

The Motifs Employed on Rum Seljuk 13th Century Eight Pointed Star Tiles from Antalya Province and Elsewhere in Anatolia: An Interpretation

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This article is primarily concerned with the motifs employed in Rum Seljuk 13th century 8 pointed star tiles. It is divided into an introduction, two main sections and conclusions. Following the brief introduction, the first section aims to recontextualise after the passage of 600 years, the court-cultural-religious setting, in which, and for which, these tiles were produced, with sections on: the palace-köşk, the hunt, the court design tradition, and the common shared knowledge of the period at court that may find echoes in these motifs, to re-establish the “climate” within which these tile-work panels of 8 pointed star tiles and pointed cross tiles were employed in Rum Seljuk Anatolia in the first half of the 13th century and it also provides some of the precedents for the use of this star and cross motif. The second section through a series of notes attempts to address the meanings that could have been attached by members of the Seljuk court to some of the motifs that are painted on these glazed star tiles and it provides some examples of the use of related motifs. This is followed by some tentative conclusions drawn from the context established in the first section and the meanings that can be attributed to some of the motifs from the second section.

This paper offers an interpretation of some of the motifs employed on the ceramic 8 pointed star tiles, largely in under glaze technique, which were combined with pointed cross tiles to form a 2 m. high dado, a tiled panel - revetment, surrounding the lower parts of the interior walls of some rooms in Rum Seljuk palaces and köşk (pavilions) that date from the 3rd and 4th decades of the 13th century in Anatolia. These include: the palace built inside the fortress at Alanya of 1226-7¹; the palace building erected inside the Roman theater at Aspendos², Antalya; at the Alaeddin Mosque at Korkuteli, Antalya, that was a Seljuk tiled köşk before its conversion into a mosque³; at the Kubadabat Palace and the

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¹ Pancaroğlu 2005, 393, Yavuz 1970, 353, follows Konyalı with a date of 1228; Arık 2000 19, who states that these are as those tiles found at Kubadabat; Öney 1992, 104; Oluş Anık 1986, eg. Fig. 5, 367; Otto-Dorn 1957 43-44. Durukan 2001, 96 for this date.

² Ünal 1973, 19-21, who states these tiles are the same as those found at Kubadabat, 20, plates 22-42; Arık 2000, 20, likewise; Öney 1992, 104; Öney 1989 111-116; Yetkin 1972, 121-22; Otto-Dorn 1957, 40-42.

³ My thanks to archaeologist Azize Yener and Antalya Museum for this information from the rescue excavation of 2005-6 conducted by the museum, publication of which is forthcoming in *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi*.

köşks at Kız Kalesi, Kilise and Eşek islands and the Malanda Köşkü, all by Lake Beyşehir of c.1227-30⁴, as also at the Roman baths at Hierapolis by Denizli that was converted into a tiled palace-köşk by the Seljuk's and was abandoned in 1334.

These tiles were also probably used in the decoration of the unexcavated Seljuk köşks at Kemer⁵ and in Karaköy Kalesi (Alaed-Din Kalesi) by Günedoğmuş⁶, both in Antalya province. They may also have formed part of the decoration of a now vanished köşk in Antalya city⁷ and, perhaps a further köşk in Antalya⁸. There was also a tiled köşk in the Kisleçukuru Monastery by Doyran⁹, Antalya and perhaps another at the "Ak-Kale" köşkü¹⁰, situated close to the springs at Kırkgöz essential for both men and horses and in former times, ideal wildfowling country.

There were other, in part, tiled köşks at: Tokat¹¹, by Akşehir¹², by Aksaray¹³, around Kayseri: the Haydar Bey Köşkü by Argıncık, the Billur Bağlar Köşkü as well as the later Hızır İlyas Köşkü by Erkilet of 1241-2¹⁴, and perhaps also in Kayseri, given the palace tile work found at the Hatun Complex¹⁵. Near Konya at the Palace of Filubad built by Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I¹⁶, at Afyon (*Karabısar-ı Devle*) where another palace was built by Alaed-Din Keykubat I, perhaps also in the palace by Ilgın near Konya and at Yozgat, Delice.

There were the many köşks around Alanya, some tiled¹⁷, that are somewhat akin to the 12th century "Munyas" of Murcia in Andalusia¹⁸ and the Islamic and Islamic influenced Norman Köşkü-pavilions mentioned by ibn Gubayr in 1185 as, "encircling the throat of the city (Palermo, Sicily) as the necklace encircles the neck of a full-bosomed young woman",

⁴ Arık 2002, 251-266 including references to other köşks, perhaps also at the palaces at Malatya, Durukan 2001, 68, and Sivas had revetments of these tiles; Arık, 2001; Bozer 2001; Öney 2002, 401-18; Arık 2000; Öney 1992, 101-3 and 246 where she suggests these tiles were fired on the spot; Altun 1990, 201, who suggests 16 pavilions in this complex; Arık 1989, 11-17; Yetkin 1972 117-119; Otto-Dorn 1957, 36-40. See also S. Redford, M. J. Blackman, *Journal of field Archaeology* Vol. 24, No 2, 1997, "Luster and fritware production and distribution in medieval Syria", 233-247, for examples of the local firing of luster fritware ceramics.

⁵ Yavuz 2000 279-302.

⁶ Seyirci 2001, 267-9.

⁷ Riefstahl 1931, 52-3.

⁸ Öney 1992, 103; Yetkin 122-3

⁹ My thanks to Doç. Dr. E. Akyürek for information on the sparse ceramic evidence recovered from this köşk which does not seem to have been tiled with these star and cross tiles.

¹⁰ Omerod 1911-12, 219, reports: "A small rectangular building called AK-Kale 3/4 of an hour to the East of Jagdchali Kahveh on the main road between Karaba'yr and Kirkgeuz. Materials of an earlier date, squared blocks and the remains of an olive press seem to have been used in the building". This building sounds much like a Seljuk köşk, but no identifiable trace of it remains of it today.

¹¹ Riefstahl 1931, "Turhal", 52-3.

¹² Öney 1992, 104; Yetkin 1972, 161.

¹³ The later "White Palace", built by Sultan Ized-Din Kılıç Arslan, Yetkin 1972, 123.

¹⁴ Arık 2002, 263; Öney 1992, 103; Gabriel (no date on reprint) 88-90.

¹⁵ Durukan 2001, 69.

¹⁶ Cahen 2001, 137.

¹⁷ Redford 2001, 213-224; Redford 1996, 456-7, Hasbahçe, Hacı Baba, Gülevşen for hunting, Arık 2000, 20, Su Gözü, Saraybelen, Olba Köy and others, Yetkin 1972, 123; Lloyd 1958, 43, Konyalı 1946, 67, 338-41, 352-356 and 361-2.

¹⁸ Built upon the 8th century "Munyas", or "garden palace-pavilion" example, built by the Omayyad 'Abd ar-Rahman I by Cordoba, that came in its turn from the Omayyad Caliphal examples built in Syria, Barrucand 2002, 36.

in a complex around Palermo of hunting grounds, pleasure gardens, artificial lakes, elaborate water systems and pavilions¹⁹ as these Rum Seljuk köşks encircle Alanya. There were other Rum Seljuk köşks by Manavgat, by Gazipaşa²⁰ and at Demirtaş (Syedre)²¹, although there seems to be no surviving evidence to show if this 2 storey köşk had tile revetments, another at Anamur²² and the köşk built within the Alara Castle of c.1224-5²³ was also tiled. Doubtless there were even more köşks built in Rum Seljuk territory prior to 1250, with some, if not most, carrying tile revetments of this type.

These numerous Rum Seljuk palaces and pavilions were within the same hunting, garden and palace tradition as that of their relatives, the Great Seljuks and their Emirs who possessed numerous palaces and köşks. For example the palaces, pavilions and gardens built and used by the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah (1072-92) at Isfahan²⁴, at Merv the pavilion of Andraba²⁵ and the 4 gardens with their raised pavilions to obtain the prospect and catch the breeze (like the later Kemer Köşk and other Rum Seljuk examples, built to catch both the breeze and the prospect), that was built by the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah²⁶; at Hamadan, the old pavilion at the gate of Hamadan and other pavilions, 500 of which were enriched for a wedding²⁷ and the new pavilion built by Sultan Mas'ud b. Muhammed in the middle of the square at Hamadan²⁸ and another in the environs of a castle near Hamadan²⁹. While "the stage of the garden pavilion", between Rayy and Hamadan³⁰ records another köşk, and there was the palace-pavilion of Shams al-Mulk (1068-80), with gardens and zoo, pasture, "quruq", for hunting, called "Shamsabad", at Bukhara, destroyed by Nizam ül-Mülk³¹. This palace-pavilion culture³² was the case not only for the Seljuks but also for the Khwarizm Shahs and, after 1256, the Ilkhans. Capturing Tabriz in 1225, Jalalad-Din Khwarizm Shah (1220-31) found that Özbey had built at vast expense a beautiful pavilion looking down upon gardens, which he declared to be a place "fit only for the slothful and of no use to him"³³. This palace-pavilion culture, both stemmed in its court style from the example of the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphal courts, spread to N. Africa, Spain, Sicily and Central Asia³⁴ and found, not only many of its motifs, but also its prestige and religious legitimacy in the Caliphal example. The Abbasid

¹⁹ Zalapi 1998, 30ff.

²⁰ Karamut 2003, 53-4; Karamut 2004, 119-120, the Mausoleum of Trajan at Silenus, converted into a hunting lodge, "şikarhane", called by the locals today, "şekerhane".

²¹ Yavuz 1970, 353-71.

²² Yetkin 1972, 123.

²³ Öney 1992, 104; Altun 1990, 202 reports tile fragments.

²⁴ Nishapuri 2001, 61, and another in the square, 67.

²⁵ Nishapuri 2001, 95.

²⁶ Pindar-Wilson 1976, 75-6.

²⁷ Nishapuri 2001, 116, 125, 132, 158, 160,

²⁸ Nishapuri. 2001, 119.

²⁹ Nishapuri. 2001, 129, as later, at Alara Castle and at Karaköy – Alaeddin Castle, Antalya.

³⁰ Nishapuri. 2001, 145.

³¹ Barthold 1977, 109-10.

³² Redford 1993, 217-36, also Scott-Meisami 2001, 71-4.

³³ Boyle 1968, 326.

³⁴ For Ghaznavid examples of palace-pavilion-gardens "in every important city of the realm", see Bosworth 1973, 140ff.

Samarra complex of palaces, pavilion-köşk, contained within its vast extent, hunting grounds, a game reserve where there were: gazelles, wild ass-onager, deer, hare and ostriches (all animals represented on these 13th century tiles with the substitution of gazelles for goats), with one, al-Musharrat extending across an area of 6.1 by 9.2 km.; there are 14 identifiable polo (çevgen) grounds, some with lodges for spectators and stables, a race track with a pavilion, a parade ground to review troops measuring 505 by 660 m., barracks, and also pavilions set within gardens³⁵.

There is perhaps only little that can be added to the distinguished work of scholars such as: K. Otto-Dorn, G. Öney, R. Arik, and N. Ölçer. M. Önder, I. Ünal and others who have excavated these Rum Seljuk buildings, discovered these tiles and published articles and more extensive works on this subject, however, this article attempts to bring a greater clarity, not to the manufacturing processes, the materials, techniques and glazes employed, to these tiles as finds, but to the reasons for the employment of the limited range of motifs that are shared amongst these star tiles, that were repeatedly employed to form ceramic revetments in these palaces and köşks, and also to draw attention to the implicit meanings of these motifs, within the context of symbolic allusion, that was also employed in surviving written works from the 12th and 13th centuries, as also in earlier Islamic works that are known to have been copied, or to have circulated within the Rum Seljuk Sultanate of Anatolia during this period. In the absence of contemporary documentation giving the precise reasons for the employment of this range of motifs upon these tiles, the interpretation offered here, supported in part by examples from elsewhere in the Islamic world and from contemporary literature, inevitably lacks conclusive proof.

Further, to show that many of the motifs on these star tiles relate directly at the temporal level, to the courtly concerns with the hunt, both for the game obtained and for training and exercising the military when not on campaign, usually in the winter, with hunting also conducted in the course of the Sultan's progress between places, and that, in addition, many of these motifs were common to other palaces and pavilions elsewhere in the Islamic and Islamic influenced world. There is also the possibility that, on a different level, some of these motifs also operated to articulate reminders to those aware of the somewhat larger "spiritual hunt"³⁶ of, for example, that of the falcon having hunted, returning to the arm rest of the Sultan, an allusion employed in the contemporary literature to describe the human spirit and its return from this world to its Creator, the falcon-spirit recalled by the drum beat of the falconer's drum, the drum beat sounding like the beat of the human heart, with the Sultan seen as both representing the Sultan-Caliph and, in symbolic allusion, God. There is perhaps a layering of meaning to the motifs employed on these tiles and their interpretation was, and remains, dependent on the level of knowledge brought by the viewer to these motifs. The Hindu beast fables of Bidpai, translated from Persian into Arabic by 'Abd Allah ibn al-Muqaffa (c.721-c.759) during the reign of the Caliph al-Mansur as "Kalilah wa Dimnah"³⁷ and widely read by the literate in 13th century Anatolia, have this layering of levels of meaning, which was clearly understood, as Rumi

³⁵ Northedge 2001, 52-63.

³⁶ See for example Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 52; Bk. 5, 752, "The greed of hunting makes one oblivious to being the prey", Bk. 5, 2745; Bk. 6, 4439ff, "Whosoever goes in chase of a quarry like this doesn't catch his quarry till he himself is caught", for examples of the analogy of a hunt for game with the spiritual quest.

³⁷ Irwin 1999, 76-84; Browne 1997, Vol. 1, 275, Nicholson 1998, 346, Hitti 1991, 308.

remarks: "...take the (essential) meaning of the story, O imbecile! Not like him who has heard (some) fables, and like the "sh" stuck to the (literal) shape of them. So that he would say, "How should Kalila, having no language, hear words from Dimna who had no power of expression? And (even) if they knew each others' accents, how should man understand it (their talk), (since it was) without any articulation? How did Dimna become a messenger between the lion and the ox, and cajole them both with his palaver? This "Kalila and Dimna" is entirely fiction, or else how should the stork quarrel with the crow?" O brother, the story is like a measure: the real meaning in it resembles grain (in the measure). The man of intelligence will take the grain of meaning; he will not pay any regard to the measure, (even) if it is removed (altogether)³⁸. Likewise Rumi said, "Know that these words are as the skin (rind), and the meaning is (as) the kernel; these words are as the form, and the meaning is the spirit"³⁹. It was understood in 13th century Konya, as was the case earlier, that the pair of jackals, "Kalila" and "Dimna", represented human courtiers to the lion, the lion representing the Sultan-ruler and that the ox, symbolized his vizier. That is, beasts represented humans and, on occasion, particular people were seen in the form of particular beasts, as Jelalad-Din Rumi relates of one of his followers: "I saw him in the form of a wild animal, upon him the skin of a fox"⁴⁰, as also in Rumi's story where a Jew, a Moslem and a Christian are represented as birds, a crow, a falcon and an owl respectively⁴¹. Thus, verbal, written or pictorial images were expected to have, and were understood by the educated to represent not only, or just themselves, but perhaps also to possess a meaning, or a series of meanings, to act as symbols⁴². It was no different with the representations employed in Rum Seljuk art, in paintings of various types, such as these tiles, and in carvings, textiles, metalwork etc, as, in a similar fashion, one can "read" the carvings of the crescent moon: the pair carved above the door on the wooden mibmer of the Alaed-Din Mosque in Ankara of 1197-8, on the mosque-hospital complex at Divriği of 1228-9, those on the lower ends of the stone carved frame and also at the foot of the palm on the relief to either side of the entrance to the Çifte Minareli Medrese at Erzurum of 1253, those carved in stone on the portal of the İnci Minareli Medrese in Konya by 1258, those on the Döner Kümbet in Kayseri of 1276, simply as crescent moons, but the word "hilal" or crescent moon in Arabic and Persian, in symbolic language, represents "Allah", due to the fact that the numerical equivalent of the letters of both words, crescent moon and Allah, add up to 66⁴³ and a crescent moon formed the finial, "alem" of the

³⁸ Mathnavi Bk 2, 3615ff.

³⁹ Mathnavi Bk 1, 1097.

⁴⁰ Arberry 1961, Ch. 34, 144-5, where "him" refers to his spirit and the fox skin refers to his form. It is of importance to note that people in the 13th century lived in far closer proximity to nature, to wild animals and birds and of a greater variety and quantity than obtains today. Both wild and working animals and birds and beasts of prey were a part of peoples everyday and they were understood to possess qualities and characteristics, to act as symbols, the way some people invest qualities, status and a symbolic value in motor vehicles, cell phones, computers and other trappings of modernity today, with the obvious difference that these creatures were alive, living and inhabiting the same space and environment as people.

⁴¹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 2377ff.

⁴² See for example, Rumi Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3670-80, for form versus reality, and name versus knowledge of the named and, Bk. 3, 524-30, in regard to the sign and the reality of the imagery.

⁴³ Duggan 2000 TDN. The "ebjed" system of letters employed to represent numbers was used in the verse counts of early copies of the Koran, Blair 1998, 221. Crescent moons also form a design motif on a brass ewer from Syria dated 1232, probably for ritual washing, Atıl 1975, Cat. No. 26. Also, Jelalad-Din Rumi describes the Prophets as moons, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 3542.

standard sent by the Caliphs to Abbasid recognized rulers⁴⁴ and it is for this reason or meaning that these crescent moons are carved where they are, in places, such as mosque, medrese and tomb, where this symbolic device is appropriate. It is this layering of meaning which, in addition to the spirited manner in which these 8 pointed star tile motifs have been executed, perhaps renders these depictions alive.

This article cites examples from the works of Faridud-Din Attar (c. 1120-1220), Muhyid-Din ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240) and Jelalad-Din Rumi (1207-73) to show that in the period just prior to the deployment of these tiles, in the case of both Attar⁴⁵ and ibn 'Arabi⁴⁶ and in the 4 decades following the use of these tiles in the case of Rumi's works⁴⁷, what spiritual meaning was commonly given to some of the creatures and objects depicted on these tiles. This also to determine if there is a particular meaningful choice to the motifs employed and to show this layering of meaning applied not only to the inscriptions employed on the surviving star tiles, as also on some of the pointed cross tiles, phrases and words that were frequently applied to the Creator, "Hüdavendigâr"- The Creator of the world⁴⁸, the Divine Names, "es-Sultan", The Great Sultan⁴⁹, "al-Muazzam", The Exalted⁵⁰ and combined together⁵¹, "al-Galib", the Victorious⁵², "al-Kemal", the Perfect, a title also applied to the Prophet⁵³, and which were also titles given or approved by the Abbasid Caliph to a Sultan such as Alaed-Din Keykubat I⁵⁴ (likewise to the Sultan's palace, in the case of "Saray-ı Cihan", a term also employed in reference to the Universe⁵⁵); but also to show that a similar layering of meaning applies also, to both the figural representations and to the objects that are depicted on these star tiles. This is because, as N. Pourjavady points out in his translation of Ahmed Ghazzali's "Sawanih", written before 1126, "his (Ghazzali's) ideas had already been expressed by previous authors and his concepts and symbols were nothing new to his contemporaries, moreover the ideas expressed by him and the symbols used by him were treated again by his followers"⁵⁶. It is evident that Faridud-Din Attar, Ibn 'Arabi and Jelalad-Din Rumi when referring to the hunt and hunting

⁴⁴ Bosworth 1977, 99, for the "hilal-i rayat" sent to the Ghaznavid Bahram Shah together with a black banner with a lion device and the black "chatr" or parasol.

⁴⁵ "Mantiq ut-Tayr", The conference of the birds, where for example, references to the falcon, peacock, and turtle dove with its collar, that are represented on these tiles occur, Attar 1984, 29-32.

⁴⁶ References come from ibn 'Arabi's own commentary to his Tarjuman al-Ashwaq, in which he carefully explains the symbolism that he employed in his poem, through his line by line commentary written in 1215 (h.612), Nicholson 1978, 6. Also Chittick 1994, 67-9.

⁴⁷ Mathnavi Books I-VI, with book II dated to h. 662, 1263-4, the Divan-i Shams-i Tabrizi, dated largely to the period after h. 645, 1246-7, Nicholson 1977, XXV n. 2, and Rumi's Discourses, or "Fihi ma Fihi" from the 1250's onwards.

⁴⁸ Anik 2000, fig. 210.

⁴⁹ Anik 2000, figs. 55, 61, 62 on double headed "eagle" motifs.

⁵⁰ Anik 2000, figs. 59, 60, 219 on double headed "eagle" motifs.

⁵¹ Anik 2000, figs. Nos. 212 and 216.

⁵² Anik 2000, fig.No 222.

⁵³ Anik 2000, fig.No 58, on a double headed "eagle" motif.

⁵⁴ As on the portrait seal found at Kubadabat, Anik 2000, 210 fig. 276; on the inscription today set in the Yivli minaret in Antalya, but originating from his imaret (Ünal 18, n. 23), as on other inscriptions recording his titles, "es-Sultan al-Muazzam", "al-Galib" etc.

⁵⁵ Anik 2000, 209.

⁵⁶ Pourjavady 1986, 7.

were employing imagery that was common knowledge to both reader-reciter and listener at that time. The vocabulary of animals, birds and objects employed as motifs on these Rum Seljuk tiles, echo the vocabulary employed by authors of works in verse and prose concerning both the court (mirrors for princes-beast fables) and, in part, the spiritual quest, as well of course, as the hunt itself.

The hunt.

Hunting expressed the ruler's sovereignty over his land, and in winter in particular, formed a very significant part of court life in 13th century Rum Seljuk Anatolia as elsewhere. The freedom to hunt, when not on pilgrimage to Mekka, is stated in the Koran, Sura Al-Ma'idah 5: 3, "Once your pilgrimage is ended, you shall be free to go hunting" and 5: 94-6: "Believers, kill no game while on pilgrimage". The size of the state hunting grounds may have been very large, it is probable that much of the former province of Lycia, formed a hunting ground or "şikargah" centered on the köşks at Kemer and Korkuteli, and likewise, a large tract of land by Alanya, centered on the hunting lodge (şikarhane) there⁵⁷ formed another that stretched deep into Cilicia, while a vast area around Lake Beyşehir formed another, centered on the palace köşk complex of Kubadabat, and there were other areas within the Sultanate given over to hunting. Within these areas nomadic Turkomen were restricted from hunting or disturbing the game⁵⁸. The size of these hunting areas accords with the scale of both past and subsequent hunting areas in the wider region: in 901-2 the entire province of Fars in Persia was expropriated by the Abbasid Caliphs and it became Caliphal territory used by the Caliph's as their own hunting grounds⁵⁹. Likewise in Nasrid Granada from 1232 into the 15th century the entire range of the Sierra Nevada was designated a Royal "Hayr", a closed hunting park, used for hunting parties and for the inspection by the court of farms and flocks⁶⁰ and Timur set aside certain areas of his territory as royal hunting grounds (quruq), such as around his capital at Sultaniyeh⁶¹. A further indication of the vast areas covered by the progress of a Sultan's hunting party in this period is provided by the Ilkhan Ghazan Khan who, in the winter of 1301-2 hunted over Shirvan and Lakzistan in the southeast Caucasus and then over the Mughan Steppe, extending to Kuş Kapısı where he hunted the crane and wildfowl. The party then moved on to Talish by the Caspian Sea, where two fences were erected. At one end there was one days travel between the ends of these fences, but gradually they narrowed, to have at the other end a gap between them of less than fifty yards, and it was at this point that Ghazan Khan waited for the game to be driven by the beaters into the range of his arrows and spears. By June the Khan reached Tabriz and the following year he hunted the Arabian ostrich in Iraq⁶².

⁵⁷ Bibi 1996, Vol. 1, 290

⁵⁸ Lambton 1953, 154, 258, 353, records the limitations placed on grazing rights in hunting areas and at times, the deployment of armed guards to protect these hunting grounds. The prevention of tree felling in a forest where the royal hunt took place is also recorded in the 15th century under King Alphonso V of Portugal in his hunting ordinances, Cummins 2001, 270 and one can suspect a similar response in the designated hunting areas of Seljuk Anatolia.

⁵⁹ Lambton 1953, 25 n.2.

⁶⁰ Irwin 2005, 21-22.

⁶¹ Lambton 1953, 100 n 5.

⁶² Boyle 1968, 390.

The Great Seljuk Sultans main recreation seems to have been the hunt and the breeding of horses, falcons and other animals employed in the hunt, widely mentioned in the sources⁶³, as well as feasting, drinking, polo and playing games such as chess and backgammon with his boon companions, as recounted for instance by Hasan ibn Ali of Tus, the Vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1018-1092) in his "Siyasat-Name" of 1089-91, Chapter XVII⁶⁴, when not at war or administering justice. Nishapuri records that Sultan Malik Shah (1072-92) was, "devoted to wine, hunting and sex"⁶⁵, and the drinking parties and convivial gatherings that seem to have frequently occurred in these pavilions (köşk), remind of ibn Bibi's references to these same activities in the Antalya region under Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I⁶⁶. Nishapuri also records that Malik Shah was very fond of hunting and in a single day shot 70 gazelles with arrows and that, "Wherever a hunting ground is found, he (Malik Shah) left traces, (of hooves from his bag of game) and they remained for a long time"⁶⁷. Nishapuri records that Qutur Khan, hunting with 300 men, was taken prisoner at his hunting ground by Sultan Sanjar (1118-57), son of Malik Shah⁶⁸, giving some indication of the size of a Seljuk emir's hunting party. Mahmud, son of Muhammad, son of Malik Shah, who died in 1131 after reigning 14 years, Nishapuri records as having been a great huntsman and that, "He had a great liking for, and complete devotion to, pigeons, caged birds and good hunting birds, like the falcons of Turkestan, White Sea and Mountain falcons (Shahin), and hawks - Royal (Shahi), Dihistani, Country (Rusta'i), and Nesting (Ashiyani), sparrow hawks (Surjani and Kaydani) and to dogs (Ghurid, Mountain and Iraqi), to the cheetahs of Qumm, Nimruz, Quhistan and Bamiyan, and to all the sorts of hunting animals which Maliks and Sultans can possibly have. He had a great desire for them and loved to keep all varieties. He spent all of his time on baits and lures, releasing and reclaiming his animals, in such a way that he did not get drawn into the affairs of the realm and had no patience for any other occupation. They have written that he had 400 hunting dogs with gold collars, and some with jewels, silk bands and coverings of gold cloth"⁶⁹, and that, "He never traveled anywhere from Iraq, except to every place where there was a hunting ground and a meadow. There he would camp, fly his hunting birds, chase the gazelles and hunt the animals and birds"⁷⁰. Likewise of Mas'ud, son of Muhammad, that, "He was never sated with hunting, and he was brave and skillful in going alone to kill lions, in such a manner that no creature was his helper or assistant"⁷¹. In 1151 Nishapuri records that, "in the autumn (the Great Seljuk Sultan Mas'ud) he went to Bagdad and saw the Keeper of the hunting birds hunt with their birds... when spring appeared, he

⁶³ Lambton 1968, 205.

⁶⁴ Darke 1978, 89-91. See also Rumi's Mathnavi 1982 Bk. 4, 1819 & 2933, verses that refer to boon companions.

⁶⁵ Nishapuri 2001, 121. For Omayyad examples see, Graber 1987, 148-9.

⁶⁶ Nishapuri 2001, 112, 139; Bibi 1996 I, 355.

⁶⁷ Nishapuri 2001, 61-2.

⁶⁸ Nishapuri 2001, 83.

⁶⁹ See below n. 142, L. Suchen for the collars of hunting dogs on Cyprus, also op. cit. n. 118. For cloth covering, as depicted on these Rum Seljuk tiles: Ank 2000, fig. 122-9, of mastiffs with purple coats; figs. 131 and 132 for collars. Mastiffs were used in the hunting of bears.

⁷⁰ Nishapuri 2001, 99-100.

