Khatun the mother of the late sultan Ghiyath 'l-Dunya wa 'l-Din Kaykhusraw b. Kayqubad, may God have mercy upon them all, Amen."[140]

The cenotaph of Saljuqi Khatun has also an inscription on it:

> "In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate. The owner of this tomb is Saljuqi Khatun, the daughter of the martyr Sultan Kaykhusraw b. Kayqubad in Muharram of the year 683 (1284)"[141]

Both the date on the cenotaph of the princess and the last date at which Mahpari Khatun is known to have been alive (1254) suggest a probable dating for the tomb.

---

[138] Önkal, 155-161.
[139] Önkal, 113-7.
[140] Blessing's transliteration and translation, "(1) hadha qabr 'l-sitt 'l-sayyida 'l-satira 'l-sa'ida 'l-shaida 'l-zahida 'l-abida 'l-murabita 'l-mujahida 'l-masuna 'l-sahiba 'l-adila (2)'l-malika 'l-nisa' fi 'l-alam 'l-afifa 'l-nazifa Maryam awaniha wa Khadija zamaniha sahiba 'l-ma'rufa 'l-mutasaddiqa bil-mal uluf safwat 'l-dunya (3) wa 'l-din Mahbari Khatun walida 'l-sultan 'l-marhum Ghiyath 'l-Dunya wa 'l-Din Kaykhusraw b. Kayqubad rahimahum 'llah ajma'in amin.", 491.
[141] Ibid, (1) bismillah 'l-rahman 'l-rahim (2) sahiba hadha 'l-qabr (3) Saljuqi Khatun bint (4) sultan 'l-shahid Kaykhusraw (5) b. Kayqubad fi Muharram sana thalatha (6) wa-thamanun wa sittama'ia.", 492. For the Turkish translations and Arabic inscriptions of the cenotaphs, see Önkal, 116.

Furthermore, the content of the inscription reveals bits and pieces from the world of Mahpari Khatun. First of all, she is clearly depicted as the sultan's mother, an important royal figure, a patron of architecture and charitable foundations.[142] There are symbolically coded titles which linked her to the larger context of protocol. The title of Safwat 'l-Dunya wa 'l-Din, used in all three inscriptions of the complex, can be seen as an indication of her background, because it seems that this title was used to define the non-royal wives of the sultan. On the other hand, 'Ismat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din seems to have been reserved for sultans born as princesses.[143] Secondly, references to female figures like Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, and Khadija, the first wife of Muhammad and his first follower, were likely chosen to show a religious connotation for Mahpari Khatun.[144]

Some of the epithets which give references to veiling, chastity and piety in Mahpari Khatun's tomb are also observed in the Madrasa al-Firdaws in Aleppo, patronized by Dayfa Khatun in 1235.[145] On the inscription of this building, Dayfa Khatun is described with the epithets "virtuous veil and chaste lady" (*al-sitr al-rafi' wa 'l-hijab al-mani'*). Dayfa Khatun was the regent queen (1236-1243) in Ayyubid Aleppo and was also the sister or half-sister of the Ayyubid princess, al-Malika al-'Adiliyya, who was married to 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad but lost her life in the process of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II's accession to the throne.

In terms of its plan, as we discussed in chapter 2, the Mahpari Khatun tomb can be considered among the "enclosed" tombs which were constructed within enclosing walls or a courtyard. The Mama Khatun tomb and the Mu'mina Khatun

[142] Ibid, 492.
[143] Ibid, 492. Redford, "Paper, Stone, Scissors," 155. Akşit, "Melike-i Adiliye Kümbetinde Selçuklu Devri Saltanat Mücadelesine Dair İzler," 239-45.
[144] Blessing, 492-3.
[145] Ibid, 493. Tabbaa, *Construction of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo*, 44-48. Tabbaa, "Dayfa Khatun, Regent Queen and Architectural Patron," 17-34.

tombs represent earlier examples of this phenomenon. The example of the so-called Köşk Medrese in Kayseri from a later period, 1339, makes the Mahpari Khatun tomb more interesting. Should we approach Mahpari Khatun's tomb as a transitional case between the early examples of this type and the Köşk Medrese? Why do we see this plan in these female tombs? These questions direct us to the relation between gender and architectural space and preferences which is discussed in chapter 4.

3.3. The caravanserais of Mahpari Khatun

Apart from Mahpari Khatun's monumental complex in Kayseri, she also built caravanserais in the region of Sivas, Tokat, Amasya and Samsun. During Kayqubad's reign, caravanserais were largely concentrated on the east-west direction which connected Konya to the east and to the Mediterranean ports of Seljuk lands, Antalya and Alanya. It is apparent that Mahpari Khatun focused on the north of the Seljuk territories which connected the port of Sinop with the central Anatolian plateau.[146] The patronage of Mahpari Khatun consists of two caravanserais which can be directly linked to her with their inscriptions.[147] There are also five further caravanserais which are traditionally attributed to Mahpari Khatun. Even if we exclude those caravanserais from her patronage, Hatun Han and Çinçinli Han give enough support to show her role in the commercial activities or at least her economic power. Like the Kayseri complex, all the caravanserais were built during her son's reign.

[146] Durukan, 17. See Appendix, Figure 35.
[147] Eastmond, 81.

The Hatun Hanı in Pazar near Tokat is the best preserved caravanserai of Mahpari Khatun.[148] It was built in the same year (1238-9) as the complex in Kayseri. This is an indication of the significant financial sources of Mahpari Khatun. Like most thirteenth-century examples, the caravanserai consists of two parts, an open courtyard and a covered section. The façade has a fortified image with the addition of round corner buttresses similar in effect to her complex in Kayseri. The ashlar masonry of the building is also quite massive. The portal is decorated with engaged columns and geometric frames.

There are two inscriptions on the caravanserai, nearly identical with each other. The first one which is over the entrance portal states that:

> "During the days of the greatest sultan (and great khaqan, the shadow of God in the world, Ghiyath al-Dunya) wa 'l-Din, the father of conquest, Kaykhusraw, son of the felicitous sultan Kayqubad, associate of the prince of believers, the queen of good, the purity of world and religion, the mother of the sultan, Mahbari Khatun ordered the construction of this blessed khan in the year 636 (1238-39)."[149]

The second inscription of the building is placed over the entrance to the covered section of the caravanserai, framed with an arched molding which is decorated with a crown-pattern.[150] This statement of the patron and her status during her son's reign publicized her position on the portals of this commercial structure which was a

[148] Sunay, "Tokat-Pazar Mahperi Hatun Kervansarayı," 255-271. Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 135-9. Blessing, 496-7. Eastmond, 81. Durukan, 17. See Appendix, Figure 36.

[149] Transliteration and translation of Blessing, "(1) [amara bi-'imara hadhihi 'l-khan 'l-mubarak fi ayam dawla 'ş-sultan] 'l-a'zam (2) (wa-l-khaqan 'l-mu'azzam zill Allah fi'l-'alam Ghiyath al-Dunya wa) 'l-Din abu 'l-fath (3) Kaykhusraw b.'l-sultan 'l-sa'id Kayqubad qasim amir 'lmu'minin 'l-malika 'l-khayr (4) safwat 'l-dunya wa 'l-din walida 'l-sultan [sic!] 'l-salatin Mahberi Khatun fi sana sitta wa-thalathin wa-sittama'ia.", 496.

[150] The second inscription is nearly identical to the first one. In this one Mahpari Khatun's name appears to be illegible. Blessing, " (1) amara bi-'imara hadhihi 'l-khan 'l-mubarak fi ayam dawlat 'l-sultan 'l-a'zam wa-l-khaqan 'l-mu'azzam zill Allah (2)fi 'l-'alam Ghiyath al-Dunya wa 'l-Din abu 'l-fath Kaykhusraw b. 'l-sultan 'l-sa'id……..(3) Kayqubad qasim amir 'l-mu'mininin 'l-malika 'l-khayr (4) safwat 'l-dunya wa 'l-din (4) walida 'l-sultan [sic] 'l-salatin safwat 'l-dunya wa 'l-din malika …… fi sana sitta wa-thalathin wa-sittama'ia.", 497.

crucial point of connection between Sinop and the Alanya-Antalya ports, passing through the capital city, Konya.[151]

The Çınçınlı Sultan Hanı (also known as Cimcimli Han) is located between Yozgat and Zile. It was built in 1239. This is also a classical type of Seljuk caravanserai with its covered and open sections. The courtyard and the internal structure of the covered section are in ruins. This caravanserai is directly connected to Mahpari Khatun through the fragments of a foundation inscription in her name, now found in a nearby mosque.[152]

Five other caravanserais were associated with Mahpari Khatun by Kurt Erdmann. However, they cannot be attributed with full certainty.[153] The Çiftlik Han is between Tokat and Sivas. It was probably built around 1238/40. It is the only caravanserai which has a closed plan among the so called "Mahpari Khatun caravanserais". At least, there is no indication for a courtyard. This is a small structure with three aisles and five bays which remain partly preserved.[154] The Çekereksu Han is located between Yozgat and Zile, built around 1239/40. It is a classical type of caravanserai with the rectangular closed section which has three aisles and five bays and the open courtyard. Today, the caravanserai is in ruins.[155] The Ezinepazar Han or İne Pazar/Çavuş Hanı is located between Amasya and Tokat, built around 1238-46. The structure is rectangular and has three aisles and eight bays. The caravanserai has the similar fortified impact with the buttresses attached to its walls as we see in many contemporary caravanserais. The building has an inscription from 1651 which shows the continuous usage of the building and its physical

[151] Blessing, 497.
[152] Ibid, 497. Acun, 488. Erdmann, 140-3. Durukan, 17-18.
[153] Blessing, 497. Erdmann, 156-8. Acun, 489.
[154] Durukan, 18. Erdmann, 156-58. Blessing, 497. Acun, 489.
[155] Durukan, 18. Erdmann, 56-7. Blessing, 497. Acun, 487.

situation.[156] The Tahtoba Han is located between Sivas and Tokat, again built around 1238-46. It consists of two sections: the covered area which has a rectangular shape and the square shaped area with an open courtyard which. Most parts of the building are in ruins.[157] The date of Ibibse Han is not known. It is accepted as one of the caravanserais of Mahpari Khatun. It is located between Tokat and Pazar, an area Mahpari Khatun intensely patronized her caravanserai projects. The structure consists of a covered section and an open courtyard. Today, it is in ruins.[158]

3.4 The patronage of Mahpari Khatun in the context of the 1230s

The story of Mahpari Khatun includes some of the turning points of Anatolian Seljuk history. She was the daughter of Kyr Vard who took control of Kalanoros/Ala'iye after the invasion of Constantinople in 1204 by the Latins. This small principality to which she belonged was surrounded by the Turks in the north and Armenians in the east. As part of the expansionist policy of Kayqubad, the town was annexed by the Seljuks in 1221. The city with its port, which opened the Anatolian hinterland to the Mediterranean, became a Seljuk town. This gain on the shores of southern Anatolia strengthened the economic position of the Seljuks and, at the same time, constituted a critical base to the west of Cilicia. 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I also focused on eastern Anatolia where Turkish principalities like the Mengüjekids were based in the northern areas of the Euphrates. His alliance with the Ayyubids which became strengthened after his marriage with the Ayyubid princess, known as al-Malika al-'Adiliyya, in 1227 guaranteed the protection of the southern frontier of the Seljuk lands. This broke the resistance of the Turkish principalities and Erzincan was

[156] Erdmann, 158-60. Blessing, 497. Acun, 499.
[157] Durukan, 18. Erdmann, 57-8. Blessing, 497. Acun, 527.
[158] Durukan, 18. Erdmann, 191-2. Blessing, 497.

annexed in 1228 from the Mengüjekids, although the Divriği branch survived as a Seljuk vassal. This period was also the time of the northern expeditions especially towards Crimea, taking Sudaq, an ancient port of the north-west oriented trade. In the later periods of his reign, 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I took control of eastern Anatolia by defeating the Georgian, Ayyubid and Khwarezmian powers.[159]

This political domination brought economic prosperity to the Seljuk state. To attract the flux of merchants, a large number of caravanserais were patronized by Kayqubad. These are the Alara Han in Antalya, the Eğirdir Han in Isparta, the two Sultan Hans in between Aksaray-Konya and Kayseri-Sivas and the Tol Han between Seydişehir and Alanya.[160] The concentration of caravanserais in the Kayqubad period was mainly between the central Anatolia and its connections to the east and south. In terms of other architectural patronage, the period of Kayqubad was quite rich. He patronized congregational mosques, palaces, caravanserais in many places of Anatolia. As Suzan Yalman analyzes in her dissertation, his period can be seen as a period of building for the Rumi Seljuks.[161]

Kayqubad died in 1237 and left a political struggle behind him. He had three sons, two of whom, 'Izz al-Din Qılıch Arslan and Rukn al-Din, were the sons of the Ayyubid princess. The oldest son of Kayqubad was Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II.[162] Even though Kayqubad apparently declared Qılıch Arslan as the heir of the state, with the support of Sa'd al-Din Köpek, just two days after his father's death,

[159] Turan, 325-385. Cahen, 52-65.
[160] Acun, 478,494, 524-5.
[161] For the most detailed account on the patronage of Kayqubad, see the unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation of Suzan Yalman, History of Art and Architecture Department in Harvard University, 2010. Redford, "Landscape and The Centralizing State: The Rum Seljuks and Anatolia," 53-90. Redford, "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery," 219-236. Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered," 54-74. Arık, *Kubadabad.*
[162] For a detailed account of his enthronment process and his reign., see Turan, 403-411. Cahen, 65-71.

Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II succeeded to power.[163] Sa'd al-Din Köpek apparently organized the executions of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II's two brothers and their mother, the Ayyubid princess al- Malika al-'Adiliyya. The daughters of this Ayyubid wife were married to the Ayyubid courts but came back to Anatolia after the death of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II and, in 1247, they transferred the remains of their mother to Kayseri where they built a tomb outside of the city. This can be seen as a protest to the Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II regime.[164] Between 1237 and 1238, Sa'd al-Din Köpek killed nearly all of his opponents in the army and the political elite.[165] This "reign of terror" is seen as a reason behind the decline of the state which lost its power due to these killings.

Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II continued to focus on the eastern frontier of the state, by creating alliances with the Ayyubids and the Georgians. His marriages to the princesses of these dynasties like Gürcü Khatun strengthened the ties between them. Until 1240, he could sustain a balanced policy towards the Byzantines, Ayyubids and the Georgians. However, the wide and massive revolts in Anatolia due to the Baba'i revolt broke the resistance and the authority of the Seljuk state.[166] The Baba'i movement affected the Turkmens and created an internal crisis. This shows the ideological and religious tensions between the state and the some layers of the society. This chaotic atmosphere with the rise of the Mongol power on the eastern borders of the state started to threaten the Seljuk authority. In 1243, the Mongol invasion and the Battle of Kösedağ resulted in a major blow to the state and its urban

[163] For a detailed account on the rise of Sa'd al-Din Köpek, see. Yıldız, "The rise and fall of a tyrant in Seljuk Anatolia Sa 'd al-Din Köpek's reign of terror, 1237-8," 92-101. Turan, 403-13.
[164] For the tomb of the Ayyubid princess, see. Akşit, "Melike -i Adiliye Kümbetinde Selçuklu Devri Saltanat Mücadelesine Dair İzler," 239-45.
[165] Sa'd al-Din was also the architect of the sultan. He built Kubadabad palace. See, Arık, *Kubadabad*. The Zazadin Han between Konya and Aksaray was built by him which shows his economic power. Its plan and decoration as well as the inscriptions can be seen in the sultanic caravanserais. See, Önge, "Zazadin Han (Sadeddin Köpek Kervansarayı)," 195-200.
[166] Turan, 420-7.

centers.[167] After the death of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II, the state could not recover its power and Anatolia became a Mongol vassal.

The issue of Mahpari Khatun's conversion should be analyzed in two periods: after her marriage and after her son's accession to the throne. During her marriage, she could remain as a Christian, because there were many Byzantine women in the harem[168] and, more importantly, there is evidences for the existence of functioning palace churches in Konya, Alanya, İspir and Bayburt[169] which shows an atmosphere of religious accommodation for these women. Mahpari Khatun's Christian identity during her marriage to Kayqubad I is mentioned in a letter which was sent from Baldwin II, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, to Blanche of Castille.[170] The question of conversion becomes more complicated after her son's accession to the throne. Antony Eastmond argued that Mahpari Khatun used her patronage as a tool to fashion a new Muslim identity for herself. After overcoming her rival and making her son the ruler of the state, perhaps these projects were necessary for her to be able to appear as a public figure.[171] To return to the conversion discussion, patronizing a mosque most probably necessitated to be converted. The titles on her cenotaph which reference Mary and Khadija may be taken as indicating a new religious identity. However, if we look carefully at the thirteenth century Seljuk harem and its religious composition, we cannot talk about radically defined lines between the two religions for the royal family.[172] Thus, Mahpari Khatun's situation can be both, a willing convert who wanted show her religious dignity and political power through her

[167] Ibid, 431-43.
[168] See, Shukurov, "Harem Christianity".
[169] Tekinalp, "Palace Churches of the Anatolian Seljuks: tolerance or necessity?,"148-167. Shukurov, "Churches in the Citadels of İspir and Bayburt: An Evidence of 'Harem Christianty'?", 713-23. For the most detailed study of the Eflatun Mescidi to date, see, Eyice, "Konya'nın Alaeddin Tepeseinde Selçuklu Öncesine Ait Bir Eser: Eflatun Mescit," 269-302
[170] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204-1261," 223.
[171] Eastmond, 86. Blessing, 494
[172] Shukurov, 115-150.

patronage activities or a person who had a dual and flexible Christiano-Islamic identity.

