

ADALYA



SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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A 13th century profile portrait seal depicting the face of the Rum Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I (1220-37) from Antalya Province - precedents and possible influence

T. M. P. DUGGAN*

This article is divided into three parts, the first part concerns a lead portrait seal impression, why it is suggested that this seal impression depicts the actual face of the Sultan and comparisons are drawn with some related material; the second part concerns the tradition of naturalistic portraiture to which it is suggested this seal belongs, and thirdly the suggestion is made of the possible influence of this type of Rum Seljuk representation upon the profile portraiture of the Early Italian Renaissance.

The lead portrait seal impression, today in the Antalya Museum's numismatic collection with the inventory number B 112¹, was found at Karaköy Castle (Alaeddin Kale)² in the Gündoğmuş district of Antalya Province in 2000³. It has a diameter of 25 mms., is 4 mms. thick and weighs 15.8 grams. This lead seal impression or bulla seems to comprise of two separate blanks (Fig. 3), between which passed a metal thread or cord that was attached to the document or package. It thus appears to differ from both contemporary Rum Seljuk⁴ and Byzantine bivalve lead seals that were pressed from a single cast lead blank that incorporated a wire, that was then extracted to allow the insertion of the cord; although the Byzantine pressed gold imitation medallions of the 6th-7th c. were of two disks joined together, the medallions themselves were cast, and also the gold bullae that issued from the Byzantine chancery from the mid 11th century onwards, consisted of two roundels of gold soldered together and which from the 14th century onwards consisted of two thin sheets

* T. M. P. Duggan, Gençlik Mah., 1315 Sok., Ekin Apt., Daire 3/7 Antalya.

¹ I would like to thank the Culture and Tourism Ministry of the Turkish Republic, The General Directorate of Museums and Cultural Administration for the permission to publish this seal. I am also indebted to the staff of the Antalya Archaeological Museum for their assistance and in particular to Sn. Azize Yener, Sn. Ünal Çınar and Sn. Ferhan Büyükyörük; as also to Doç. Dr. K. Bilici, Hamid Efendi and Yrd. Doç. Dr. A. Demirpolat.

² Seyirci 2001, 267-9, 575-7 Res. 1, 5, 6.

³ It was said that perhaps 16 or 11 other seals of a similar kind were found at the same time and place as this one, but that these other examples were not handed over to the Antalya Museum. I cannot confirm this rumor, nor can I provide any information concerning the whereabouts of these other Rum Seljuk seals if they in fact exist. My thanks to Sn. Tufan Karasu of Alanya for conveying to me the rumor of the find of these other seals which, for the reasons mentioned below, is plausible. It is noteworthy that this example was neither defaced nor melted down, perhaps indicating respect for this portrait image, particularly if it was found together with other intact examples.

⁴ A. Özme states the Rum Seljuk lead seal found at Kubadabad discussed below was pressed from a single lead blank made using the same method as Byzantine lead seals, Özme 2006, 566, although photo 16b, Uysal 2001, seems to indicate a seam, possibly suggesting it was, like this one, made from two blanks joined together.

of gold held together by wax⁵. Once the ends of the metal thread or cord were placed between the two lead blanks, the whole ensemble was then pressed together with sufficient force to join the blanks, leaving an indented seam around the seal and implying that the inner faces of the blanks were joined by a molten drop of lead before being pressed together, which secured the metal thread or cord in place. The images and inscriptions were imparted to both blank faces from the negative cast dies, probably set in an iron⁶ “boulloteria”, which was struck with a hammer to produce this lead seal impression. The seal was slightly distorted when the cord or metal thread was pulled from it to open the document or package. When found, some traces of red wax were to be seen on its surface and one can be certain that this seal, together with the exposed metal thread or cord that once connected the seal to the item it secured and authenticated, was originally completely covered with red wax with the intent to expose any attempt at illegal tampering, as was also the case for Byzantine and other lead seals⁷.