⁷¹ Nishapuri 2001, 105.

came again to Hamadan and halted at his pavilion"⁷². The chancellor of Castile and ambassador, Pero Lopez de Ayala records that a Genovese merchant at Damascus employed German falconers to take 80 gyrfalcons (often described as "white falcons"⁷³), that had been caught near the Arctic Circle, to the Abbasid Caliphal court where they were to be used for hunting crane and that any gyrfalcons that died in transit were to be paid for by the Caliph, giving an idea of the scale and extent of the trade in birds of prey⁷⁴. Faridud-Din Attar writes of the hawk, "I am delighted by my life at court, waiting on kings or hunting for their sport"⁷⁵. Nishapuri cites "Yarinqush" or "Yarinkuş", as the title given by the Great Seljuk Sultan to the head falconer, a high ranking official and names Muzzaffar ad-Din as falconer⁷⁶. A Great Seljuk Emir and head falconer, "Yarinqush", was sent into Anatolia after Malazgirt and another, with his followers, was given protection by Buzurgumid (d.1138), Isma'ili Shii'ite master of the Assassins of Alamut, when he was displaced from power by the Khwarizm Shah⁷⁷.

Newby remarks on life in 12th century Ayyubid territory, "Hunting and hawking were the usual pastimes, gazelles were hunted on horseback...one way of perfecting the technique of using a bow at full gallop, a Turkish specialty"⁷⁸, and these same remarks are applicable elsewhere, to the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphs and other ruling dynasties including the Ghaznavids and the Great Seljuk Sultanate and its successor states⁷⁹, to the Seljuks of Rum, the Khwarizm, Mongol and Ilkhanid states and others. Hunting, together with polo, jirit (cirit), the "tabtab" game and "qabaq", shooting arrows from a moving horse at a gourd placed on top of a high pole⁸⁰, were an essential part of military training, combining exercises with reflex bow and arrow⁸¹, lance and spear, with human strength and agility and individual horsemanship. Nishapuri remarks that Sultan Malik Shah was quick and nimble at the tabtab game played with club or bat⁸² and he notes that Khass Bey was, "a partner for polo (with Sultan Sanjar and Ma'sud b. Muhammad) and the tabtab game and (he drew the Sultan's attention) when he saw him fighting in sham battles and riding

⁷² Nishapuri 2001, 118.

⁷³ eg Rumi, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4 1700, "The cry of the white falcon", and Bk. 6, 136, "White falcon - beyond compare", also verse 3002. For other references to the Sultan's falcons see for example: Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 1155ff, 2195, 2281; Bk. 6, 4139-40

⁷⁴ Cummins 2001, 197, citing from Pero Lopez de Ayala's "Libro de la caça de las aves". Likewise in 1240 Emperor Fredrick II sent 19 falconers from southern Italy to Malta to obtain hawks-falcons, trapped or traded from the island. From 1530 the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem paid a symbolic tribute of one falcon per year to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V of Spain, for the island of Malta, indicating perhaps some continuity in the trapping and trading of hawks-falcons.

⁷⁵ Attar 1984, 45.

⁷⁶ Nishapuri 2001, 162, 127.

⁷⁷ Turan 1988, 29-30; Lewis 2001, 63.

⁷⁸ Newby 1983, 34. Although the Omayyad fresco at Qasr el-Hair shows a mounted archer loosing at full gallop. See also Hitti 1991, 340-41.

⁷⁹ eg. Darke 1978, 89-91.

⁸⁰ Hillenbrand 1999, 448; Beveridge 1990, 34, 276 and, for the "tabtab" game, a possible precursor of tennis see, Hitti 1991, 339-40.

⁸¹ On the importance of the reflex bow see: Kaegi 1964, 96-108; Hildinger 2001, 20-31; Klopsteg 1987.

⁸² Nishapuri 2001, 63.

skillfully”⁸³. Likewise polo was played by Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat by the Kubadabat palace and chess was also played in pavilion and palace, training in strategy and tactics, political and military⁸⁴. Jelalad-Din Rumi frequently refers to polo as an analogy of the spiritual quest: “If you are a ball in His (God’s) polo field, keep spinning round from (the blows) of his polo stick. The ball becomes right and flawless, (only) at the time when it is made to dance by the stroke of the Sultan’s (God’s) hand”⁸⁵ and polo was also used as training for battle: “Kings play with the polo stick in the maidan, to show the inhabitants of the city who cannot be present at the battle and the fighting a representation of the sallying forth of the champions and the cutting off of the enemy’s heads and their rolling about, just as the balls roll in the maidans, their frontal charge, attack and retreat. This play in the maidan is as the astrolabe for the serious business in the fighting”⁸⁶.

Likewise Rumi repeatedly uses the analogy between the activity of hunting and the spiritual quest, the Divine Hunting, “The pursuit of the vulgar is like hunting pig: the fatigue is infinite, and *‘tis unlawful to eat a morsel thereof*”⁸⁷ and, “That (universal intelligence), though being a prey (to God), beheld the beauty of the (Divine) Hunting”⁸⁸ and he often compares the falcon to the human spirit⁸⁹. Important in respect to this “Divine hunting” are the stucco panels of a huntsman and dog from Kubadabat⁹⁰ that have an angel at the back of the horse and an inscription that can be read to identify the horseman as the Prophet Muhammed.

Rumi describes hawking thus: “Or they resemble falcons with eyes sealed (covered), (Yet) in the veil (hood) consumed with passion for the prey, Till he (the falconer) lifts the hood and it (the falcon) sees its prey: then it circles the mountains (in pursuit)”⁹¹, and notes that the falcon’s keeper allowed it to feed on partridge and sparrows⁹², in a series of analogies and metaphors that show both he and his audience was well versed in the practice of falconry and the hunt.

Hunts were organized by the Seljuks in Anatolia shortly after 1071, when the Great Seljuk Emir Yarınkuş (Bazdar), the falconer, determined the officials to look after the hunt in the territory captured subsequent to Malazgirt and, given the hunt’s importance, to the

⁸³ Nishapuri 2001, 117.

⁸⁴ Turan 1993, 397; Turan 1988, fn 95 citing ibn Bibi, s. 140, 162, 168, 171.

⁸⁵ Mathnavi 1982, Bk 2, 314-5, in what appears to be a clear reference to the Mevlevi sema.

⁸⁶ Arberry 1961, Ch. 35, 146. Also for references to polo, ball and bat in both temporal and spiritual analogies, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1. 1868, “suffer blows become like the ball, do not be the bat”, and 2466; Bk. 2, 1310, 3022, “Yet they carry off the ball from the polo field” and 3350; Bk 5, 4120 and Bk. 6, 926. For Rumi’s references to chess, see below, fn 478-482.

⁸⁷ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 408.

⁸⁸ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 464.

⁸⁹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 2788; in reference to the soul of Sheikh Daquqi, Bk. 3, 1930; “O crow, give up this (animal) soul! Be a falcon”, Bk. 5, 808 also 843, “The spirit is a falcon, and the bodily properties are crow (like)”; “God called the falcon, his soul into His...” 2276 and, “The soul is like a falcon, and the body its fetter”, 2280.

⁹⁰ Arik 2000, 181, fig. 284.

⁹¹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk 5. 635; Bk. 4, 335-8, “Freed from the hood like a falcon”. Also, “Dread of the falcon is (falling) upon the noble partridge”, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 4340-1 and, “Like a falcon which snatches a bird at the time of hunting”, Nicholson 1977, XIX, 77.

⁹² Mathnavi 1982, Bk 6, 4667.

Sultan, to Emirs, to the army and to the people this is not surprising, with a great feast after the hunt, following the preparation of the game for consumption, drinking, dancing and music. Game was also brought in from other hunters and added to this feast, with the kitchen master obliged to pay 60 to 70 dirham per partridge (keklik)⁹³. A firman survives from the Sultan to the chief of the armed forces, concerning the appointment of a master of the Sultan's hunt, Emir-i Şikar, who was to be appointed from one of the great Rum Seljuk Emirs (Ulu Emir), and his duty was to find experienced falconers, "bazdar" and "Şahinci" and who would recruit the men⁹⁴ who would drive the birds and also draw the animals into a circle, a "battue", while acting courageously and assisting the hunters most skillfully. In the bird hunting season he must know where to skillfully place the hunters and also he had the duty of handling the bills from the clerk of the accounting office and also of ensuring the costs were distributed fairly amongst the Emirs and the other great people⁹⁵.

The winter quarters, "Kışla", taken up by Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I, in whose reign the employment of these tile panels in palaces and köşks largely occurred, was usually in the Antalya-Alanya region⁹⁶, as in summer by Kayseri. Likewise the Ilkhans had a summer camp at Ala Dağ, Sultaniyeh, and a winter camp at Mahamabad, both sited to exploit the hunting, as well as the climate. It is recorded that the tax (tamgah) increased from 200,000 to 300,000 when the Ilkhan was in residence at Sultaniyeh⁹⁷ and one expects a similar increase in tax revenue in the Antalya-Alanya-Beyşehir region in winter and the Kayseri region in summer, under Alaed-Din Keykubat I. Large periods of time were taken up with hunting with hawk and hound and Rumi repeatedly notes the importance of hunting, "Even a dog for all its baseness, once it learned to hunt and become a hunter for the sultan...follows the sultan's horses and follows after game. So it is with the hawks, when the Sultan has trained it"⁹⁸.

Accounts are recorded of the Sultan hunting regularly in the Antalya region in the winter, with the court officials, the master of the hunt, "Emir-i Şikar", falconers, beaters etc. Köşks were often built as centers of hunting grounds (şikargah), as well as for enjoyment, pleasure and amusement⁹⁹ for the Sultan and his Emirs. Following the conquest of Alanya in 1221, Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat took up winter quarters in Antalya where he hunted¹⁰⁰, again in the winter of 1226/7 he took up winter quarters in Antalya, supervised the building work at Alanya and spent a month, probably hunting, between Antalya and Alanya, before returning to Konya in the late spring¹⁰¹. The winter of 1227-8 the Sultan

⁹³ Turan 1988, 29-30, 28. Rumi records the Sultan's estates and retinue, feasting and making merry, drums and flags, Arberry 1961, Ch. 7, 43.

⁹⁴ For the Ghaznavid corvée on peasants for the hunt, see Bosworth 1973, 141.

⁹⁵ Turan 1988, 27-8.

⁹⁶ Turan 1993, 363, "adeti üzere kışlamak için Antalya'ya", as also around Kayseri in the late spring-early summer, where the troops were often mustered for campaign, ibn Bibi 1996, 1 Cilt, 354.

⁹⁷ Petrushevsky 1968, 508.

⁹⁸ Arberry 1961, Ch. 29, 135-6.

⁹⁹ Bibi 1996, Cilt 1, 355.

¹⁰⁰ Turan 1993, 336-7, 339.

¹⁰¹ Turan 1993, 351.

again spent in the region and with the construction of the Kubadabat Palace-pavilions in progress, ibn Bibi reports the Sultan hunted, was entertained and played polo for a month at Kubadabat in 1228¹⁰², before leaving for Antalya¹⁰³. He spent the winter of 1231-2 between Alanya, Antalya and Kubadabat and again, in the winter of 1233/4 the Sultan was in Antalya and Alanya and then, doubtless hunting along the way, went to Kayseri in the summer of 1234 and returned, to spend the winter of 1234-5 in winter quarters in Antalya and Alanya¹⁰⁴. His son, Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II likewise spent the winter of 1237/8 in winter quarters in Antalya and the Akdeniz region, leaving in the spring for Konya¹⁰⁵. Ibn Bibi reports that the departure of Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II from Kayseri for Antalya was signaled with the order to make ready the caravan and for the Sultan's personal slaves, "gulaman-i-hass", to make ready the winter quarters in Antalya for the Sultan, "as had been the custom for the old Sultan" i.e. Alaeddin Keykubat I¹⁰⁶. At Antalya ibn Bibi reports, "They (the Emirs of Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II) would revel in pleasurable entertainment, eating and drinking, would escape things which have begun to fall from the highest degree (re the Mongol threat?), would drink the purple wine and be true to their youth"¹⁰⁷. It is reported¹⁰⁸ that this Sultan was so attached to his hunting animals, and also to wild animals which he both held and fed, that his death was brought about by one of these wild animals biting him.

Falconry and hunting with trained animals finds mention in the Koran Sura 5 Al-Ma'adah: 4, "Say: "All good things are lawful to you, as well as that which you have taught the birds and beasts of prey to catch, training them as God has taught you. Eat of what they catch for you, pronouncing upon it the name of God". Al-Olmari reports that the best falcons (*şahin*) were trained at Kastamonu and sold from there to other countries¹⁰⁹, while Rumi relates that the "Sultan('s men) traps a hawk to train it to fly to the Sultan's hand"¹¹⁰ and he also records the fowlers who catch birds both to sell and to eat¹¹¹, while Rawandi Muhammad b'Ali's "Rahat al-Sudur wa ayat al-Surur", dedicated to Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev I in 1205, contains a section on hunting¹¹². The annual moult of hawks occurs between June and August¹¹³, but hunting continued throughout the summer. The

¹⁰² In ibn Bibi's work the Crimean campaign of 1225 precedes the building of Kubadabat described by the author, and which seems to have taken place mainly in the period 1226-30, when perhaps the majority of the *köşks* as well as the main palace complex were largely completed.

¹⁰³ Turan 1993, 397.

¹⁰⁴ Turan 1988, 80; Turan 1993, 374.

¹⁰⁵ Turan 1993, 409.

¹⁰⁶ Bibi 1996, Cilt 2, 24-5; likewise for the return to Antalya after the eastern campaign, Bibi 1996, Cilt 2, 58.

¹⁰⁷ Bibi 1996, Cilt 2, 58.

¹⁰⁸ Turan 1988, 29; although Ibn Bibi suggests he died of drink. For tiles of courtiers carrying animals see Arık 2000, figs. 188-190.

¹⁰⁹ Turan 1988, 29.

¹¹⁰ Arberry 1961, Ch. 6, 38.

¹¹¹ Arberry 1961, Ch. 6, 38; and the activities of fowler, of the fowler's snare, bait of corn, the net and pin, occur frequently in his *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk 1. 1738; Bk. 2, 2658ff, 315; Bk. 3, 251, 270-4, 1647-9, 1693-4, 2565, 2858, 2866; Bk. 4, 620, 624, 644; Bk. 5, 192, 643, 755, 1406; Bk. 6, 435ff, 3662. Arberry 1961, Ch. 4. 30, as well as numerous references to hawks and sparrow hawks, eg, Arberry 1961, Ch. 11, 58.

¹¹² Cahen 2001, 159; the text edited by M. Iqbal, *The rahat us Sudur wa ayat us Surur*, 1921.

¹¹³ Cummins 2001, 207.

falcon drum, used by the falconer to recall the falcon was repeatedly used as a symbol by Jelalad-Din Rumi: “When thou heard’st the falcon-drum thou didst fly away into the Void”, in a reference to the death of Shams-i Tabriz¹¹⁴, “Why should a falcon not fly from the quarry towards the King, when it hears by drum and drum stick the notice of “return”¹¹⁵ and, “From love for thee I harken to the sound of the falcon-drum, I have returned, for the Sultan’s arm is my desire”¹¹⁶.

Sadred-Din Köpek b. Muhammed (d. 1240), the reported half brother of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat and the Emir responsible for overseeing the construction of state buildings, “Emir-i Mimar”¹¹⁷, including many Seljuk Köşkü of the period, his own caravansary, Zazzedin Han by Konya of 1235-8, with its distinctive Syrian style “ablaq” work of alternating courses of black and white stone on its portal; as well as the building of the Kubadabat palace köşk complex; was also appointed by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat, to be master of the Sultan’s hunt, Emir-i Şikar. His “laqab”, “Köpek” (hound, dog), referred to his position in charge of the hunting both with hawks and dogs¹¹⁸. A second “Emir-i Şikar”, the Governor Tuğrak is known from the inscription on the Tuğrakiye Mesjid in Amasya of 1234-5¹¹⁹ and a third, Kılavuzoğlu, is known from the reign of Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev III¹²⁰, while a fourth, the Şikar-i Emiru’l-Sewahil Bahaüddin, father of Menteşe Bey, and the last Rum Seljuk Emir-i Şikar known to have been appointed to this post, was also appointed Emir of the Coastlines, recognizing in this dual appointment the link between the Western Toros Mountains and state hunting, even after the Mongol occupation of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate¹²¹.

Farid ud-Din Attar in his “Mantiq at-Tayr” paints the following scene of a royal hunt employing dogs, in this case a greyhound, which may also be represented on these Rum Seljuk tiles (Arik 2000, Fig. 132):

“A royal hunt swept out across the plain,
The monarch called for someone in his train,
To bring a greyhound and the handler brought,
A dark, sleek dog, intelligent, well-taught,
A jewelled gold collar sparkled at its throat,
Its back was covered by a satin coat-
Gold anklets clasped its paws; its leash was made
Of silk threads twisted in a glittering braid.

114 Nicholson 1977, XLVIII, 193

115 Nicholson 1977, XXIX, 117.

116 Nicholson 1977, XVI, 65; also Masnavi Bk. 2, 1068.

117 Often translated as, “clerk of works”.

118 Turan 1993, 397. Rumi refers to these collars of hunting dogs: “Suppose you have put a golden collar on a dog; you do not call it a hunting dog by reason of that collar. The quality of being a hunting dog is something specific in the animal, whether it wears a collar of gold or of wool”, Arberry 1961, Ch. 19, 97, and, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 4196, “If a dog is not kept for hunting he has no collar”. For depictions of collars on hunting dogs see also these tiles from Kubadabad: Arik 2000, fig.131 and 132 and the stucco panel fig. 248.

119 Durukan 2001, 99.

120 Turan 1988, 28, n. 93.

121 Uzunçarşılı 1988, 70-1.

The king thought him a dog who'd understand,
And took the silk leash in his royal hand."¹²².

It is probable that the Rum Seljuk köşks used for hunting, situated by a water source, essential for both people and horses, served also as markers of the Sultan's authority within the landscape, hunting being an expression of sovereignty, and provided a specific location, a place at which to meet, locating the hunting ground through the köşk's presence, as they had done for the Great Seljuks; Nizam ül-Mülk for example, records going to a specific hunting ground¹²³, and one can suspect for example, that the Kemer region of Antalya was known through and from the name of its köşk, as "the stage of the garden pavilion", had defined the route in the 12th century between Rayy and Hamadan in the mind of Sultan, official and chronicler alike. So familiar was the idea of palace and köşk in 13th century Rum Seljuk Anatolia that Jelalad-Din Rumi refers to "this palace and pavilion"¹²⁴, in reference to the Haram-i Sherif, as the Palace, and the Kaaba, as the pavilion-köşk at Mecca.

Following the defeat of the Rum Seljuk army at Köşdağ in 1243, Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II sent hunting dogs as presents, along with the tribute of 3,600,000 silver dinars extracted by the Mongols after their victory, to Baycu Noyan¹²⁵.

The Hohenstaufen Emperor Fredrick II (d. 1250), not only kept lions, leopards and peacocks at his palaces in Sicily and built hunting lodges in Apulia¹²⁶, but also used cheetahs for hunting¹²⁷ and, in his "De Arte Venandi" he records: "The Arabian chiefs not only presented us with many kinds of falcons, but sent with them falconers expert in the use of hoods...We have imported, partly from Arabia, partly from other countries, both birds and men skilled in the art, from whom we have acquired a knowledge of all their accomplishments". It is possible that Rum Seljuk falconers contributed their knowledge to this work as he cites the Bazname of "Yi Nisiri"¹²⁸ and his interpreter, Theodore of Antioch, translated into Latin the works by the Arab falconer Moamin and the Persian Ghatriif.

Friar William of Rubruck in his journey to the Great Khan Möngke of 1253-5 records that the Mongols: "have an abundance of gyrfalcons (falcons girfaus erodios) which they uniformly carry on their right hand¹²⁹ and they always put a little thong around the falcon's

¹²² Attar 1984, 113.

¹²³ Darke 1978, 36.

¹²⁴ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 872.

¹²⁵ Turan 1993, 445-6.

¹²⁶ Norwich 1970, 389.

¹²⁷ Cummins 2001, 31. Cheetahs are also depicted on the mosaic covered walls of the earlier Norman Hall of Roger, "Scala di Ruggero", at the palace at Palermo (Palazzo Reale-Dar al-Mulk), Sicily of c.1131, alongside peacocks, deer, swans and palm trees, perhaps indicating cheetahs were used for hunting in Sicily a century earlier and the rock-crystal ewer made for the Fatimid Caliph al-Aziz (975-6) seems to show a cheetah rather than a lion.

¹²⁸ Cummins 2001, 220. 50 falconers are mentioned by name.

¹²⁹ Sir Anthony Sherley, in Persia between 1599-1601, noted the same: "They (the Persians) use much exercise, as hawking and hunting, with very much shooting. Their hawks are excellent good, which they bear on their right hand, without hood or bell", Sherley 1933, 121. See also the late 15th century miniature TSM Hazine 2160, f. 84 from Herat, where except for the huntsman raising his fur headpiece, they all carry their hawks on their right hand and the reins, where visible, are held in the left hand.

neck which hangs down to the middle of his chest: when they cast him at the prey, they use this with the left hand to hold the falcon's head and chest at a downwards angle, so that he is not hurled back by the wind or carried upwards. They obtain a large proportion of their food by the chase. When they intend to hunt the wild animals, they gather in great numbers and surround the area where they know the wild beasts are to be found, gradually converging until the animals are enclosed in the middle of a circle, then they shoot at them with arrows"¹³⁰.

The matter of a huntsman holding the falcon in his right hand is of some interest, this is the case for the huntsmen depicted on a Rum Seljuk minai tile from the Konya Palace, (Koyunoğlu Collection, Konya); as also the falconer on horseback with hunting dogs on the carved ivory pyxis of Ziyad ibn Aflah (969-70) from Cordoba¹³¹ and on the bronze ewer inlaid with silver with a scene of a horseman with hawk in right hand of 1226-7, signed by Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Dhakki today in the Met Museum, New York. It seems almost certain that those depictions of falconers from the 13th century that depict the hawk held in the huntsman's left hand, are the result of a template or drawing employed by the craftsman, being turned over, resulting in the reversal of the image, as on the steel and gold inlaid mirror TSM. 2/1792¹³², of a mounted falconer with hound on a lead, dragon and griffon, which depicts the hawk held in the hunter's left hand. Almost the same figure as is on this Rum Seljuk mirror is repeated on an early 14th century metal ball socket in the Keir collection¹³³, but with the hawk held in the right hand¹³⁴, the reigns of the horse being held in the rider's left hand, as was customary. Sometimes depictions of the hawk held in the left hand may also be the result of artistic license, as on the illuminated frontispiece to the "Kitab al-Diryaq", painted in Mosul between 1225-50 (Österreichische Nat. Bib, Vienna, Cod. AF10, f.1), where in the upper panel, one of the huntsmen, all wearing tiraz and hunting onager (wild donkey), carries a hawk in his right hand while another carries his hawk in his left hand (two more birds of prey are in flight) and one of the Beğs, attendant on the Sultan, depicted to the left of the central panel, carries a hawk in his gloved left hand. Artistic convention seems also to have determined the depiction of the falconer on horseback with the hawk held in his left hand, on the 2m. h. ceramic panel in the minai technique from the Kılıç Arslan II (Alaeddin) Köşk at Konya¹³⁵, as this figure probably faced a matching falconer with the hawk held in his right hand on the adjacent octagonal field of tile. Frequent references were made to the Sultan's hand and arm as the resting place of the falcon, both in a temporal and a spiritual sense¹³⁶.

¹³⁰ Jackson 1990, 85 and also n. 4 for the Turkish use of the "nerge", that is the battue, "nerge" or "Jerge", as described by Juwayni in his "Ta'rikh-i Jahan-gusha", also used by Arabs for hunting, termed "halqah", Hitti 1991, 340-41, which also formed part of military training, Boyle 1958, 27-9. For an illustration of a "nerge" see TSM H.676, fol. 1a, 1b from 1496 of Herat, Afghanistan, from the "Hasht Bihisht" of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, including the depiction of a hunter with a chained cheetah, also, op. cit, n. 128 & 142.

¹³¹ Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 39.

¹³² Turks 2005, Cat. No. 72.

¹³³ Illustrated in, Delius 2000, 401.

¹³⁴ As above Rubruck's and Sherley's remarks.

¹³⁵ Inv. Nos. 41-1448, 1489, 1492. Illustrated, Arık 2000, pl. 13.

¹³⁶ eg, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1, 2294, 3783ff. Bk. 2, 9, "May this falcon's resting place be the forearm of the King".

Marco Polo, later in the 13th century records the breeding of falcons by Kirman, in the Badakshan Mountains, saker and laner falcons and goshawks and sparrow hawks and he records that the Turks-Mongols were expert at the chase with both birds and animals. He records of the Mongols: "The time of the men being entirely devoted to hunting and hawking, and matters that relate to a military life. They have the best falcons in the world and also the best dogs. They subsist entirely on flesh and milk, eating the product of their sport..."¹³⁷. He also records that falcons were sent as diplomatic gifts to other rulers by the Mongols, as the king of Lesser Armenia had sent hawks and falcons to the Rum Seljuk Sultan Izzed-Din Kaykavas I as gifts¹³⁸, and that Kublai Khan (1260-94), like the Seljuks, hunted from pavilion to pavilion in his progress around his domain and he at times ordered 12 of his falconers to loose 12 gerfalcons at flying cranes, for his own amusement¹³⁹. Kublai Khan is also recorded as having hunted with bear hounds, stag hounds, cheetahs, lynxes, eagles and hawks¹⁴⁰.

In the 14th century, Lindolf of Suchen records on Cyprus that moufflon (wild mountain sheep, perhaps represented by the square tile from Kubadabat, Arik 2000, fig. 144) were hunted with leopards (probably not in fact leopards but rather cheetahs¹⁴¹) and he writes that the nobles, "Spend all their money on the chase. I know a certain Count (Hugh d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa) who has more than 500 hounds and every two hounds has a servant to bathe and annoint them"¹⁴², reminds of Mahmud, grandson of Malik Shah and his hounds. Lindolf also remarks that Hugh IV of Cyprus (1324-59) was a great huntsman.

Figures on horseback, hunting and hawking and the animals and birds hunted, form a significant category in the art of the period, on coins¹⁴³, on the backs of bronze mirrors¹⁴⁴, on inlaid candlesticks¹⁴⁵, in stucco relief work as at Kubadabat¹⁴⁶ and the relief

¹³⁷ Yule 1903, 57, 84, 114, 124.

¹³⁸ Turan 1988, fn 98, from ibn Bibi, s. 169. Likewise the Ming Khan, Emperor of China sent an embassy to Herat that arrived in May 1417 that brought gerfalcons (shonkars) as gifts, and a second embassy, sent to Shah Rokh in 1419, brought 7 gerfalcons each of which, the embassy related, "the Ming Khan had flown with our own hands" Bretschneider 1888, Vol. 2, 283, fn 1106, 1107 and see Vol. 1, 188, for the Mongol names of falconers and their official class. For Barbur's gift of a goshawk, "qarchigha", to Sultan Ibrahim on a diplomatic mission in 1519, see Beveridge 1990, 385.

¹³⁹ Yule 1903, 198.

¹⁴⁰ Collis 1959, 85-9.

¹⁴¹ See Cummins 2001, 31 and the use of cheetahs by Abu Muslim Khurasani and the Caliph al-Mu'tasim, Hitti 1991, 340, by Mahmud, grandson of the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah, by Kublai Khan and by Emperor Fredrick II and their possible earlier use in Sicily, op. cit. fn 127. I can find no certain reference to the employment of leopards in any medieval hunting.

¹⁴² Hunt 1982, 179-80. A falconer on foot, with 3 birds of prey, one in each hand and the third by his left foot, is depicted on a first half of the 13th century Cypriot sagrificio bowl, in the Pierides collection.

¹⁴³ eg, on a coin of Suleyman Shah, Melik of Tokat and of a huntsman with lance and animals, minted by the Melik of Malatya, Batur 1994, Cat. Nos. 20, 21; on a dirham minted at Tokat in 1211-12, of a mounted hunter, Batur 1994, Cat. No. 34, etc; while the mounted figure on the gold dinar minted by Rukned-Din Suleyman Shah in 1201-2, Batur 1994, Cat. No. 25, on a silver dirham from Konya of 1202-3, Batur 1994, Cat. No. 27, of mounted archer on a dirham minted in Sivas of 1248-9 of Kiliç Arslan IV and that of a horseman of 1239-40 of Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II, Batur 1994, Cat. No. 44, may represent the Sultan as either a huntsman or as a mounted warrior.

¹⁴⁴ Işın 2001, 49; Turks 2005 Cat. No 72.

¹⁴⁵ Işın 2001, 46-7. See also the Blacas ewer in the B.M. London of 1232, from Mosul for representations of both huntsmen and hunting dogs, as also depicted earlier on the wooden frieze from the West Palace, Cairo of 1058, Creswell, 1978 Vol.1, 129, pl. 39.