In the short period of her son's reign, Mahpari Khatun patronized a large complex in one of the major cities of the Seljuk state, Kayseri, as well as up to seven caravanserais which are directly or indirectly associated with her. With the three building projects which are directly linked to her, Mahpari Khatun constitutes an important actor in the architectural patronage in medieval Anatolia. Both the scale of the buildings and the role of her caravanserais in the northern trade routes show an economically and politically exclusive patronage. The numbers of building which she patronized can be easily compared to the sultans of the state. How she could get the financial source for these buildings and the decisions for the places remain unknown. Being the mother of the new sultan undoubtedly enhanced her status and in the absence of other rivals, she probably had enough power and desire for patronizing these structures. Mahpari Khatun's patronage allows us to look in more detail into the dynamics of the Seljuk dynasty just before a period of turmoil triggered by the Mongol invasions.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER AND ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE

Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun were two important patrons of medieval Anatolia who patronized multi-functional complexes to reflect their political and economic power.[173] I chose them among the many female patrons of this period because of the common points between them. The scale of their patronage is very similar. Mama Khatun's complex comprises a madrasa, bathhouse, masjid and tomb. Similarly, the Mahpari Khatun complex includes her tomb with a mosque, madrasa and bathhouse. Apart from her complex in Kayseri, Mahpari Khatun built at least two caravanserais with five more attributed to her name. These complexes differentiate Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun from the other women patrons of medieval Anatolia. There are no other women who are known to have patronized on this scale and grandeur. One of the most sumptuous projects of the female patronage of medieval Anatolia is the hospital in Divriği (1228/9) built by Turan Malik, a Mengujekid princess, as part of a complex.[174] Atsız Elti Khatun's renovation inscription (1210) on the Külük (Kölük/Gölük/Gülük) multi-functional complex in Kayseri can be seen from different perspectives. She may have built or enlarged the complex as part of the

[173] For a detailed account on the life of Mama Khatun, see. Sümer, *Selçuklular Devrinde Doğu Anadolu'da Türk Beylikleri*, 35-36. Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, 33-34. For Mahperi Khatun see. Blessing, "Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia and a Discussion of Mahbari Khatun's Mosque Complex in Kayseri," 475-526. Durukan, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatında Kadın Baniler," 16-18. Bates, "Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey," 246. Uyumaz, "Türkiye Selçuklu Sultanları, Melikleri ve Melikelerinin Evlilikleri," 371-372. Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 336-337. Eastmond, "Gender and Patronage Between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century," 78-88. Crane, "Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia," 49-50.

[174] Turan Malik is generally discussed within the discussion of architectural patronage of the mosque-hospital complex in Divriği. To have a detailed understanding of the Mengüjekid dynasty and Turan Malik see, Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği: A History of Relations and Transitions", 169-194. For the Mengüjekid dynasty, see. Sakaoğlu, *Türk Anadolu'da Mengücekoğulları*. Sümer, 1-14. For the architectural plan and decoration program of the hospital and mosque complex see, Kuban, *Divriği Mucizesi: Selçuklular Çağında İslam Bezeme Sanatı Üzerine Bir Deneme*.

renovation. Apart from these examples, the majority of female patronage in medieval Anatolia consists of tomb structures. The Çifte Kümbet in Kayseri (1247) in which one of the wives of ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad I, al-Malika al-‘Adiliyya, was buried by her daughters, and the Hüdavend Khatun tomb in Niğde (1312) are examples of the female patronage.[175] The patronage of Sufi lodges which is studied by Ethel Sara Wolper is an important area of study for the female patronage.[176]

The second common point for Mahpari Khatun and Mama Khatun is that both were active as patrons at a time when they were not in a marriage. Mama Khatun was an unmarried woman. During her reign, she sought to find an Ayyubid spouse and a co-ruler.[177] Probably, she could not realize this objective and was overthrown by her male relatives. Mahpari Khatun was a widow when she started to patronize her complex and caravanserais. The royal position and particular marital status may have created a conjunction of opportunity which other female patrons did not enjoy. ‘Ismat al-Dunya wa ‘l- Din, one of the wives of ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad I, built Kırkgöz Han and Derebucak Han after the death of her husband while her earlier patronage, the mosque in Uluborlu, may have been built during a time of alienation in her marriage.[178]

In terms of the location of these two complexes, we can also look at the differences between the urban and non-urban contexts which created these structures. While Tercan was a small town which was on the road between Erzincan and Erzurum, Kayseri, where Mahpari Khatun established her complex, was an urban

[175] For Hüdavend Khatun tomb, see. Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 115-161. For Çifte Kümbet, see. Önkal, 98-102. Tuncer, Anadolu Kümbetleri, 151-155. Akşit, “Melike-i Adiliye Kümbetinde Selçuklu Devri Saltanat Mücadelesine Dair İzler”, 239-245.
[176] Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia*.
[177] Sümer, 35-36.
[178] Redford, “Paper, Stone, Scissors: ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad, Ismat al-Dunya wa ‘l-Din and the Writing of Seljuk History”, 157

center of the Seljuk lands. By analyzing these two cases, I suggest three major themes which can be approached through the patronage of Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun: multi-functional complexes, caravanserais and women's tombs with an ambulatory or a courtyard.

4.1 Patronage of multi-functional complexes by women

The first major theme about these two patrons is the multi-functional complexes which they patronized. In terms of their scales, plans and the institutions which were included, the Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun complexes were pioneers in the Islamic architecture of Anatolia. The Mama Khatun multi-functional complex was designed to serve traders with its caravanserai, bathhouse and masjid.[179] As the only surviving Saltukid multi-functional complex located between Erzincan and Erzurum, it had a great importance. The Mahpari Khatun multi-functional complex, as the urban counterpart of the Tercan example, included a madrasa instead of a caravanserai.[180] While Kayseri had already been an important Seljuk city when Mahpari Khatun patronized her multi-functional complex, Tercan was a small town which became an attraction for the settlers with the addition of Mama Khatun's project.

[179] There are limited number of studies about the Mama Khatun complex as a whole. For a general information about the madrasa and the tomb, see. Ünal, *Les Monuments Islamiques anciens de la ville d'Erzurum et de sa region*. Yetkin, "Mama Hatun Türbesi". 75-92. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, 243-245. Yavuz, "Anadolu'da Eşodaklı Selçuklu Hanları", 187-204.

[180] Mahperi Khatun complex is a well documented structure. Each parts of the complex have been studied widely, see. Blessing, 475-526. Gabriel, *Les monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, 39-40. Akok, "Kayseri'de Hunad Mimari Külliyesinin Rölövesi," 5-44. Karamağaralı, "Kayseri'deki Hunat Camisinin Restitüsyonu", 199-245. Önge, "Kayseri Huand (Mahperi Hatun) Külliyesinin Hamamı ve Yeni Bulunan Çini Tezyinatı," 8-9. Yurdakul, "Son Buluntulara Göre Kayseri'deki Hunat Hamamı," 141-151. Aslanapa, *Anadolu'da Türk Mimarisi, Başlangıç ve Gelişmesi*, 46. Önge, *Anadolu'da XII-XIII. Yüzyıl Türk Hamamları*, 191-208. Denktaş, *Kayseri'deki Tarihi Su Yapıları (Çeşmeler, Hamamlar)*, 161-7. Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, 70-73. Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri: Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devri*, 109-113. Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*, 164-172. Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 113-4.

These massive projects raise two questions; first, the patronage of a complex on this level may have cost a fortune for the patron and the maintenance of these buildings may have required a sustainable income from a waqf.[181] The royal ties of Mama Khatun as the daughter of the Saltukid ruler mean that she probably already had political and economic power, when she became the queen. The dates of the patronage activities of Mahpari Khatun show that she could exercise economic and political power only after her son's accession. Apart from the royal economic sources which helped Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun to erect these buildings, there should be other sources for the maintenance. In the Tercan example, the bathhouse and the services of caravanserai could be used as income for the complex. Even though the town had always been small, the trade circuits may have brought a flow of people who received these services. In Kayseri, the double bathhouse in the urban context could generate an income for the maintenance of the madrasa, mosque and the tomb. We also know the caravanserais of Mahpari Khatun which were scattered around the central Black Sea region, north of Kayseri. Both the centrality of the projects and the economic power of Mahpari Khatun made possible this complex as the earliest Seljuk multi-functional complex. Moreover, the multi-functional complex of Mahpari Khatun had a transformative impact for the urban development of the city. It shaped and contributed to the existing urban fabric with the several services which were given.

Due to the lack of knowledge about many of the medieval Islamic architectural structures because of the absence of inscriptional and other documentary evidence, it is hard to map these women patrons within the Anatolian context. The buildings which have survived show that there were other female

[181] For a detailed account on the waqfs in Anatolian Seljuk period, see. Yüksel, "Anadolu Selçukluları'nda Vakıflar".

patrons who patronized different combinations of structures or became co-patron. Kayseri with its numerous medieval structures is a unique Seljuk city where there are several cases of female patronage.[182] The earliest multi-functional structure of the city was the Külük complex which was designed as a mosque-madrasa-bathhouse combination. After the first mosque of the city, the Great Mosque of Kayseri built in 1135 by the Danishmendids within the citadel next to the bazaar, the Kölük project drew a different line towards the west of the walled city.[183] Atsız Elti Khatun, a woman of Danishmendid lineage, patronized the renovation of Külük complex in 1210.[184] The complex has not been studied in detail. This is why we do not know exactly the situation of the complex before and after her intervention. She might have rebuilt the complex completely. The second multifunctional complex of the city was Çifte Medrese (1206). Gevher Nesibe Khatun, the daughter of Qılıch Arslan II (r. 1156-1192), is associated with the hospital part of the Çifte Medrese project.[185] It is unclear whether Gevher Nesibe Khatun was the actual patron or whether the hospital was built in her name by her brother Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (r. 1192-1196 and 1205-1211). The complex is located in the north of the citadel. By looking at the position of the Mahpari Khatun complex (1238) which sits on the eastern side of the walled city and the one closest to it, as the third multi-functional complex of Kayseri, we might suggest some points between these projects. In the first three multi-functional complexes of Kayseri, we see a woman's impact or direct patronage. This is a very important number for the architectural patronage of the city, because until the construction of the Hacı Kılıç multi-functional complex in 1249/50, we see the dominance of women patrons in these projects. The position of these complexes

[182] Şaman Doğan, "Kayseri'deki Selçuklu Külliyeleri," 191-214.
[183] Çayırdağ, "Selçuklular Dönemi'nde Kayseri", 126. Çabuk and Demir, *Türk Dönemi Kayseri Kenti ve Mahalleleri,* 29. Aslanapa, 14-16.
[184] Çayırdağ, 115-161. Çabuk and Demir, 26-33. Aslanapa, 16-17.
[185] Cantay, *Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darüşşifaları*, 41-44. Aslanapa, 82.

which were all built in a different direction of the city may indicate an effort to develop the urban character of the city. Actually, all of these complexes became attraction points for further developments around them. With their madrasas and similar interconnected plans, it is obvious that there was an interaction between these examples. In this respect, Gevher Nesibe Khatun and Atsız Elti Khatun can be seen as models for Mahpari Khatun.

There were other female patrons who were involved in multi-functional complex projects. The Mengüjekid princess, Turan Malik, was the co-patron of one of the unique structures of Anatolia, the mosque-hospital complex in Divriği built in 1228/9.[186] There is no inscriptional evidence about the marital status of Turan Malik, even though it is often presumed that she was the wife of Ahmadshah who was the ruler of Divriği and the builder of the mosque. Turan Malik patronized the hospital of the complex. The inscription of the hospital documents her vertical kinship.

> "The just queen, in need of God Almighty's pardon, Turan Malik, daughter of the fortunate king Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah, ordered the building of this blessed house of healing, longing for God Almighty's benevolence. May God accept it, Amen. In one of the months of sixhundred and twenty-six."[187]

Turan Malik's father Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah (r.1165-1225) was an important cultural and political figure in eastern Anatolia.[188] Her brother Davudshah lost Erzincan to the Seljuks in the same year as the building of the complex in Divriği.[189] There is also a bathhouse at a short distance which was excavated in 2003. There are different suggestions about the dating of the building.[190] With its distinctive decoration program and the employment of artists from Ahlat and Tbilisi, the

[186] See note 149.
[187] For the original text and translation see, Pancaraoğlu, 190/1.
[188] For the Erzincan branch of the Mengüjekids and Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah, see, Turan, 76-80.
[189] For the reign of Davudshah and the fall of Erzincan to the Seljuks, see, Turan, 80-82.
[190] Pancaroğlu, 169 and note 3.

mosque-hospital (and probably bathhouse) complex was built during the political expansion of ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad I. The Divriği branch of the Mengüjekid dynasty survived as a vassal of the Seljuks and may have built this complex as a sign of their distinct dynastic identity.

Elti Khatun is another woman patron who built a mosque-madrasa and a tomb complex in Mazgirt (in Tunceli) in 1252.[191] Her identity is unknown. As in the Divriği case, Mazgirt and Tercan were both minor towns with limited economic and political importance. The Uluborlu mosque of ‘Ismat al-Dunya wa ‘l-Din, though it is not a part of a multi-functional complex, is another example of female patronage in a minor town. Except for Kayseri, all multi-functional complexes of women patrons were built in these minor places. Was that because of the survival of these buildings in these minor towns? Or should we see this situation as a policy? In Konya, Erzurum, Sivas and Amasya, the multi-functional complexes were largely patronized by the sultans and state officials.[192] Both the absence of strong female patron figures who could afford to erect multi-functional complexes and the male domination in the main urban centers show the importance of these two patrons in the transformation of medieval Islamic architectural patronage.

Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun both patronized their structures in a period of political turmoil or edge of a crisis. Turan Malik, as a member of the Erzincan branch of the Mengüjekid dynasty, patronized the hospital in Divriği during the expansions of ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad I.[193] Female patronage around Tokat which Ethel Sara Wolper analyzed can be seen as an evidence of the importance of female patrons during the post-Mongol period when the Seljuk elites were represented

[191] Aslanapa, 44-45.
[192] Crane, “Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia”, 6-11.
[193] For a detailed account on the expansion policy of Kayqubad I in eastern Anatolia, see. Turan, 351-357. Sakaoğlu, 101- 109. Pancaroğlu, 177-178..

through their female members.[194] Atsız Elti Khatun is a similar case which shows the continuity of the Danishmendid elite in Kayseri.[195] She renovated the Danishmendid multi-functional complex in the Seljuk period. The economic power and hereditary existence of the dynasties could be sustained by elite women.

4.2 The caravanserais and trade

The second common element between Mama Khatun and Mahperi Khatun is their patronage of caravanserais.[196] The Mama Khatun caravanserai was part of a multi-functional complex. In terms of scale, it is the largest building within the complex and shows the priority of the building. Tercan was geographically on an intersection which combined the east-west Silk Road trade with the Black Sea ports of the Seljuks and the Byzantines through Bayburt. The caravanserai of Mama Khatun is quite difficult to interpret because of the absence of another Saltukid caravanserai. The general economic policy of the dynasty as well as the trade networks are not apparent. It is seems that the caravanserai functioned as an important project for the development of Tercan.

On the other hand, the caravanserais of Mahpari Khatun were built in different places around the central Black Sea region. They were not designed for an urban project and did not trigger further building activities around them. The Hatun Hanı in Pazar and Çınçınlı Han between Yozgat and Zile which have inscriptions are the two caravanserais which are directly linked to Mahpari Khatun. If the five caravanserais which are traditionally related to her were indeed caravanserai projects

[194] Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia*.
[195] See note 158.
[196] For the trade networks and medieval caravanserais, see. Tuncer, *Anadolu Kervan Yolları*.

of Mahpari Khatun, she was the most prominent patron of this type of building in medieval Anatolia. Even as the explicit founder of Hatun Hanı and Çınçınlı Han, her patronage can be compared with 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I who was the patron of three caravanserais, out of twelve dated to his reign and Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II just two caravanserais out of fifteen.[197]

Mahpari Khatun focused on the central Black Sea region where she patronized all of her caravanserais. This reflects her economic interests in the region. Antony Eastmond suggested that this concentration of the caravanserais in this region was a "state act" rather than a personal act.[198] Even though the density of these buildings may suggest a strong state policy, the selection of the area could be related specifically to Mahpari Khatun during her life in the Seljuk court. Can we differentiate the state act and personal act in medieval Anatolia? Did Mahpari Khatun represent the Seljuk state with her patronage? To answer these questions, we do not have enough evidence. On the other hand, the waqfs and possible economic networks which fed the caravanserais might have been close to her. Like the Uluborlu case of 'Ismat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, the Seljuk-origin wife of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad I, she could have a background in Tokat region. When Kalonoros was conquered by 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I, Kyr Vard, the father of Mahpari Khatun, was given lands and villages around Akşehir as iqta.[199] It is possible that the lands around Tokat where Mahpari Khatun built her caravanserais may have been given to her as her dowry. This may explain her activities in the region. Moreover, all of her

[197] Eastmond, "Gender and Patronage Between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century," 82. Sunay, "Tokat-Pazar Mahperi Hatun Kervansarayı," 255-271. Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 56-58, 135-143, 156-158, 191-192 . Blessing, 496-7. Durukan, 17. Acun, *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, 487-489, 499, 527.
[198] Eastmond, 83.
[199] Hacıgökmen, "I. Aleaddin Keykubat'ın (1220-1237) Kayınpederi Kir Fard Hakkında Bir Araştırma,"121-130.

caravanserais were built during the purge of Sa'd al-Din Köpek (1237/8).[200] Many state officials who constituted the state and shared the lands of Anatolia were killed at this time. Mahpari Khatun might have also obtained the lands in Tokat which previously belonged to these state amirs.

Apart from Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun, Raziya (Ruqiya) Khatun was the third woman patron who built a caravanserai.[201] Her identity is not clear. She patronized a classical planned caravanserai with a closed section and an open courtyard near Konya. The Kadın Hanı which she built in 1223 became a nucleus for the development of the town, Kadınhanı, which was named after the caravanserai. It shows the impact of these buildings for the possible development of new towns around them. Tercan and Kadınhanı are crucial evidence for this development. Scott Redford reveals that the Kırkgöz Han, on the road between Antalya and Burdur and the Derebucak Han, near Beyşehir were built by Ismat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, the Seljuk wife of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad I.[202] Both caravanserais are dated to the reign of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II. This information is crucial because these two wives of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad I were interested in the patronage of caravanserais.

The Seljuk caravanserais in Anatolia were a major component of architectural patronage in medieval Anatolia.[203] Including the five caravanserais which are associated with Mahpari Khatun, eleven of them are associated with women patrons. Unlike the tombs where we see many more women patrons, the caravanserais were predominantly under the control of male patrons, sultans and state officials. As in the question of other types of buildings, what was the role of these women in the

[200] For a detailed account on the rise of Sa'd al-Din Köpek, see. Yıldız, "The rise and fall of a tyrant in Seljuk Anatolia Sa 'd al-Din Köpek's reign of terror, 1237-8," 92-101.
[201] Acun, 506.
[202] Redford, 156-7. Redford, "The inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı and the problem of textual transmission in Seljuk Anatolia," 351-2.
[203] See the catalogue in Acun, *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*.

patronage of these caravanserais? Did they receive their political and economic power from their male relatives? Were they free in their decisions or directed by more powerful men?