The negative cast bivalve dies produced a seal impression with, on one face, a profile portrait of a bare head and neck of a male figure, turned to the left, having a distinctive nose, a wide rather than narrow eye, a well trimmed beard, a thick moustache, quite a tall neck and with the long hair obscuring all but the lobe of the ear, collected and bound in a “topuz”, a bun of hair, at the side of the head, (Fig 1). The portrait field has a diameter of 13 mms.

Although it is impossible to prove beyond all possible doubt that this low relief portrait image on this seal is that of the Sultan himself, it seems reasonable to suggest that this is the case for the reasons that are given below. Given the distinctive individual features that are depicted in this profile portrait: the large straight nose, the thick moustache extending to the corner of the mouth, the wide eye, the bare head, the line from the apex of the chin to the neck suggesting the absence of a thick beard, but with a clear thin line of sideburn that extends downwards across the cheek from directly above the top of the ear lobe, marked by parallel indentations, to a well trimmed growth of beard in comparison with the full moustache, and with the long hair bound into a bun, perhaps plaited, forming a topuz on both sides of the head, the bun of hair perhaps enclosed by some decoration, this seal impression carries what can be characterized as a strong and distinctive portrait of an individual. It depicts an individual who appears to be neither a youth nor a young man, nor yet an old man, but rather to depict someone in middle age, perhaps in his 30's.

These distinguishing features suggest the obverse of this seal impression carries a depiction of a particular individual likeness and the particularity of the features seems sufficient to suggest that the negative die, from which this seal impression was struck, was

⁵ M. C. Ross, “A Byzantine Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks”, 247-261 in, *D.O.P.*, Vol. 11, 1957, 260 for these imitation medallions; Kazhdan 1991, 1859. The chrysobull of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425-48) d. 38 mms. is of two gold disks joined by wax, it carries a standing frontal portrait, Talbot 2004, Cat. No. 8. A 14th century example, the chrysobull of the Despot of Epirus, Thomas, dated to 1313-18, in the B.M., London, was made from two disks of gold, the larger disk folded over the smaller, carrying a frontal full length portrait of the Despot, d. 32.7 mms., Buckton 1994, Cat. No. 214, 198-9; Talbot 2004, Cat. No. 9; while the chrysobull of Czar Constantine Asen, dated to after 1268, d. 38 mms. has a standing frontal portrait and another, in the I.A. Museum, Sofia, d. 34 mms. Talbot 2004, Cat. No. 10. The lead seal of David Komnenos of Trebizond (1204-14) d. 39 mms. has a frontal portrait of the Prophet David; while the lead seal of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328), d. 30 mms. has a frontal depiction of Christ, Talbot 2004, Cat. Nos. 7f 7b.

⁶ Given the repeated use of iron dies employed to mint coinage, eg. Ibn Khaldun 2005, 179, 216-7, as also for the dies and boulloteria for Byzantine seals, Kazhdan 1991, 1858. Rum Seljuk boulloteria have not been found.

⁷ Kazhdan 1991, 1858-60.

made by copying a portrait drawing that had been drawn from life to make a wax original⁸ positive low relief from which, through a three stage process, the negative die was cast. It is the particularity of the features that distinguish this seal portrait from the more usual idealized depiction of the enthroned, seated or mounted ruler as a type common in the Islamic world, depicted in contemporary illuminated manuscript frontispieces⁹ and other illuminations¹⁰, on ceramics¹¹, ivories and frequently on metal-ware¹², on coins¹³ and on woodwork¹⁴ as in other media. The ruler as a type in this period is usually depicted with a fuller beard and sideburns, has a moustache, a far less prominent nose so far as one can tell, wears a head covering of some type, a turban, a “qalansuwa”-“kulah”, a bōrk or a crown, “taj”¹⁵, rather than being bareheaded with a topuz, and is shown in a frontal or three-quarters depiction of the face rather than, as is the case with this seal impression, in profile. Further, distinct from the conventional narrow eye type characteristic of the majority of all depictions of the faces of rulers, members of court and of many other faces in surviving 13th c. illuminated manuscripts, on Seljuk period metalwork, on most carved stonework and ceramics, the form of the eye depicted on this seal is not of a narrow type but is rather wide. Consequently, this profile portrait can be understood to depict a particular contemporary personage.