¹⁴⁶ Işın 2001, 48, Arik 2000, fig. 248.

of horsemen slaying a lion and a dragon from the Kılıç Arslan Köşk, today in the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum¹⁴⁷, and on decorated ceramics, building in part upon examples from the Caliphal court, from the carved Fatamid ivory plaques from the early 11th century¹⁴⁸, as from Great Seljuk and other examples. There is also the stone relief carving of a falconer sitting on a stool with a hawk in his gloved hand (IM Mus., Konya, inv 892), that, due to the disproportion between the size of falconer and the small adult figure in front of him, both wearing tiraz, might represent a youth or perhaps some teaching story concerning the Almighty, the falcon of the spirit and mankind.

Included in the representations on these Rum Seljuk 13th century 8 pointed star tiles, and on several of the cross tiles, are depictions of the birds, trained hawks and falcons, and also the various types of dogs employed in the hunt, mastiffs, greyhounds etc, with both collars and cloth coverings; together with those creatures that were hunted: wild goat, bear, bustard, ostrich, duck and other wild fowl, jackal-fox-wolves, deer-gazelle, onager and lion-mountain lion-lynx. These representations of animals and birds are part of a long tradition, seen for example in innumerable mosaic floors of Roman villas and imperial palaces, often combined with representations of huntsmen or fowlers, that formed a part of the iconography employed in the decoration of Roman, Byzantine, Sassanid and Islamic palaces (examples include, that in the Great palace mosaic in Istanbul, the onager hunt painted on the upper wall of the Qasr Amra and the hunting fresco at Qasr el-Hair in Jordan from the Omayyad period etc.) and hunting lodges, pavilion-köşks, and which were understood to be an expression of rulership over territory.

The Islamic court design system

Some form of design studio seems to have been attached to the Abbasid court from the 9th century onwards, and the embryo of this institution will have existed in the later years of the Omayyad Caliphate, given the use from the later Omayyad period onwards of court tiraz manufactured at tiraz factories (*dar al tiraz*), with the designs of these court tiraz inscriptions and signs, circulated to distant and provincial tiraz factories for weaving into, embroidering on and painting upon the garments to be worn by the officials of the Caliphate, that expressed loyalty to the ruling Caliph and were, of course, replaced on the death of each Caliph or Sultan¹⁴⁹. There was a bi-annual and at times, more frequent

¹⁴⁷ Arik 2000, fig. 21. Dimand 1947, 92, records stucco relief of horsemen from Great Seljuk Persia. See also Shepherd 1994, 210-217 for further examples of falconers.

¹⁴⁸ Also Naser Khusrev records hunting and sporting scenes made from gold in the Fatimid palace in Cairo, See Naser-e Khosraw's *Book of Travels (Safernama)*, Trans. & Ed W. M. Thackston Jnr. 1986, 57.

¹⁴⁹ Serjeant 1972, 7- 8; re Omayyad tiraz, 14, Omayyad Spain 165ff and for Abbasid tiraz 16ff; also Blair 1998, 164ff; for a color illustration of the Omayyad tiraz from the reign of the Caliph Marwan I (684-5) or more probably, Marwan II (744-50), made at the *Dar al-tiraz Ifriqiyah* (Tunisia) see, B. Brend, *Islamic Art*, 1991, fig.23; for examples of painted tiraz see, Dimand 1947, 225. The tiraz factory established under the Aghlabids that continued under the Fatimids which was attached to the Palace at Palermo, continued to function under Norman rule (Palermo was captured by the Normans in 1077) and it continued to produce top quality tiraz-inscribed textiles into the 12th century, including the tiraz bands on the coronation cape of King Roger II of 1133-4, Blair 1998, 175. For the Ghaznavid example Bosworth 1973, 137 and n. 18; Bosworth 1977, 70, where Sharif Abul-Faraj in addition to his other official posts was both mint master and master of the tiraz factory. While the tiraz factories established in Anatolia continued to function through the Rum Seljuk period and into the 15th century, one tiraz survives made for Beyazit Khan 1389-1402, Blair 1998, 176, and the tiraz factories of Andalusia functioned into the 13th century eg, Jenkins 1994, Cat. No. 60, where the inscription records that it was made at the Bagdad *dar al-tiraz*, when, in fact it was woven in Andalus in imitation of a Bagdad tiraz. Also Blair 1998, 174.

replacement of these tiraz garments for state officials. The Sassanid and Byzantine dynasties had also distributed robes, often of silk, to their officials and as diplomatic gifts, but these were without tiraz inscription bands naming the ruler. It is of importance that the figures on these 13th century star tiles are depicted wearing tiraz bands around the sleeves of their dress, defining them as officials appointed by the Sultan who owed his legitimacy to the Abbasid Caliph¹⁵⁰. It seems probable that the far flung tiraz factories of the late Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphates served to circulate and to refine a shared range of images and motifs, as well as inscriptions, and were a key institution, not only for the production of textiles with inscriptions and patterns, but also in the development of a shared style over a vast area. The most famous tiraz inscription band was that which was sewn to the covering of the Kaaba in Mecca. This covering (Kiswa) was changed every year and the roughly 2 ft. wide series of inscriptions embroidered on its tiraz band named the Caliph - Sultan, who sent this covering with the hajj pilgrimage, in addition to verses from the Holy Koran and these tiraz bands seems to have been designed, made and used in the annual re-covering of the Kaaba from perhaps before the 8th century to the present day¹⁵¹.

It is possible that the initial impetus for a Caliphal-court design institution came from earlier Byzantine palace workshops at Constantinople¹⁵² and those run by the Sassanids¹⁵³. This Caliphal court workshop-design institution, later called a "nakkashane", from "nakkaş"-designer (also engraver), plus "han", meaning a shared place of work (also

¹⁵⁰ There is a fragment of tiraz inscription with a design of paired lions in roundels from the reign of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I in the textile Museum at Lyon, France, describing the Sultan as "Burhan amir al-Mu'minin", "Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful", Blair 1998, 175; Lloyd 1958, 53. The Recording Angels, Munkir & Nakir (Koran, Sura 82, Al-Infitar, ayet 10-12; also Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1, 2223-5, "The Prophet said, "For admonitions sake two angels are always making goodly proclamations"), a pair of stone relief carvings of angels from the "Pazar portal Gate" of Konya, today in the IM Mus. Konya, dating from Alaeddin Keykubat I's restoration of the city walls, have tiraz bands on their sleeves, as is also the case with the figures in wall paintings in the hamam at Alara castle, Antalya, Lloyd 1958, 48, while the carved stone inscriptions on the facade of the Inci Minareli Medrese in Konya by 1258, are carved as representations of tiraz bands draped over this facade, like a tiraz sewn around the edge of a kaftan, framing the entrance. See Blair 1998, 165, for a Mamluke reference to inscriptions on buildings as a tiraz. Likewise on the earlier, 11th-12th century stucco, near life-size sculptures of court attendants from Afghanistan-Iran, Turks 2005, Cat. 39, 41, and on the palace wall paintings of attendants from the Ghaznavid Palace at Lashgari Bazar tiraz is worn, Pancaroğlu 2005, 77. Tiraz bands are also depicted in Rum Seljuk and other early figural miniatures, worn by figures depicted in the miniatures of "Varka ve Gulshah", probably made in Konya c. 1225-1250; worn by figures in al-Jazari's "Kitab Fi Marifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiyya", "the book of ingenious mechanical devices", (correctly known as "al-Jami bayn al-ilm wa'l-a mal al-nafi fi sina'at al-hiyal", meaning, "A compendium of theory and useful practice in the mechanical arts" re G. Saliba, Artisans and mathematicians in Medieval Islam, Journal of the American Oriental Society 119-4 (1999) 637-45, fn 1, 639) of 1206 in Artukid Diyarbakir; on figures in the full page miniatures of the surviving volumes of the "Kitab al-Aghani", Book of Songs, written by Ali ibn al-Husayn Abu'l Farraj al-Isfanani (897-c.967) for the Emir Sayf al-Dawla al-Hamdani (945-967) that were painted in Mosul in 1216-20, etc, as also depicted on the garments worn by figures on minai vessels and tiles, including those from the Kılıç Arslan (Alaeddin) Köşkü in Konya; on the figures depicted on these Rum Seljuk 8 pointed star ties, as also on the figures depicted on the star tiles produced at Kashan, Iran in the 13th century, amongst numerous other examples.

¹⁵¹ Serjeant 1972, 46, 216-7; Peters 1994, 127-9; Blair 1998, 164.

¹⁵² Mathew 1963, 111.

¹⁵³ Such as produced designs for Sassanid textiles, Irwin 1997, 27, Lapidus 1999, 82-9. The influence from the Sassanids was acknowledged into the 11th century as later, for example, the Fatimid köşk at Sabra al-Mansuriyya was deliberately modeled on the Sassanid Palace al-Khawarnaq, and acknowledged as such, see Jenkins 1993, 84, fn 24. Also Graber 1987, 152-5 for Sassanid influence in the Omayyad period.

called “Kitabkhan” under the Timurids), seems to have had “branch” offices at the courts of local governors and emirs from the 8th century onwards; was maintained by the increasingly independent Sunni Sultans of the 10th and 11th centuries, as also by the Shi’ite Caliphate of the Fatimids from the 10th century onwards and it is recorded for the Zengids of Syria¹⁵⁴, as also for the Rum Seljuk Sultanate’s design studios¹⁵⁵, headed for a time by the designer Muhi b. Abdullah (d. 1278), who completed the decoration, “tezhip”, of the earliest surviving copy of Jelalad-Din Rumi’s *Mathnavi*, completed in 1278. Design studios functioned at the Ilkhanid court, where the Ilkhan Ghazan Khan (1295-1304) is reported by his Vizier Rashid ad-Din to have been a skilled woodworker, goldsmith, saddle, spur and bridle maker and painter, thus having a similar training to Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I, who was trained in architecture, carving, carpentry, leatherworking, saddle making and drawing¹⁵⁶; for the Timurid court¹⁵⁷, where it is related that, “The court artist Khwajeh Abd-ur-Rahim was “busy making designs for bookbinders-illuminators, tent makers and tile cutters alike”¹⁵⁸. In the Ottoman case, the *nakkaşhane* lasted, on a much reduced scale from the 17th century onwards, into the 19th century¹⁵⁹. An example of a designer at work being Ali ibn İlyas Ali, who had been trained in design at the Timurid court at Samarkand and, upon his return to Ottoman Anatolia, was responsible for the designs used for the woodwork, for the tile work, for the paintwork, as also the designs for the plasterwork of the “Yeşil Cami”, the Green Mosque, in Bursa, completed in 1424¹⁶⁰. Necipoğlu writes, “the Ottoman court workshops produced a unified visual language that the Sultan’s administrators dispersed to the four corners of the empire (sic)”¹⁶¹.

At the Abbasid palaces established at Samarra in the 9th century, the sheer scale of the areas to be decorated resulted in the use of repeat patterns, both in stucco from wooden

¹⁵⁴ Tabbaa 2002, 165, who draws the link between the Abbasid court designers in Bagdad and other courts: “I have argued that they (these forms) were in fact systematised and monumentalised in the late 10th and 11th centuries under Abbasid patronage...Iconically charged by means of their association with Ash’arism and the Abbasid state and, through their geometrical regularization, these forms became the veritable symbols of the Sunni revival and the resurgent Caliphate and, as a result, were adopted and further developed by Sunni dynasties in different parts of the Islamic world”. And: “But arguing for at least some signification is the appearance and intense development of the two-dimensional *girih* in regions and monuments that are closely linked with the Sunni revival. These include middle Abbasid Baghdad, Ghaznavid and Seljuq Iran, Zangid and Ayyubid Syria, Seljuq Anatolia and North Africa under the Almoravids and the Almohads.” 101. See also Tabbaa 2002, 8, 9, 43, 59, 60 and 77. He centers the origin of arabesque in Bagdad, 79, 84, the development of thuluth script and ibn Bawwab d.1022, as also Bagdad for the development of “exotic” architectural forms such as the *muqarnas* vault, foliate arches, pendant vaults and polychrome interlaced spandrels, 138, all key elements of the Sunni revival of the Great Seljuks that continued into the 13th century, centered on Bagdad until the fall of the city to the Mongols in 1258. For the inevitable exceptions to any cultural program of this nature and magnitude at this time, see Blair 1998, 57-9.

¹⁵⁵ See for example, Özönder 1999, 185-88. Equally design studios operated for architecture, given the use of near repeat plans and the standardization of forms, plans, modules and measurements, and their distribution over a wide area, as for example with Rum Seljuk caravansaray.

¹⁵⁶ Bibi 1996, Cilt I, 91.

¹⁵⁷ Barry 1996, 257.

¹⁵⁸ Lentz 1989, 159-165; for the complete translation of this document from the head of the Timurid *kitabkhane-nakkaşhane* c. 1420’s see M. Rogers translation in the same volume, 364-5.

¹⁵⁹ eg. Atıl 1980, 139-40, fn 1-3; Atıl 1987, 29-36, 289-297.

¹⁶⁰ Goodwin 1992, 63, fn 21. For the production of templates and models for craftsmen in the 12th century, see Tabbaa 2002, 97.

¹⁶¹ Necipoğlu 1991, 245.

moulds¹⁶² and for the wall paintings. Both stucco work and wall paintings were rapidly executed, speedily decorating these vast and relatively temporary palace structures, and evidently imply the existence of an Abbasid court design studio, to prepare the models, designs, patterns and templates issued to the craftsmen employed in this great series of palatial undertakings. This work rapidly concealed the mud brick walls at Samarra, as was likewise the case for many of the later 13th century Rum Seljuk palaces and köşks, where tiles, stucco and wall painting, rapidly concealed the largely rubble walls of these buildings¹⁶³. It is evident that “having gathered craftsmen from all over the empire (sic)”¹⁶⁴ at Samarra, the Caliph al-Mustasim did not allow them to work without either plan or detailed designs¹⁶⁵. The matter of early Islamic plans and drawings is broached by G. Necipoğlu¹⁶⁶ and it seems evident that copies of designs, symbols and inscriptions on parchment and paper were made from the earliest period, for copying as such, was a key element of both the religious and scribal cultural climate¹⁶⁷ and is reflected both in texts and in religious and court cultural artifacts and, with the spread of designs repeated across the Caliphate, including tiraz inscriptions, textile and other designs, there seems little doubt drawings in some form, were made for use by craftsmen-artist from the 8th century if not before¹⁶⁸. Ibn Bibi notes that Sultan Alaed-Din Kaykubat I drew for Sadred-Din Köpek the plan of the Kubadabat palace¹⁶⁹ and the sultan was a skilled draughtsman, as is recorded by ibn Bibi¹⁷⁰.

It is noteworthy that the Abbasid Court designs employed at Raqqa and then at Samarra, then reappear in the interior of the Ahmad ibn Tūlūn Mosque built by ibn Tūlūn in Egypt¹⁷¹, that marble and luster ceramics, as well as a craftsman trained in ceramic production,

¹⁶² Creswell 1958, 318; Milwright 2001, 86. The Islamic Caliphal palace tradition and court ritual was built upon Sassanid, and to a lesser extent Byzantine, example, with the 6th century palace at Ctesiphon serving as an example for wall paintings, stucco work, the iwan form in palace architecture, fine textiles etc. The fresco of the battle of Antioch, and doubtless other examples of Sassanid decoration, remained intact in the iwan at Ctesiphon into the 10th century, as the poet al-Buhtari (821-91), Irwin 1999, 139-142, describes having seen it. Both Sassanian and Byzantine rulers also indulged in the hunt and drinking parties. See Irwin 1997, 24-7, Lapidus 1999, 227-8, Redford 1993, and Scott-Meisami 2001 for this Sassanid connection. The Sassanid iwan form was repeated by the Omayyad Caliphs, for example the 4 iwan plan of the Omayyad palace at Amman, Jordan, likewise by the Abbasids, and this choice was echoed by the Karakhanids, as at Termez, with the Samarkand Palace of the 10th century, compared by ibn Hawkal directly to Ctesiphon, by the Ghaznavids (Laskar Pazar, Ghazna Palace), by the Great Seljuks (Merv), by the Artukids (Diyarbakır) by the Rum Seljuks and others, as also was the use of wall painting, fine textiles including designs of paired facing peacocks, griffon etc and of stucco decoration. A further example of the later debt to the Sassanid court style, see Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 60, a textile from Almeria, Andalusia, of the first half of the 12th century that was, “made in imitation of Bagdad silks” and this design copied from the Bagdad, dar al-tiraz, was itself in the Bagdad original, a development of earlier Sassanid textile designs.

¹⁶³ ibn Bibi mentions their rapid construction, Bibi 1996, Cilt 1, 263.

¹⁶⁴ Creswell 1958, 259; Milwright 2001, 89.

¹⁶⁵ Milwright 2001, 81-3.

¹⁶⁶ Necipoğlu 1994, 4-5, see also, Ghazarian 2001, 141-54, where a plan of a muqarnas vault inscribed on plaster from the Takht-i Suleyman is illustrated (Fig.7) and an Armenian 13th century example is also given.

¹⁶⁷ Irwin 1999, 47. See also Serjeant 1972, 68 for use of a “Royal pattern”.

¹⁶⁸ By the end of the 8th century paper was used for the conduct of state business in Abbasid Bagdad.

¹⁶⁹ Bibi 1996, Cilt 1, 363.

¹⁷⁰ Op cit. fn 156.

¹⁷¹ Creswell 1958, 311, Irwin 1997, 111.

were ordered from Samarra, to furnish the Emir Abu Ibrahim Ahmad (856-63)'s audience hall and some of these tiles were also placed around the mihrab within the grand Mosque of Kairouan (Tunisia). "As was the case with the other Emirates under the aegis of the Abbasids, the Aghlabids strove to emulate the surroundings of their overlords in Bagdad"¹⁷², suggesting that the Abbasid court served as a design center and also, at times, as a manufacturing centre for the Caliphate as a whole. Evidently the Abbasid court style elaborated at Samarra, as also in the earlier and later palaces of Bagdad, circulated as designs, as drawings, which were then employed by artists in various parts of the Islamic and Islamic influenced world, Jenkins writes of Andalusia: "The emirs and Caliphs who ruled in al-Andalus from the middle of the 8th century to the early 11th century were constantly attempting to emulate and even surpass the life-styles of their ancestors in Greater Syria (the Omayyads) and their successors in Iraq"¹⁷³, and the same applies to both the Great Seljuks, the Seljuks of Rum and other rulers, with the Caliphal court example providing the touchstone in terms of court style and form. Thus, as early as the 9th century it is clear that designs employed at the Caliphal court, craftsmen and, at times, tiles and other works were either requested and sent, or spread out from the Abbasid capital to regional rulers, who were determined to evidence their attachment to the Caliphate through the employment of the same designs and materials that were employed at the Caliphal court. The impact of Abbasid style was felt in the east in the 9th century Masjid-i Ta'rikh by Balkh in Afghanistan in the stucco decoration; as it was felt in Constantinople where the envoy who returned from Bagdad in 830 induced Emperor Theophilus (829-42) to build a copy of an Abbasid style palace at Bryas (Maltepe). Consequently it is important to note in connection with these 13th century Rum Seljuk palace tile motifs, that a similar, although not the same, group of creatures was carved in stone on the Omayyad palace facade of Mshatta (Jordan) c. 740's, which was used at times for hunting parties. The creatures depicted on the exterior of this palace wall at Mshatta are: lions, winged lions, buffaloes, gazelle, panthers, lynx, peacocks, partridges, a griffon and parrots and, it would seem probable that these depictions formed a group that were associated in the court tradition with rulership. These depictions can be related to the Noble Birds, "Kiran at-Tayr", that includes lions, falcons and eagles, the hunters of other living creatures, that were contrasted by poets to the Dogs of Birds, "Kilab at-Tayr", including the jackal and vultures, the carrion eaters, a feature of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry¹⁷⁴. Both hunting scenes, an onager hunt, and also individual deer and birds and musicians-dancers, were painted, the latter within a diamond frame lattice upon the walls of the Omayyad palace Qasr al-Amra (Jordan) of the early 8th century; while 3 gazelle, one being attacked by a lion, beneath a tree, form a mosaic floor of the audience chamber at Kirbat al-Mafjar from slightly later, perhaps built for Walid b. Yazid, the future Caliph Walid II. It is probable, with the connections between Caliphs, rulers and court artists, that this tradition of the depiction of noble

¹⁷² Jenkins 1993, 75 for the quote, as Creswell 1958, 297-8. As seems to have been the case for the stucco designs employed in the palace of Balaguer 1046-7 in Andalusia, Barracand 2002, 122, that repeat these same Samarra designs, while the tomb of Sultan Mahmud of Gazna, dating from the 12th century, also has some relief carved panels like those at Samarra, as does the Karakhanid palace at Uzgen of 1186-7.

¹⁷³ Jenkins 1993, 73. In a similar way to this distribution of designs, in the 10th century there was the standardization of the text of the Koran across the whole Abbasid Caliphate, see for example, Taabba 2002, 42, fn 50, 55.

¹⁷⁴ My thanks to N. al-Hassan 'Athamneh for his comments on this subject. It seems certain that the double headed bird of prey on these, as also on Artukid palace tilework etc, represent a bird of this class, most probably a falcon.

animals and birds, of hunting scenes and of the depictions of court attendants, as seeing the Caliphal court as a type for Paradise¹⁷⁵, was carried, with modifications, from the palaces of the Omayyads, through the Abbasid court tradition (eg the cup bearers painted at Samarra in the Harem of the Dar al-Caliph), to the Fatimid court, where relief's including hunting scenes and birds and court figures carved in wood are amongst the few surviving objects from the West Palace at Cairo of 1058¹⁷⁶, and reaching out also, via the decorated hunting palaces and pavilions erected in North Africa, Andalusia and Sicily, as also to the decoration of the Ghaznavid palaces in Afghanistan and the Great Seljuk Palaces at Merv, Hamdan and elsewhere, to those of Syria in the 12th century and in the late 12th-13th centuries into Anatolia. It is noteworthy, that the Abbasid palaces at Samarra as also earlier at Qasr al-Hallabut, and the Ghaznavid Palace-Köşk complex along the Helmand river at Lashkar-i Pazar of c. 1112 and in the 11th century Palace at Ghazna, Afghanistan, had a 2 m. high stucco frieze around rooms (although sometimes entire walls at Samarra was covered with stucco decoration), resembling the 2 m. high ceramic tile revetments in Rum Seljuk Palaces and köşks and, this style too, probably had its origin at the palaces of the Caliphal court¹⁷⁷ for, as Jenkins writes, "Yet Bagdad remained the cultural capital of the Islamic world for five centuries. Provincial government, including those that owed their existence to the Abbasid Caliphs but had long ago thrown off the Abbasid yoke and set up independent dynasties, as well as those that paid only lip service to the far off central authority in Madinat al-Salam (Bagdad), continued to look to that city and the life it nurtured for artistic and cultural direction"¹⁷⁸.

A further contribution to this design process was made by figures such as Muhyid-Din ibn al-Arabi (1165-1240) who records that he instructed a Byzantine Greek artist in Konya, "he proved and assisted in his (the painters) art in respect of a proper artistic imagination, which he lacked"¹⁷⁹. This passage clearly indicates that ibn 'Arabi was not talking about the artist's skill or technique, but was instead instructing this artist in the matter of what was to be expressed by means of art, and it was the contribution of figures such as ibn 'Arabi, in Konya 1204-5, Sivas 1216 and in Malatya 1216-18 and 1221¹⁸⁰, all Rum Seljuk Palace

¹⁷⁵ Lapidus 1999, 83.

¹⁷⁶ Creswell 1978, 129, pl. 39. The star shaped cartouches in the wooden frieze "generally contain a single subject, a bird, a hare, etc", just as these Rum Seljuk tiles, however, each framing cartouche has 4 points joined by 4 arcs, rather than an 8 pointed star.

¹⁷⁷ Irwin 1997, 111-2 suggests that the Abbasid palaces influenced ibn Tūlūn's and later Egyptian rulers and the Ghaznavids, who influenced the Great Seljuks' palace culture.

¹⁷⁸ Jenkins 1993, 75. Remarkable is the use of the lion, the falcon, the eagle, the deer-gazelle-goat, the peacock, and the seated courtier motif on court works of art from the far west, to the far east of the Islamic world in the period from the 8th century into the 13th century, indicating a shared group of court motifs over a period of 500 years.

¹⁷⁹ Austin 1970, 40-1; Duggan 2000, 282.

¹⁸⁰ Addas 1993, 296-310. It is noteworthy that ibn 'Arabi in his *Al-Futuhat al-Makkiya* (Meccan Revelations) Vol. II, 275.13, records of the 3rd Celestial Sphere of the Imaginal World that, "This is the Celestial Sphere of complete form giving and harmonious arrangement. From this sphere is derived assistance for poets. From it also arrive arrangements, proper fashionings, and geometrical forms within corporeal bodies...From this sphere is known the meaning of proper fashioning, correct making, the beauty whose existence comprises wisdom, and the beauty that is desired by and is agreeable to a specific human constitution." Chittick 1994, 81. This passage provides an indication of the kind of knowledge imparted to the Byzantine painter by ibn 'Arabi in Konya concerning a "proper artistic imagination". It is of importance for its recognition of the geometrical forms within corporeal bodies, of a proper making and of the metaphysical dimension to the artifacts of the period and thus has importance for the understanding of Rum Seljuk art.

cities and centers of court design studios, (who may have also influenced the choice of Seljuk coin pattern, see below), and Jelalad-Din Rumi (1207-73), personally invited with his father Baha ad-Din Valad from Larende (Karaman) to Konya by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I, and whose “Fihi ma Fihi” and “Makatib” or letters, provide an idea of his extensive contacts with powerful figures within the Seljuk state and administration¹⁸¹ indicate the degree of influence in artistic, as other matters, figures such as ibn ‘Arabi and Rumi may have exerted within court circles. As S. Ögel has pointed out in regard to ibn ‘Arabi and the star patterns employed in Rum Seljuk art¹⁸², the connection between figures such as ibn ‘Arabi, Jelalad-Din Rumi and others with both the court, the source of patronage and also the artists of the *nakkāḥane*, led to the creation of designs and patterns of a spiritual content¹⁸³.

The designs painted on these 13th century tiles, mainly in under glaze, turquoise, cobalt blue, black and purple, with a few in luster technique, seem to have formed a collection that was repeated, with only slight variations, in various Rum Seljuk palaces and *köşks*, with perhaps their earliest use at the palace in Alanya of 1226-7¹⁸⁴ and at the Alara Castle *Köşkü*. Although the patterns for these designs were probably assembled within the court atelier or “*nakkāḥane*”, at Konya, Sivas or Malatya, and then copied by ceramic painters on site, some of these motifs can be found on earlier works of Islamic art, for example: on ceramics from the first 2 decades of the 13th century produced at Rakka in Syria (hence the importance of the palace workshop at Malatya), on Artukid coins and also in manuscript illuminations dating from the first 3 decades of the 13th century from Bagdad, seat of the Abbasid Caliphate and many of these motifs seem common to court art from elsewhere in the Islamic world. It seems probable that many of the motifs employed, were part of a group of designs that formed a part of Abbasid court style, which circulated to Sunni Abbasid legitimized states, in N. Africa, to Andalusia and Sicily, to Syria, in the Jaziera to the Artukids, and into Rum Seljuk Anatolia, as elsewhere.

This is not to deny that other factors also at times played a part in design choices, for example, the distribution of coin types of the “square in circle” pattern in the 12th and 13th centuries being a case in point. This design originated in the Magrib in Morocco in the 1140’s with the Almoravids and Almohads (Muwahhids) and was associated with their victories in defense of Andalusia from the Christian reconquista, and so this coin type was then favored by al-Nasir Yusuf I (Salad-Din Ayyub, 1174-93) and the Ayyubids on their silver dirhams minted in Damascus from 1182-3, some few of this design being also minted in Egypt. This design was then adopted, it seems for the same reasons, by the Rum Seljuk

¹⁸¹ Contact with figures such as the Amir Pervane Mu’in al-Din, with Princess Tamarra, wife of Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II and then wife of the Pervane, with Mu’in al-Din’s son, the Atabey Majd al-Din, with the Kadi Izz al-Din, Vizier to Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II, with the Rum Seljuk Prince Shams al-Din Yütaş (d.1258), with the Amir Na’ib of Rum Amin al-Din Mika’il, deputy to the Sultan 1260-78, as well as with artists such as Ayn ul-Devla ar-Rum, Duggan 1999-2000 283-4, and perhaps also the *Nakkaş* (designer) Muhis. Rumi’s “Makatib” or “Letters” are addressed to more than 30 high ranking dignitaries of the Rum Seljuk state.