In the 1240s, we see some important Mongol women figures who subsidized and politically supported the Silk Road trade.[204] Three Mongol royal women could act as agents for the economic benefit of the Mongol state. This is a significant indication for women's commercial involvement in the contemporary medieval world. Unlike the Anatolian case, however, we do not have an architectural patronage for them. Having these examples, can we expect to find similar active roles for the Seljuk women? Were they just architectural patrons or also political and economic agents who could act in the market and trade networks?

To put it short, the caravanserais of two women patrons can be seen as an evidence of women's role in the formation of the Anatolian trade networks. As it is depicted in the cases of Mahpari Khatun and Mama Khatun, women could also participate in this economic structure.

4.3 Female tombs with ambulatory and courtyard

The plans of the Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun tombs are the third common theme which can tell us more about the female patronage of the medieval Islamic period.[205] The Mama Khatun tomb which was built in the late twelfth century is located within a circular enclosing wall, creating an ambulatory between the tomb and the wall. The Mahpari Khatun tomb which is datable to around 1260-1270, was constructed within a small courtyard in the corner of the mosque where it is attached

[204] May, "Commercial Queens: Mongolian Khatuns and the Silk Road", 89-106.
[205] See notes 153-154.

to the madrasa. The concept of a tomb within a courtyard was applied to other female tombs of the medieval Islamic period.

The closest example to the Mama Khatun example is Mu'mina Khatun tomb in Nakhchivan (1186/7).[206] It is located in the center of Nakhchivan. It had an enclosing wall with two minarets on the each side of its monumental gate. As the earliest surviving type of this concept of a tomb, the Nakhchivan example may have inspired the Mama Khatun tomb. Mu'mina Khatun was a member of Ildeniz dynasty which was an atabeg of the Seljuk Empire. They controlled the Caucasian Albania, Iranian Azerbaijan from the second half of the twelfth century to the early decades of the thirteenth century. The tomb was built by her son Jahan Pahlavan, the atabeg of the dynasty between 1175 and 1186. Until the Mongol invasion in the 1220, they remained as a local power in this geography. Thus, when the tomb was built, the state was relatively strong as opposed to the chaotic atmosphere of the Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun's contexts.

The latest example of this type of tombs is the so-called Köşk Medrese in Kayseri (1339) which was built for Suli Pasha, the wife of 'Ala' al-Din Eretna, the founder of the Eretna dynasty.[207] It is located to the east of the city, quite far from the urban center. As the unique example of the Seljuk and Beglik architectures, it is the only example of a tomb in the center of a building which later was labelled as a madrasa although it is clear that this is not its original function. It has a rectangular plan. On either side of the entrance which is on the north façade, there are two small rooms with two more rooms above them. The square courtyard where the tomb was constructed in the center, has porticoes on each side. The rooms may have been

[206] Yazar, *Nahcivan'da Türk Mimarisi: Başlangıcından 19. Yüzyıla Kadar*, 90-104.
[207] Edhem, *Kayseri Şehri*, 132-140. Gabriel, *Monuments turc d'Anatolie I*, 67-70. Şaman and Yazar, "Kayseri Köşk Hanikahı," 301-314.

designed for the needs of the visitors of the tomb. The Eretna dynasty was established in the post-Mongol period in 1335. Even though 'Ala' al-Din Eretna could enlarge his territories, the Mongolian existence in Anatolia may have meant a heavy pressure on the politics. The location of the tomb which is in the outside of the city may be seen as a sign of a relative power.

All these tombs built for women indicate a clear evidence to show a link between this concept and women. There are several possible explanations about the origin of these structures. From the Hunnic tombs to the Qubbat al-Sulaybiyya, there are suggestions to link the concept of the tombs with courtyard. On the other hand, some art and architectural historians claim that they were affected by the local Armenian and Georgian structures.[208] The study of David Durand-Guédy on the Seljuk tents opens up the possibility of a medieval Turkic origin for the employment of an enclosing wall. In discussing the centrality of the tents for the nomadic culture of the Seljuk state, Durand-Guédy explains the term of *saraparda*, which was a cloth enclosure inside which tents were erected.[209] The function of the *saraparda* was to separate space dedicated to the ruler from the others.[210] This separation of the royal tents from the rest might have been influential for the development of sedentary architecture. The function of the royal women's enclosing walls may have been affected by this tradition. Culturally, the Great Seljuk royal practices were not alien to the Anatolian Seljuks and other Turkic states.

If we consider the protective function of these wall structures, we should look at the location of these tombs. Except for the Mahpari Khatun tomb, three of the tombs with an ambulatory or a courtyard were built in rural areas including Köşk

[208] This discussion of the origins can be seen in the Mama Khatun section.
[209] Guedy, "The Tents of the Saljuqs," 159.
[210] Ibid, 162.

Medrese which is outside of the urban center of Kayseri. However, the enclosing wall of the Mama Khatun tomb, the structure around the tomb of Köşk Madrasa and Mu'mina Khatun are not quite defensive. In addition, there is no example of a male tomb which was walled like these cases. Thus, this specific choice of plan for the women should be underlined.

The account of Ibn Battuta, a fourteenth century traveler, reflects the perception of tombs and death in the medieval Islamic world. According to his account, which can be debated in terms of reliability and objectivity, in Egypt, Iran and Syria, there were cemeteries and tombs which were accompanied by *zawiya*s and soup kitchens. In these places, people could listen to the Qur'an recitations, also eat, wash their clothes and sleep.[211] Even though, he does not talk about the similar cases from Anatolia, we can see Anatolia as part of the large Islamic context where these customs were common. The wide geography which Ibn Battuta visualized shows that the burial places were not dark and alienated as we see today. Instead, they were parts of the medieval Islamic life. Moreover, the multi-functional complexes around the tombs of Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun indicate a similar approach. The visitors of the tombs could have the opportunity of praying and bathing in the facilities of the complexes. Both the dominance of women's visitation to the tombs and cemeteries and the vivid culture in this context suggest that these places were designed to accommodate the needs of the visitors. These examples of tombs with ambulatories and courtyards may have been utilized for the performances and rituals around the tombs.

The medieval cemeteries of Cairo, which have remained as areas of conjunction between death and living until today. The important shrines of the

[211] Ibn Battuta, *Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi I*, 50, 120, 296, 297, 751.

Islamic history have became an attraction points for visitation, commemoration and living. The work of Galila el Kadi and Alain Bonnamy on the medieval necropolis of Cairo shows the continual usage of the space for several performances around the tombs.[212] This is a good example for the vivid culture around the medieval cemeteries.

In Kayseri, including the tombs of Mahpari Khatun, Gevher Nesibe Khatun and Suli Pasha, the tombs of royal women were designed within building complexes. All of them were built outside of the city walls. The tomb of al-Malika al-'Adiliyya is also located outside of the city on the road to Sivas which began at the complex of Mahpari Khatun. Unlike Cairo, there was no specific area for these women tombs. However, they were easy to reach in the medieval times. Rather than being an urban phenomenon, the tombs of Kayseri remained in the outskirts of the city.

In terms of ritual and space, the Mahpari Khatun tomb is a very interesting example. According to Haluk Karamağaralı, the tomb of Mahpari Khatun was built on the foundations of an earlier building—perhaps a baptistery—which may already have been adapted for Muslim burial and was not removed until the construction of the Mahpari Hatun tomb. If we consider the Greek origin of Mahpari Khatun, this tomb can be seen as a combination of her identities as a Christian noble woman and the mother of a sultan. From the entrance of the tomb which was adapted to the madrasa wall and the pillars removed from the mosque's courtyard, we can understand that the choice of the site was a strong desire. This tomb may be a reflection of what Rustam Shukurov calls "Harem Christianity" suggesting that some Seljuk royality including the sultans embraced a dual religious identity.[213]

[212] See, El Kadi and Bonnamy, *Architecture fort he Dead: Cairo's medieval Necropolis*.
[213] Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes,"115-150.

The most abundant medieval Islamic structures in Anatolia are the tombs. There are at least fifteen medieval tombs related to women and women's patronage.[214] In terms of the numbers, plans and decorative aspects of the tombs, both genders have a more or less similar situation. What we know about them is quite little. The tomb of the Ayyubid princess, al-Malika al-'Adiliyya, communicates with the Mahpari Khatun tomb in the same political and geographic context.[215] 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I married this Ayyubid woman to strengthen Ayyubid - Seljuk relations. If we consider the situation of Mahpari Khatun and 'Ismat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din during their marriages by adding Ibn Bibi's clear sympathy towards the Ayyubid princess, she was probably powerful during Kayqubad's regime. However, the rise of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II with the support of Sa'd al-Din Köpek brought a very tragic end to her and her sons.[216] She was killed in Ankara. Her daughters who were married to the Ayyubid courts came to Anatolia after the death of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II. They transferred the tomb of their mother to Kayseri in 1247 when Mahpari Khatun was still alive. It shows the ongoing tensions between the two wives of Kayqubad I. Just like Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din's inscription in Uluborlu, her tomb also reflected her vertical kinship within the Ayyubid dynasty. Her tomb is an example of the political struggles in medieval Anatolia. Döner Kümbet in Kayseri is another tomb in the city built for a woman named Shah Jahan Khatun. According to Hakkı Önkal and Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, the tomb may be dated around 1260-1285. The name of the tomb directs us to question the concept of ambulatory for circumambulation because "Döner" indicates the act of turning. The name could

[214] For the list of medieval Anatolian tombs, the works of Orhan Cezmi Tuncer and Hakkı Önkal are quite extensive. While Tuncer's work does not include the whole tombs, it is more explanatory than Önkal, see. Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*. Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri*.
[215] Turan, 349-351. Akşit, 239-245. Şaman Doğan, "Kayseri'deki Selçuklu Dönemi Kadın Türbeleri," 20-23.
[216] Ibn Bibi, 156.

remain as a residue of a traditional practice of circumambulating the tombs of important women. Even though it is a much later example, the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal (Taj Mahal) in India (1632-1653) shows a similar case of the circumambulation of women's tombs. At the Taj mahal, the central tomb chamber is surrounded by highly decorated rooms on two storeys.[217]

The Hüdavend Khatun tomb, the granddaughter of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II, with its muqarnas details can be linked to the monumental pedestal of Mahpari Khatun tomb, as the only two examples in Anatolia. There are other kinds of women patrons who patronized male tombs like the anonymous one who patronized the Melik Gazi tomb in Kırşehir. It is said that Gürcü Khatun was co-patron of the tomb of Jalal al-Din Rumi, as one of his devoted followers. In this eclectic picture, it is hard to define the scale of the women's patronage in medieval Anatolia. However, these different examples demonstrate the variety of female patronage in this period. The tombs of Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun with their political and economic networks help us to understand the complicated story of patronage.

[217] Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal: and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra*, 175-177.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: ROYAL WOMEN AND IDENTITY

The royal women who could patronize architectural projects and the ones who could be studied through literary evidence show that the royal women in medieval Islamic Anatolia had a complicated standing, reflecting the multi-cultural identity of the period. Their stories give us the notions of the identity, the gender roles and institutions like marriage.

The first point I would like to emphasis is the difference between "Safwat al-Dunya wa'l-Din" and "Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din", the two titles for royal women in the inscriptions indicating the conversion background and the Muslim roots of the women respectively. The most suitable story to see the different paths of these Ismats and Safwats is the case of Mahpari Khatun who was a Greek-born woman. During her years in the Seljuk court, she remained Christian according to a contemporary source and then she re-emerged as a strong figure who possibly provided a sultanic future to her son Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II. After his succession, her power became materialized through her immense patronage activities, a complex in the heart of Kayseri and a number of caravanserais some of which could compete with the sultanic structures. On her foundation inscriptions, she used the title "Safwat al-Dunya wa'l-Din."

'Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din, who may have been exiled to Uluborlu where she built a mosque, reflects the other side of the coin.[218] She was one of the wives of Kayqubad I and also his cousin. As part of the centralization efforts of Kayqubad I, the independent Seljuk dynasty which was based in Erzurum and ruled by Mughith

[218] Redford, "Paper, Stone, Scissors", 151-70.

al-Din Tughrulshah (r. 1202-1225), the father of Ismat al-Dunya, and Rukn al-Din Jahanshah (r. 1225-1230), her brother, was conquered in 1230. The brother of 'Ismat al-Dunya was killed and Kayqubad married her just before this tragic event. In her exile in Uluborlu, she left clues about her past in Erzurum in the inscriptional panel of her mosque.

The third woman was the 'just queen' al-Malika al-'Adiliyya who was an Ayyubid princess. The title of 'Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din was also used in the inscription of her tomb which was built in Kayseri by her daughters ten years after her death. Her murder was related by Ibn Bibi. She was strangled after the succession of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II with her sons. Like 'Ismat al- Dunya, the inscriptions of the al-Malika al-'Adiliyya's tomb did not refer to her marital affiliation. Rather, it was her own Ayyubid lineage which was underlined by her daughters.[219]

As Scott Redford points out, all three marriages of Kayqubad were related to the concept of conquest. Kalanoros, where Mahpari Khatun was from, and Erzurum, the place where Ismat al-Dunya's family had ruled, were conquered by Kayqubad I and the marriages were contracted right after these conquests. The marriage of Kayqubad with al-Malika al-'Adiliyya was also the result of an alliance with the Ayyubids. This is why marriage remained as the major shift in the lives of these women whether they were recent converts or Muslims. The second step can be summarized as having a son who could eliminate his brothers and sometimes the other wives of the sultan, when it was necessary. In the story of Kayqubad I and his family, the winner was Mahpari Khatun and her son Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II.

[219] Akşit, "Melike-i Adiliye Kümbetinde Selçuklu Devri Saltanat Mücadelesine Dair İzler," 239-45. Redford, 165.

Apart from the political marriages, women were also seen as the continuators of the political entities in medieval Islamic Anatolia.[220] Ethel Sara Wolper showed that women patrons in Anatolia played a very important role in ensuring continuity and legitimacy during the Mongol period. Rather than building mosques which are signs of sovereignty, these women patrons built Sufi lodges as in the case of Safwat al-Dunya, the daughter of Pervane who built the Sunbul Baba lodge in Tokat.

As the second part of this discussion of royal women, religion and Sufism are important elements in the lives of the royal women. To return to the discussion of conversion and Islamic identity, the borders between these identities were vague. Like the 'eclectic' background of the tomb of Mahpari Khatun which may have been an early baptistery, the identities of these women were plural. Evidences like the palace churches found in Alanya, Konya, Bayburt and İspir and the letter of Baldwin II which mentioned the Christian identity of Mahpari Khatun during her marriage with Kayqubad I show that the conversions were not radical. Greek and Georgian women were high in number in the royal family. The influence of these women on their children can be seen in the relations of Rumi sultans with their mother culture and tongue. As Rustam Shukurov indicates, under certain conditions a Seljuk court member could act as a Byzantine, and even "deem himself to be Greek and Christian". Including Mahpari Khatun, there were six Byzantine women in the Seljuk court.[221]

The first woman who is mentioned in the sources was the wife or concubine of 'Izz al-Din Qılıch Arslan II (1156-92). Her name is not known. She was the

[220] Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia*, 82-91. Wolper, "Princess Safwat al-Dunya wa al-Din and the Production of Sufi Buildings and Hagiographies in Pre-Ottoman Anatolia," 35-52.
[221] Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," 115-50.

mother of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (1192-6, 1205-11).[222] Secondly, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I married a Greek woman who was the daughter of Manuel Maurozomos. Her name is unknown. He married her during his exile in Byzantium. It is unknown if she bore him any children. Manuel Maurozomos established an alliance with his son- in-law in western Anatolia. He was supported by the Seljuks as an alternative power to the existing Laskaris dynasty. He and his family remained Christian.[223] This example shows the cultural plurality of the Rumi Seljuk court. As the son of a Greek woman, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I married a noble Greek woman who had political ties with the Byzantine world, through the alliance between his father and husband. Barduliya/Prodoulia was the first wife of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II and gave birth to 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us II.[224] One of the wives of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II gave birth to the future sultan Rukn al-Din Qılıch Arslan IV. Her name is not known. She was a Greek slave.[225] The last Greek woman whose origin remains obscure was the wife of Izz al-Din Kayka'us II.[226]

Contemporary sources and remains of the palace churches indicate that the royal women practiced Christianity with some degree of freedom. The letter of Baldwin II showed that Kaykhusraw II promised that the Latin princess would enjoy complete freedom in religion, would have a chapel in the palace and be accompanied by priests. Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II pointed out that this was common practice at the Seljuk court. His own Greek mother (Mahpari Khatun) observed Christian rites during the lifetime of his father, 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I.[227] This mentality can also be observed in Mahpari Khatun's son. The Georgian princess Tamar (also known as

[222] Shukurov, 116-117. Uyumaz, 362-363.
[223] Shukurov, 117. Turan, 281-2. Ibn Bibi, Selçukname, 32-7. Uyumaz, 365-6.
[224] Shukurov, 116-118. Uyumaz, 376. Hopwood, "Christian-Muslim Symbisosis in Anatolia," 24.
[225] Shukurov, 116-117 and 119. Uyumaz, 376-377.
[226] Shukurov, 117, 119, 120. Uyumaz, 378.
[227] Shukurov, 121-2.

Gürcü Khatun) who was a wife of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II kept her religion upon their marriage in 1238. She was accompanied by senior ecclesiastics when she came to Anatolia. Even after her conversion into Islam, as a devoted follower of Jalal al-Din Rumi, she acted as a patron of a church in Beliserama, Cappadocia in the 1280s and maintained her links with the Christian community.[228]

By looking at these examples, we can think that the presence of a church or a chapel or anything related to the Christian worship would have been normal practice in the Seljuk Harem.[229] Macit Tekinalp's studies on the palace churches have revealed this phenomenon. The Eflatun Mescit in the Konya citadel (Saint Amphilochios) which was converted into a mosque at a later date (between 1466 and 1476), the church in the Seljuk palace in Alanya and the thirteenth century Trapezuntine style churches in the castles of İspir and Bayburt were probably built and sustained by the sultans for the use of their Christian spouses as well as other Christian members of the court.[230]

As male children of the sultans were raised by their mothers in the harem until the age of ten or eleven, it can be suggested that in the harem future sultans became familiar with Byzantine culture and customs as well as basic concepts of the Christian faith and rites.[231] This situation may have helped the future sultans of the Seljuks to learn and internalize the existing Byzantine/Greek culture of Anatolia which was dominant among their subjects.