⁸ Jelalad-Din Rumi describes a bird made from wax, *Discourses of Rumi, Fih ma fih*, A. J. Arberry (1977) 117, and it melting and given his contacts with *nakkaş*, this passage may allude to a wax original made for casting.

⁹ See for example the frontal and three-quarters depictions of rulers with beard and moustache on surviving manuscript frontispieces such as: to a Rum Seljuk later 13th c. copy in Persian of “*Kalila wa Dimna*” T.S.M, H.363, 1b, 2a, defaced but is a frontal depiction tilted to the right, f. 6a, a frontal portrait of an enthroned ruler, Rogers - Çağman - Tanındı (1986) 51. The ruler, Badr al-Din Lu’lu, Atabeg of Mosul, 1211-59 is depicted on 5 of the surviving frontispieces from the 1215-19 Mosul copy of Abu’l-Faraj al-Isfahani (c. 897-967)’s *Kitab al-Aghani*. The frontispiece to the “*Kitab al-Diryaq*”, “*Book of Poison Antidotes*”, the “*Theriaka*” by Nicander, known as the Pseudo-Galen, a mid-13th c. copy from Mosul, today in the Nat. Bib. Vienna Cod AF 10, fol. 1, that depicts an seated ruler head turned three quarters with beard and moustache and narrow eyes, wearing a fur trimmed brimless cap and surrounding court on its frontispiece; the frontispieces of the 1237 copy of al-Hariri of Basra (1054-1122)’s “*Maqamat*”, Paris, Bib. Nat. Arabe 5847 and of the 1334 copy today in the Nat. Bib. Vienna, AF, 9, fol. 1r., both of which depict enthroned rulers as a type. These depictions of rulers lack the individualization of a portrait drawn from life, which was not in any case the intent of the designers or the painters of these frontispieces.

¹⁰ See for example the seated cross legged ruler in al-Jaziri’s depiction of a mechanical boat, Atl 1975, Cat. No. 47; a later example, from a Greek mss. being the early 15th c. portrait of the Dulghadir Oğulları Melik Arslan b. Sulayman (r. 1454-65), brother-in-law of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror, seated with a wand of office in his hand and wearing a garment of white emblazoned with red, single headed birds of prey, c. 1449, Bib. Naz. Marciana, Venice, Gr. 516, f. 3r.

¹¹ Eg. in a 13th c. minai bowl, that mainly follows the model of the 975 medallion of the Caliph al-Ta’i; Dimand 1947, fig. 118; as also on an 8 pointed luster star tile from Kashan dated 1211-12; Dimand 1947, fig. 117; as seems probable on a damaged 8 pointed minai star tile from the Alaeddin Köşk, Konya, today in the TIEM İstanbul.

¹² Eg., on an 11th c. Great Seljuk silver bowl, Ettinghausen-Graber 1994, fig. 362; in an engraved circular medallion on an spherical incense burner brass, mid 11th c. (goblet here held in the left hand), Ölçer 2005, Cat. No. 46; as also on many contemporary Syrian inlaid vessels.

¹³ See for example the bronze fals of the Ayyubid, al-Malik an-Nasir I Salah-ad-Din (1169-93), Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 699, of 1190; as also of al-Ashraf Musa’s (1210-20), minted at Myyafariqin (Silvan) in 1215-16 Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 777, that also shows the ruler seated, cross legged with a frontal depiction of the face, as is the case with the coins minted by the Artukid rulers, Husam ad-Din Yülük Arslan (1184-1200) and Nasir-ad-Din Artuq Arslan (c.1201-39) of 1230, Şentürk - Johnson 1994, Cat. Nos. 25, 30; Artuk - Artuk 1993, Cat. Nos. 98, 99, 100, 102. Also, Barry 2004, 55-66, where the continuity of the iconographic tradition of representations of the attributes of the ruler, dating from the Sassanid past into the 14th century is described and which was repeated later, as in Ra’is Haydar (Nigari)’s portrait of Sultan Selim II, Falk 1985, Cat. No. 106.