¹⁸² Ögel 2002, 327; Ögel 1994, 100-106.

¹⁸³ This same relationship, between spiritual masters and court designers can be seen for example in the later relationship between members of the Mevlevi order of dervishes and Ottoman designers and musicians, where a designer, musician or craftsman was, at the same time a member of the Mevlevi or of another affiliation and when the arts were likewise infused with spiritual meaning, through allusion, metaphor and symbol.

¹⁸⁴ Durukan 2001, 96, for this date.

Sultan Izzed-Din Kaykavas I for a dirham minted in Tokat of 1213-14 and a gold dinar of 1217/18 and by Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II for his gold dinar of 1244/5, following his defeat of 1243 by the pagan Mongols, both examples being minted at Sivas, and this coin type was also minted by the Delhi Sultans in India. It seems clear that the choice and use of this design of coin type was due to the rulers of these states finding themselves in the "Dar al-Jihad", against Latin Christians in Spain and Syria, against Byzantines and Mongols in Anatolia and against Hindus in India and its association, both with successes in the jihad against the Christian reconquista and by the strength of the Muwahhid currency struck from remarkably pure West African gold¹⁸⁵. It is possible that the Andalusian ibn 'Arabi had some impact on the Rum Seljuk choice of this coin type, as he corresponded with Sultan Izzed-Din Kaykavas from Bagdad in 1212 concerning the Sultan's Christian population¹⁸⁶, knew the form of the Muwahhid currency in Andalusia and North Africa and from Syria¹⁸⁷; although the Rum Seljuk architects, Abu Ali r-Rakka al-Kattani al-Halabi, from Aleppo, known to have been responsible for the fortifications at Sinope of 1216, of the tomb in Amasya of the Emir Mubarized-Din of 1224 and of the Red Tower at Alanya of 1224-8¹⁸⁸, and probably also for the design of the Syrian style Evdir Han by Antalya by 1219, the first Sultanhan to be built in 13th century Anatolia, and Muhammed Havlan al-Dimashki, of Damascus, who completed the Alaed-Din Mosque at Konya in 1219-20 and who was the architect of the Sultanhan by Aksaray, constructed between 1226 and 1229¹⁸⁹, along with Jelalad-Din Rumi, in Syria, Aleppo and Damascus in the 7 years prior to his taking up a teaching post in Konya in 1240, may also have made some contribution to this choice of coin type at these times¹⁹⁰. This form of design on coins seems to be concerned with the spread of Islam to the 4 corners of the globe, represented by the 4 points of the square touching the circle¹⁹¹.

References to the ruling Abbasid Caliph in titles employed by Rum Seljuk Sultans such as: "Nasir Amir al-Mu'minin", Defender of the Commander of the Faithful, "Burhan Amir al-Mu'minin", Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful, and "Qasim Amir al-Mu'minin", Partner of the Commander of the Faithful (The Commander of the Faithful, being the Abbasid Caliph in Bagdad), and often linked by name to the individual ruler in inscriptions minted on coins¹⁹², on tiraz bands on court and official dress, and cut in stone

¹⁸⁵ Falk 1985, 353, Cat. Nos: 468, 496, 497, 498; Batur 1994, Cat. 31; Encyclopedia of Islam 1995, Vol. VIII, 975.

¹⁸⁶ Addas 1993, 235; Kiliç 2002, 11-28.

¹⁸⁷ Visited by ibn 'Arabi in 1205 after his trip to Konya, and again in 1209.

¹⁸⁸ Lloyd 1958, 15, 55.

¹⁸⁹ Durukan 2001, 53, 60.

¹⁹⁰ This connection to Syria seems to link the fine relief stone carved decoration of the restoration of the Ulu-congregational Mosque at Harran of 1180, with the carving employed at the Divriği complex of 1229, as well as in the use in Rum Seljuk ablaq work and other architectural features that appear in Artukid territory before their appearance in Rum Seljuk territory, such as pendant muqarnas in portals. It is noteworthy that M. Havlan al-Dimashki's facade portal of the Alaed-Din mosque in Konya of 1219-20 was to influence the later façade of the portal of the Karatay Medrese in Konya of 1251 for example.

¹⁹¹ This coin design was of such power that it was copied and given a Christian legend, stating allegiance to the Pope in Rome etc, by King Alfonso VIII of Castile, Hitti 1991, 542.

¹⁹² eg. On a dirham of Rukned-Din Suleyman Shah minted at Kayseri that names the Caliph "al-Nasir", Batur 1994, Cat. No. 26; to the Caliph, "al Imam al-Mustansir", on a gold dinar minted in Konya in 1237/8, Falk 1885, Cat. No. 453, and another minted in Sivas of 1244/5, describing the Sultan as, the Partner to the Commander of the Faithful, "Qasim Amir al-Mu'minin", that is, partner to the Abbasid Caliph, Batur 1994, Cat. No. 42, and on a silver dirham minted at Aleppo of 1241-2 for Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II that names the Caliph Abu Jafer al-Mustansir, Batur 1994, Cat. 51. See for example Lloyd 1958, for a discussion of this titulature.

inscriptions and on other objects; the decrees of investiture, “mashur, ‘ahd, taqalid”, that were issued by the Abbasid Caliph that legitimized and endorsed the rule of successive Rum Seljuk Sultans, as was the case for all other Sultans loyal to the Abbasid Caliphate; the standard, “liwa” topped by a crescent moon and the black parasol, “chatr” sent by the Abbasid Caliph to Sultans, including Rum Seljuk Sultans, and in the shade of which they rode and sat on ceremonial occasions; the titlature awarded to the Rum Seljuk Sultans¹⁹³, as also given or approved for other Sunni Sultans by the Abbasid Caliphs, together with Caliphal palace designs, manners, forms, tiraz, script and customs that originated at the Omayyad and Abbasid courts¹⁹⁴ and which were then imitated by regional and local rulers, by Sultans and Emirs, were all employed to express the ruler’s own loyalty to the Sunni Abbasid Caliphate in Bagdad (however disloyal to the Caliph the individual ruler may in fact have been). This practice enabled the Sultan to draw the authority to rule over territories and peoples from this association with, and legal connection to the Abbasid Caliphate and, formed a part of every court’s ritual and symbolism, as employed both on tiraz and on inscriptions cut in stone or painted, as on some of these 8 pointed tiles, and in consequence, clarified the relative status, position and legitimacy within the Caliphate of Sultans and Emirs.

The degree of influence of even a single figure coming from a court such as that of Abbasid Bagdad to a distant court can be shown by the impact of the Persian freedman, the singer Ziryab, Abu’l Hasan ibn Nafi’ (789-857), who came from the Abbasid court of the Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785) to the court of Abd ar-Rahman II (822-852) at Cordoba in Andalusia in 822. He introduced to the Cordoba court from Bagdad: a fifth string for the lute, a new style of musical notation, new recipes for meals, new table manners, new hair styles, new dress for each of the four seasons, new fabrics and the game of chess and, likewise, polo, types of luxury textiles and forms of court protocol were also introduced to Cordoba from the Abbasid court at Bagdad¹⁹⁵, while the 8th century “Munya”, the garden-palace built by ‘Abd ar-Rahman I (756-88) by Cordoba was a continuation of the Omayyad palace tradition, repeated in Andalusia. Consequently, it is important to recognize the degree to which the Rum Seljuk court was open to influence from elsewhere, through diplomatic missions to and from various courts, from travelers, immigrants, including scholars and craftsmen, as also refugees from elsewhere in the Islamic world.

The following brief list of Rum Seljuk state officials, jurists and also patrons of buildings in Anatolia, in addition to the frequent diplomatic missions both to and from the Abbasid Court in Bagdad, including Caliphal envoys such as ibn al-Jawzi¹⁹⁶ and Shihab al-Din ‘Umar Suhrawardi (d. 1234), Shafi theologian, author of works combining chivalry and sufism and advisor to the Caliph al-Nasr, who was sent by the Caliph to establish the

¹⁹³ Such as the titles: “as-Sultan al-Ghalib”, given to Sultan Izzed-Din Kaykavus I (1210-19), “Nasr Amin al-Mu’minin”, given to Sultan Alaed-Din Kaykubat I (1219-36) and “Qasim Amir al-Mu’minin”, given by Abbasid Caliphs to Sultans Alaed-Din Keykubat I and Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II (1236-46) amongst others, see “Rum Saldjuk”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. VIII (1995).

¹⁹⁴ See for example Bosworth 1973, 137, of the Ghaznavid court: “The running of the palace and its ancillary departments was organised on lines reminiscent of earlier Islamic courts and, ultimately of the Abbasid Caliphate in Bagdad”.

¹⁹⁵ Barrucand 2002, 36; Jenkins 1993, 74; Irwin 1999, 245-6.

¹⁹⁶ Bibi Cilt 1 1996, 275 ff.

Caliphal model for the Futuwwa in Anatolia, and the diplomat Afdal al-Din al-Khunaji, sent by Sultan al-Kamil of Egypt (1218-38) to Sultans Alaeddin Keykubat I and Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II, as well as both ibn 'Arabi and his companions and Jelalad-Din Rumi mentioned earlier, provide some indication of the international connections and influences upon Rum Seljuk court and culture. These include: the Rum Seljuk Emir Kiya Azizioğlu Kazvinli (d. 1120), who ordered the building of the Ulu-congregational Mosque at Harput, came from Kazvin in Persia, as did the Kadi Muhammad al-Taliqani (d. 1217) and Jemalad-Din Mehmed Kazvili (d. 1218), who commissioned the Kazvinli Mosque in Sivas and the chief auditor (Mustawfi), Shihab ad-Din, under Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II also came from Kazvin. Sheik Mehmed Effendi who built the Kılıç Mesjid at Sivrihisar of 1174-5 came from Khorasan, while the Rum Seljuk chief auditor in 1233 was Sa'd al-Din Abu Bakr from Ardabil. Sharaf al-Din Hubays at-Tiflisi, who wrote works on medicine, astrology and "adab" for Rukn al-Din Suleyman Shah came from Tiflis, while the lawyer Siraj al-Din al Urmawi (1198-1283) came from Azerbaijan and the author of legal works Yusuf ibn Sa'id al-Sijistani, who settled in Sivas, came from Eastern Iran and the Rum Seljuk Vizier from 1240-44, Muhadhdhab al-Din Dade'Ali came from Daylam by the Caspian Sea. Haji Bahtiyar Abdullahoğlu Tebrizli (d. 1201-2) who built a caravanserai in Konya, Khoja Abduljabbar, who built a mesjid in Konya in 1201-2, as also the merchant Ebu'l Fazl (d. 1248) who built a mosque in Konya, came from Tabriz. From Kirman came Awhadad-Din Kirmani, who lived in Kayseri and Konya, and the chronicler and well connected secretary Al-Hussein b. Muhammad al-Munshi al-Ja'fari, ibn Bibi, also came from Persia. Ebu'l Kasim (Nejmed-Din) who built his tomb-turbe in Tokat in 1233-4 came from Tus, as did Ahmad ibn Mahmud al-Tusi al-Qani'i who wrote the "Seljukname" for Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I and an adaptation of "Kalila wa Dimna" for Sultan Izzeddin Keykuvas II. The Rum Seljuk army commander and Pervane in the 1250's Humaid Abu'l Kasim Ali was also from Tus, as was the Seljuk Emir, Nejmed-Din, who commissioned the building of the Sivas medrese; while the Rum Seljuk Vizier Şemseddin (d. 1249), who was responsible for building work at the Konya Palace, came from Isphahan. The Rum Seljuk Atabey, Kadi and Vizier, who built the mosque in Konya for Jelalad-Din Rumi in 1254, Izzeddin Mehmed Ahmetoğlu, came from Rayy, as did the scholar Najm al-Din Daya al-Razi who reached Malatya in 1221, met Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I at Kayseri, lived in Sivas and Konya, and dedicated his "Mirsad al-Ibad", "Path of the Servants of God" or, "Watchtower of Devotees", to the Sultan. The religious scholar and teacher of Jelalad-Din Rumi, Burhan al-Din Muhaqqiq, came from Tirmidh to Anatolia in 1231-2, made visits to Aleppo and Damascus, and died at Kayseri in 1240-1¹⁹⁷. One also notes the many craftsmen who originated from elsewhere and who worked in Rum Seljuk Anatolia to produce works of refinement, sophistication and great beauty, from Aleppo, Damascus, Marand in Persia, from Tiflis, Mosul and elsewhere and this movement of craftsmen and artisans was usual throughout the Islamic world, from choice and by force, as was the case for the designer Ali ibn İlyas Ali mentioned above, taken by Timur to Samarkand from Anatolia or the large number of Persian designers and craftsmen brought by Sultan Selim (Yavuz) from Persia and Irak, until the 19th century¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁷ See also Cahen 1968, 224ff. For these building patrons see Durukan, 2001, 43-132.

¹⁹⁸ See for an Ottoman 16th century example, Atıl 1987, 289-97, the register lists artists from Persia, the Caucasus and elsewhere, as well as from Ottoman territory; for a Timurid example op cit n. 158.

The knowledge current at court, the context for understanding these tile revetments

The designs employed on these tiles and the use of these tiles in palace and köşk show they belong to the court environment and to offer an interpretation of their meaning, it is of some value to briefly explore the knowledge current in court and courtier. An example of the knowledge required at court in the 9th-10th centuries is provided by ibn Qutayba in his work, “Kitabu’l Ma’arif”, of 898. It concerns the knowledge required to understand court poetry. He lists, in addition to knowledge of the Holy Koran, Hadith, Arabic and other languages, a knowledge of the following subjects for a person to be considered “well read” and to have the required knowledge to understand the various symbolic meanings and references that were used by 9th century court poets in their poetry: “The Creation, Sacred history, Prophets and Patriarchs in the Old Testament and, the Koran and Christ. The history, chronology and racial divisions of mankind, true believing Arabs before the Prophet of Islam, genealogies of the Arabs, genealogy and kinsfolk of the Prophet, his wives, children, clients and horses. The history of his mission, wars, triumph and death. The history of the first four Caliphs, of Ali’s sons, of Zubayr, Talha, Abdurrahman b. ‘Awf, Sa’d b. Abi Waqqas and other eminent Moslems of earlier times, concluding with a list of Hypocrites. The history of the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs, biographies of famous statesmen, officers and governors of the Islamic world and of notable rebels. The Successors to the Companions of the Prophet, the biographies of the chief doctors and teachers of Islam, of the founders of its principle schools of thought, of the traditionalists, the readers of the Koran, genealogists and historians, grammarians and transmitters of Verses (sura and hadith) etc. of the principle mosques, of the early conquests of the Moslems and other matters concerning them, of the chief outbreaks of plague and pestilence, of the battles of the Arabs, of their religions before the time of Islam, of the chief sects in Islam, of the way for example Kurds and Jews came by their names, of the histories of the Kings of Yemen, Syria, Hira and Persia from the time of Jamshid to the end of the Sassanid dynasty and (also) technical knowledge: the science of ideas and expressions, euphuism, so he will recognize similes, metaphors, innuendo, hyperbole, antithesis, quotations, aetiologies, amphibologies, homonomies, anagrams and tropes”¹⁹⁹. A similar list of this required knowledge at court, if one was not to look a fool, is provided by Muhammad b. Ishaq an-Nadim in his “Fihrist” of 987/8, knowledge required to understand the contents and allusions (ishara) drawn by court poets in the poetry that was recited at court²⁰⁰. It was within this same bedrock of shared knowledge that the court designer-artists worked and which, to varying degrees, influenced their work. An intellectual climate created through this shared body of knowledge and allusions made to it, verbally, visually, symbolically and mentally, conditioned a courtier, a boon-companion of the Sultan.

Although the Rum Seljuk court in the first half of the 13th century modeled itself on this Abbasid court tradition, with the tiraz worn at court, hunting pavilions-köşks and in other aspects of court life, an image reinforced through diplomatic missions from Bagdad and elsewhere, that repeatedly refreshed this connection to Abbasid court practice, and

¹⁹⁹ Browne 1997, Vol. 1, 387-9.

²⁰⁰ Browne 1997, Vol. 1, 383-7.

there were influential and educated people from court circles in Syria, from the court environments of Persia and the Caucasus as well as others from further a field, such as ibn 'Arabi, within this Rum Seljuk court environment, who visited or worked and settled within the palace cities of the Sultanate, in addition to less prominent members of the religious-legalist "ulema" class and others, drawn into the Sultanate by its prosperity and power in the first 4 decades of the 13th century, with the instability to the east caused by persistent infighting, dynastic squabbles, the Assassins, the rapid rise of the Khwarizm Shahs and the ongoing Mongol invasions and, to the south, by the Christian Crusades, Moslem factionalism and the Assassins of Syria, one would perhaps, not expect the same level of intellectual-spiritual articulation as was to be found at longer established Islamic courts, but this was achieved at the Rum Seljuk court, in part due to the creative inter-course of those attending the court (including some of the figures named above)²⁰¹.

A key part of the education of courtiers, emirs, princes and sultans, included not only knowledge of the Koran, traditions, Islamic law, languages²⁰², and in many cases, Islamic mysticism, as the relations between ibn 'Arabi, Jelalad-Din Rumi and others, and Rum Seljuk Sultans and high ranking members of the court show, in surviving letters to Sultans from spiritual masters, in the dedication of these works to Sultans and as the references to court personages in surviving spiritual texts indicate; but also some knowledge of the works described as the "mirror for princes" genre, including; the beast-fable, allegory of court life, "Kalilah wa Dimna", in its Arabic and/or Persian versions, of Rawardi's "Rahat al-Sudur wa ayat al-Surur", "The ease of hearts and moments of happiness", dedicated to Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev in 1205, that includes sections on court protocol, hunting, chess and calligraphy, as well as history²⁰³, and also of Nizam ul-Mulk's "Siyaset-name"²⁰⁴.

"Kalila wa Dimna", translated and worked upon by ibn Muqaffa in Bagdad c.750²⁰⁵, with illustrated copies produced in Bagdad and elsewhere from the 9th century onwards²⁰⁶, was an enormously influential work, with this form of beast fables employed to relate important lessons to rulers being adopted by many writers including: Sahl ibn Harun

²⁰¹ Rumi mentions a great variety of figures, both literary, spiritual and historical in his works in contexts that imply some familiarity on the part of at least some members of his audience with figures such as: Firdausi and his Shahname and Sultan Mahmud of Gazna, Mathnavi 1982, Bk 3, 4091, Bk. 4, 1156ff, Bk. 6, 1392, Faridud-Din Attar, Beyazit Bistami, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 3393, Sana'i of Gazna's "ilahi-name", Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 2238, amongst others and suggest a considerable level of education in Rum Seljuk court circles and amongst those adjacent to the court. See also for example Kahya 2001, 427-439, for the contributions made in Rum Seljuk Anatolia to the fields of maths, astronomy, technology and hospitals and medical practice, suggesting that the Rum Seljuk state in the 13th century was no cultural and intellectual backwater.

²⁰² Arabic, Persian and Greek, Latin, Armenian and Georgian were all used by the Rum Seljuk chancellery secretarial officers, as well as Turkish in the state's dealings with troops, nomad levies etc, Köprülü 1992, 23; Cahen 1968, 226-7. Sultans Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev I, Izzed-Din Kaykavas and Alaed-Din Keykubat I knew not only Persian but were also fluent in Arabic, Civelek 2001, 189; for the cultural legacy of Arabic, Civelek 2001, 193-4; for Persian, Öztürk 2001, 185.

²⁰³ Cahen 2001, 159. Building on works such as Abu al-Hassan ibn al-Husayn al-Masudi's 10th century, "Akhbar al-Zaman" or "Meadows of Gold", on the role of the courtier (nadim), on chess, backgammon and drinking.

²⁰⁴ Cahen 1968, 257.

²⁰⁵ Op. cit n. 37.

²⁰⁶ One copy of 1222 contains 92 miniatures, from Iraq, Bagdad (?), Bib. Nat. Paris, Ms. Arabe 3465, see also Bib. Nat. Paris, Ms. Arabe 5847.

(d. 830) in his, “al-Namir wa’l-Tha’lab”, “The panther and the fox”, by Abu al-Ala al-Ma’arri (973-1058) of Aleppo in his “Risalat al-Sahil wa al-Shahij”, “Letters of a horse and a mule” where animals discuss politics, warfare and taxation in Syria²⁰⁷, in the 11th century “Marzuban-name”, a collection of animal fables in Persian by Marzuban-i Rustam-i Sharwin²⁰⁸ and by Hujjat al-Din Muhammed ibn Zafar (1104-70) who spent most of his life in Syria, although he was born in Sicily, in his “Sulwan al-Muta’ fi ‘Udwan al-Atba”, “The resources of a prince against the hostility of his subjects”²⁰⁹. “Kalila wa Dimna”, was translated by Abul Ma’ali Nasrullah from Arabic to Persian for Bayram Shah (1118-52)²¹⁰ whose overlord was the Great Seljuk Sultan Sanjar. It was probably this version that is cited by Jelalad-Din Rumi repeatedly in his Mathnavi²¹¹, and for this text to be cited in this fashion in the Mathnavi suggests that the stories of “Kalila and Dimna” was widely known amongst the educated population in Konya in the 13th century. “Kalila wa Dimna” was turned into a mathnavi by Baha’al Din Ahmad Qani’i of Tus for the Rum Seljuk Sultan Izzed-Din Kaykavas II in 1260, a further indication of the genre of beast-fables - mirror for princes popularity at court in 13th century Anatolia²¹².

The meanings implicit in the eight pointed Star and 4 pointed cross tile forms

The star form finds one of its justifications for its use in the Islamic design vocabulary from Sura 53 of the Koran entitled “Al-Najm”, the star and from Sura 6, Al-An’am, 97: “It is He (God) that has created for you the stars, so that they may guide you in the darkness of land and sea”, thus, the star motif employed as a guide in the darkness of the temporal world, as the stars guide the traveler at night. The 8 points of the star tiles employed in these ceramic panels could have been understood to signify, to those educated in the Islamic sciences: the 8 Angels supporting the throne of God²¹³, the 8 kinds of livestock²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ Irwin 1999, 230.

²⁰⁸ Irwin 1999, 437, cited by Rumi in his “Discourses”, Arberry 1961, ch. 17, 137.

²⁰⁹ Irwin 1999, 430-33. This work includes a religious justification for the beast fable itself, citing the Gnat (Al-Baqarah 2:26) and the Ant (An-Nisa 4:40 & An-Naml 27:12) from the Koran; a hadith where Ali makes a political point through retelling a fable concerning bulls and lions, and also the account of the Prophet Sulayman and the lapwing-hoopoe sent to Belkis, the Queen of Sheba (Koran Sura, An-Naml 27:20ff). It links the beast fable form from “Kalila wa Dimna” to the guide for good government and mirror for princes type, and is dedicated to a Syrian Prince.

²¹⁰ Bosworth 1968, 159.

²¹¹ eg. Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 3159-3162, where he reuses the story of the fox and the drum, (which earlier also influenced one of Abu Sa’id ibn Abu’l-Khayr (967-1049)’s ruba’i; “The drum ever cries but what good does it do? Its carcass is hollow and empty within. If wisdom be thine then the Real pursue, And be not deceived by a flatulent skin.”). The ruba’i form was well known in Seljuk Anatolia with an anthology of rubaiyyat written about 1200 for Muhyial-Din of Ankara by Abu hanifa ‘Abd al-Karim, Cahen 2001, 159. Also from Kalila wa Dimna in the Mathnavi, see for example: Bk. 2, 3615 ff, Bk. 4, 2203, “You may have read it in Kalilah but that was the husk of the story: this is the kernel of the soul” and Bk. 4, 2286, for a reworking of the story of the 3 fishes. Bk. 1, 992-1372, where Rumi reworks Kalila and Dimna stories in his beast-fable, moral-spiritual teaching stories of the lion and the hare, also containing references to the lion, hare, deer, jackal, fox, donkey and dog; Bk. 5, 2006-8, on the wolf, bear, lion onager and dog; Bk. 6, 3146-9, on the hare and the lion.

²¹² Petrushevsky 1968, 617; Köprülü 1992, 15-17. Later these stories were again presented as a book to the sultan, the “Hümayün-Name” or Royal book, by Ali Çelibı to the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman the lawgiver.

²¹³ Koran, Sura 69 Al-Haqqah: 17. The 4 Archangels plus the lion, man, ox and eagle, see fn 249 below.

²¹⁴ Koran, Sura 6 Al-An’am: 143.

and the 8 gates to the 8 paradises²¹⁵. It is possible that the use of the 8 pointed star in ceiling design, such as the 8 pointed star of ribs supporting the dome of 962-66, built by the Omayyad al-Hakim II, in front of the mihrab at the Grand Mosque at Cordoba, Andalusia and an 8 pointed star in the apex of some portals with muqarnas dating from the 12th century onwards in Syria, in Sicily, the muqarnas in the 2nd floor of the Zisa are centered on 8 pointed stars, as are some muqarnas in 13th century Anatolia²¹⁶, was related by some contemporary observers to stars in the sky, to paradise and to angels. An 8 pointed star, framing Koranic verses, formed the central device of the Almohad Caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf II's banner, reported to have been captured at the battle of Los Navas de Tolosa in 1212.

The 4 points of the cross tiles may have likewise resonated with meanings for the educated audience at court: the 4 books: the Torah, the Psalms, the Gospels and the Koran, The 4 friends, the first 4 Caliphs²¹⁷, the 4 gardens²¹⁸ and the 4 rivers of Paradise, of honey, milk, water and wine, the 4 Archangels of the Throne of God-Jibril, Mikail, Israfil and Izrail; the 4 sacred months of the Islamic year²¹⁹, the 4 natural properties of hot, cold, moist and dry²²⁰, the 4 elements of earth, air, fire and water²²¹, the 4 birds²²², the 4 corners of the earth, the 4 seasons, the 4 schools of Sunni Islamic law²²³, to give only some of the meanings linked in educated minds to these two numbers 4 and 8, that would resonate amongst the educated of the court.

J. Zozaya describes the four pointed cross motif as, "the four pointed "paradise" motif that was present in Islamic art from the beginning"²²⁴, while L. Bakhtiar, suggests that the tile combination of cross and 8 pointed star represents "The breath of the Compassionate"²²⁵, perhaps this design was understood to have had this meaning in the 12th-14th centuries, given its repeated employment on mosques and mausoleum-tombs in many parts of the Islamic world, including Anatolia, Persia and Central Asia, although proof for this seems to be lacking. With the frequent use of this cross and star pattern on tomb-mausoleums it seems plausible to suggest that this pattern was first employed on some major tomb, no longer extant, probably in Abbasid Bagdad or Samarra, dating perhaps from the 9th or 10th centuries, although, given the range of surfaces this design was later employed upon, one cannot be certain of this, however, given its widespread distribution, the fact that some important building in Bagdad or Samarra was decorated with this design of 8 pointed stars and pointed crosses seems very probable.

²¹⁵ Jelalad-Din Rumi's Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, verse 1737.

²¹⁶ At Divriği for example. The 8 pointed star motif also occurs on a sagrificio ceramic piece from Kubadabad, Anik 1986, fig.15, while a carved stone 8 pointed star design is repeated, the entire height of the two exterior columns, either side of the entrance portal of the Mosque in the Divriği complex of 1228.

²¹⁷ Or "Rashid-Din", Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, Ali; Mathnavi Bk. 6, 1895.

²¹⁸ Koran Sura 55 Ar-Rahman: 46, 62.

²¹⁹ Koran, Sura 9 At-Taubah: 36.

²²⁰ For example, Mathnavi Bk. 6, 448.

²²¹ eg. Mathnavi 1982 Bk. 6, 48.

²²² Koran, Sura 2, Al-Baqarah: 260.

²²³ The 4 legal wives, the 4 witnesses, as also the 4 meanings Jelalad-Din Rumi records are in the Koran: the exterior, the inward, the interior and that meaning known only to God alone, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 4244, etc.

²²⁴ Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 56.

²²⁵ Bakhtiar 1976, 16.