[228] Ibid, 122.
[229] Ibid, 123.
[230] Tekinalp, "Palace Churches of the Anatolian Seljuks: tolerance or necessity?," 148-167. Shukurov, 123. Shukurov, "Churches in the Citadels of İspir and Bayburt: An Evidence of 'Harem Christianty'?", 713-23. For the most detailed study of the Eflatun Mescidi to date, see, Eyice, "Konya'nın Alaeddin Tepeseinde Selçuklu Öncesine Ait Bir Eser: Eflatun Mescit," 269-302.
[231] Shukurov 127. Şeker, 48.

The high number of Christians in the Seljuk territories and the Christian women in the court created a pluralistic society as well as a court life. As equal to the Christian impact in the harem, Sufism was also influential. According to Bruno de Nicola who examined the women in the hagiographic literature of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, there were many royal women who were affiliated with Sufi belief. 'Ismati Khatun, the wife of the Mengüjekid ruler of Erzincan Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah was a devoted follower of Baha' al-Din Valad, the father of Jalal al-Din Rumi.[232] This shows that the Mengüjekids were also interested in Sufi spirituality. Gömeç Khatun, the wife of Rukn al-Din Qılıch Arslan IV (r. 1249; 1259-1265) and the mother of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw III (r. 1265-1284), and Gürcü Khatun/Tamar who was Christian or converted to Islam, the wife of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237-1246) and the mother of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad II (r. 1249-1257) were two royal women who appeared in the hagiography of Aflaki.[233] Both women financially supported the congregation of Jalal al- Din Rumi as the followers of the shaykh. This Sufi impact in the royal family can be seen as a complicated issue, because these women were the part of the Seljuk house and could practice Sufi teachings. It implies the acceptance of the Sufi practices by the sultans. The broad reach of the Sufi teachings could function as a space for the dual religious identity of the Seljuk family.

For the non-Seljuk context, we do not have evidence about the differentiation of royal women according to their origin. Mama Khatun and Turan Malik were royal members of minor dynasties which were ultimately annexed by the Seljuks. Their existence and strong patronage can be seen from different perspectives. First, they

[232] De Nicola, "The Ladies of Rum: A Hagiographic View of Women in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth Century," 146.
[233] Ibid, 148-149.

were part of Islamic Anatolia where women could patronize buildings. Secondly, they were part of the large eastern Anatolian and southern Caucasian worlds where many women figures emerged such as the Georgian queen Rusudan, the wife of Seljuk prince Ghiyath al-Din who converted into Christianity on his marriage and the mother of Tamar/Gürcü Khatun who ruled Georgia in 1223-1245,[234] Mu'mina Khatun, the Ildeniz princess who lived in Nakhchivan, and the Mengüjek princess Khalisat al-Dunya wa 'l-Din who was probably married to the Seljuk ruler of Erzurum, Jahanshah, and who patronized the repair and rebuilding of the Bayburt Citadel.[235] In order to have a holistic image of the region in this period, we need an approach which covers the Armenian, Georgian, Turkish, Iranian, Mongolian and also Syrian influences in this geography. By analyzing the intermingled cultures' patronage, we may reach a regional identity.

In order to evaluate the women patrons of medieval Anatolia in a wider picture, it is also useful to analyze the contemporary Syrian and Mongol cases of female patronage and political existence. The Ayyubid cities of Damascus and Aleppo with their numerous patrons are good examples for a comparison with Anatolia. The textual sources for Damascus are quite abundant and give an idea about the medieval topography of the city.[236] This helps us to reconstruct a medieval city which we cannot follow this transformation in Anatolia. Stephen Humphreys suggested that by identifying the persons who demanded and patronized for the buildings of Damascus, we can learn who controlled the sources of land and money.

[234] For a detailed account on the Georgian and eastern Anatolian and south Caucasian relations and the levels of diplomacy including marriage, see, Peacock, "Geogia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th centuries," 127-146.
[235] Yazar, *Nahcivan'da Türk Mimarisi*, 90-104. Redford, "The 1213-14 Seljuk Citadel Inscriptions at Bayburt," 101-144. Redford, "Paper, Stone," 161.
[236] Humphreys, "Urban Topography and Urban Society: Damascus Under the Ayyubids and Mamluks," 238-240. This source gives an extensive bibliography for the urban studies on Islamic cities.

Thus, he evaluated the groups of royal, ulama and immigrant patrons and their interests in several types of buildings as well as their mentalities.[237]

Stephen Humphreys also analyzed and categorized the female patrons of Damascus with statistical data.[238] As the pioneers in female patronage in Syria, he gives the examples of Great Seljuk women patrons such as Safwat al-Mulk, the wife of the conqueror of Syria Taj al-Dawla Tutush (r. 1078-1095), who ordered the construction of a tomb for her and her son in 1110/1 as part of a compound including a mosque and a sufi hospice. Her daughter Zumurrud Khatun built the Madrasa Khatuniyya in 1132.[239]

If we look at Humphreys' numerical data, we see a very interesting patronage trend in Ayyubid Damascus. 160 new religious and charitable institutions were established in the city: of these, women patronized twenty-six, sixteen percent of the total. Out of twenty-nine Sufi hospices, the Damascene women patronized six of them. Out of sixty-three madrasas built in Damascus under the Ayyubids, fifteen were founded by women patrons. During the eighty-five years of the Ayyubid regime, twenty-one women patrons emerged within the 147 persons in total.[240] These numbers are quite impressive in terms of the total numbers of the constructions and the female's role in the patronage.

Like in the Anatolian case, the dominant role belonged to the royal women of Damascus. Thirteen of them were members of the Ayyubid house by birth or marriage. Four women patrons were daughters of state officials. Two women were attached to the court as a servant and a daughter of a courtier. The last two women

[237] Ibid, 249-254.
[238] Humphreys, "Women as patrons of religious architecture in Ayyubid Damascus," 35-54.
[239] Ibid, 35.
[240] Ibid, 35.

were daughters of the ‘ulama. This distribution reflects the male counterparts of these women. Nearly one-half of the royal patrons were women. In this respect, we see a gender balance within the royal family in terms of architectural production. In contrast, the women who belonged to the ‘ulama class were largely underrepresented.[241]

In Ayyubid Damascus, women concentrated on three building types: madrasas, sufi hospices and tombs. In Anatolia, there was a different trend. Women patronized hospitals, mosques, madrasas and tombs. Humphreys explains the large numbers of women’s patronage in the city with two reasons. First, the city became an attraction point for princes, amirs and ulama who came to Damascus for their careers. The increase in male political figures meant also many women patrons who wanted to materialize their power in the form of architectural patronage. Secondly, the absence of a hereditary succession system in the city created the conditions of this enormous patronage of Damascus.[242] This is why the elites of the city attempted to create monuments for their individual sovereignties. In Anatolian case, especially in Konya and Kayseri, we have a more formalistic approach of patronage and city planning where the Seljuk royal family was the major source of patronage. This is why rather than constructing various buildings in the cities, they patronized their buildings by considering the needs of the cities. For instance, the whole mosques of Kayseri were built in a different angle of the city, which triggered further settlements around them.

In Zangid-Ayyubid Aleppo, there was a different story. The male dominance in the architectural patronage can be observed as opposed to Damascus. Out of more

[241] Ibid, 36.
[242] Ibid, 48.

than fifty madrasas built in this period, the only madrasa which was built by a woman, Dayfa Khatun, was Madrasat al-Firdaws, one of the most impressive madrasas in Aleppo. On the other hand, as in the Anatolian case, Sufism seems to have attracted women patrons; five of the more than twenty Sufi hospices (established between 1174-1260) were built by them.[243]

Yasser Tabbaa who focused on Aleppo summarized the exceptional features of the Zangid and Ayyubid royal women as following: they were princesses not concubines who enhanced their power by means of political marriages and by giving birth to a male child.[244] Actually, these features that he lists specifically for the Zangid and Ayyubid women can be applied for other medieval women, including those of Anatolia. More or less, the path towards an economic and political power depended on the same features for the medieval Islamic women. He applies these features to Dayfa Khatun as one the most prominent female patrons of this period. She was the daughter of al-Malik al-Adil (r. 1200-1218) who had succeeded his brother Saladin. He became the ruler of all Ayyubid lands except for Aleppo which had been granted to the son of Saladin, al-Zahir Ghazi. Because of the threat of dismantling the Ayyubid confederacy due to the tensions between these two branches, in 1212, Dayfa Khatun was given to Ghazi in marriage. To parallel to the second feature, she gave birth to the male heir, who later became sultan al-Aziz Muhammad. She lost her spouse and son in 1216 and 1236 respectively. The son of Muhammad was only seven at the time of his death. Thus, she became the regent queen and ruled Aleppo from 1236 until her death in 1243.[245] In terms of date and

[243] Ibid, 35.
[244] Tabbaa, Dayfa Khatun, Regent Queen and Architectural Patronage," 17-34.
[245] Ibid, 21.

power, she and Mahpari Khatun share many common points. It is probable that they knew each other as the two queens of the same period.

This power became materialized through Dayfa Khatun's patronage in the city. There was a women's impact in the Sufi orders and architectural patronage of Aleppo. Ibn Shaddad, the thirteenth-century topographer of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, mentioned that the khanqah was intended for women ascetics.[246] In this context, she built her khanqah al-Farafra located beneath the citadel of Aleppo. Her name does not appear on this building: Instead, she used her grandson's name as well as his father and grandfather.[247] On the other hand, in the Madrasa al-Firdaws, there are two inscriptions in which her name was mentioned. Both give her titles, epithets and royal lineage. The outer inscription reads as follows:

> "This is what has ordered its construction the elevated curtain and impregnable veil, the Merciful Queen…Dayfa Khatun, daughter of the sultan al-Malik al-'Adil…during the reign of our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Nasir, the learned, the just, the warrior of the faith, the defender of the outposts, the assisted by God, the victorious, the vanquisher, Salah al-Din son of al-Malik al-'Aziz son of al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi…in the year 633/1235-36."[248]

Her patronage can be seen as an attempt to combine Sunni and Sufi practices of the period through the khanqah and the madrasa. This can be seen as a political decision as well as her personal choice. Interstingly, the location of these two monuments closely corresponds to the two monuments built by her spouse, indicating a degree of parallelism between the royal family members.[249]

Like Ayyubid Syria which affected the politics, culture and artistic production of Anatolia for a long time, Mongol culture also became influential in Seljuk

[246] Ibid, 23.
[247] Ibid, 25.
[248] Ibid, 26.
[249] Ibid, 25.

Anatolia after the post-Kösedağ period. The gender relations of the Mongol culture could be familiar to the Central Asian, Turkic roots of the Seljuks. We have another case of a regent queen in the Chaghatayid dynasty which was established after the death of Genghis Khan. Between the years 1251 and 1260, Orghina Khatun, who was a noble woman, ruled the state in the name of her son. Her nine-year reign seems quiet and the sources do not report a political crisis or upheavals. Although we do not have an architectural patronage in her case, it seems that in the late medieval Turco-Islamic and Mongol worlds, there were strong female figures who could rule, patronize and shape the political, economic and social aspects of life.[250]

A comparison with Ottoman women's patronage shows us the continuities and changes between the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. Leslie Peirce studied the Harem women from the beginning of the dynasty to the seventeenth century. Peirce underlined the significance of the reproduction politics and the impact of this for the women's power. Especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the interdynastic marriages continued and concubines were effective in the harem.[251] This shows the continuation of marriage policy between the medieval world and early modern period. The master thesis of Ayşe Çıkla on the women patrons of early Ottoman era is a good comparison for my thesis. Çıkla's thesis stated that the impact of dynastic power remained as the sole power behind the royal women patrons of the period. To parallel to Leslie Peirce, she underlined the gender politics of the Ottoman Harem. The state was decisive in terms of the building plans, sizes, types and the locations. The difference between the male and female patrons and their buildings can be observed in this period. The buildings of the women patrons were relatively modest. Unlike the Seljuk period, we see more non-royal women patrons in the early

[250] May, "Commercial Queens: Mongolian Khatuns and the Silk Road,"89-106.
[251] Peirce, The Imperial Harem : Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire, 28-57.

Ottoman period. This can be explained with the rise of Ottoman bureaucracy, because these non-royal women were the spouses of the state officials.[252]

The study of the female patronage in Anatolia is a new field within art and architectural historiography. However, the recent books and articles which I consulted have revealed the layers of the patronage activities of women with social and economic perspectives. By adding new concepts such as gender and identity, we can broaden the formalistic and repetitive manner of the discipline. Thus, gender and identity are challenging topics. With the help of Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun cases, I question the gender relations of medieval Anatolia as opposed to the male dominated historiography, the impact of women patrons in the formation of urban and suburban places, and the issue of identity which remains predominantly a matter of nationalist narrative. More specifically, this position is necessary to evaluate the artistic and architectural problems in a holistic perspective. Without looking at the women patrons of Anatolia, we cannot truly evaluate the contours of patronage.

As it can be observed in the chronological sequence of the medieval Islamic structures, from the beginning of the thirteenth century the Seljuk and non-Seljuk cities of Islamic Anatolia experienced mass building projects. From multi-functional complexes to tombs and madrasas, in every type of architectural patronage, we see a number of female patrons. The royal women were the major contributors of patronage. Some of the buildings they established can be compared with the sultanic structures of the contemporary period. This power could derive from a noble origin, a political marriage or personal investments. Architectural patronage may have been seen as a distinctive channel through which they could materialize their power and

[252] For the details of early Ottoman women patronage see the master thesis of Çıkla, Architectural Patronage of Women in the Early Ottoman Era.

safeguard their position. The high degree of decorative creativity and innovative plans are the common features of these medieval structures. Especially women's tombs with the addition of an ambulatory or courtyard, long and decorative inscriptions, and various combinations of local Christian art with the Islamic taste show us the vivid world of the medieval female patronage. Moreover, the inscriptional evidence sheds light on their identities. They were represented with honorific titles which show their noble origins, sometimes their vertical kinship as in the case of Ismat al-Dunya, Malika al-'Adiliyya and Turan Malik. Mahpari Khatun's tomb inscription reflects her Christian background in the Seljuk court with the words of "Mary of her Age and Khadija of her Time".

With their architectural patronage, these women contributed to the developments of cities and towns as in the Kayseri example where we can see several women patrons who shaped the settlement direction of an urban center. Tercan, Uluborlu, Mazgirt, Kadınhanı and many small towns could develop around the buildings which the women patrons ordered. The female patrons of medieval Islamic Anatolia contributed to the transformation of art and architecture like their male counterparts. Gender and identity are the major tools with which we can question the patronage in a holistic approach. With the evidences from the lives of Mama Khatun and Mahpari Khatun which direct us to further research topics, we can explore the complex relations of architectural patronage of medieval Anatolia.

APPENDIX

IMAGES



Figure 1. The Mama Khatun complex



Figure 2. Tercan and the position of the complex

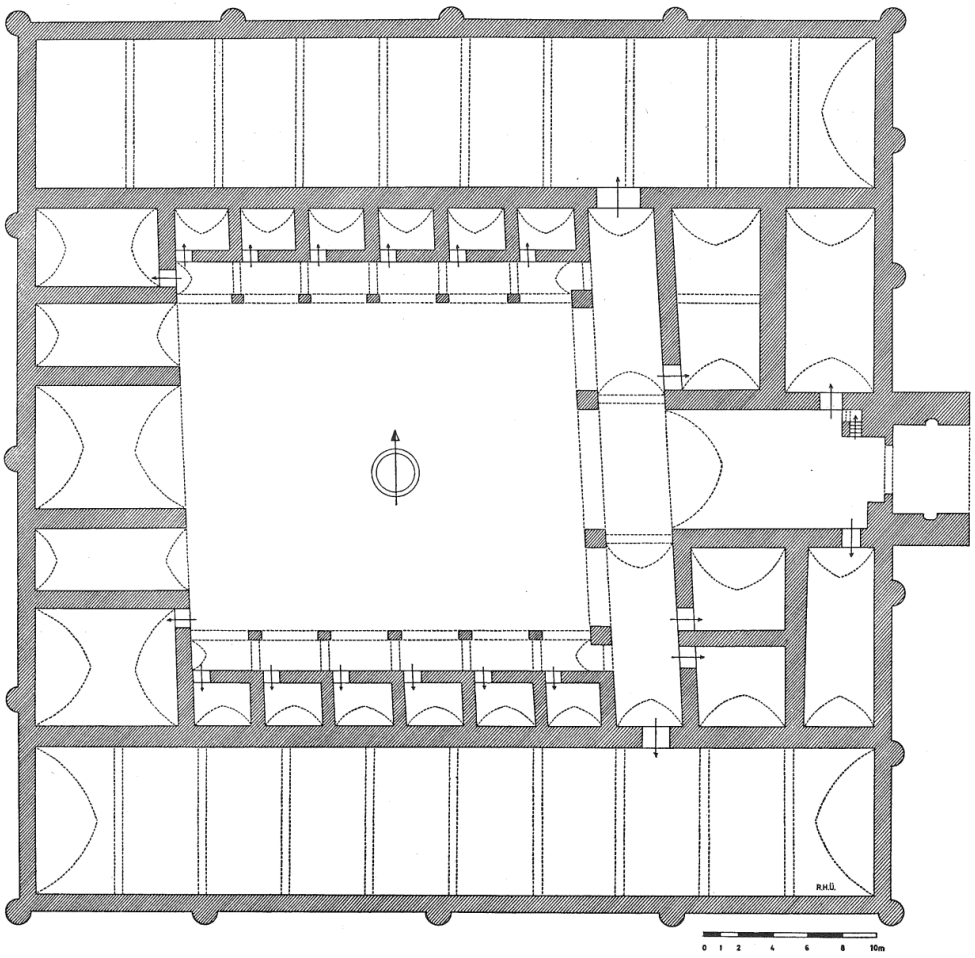


Figure 3. The plan of the Mama Khatun caravanserai (After Ünal, *Les Monuments Islamiques anciens de la ville d'Erzurum et de sa region*)



Figure 4. The portal of the caravanserai (www.tercan.gov.tr)