¹⁴ Eg. on a Fatimid 11th c. carved wooden plank, Ettinghausen - Graber 1994, fig. 195.

¹⁵ See Z. İndirkaş, “A look at the Seljuks crown tradition”, in, 1. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi, cilt 1 (2001) 397-406.

The combination of the long hair¹⁶ and “topuz”, together with the thin and sharply trimmed sideburn to the well trimmed beard contrasting with the thick moustache, would indicate that this portrait is probably not a copy of any profile portrait that had been minted on Classical, Hellenistic, Roman¹⁷, Sassanid, Early Byzantine or Latin coinage, although it follows the same basic profile portrait type common to these coinages.

Further, the profile portrait on this lead seal is enclosed by the name and titles of the Sultan (see below), and it would be passing strange, as this seems to be a depiction of a contemporary figure who could be in his thirties, Alaed-Din Keykubat was born about 1190¹⁸ and from the inscription around the portrait it is suggested that this seal impression dates from the third decade of the 13th c., were it not to be a depiction of the ruler himself, but a portrait of some other contemporary male thirty year old figure surrounded by Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat’s own titles. Evidence of the relatively frequent occurrence of drawn from life, naturalistic portraiture, of the making of portraits from life at court and in urban centers of 13th c. Rum Seljuk Anatolia, which formed part of a tradition common to other parts of the Islamic world, as outlined in part II below, was quite distinct from the frequently encountered depiction of the ruler as a type, and this seal provides a unique intact example from 13th c. Rum Seljuk Anatolia of this naturalistic, largely court based portrait tradition.

The other face of this seal impression depicts a lion, moving to the left, but with the head looking backwards, the mouth open in a roar. The lion’s front paws reach forward, while both rear paws are on the ground and its tail curls into the air (Fig. 2).

The negative dies to produce this seal were probably cast in Konya or Sivas, the main mint and quality metal working centers of the Sultanate, where the skilled craftsmen able to cast these negative dies were to be found, probably within the court’s own design studios, “nakkaşhane”, where the wax originals were sculpted¹⁹. The image upon each face of this seal impression is encircled by an Arabic inscription like an inscription in a tiraz band, between inner and outer plain borders, and the two concentric fields on each face resemble the type of dinar minted by the Sultan in the 1230’s²⁰.

The inscriptions on the seal²¹

Obverse inscription:

السلطان المعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين كيقباز بن كيخسرو

The inscription around the portrait on the obverse reads: “As-Sultan al-Muazzam Ala al-Dunya wa’d-Din Keykubadh bin Keykhusraw”, “The Great Sultan, Eminent of the World and of the Religion, Keykubat, the son of Keyhusrev”, that is Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I,

¹⁶ For the long hair, beard and moustache, M. A. Köyman, “Turkish clothes during the time of Alp Arslan”, *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* III, 1971, 51-90

¹⁷ The complete absence of any indication of a wreath, filet, or diadem, with its typically trailing ends, helmet or a crown, together with the *topuz*, suggests this seal impression does not copy of any Hellenistic or Roman Imperial coin type.

¹⁸ Uyumaz 2006, 107.

¹⁹ Duggan 2006, 165-74.

²⁰ Şentürk - Özpallabıyıklar 2004, 349 Env. Nos. 8450, 8451.

²¹ I wish to record my gratitude to Doç. Dr. Z. Kenan Bilici for his reading of these inscriptions on this seal and he will be publishing these inscriptions fully.

son of Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev I. This is exactly the same inscription as was struck on the obverse of the Kayseri dinar of 1221, on the reverse of the Konya dinar of 1222 and the Sivas dinar of 1227-8 as also on the dirhams minted in Konya in 1220, 1223, 1228, in Kayseri in 1220 and in Sivas in 1226-7²². The 25 mms. diameter of this seal impression is the same as one of Alaed-Din Keykubat's gold dinars, that range in size from 22-25 mms. linking both text on the inscription and the size of the seal with a dinar.