The 8 pointed star and cross design forms a stucco window grill in the Mosque of Al-Hakim in Cairo, completed in 1002-3²²⁶, while the first surviving examples of these cross tiles in the luster technique, probably combined with 8 pointed star tiles²²⁷, comes from the mid-11th century palace, Qa'lat of the Banu Hammad, by Constantine in Algeria²²⁸, although the luster technique seems to have originated in Iraq in the 9th century, with luster production centered in the region Bagdad, Basra, Kufa²²⁹ and perhaps the star and cross tile design, found favor there also at that time²³⁰. The tomb of Sultan Nasir b. Ibrahim's wife Ayshe, the daughter of the Great Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan, at Cambul (Talas), in Kazakhstan, has fired clay tiles in bands on the columns of its facade carrying this 8 pointed star and pointed cross design, dating from the 2nd half of the 11th century. The Ribat-i Malik caravanserai between Samarkand and Bukhara of 1077, built by Nasir b. Ibrahim Shems-ul Müluk, near Kermine, employs this star and cross design around the huge portal, the recessed areas of the design formerly filled with plaster, with almost all the crosses having one arm removed due to the pattern forming a band only one star form thick, and this "cross truncation" also occurs on a decorative band of 8 pointed stars and crosses around the Kalan (Kalta Minar) minaret at Old Bukhara of 1127 and also on the 1198-9 Vabkent Minare, Vabkent, where turquoise glazed tiles infill the band of brick star and cross design. In 1122 the Cairo Mashad of Umm Kuthum was completed and it contains a mihrap covered in stucco with a band of this design²³¹. This design is also employed in the North African influenced decoration of the Palazzo Reale at Palermo of 1131, is employed in the bands of inlaid marble work both inside and on the exterior courtyard wall of the Capella Palatina, Palermo, completed in 1140, as also in the Zisa hunting lodge by Palermo of 1164-5, in the border panels of colorful cut marble and semi-precious stone of patterns of 8 pointed stars and crosses²³². This pattern of 8 pointed stars and crosses also forms the design of the painted wooden nave roof of the Capella Palatina, completed in 1140 by Moslem craftsmen. It is the earliest surviving wooden roof of this type and gives an indication of the type of wooden roof with muqarnas, covered in cloth and then painted, that formerly graced the palaces of Bagdad as of others elsewhere. Each star and cross is bordered by a band of kufi script suggesting it was the work of Fatimid trained craftsmen. Painted on these muqarnas are seated male and female courtiers wearing tiraz, drinking from cups and playing chess, a musician either side of a palm tree, lions, griffons, hawks-falcons, camels, eagles, peacocks, lions with a human face, men riding camels and killing lions²³³, motifs that clearly relate to the Islamic court

²²⁶ Creswell 1978, Vol. 1. 82, fig. 29.

²²⁷ Given that a stucco relief came from the same palace has an 8 pointed star and cross design, the cross interlaced and with Samarra style dots, Creswell 1978, Vol.1, 240, fig.137.

²²⁸ Porter 1995, 30. See also Barrucand 2002, 143-4 for the use of muqarnas at this palace. The muqarna form may also have originated or have spread out from Bagdad, Taabba 2002 111-114 citing Bloom, 117, and was appropriated as part of the visual symbolism of the "Sunni Revival" he suggests. Taabba 2002, 108, where these muqarnas are described as, "perhaps the earliest extant remains of a true muqarnas vault", also 138.

²²⁹ Porter 1995, 29; Pickett 1997, 19, Degeorge 2002, 36.

²³⁰ For the spread of design outwards from the seat of the Caliphate see: Taabba, 2002, 101.

²³¹ Creswell 1978, Vol.1, 239ff, pl. 82 b, 118 b, fig.153. Creswell suggests this design was an import to Cairo from the palace of the Banu Hammad by Constantine, and one may suggest it reached there from Bagdad.

²³² Bellafore 1994, fig. 15. In both the Palazzo Reale and the Zisa, this pattern is in proximity to the depictions of hunting birds, peacocks and game.

²³³ See for example illustrations in: Zalapi 1998, 35; S. Giordano, *The Palatine Chapel in the Norman Palace*, 1999.

tradition in the choice of subjects and to the motifs that were employed on many of these 13th century Rum Seljuk tiles. The 8 pointed star and cross design also occurs on the incised terracotta relief panels on the portico of the mausoleum of Jalal ad-Din Huseyin at Uzkend of 1152 and as the stucco design of an entire ceiling in the Burg az-Zafar in Cairo of 1176²³⁴.

Ibn 'Arabi contributed to the widespread use of the star motif patterns early in the 13th century, a point explicated clearly by S. Ögel²³⁵, and in Rum Seljuk Anatolia various star patterns, including 8 pointed stars, and interlaces were employed in two-dimensional girih on the stone carved portals of mosque, medrese, caravanserai, in muqarnas and on other buildings and in other materials including illuminated Koran frontispieces, stamped on the leather bindings of manuscripts etc. Doubtless star patterns elaborated at the Abbasid court at Bagdad spread from court designer to court designer, into Syria and elsewhere in the 12th century²³⁶ and then, given added impetus by ibn 'Arabi, familiar with the Syrian examples from his visits to Aleppo and Damascus within the period²³⁷ and from important architect-designers from Aleppo and Damascus, Abu Ali ar-Rakka al-Kattani al Halabi and Muhammed Havlan al-Dimashki, who worked for Sultans Izzed-Din Kaykavas and Alaed-Din Keykubat I, and who doubtless contributed to the designs and design studios of the Sultanate, this design made its way into Rum Seljuk Anatolia in the first two decades of the 13th century. This 8 pointed star and pointed cross design, carved in stonework, forms the panel above the North entrance to the Alaed-Din Mosque at Konya completed by Muhammed Havlan al-Dimashki in 1220, with the crosses linked together by carved interlacing, perhaps to prevent them being mistaken for Christian crosses and 8 pointed star and cross tiles, in the minai technique, were employed at the Kılıç Arslan II (Alaed-Din) Köşk at Konya, probably in the restoration to the building following earthquake damage, by Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I in the 1220's, this restoration perhaps also designed or supervised by Muhammed Havlan al-Dimashki²³⁸. Under Alaed-Din Keykubat I this pattern was repeatedly used for tile revetments in palaces and köşks and is also on a stucco frieze from Kubadabat²³⁹. This design is also employed on the wooden North doors of the Ulu-congregational mosque at Divriği dating from the 1220's and it is used, one star tile wide, as at Ribat-i Malik, in a framing border of cut-tile mosaic around the main iwan of the Ulu-congregational Mosque at Malatya c. 1224. Later, an 8 pointed star and surrounding half crosses in stone relief forms the design of the two square panels on either side, above the entrance to the Gök Medrese at Sivas, of 1271. Examples of star tiles of this type have also been found in excavations at Hasankeyf²⁴⁰, which perhaps formed a star and cross tile revetment at the Artukid Palace or of some other structure, although it is unclear if these preceded the Rum Seljuk examples. Also in the 13th century

²³⁴ Creswell 1978 Vol. 2, 49, pl. 18. Creswell suggests it was copied from the Mashad Umm Kalthum of 1122.

²³⁵ Ögel 1994, 100-106.

²³⁶ Tabbaa 2002, 96, 167; *op cit* n.154. It had spread to the Artukid state by the late 12th-early 13th century, eg on the Cizre Mosque doors of c.1200.

²³⁷ Addas 1993, 296-310; Ögel 2002, 327.

²³⁸ Sarre suggests after 1174, but see Öney 1992, 100; also Onder 1989, 106.

²³⁹ Arik 2000, fig. 249, which resembles in its rosette within the 8 pointed star, that of the design of the stucco fragment from the palace of the Banu Hammad by Constantine, Algeria, Creswell 1978, Vol. 1, fig.137.

²⁴⁰ Oluş Arik 2003, 254.

this 8 pointed star and cross pattern was carved on the arcade of the entrance to the Church of Choghakt, Vagharshapat in Armenia, where, within each star there is an 8 pointed rosette.

8 pointed star and cross tiles were also produced in Persia at Rayy, Kashan and at other ceramic centers from 1200 through to the mid 14th century²⁴¹ and seem to have been used largely as tile revetments at tombs and shrines, such as Yahya Imamzade at Varamin in 1262 and Imamzade Ja'far at Damghan in 1266-7²⁴². These Persian tiles are technically of a better quality than those produced in Anatolia, which seem to be more related to the Syrian (Rakka) potteries destroyed by the Mongols in 1259, and to the fragmentary luster tiles dating from the late 12th - early 13th century of the Syrian Qasr al-Banat Palace²⁴³, than to those produced in Persia. Although they often carry similar scenes, seated figures in tiraz, lions, jackals etc, these Persian tiles almost always have a band of naskhi inscription around the edge of each star tile, of Koran verses on tiles without human figures, used in formal religious contexts, and of verses of Persian poetry from the Shahname and quatrains by other poets for those tiles with human figures²⁴⁴, border inscriptions are lacking from the Anatolian examples and these Persian examples are painted with far less verve and spirit than are the Rum Seljuk examples. The 8 pointed star and cross form of tile was also used in the 1270's at the Takht-i Sulaiman Palace in Persian Azerbaijan, built by the Ilkhan, Abaqa Khan, who, in 1270 was gored by a bison (water buffalo?) while on a hunting expedition in the Jaghatu valley, the abscess from this wound being lanced by Nasir al-Din Tusi²⁴⁵. This tile combination was employed, not only on the tiled wall revetments, carrying a not completely dissimilar range of motifs from those found in Anatolia: hares, bulls, birds, gazelle, mounted and seated figures, given that this palace was also used to hunt from, but also and uniquely, as floors tiles in two pavilions of the palace, of glazed but plain turquoise star and cobalt blue crosses²⁴⁶. The same pattern in plain tiles was also employed in the later Ilkhanid decoration of the border of the iwan of the Pir-i Bakran Mausoleum at Landjan near Isfahan of 1303-12, consisting of plain cobalt blue crosses and turquoise star tiles²⁴⁷ and on the portal of the Friday Mosque at Varamin in unglazed brickwork. The Törebeg Hanm mausoleum at Ürgenç, in Turkmenistan, of 1321-36 also has cut tile panels in the facade niches that carry this same design, as does the tomb mausoleum built for Giyathsed-Din Tughlaq Shah in Multan, India, in the 2nd decade of the 14th century, which also has exterior tile panels of this same design, in cobalt blue and white²⁴⁸.

²⁴¹ Porter 1995, 34; Öney 1987, 20, 47, plates 30-2; Pickett 1997, 45; Robinson 1988, 158, remarks that Kashan star tiles date from the late 13th-14th centuries; Lane 1939, 3-6, Plates 3a from Veramin, 3b with example c from Rayy, the rest from Kashan and Plate 5.

²⁴² Robinson 1988, Cat. Nos. C16, C17; DeGeorge 2002, 93.

²⁴³ DeGeorge 2002, 184, where Raqqa is given as their place of manufacture; Porter 1995, ill. 57.

²⁴⁴ Pope 1930, fig.30; Lane 1939, 5; Porter 1995, 35-6.

²⁴⁵ Boyle 1968, 360.

²⁴⁶ Pickett 1997, 42-47; DeGeorge 2002, 92.

²⁴⁷ Öney 1987, Pl. 20.

²⁴⁸ Later examples of this design include in glazed raised tile technique at the Timurid tomb complex at Shah-i Zinda, Samarkand: in a border frieze covering the tomb dated to 1360 of an unknown lady; forming a border design on the mausoleum of Tūrkan Aka, where the crosses are truncated; on a border panel of the tilework covering the tomb of Shad-i Mulk Āga of 1371, DeGeorge 2002, 111-3; Barry 1996, 113, and on tilework border panels

Section 2. Notes on the Motifs:

This section uses the numbered photographs in “Kubad Abad” by R. Arık as reference numbers, as the tiles from Kubadabat are not only the best preserved and largest surviving collection of this type of Rum Seljuk palace-köşk tile, but are also superbly photographed in color, those from the Aspendos Palace and illustrated in I. Ünal’s article are numbered in brackets (Ü...). The texts cited in these notes provide an indication of the possible association of a particular tile motif with a particular idea or group of ideas. The examples of related motifs from elsewhere given in these notes are not intended to imply the reuse of the exact same image, but rather to indicate the widespread use of a certain “symbolic type”, such as a lion or a peacock.

In the depictions of the birds of prey on these tiles it is often difficult to distinguish between representations of eagle, hawk and falcon and it seems uncertain if those birds of prey that are so frequently described as eagles are in fact eagles or are not, at least in many cases, falcons. Perhaps the term “double headed - bird of prey”, is more accurate as a description than “double headed eagle”, until there are found sufficient literary references, in addition to those given below, to clarify this point. A double headed falcon, as symbol of both the Spirit and the Sultan, is perhaps more plausible, than to imply someone adding an extra head to the eagle of the Prophet Muhammad’s own standard which would have been regarded as quite unacceptable “bid’at” (innovation).

1. Birds of Prey, “Eagle” tile (Ü 27).

The Prophet’s banner “al-Uqab” carried a single headed eagle²⁴⁹. Eagles and lions were carved on the steps of the throne of the Caliph al-Mutawwakil (847-61)²⁵⁰. An eagle is depicted in the apex of the vault in the Scala di Ruggero by 1140, in the Capella Palatina Palace complex in Palermo, Sicily and an eagle in a mosaic panel is in the Islamic influenced Zisa hunting lodge-palace at Palermo of 1164-5²⁵¹, where Fatimid influence is suggested. An eagle-falcon is painted on a 12th-early 13th century plate from Syria, probably from Rakka²⁵² and an eagle-falcon is also depicted on the back of the bronze mirror belonging to Artuk Shah of 1262²⁵³. An eagle was painted above one of the entrances to Konya’s

of 8 pointed stars and truncated crosses on the facade of the Hoja Ahmet tomb, (slightly cusped rather than straight edged) and on tilework panels on the Usta Ali Nesefi tomb-mausoleum, where the design is slightly cusped rather than straight edged and the borders carry a band of kufi script, also dating from the 1380’s and where, in the thinner border panels of 8 pointed stars and crosses, the crosses are truncated, lacking an arm, as at the Ribat-i Malik etc. Also on the cut-tiled embellishment of the exteriors of numerous Timurid works including that of the Bibi Hatun Mosque of 1404, of the Ulu Beğ Medrese of 1420 and on the later Tilla Kari Medrese of 1646-59, all in Samarkand, where this pattern was often used to frame a word in kufi script.

²⁴⁹ Arias 2001, 84. The eagle is reported by Zakariya ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud abu Yaya al-Kazwini (1203-83), Kadi of Hilla and Wasit, in his “Ajaib al-Makhlukat wa Gharaib al-Mawjudat”, “The wonders of creation and oddities”, to intercede for the birds on the Day of Judgement, the lion for the predators, an ox for the animals and a man for mankind and in manuscript depiction of this, the eagle has a single head. Atıl 1975, 122, while the falcon was seen as the intercessor with the Almighty for the Prophets, as Sana’i (d.1131) records in a qasida: “The falcon prays: “O Lord, protect the Prophets community in their faith and keep them secure” Bulletin of SOAS, Vol. 59, No. 3, 1996, 573.

²⁵⁰ Kennedy 2004, 147-8, citing Shabusti’s Kitab al-Diyarat.

²⁵¹ Bellafiore 1994, 91.

²⁵² Turks 2005, Cat. No. 43.

²⁵³ Ettinghausen 1994, fig. 385.

Seljuk citadel²⁵⁴ and a stone relief from the citadel of Konya, probably ordered by Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I, today in the IM Mus. in Konya, carries an eagle at either side of the inscription that reads “es-Sultan”, a title that could apply either to the Almighty, to the Sultan or to both and the eagle motif could have been understood to represent both the religion and the ruler.

2. The double headed “eagle”-bird of prey tiles (55-68, 260, No 64 in the luster technique, Nos. 85-88 on cross tiles) (Ü 26 cut down to form a hexagonal tile) All these double headed birds of prey have ears except tile fig 55.

Koran Sura 2, Al-Baqarah: 115 reads: “To God belongs the East and the West. Whichever way you turn there is the face of God.” and Sura 2: 143 reads: “Say, “The East and the West are God’s”, and it seems the interpretation of these two verses by designers lay behind the use of the symbol of the double headed bird of prey in Islamic art, thus indicating, through the double heads, that both the East and the West belonged to God²⁵⁵. There seems little possibility this bird is a double headed eagle, as on the Prophet’s own banner called “al-Uqab”, there was only a single headed eagle²⁵⁶.

A coin minted by ‘Imad al-Din Zangi II at Sinjar between 1184-91 carries a double headed bird of prey, with an inscription on its breast giving the name of the ruling Abbasid Caliph, “al imam al-Nasir Ahmad”²⁵⁷, while coins minted by Nasir al-Din Mahmud, a copper dirhem at Hisnkayfa in 1217-18²⁵⁸ and at Diyarbakır of 1220-21²⁵⁹, both carry a double headed bird of prey without inscription. A woven textile fragment from Vich (Almeria) Andalusia, from the late 12th-early 13th century, today in the Cleveland Museum of Art, depicts a double headed bird of prey²⁶⁰, and the double headed bird of prey, in under glaze black on turquoise, on square tiles, also formed a repeat pattern tile revetment in the palace of the Artukids at Diyarbakır of Meliki Salih Mahmud, dating from 1200-20²⁶¹.

The double headed bird of prey motif is carved in a stone relief on Sultan Malik Shah’s tower of 1089 at Diyarbakır above two, today rider-less, horses; it is carved on the tower of the seven brothers at Diyarbakır of 1208-9 and also on the “Ulu beden” tower of Diyarbakır, built by the Artukid Meliki Salih Mahmud. It is found in stucco-plaster relief from the Kılıç Arslan-Alaed-Din Köşk, Konya²⁶², on the portal of the west door of the

²⁵⁴ Drawing of 1825, the engraving from it is in L de Laborde’s work of 1839, Sarre 1989, Şek. 2.

²⁵⁵ These Koran verses also seem to have been interpreted by designers during the period of the Sunni revival, in the employment of mihrap style niches situated in a portal entrance, on either side of the main door to a mosque, medrese, caravanserai or han, with portals of this type being erected from the 11th century onwards. These niches do not indicate the kiblah, but rather, serve to remind those that pass through these portals that God is to be found in every direction. The double headed eagle was used as a device by the Hohenzollern family from the 14th century onwards, taken from the Roman and Byzantine examples, with the Palaiologus family of Byzantine Emperors using the double headed eagle emblem from c. 1325 onwards.

²⁵⁶ My thanks to N. al-Hasan ‘Athamneh of Yarmouk Univ. Jordan for his words on al-Uqab; Arias 2001, 84.

²⁵⁷ Turks 2005, Cat. No 85.

²⁵⁸ Falk 1985, Cat. No. 528.

²⁵⁹ Turks 2005, No. 82, BM 1865-8-5-116.

²⁶⁰ Ettinghausen 1994, fig. 141.

²⁶¹ Öney 1992, 105; Pickett 1997, 25; Altun 1978, 217; Yetkin 1972, 124.

²⁶² Sarre 1989, fig. 28, 19.

congregational mosque-hospital complex at Divriği of 1228, together with 3 crescent moons (hilal); on the keystone of the arch over the entrance to the Alaeddin Mosque in Niğde of 1223, at least twice on the walls of Konya²⁶³; on the facade of the Çift Minareli Medresesi at Erzurum of 1253, where these birds of prey are in a “halo”, resting on the top of a palm tree intersected by a crescent moon (hilal), with a 2 headed dragon base; on the Yakutiye Medrese of Erzurum, likewise above a palm tree, beside which are facing lions. A double headed bird of prey is also depicted on a painted wooden reading stand (rahle), perhaps made to support a copy of Jelalad-Din Rumi’s *Mathnavi*²⁶⁴ of 1279, this figure in the middle, has 7 lions to either side. Double headed birds of prey are also carved in relief on the Hüdavend Hatun turbe of 1312 at Niğde where the daughter of Sultan Rukned-Din Kılıç Arslan (d.1266) was buried, and one is also carved on the key-stone above the main door of the Sungur Bey Mosque also at Niğde, of 1335.

3. Tiles of falcons-hawks (69-73, 104). 104 may represent a sparrow hawk, and also pair of falcons or gyrfalcons on tile fragment 211. Tile 75 is a gyrfalcon-like bird, attacking a bustard-like bird in the air (fig 1, from Arık 2000) and tile 76, a falcon-like bird attacking a hare, in luster technique.

In addition to the clear reference to the hunt indicated by these depictions of falcons, there is a further layer of meanings associated with the falcon, as symbol of the spirit.

The Great Mosque of Damascus in the 12th century had 2 bronze falcon statue-automata and every 2 hours they dropped brass balls from their beaks into brass cups, from where the balls returned to the interior of the device²⁶⁵. This is like the later water clock automata recorded in the first section of Badi al-Zaman ibn al-Razzaz al-Jazari’s manuscript written in Diyarbakır in 1206. This automated device from the Great Mosque in Damascus may be represented in his miniature of the water clock with musicians, by the falcons en face in gold, with a gold basin beneath, on a red background, on either side of the arch above the musicians, TSM Ahmet III, 3472, 9b, and the falcon as the form of the device, not an eagle, is also employed by al-Jazari in his description of two further clock automata²⁶⁶.

The falcon was described by Ahmet Ghazzali as symbolizing love²⁶⁷, by Jelalad-Din Rumi as noble²⁶⁸, as the Sultan²⁶⁹, as the spirit²⁷⁰ (an idea later repeated again by Babur when recounting the death of his father Umar Shaikh Mirza, who “flew...and became a falcon”²⁷¹). Rumi also describes the Prophet Joseph as the eye of the falcon²⁷². This reading of the falcon as representing the Spirit, is of interest in the reading of the Nasred-Din

²⁶³ Turks 2005, Cat. No. 69, and that in the Konya, IM Mus. both dating from the 1220’s.

²⁶⁴ Turks 2005, Cat. No 88.

²⁶⁵ Newby 1983, 35.

²⁶⁶ Atl 1975, Cat. No. 45, 46.

²⁶⁷ Pourjavady 1986, Ch. 9, 30, “Love is the falcon of the pre temporal domain...Now and then it (the falcon) flies back to the pre-temporal domain and hides behind its veils of majesty and glory”.

²⁶⁸ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 6, 137. Also above n. 41, 73, 89 and 91.

²⁶⁹ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 6, 1879.

²⁷⁰ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 5: 808, 843, 2276 and 2280. Also op.cit. n. 41.

²⁷¹ Beveridge 1990, 13.

²⁷² *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 6, 3396.

Hodja story, where a falcon is “rescued” by an elderly woman who then trims the falcon’s talons and wings, so that it resembles a sparrow.

Similar to the motif on tile fig. 1, is a stucco relief from Rayy, Persia from the 11th century²⁷³ (fig 2, from Stewart), and even closer is the relief on an unglazed jar lid from Syria, dated to the 11th/12th centuries²⁷⁴ where the falcon likewise has a fanned and curved tail (fig. 3, from Dimand). The scene of a falcon attacking a hare, as on tile 76, has a parallel on an inlaid 10th century Fatimid wooden panel in the Cairo Museum²⁷⁵. These examples seem to indicate this motif was a court type with the falcon-gyrfalcon attacking the bustard, read as the right of a legitimate ruler, a falcon, to its prey and, in its spiritual sense, of the spirit fighting and naughting the body, a type also known from numerous depictions of a lion attacking a camel, as on the cope of Roger II of Sicily, of a lion attacking an ox, a deer or an antelope, used to indicate both the lesser and the greater jihad, the spirit’s battle with the body²⁷⁶.

4. The bustard bird type tiles 107, 75 and on the cross tiles 109, 110 and 111.

The bustard (Otididae) can reach a weight of 14 kilos and 120 cms. in length. It was in the past commonly hunted throughout the Levant and the Middle East and it seems probable that this bird type depicts a bustard.

5. Tiles of a crowned bird with a human face²⁷⁷ (157-164 (fig 4, from Arik 2000) and also with two fishes (156).

Possibly the tile 156 represents the Prophet Khidr and the fish returned to life by the spring of eternal life²⁷⁸ or it could have been read as symbolizing the spirit of the Prophet Jonah (Yunus), Rumi writes: “Through glorification (Jonah) escaped from the body of a fish”²⁷⁹ and that, “This world is a sea, and the (human) body a fish and the spirit is Jonah”²⁸⁰.

The other tiles of this type of bird with human face but without the two fish, can perhaps be understood to represent the human or prophetic spirit. The birds depicted on tiles 157, 163, 164 are similar to those depicted on al-Jazari’s miniature of the falcon water clock mentioned above but have a human face instead of that of a falcon and, in respect

²⁷³ Stewart 1968, 105.

²⁷⁴ Dimand 1947, fig.127, 196.

²⁷⁵ Delius 2000, 136.

²⁷⁶ Op.cit. fn 307-311 and Jenkins 1993.

²⁷⁷ I have not used the word “sphinx” to describe this motif, nor “siren” or “harpy” to describe a bird with a human face, as these are both misleading and meaningless words when applied to 13th century art in Anatolia as elsewhere in the Islamic world. The Egyptian Sphinx was known in the Arabic sources as, “Abul-Hawl”, meaning, the father of fear, Irwin 1997, 89, and seems to have had no meaningful connection with this motif apart from its passing resemblance. Naturally one culture can have motifs, forms or designs that resemble the motifs, forms or designs employed by another culture, but this is solely a resemblance or similarity of form, not inevitably one of meaning, and can lead to the confusion of both cultural contexts and meanings. See also for example M. F. Köprülü, *Islam and Anatolia after the Turkish invasion (Prolegomena)*. G. Leiser (trans and ed.) 1993, n. 12 & 78, where this matter of resemblance is clinically debunked. See also Çevik on this matter of context and similarity of motifs from an archaeological-cultural perspective, Çevik 2005, 118-9.

²⁷⁸ Koran Sura 18 Al-Kahf: 61.

²⁷⁹ Mathnavi 1982 Bk. 2, 3137.

²⁸⁰ Mathnavi 1982 Bk. 2, 3140-5.

of these associations concerning the falcon of the spirit, one can suggest this is what these tiles, of birds of prey with human heads, seen face on, or from the side represent: “the falcon of the spirit”²⁸¹. Rumi describes the spirit thus: “After that (purification) it will get wings and become a bird, flying (aloft) and glorifying the Creator”²⁸² and Rumi describes the Archangel Gabriel as, “the celestial bird”²⁸³. Rumi furthers this comparison between a bird and the spirit in the line: “Look at Ja’far (ibn Abu Talib, brother of Ali) God gave him wings instead of hands and feet. The enemy (Byzantines) cut off his hands and feet. God gave him wings to fly to Paradise, so he is called al-Tayyar (the flyer)”²⁸⁴. There is also the possibility that this figure may represent a depiction of a righteous jinn²⁸⁵.

A bird with a human face is depicted in the painted stucco work decoration from the Balaguer Palace, Andalusia of 1046/7²⁸⁶ (fig 5, from Barrucand). A pair of these human faced birds are depicted either side of a tree on a 11th century luster bowl from Fatimid Egypt²⁸⁷ and this figure occurs on a textile from Almira, woven in imitation of a Bagdad tiraz, riding a pair of lions, facing a tree, dating from the first half of the 12th century²⁸⁸. A stucco head of one, today in the Met. Mus. of Art, came from 12th-13th century Persia, with the same crown²⁸⁹, and this figure also occurs in a miniature of the “Eastern Isles”, of the 39th maqama, from a manuscript copy of the famous “Assemblies”, “Maqamat”, of Abu Muhammed al-Qasim ibn Ali al-Hariri of Basra (1054-1122), the “Schefer Hariri”, painted in Bagdad in 1236 by Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti (fig 6, from Müller, Bib. Nat, Paris MS. Arabe 5847, fol. 121). There is a winged bird with a human face in a stucco relief from the Kılıç Arslan - Alaeddin Köşk, Konya²⁹⁰. It is also carved on a stone relief in the IM Mus. Konya and another, carved in the round, probably from the walls of Konya, today in the TIEM Istanbul, both probably dating from the reign of Alaeddin Keykubat I. Two of these human headed birds are also carved in relief on the Hüdavend Hatun Türbe at Niğde of 1312.

6. Tiles depicting a winged lion with a human face (164a-168) (fig 7, from Arık 2000), 201 fr. and No 61 in the luster technique)

Jelalad-Din Rumi describes the fourth Caliph, the son-in-law of the Prophet, Ali, as “the lion of God”²⁹¹, and writes: “The Prophet said to Ali, “O Ali, thou art the lion of God, thou

281 Also depicted on an Artukid bronze mirror back, Öney 1992, fig.137, 206.

282 Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 3287.