Figure 5. The decorative details of the portal niche

(www.erzincankulturturizm.gov.tr)

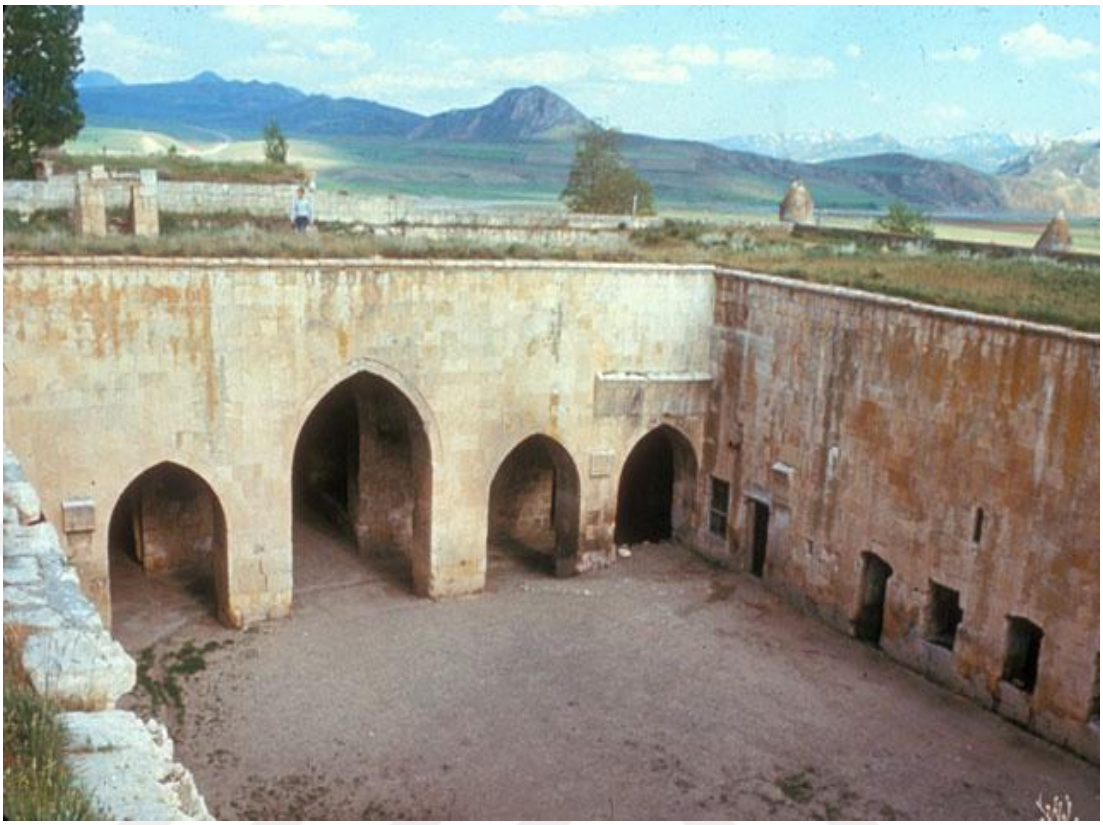


Figure 6. The courtyard of the caravanserai (Archnet, 1970)

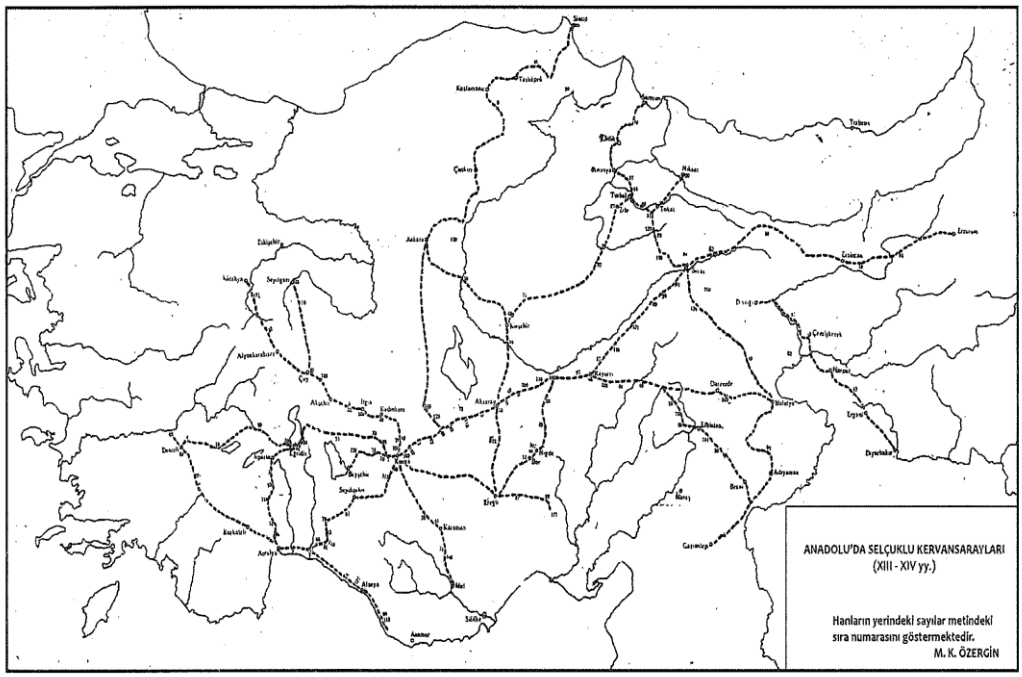


Figure 7. The caravanserai routes and caravanserais of the Seljuk period (After Özkarcı, *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*)



Figure 8. Major urban centers in Medieval eastern Anatolia

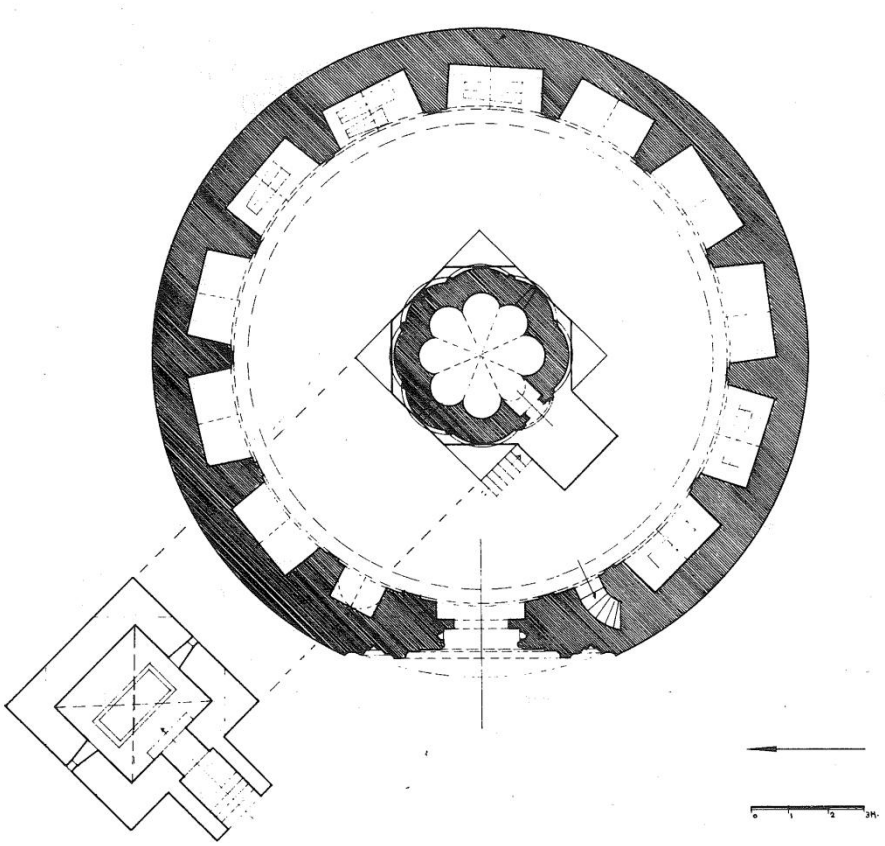


Figure 9. The plan of the Mama Khatun tomb (After Aslanapa, *Anadolu İlk Türk Mimarisi: Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi*)



Figure 10. The tomb tower of Mama Khatun



Figure 11. The portal of the tomb



Figure 12. The detail from the main portal (Archnet, 1970)



Figure 13. The Mu‘mina Khatun tomb in Nakhchivan

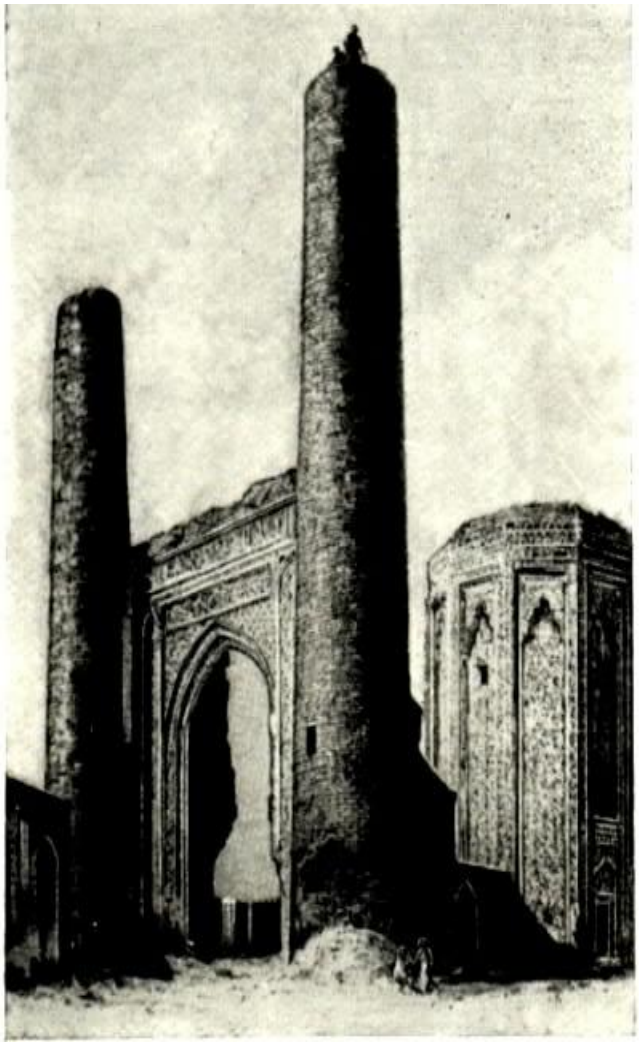


Figure 14. The photograph of Mu‘mina Khatun tomb



Figure 15. The drawing of Köşk Medrese



Figure 16. The tomb of Suli Pasha, Köşk Medrese



Figure 17. The Aprank Monastery, near Tercan

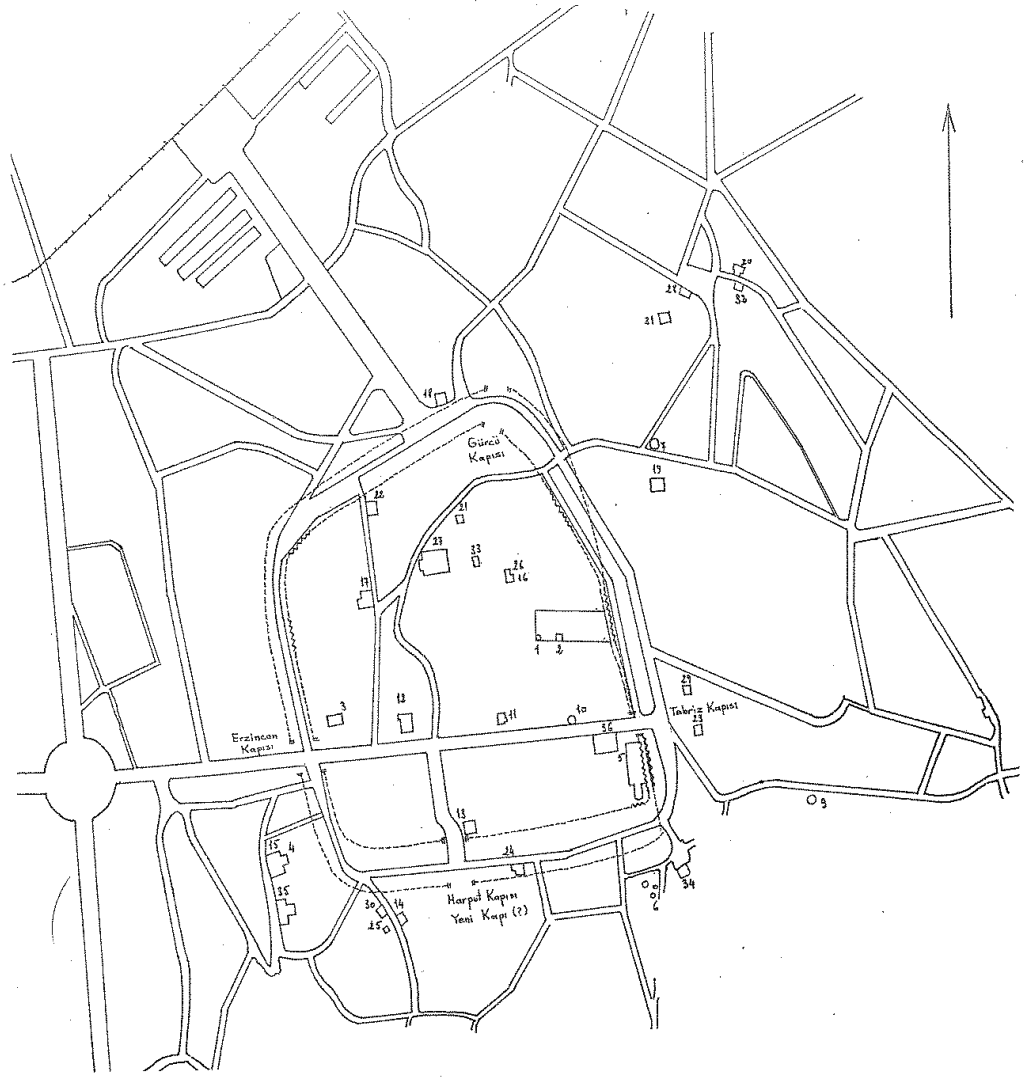


FIG. 2. — Plan restitué de l'enceinte de la ville et localisation des principaux monuments islamiques : ---------- Tracé restitué de l'enceinte ; ~~~~~~~~ Pans de murs conservés.

1. Tour de l'Horloge. — 2. Mosquée de la Citadelle. — 3. Madrasa Yakutiya. — 4. Madrasa Ahmadiya. — 5. Madrasa Çifte Minareli. — 6. Uç Künbetler. — 7. Karanlık Künbet. — 8. Gümüşlü Künbet. — 9. Mausolée de Rabia Hatun. — 10. Mausolée de Cimcime Sultan. — 11. Mosquée Cafariya. — 12. Mosquée Lala Paşa. — 13. Mosquée Ibrahim Paşa. — 14. Mosquée Şeyhler. — 15. Mosquée Murat Paşa. — 16. Mosquée Kursunlu. — 17. Mosquée Boyahane. — 18. Mosquée de Gürcü Kapısı. — 19. Mosquée Derviş Ağa. — 20. Mosquée de Gümrük. — 21. Mosquée Pervizoğlu. — 22. Mosquée Bakırlı. — 23. Mosquée Narmanlı. — 24. Mosquée Cennetzade. — 25. Madrasa Şeyhler. — 26. Madrasa Kursunlu. — 27. Khan Rüstem Paşa. — 28. Khan Cennetzade. — 29. Bain Public Lala Paşa. — 30. Bain Public Şeyhler. — 31. Bain Public Çifte Göbek. — 32. Bain Public de Gümrük. — 33. Bain Public Kırkçesme. — 34. Bain Public de Saray. — 35. Bain Public Murat Paşa. — 36. Grande Mosquée.