Reverse inscription:

السلطان المعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح كيقباز بن كيوخسرو

The inscription around the lion on the reverse reads: "As-Sultan al-Muazzam Ala al-Dunya wa'd-Din Abu'l Fath Keykubadh bin Keyhusraw". The additional title on this face of the seal, "Abu'l Fath", "The Conqueror-Father of Conquest", indicates this seal dates to the period after the Sultan's conquest of Alanya in 1221 when he gained the title "Abu'l Fath"²³. This same group of titles appears upon other inscriptions that have been firmly dated to the period 1221-8²⁴ and this inscription also occurs on the reverse of the dinars minted in Sivas in 1223, 1225, 1226 and on dirhams from Konya 1221, 1222 and Sivas 1227-8²⁵. This seal therefore probably dates to the period between 1221 and 1228. The reverse of this seal impression, rather than naming the Caliph as on one face of a dinar, has instead the Abbasid Caliphate's symbol the lion (see below).

Site of the seal's discovery

Karaköy or "Alaeddin" Castle by Bedan village in the Gundoğmuş district of Antalya Province where this seal, and perhaps others were found²⁶ (Fig. 4), lies on the former Seljuk postal-"barid" road along the course of the Alara river between Konya, via Hadim, Karaköy Castle, Alara Castle, köşk (c. 1224-5) and Han (1231), and then eastwards to Şarafaş han (1236-46) and Alanya, Palace erected 1221-3²⁷ or westwards via Manavgat and Aspendos, to Antalya. This became a vital communications route for the Seljuk state, following the conquest from the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia of the port-city of Alanya and then of Alara Castle by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I in 1221 and his decision to repeatedly use the Antalya-Alanya region as winter quarters for his court because the Alanya region is separated by the Tauros Mountain ranges from the main Rum Seljuk capital of Konya, as also from the rest of his extensive domains. In winter quarters in this relatively isolated region for months at a time, unless communications and the flow of information and news was maintained with the regions north of the Tauros Mountains, serious trouble could rapidly result and the business of government could not be conducted, nor could the authority of the ruler be upheld in its absence. Karaköy Castle seems to have surrendered to Seljuk forces consequent upon the capitulation of Alanya and Alara Castle²⁸. A Seljuk tiled köşk

²² See Şentürk - Özpalabıyıklar 2004, Env. Nos. 8447, 8449; Erkiletlioğlu - Güler 1996, Cat. Nos. 162, 175, 176, 184, 201, 222.

²³ Bilici 1996, 86-89.

²⁴ Lloyd - Rice 1958, inscriptions Nos. 12 and 13, of 1226 and No. 17 dated 1227 at Alanya.

²⁵ Şentürk - Özpalabıyıklar 2004, Env. No. 8448; Erkiletlioğlu - Güler 1996, Cat. Nos. 164, 165, 179, 182, 198.

²⁶ See above, fn. 4.

²⁷ Bilici 1996, 91.

²⁸ K. Bilici, "Alanya'nın Fethi Meselesi: Bir Tesbit", Adalya IV, 1999-2000, 287-92; Boase 1978, 23, 25, 150. Baron Michael held Manavgat and Alara, in the 1198 list of Cilician Barons, Boase 1978, 146-7, and it seems probable he

seems then to have been erected within its fortified walls²⁹, probably used by the Sultan to hunt from, as well as a place for entertainment in the course of his peregrinations. The castle would have served not only as a post station and also housed a garrison guarding this important route, but also stored quantities of requisitioned fodder and provisions, both for the post horses and riders, and for the visits of the Sultan and his considerable entourage on horseback including the Sultan's guard, band and banner holders, falconers and courtiers and for the caravans of pack animals carrying the necessary clothing, furnishing items, kitchen equipment, and state archives, that passed repeatedly from Konya to Alanya and from Alanya to Konya.