283 Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 2973. It is probably with this meaning that Attar writes, “First put aside the Self, and then prepare, To mount Boraq and journey through the air”, Attar 1984, 205, rather than intending to suggest the same Burak as that which was ridden by the Prophet. Likewise ibn ‘Arabi describes the Archangel Gabriel as, “the winged one”, Elmore 1999, 85.

284 Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 2059ff. At the battle of Mu’tah in Syria in Septemer 629. See also group No. 3 above for tiles 157, 163 and 164 re the falcon type.

285 Koran Sura 55 Al-Rahman:15, for their creation from smokeless fire and Sura 72 Al-Jinn:11, for the righteous and other type of jinn.

286 Barrucand 2002, Photo 122, and 122-124, for the Abbasid Samarra-Bagdad connection for this decoration. Irwin notes this motif occurs from the 11th century onwards, Irwin 1997, 209.

287 Delius 2000, 155.

288 Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 60.

289 Dimand 1947, fig. 55.

290 Arık 2000, figs. 17, 19.

291 Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1, 925 and Bk. 2, 1263.

art a courageous knight But do not even rely upon thy lion heartedness: come into the shade of the palm tree of hope”²⁹². It is perhaps this association of Ali, the lion, courage and victory, that lead Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I to have the name Ali, 4 times in Kufi script²⁹³ set in a cut tile panel on the base of the Yivli Minaret in Antalya as this minaret was built as a victory minaret-tower to record his conquest of the entire coastline from Antalya to Silifke by 1225. While Rumi writes: “Endless are the differences between the corporeal figure of a lion and the figure of a courageous son of man... For after all, the courageous son of man did resemble a lion, though he is not the lion in all points of definition”²⁹⁴. Does the winged lion with a human face represent the attribute of religious courage, as represented by the Caliph Ali, or is it a depiction of a righteous jinn? It seems difficult to be sure, but this motif seems to have symbolized a courageous Islamic spirit of some kind.

A winged lion with a human face is carved in stone on the “Ulu Beden” tower of the walls of Diyarbakır; it forms a bronze fitting for an Artukid throne (?) from the first half of the 13th century²⁹⁵ and it is depicted on a 6 pointed star tile in the minai technique from the Kılıç Arslan II (Alaed-Din) Köşk at Konya, (Berlin Museum of Islamic Art), probably of c. 1220. This winged lion with a human face is painted on a Rakka, late 12th early 13th century, glazed ceramic dish where the head is haloed, together with two birds in a tree, in the Khalili Collection, it is also on a bowl in the Met. Museum of Art, from Rakka of this same type²⁹⁶, with branches of paired dotted leaves, tipped with pomegranate fruits, a symbol of paradise, as on some of these Rum Seljuk tiles (fig 8, Khalil Col. 12th c. N. Syria. Irwin 1997, 209)²⁹⁷, and a mould made clay figure of this type from Rakka, dating from the early 13th century is today in the David Collection. A line of these winged lions with human faces encircles the lower frieze of a 13th century jug in the minai technique from Rayy, Iran, also in the Met. Mus. of Art²⁹⁸ (fig 9, V & A, London No. C. 52, 1952. Late 12th c. Iran minai bowl). Likewise, a pair of these creatures was depicted on several bronze 13th century mirror backs²⁹⁹. A winged lion with a human face is depicted in a miniature of the “Eastern Isles”, illustrating the 39th maqama in a 1237 manuscript copy of the “Maqamat” of Hariri of Basra, painted in Bagdad by Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti (fig 10, from Müller. Paris Bib. Nat. MS: Arabe 5847, fol.121). This motif, like the bird with a human head, seems to occur in Islamic art from the late 10th-11th century onwards.

²⁹² Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1, 2959-60.

²⁹³ Ünal 1974, 17.

²⁹⁴ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, verse 423ff.

²⁹⁵ Öney 1992, fig.142, 214. This device may relate the Artuk throne to that of the Prophet Sulayman, if this figure is a depiction of a jinn, like the jinn that transported the throne of the Queen of Sheba to the Prophet Sulayman's palace in the blink of an eye.

²⁹⁶ Dimand 1947, fig.123.

²⁹⁷ Arık 2000, Nos. 178, 179, 191, 195, 224.

²⁹⁸ Dimand 1947, Plate 11. A “Lakabi” type plate from 12th century Persia, today at the Freer gallery, Washington, has in relief across it, a lion with a human face, but without wings.

²⁹⁹ Turks 2005, Cat. No. 74.

7. Tiles depicting a lion (115-6) (Ü 35).

The lion had great significance at the Abbasid court as a symbol of Caliphal power and authority, as well as being the object of hunting expeditions both to capture and also to kill them. The importance given to the lion as a symbol of Islam stemmed in part from the Koran, Sura Al-Maddath-Thir 74:50 where the unbelievers are described as behaving like frightened asses, fleeing from the lion of Prophetic revelation. A parade was held in 917, during the reign of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, at the palace in Bagdad and this parade included a procession of one hundred lions, muzzled and chained each held by its keeper, designed to impress the envoys of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII with the Caliph's power³⁰⁰, and a black banner carrying a lion device was dispatched to Abbasid legitimized Sultans³⁰¹ as a sign of this Caliphal authority.

Ibn 'Arabi writes of the haughty lions as symbolizing aspiring and courageous hearts³⁰², while Rumi makes many references to lions, seen as representing courage, as when he describes a brave, courageous man as a lion³⁰³, as, "a Rustam, a lion."³⁰⁴ Rumi also uses the image of a lion to represent the Caliph Ali, "Ali like a lion"³⁰⁵, and he describes Ali as saying, "I am the lion of God, I am not the lion of passion"³⁰⁶. Rumi also employs the lion as the symbol of spiritual combat, of the spirit, and as representing a Prophet, a Saint or a Moslem: "The lion of the spiritual battlefield"³⁰⁷; "The shaykh is like a lion and people's hearts the jungle"³⁰⁸ and Rumi describes, the lion of the spirit³⁰⁹, the lion devouring the carnal soul³¹⁰ and the roar of the lion of God³¹¹. The Prophet of Islam is described as, "that living lion"³¹², the Prophet Noah is described as "the eternal lion"³¹³ and Rumi also describes the Moslem as being a "lion"³¹⁴.

³⁰⁰ Hitti 1991, 303.

³⁰¹ For the banner sent to the Ghaznavid Sultan from the Abbasid court, Bosworth 1977, 99. For this lion banner of the Rum Seljuks, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 3051. A further indirect reference to these lion figured Abbasid banners is in Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1, 602-3, "We are all lions, but lions on a banner: We keep on leaping because of the wind".

³⁰² Nicholson 1978, XXXIV, 120.

³⁰³ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 4895.

³⁰⁴ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 3613, also Bk. 3, 4356.

³⁰⁵ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1, 3732. The courageous knight Ali is described as lion, Mathnavi 1982, Bk.1, 2959; also Bk. 3, 580 and 1941.

³⁰⁶ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1, 3788.

³⁰⁷ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 3006, also 3002 and Bk. 4, 1052, "The lions of God, hunting the Beloved (God)".

³⁰⁸ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 3216 & Bk. 3, 4181, also Arberry 1961, Ch. 26, 130, and, "If He (God) commissions the Lion, all lions tremble before him or become his ass. Just so, certain dervishes ride on lions", Arberry 1961, Ch. 12, 67, as also Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 1873-4, 2126-10, 2138. Beyazid Bistami is also described as a lion, a lion of the faith, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 3393.

³⁰⁹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 3794-6; Bk. 6, 577, 619.

³¹⁰ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 936.

³¹¹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 3427.

³¹² Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 4474, and Rumi draws an analogy between a lion chasing a deer and the Prophet of Islam chasing men, Arberry 1961, Ch. 11, 56, as the stucco panels from Kubadabat seem to represent the Prophet Muhammad as a huntsman guided by an angel.

³¹³ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 1, 3129ff, the Prophet Joseph is also described as a lion, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 3159-61.

³¹⁴ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 2413.

A sculpture of a lion stretched in front of the Omayyad Caliph Walid II's throne at Mshatta, he hunted lions, and they are carved in relief on the exterior of the palace; while the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawwakil's gold throne had two huge lions and lions and eagles depicted on the steps to it, "just as the throne of (the Prophet) Suleyman son of David is described"³¹⁵. The carved stone panel of a basin from Hijab al-Mansur's palace of Medina al-Zahra of c. 980, depicts 4 lions attacking 4 antelope and symbolized the Lion of Islam's victory over the infidel, with the side panels carved with eagles and their prey, repeating this same meaning³¹⁶. Also from Andalusia, a series of ivory caskets, including one of Prince Mughira's of 968 in the Louvre, Paris, that also are carved with depictions of a lion preying upon an antelope, gazelle or similar creature, with date palms, have been interpreted as having this same meaning, the lion representing Islam. A lion is depicted in stucco plaster relief in the wall revetments of the 12th century Karakhanid Palace of Termez. Lions-panthers form a part of the stucco-plaster relief's from the Kılıç Arslan II (Alaed-Din) Köşk at Konya³¹⁷ and 2 stone carvings of lions were set into the base of this köşk³¹⁸, one of these, a lion seated, carved in the round 1.56m. h., is today in the TIEM in Istanbul, and there were other stone lions set in the walls of the city as 19th century engravings show. The Artukid door knockers from the Ulu-congregational Mosque at Cizre³¹⁹ and from the palace doors of Diyarbakır³²⁰, both c. 1200, have a lion's head between two dragons and were probably made in Diyarbakır, and these depictions of lions, associate the believer, the Moslem, with the lion, as is also articulated through the name of the Ankara, Arslanhane Mosque of 1290, thus describing the mosque as the "house of lions", of lions of the faith. Yavaş Arslan, Sinbatoğlu, palace chamberlain (hajip) and army commander, responsible for building the Kesikköprü bridge and a ribat and turbe at Sivas of 1213-4, is described in his inscription as: "Dinin arslan, kutlu, ulu, arslanlar babası"³²¹ clearly linking lions and religion; describing Yavaş Arslan as a lion of religion (dinin arslan) and a father of lions (arslanlar babası), a father of courageous-religious sons. Pairs of lions are depicted on a silk and gold thread textile carrying the tiraz of Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I (1219-36) in the textile museum at Lyon and a lion was depicted amongst Rum Seljuk banners³²². A lion is in relief on the portal of the Sivas Şifihane of 1217 and a lion, winged but with a lion rather than a human face, is carved with a bull on a stone relief frieze from the walls of Konya, today in the IM Mus. A lion is carved in stone on Kayseri's inner castle of 1224, lions and lion heads are carved in relief on the portal of the Alay Han of 1219-36, where the face of a lion joins two lion bodies, while lion heads hold the downspouts from the roof at the Alaed-Din Mosque at Niğde of 1223, they are carved on the candle holders in the Alara Han, Antalya of 1232, and hold the downspouts of the Huand Hatun complex at Kayseri of 1237-8. They are carved on

³¹⁵ Kennedy 2004, 339-40, citing from Shabushti's Kitab al-Diyarat.

³¹⁶ Jenkins 1993 Cat. No. 15.

³¹⁷ Sarre 1989, şekil 58.

³¹⁸ Sarre 1989, pl. 19, 111, one today in the TIEM, Istanbul.

³¹⁹ Turks 2005, Cat. No. 87.

³²⁰ In the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art, the design of this door is recorded by its designer al-Jazari in his book of automata, Taabba 2002, 96-7, fig.46.

³²¹ Durukan 2001, 94.

³²² Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 3051.

the portal zigzag column capitals at the Sultanhan built by Alaeddin Keykubat I by Aksaray of 1229, they are also carved in relief on the portal of the İncir Han by Bucak, 1237-45, on the capitals framing the inscription from a tower repaired by Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II from the walls of Antalya, today in the Antalya Museum and also on the Karatay Medrese, Konya of 1252, and are carved on the portal of the Ak Han of 1253-4. A seated lion is also depicted on the seal of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I, from Kubadabat, Beyşehir³²³ and on some of the coins minted by Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II prior to the Mongol victory of 1243³²⁴. They are carved in relief on the Döner Kümbet in Kayseri beside palm trees. Lions are depicted twice on a bronze openwork lantern from Konya³²⁵, while 14 lions, 7 upon either side of a double headed "eagle", are painted on a wooden "rahle" from Konya of 1279. What seem to have been mountain lions were hunted with difficulty by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I's troops in the mountains by Alanya³²⁶, these may resemble the wild cat – lynx type of tile, Arık 2000, 130 & 139 and (U 35). It seems evident that the lion served as a symbol of both Islam and of the Caliphate in 13th century Rum Seljuk Anatolia and was distributed widely in both sculpture and the applied arts to mark buildings and people in their dress, as belonging to the Moslem community.

Lions, or more probably panthers³²⁷ are also represented on a silver dirham minted by Sultan Baybars 1260-77, in imitation of Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II's dinars and dirhams pre 1243, of the lion and sun and with the lion moving likewise from left to right. Later, at the Alhambra, the lion fountain was carved to celebrate the victory of 1379 at Algeiras of Mohammed V's army over the Christian forces³²⁸, again associating the lion with the religion.

8. Tiles with seated figures in tiraz court dress (176-187, Nos. 181 and 182 holding opium pods in either hand, No 185 holds a fish in either hand, 207 in the luster technique) (U 37).

Nizam ul-Mulk records in his "Siyasat-Name" in chapter XXIV, the rules and arrangements for drinking parties: "It is only through his boon companions that the king's (sic) spirit is set free, and if he wants to live more fully, to refresh himself in sport and jest, to tell stories, jokes and curious tales, he can enjoy those things with his boon-companions without detriment to his majesty and sovereignty, because he keeps them for this very purpose"³²⁹. He also records the respective status, of rank and degree at court of those permitted to sit, as in these tiles, and those that had to stand in the Sultan's presence³³⁰.

The wall paintings of the domed hall of Harim built after 836 at Samarra, the Jausaq al-Khaqani or Palace of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim, contained depictions of seated figures, some

³²³ Arık 2000, fig. 276.

³²⁴ eg Falk 1985, Cat. No. 532.

³²⁵ Turks 2005, Cat. No. 70.

³²⁶ Bibi 1996, 1 Cilt, 252.

³²⁷ Baybar's own emblem, as on his Abu'l-Munagga bridge of 1266-7, see Creswell 1978, 150-54, pl. 46c. Panthers are also carved on the exterior of the Omayyad palace at Mshatta.

³²⁸ Irwin 2005, 78.

³²⁹ Darke 1978, 118-120.

³³⁰ Darke 1978, 91. These boon-companions of the Sultan or "nadim" had their origin in Sassanid Persian custom.

holding cups³³¹, that are clearly related to the seated figures on these 13th century tiles, and seem to have formed almost stock figures from the 9th century onwards, with for example the Caliph Muqtadir (908-32) depicted seated crossed legged in tiraz on a commemorative token³³², the same type as a seated courtier on an Andalusian ivory casket made c. 1008³³³, it seems to have been passed on through the court design tradition and is to be seen in the 12th and 13th centuries, on Artukid coins, as pottery figurines, on metal and other vessels, on ceramic tiles from Persia and Anatolia (eg. in minai technique from the Konya Kılıç Arslan, Alaeddin Köşkü at Konya, today in the Karatay Museum, Konya, as also on these under glaze tiles), carved in relief on stone and depicted in other materials. Standing figures around the audience hall of Caliphs and Sultans, both painted and as stucco statues are common from the Omayyad period³³⁴ through to the Great Seljuks; they include those court officials painted on the wall of the audience hall of the Ghaznavid Mesud II at Lashkari Bazar by Bust in Afghanistan³³⁵ and the life-sized painted stucco courtiers from Seljuk palaces in Persia³³⁶, the Kara Saray at Mosul has a stucco interlace of niches and busts of figures, largely defaced, dating from the 12th century, that can be related to those in the Omayyad palace at Kirbat al-Mafjar³³⁷. Sultan Salad-Din Eyyub in a letter to the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir, dated the 7th of May 1183³³⁸, wrote that he had waged war beneath the black banners of the Abbasids and was, “not like those who wear arms for adornments or were like figures painted on the wall”, and it seems lines of guards - courtiers painted on the walls of palaces in Bagdad and elsewhere were so common that Salad-Din could make this remark to the Caliph. It is as a part of this longstanding court-palace tradition of an audience chamber lined with court figures that these 13th century Rum Seljuk tile depictions of courtiers seated cross legged belong.

9. Courtier holding a pomegranate (191, 195) and other examples of the pomegranate motif on tiles (178, 179 & 224 and also 60, 62, 74, 84, 85, 86, 92, 102, 105, 153, 189 and 193).

These tiles depict a man in tiraz court dress, erect and leaning forward, holding a pomegranate in his hand. The pomegranate in the Islamic world was understood to be one of the fruits of Paradise, explicitly mentioned in the Koran Sura 55 Ar-Rahman: 68, “Each (paradise) planted with fruit trees, the palm and the pomegranate”.

A 13th century stone carved relief has a seated courtier holding a pomegranate in his hand, from Konya, today in the IM Mus. Konya. This symbolic gesture could perhaps be related to the practice of Great Byzantine court officials to hold in their hand an enameled

³³¹ Creswell 1958, Fig.54, 226.

³³² Kennedy 2004, unnumbered photo, from the Berlin Staatmuseum Münzenkabinet.

³³³ Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 40.

³³⁴ Ettinghausen 1994, figs., 30, 31, 36.

³³⁵ See also Bosworth 1973, 104, 136-7.

³³⁶ eg. Turks 2005, Cat. No. 39, 41, also in the Worcester Art Museum, Detroit, USA; from Rayy in the Louvre; in the V&A, London and in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art. There are seated as well as standing examples of these life size and near life sized naturalistic sculptures.

³³⁷ Graber 1987, fig. 85ff.

³³⁸ Lyons 1997, 192-3. For fragmentary Rum Seljuk figural fresco from Alara Han Hamamı, see S. Yetkin, *Sanat Tarihi Yılığ* III, 1969-70 291-8.

red apple to indicate their high rank³³⁹. Stone carvings of both pomegranate fruit and opium pods in relief occur on the Sivas, Gök Medrese of 1271 and the Beyşehir Eşrefoğlu Mosque of 1297, as well as possibly related depictions on the earlier portals of the Divriği complex of 1229 (see below for references to opium). It seems probable that the pomegranate motif was employed on these tiles to indicate paradise, the court being seen as a type for paradise.

10. Walking courtier holding a goat or calf? (188-9), another with a hare (190) or another animal (U 38?).

These figures may relate to the zoo, as a pre-figuration of Paradise, as in Abbasid Samarra and to the liking for animals expressed by Sultans and Emirs (See above, Section 1, the hunt).

11. Peacock tiles, single (91-95), (95) in luster technique, and pairs thereof (90, 96), 98 & 99 pairs with intertwined necks, tree between pair (89) (U 40).

Peacocks, peafowl (*Pavo Cristatus*), were frequently depicted on Roman and Early Byzantine mosaics, were carved on stone reliefs and were depicted on a variety of other materials. Peacocks were also depicted by Sassanid artists on woven textiles, as in other materials. Reportedly these birds were first seen alive by Arabs in 710 by Bukhara where the village of Tawawis was named after these birds³⁴⁰ and representations of them were carved on the exterior wall of the Omayyad palace at Mshatta in the 8th century. Paired peacocks are carved on the ivory pyxis of Ziyad ibn Aflah of 969-70³⁴¹ and on mould made tiles from the palace at Ghazna from the 11th century. Both ostriches and peacocks were sent as diplomatic gifts from the Ghaznavid Sultan Zahir ad-Dawla Ibrahim (1059-99) to the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah after 1072³⁴². Peacocks with intertwined necks are on the ivory casket of 1026, made in the Toledo area³⁴³ and paired peacocks with intertwined necks are also carved within a roundel on a marble basin from Andalusia, dated to the 11th century³⁴⁴.

Ahmed Ghazzali who died in 1126, in his "Sawanih", describes the angels as peacock feathers³⁴⁵. It is possibly from this source that Jelalad-Din Rumi describes the situation of man, as having the feathers of an angel, tied to the tail of an ass, the ass being the body and the angel feathers, the spirit³⁴⁶. Ahmed Ghazzali's work was known by Sadrad-Din Konevi (died 1274-5) in Konya, through Sheik Awhad al-Din Kirmani (d.1238), who belonged to Ahmed Ghazzali's school of ishraqi mysticism, he met ibn Arabi in Konya in 1205 and was later the guardian in Konya of Sadrad-Din Konevi, the stepson of ibn 'Arabi. Ibn 'Arabi describes the peacock as the symbol of those who reach a lovely spiritual state,

³³⁹ Mathew 1963, 3.

³⁴⁰ Knobloch 1972, 144, this seems somewhat improbable.

³⁴¹ Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 39.

³⁴² Bosworth 1977, 54.

³⁴³ Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 132.

³⁴⁴ Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 37.

³⁴⁵ Pourjavady 1968, 56 n. 11, usually called "tawus paran-i akhzar".

³⁴⁶ Arberry 1961, Ch. 25, 118; also for man as, half ass, half angel, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 1502-3, 1509, 1511, 1529.

“with forms beautiful as peacocks”³⁴⁷, and that, the “peacock is the spirit of intention, desire of good”³⁴⁸; while Faridud-Din Attar describes the peacock as belonging to, “the Garden of the eight doors”³⁴⁹, that is to Paradise. Jelalad-Din Rumi also refers to the “peacock in the Garden of Delight (the peacock in Paradise)”³⁵⁰, and he repeatedly uses the peacock as a symbol of spiritual beauty, for example: “Knowledge is like a peacock (which does not stay) in the house of a peasant”³⁵¹, as a symbol of spiritual loveliness³⁵², “Moses and Aaron were as peacocks (in regard to Pharaoh): they flapped their wings of display upon thy head and face”³⁵³, “The peacock’s garment of honor comes from heaven”³⁵⁴, “How should a peacock be (confined) in a narrow pit”³⁵⁵, “That celestial peacock went to heaven”³⁵⁶ and Rumi notes that peacocks feathers were kept in copies of the Holy Koran³⁵⁷. He also refers to the peacock as a symbol of spiritual pride³⁵⁸.

Paired peacocks stand either side of a tree in two circular mosaic panels, with birds being hunted in the central panel, in the Scala di Ruggero at the Palazzo Reale in Palermo, Sicily of c. 1130³⁵⁹, as well as representations of deer, leopards, swans and palm trees; while in the Norman hunting palace of Zisa (El Aziz, the Magnificent) standing in the former hunting park “Genoard” by Palermo, that was used by the Norman Kings and later by Emperor Fredrick II, there are similar mosaic scenes of peacocks, palm trees and hunters shooting birds, in the Sale della Fontana of 1164-5 and the column capitals are carved with both peacocks and falcons in relief³⁶⁰. A carved peacock relief was found at the Artukid Palace at Diyarbakır from the start of the 13th century³⁶¹. Peacocks in stucco relief come from the Kılıç Arslan - Alaed-Din Köşk in Konya³⁶² and also on either side of a niche at Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I’s Kubadabat Palace, by Beyşehir³⁶³. It would seem that the peacocks on these tiles refer to Paradise³⁶⁴.

³⁴⁷ Nicholson 1978, XIX, 86.

³⁴⁸ Nicholson 1978, II, 50.

³⁴⁹ Attar 1984, 30-31.

³⁵⁰ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 4785.

³⁵¹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 322.

³⁵² Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 2706.

³⁵³ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 788; and “spiritual peacocks”, Bk. 3, 774.

³⁵⁴ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 777.

³⁵⁵ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 3504.

³⁵⁶ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 3128.

³⁵⁷ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 539, and he notes fowlers trapping peacocks for their tail feathers, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 643.

³⁵⁸ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 733, “A peacock brilliant as Jupiter, a jackal in dyed fur”; Bk. 5, 44 & 489, “Do not regard thy peacock feathers”, also verse 647, “These (feathers) are the weapons of my pride”; Bk. 6, 682, the “peacock, haughty and self centered”.

³⁵⁹ Bellafiore 1994, 110, fig.1.

³⁶⁰ Bellafiore 1994, 22, fig. 8, suggests the decoration of both structures was strongly influenced by Fatimid and North African Islamic designs and craftsmen.

³⁶¹ Arık 2001, 254; Altun 1978, 217.

³⁶² Arık 2000, fig. 20.

³⁶³ Arık 2000, fig. 247.

³⁶⁴ For other near contemporary references to the peacock of Paradise and as being a symbol of the sun, see Daneshvari 1994, 192-200.

12. The tile with the palm tree (233) and the palm tree and two birds (84, 85, 87) and stylized palm tree (?) (80, 86, 88, 89).

The palm tree is mentioned in the Koran as one of the fruit trees in Paradise, Sura 55 Ar-Rahman: 68. While the palm tree is also mentioned in its worldly context in the Koran, Sura 6 Al-An'am: 99; Sura 6: 141; Sura 36 Ya Sin: 33; Sura 50 Qaf: 10 of, "Palm trees laden with clusters of dates"; Sura 55 Ar-Rahman: 11 and 68, and Sura 80 'Abasa: 29. The tree mentioned in Sura 14, Ibrahim: 24-5 almost certainly refers to a palm tree, "Do you not see how God compares good works to a good tree? Its root is firm and its branches are in the sky: It yields fruit in every season by God's leave. God speaks in parables to men so that they might take heed."

The palm tree was likened to the believer by ibn Arabi³⁶⁵. The palm tree is mentioned by Rumi in his *Mathnavi*, where the Prophet says to Ali, "Come into the shade of the palm tree of hope"³⁶⁶. Perhaps importantly, Rumi also uses the term, "The palm tree of the Caliphate"³⁶⁷ and alludes to the palm tree of paradise³⁶⁸, as also to the palm tree as a sign of generosity³⁶⁹.

The octagonal domed treasury (Bait al-Mal) in the Omayyad Mosque at Damascus (706-715) has a mosaic depicting a palm tree on one of its panels that probably symbolizes the believer, like that, also in mosaic, in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (by 691)³⁷⁰. The palm tree motif, resembling a fleur-de-lis³⁷¹, is repeated over a marble panel of the *mirhap* of the Grand Mosque of Kairouan of 862-3, similar to the palms depicted on tile (231). In 917, the Abbasid palace at Bagdad had a garden of dwarf palm trees, probably cultivated for symbolic reasons, representing the Moslem believer or Paradise, or both, which was shown to the Byzantine envoys of Emperor Constantine VII³⁷². Palm trees in stucco relief panels form part of the arcade decoration of the Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo, completed in 972³⁷³. The palm tree, between paired creatures, also is depicted in the Islamic influenced mosaic in the Scala di Ruggero at the Palazzo Reale in Palermo of c. 1131³⁷⁴ and palm trees also occur on the mosaics of the Zisa hunting lodge by Palermo, Sicily of 1164-5. A palm tree is carved in relief panels containing a double headed bird of prey in a halo atop a palm tree, with lions upon either side of it, on either side of the entrance to the Erzurum Çift Minareli Medrese of 1253, together with crescent moons, and a crescent moon is also carved on the outermost carved frieze at either side of the portal doorway, where a palm tree emerges from a carved stone ball, that seems to represent the

³⁶⁵ Citing Koran Sura 19 Maryam: 23-6; Ibn 'Arabi notes that the palm tree (*nakhla*) is understood to have been created from the remains of the clay that created Adam and, consequently the palm tree is therefore our paternal aunt, "the prophetic revelation calls the palm tree, aunt, and compares it to the "believer" (*mu'min*)", Arias 2001, 97-8.

³⁶⁶ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 1, 2960. Also for "palm tree of hope", *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 1, 3960.

³⁶⁷ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 1, 3947.

³⁶⁸ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 4, 1771 & 3509.

³⁶⁹ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 5, 810 & 1189-90.

³⁷⁰ Ettinghausen 1994, fig. 8.

³⁷¹ A fleur-de-lis was employed by the Ghazi Nur ad-Din Muhmud b. Zangi (1146-74), as his device, Creswell 1978, 153, which probably was based on the palm tree given its associations rather than upon the lilly.

³⁷² Hitti 1991, 303.

³⁷³ Creswell 1978, Vol. 1, fig. 15.

³⁷⁴ Bellafiore 1994, 110.

palm tree and the universe, an exact replication in carved stonework of ibn 'Arabi's explanation of a hadith concerning the palm tree³⁷⁵. The Doner Kümbet at Kayseri of 1276 has carved in relief, lions on either side of a palm tree, surmounted by an bird of prey. A palm tree crowned by a double headed bird of prey, with a lion on either side at the foot of the tree, carved in stone panels on either side of the portal entrance to the Erzurum Yakutiye Medrese of 1310, may represent, in this symbolic language, design and form, the Divine Spirit, represented by the double headed bird of prey, the Prophet Muhammed, represented by the palm tree and the Moslem believer in the shade of the palm tree, or possibly Ali, the Prophet's son in law and Caliph IV, as either could be represented by the lion.