Figure 18. The plan of Erzurum (After Ünal, *Les Monuments*)



Figure 19. The Citadel Mosque and Tepsi Minare

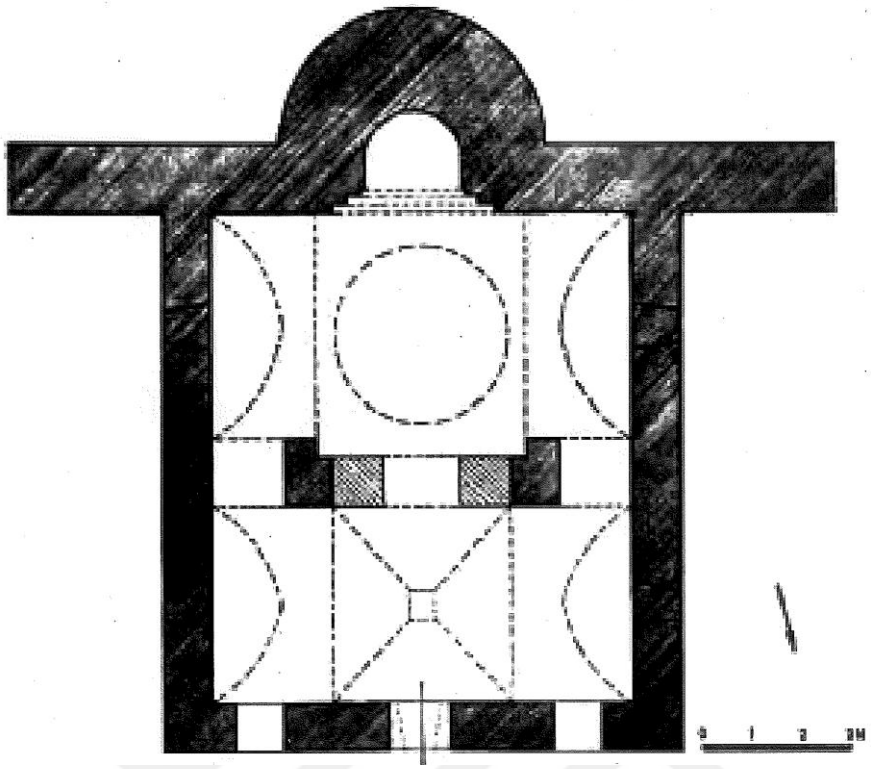


Figure 20. The plan of the Citadel Mosque (After Ünal, *Les Monuments*)

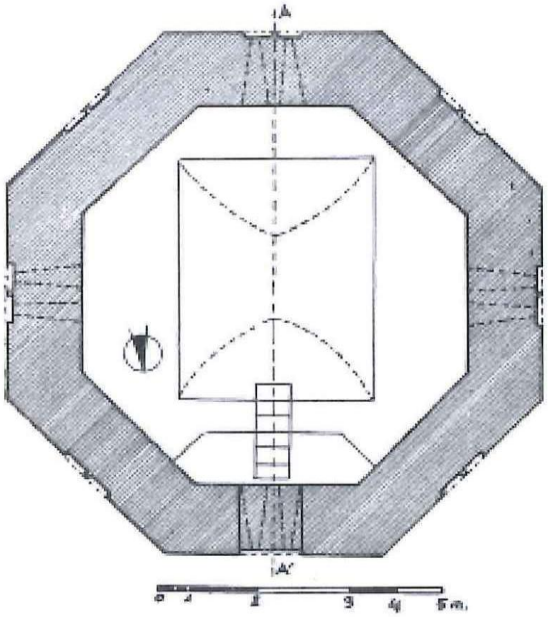


Figure 21. The plan of ‘Izz al-Din Saltuk tomb (After Ünal, *Les Monuments*)

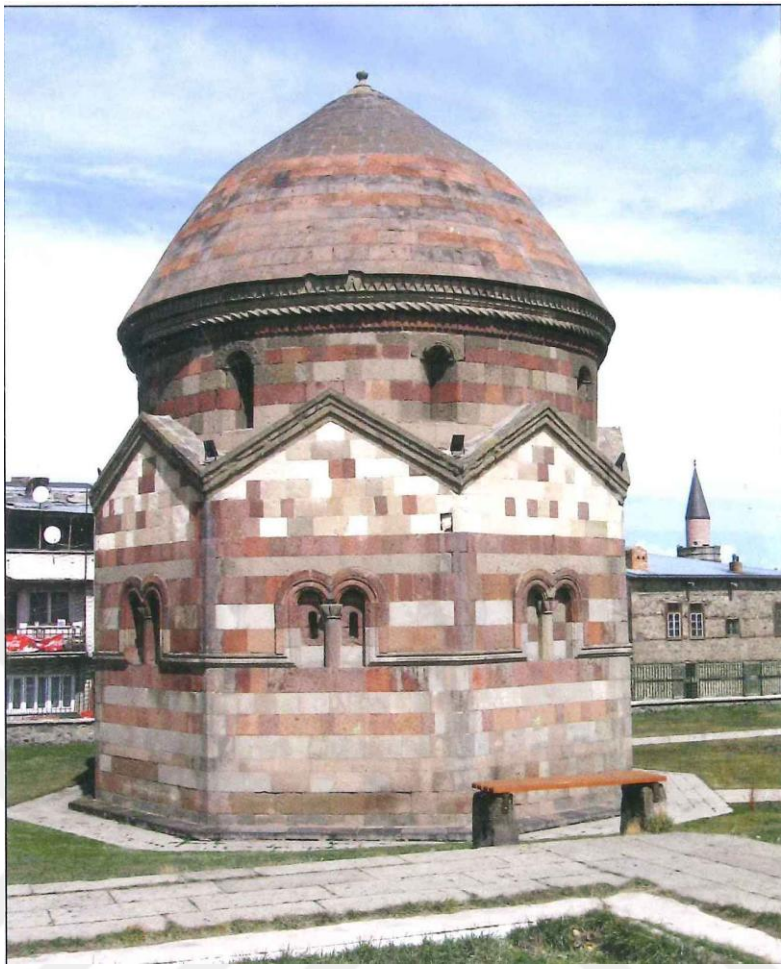


Figure 22. The ‘Izz al-Din Saltuk tomb.

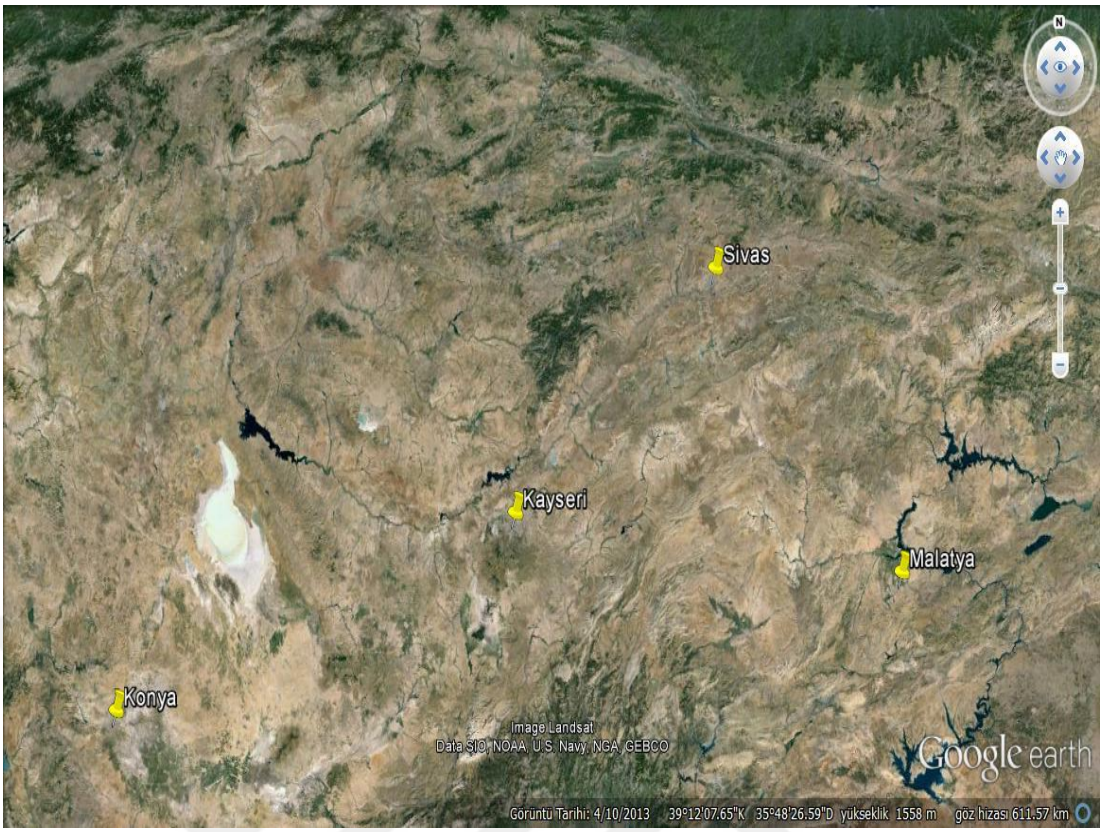


Figure 23. The location of Kayseri

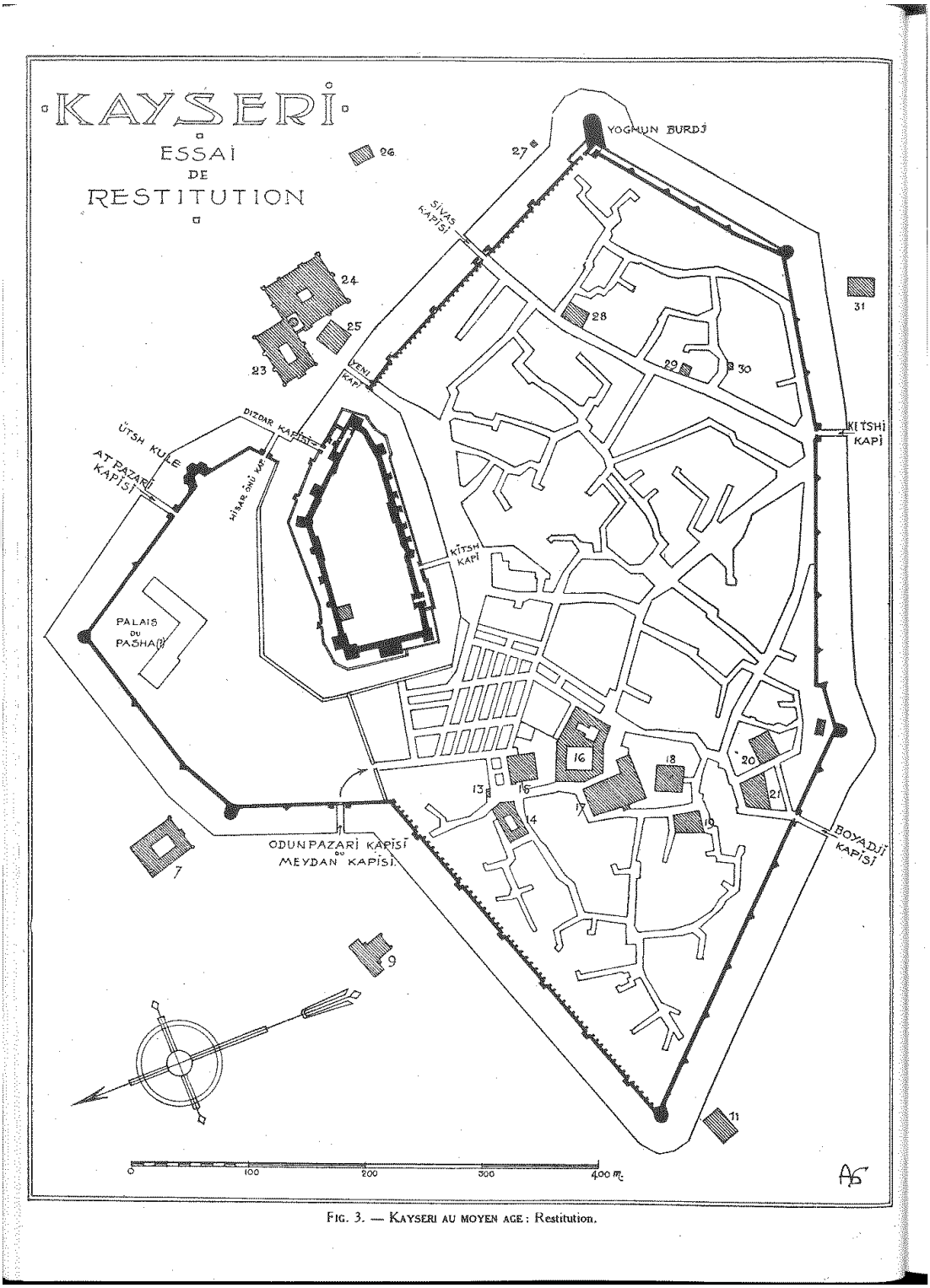
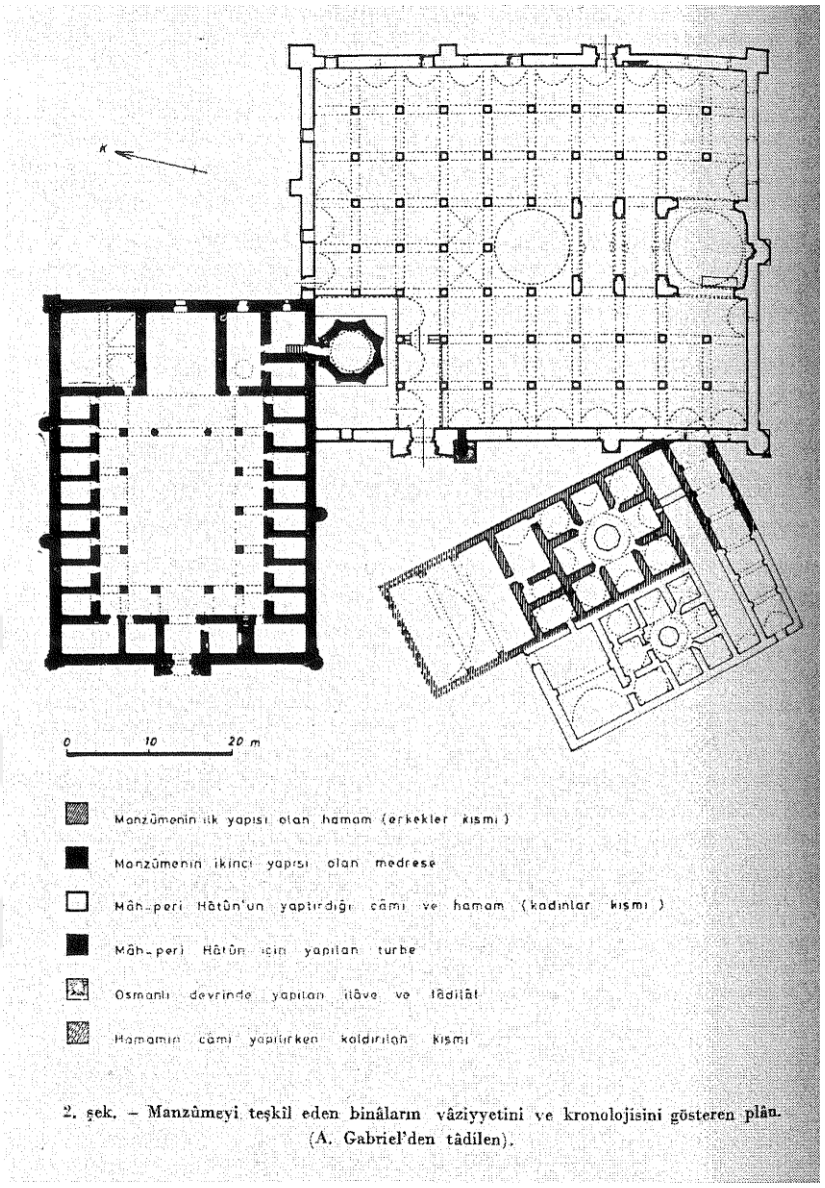


FIG. 3. — KAYSERI AU MOYEN AGE : Restitution.

Figure 24. The plan of Kayseri, the Mahpari Khatun complex (After Gabriel, *Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie)*



2. şek. – Manzûmeyi teşkil eden binâların vâziyyetini ve kronolojisini gösteren plân. (A. Gabriel'den tâdilen).

Figure 25. The plan of the Mahpari Khatun complex which shows the chronological order of Karamağaralı (After Karamağaralı, *Kayseri'deki Hunat Camisinin Restitüsyonu ve Hunad Manzumesinin Kronolojisi Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar*)

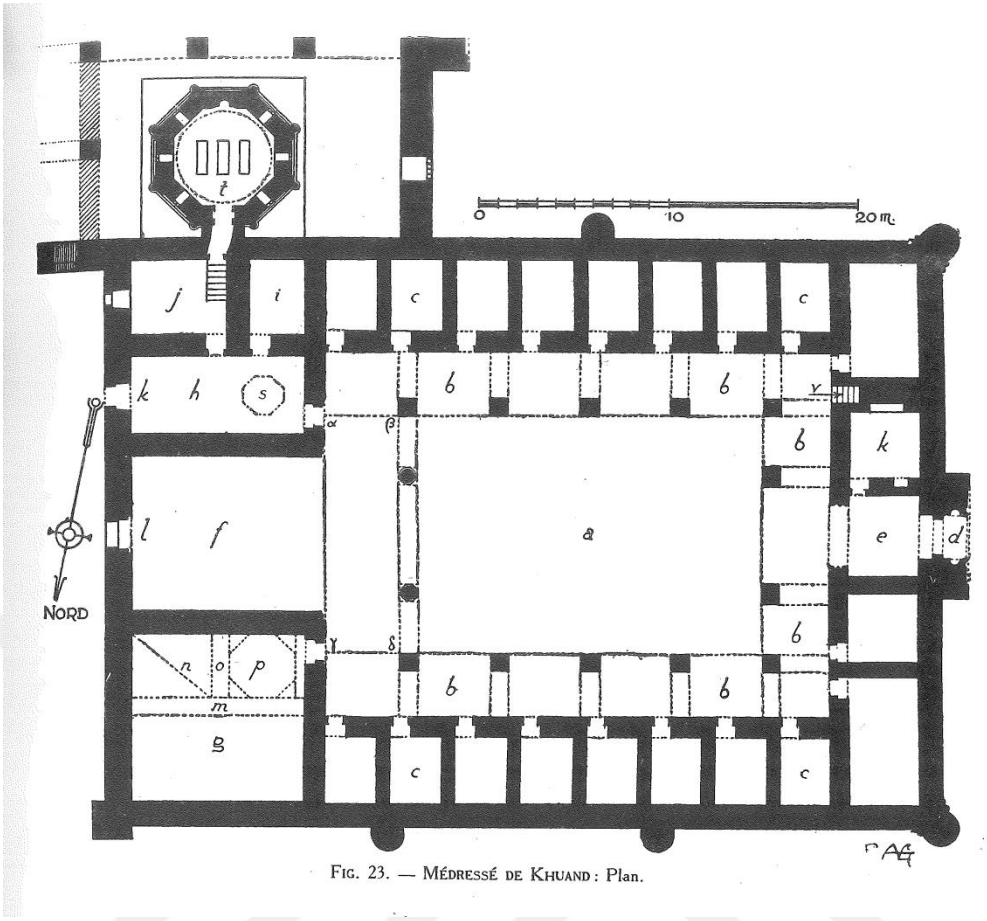


FIG. 23. — MÉDRESSÉ DE KHUAND : Plan.