Hassan ibn Ali of Tus, the Great Seljuk Vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1018-92) was explicit as to the importance of the flow of information, public and sealed diplomatic and private correspondence with the Sultan wherever he was to be found. He records: "it must be entrusted to the hands and tongues and pens of men who are completely above suspicion and without self-interest, for the weal and woe of the country depends on them. They must be directly responsible to the king(sic) and not to anyone else; and they must receive their monthly salaries regularly from the treasury so they may do their work without any worries, and nobody but the king(sic) should know what they report. In this way the king(sic) will know of every event that takes place and will be able to give out his orders as appropriate, meting out unexpected reward, punishment or commendation to the persons concerned...Thus the employment of intelligence agents and reporters contributes to the justice, vigilance and prudence of the king(sic), and to the prosperity of the country."³⁰ He devotes an entire chapter of his "Siyasetname", which was carefully read and formed an exemplar for Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat³¹, to the importance of this system of intelligence and news gathering, and written and sealed dispatches and a smaller chapter to the couriers posted along the principle highways who also formed a part of this information/intelligence network; yet another chapter to the danger of the sultan issuing orders in an intoxicated state³², of the personal delivery of a message by a single trustworthy person and of the message's subsequent confirmation by the Sultan, before any order contained in the message is carried out, as also a chapter to the importance of the supplies of fodder at post houses and at halting places along the Sultan's route³³. His "rules for government" were well known and followed by Rum Seljuk rulers, as also in part, by the later Mongol-

also had possession of Karaköy Castle at that time. Alara Castle is missing from Boase's gazetteer but Karaköy is mentioned. Also Lloyd - Rice 1958, 4.

²⁹ Seyirci 2001, 268-9.

³⁰ Darke 1978, 64.

³¹ Ibn Bibi 1996, cilt 1, 246, together with Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's (1058-9-1111) *Alchemy of Happiness*, *Kimya-yi Saadet* and the *Qabus-Nameh* of c. 1082.

³² Ibn Bibi remarks on Alaed-Din's practice of giving messages in a state of ritual purity, following Nizam al-Mulk's example, Ibn Bibi 1996, cilt 1, 246; Darke 1978, 88.

³³ Darke 1978, 63-71, Ch. X, entitled, "Concerning intelligence agents and reporters and (their importance in) administering the affairs of the country", Ch. XIII, "On sending spies and using them for the good of the country and people", 74-87, Ch. XVI, "Concerning constant employment of couriers and flyers", 87, Ch. XV, "On being careful about messages in drunkenness and sobriety", 88, and Ch. XXII, "On keeping fodder ready at posting-houses and stopping places", 98-99. Messages from the frontier were sent rapidly to the court, announcing the arrival of ambassadors, are also mentioned, 95. All of these activities involved the employment of verbal or of sealed messages. The exception noted by Nizam al-Mulk being the Great Seljuk Sultan Muhammad Alp Arslan's refusal to use intelligencers to spy upon his favorites, Darke 1978, 71.

Ilkhanid overlords in Anatolia as elsewhere³⁴. It seems reasonable to suggest that the find of this portrait seal and possibly others at this location may relate to sealed personal orders issued by the Sultan to the commander of the castle, perhaps to make the necessary preparations for his visits.

Finds of other Rum Seljuk seals

The closest parallel lead Rum Seljuk seal to have been found and published to date was recovered at Kubadabad by the Little Palace, “Küçük Saray”, in 1990³⁵. It carries on its obverse a head and shoulders portrait of a male head looking to the right (Fig. 5 and 6), wearing a cloak and perhaps also has a topuz, a bun of hair at the back of the head, and seems to wear a low fez-like börk³⁶ head covering, perhaps with a “kaşbaskı”, a band around it; the face is bearded and has a large, distinctive nose, but the image is poorly preserved³⁷. On the reverse is depicted a crouching lion, facing towards the right, near forepaw on the ground, far forepaw extended forward, tail raised behind the mid-back, tail curved towards its tip, body and head damaged (Fig. 7). The inscription around the portrait on the obverse is partially legible: “Sultanü'l-mu'azzam Alaeddin...” and around the lion on the reverse: “E's-sultanü'l-mu'azzam Alau'd-dünya ve'd-din ebu'l-feth Keykubad bin Keyhüsrev”³⁸, the inscription on the obverse of this seal differing from that from Karaköy Castle but the inscription on the reverse corresponding exactly, with the title, “Abu'l Fath”, likewise placed around the lion on the reverse.