13. The griffon (173).

The griffon motif was frequently employed by the Sassanids. It is reported that Alexander the Great fought great herds of griffons, dragons and boars in his advance into India³⁷⁶ and the griffon is the "Anqa" in Arabic³⁷⁷. The griffon occurs on the facade of the Omayyad palace of Mashatta, is carved on the Pyxis of Ziyad ibn Aflah of 969-70³⁷⁸, pairs of griffons facing each other are carved on the ivory Pamplona casket of 1004-5 in the Museo de Navarro, and they are also depicted on either side of a tree on the ivory panels of an Andalusian casket of 1026³⁷⁹. They are depicted on 11th/12th century glass and in metalwork of the period and on Fatimid and Andalusian bronzes³⁸⁰. A griffon forms the motif of a Persian "gabri" ware bowl from the 10th century³⁸¹ and they are depicted in relief on mould made tile work from 13th century Persia³⁸². They are in mosaic in the vault of the Scala di Ruggero at the Capella Palatina palace complex in Palermo, Sicily, together with 4 lions and an eagle in the apex of the vault of c. 1131. They are depicted with horsemen on a minai jug, today in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art, from c. 1200 and with a bird and a winged lion from 12th-13th century Rayy, Persia³⁸³. Griffons are depicted together with 2 birds of prey in a Rum Seljuk low relief stone carving from the 13th century today in the TIEM İstanbul³⁸⁴, from Diyarbakır. Ibn 'Arabi relates that the griffon is potentially existent but non existent and that no one has knowledge of it except for the Prophet Sulayman³⁸⁵.

14. The Dragon-Serpent tiles (168, 170-2, 274).

A pair of dragons with their tongues held by a seated Seljuk courtier in tiraz were modeled in clay to form the brickwork panels inset around the arch of the Talisman Gate to Bagdad in 1222 (destroyed 1917) and a figure holding the tongue of a dragon is carved

³⁷⁵ Arias 2001, 97-8.

³⁷⁶ Cummins 2001, 277, n. 47. See Otto-Dorn 1994, 203-214 for the griffon-sphinx cosmic interpretation.

³⁷⁷ Elmore 1999, the title of ibn 'Arabi's book of 1200, "Anqa Mughrib", the fabulous Griffon.

³⁷⁸ Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 39.

³⁷⁹ Jenkins 1993, Cat. No. 132.

³⁸⁰ Jenkins 1993, 81.

³⁸¹ Pope 1930, fig.23.

³⁸² Öney 1987, 19.

³⁸³ Pope 1930, fig.33.

³⁸⁴ Creswell 1978 Vol. 1, fig.140.

³⁸⁵ Elmore 1999, 80, n. 68.

on either side of the portal of Sinjar's al-Khan from the 12th century and a pair of interlaced dragons were carved over an arched doorway in the Aleppo citadel, prior to 1216, by al-Malik al-Zahir Gazi, while interlaced dragons are depicted on a 12th-13th century bowl made at Rakka (Met. Museum New York³⁸⁶). Two dragons are carved in relief on the supporting arch of the mesjid in the Sultanhan on the Kayseri-Sivas route, of 1230-36; on a carved stone relief of 1235 from Çankırı Hospital, on a relief from the Konya citadel, today in the IM Mus. Konya. They are carved on an iwan of the later Karatay Han by Kayseri of 1240-41 and dragons are carved over the niches in the portal of the Susuz Han, Antalya of 1246, as on other Rum Seljuk buildings and works of art, such as on the mirror of the falconer³⁸⁷.

Attar mentions "the dragon of truth"³⁸⁸ and that, "There is a lair in you where dragons thrive, Your folly keeps the prowling beasts alive"³⁸⁹; while Rumi uses the dragon to symbolize love³⁹⁰, to suggest that the world is a dragon³⁹¹, that ignorance is a dragon³⁹² that destiny is a dragon³⁹³, that power is a dragon³⁹⁴, that the sensual soul is a dragon³⁹⁵, that greed is a dragon³⁹⁶, and that a temporal ruler is a dragon³⁹⁷ as well as making numerous references to the dragon-serpent of Moses' staff³⁹⁸, amongst his many references to dragon-serpents. It seems possible to suggest that at least in some cases, the dragon-serpent motif was related to the depiction of the jinn, as on Bagdad's "Talisman Gate", with the jinn restrained by the Prophet Sulayman and; that superb workmanship was attributed to the work of the jinn³⁹⁹, through the depiction of a dragon-serpent or a "Seal of Sulayman" device upon this work.

³⁸⁶ Dimand 1947, Fig. 124.

³⁸⁷ Turks 2005 Cat. No. 72.

³⁸⁸ Attar 1984, 114.

³⁸⁹ Attar 1984, 151.

³⁹⁰ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 623-4, 970.

³⁹¹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 2277.

³⁹² Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 2538.

³⁹³ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 3883.

³⁹⁴ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 1951.

³⁹⁵ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 1053-66; 2248.

³⁹⁶ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 120, 283.

³⁹⁷ Arberry 1961, Ch. 2, 21.

³⁹⁸ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 2788; Bk. 4, 1662, 1673, 2806-10; Bk. 5, 597.

³⁹⁹ Stemming from the Jinn working for the Prophet Sulayman, erecting wonderous buildings, statues, giant tanks and huge cauldrons, Koran Sura Saba' 34: 12-14, also Sura Sad 38: 36-8. It was thought that Tadmur (Petra) was built by Sulayman and the jinn; that the Achaemenid Tomb of Cyrus was so incredible that it was called, "Masjid-i Madar-i Sulayman", the Mosque of the Prophet Sulayman's mother and the nearby Achaemenid platform was described as "Takht-i Sulayman", the Throne of Sulayman, because of its size and workmanship, Browne 1997, Vol. 1, 112-4. The "Seal of Sulayman", Irwin 1997, 207 (Rumi describes both fasting and love as the seal of Sulayman, Chittick 1983, 157, 336, and on 344: "Since you see that devils, mankind, and jinn follow my command, can you not understand that I am Solomon and that on my ring is a seal?" from the Divan-i Shams-i Tabrizi, 1426), a motif that occurs often on works of the Seljuk period in Anatolia, as also on Beylik works of art, from tilework motifs, as in the Karatay Medrese Konya of 1251, on the pierced lamp holder with lions in the Mevlana Museum, in cut tile-work in the apex of the Ulu-congregational Mosque in Malatya of c1247, on metal-work, eg. Işın 2001, 73, 160, can be understood to mark the work, like the use of the serpent-dragon motif, as a product of the skill of the jinn, as a marvel produced by the jinn under the control of the rightly guided ruler, the Sulayman of the age, who had the jinn under his command.

15. The Sun face (175) in luster technique.

The Koran Sura 91 is entitled *Ash-Shams*, the sun. Attar in his "Conference of the birds", describes the Divinity as "the immortal sun"⁴⁰⁰ and that, "Whoever lives, the wicked and the blessed, Contains a hidden sun within his breast...Whoever reaches to his hidden sun, Surpasses good and bad and knows the One (The Almighty)"⁴⁰¹. Rumi describes the sun as a metaphor for the Divine Light, "the Sun of suns"⁴⁰²; likewise, "Because the light of the Prophets was the sun"⁴⁰³, meaning the light of the Divine shone through the Prophets. "Ziy'a u'l Haqq", meaning the radiance of God⁴⁰⁴ as also the Prophet, is described by Rumi as a radiant sun⁴⁰⁵; the sun as symbolizing God⁴⁰⁶ and, "all vanish in the radiance of the Sun"⁴⁰⁷. It seems reasonably safe to suppose that this 13th century tile represents the Divine light, the sun that does not set⁴⁰⁸ and that this design probably originated from an illuminated work on astronomy or astrology showing a face within the sun. The sun-face above the lion is depicted on some of the coins of *Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II*, combining the motif of Divine light with the Lion of Islam; as a similar symbolic device was later employed by the Mamluke Sultan *Baybars al-Bunduqdari* (1260-77)⁴⁰⁹. This sun-face device is carved above a lion on the portal of *İncir Han* (1237-45) by *Bucak* and had been carved earlier on the bridge across the Tigris at *Cizre*, in an astrological sequence of relief's.

16. The pairs of birds (77-79, 262, either side of a representation of a palm tree Nos. 84, 85, of perhaps another tree type 113, and paired birds on the 4 arms of a cross tile No 109) (U 33).

The pairs of birds and pairs of fish on these tiles serve to remind of the Koran Sura 36, *Ya-Sin*: 36 "Glory be to Him who made all things in pairs", as also *Mathnavi*, "pairs of every kind created by God"⁴¹⁰, and perhaps, to remind of one of Prophet *Sulayman's* gifts, "Lo! We have been taught the language of the birds"⁴¹¹ and of his army of birds. Perhaps also of the birds of *Farid ud-Din Attar's* work entitled "*Mantiq ut-Tayr*", "The conference of the birds", (*Jelalad-Din Rumi* refers both to *Attar's* work and to the Prophet *Sulayman* when he wrote, "O bird, speak the language of birds: I can understand thy hidden meaning

⁴⁰⁰ Attar 1984, 123.

⁴⁰¹ Attar 1984, 192.

⁴⁰² *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 4, 499.

⁴⁰³ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 4, 451, as in his letters, "The same Sun shines through the bodies of all those Prophets". Also *Ahmet Ghazzali*, "At times love is the sun in the sky of the spirit, shining as it will", *Pourjavady* 1986, Ch. 3, 21 and Ch. 3, 22 for the sun as a metaphor for God.

⁴⁰⁴ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 4, 19-20.

⁴⁰⁵ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 3, 2599. Also *Arberry* 1961, 53, 205.

⁴⁰⁶ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 3, 1275; 1306; 2621-22; 3621-22; 2813: "The Sun of the sun"; Bk. 4, 2111.

⁴⁰⁷ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 4, 433. Also *Chittick* 1983, 33, from the *Divan-i Shams-i Tabrizi*, 28789: "Inwardly Thou art the Spirit of the spirit of the spirit, outwardly the Sun of the sun".

⁴⁰⁸ Re Koran Sura 6 *Al-An'am*; 76-8. The sun that doesn't set being the face of the Almighty, that which remains.

⁴⁰⁹ Although *Baybars* emblem seems to have been a panther rather than a lion, *Creswell* 1979, Vol. 2, 150, contr *Blair* 1998, 19.

⁴¹⁰ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 6, 523. Also, Bk. 3, 4401.

⁴¹¹ Koran Sura 27, *An-Naml*: 16; *Mathnavi* 1982 Bk. 2, 3700.

the soul answered”⁴¹², where Rumi equates the bird with the spirit, speaking the language of the spirit. Rumi also reworks Attar’s work elsewhere in the *Mathnavi*⁴¹³. Ibn ‘Arabi describes a bird in a ban tree as “the Prophet’s spirit in his body”⁴¹⁴, while Jelalad-Din Rumi compares the Moslem community to a soul bird⁴¹⁵.

Some of these depictions of birds have ringed necks (83, 84, 85) perhaps reminding of a ring dove interpreted by ibn ‘Arabi as, “the soul confined in the body”⁴¹⁶ and he describes the ringdove as the “universal spirit, born of God and breathed into man”⁴¹⁷. The second section of “*Kalila wa Dimna*”, concerning steady friendship is entitled, “The ring dove”, containing those stories on how “animals” co-operate to defeat their enemies. Some of the birds on these tiles seem to depict ring doves.

Perhaps the main influence on the design of these tiles of a bird on either side of a tree, may have been the far famed Abbasid gold and silver tree with birds that sang, housed in the “*dar al-Sharjarah*”, the hall of the tree, in the palace at Bagdad. The tree weighed 500,000 drams and, “in the branches were lodged birds of the same precious metals so constructed that they chirped by automatic devices”⁴¹⁸. This tree and birds impressed the Byzantine envoys of Emperor Constantine the VII in 917 who visited Bagdad to arrange a prisoner release during the reign of the Caliph al-Muqtadir (908-32). If this is the source of this motif, then, like the palm tree⁴¹⁹, one could read this motif as a symbol of the legitimizing authority of the Abbasid Caliphate in 13th century Rum Seljuk Anatolia.

17. Single birds (102,105) (Ü 25-27), of the same type of birds as those doubled.

Ahmet Ghazzali uses the bird as a symbol of love⁴²⁰. Attar describes birds as representative of the human soul, for example: “Grow wings and feathers for the soul,”⁴²¹; “The bird of aspiration seeks His throne (the throne of the Almighty), Outsoaring faith and all the world, alone,”⁴²² and, “The bird of aspiration spreads its wings, and quickly sweeps above terrestrial things,”⁴²³. Ibn ‘Arabi uses the turtle dove to represent the soul of the gnostic⁴²⁴ and the dove to represent, “a spiritual prophetic essence”⁴²⁵, a spiritual essence⁴²⁶, “the spirit of the intermediate world”⁴²⁷. Rumi also uses a bird to symbolize the

⁴¹² Nicholson 1977, XXXV 139.

⁴¹³ Eg. *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 2, 3746-65; Bk. 4, 647ff.

⁴¹⁴ Nicholson 1978, XLI, 126.

⁴¹⁵ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 2, 3711. See Arberry 1961 Ch. 6, 36, for “the two birds”.

⁴¹⁶ Nicholson 1978, XIII 73.

⁴¹⁷ Nicholson 1978, LVI 143.

⁴¹⁸ Hitti 1970, 303. Its precursor was in the throne room of the Caliph al-Mutawwakil (847-61), Kennedy 2004, 147-8.

⁴¹⁹ “The palm tree of the Caliphate”, *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 1, 3947.

⁴²⁰ Pourjavady 1986, Ch. 4, 24 & n. 2; Ch. 10, 31. See also Koran Sura 27 An-Naml: 16.

⁴²¹ Attar 1984, 135.

⁴²² Attar 1984, 133.

⁴²³ Attar 1984, 134.

⁴²⁴ Nicholson 1978, XXV 101.

⁴²⁵ Nicholson 1978, XLIX 137.

⁴²⁶ Nicholson 1978, XXXIII 119.

⁴²⁷ Nicholson 1978, XX 88; XXX, 116.

spirit⁴²⁸ for example: “The angel assumed wings and pinions like a bird”; “In each of them, The birds, their (Prophetic) spirit, flies with a different wing”⁴²⁹; “The bird, his spirit”⁴³⁰ and, “When will the bird of my spirit fly from the cage towards the garden (Paradise) ?”⁴³¹

18. Duck tile (108, 106 with opium pods) (Ü 28).

The frontispiece to the *Kitab al-Diryaq* (Österreichische Nat. Bib. Vienna Cod. AF10, f.1) has in the central panel, to the sultan’s left, a depiction of a courtier wearing tiraz, probably a khass beğ, seated holding a duck, together with other beğs holding a polo stick, a sword, perhaps an opium pipe etc⁴³², their emblems of office. Ducks were depicted in the Artukid Diyarbakır Palace⁴³³ and a duck is carved in relief, together with a lion and other animals and birds in the panel beneath the muqarnas in the iwan of the Karatay Han of 1240-1. I have been unable to determine if a duck was an emblem of office at the Seljuk court.

19. Single pair of fish (154) and probably (Ü 42), 2 Pairs of fish (152, 153), on the star tile (155), as also on the ceramic plate with 4 fish, fig. 242 from Kubadabat.

Rumi refers to fish as symbolizing Moslems: “We are the fishes and Thou (God) the sea”⁴³⁴ and there is an inscription from the walls of Konya today in the IM Mus. Konya with a fish carved in a rectangular panel at the start of this inscription. There were figures of fish and duck found in the remains of the Diyarbakır Palace⁴³⁵.

20. Opium poppy heads seem to be represented on: the onager-donkey tile (149), with the bear (140), with the ostrich (174), with the peacock (91, 94 & 106), with a tree (113), with 4 fish (242), with seated courtiers holding in each hand opium pods (181, 182) on a tile of a hunting dog (131), with paired birds (78, 80, 260, 262) and single birds (113, 262), and with the double headed “eagle” (56). As also on the ceramic plate, Arık 2000, fig 242 from Kubadabat.

Faridud-Din Attar writes, “This poison (evil)’s part of Your (God’s) great scheme, And life is more than just an opium dream”⁴³⁶, while Jelalad-Din Rumi’s “Divan Shems-i Tabriz” also refers to opium, “Intellect ate some opium from love’s hand: Now watch for intellects madmen”⁴³⁷, with the eating of opium serving as a metaphor for spiritual intoxication⁴³⁸, and of course, the consumption of opium was quite usual, finds of pipes, almost certainly for opium, from contexts prior to the introduction of tobacco have been found in many excavations⁴³⁹. Opium was frequently used by sultan and courtier as was

⁴²⁸ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 3287; 3706; 3710-11.

⁴²⁹ Mathnavi 1982 Bk. 4, 1142.

⁴³⁰ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 3194 & 4616.

⁴³¹ Chittick 1983, 29, from Divan-i Shams-i Tabrizi, 33887.

⁴³² Re blazons, Creswell 1978, 188-9.

⁴³³ Altun 1978, 217.

⁴³⁴ Mathnavi 1982 Bk. 3, 1341.

⁴³⁵ Altun 1978, 217.

⁴³⁶ Attar 1984, 168.

⁴³⁷ Chittick 1983, 230.

⁴³⁸ Nicholson 1977, XLII, 167.

⁴³⁹ My thanks to Prof. R. H. Ünal & Doç Dr. Z. K. Bilici for their remarks on this subject.

later recounted in the “Baburname” by the founder of the Mughal Dynasty of India, Zahir ad-Din Babur (1526-30)⁴⁴⁰. For hashish, see for example: “And how much trade we do with the best fresh plants, Hashish of the color of down on a shining cheek, which is made into pills, perfumed with amber, spiced and roasted for us”⁴⁴¹, written by Shamsad-Din Muhammad ibn Daniyal, (b. Mosul 1248 d. Cairo 1311). The use of this opium pod motif on these tiles may have indicated a setting of Paradise, although in the case of the donkey and the bear tile (see below), this device may have indicated something rather different.

21. The camel (148).

Holy Koran Sura 22 Al-Hajj: 36, describes the camel as part of God’s rite. Ibn ‘Arabi described the camel in his poem as representing the human faculties⁴⁴², as representing the human aspirations⁴⁴³ and as representing, “the sciences with which our souls are familiar”, as distinct from the gazelles, that represent the abstruse sciences⁴⁴⁴. However, Rumi in his references to the camel⁴⁴⁵, also makes reference to the camel as a symbol of lust, “Look at the intoxication of lust in the camel”⁴⁴⁶ and describes the “camel hearted”, as a coward⁴⁴⁷, while also describing how Bactrian camels carried drums for Sultan Mahmud of Gazna⁴⁴⁸.

22. Mastiffs and other hunting dogs (117-120 & 122-129 mastiffs, 131, greyhound type 132) (U 35 with collar and U30 as Arık 117, 119 and 120)

Hunting dogs are represented in the stucco plaster relief frieze from the Kılıç Arslan II (Alaeddin) Köşk at Konya⁴⁴⁹, on stucco-plaster relief work from Kubadabat⁴⁵⁰, as also on border motifs on numerous contemporary pieces of metal ware from Anatolia, Mosul and elsewhere⁴⁵¹.

23. Fox-Jackal-Wolf tile (133-138).

Rumi describes the carnal soul as a wolf⁴⁵² and man as a wolf⁴⁵³ and, he compares a fox to a paltrous and a brave and courageous man in contrast to a lion⁴⁵⁴.

⁴⁴⁰ Beveridge 1990 16 & n 2, 385, 386, 388, intoxication from a “ma’jun”, an opium laced confection and 385, for an “opium eater”.

⁴⁴¹ Irwin 1999, 362-3.

⁴⁴² Nicholson 1978, XVI, 78.

⁴⁴³ Nicholson 1978, XXIX 110, XXVIII 104, XVIII 82-3.

⁴⁴⁴ Nicholson 1978, XXX, 112.

⁴⁴⁵ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 1746-54; Bk. 4, 1518, 3142-3, 3389, 3391ff; Bk. 5, 2440; Bk. 6, 4165.

⁴⁴⁶ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 819.

⁴⁴⁷ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 4032.

⁴⁴⁸ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 4092.

⁴⁴⁹ Sarre 1989, figs., 14, 15, 16.

⁴⁵⁰ Arık 2000, fig. 248.

⁴⁵¹ Op cit. n. 144, 145, 146.

⁴⁵² Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 4856.

⁴⁵³ Arberry 1961, X, 49.

⁴⁵⁴ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 4895, likewise, “come do not play foxy trails, be a lion”, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 125.

24. The hare tiles (150, 151 in luster technique).

The motif of a hawk attacking a hare, as on 151, is cut into a Fatimid rock crystal jug in the V&A, London.

25. The bear tile (140) with opium pods, also (Turks 2005 Cat. No. 68).

Rumi in his *Mathnavi* uses the figure of the bear to symbolize greed, as a fool and, as dancing to no purpose⁴⁵⁵ and, on this tile, like the onager-donkey tile, the decoration includes representations of opium pods.

Spratt and Forbes record their encounter with a bear in the mountains behind Kasa-ba⁴⁵⁶, Antalya, and bears were seen at Gedeller village in the Beydağ Mountain range, Antalya in September 2005⁴⁵⁷. It seems probable that bear hunting took place with mas-tiffs in the spring in the Taurus Mts. during the 13th century and like the tile of the donkey below, this tile carried a double meaning, an animal that was hunted and also a symbol of foolishness.

26. Onager - Donkey -ass tile plus opium pods (149).

The ass-donkey-onager is described in the Koran as a metaphor for the unbeliever when faced with the Prophetic revelation, as fleeing from the lion of revelation, Koran Sura Al-Muddath-Thir 74:50. Often the body, as distinct from the spirit, is described by the writers of the period when these tiles were made as an ass or a donkey, wild, mad, insatiable, the donkey as the symbol representing a fool, an unbeliever. For example Faridud-Din Attar in his account of a meeting between a sufi and a temporal ruler, records the sufi as saying: "Since you find no delight in faith - alas, your Self has made of you, my lord, an ass, And sat on you, and set its load on you - You're just its slave in everything you do; you wear its halter, following its commands, A no one, left completely in its hands. My study is to reach Truth's innermost shrine - And I am not my Self's ass, he is mine"⁴⁵⁸ and, "But shame on you you fool! Bow down your head; Accept a donkey's bridle and be led"⁴⁵⁹. Rumi likewise makes frequent references to the ass, as a symbol of mankind's foolishness: "The senses resemble an ass, and evil desire is the halter"⁴⁶⁰; "You failed to go on pilgrimage because of your ass's nature, not because you have no ass"⁴⁶¹. Likewise, "Child, Jesus sate on the ass for humility's sake: How else should the zephyr ride on the back of an ass"⁴⁶², and in reference to a foolish servant who is described as, "comrade of the ass's rump"⁴⁶³ while a fool is described as an old donkey⁴⁶⁴ and, "The male ass is this bestial soul. He (God) will give the form of our fleshy soul the form of an ass - flee from the

⁴⁵⁵ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 3, 295; Bk. 2, 2124ff; Bk. 3, 94. Also Bk. 2, 1932-2011.

⁴⁵⁶ Spratt 1847, Vol. 1, 291.

⁴⁵⁷ Personal communication from Feridun Engin whose summer house is in the village.

⁴⁵⁸ Attar 1984, 97, also 104.

⁴⁵⁹ Attar 1984, 180.

⁴⁶⁰ Nicholson 1977, XLV, 179.

⁴⁶¹ Nicholson 1977, XLII, 173.

⁴⁶² Nicholson 1977, IV, 17.

⁴⁶³ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 3, 2238.

⁴⁶⁴ *Mathnavi* 1982, Bk. 6, 4120.

ass-like body"⁴⁶⁵, while the devil is described as an ass⁴⁶⁶. Likewise the Mathnavi records: "If he is serving the body, he is an ass"⁴⁶⁷, and Rumi contrasts the ox with the ass, with the ox symbolizing understanding and the ass used to indicate the animal soul⁴⁶⁸. Rumi describes the ass as mad⁴⁶⁹ and remarks on its one eyed nature⁴⁷⁰, amongst the many references to the ass, mule and donkey in his Mathnavi. Likewise in the stories of Nasrad-Din Hodja, frequently the Hoja and his donkey can be read as one person, the Hoja being the intellect or spirit and his donkey being his "body", as when Nasred-Din is leading his pupils and he rides backwards on the donkey, indicating that body and spirit face in quite different directions. It is possible that this tile depicts, both a wild donkey, an onager, an object of the hunt, and it can also be seen to represent the madness of the human body, both in its physical gesture and being associated as it is with the opium motif.

27. Ostrich tile (174).

An accurate depiction of an ostrich occurs in mosaic, on the floor of the old baptistery at Mount Nabo, Palestine, dating from the 6th century. However this depiction (174) of an ostrich with a camel's neck and head and the body of an ostrich, seems to have been derived from an Arabic literary tradition as the ostrich was regarded as a camel-bird, related to the camel and not to the birds⁴⁷¹. It gave its name to a constellation of stars in Sagittarius⁴⁷². The ostrich had served as a metaphor for a coward, employed by the 10th century poet al-Mutannabi, where he refers to the Byzantine Emperor as an ostrich⁴⁷³. However, the Ghaznavid Sultan Zahir ad-Dawla Ibrahim sent ostriches and peacocks amongst his diplomatic gifts to the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah after 1072⁴⁷⁴ and it seems there was no cowardice implied or understood in this gift of ostriches.

28. Chess board - checkerboard type tiles (231).

The Great Seljuk court official, astronomer to Nizam ul-Mulk and mathematician, Omar Khayyam (1084-1131) is said to have written the quatrain (rubai):

"Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days,
Where Destiny with Men for Pieces plays:
Hither and thither moves, and mates and slays,
And one by one back in the Closet lays".⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁶⁵ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 5, 1391ff.

⁴⁶⁶ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 3582.

⁴⁶⁷ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 2683.

⁴⁶⁸ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 409.

⁴⁶⁹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 1530.

⁴⁷⁰ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 4, 1715.

⁴⁷¹ Irwin 1999, ix, hence in Latin, camel bird, "Struthio Camelus", reportedly for the similarity between the camels and the ostrich's feet, White 1954, 121-2.

⁴⁷² There are representations of the ostrich, as on the 11th century "Witches pallium" silk textile from Andalusia, today in the Mus. Episcopal de Vic, Barcelona, that do not give a camel body to this bird.

⁴⁷³ Irwin 1999, X.

⁴⁷⁴ Bosworth 1977, 54.

⁴⁷⁵ Fitzgerald 1945, 25. Given the Sunni revival and the Sunni orthodoxy at the Great Seljuk court, this rubai clearly refers to a Moslem's belief in fate. Abu Hanifa 'Abd al-Karim wrote for the Emir of Ankara, Muhyial-Din an anthology of Persian rubaiyyat in about 1200, Cahen 2001, 159, and Jelalad-Din Rumi also authored a collection of rubai.

This poem describes life as like a chess board of black and white squares, where the pieces move, like people in their destined manner through life to death, Jelalad-Din Rumi's "checkmate of death"⁴⁷⁶. Ibn 'Arabi refers to chess⁴⁷⁷ and Rumi made many references to chess⁴⁷⁸: "At one step (he moves) like the rook (roc-chariot) (straight) from top to bottom (of the chessboard); (at) one step he goes crossways like the elephant (bishop)"⁴⁷⁹; "Through travel the pawn becomes a noble queen (Vizier)"⁴⁸⁰; on chess, checkmate and victory⁴⁸¹; "And checkmated that king of the spiritual chess board"⁴⁸². These many references to chess, as also to backgammon⁴⁸³, indicate the familiarity of the Rum Seljuk court with chess, played at Islamic courts from the 8th century onwards. Chess is also recorded by the Vizier Nizam ul-Mulk, along with backgammon (nard) and musicians at court⁴⁸⁴ and court figures playing chess were painted on the ceiling of the Capella Palatina in Palermo. Rawandi Muhammed b'Ali has a section on chess in his, "Rahat al-Sudur wa ayat al-Surur", "Ease of hearts and moments of happiness", that also includes sections on history, calligraphy and hunting, which was dedicated by the author to Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev I in 1205, and chess was played in Rum Seljuk Anatolia, in palaces and köşks⁴⁸⁵.