Figure 26. The plan of the madrasa and the tomb (After Gabriel, *Monuments*)

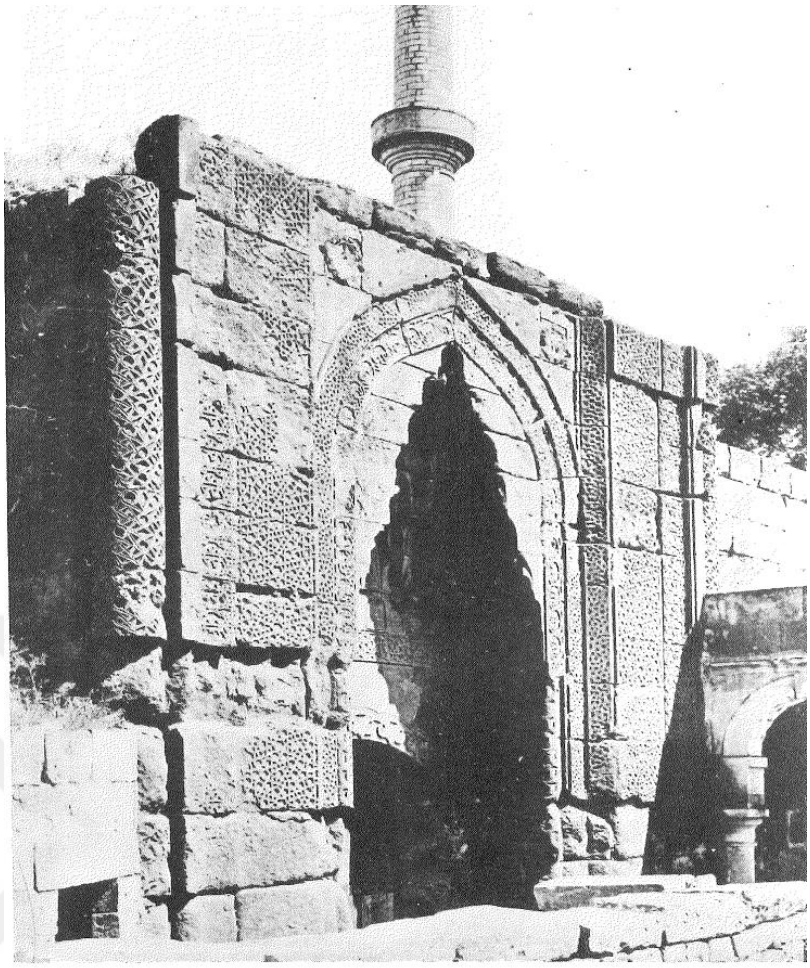


Figure 27. The portal of the madrasa (After Gabriel, *Monuments*)

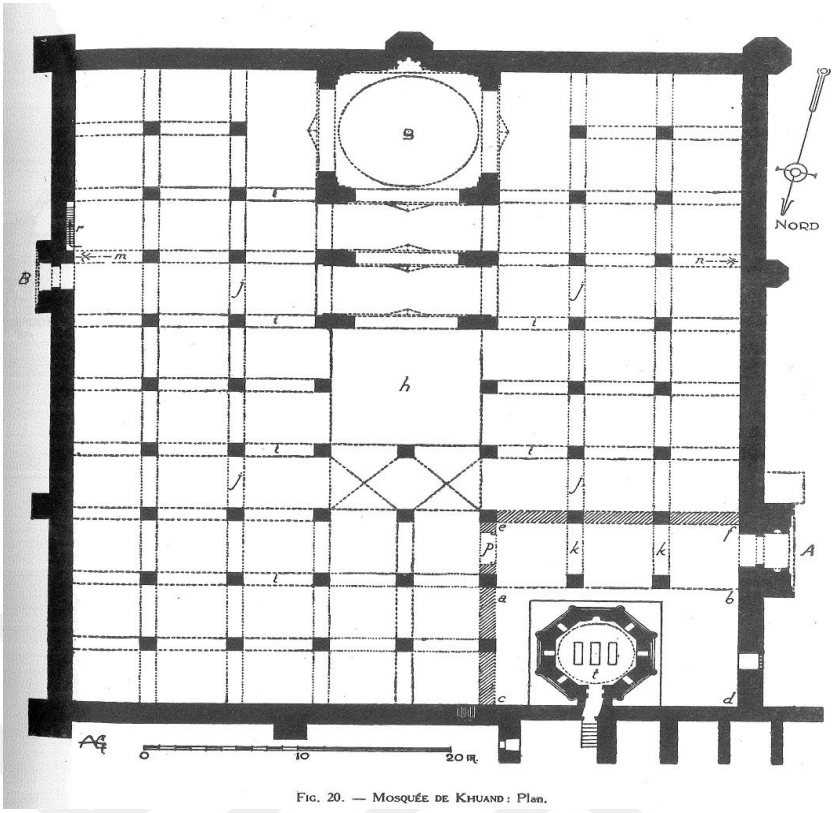


FIG. 20. — MOSQUÉE DE KHUAND : Plan.

Figure 28. The plan of the Mahpari Khatun mosque (After Gabriel, *Monuments*)

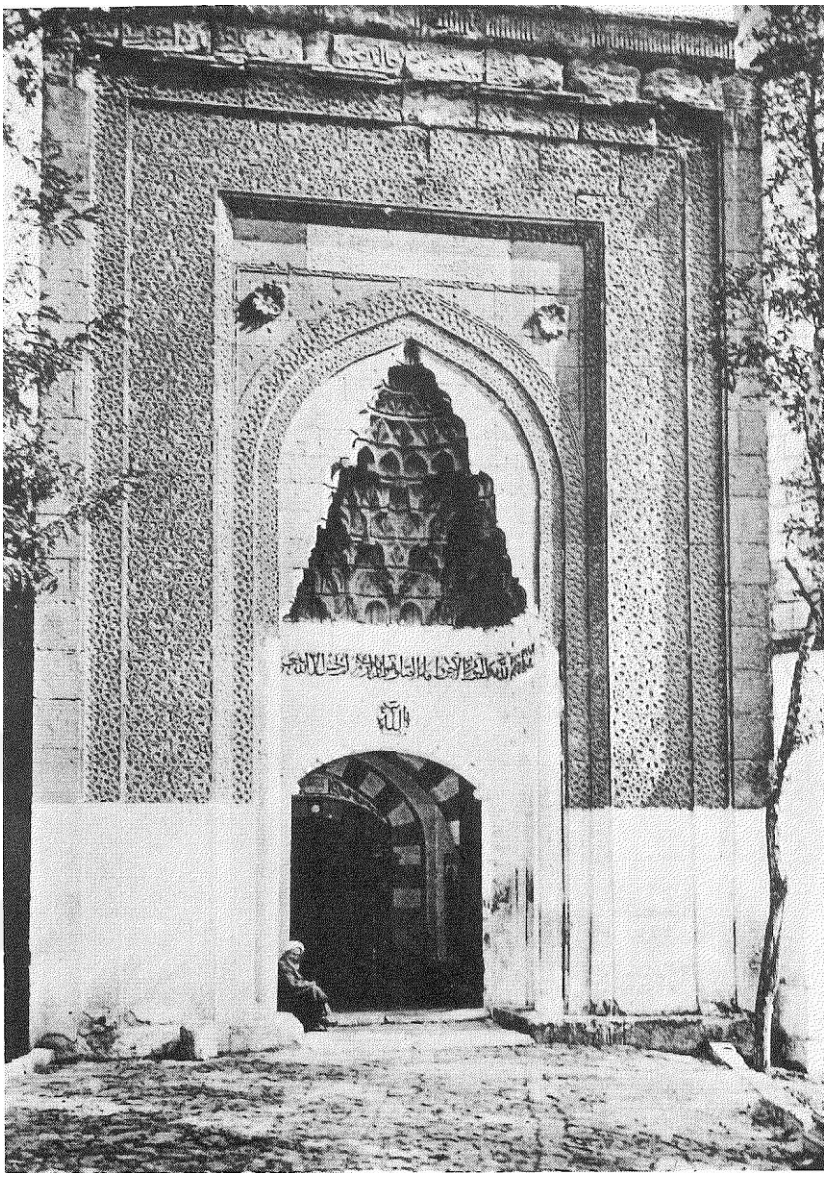


Figure 29. The western portal of the mosque (After Gabriel, *Monuments*)

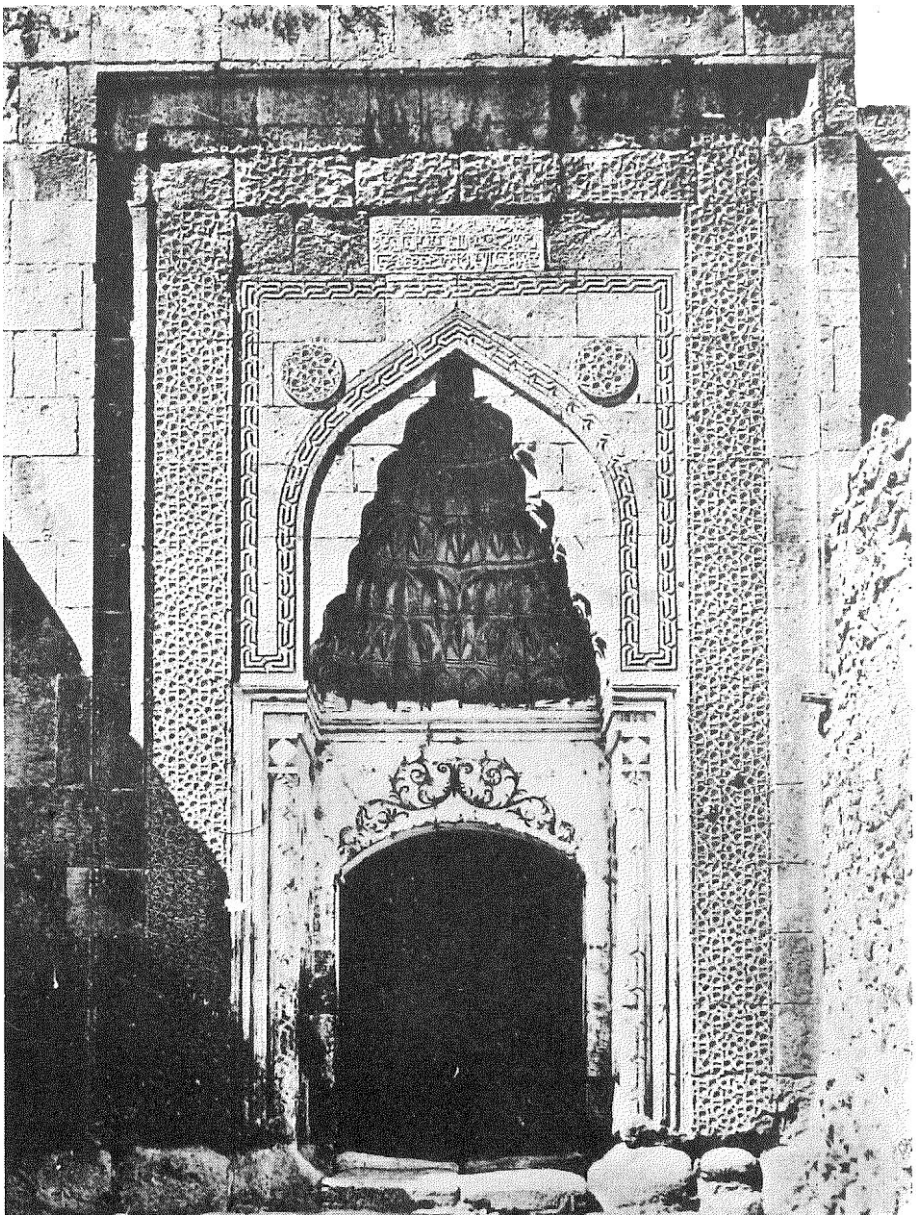


Figure 30. The western portal of the mosque (After Gabriel)

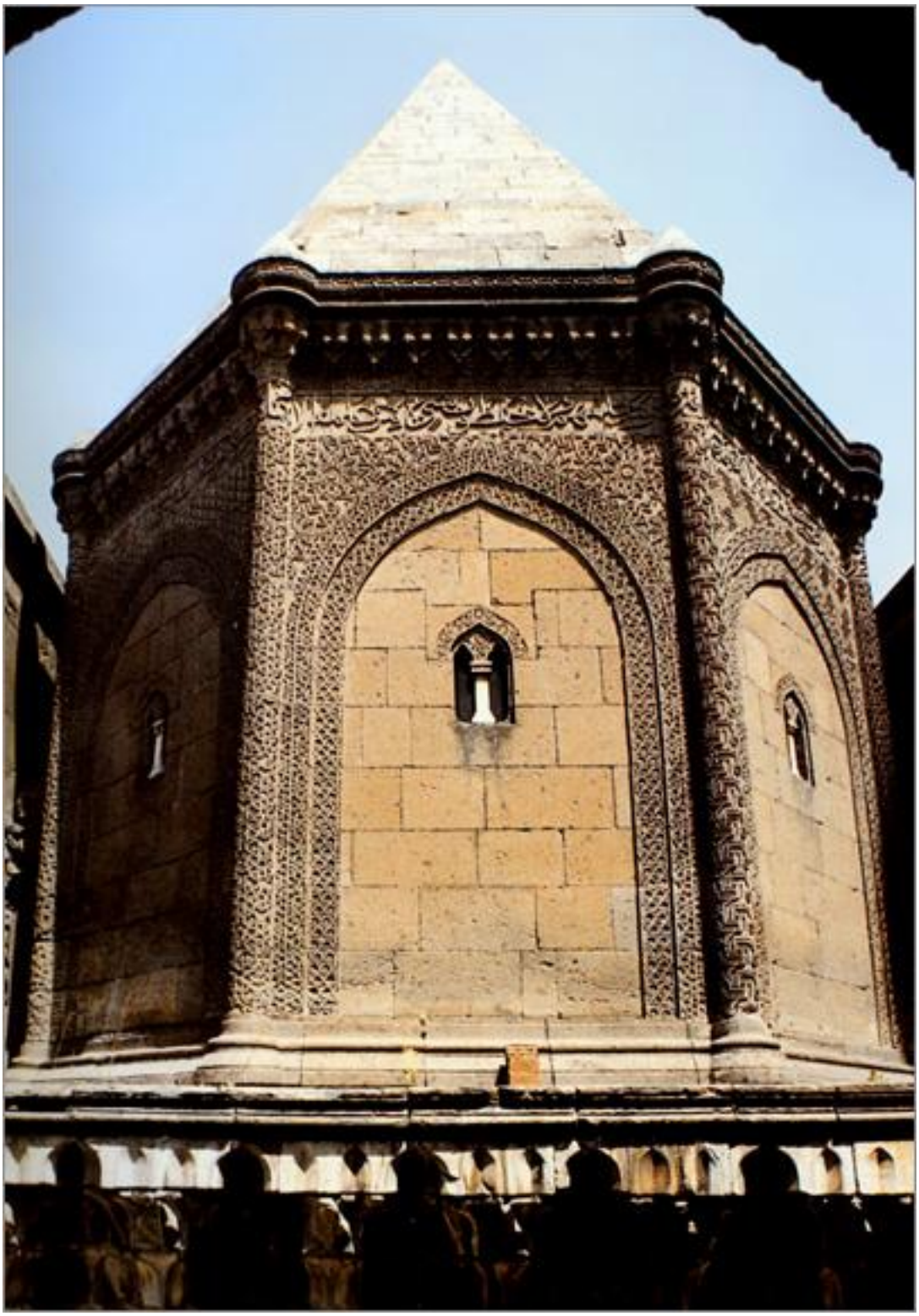


Figure 31. The tomb of Mahpari Khatun

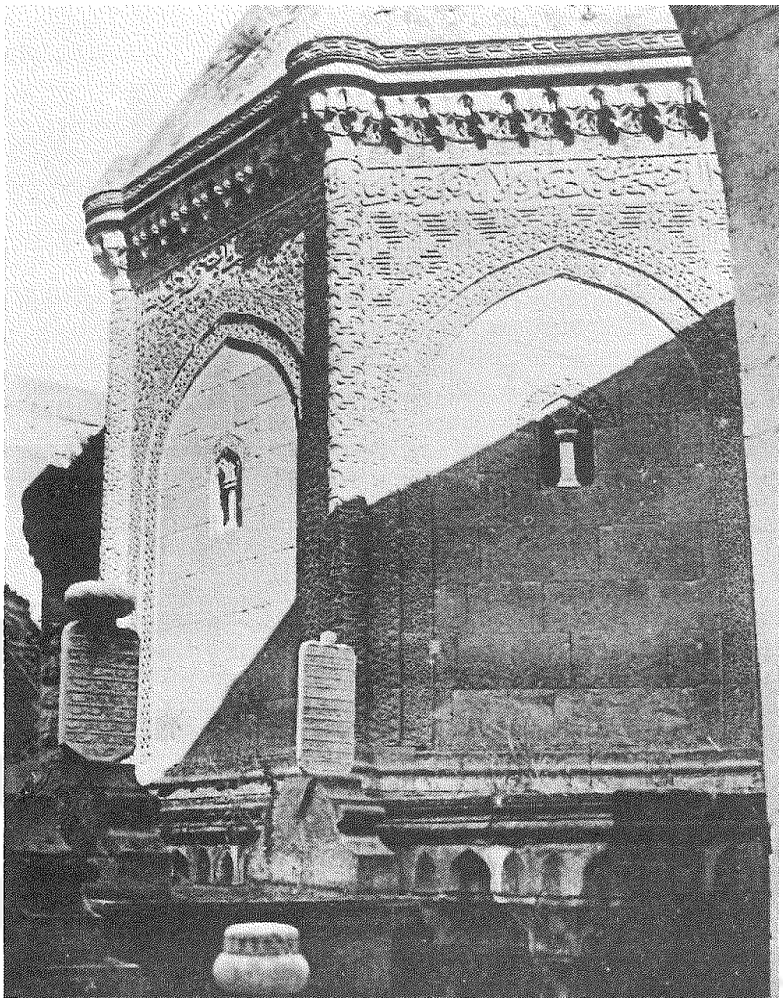


Figure 32. The tombs around the Mahpari Khatun tomb and the detail of the muqarnas decorated marble base (After Gabriel)

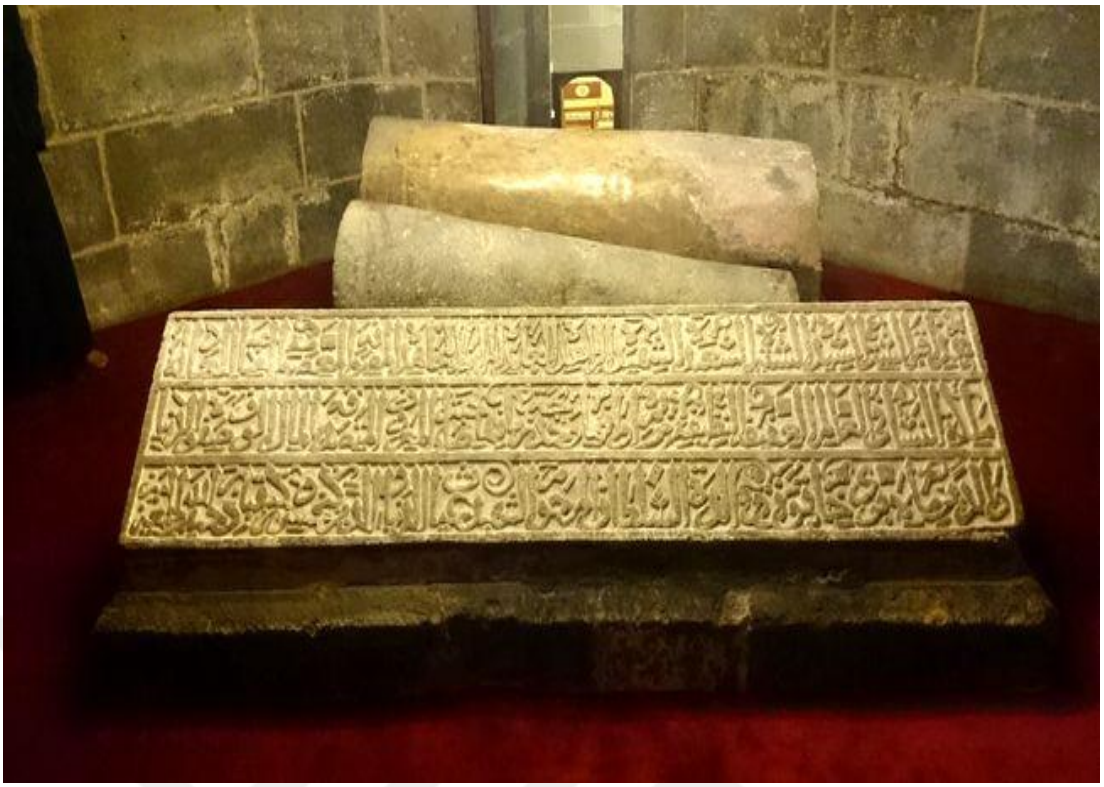


Figure 33. The cenotaphs of Mahpari Khatun tomb. The closest one belongs to her and the third one belongs to her granddaughter Saljuqi Khatun, the cenotaph in the middle has no inscription

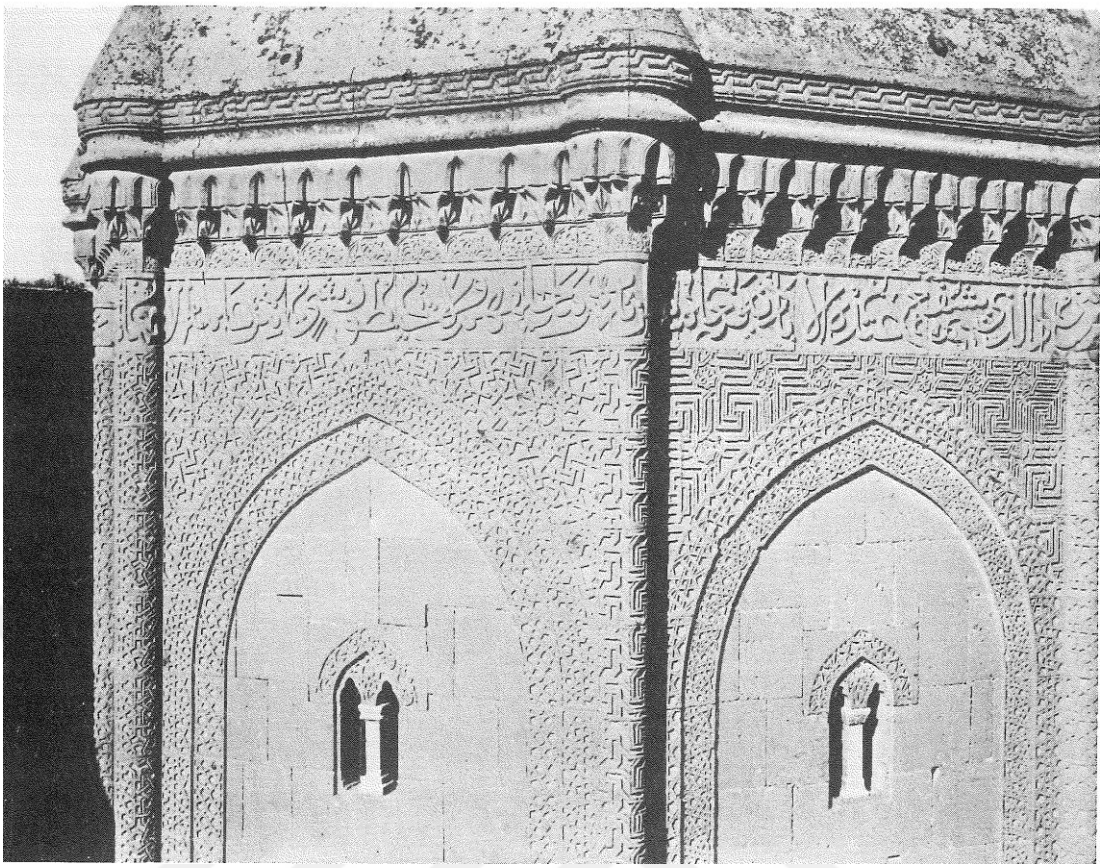


Figure 34. The detail from the tomb: the inscriptional band from the Quran II:255 and the geometric decoration (After Gabriel)



Figure 35. The caravanserais of Mahpari Khatun

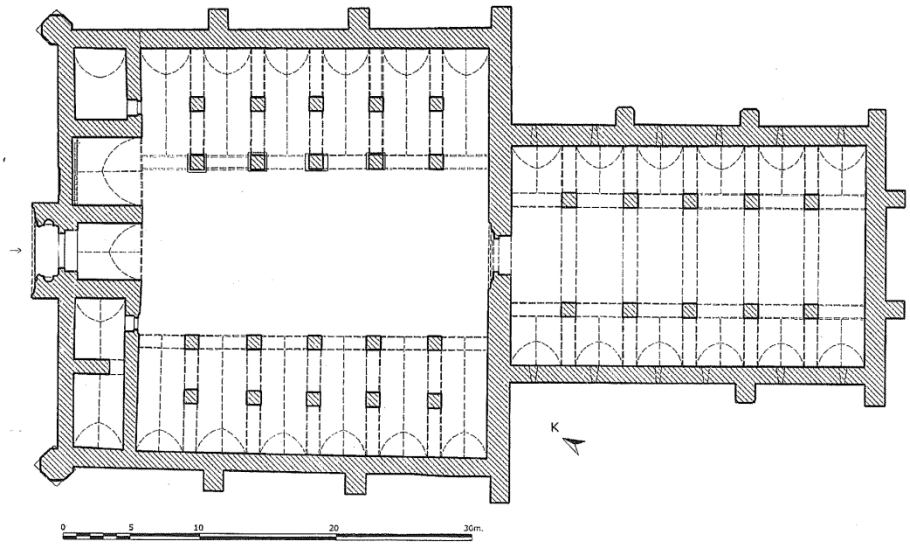


Figure 36. The plan of Hatun Hanı (After Acun, *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*)

REFERENCES

Acun, H.(ed.) (2007). *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Akok, M. (1968). Kayseri'de Hunad Mimari Külliyesinin Rölövesi. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi, XVI/1,* 5-44.

Akşit, A. (2002). Melike-i Adiliye Kümbetinde Selçuklu Devri Saltanat Mücadelesine Dair İzler. *Selçuk Üniversitesi Tükiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi, 1*, 239-245.

Altun, A. (1988). *Ortaçağ Türk Mimarisinin Ana Hatları İçin Bir Özet*, Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat.

Arık, M. O. (1969). *Erken Devirde Anadolu-Türk Mimarisinde Türbe Biçimleri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Arık, O. (1969). Erzurum'da İki Cami (Two Mosques in Erzurum). *Vakıflar Dergisi*, *8,* 149-159.

Aprank or Saint David's Monastery. (2005). Retrived from http://virtualani.org/aprank/index.htm

Aslanapa, O. (2007) *Anadolu İlk Türk Mimarisi: Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu.

Bates, Ü. (1978). Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey. In Lois Beck and Nikki R. Keddie (Eds.), *Women in the Muslim World*, 245-260.

Bektaş, C. (1999). *Selçuklu Kervansarayları, Korunmaları ve Kullanılmaları Üzerine Bir Öneri*, Istanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları.

Beygu, A. Ş. (1936). *Erzurum Tarihi, Anıtları, Kitabeleri*, Istanbul: Bozkurt Basımevi.

Blessing, P. (2014). Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia and a Discussion of Mahbari Khatun's Mosque Complex in Kayseri. *Belleten, 282*, 475-526.

Cahen, C. (2001). *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum: eleventh to fourteenth century,* New York: Longman.

Cahen, Claude. (2014). *Osmanlılardan Önce Anadolu,* Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı.

Cantay, G.(1992). *Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darüşşifaları*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu.

Crane, H. (1993). Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. XXXVI*, 1-57.

Çayırdağı, M. (2013). *Erciyes'in Rüyası Kayseri*, Istanbul: YKY.

Çıkla, A. (2004). "Architectural patronage of women in the early Ottoman era," Master Thesis, Boğaziçi University.

De Nicola, B. (2014). The Ladies of Rum: A Hagiographic View of Women in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth Century, *Journal of Sufi Studies*, *3*, 132-156.

De Nicola, B. (2016). The Queen of the Chaghatayids: Orghina Khatun and the rule of Central Asia. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *26*, 107-120.

Demir and Çabuk. (2013). *Türk Dönemi Kayseri Kenti ve Mahalleleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Deniz, B. (2007). Alay Han. In Hakkı Acun (Ed.) *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, 51-75.

Denktaş, M. (2000). *Kayseri'deki Tarihi Su Yapıları (Çeşmeler ve Hamamlar)*, Kayseri: Kıvılcım Yayınları

Doğan, N. Ş. (2012). Kayseri'deki Selçuklu Külliyeleri. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi, Bahar (16)*, 191-214.

Doğan, N. Ş. (2013). Kayseri'deki Selçuklu Dönemi Kadın Türbeleri. *Vakıflar Dergisi*, *39*, 15-26.

Duran, R. (2007). Altunapa Han. *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, ed. Hakkı Acun, Ankara, 77-87.

Durukan, A. (1998). Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatında Kadın Baniler. *Vakıflar Dergisi*, *27*, 15-36.

Eastmond, A. (2010). Gender and Patronage Between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century. In Ödekan, A., Akyürek, E., Necipoğlu N. (Eds.), *Change in the Byzantine world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, 1. Uluslarası Sevgi Gönül Bizans Araştırmaları Sempozyumu/First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, 78-88.

Edhem, H. (1982). (Ed. Kemal Göde) *Kayseri Şehri: Selçuklu Tarihinden Bir Bölüm*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.

El Kadi, G. and Bonnamy, A. (2007). Architecture for the Dead: Cairos Medieval Necropolis, Cairo: The American University Press.

Erdmann, K. (1961). Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts, (Vol. 1, Pt. 1), Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann.

Eyice, S. (1970). Konya'nın Alaeddin Tepeseinde Selçuklu Öncesine Ait Bir Eser: Eflatun Mescit. Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, *4*, 269-302.

Gabriel, A. (1989). *Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie 1*, Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

Guédy, D.D. (2013). The Tents of the Saljuqs. Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life. Boston: Brill, 149-189.

Gündoğdu, H., Bayhan A., and Arslan M., (2010). *Sanat Tarihi Açısından Erzurum*, Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi.

Hacıgökmen, M. A. (2012). I. Alaeddin Keykubat'ın (1220-1237) Kayınbiraderi Kir Fard Hakkında Bir Araştırma. *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities, II/1*, 121-130.

Hopwood, K. (2004). Christian-Muslim Symbiosis in Anatolia. *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in The Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W.Hasluck, 1878-1920, vol 2*, 13-30.

Humphreys, R. S. (1994) Women as patrons of religious architecture in Ayyubid Damascus, *Muqarnas, 11*, 35-54.

Ibn Battuta. (2004). *İbn Battuta Seyahatnamesi*, Istanbul: YKY.

Ibn Bibi. (2015). Selçukname, (Ed.) Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, Istanbul: Kitabevi.

Karamağaralı, H. (1976). Kayseri'deki Hunat Camisinin Restitüsyonu ve Hunad Manzumesinin Kronolojisi Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar. *AİÜFD, XXI*, 199-245.

Koch, E. (2006). The Complete Taj Mahal: and the riverfront gardens of Agra, London: Thames&Hudson.

Kuban, D. (1970). *100 Soruda Türkiye Sanatı*, Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi.

Kuran, A. (1969). *Anadolu Medreseleri*, Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi.

Kuran, A. (2012). *Selçuklulardan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Mimarlık*, Istanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları.

May, T. (2016). Commercial Queens: Mongolian Khatuns and the Silk Road, Journal *of the Royal Asiatic Society, 26*, 89-106.

Ögel, S. (1986). *Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatı Üzerine Görüşler*, Istanbul.

Önge, Y. (1969). Kayseri Huand (Mahperi Hatun) Külliyesinin Hamamı ve Yeni Bulunan Çini Tezyinatı. *Önasya, Vol. 47*. 8-9.

Önge, Y. (1995). *Anadolu'da XII-XIII Yüzyıl Türk Hamamları*, Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü.

Önge, M. (2007). Zazadin Han (Sadeddin Köpek Kervansarayı). *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 195-200.

Önkal, H. (2015) *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri,* Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları.

Özkarcı, M. (2007). Eshab-I Kehf Hanı. In Hakkı Acun (Ed.), *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, 437-447.

Pancaroğlu, O. (2009). The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği: A History of Relations and Transitions. *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ, 3*, 169-198.

Pancaroğlu, O. (2013). House of Mengüjek in Divriği: Constructions of Dynastic Identity in the Late Twelfth Century. *The Seljuks of Anatolia: court and society in the medieval Middle East*, 25-67.

Peacock, A. (2006).Geogia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th centuries. Anatolian Studies, Vol. 56. 127-146.

Peirce, L. (1993). The imperial harem: women and soverignty in the Ottoman Empire, New York: Oxford University Press.

Redford, S. (2013). Paper, Stone, Scissors: 'Ala' Al-Din Kayqubad, Ismat Al-Dunya Wa 'l-Din, and the Writing of Seljuk History. *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 151-170.

Redford, S.(1991). The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered. *Artibus Asiae, Vol. 51*, 54-74.

Redford, S. (1993). Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery. *Ars Orientalis, Vol. 23*, University of Michigan, 219-236.

Redford, S.(2009) The inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı and the Problem of Textual Transmission in Seljuk Anatolia. *Adalya*, 12, 347-359.

Redford, S.(2014) *The 1213-14 Seljuk Citadel Inscriptions at Bayburt. Legends of Authority: The 1215 Seljuk Inscriptions of Sinop Citadel*, Turkey, 101-144.

Sakaoğlu, N. (2005). *Türk Anadolu'da Mengücekoğulları,* Istanbul: YKY.

Sinclair, T. A. (1987). *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey* (Vol II). Virginia University: Pindar Press.

Shukurov, R. (2013). Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Prince. *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 115-150

Shukurov, R. (2013). Churches in the Citadels of İspir and Bayburt: An Evidence of 'Harem Christianty'?. *Polidoro: Studi offerti ad Antonio Carile*, 713-23.

Sunay, S. (2007). Tokat-Pazar Mahperi Hatun Kervansarayı. *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 255-271.

Sözen, M. (1970). *Anadolu Medreseleri: Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devri*, İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Tarihi ve Rölöve Kürsüsü.

Sümer, F. (1990). *Selçuklular Devrinde Doğu Anadolu'da Türk Beylikleri,* Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Şermin, N and Yazar, T. (1991). Kayseri Köşk Hanikahı. *Vakıflar Dergisi, 22,* 301-314.

Tabbaa. Y. (1997). *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo,* Philadelphia.

Tabbaa, Y. (2000). "Dayfa Khatun, Regent Queen and Architectural Patron" in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies,* Albany. 17-34.

Tekinalp, M. (2009). Palace Churches of the Anatolian Seljuks: tolerance or necessity?. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Vol 33: 2,* 148-167.

Tuncer, O. C. (1986). *Anadolu Kümbetleri,* Ankara: Güven Matbaası.

Turan, O. (2002). *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye,* Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları.

Turan, O. (2013). *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, Istanbul, Ötüken.

Uyumaz, E. (2012). Türkiye Selçuklu Sultanları, Melikleri ve Melikelerinin Evlilikleri. In Önder Kaya (Ed.), *Eyyubiler,* 355-384.

Ünal, R. H. (1968). *Les Monuments Islamiques anciens de la ville d'Erzurum et de sa region,* Paris : Maisonneuve.

Ünal, R. H. (1979). Sevserek Hanı (Malatya-Pötürge) ve (Erzincan-Refahiye) Hakkında Bir İnceleme. *I. Türkoloji Kongresi Tebliğleri*, 952-968.

Wolff, R. (1947). The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261). PhD dissertation,Harvard University.

Wolper, E. S. (2000). Princess Safwat al-Dunya wa al-Din and the Production of Sufi Buildings and Hagiographies in Pre-Ottoman Anatolia. Women, In Ruggles, F. D. (Ed.), Patronage and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies, 35-52.

Wolper, E. S. (2003). *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia*. University Park, Pennslyvania: Pennslyvania State University Press.

Yalman, S. (2011). “Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, Architectural Patronage of ‘Ala’ al-Din Keyqubad (r. 1220-1237)”, unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University.

Yavuz, A. (1976). Anadolu’da Eşodaklı Selçuklu Hanları. *Odtü Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi, 2*, 187-204.

Yavuz, A. (1991). Mirçinge Han ve Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Eşodaklı Kervansarayları Arasındaki Yeri. *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, *Vol:11, 2*, 41-55.

Yazar, T. (2007). *Nahcivan’da Türk Mimarisi: başlangıcından 19.yüzyılın sonuna kadar*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Yetkin, S. K. (1957). Mama Hatun Türbesi. *AÜ İlahiyat Fakültesi Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi, 1*, 75-92.

Yetkin, S. K. (1970). *Türk Mimarisi*, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi.

Yıldız, S. N. (2013). The rise and fall of a tyrant in Seljuk Anatolia: Sa‘d al-Din Köpek’s reign of terror, 1237-8. In Robert Hillenbrand, and A.C.S. Peacock and Firuza Abdullaeva (Eds.), *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran. Art Literature and Culture From Early Islam to Qajar Persia. Studies in Honour of Charles Melville*. London and New York: I.B. Taurus, 92-101.

Yurdakul, E. (1971). Son Buluntulara Göre Kayseri’deki Hunat Hamamı. *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi, Vol. 2*, 141-151.