Jelalad-Din Rumi, in his Mathnavi, when contrasting the literalist with the aware person writes: "He (the player) at chess said, "This is the home of the rook (the Roc or chariot).". "By what way," said he (the literalist), "did the house come into his hands? Did it buy the house or inherit it?"-Happy is he that speed towards the (real) meaning!"⁴⁸⁶. Through Rumi's use of this analogy, both the familiarity of Rumi and his audience with chess in 13th century Konya and also the importance of the literal and of other methods in attempting to understand a symbol that can be understood to have a meaning, such as a chess piece or the motifs on these tiles, is indicated. This checkerboard pattern is painted on the walls of the Seljuk fortifications of Alanya, above the gateway into the middle citadel, combined with zigzag designs (see below), as also on these cross tiles and seems, like the zigzag to have been a symbol of the Rum Seljuk court itself. The checkerboard motif combined with palm trees on the 8 pointed star tile (231), seem to have no parallel elsewhere. It may be that this design symbolized fate as the checker-"nard" board had long been used as an image of fate⁴⁸⁷.

⁴⁷⁶ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 4187.

⁴⁷⁷ Elmore 1999, 67, "I shielded the "King" (al-Shah) with the Vizier (al-Firzan)".

⁴⁷⁸ For other references to chess: Bk. 4, 109, the essence of checkmate; 1445-7, the chess squares and pieces and 2889-91 for the moves of chess, while 2059 mentions the queen (vizier) in chess; Bk. 5 mentions chess and checkmate, 3507, the Shah playing chess, 3514, the horse and the elephant pieces, 4061 and checkmate, 4064. Bk. 6, mentions the chess pieces and places 2594ff and checkmate, 2764. and in Nicholson 1977, X, 39, is the line, "How happy the king that is mated by Thy (God's) rook!".

⁴⁷⁹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 1780.

⁴⁸⁰ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 535.

⁴⁸¹ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 885-6.

⁴⁸² Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 3, 2849.

⁴⁸³ The dice of backgammon, Nicholson 1977, XLVI, 187, Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 6, 4567, "Backgammon played by the world and the devil."; also Bk. 4, 2737 & Bk. 6, 2281 & 3938.

⁴⁸⁴ Darke 1978, 89.

⁴⁸⁵ Turan 1988, fn 95.

⁴⁸⁶ Mathnavi 1982, Bk. 2, 3627ff.

⁴⁸⁷ Irwin 1999, 164.

29. The chevron-zigzag patterns are employed on both the star and pointed cross tiles (222, 225, 227, 228, 216) (U 22).

The zigzag design is carved on the facade of the Omayyad palace at Mshatta. It is carved on the pulpit columns of the Norman-Arab pulpit of the Capella Palatina in Palermo, completed by 1140. It is carved on the water slide (şadirvan) in Sale delle Fontano of the Zisa hunting lodge at Palermo, Sicily of 1164-5⁴⁸⁸ and it is carved on the stone columns in the cloister at Monreale and on the curved lintel over the great door to the cathedral of c.1176, built, like the Zisa, within a former hunting reserve. It is employed on a mould made unglazed matara found in the Palace at Samsat and dated to the 12-13th centuries⁴⁸⁹. The zigzag motif forms part of the pattern of the brickwork of the Kılıç Arslan - Alaed-Din Köşk at Konya (c. 1220's), it is carved on the marble columns either side of the entrance to the Alaed-Din Mosque in Konya of 1219-20, carved on the keystone of the main portal of the Alaed-Din Mosque in Niğde of 1223, painted on the walls of Alanya Castle⁴⁹⁰, painted on the walls of the Seljuk palace built inside the Roman theater at Aspendos⁴⁹¹ and also above the windows of the exterior façade. It occurs on the Hıdırlık Köşkü, Antalya, also on the exterior of the Sugözü Köşkü, the Hasbahçe Köşkü and others köşks at Alanya⁴⁹² as on the Roman Cenotaph of Trajan at Selinus, that was converted into a Seljuk hunting köşk⁴⁹³. It is the pattern employed in the decoration of the Ulu-congregational Mosque, Malatya, in the spandrels of the dome and on some of the tiled columns by the main iwan of c. 1224, as also on the columns of the Sultanhan by Aksaray of 1229, as on the Sarı Han by Avanos of 1238. It is in the brick dome of the Sırçalı Mesjid in Konya of 1242 and on the limestone columns either side of its entrance; as on the columns of the portals to the Ak Han by Goncalı of 1253-4. It is carved on the columns of the Sahibiye Medrese, Kayseri of 1267, is in the brick dome of the Küçük Aya Sofya Mesjid, Akşehir of 1268, on the columns of the portal of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, Sivas of 1271, as on other Rum Seljuk buildings. A zigzag pattern was also employed for the designs on some ceramic vessels found at the Kubadabat palace, including a vase and a bowl, (Arık 2000, figs 244 and 245), in addition to those on the tile work.

There seems to be a clear connection between the use of this zigzag motif and the ruler, be it the Almighty, the Caliph, Sultan or important court figures; S. Redford remarks that paintwork of this design is "characteristic of Seljuk royal structures"⁴⁹⁴ and its employment on those structures commissioned by the Sultan and by powerful members of the Rum Seljuk court, carved, applied or painted is evident. Together with the bird of prey with two heads, this motif seems to be that which can be most closely associated with rulership, both divine, given its employment in domes of mosques etc, and temporal, defining structures such as köşk as belonging to the court.

⁴⁸⁸ Bellefiore 1994, 50. If the Norman chevron - zigzag design, employed on much Norman architecture around doorways and on columns, as at Durham Cathedral 1093-1133, was a borrowing from the Islamic world I have been unable to determine, but it seems possible, as also its use in Western heraldry of the period.

⁴⁸⁹ Bulut 1994, Res. 3, 4.

⁴⁹⁰ Arık 1989, 15, Res.12.

⁴⁹¹ Özgür 1988, 31.

⁴⁹² Redford 1996, 456, photos 6, 7. Redford 1994, 222.

⁴⁹³ Karamut 2004, 119.

⁴⁹⁴ Redford 1996, 454.

Conclusions

Although G. Öney has suggested that these tiles fall into 3 groups, those concerned with hunting, those representing fabulous beasts and a third group of human figures⁴⁹⁵, there is perhaps more that links these images than divides them. To a considerable extent, as the above 29 examples indicate, these Rum Seljuk tile motifs are a variant of the type of courtly symbolism employed on a range of materials from ivory boxes to stucco work and wall paintings, that are connected with the Islamic palace-court, with the depiction of courtiers wearing *tiraz*; to the hunt, with the depiction of both the game and birds and beasts of prey, and to the ruler-sovereign, in temporal, Caliphal and ultimate terms, within an iconography intimately linked to conceptions of rulership, ownership, legitimacy and sovereignty, which had been deployed at Islamic courts for a period of 500 years prior to the firing of these 13th century tiles, from the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphal court examples of these motifs, and with their example being sought after and actively imitated, extending outwards and including examples from courts elsewhere in the Middle East, from Andalusia, North Africa and Sicily, Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia, that incorporate elements from this collection of motifs, in part as an expression of a shared court culture, emblematic of authority and legitimacy.

The original motifs on these tiles are: the bear, the ostrich of this literary pun type, the onager-donkey of this type, this type of mastiff, the zigzag motif and the chessboard and palm trees motif and this may be the earliest surviving representation of the Divine Sun in this form⁴⁹⁶, on a tile work. There seems to have been no tradition of the representation of these four creatures in this form in the Abbasid Caliphal court tradition, while the Divine Sun image seem to have been a Rum Seljuk contribution, perhaps stemming from illustrated works of astronomy and astrology, that would be continued in the tile work of Persia and Central Asia for centuries⁴⁹⁷. The double headed bird of prey on these tiles, as elsewhere and in other materials, seem to represent a falcon rather than an eagle, if the literary references to falcons, as compared to those relating to eagles, are noted. These Rum Seljuk palace tiles are innovative, not only in terms of the novel motifs employed, given the palace tradition within which they were produced, but also because of the freshness and vibrancy with which they have been painted and glazed. The method of compilation of these motifs was probably their selection from drawings, from textiles and from illuminations in manuscripts, as, for example, the vegetation depicted on some of these tiles seems to derive from the Iraqi school, in the illuminations to various copies of Hariri's "Maqamat", as also perhaps for the winged and human faced lion and the human faced bird which are, however, rendered in a far more spirited and varied manner than is to be found in any contemporary manuscript illumination and the designers of these Rum Seljuk tiles seem to have used many of the same sources as those employed by the painters of Rakka ceramics.

⁴⁹⁵ Öney 1987, 47-8.

⁴⁹⁶ Other 13th century 8 pointed luster tiles, as from Kashan, Persia, in the Louvre, have this sun-face but half sunk beneath the back of a lion, a motif that is repeatedly used in Persia, as in the spandrels by the arch of the Shir Dor Medrese of 1619-40 in Samarkand.

⁴⁹⁷ As in the tilework of the Nadir Divan Beğ Medrese in Bukhara, of 1622, at the summit of the iwan arch.

In respect to the influence that may have been exercised by the motifs on these 13th century Rum Seljuk tiles, it is perhaps possible to suggest their influence upon works produced in the adjacent and at times tributary state of the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia. It is possible that the depictions of a winged lion with human head and a lion-like creature with a human head facing a griffon, between which appears to be a representation of a gold coin with an attempt at a cursive Arabic inscription on it and two others below, and other related motifs in the Lesser Armenian Gospels made for T'oros Roslin of 1265⁴⁹⁸; as well as the depiction of paired peacocks with intertwined necks that occur on the dedicatory page of the Lesser Armenian Gospels of 1273⁴⁹⁹, together with paired foxes-jackals and hunting and other birds, were directly drawn from this same Abbasid led court tradition of decoration and were possibly copied from Rum Seljuk examples; perhaps from these palace tiles or from examples of these motifs woven into palace tiraz textiles, either is possible, given the regular diplomatic relations between the Rum Seljuk and Lesser Armenian courts⁵⁰⁰. However, excepting the published record of treaties and tribute paid to the Seljuks in the first half of the 13th century prior to the Mongol invasion⁵⁰¹, this whole matter of possible 13th century Rum Seljuk influence upon works of art produced in the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia, and possibly visa versa in regard to sagriffito pottery for example, requires further research.

In addition to the clear reference made to the hunt, to both the game and to the birds-beasts of prey, "kiran at-tayr"; and the references to Paradise, such as indicated by the pomegranate, palm tree and peacock motifs, were these designs and figures on these tiles read in the 13th century as containing any specific religious meaning? About this it is difficult to be certain, they seem clearly to refer to the religious legitimacy to rule derived from the Sunni Abbasid Caliphate, in that many of these motifs, as also the form of star and cross tile pattern, seem to originate from, or to have been associated with, the Caliphal court in Bagdad. Those tiles depicting the double headed "falcon", the lion, the lion with a human head and the bird with a human head, as also the Divine sun-face tile, would seem clearly to have had a religious-spiritual symbolism, confirmed in the case of the double headed "falcon" by the inscriptions on its chest, and this religious-spiritual symbolism has been suggested in the quotes from the contemporary and near contemporary works cited above in the notes in reference to these motifs.

There is perhaps only one text that can be understood to include all of the motifs that appear on these tiles, that relates to a ruler and to a palace setting, to an army of birds, as on these tiles; to an army of men, as in the depictions of seated and walking courtiers in tiraz; and to an army of jinn, if the winged birds with human faces, the winged lions with human faces and the depictions of dragons-serpents can be understood as representing the jinn, to a ruler "endowed with all good things" and "rightly guided"⁵⁰²; this is, to the

⁴⁹⁸ Nersessian 1989, fig. 99, fol. 271, fig. 100, fol. 12, from the Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem, No 1956.

⁴⁹⁹ Nersessian 1989, fig.103, TSM Istanbul f. 9v-10, 142.

⁵⁰⁰ Nersessian 1989, writes of these motifs of the 1273 gospels: "dont on trouve plusieurs variantes dans l'art islamique", 142.

⁵⁰¹ Eg, T.S.R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, 1978; M. Ersan, XI Yüzyılın son çeyreğinde Çukurova'nın siyasi Durumu, in: 1. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi (2001), 309-314.

⁵⁰² Koran Sura 27 Al-Naml: 16; Sura 6 Al-An'am: 84. Even perhaps the prancing horses of Koran Sura 38 "Sad": 32, are depicted on these tiles eg, Arık 2000, 141, 142.

references made in the Koran to the Prophet Sulayman. The inscription band above these tile revetments, almost entirely missing today, may perhaps have provided some indication of this overall theme. Important rulers such as the Ghaznavid, Sultan Mahmud⁵⁰³ and the Great Seljuk Sultan Sanjar⁵⁰⁴ were described as “Sulayman-like” and this was also the case for Sultan Alaed-din Keykubat⁵⁰⁵. The extraordinary building activity of the reign of Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat the First, as in the whole of the first half of the 13th century in Rum Seljuk Anatolia, still seems today, as it must have seemed to contemporary observers, like the work of the jinn under the Prophet Sulayman’s command⁵⁰⁶, with buildings including these numerous tiled köşk and palaces⁵⁰⁷ almost springing up overnight under the direction of the “rightly guided Sultan” and the great wealth of the Sultanate, generated from taxes, particularly on the quantity of trade passing through the Sultanate, also indicated that it participated in the proverbial wealth of the Prophet Sulayman.

These 8 pointed star tiles may also have acted like a series of frame stories in “Kalila wa Dimna”, providing a series of motifs that could act as keys in accessing the many layered knowledge of a well educated courtier, they are prestigious illustrations for entertainment and pleasure, expressions of power, authority and legitimacy articulated within the 13th century religious-political construct of religion and Caliphate, perhaps also for edification and instruction. The isolation of these figures and motifs within these star tiles set them apart, they are not situated in any definable scene or setting and when viewed as a panel, however the motifs on these tiles are arranged⁵⁰⁸, they seem rich, yet altogether they form a fragmentary, seemingly disconnected series of images. This signals to, and enables the viewer to contemplate a meaning, to pass rapidly from a representation of a .., to a symbol of ..., from a form, to a meaning or to a number of meanings associated with the motif

⁵⁰³ An allusion to this Sultan drawn by Badi uz Zaman al-Hamadhani (d. 1009), Browne 1997, Vol. 2, 113.

⁵⁰⁴ An allusion to this Sultan drawn by the poet Khaqani (1106/7-1185), Browne 1997, Vol. 2, 396.

⁵⁰⁵ Bibi 1996, 1 Cilt, 232; 238, n 594, where the Sultan is described as a second Sulayman sitting on his 4 cushions on his throne and his Vizier as a second Assaf (ibn Barkhiya), to receive the envoy from the Caliph; Koran 38 Sad: 32; for Sulayman’s throne and Kennedy 2004, 147-8, for an Abbasid description of it. See also Chittick 1983 1373; 1747, from Rumi’s Divan-i Shams-i Tabrizi: “Today I am Asaf Solomon’s vizier, sword and firman in hand – I will break the neck of any who are arrogant before the king” and, “Love has made me Solomon and my tongue Asaf – how should I be tied to all these remedies and incantations?”. Ibn Bibi also describes Sultans Kılıç Arslan II, Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev and Izzed-Din Keykavas as like the Prophet Sulayman, Bibi 1996, 1 Cilt, 79, 89-90, 181, and, 20, equates the arrival of the Seljuk house to the wind of the Prophet Sulayman, as in Sura 21 Al-Anbiya: 81; and, Sura 38 Sad: 36. Later Sadi in 1258 dedicated his “Gulistan” to Atabek Sad Abu Bakr b. Sad b. Zangi, “the successor of Sulaiman” and “Heir to the Throne of Sulaiman”, continuing this tradition.

⁵⁰⁶ Rumi relates that the Prophet Sulayman was responsible for the construction of the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, Mathnavi Bk. 4, 476, 753; Bk. 6, 861ff, 4672, with the aid of the jinn and the buildings of Alaed-Din’s reign must have seemed Solomon like in their profusion, speed of construction and splendour. Also op cit n. 295, 285, 315, 385, 399, 411 for other references to Sulayman.

⁵⁰⁷ The parallel with Sulayman’s palace, Koran Sura 27 al-Naml: 44, where the Queen of Sheba mistakes a glass floor for a pool of water, extends to the glass mosaic floor of Palace B at Raqqa of Harun al-Rashid (786-809) Milwright 2001, 101 n 95; also to the pool of mercury, a feature of Artukid, Rum Seljuk and other palaces of rulers in the Islamic world, eg that in the palace of Khumarawayh (884-95) in Old Cairo, where air filled leather cushions, moored by siken ropes to silver columns, supported the Sultan and others as they floated upon this pool of mercury, Hitti 1991, 454, and at the 10th century palace of al-Madina al-Zahra, by Cordoba, Irwin 1997, 121. For the probable flasks for mercury from Kubadabad see Arık 2000 177-8 and for mercury mining in Cordoba and Farghana see: Islamic technology, A. Y. al-Hassan & D. R. Hill 1986, 235-6, and for its use in mercury escarpments for clock automata from the 10th century onwards, 57.

⁵⁰⁸ For “insitu” tiles see Arık 2002, 265.

represented on a tile. The use of repeat designs on these star tiles, with slight variations from tile to tile, framed by the cross tiles, all gleaming, glazed and radiant, set within these tiled panels, re-echoing within the eye and mind of the viewer at court, in köşk after köşk and in palaces, in glowing lamplight, in the presence of the Sultan, indicated the wealth, the richness, the court tradition and the legitimacy of the 13th century Rum Seljuk court under Sultans Alaeddin Keykubat and Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II prior to the Mongol invasion, establishing in the mind of courtier and guest alike that they were at the court of the “Sulayman of the age”.

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Özet

Antalya İli ve Anadolu'da Ele Geçen 13. Yüzyıl Anadolu Selçuklu Sekiz Kollu Yıldız Çinilerinde Görülen Motifler Üzerine Bir Yorum Denemesi

Antalya İli'nde Aspendos, Alanya ve başka yerlerde ve de Anadolu Selçuklu ülkesindeki diğer saray ve köşkların duvar iç yüzeylerinde bulunan ve 1220 ile 1250 yılları arasında üretilmiş sekiz kollu yıldız çiniler ve haçvari çinilerin kontekste oturtulması bu makalenin konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Bu çinilerde görülen bazı motifler üzerine bir yorum ve söz konusu yapılarda 2 m. yükseklikte çini kaplamasında görülen bu motif gruplarının bütünü üzerine bir açıklama önerilmektedir. Önerilen yorum, dönemin kaynaklarına, Kur'an-ı Kerim'den ve Nizamü'l-Mülk, Ahmed Gazali, Feridüddin Attar, Muhyiddin ibn Arabi, Celaleddin Rumi ve İbn-i Bibi'den alıntılara dayanmaktadır. Yazımız kısa bir girişi izleyen iki ana bölümden ve bunları izleyen sonuç önerilerinden oluşmaktadır; birinci ana bölümde kontekst, ikinci ana bölümde ise motifler irdelenmektedir.

Birinci ana bölüm beş kısma ayrılmıştır. Birinci olarak, bir kısmı bu tür çini kaplamayla bezeli Anadolu Selçuklu ülkesindeki köşk ve saraylar, ve de daha geniş çerçevede Büyük Selçuklu ülkesindeki köşk ve saraylar irdelenmektedir. İkinci olarak, hem dönemin saray yaşantısının ayrılmaz parçası ve iktidar ve egemenliğin ifadesi olarak, hem de savaş hazırlığı amacıyla bir savaş oyunu ve sofraya gelecek yemeğin kaynağı olarak av konusu irdelenmektedir. Sultanın avı, eğitilmiş kuşlar ve av hayvanlarıyla, saraylar ve av köşkları üzerinde odaklanmıştır: şahinler, arktik şahin (lat. hierofalco) doğanlar, mastırlar, tazılar ve diğer köpekler bu çinilerin üzerinde görülen motif gruplarının bir kısmını oluşturmakta; diğer yandan ayı, dağ aslanı, devekuşu, yaban eşiğı, toy kuşu ve çeşitli yaban tavukları gibi av hayvanları görülmektedir. Avın kendine özel memurları ve uygulamaları vardı. Ayrıca av, o dönemde ruhani arayışı tanımlamak için kullanılan bir mecaz olarak da çağdaş kaynaklardan alıntılarla incelenmektedir. Üçüncü olarak, kökeni Halife, sultanlar, emirler, saraylılar, yüksek memurlara ve diplomatik hediye olarak üretilen dokumalar için desen ve yazıları hazırlayan Şam merkezli Geç Emevi Dönemi ve ertesinde Bağdat merkezli Abbasi tiraz atölyelerine kadar uzanan saray tasarım sistemi irdelenmektedir. Tiraz atölyelerinin kullandığı motifler, her sarayın kendi nakkaşhane-atölyesi ile birlikte hem yazı hem de Sasani ve Bizans motiflerinin yeniden işlenmesiyle gelişen görsel motifler-semboller çeşitliliğı için ortak bir repertuar geliştirilmesinde kilit rolü üstlenen kurumlardı. Bu motiflerin ve varyantlarının gelişmesi büyük oranda Halife sarayı merkezliydi. Dördüncü kısımda ise bir saraylı, dönemin bir has beyi olmanın gerekleri üzerinde durularak bu çinilerle bezeli sarayların entelektüel çerçevesi ve bu çinilerin tadını çıkartan kültür irdelenmektedir. Bu konuda *Siyasetname*, *Kelile ve Dimne* ve ilgili saray literatürüne atıfta bulunmaktadır. Beşinci kısımda, sekiz kollu yıldız ve haç kombinasyonunun stuko, pişmiş toprak ve sırlı çini tekniklerinde ve incelediğimiz örneklerden daha önce Kuzey Afrika, Sicilya, Mısır ve Orta

Asya'da üretilmiş ve günümüze ulaşmış örnekleri incelenip, saraylar, köşkler ve kervansaraylar, cami, minare ve türbelerle ilintili desen repertuarının bir parçası olduğu öne sürülmektedir.

İkinci ana bölümde söz konusu yıldız çinilerde görülen motiflerin bir kısmı üzerinde değişen uzunluklarda notlar yer almaktadır. Bu notlar, bu motif tipinin daha geniş bir coğrafyada daha önceki kullanımlarını göstermekte ve bir iki istisna haricinde doğrudan kopyalama olduğunu değil, bilakis aynı sembolik repertuarın kullanımına işaret etmektedir. Ayrıca bu motiflerin sembol olarak yüklendikleri bazı anlamlar hem çağdaş, hem de 13. yy. Selçuklu Anadolu'sunda bilinen daha erken tarihli metinler çerçevesinde irdelenmektedir. Söz konusu motifler için R. Arık'ın *Kubad Abad* (2000) adlı yapıtı ile İ. Ünal'ın "Antalya ilindeki seramikler" başlıklı makalesindeki (1974) fotoğraflar referans olarak verilmektedir. Köşk ve saray çini kaplamalarında kullanılan 29 motif tartışılmaktadır: "kartal", çift başlı avcı kuş, doğan-şahin, toy kuşu, insan yüzlü kuş, insan yüzlü aslan, aslan, tirazlı saray kostümlü oturan figür, elinde nar tutan saraylı ve nar motifi, hayvan tutan ve yürür halde betimlenmiş saraylılar, tavus kuşu, hurma ağacı, grifon, ejder-yılan motifi, güneş-yüz, kuş çiftleri, tek kuşlar, ördek, balık, haşhaş, deve, av köpekleri, tilki-çakal-kurt, yabani tavşan, ayı, yaban eşiği-eşek, devekuşu, dama tahtası motifi, ve V-zigzag motifi. Genelde "çift başlı kartal" olarak adlandırılan motifin belki de çift başlı avcı kuş olarak adlandırılması gerektiği belirtilmektedir. Bu avcı kuş muhtemelen bir şahin olmalıdır çünkü dönemin literatüründe şahine çok sayıda atıf yapılmaktadır ve Peygamber'in kendi sancağındaki kartal tek başlıdır. Ukab adlı bu özel sancaktaki kartala daha sonraki bir Müslüman yönetici tarafından ikinci bir baş eklenmesi pek akılcı görünmemektedir. Aslan ise genellikle İslamiyet'in, İslami ruhun ve de Hz. Ali'nin bir simgesi olarak algılanmıştır. Tavuskuşu da Cennet'in bir sembolüdür. Hurma ağacı motifi ise Kur'an-ı Kerim, Celaleddin Rumi ve İbn-i Arabi'ye dayanılarak müminleri, İslamiyet'in peygamberini, ve Cennet'teki adı bilinen ağaçlardan birini sembolize ettiği düşünülmektedir.

Sonuç bölümünde şu hususlara dikkat çekilmektedir: bu motiflerin kaynağı avdır; ayı, yaban eşiği, bu tip mastı, bu tip cinaslı devekuşu, "tanrısal güneş", zigzag motifi orijinaldir ve dahası bu çinilerde görülen dama tahtası ve hurma ağacı motifleri daha geniş bir coğrafyada öncülü görülme-yen motifler olup çini sanatı motifleri saray repertuarına orijinal Anadolu Selçuklu katkısı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Ayrıca bu motiflerin kullanımıyla I. Alaaddin Keykubad ve II. Gıyâsuddin Keyhüsrev'in saltanat dönemlerinde Anadolu Selçuklu otoritesine ve meşruiyetine yapılan atıflara da dikkat çekilmektedir. Burada bu motiflerin bir bütün olarak Sultanı, dönemin Hz. Süleyman'ı olarak gösterdiği, Hz. Süleyman'ın ordusunun ise tirazlı saraylılar ile, kuşlar ordusunun bu çinilerde betimlendiği şekilde ve cinler ordusunun ise ejder-yılan motifi ve de insan yüzlü kuşlar ve kanatlı aslanlarla betimlendiği önerilmektedir. "Süleyman'ın mührü" motifi ve ejder-yılan motifinin ise bir yapı veya nesneyi bir "cin işi", bir harika olarak ifade etmek üzere kullanıldığına atıfta bulunmaktadır. Sultan I. Alâeddin Keykubad ile Hz. Süleyman arasındaki ilintiye dönemin sekreteri ve vakayinüvisi İbn-i Bibi'nin kaleme aldığı şekliyle ve Moğol işgalleri öncesinde Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti'ndeki cin gibi hızlı bayındırlık faaliyetlerine dikkat çekilmektedir. Bize göre, 13. yy. çinilerinde görülen bu motifler Hz. Süleyman'ı Anadolu Selçuklu Sultanı I. Alaaddin Keykubad'a bağlamakta ve sultanın kendisini Hz. Süleyman gibi gördüğü, sarayındakiler ve saraya gelen konuklar – örneğin Bağdat'taki halife tarafından veya başka yerlerden gönderilen elçiler – tarafından dönemin Hz. Süleyman'ı gibi algılanmak istediğini akla getirmektedir.

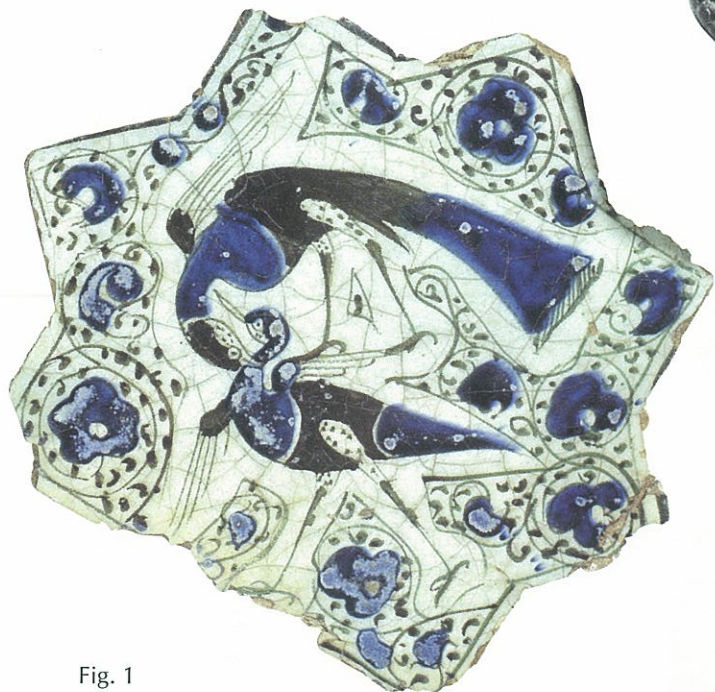


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10