If the identification of the better preserved profile portrait on the Karaköy seal impression as the Sultan is correct, then this profile portrait should also be understood to have been made from another portrait drawn of this Sultan, both exhibiting the same distinctive nose, a tall, rather than short neck and long hair collected in a topuz. The differences between them being that the Kubadabad example is a profile portrait looking to the right that includes the shoulders rather than ending with the neck, the shoulders are covered by a thick garment and the head seems to have a fez-like börk covering rather than being bare headed. The fact that two different naturalistic profile portraits were drawn of the

³⁴ For the post (yam) and post-houses and requisitions from them, and road guards under the Ilkhans see A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia-A study of land tenure and land revenue administration*, 1953, 82, 91-92; I. P. Petrushevsky, “The socio-economic condition of Iran under the Il-Khans”, 483-537 in, J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, 1968, 535-6 on the “yam-barid” obligations, both prior to and during Ilkhanid rule; B. Spuler, *The Muslim World-A Historical Survey*, Part II, *The Mongol Period*, F. R. C. Bagley (trans.) (1960) 17, 37. For those under the Ghaznavids, Bosworth 1973, 93, and for the “Diwan-i Risalat”, the correspondence dept, of its migrations with its archives of documents with the sultan and it being established in a tent as close to the sultan's as possible, idem 1973, 91.

³⁵ Env. no.: 90.XL-BB.159. Ank 1992, 111, where it is described as, “in the Roman style”, figs. 30, 31; Oikonomides, Vol. 6. 1999, 73, “*presumably of the 13th century*”; Ank 2000, fig. 276, 210, where this portrait is described as “*Roma portrelerine benzer büst*”, “like a Roman portrait bust”; Ank 2001, 29; Uysal 2001, 394-5, where this portrait is again described as, “*Roma tarzında bir portre*”, “a Roman style portrait”, 614 Res. 16a, 16b. None of these publications provide the dimensions of this seal, but it is said to be of a similar size.

³⁶ Similar in type to that depicted on the head of Bayram Gür on a minai tile of Bahram Gür and Leila hunting, Koyunoğlu Col. Konya, probably from the Alaeddin Palace, Konya; or that on the head of the kneeling figure to the right of the Ghavnavid Sultan Bahramshah, T.S.M. Hazine 363, f. 6a, Pancaroğlu 2005, 85, as also worn by some of the figures in the Varka and Gulshah miniatures, round rather than angled like that depicted on the head of a seated figure holding a pommegranate, on a Seljuk stone relief carving in the I.M.M.M. Konya, Env. No. 885.

³⁷ The features are described by Uysal ibid, “*Figürün başı profilden verilmiş olup, sakallıdır. Yüze göre iri sayılabilecek bir burnu vardır. Omuzlar cepheaden tasvir edilmiştir.*”.

³⁸ Uysal 2001, 394.

same Sultan in the space of about 7 years, 1221-8, that formed the models for these seal impression portraits, indicates the regular practice at the Rum Seljuk court of naturalistic portraiture.

Another lead seal measuring 23 to 24.2 mms. in diameter, and 3.5 to 3.7 mms. thick, so having similar dimensions to these portrait seals, carries the inscription on one face: "Sultan-ül muazzam Keykubad ibn Keyhüsrev" and on the other, "El-imam'ül Nasirüd'din emir-ül müminin". It was found in excavations at Alanya castle in 1986³⁹ and dates to the period between 1221 when the city was taken and 1225 (h. 622) when al-Zahir succeeded al-Nasir as Abbasid Caliph, but there is no comparable portrait of the sultan on this seal and, a group of 9 lead seals with the figure of a horseman on one face, the other face carrying the inscription, were found in the inner citadel excavations at Alanya, also dating from the reign of Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I., that the excavator thinks, "may have been used to stamp exported goods"⁴⁰. A seal of Dhu'l-Qarnayn of Malatya (1152-62) carries a Greek inscription⁴¹, while a lead seal is also recorded as being used by a Danishmend ruler⁴², but neither of these carried a profile portrait of the ruler. Seal impressions of various types were attached to a variety of items, not just to treaties and correspondence, but to mark bales of goods as duty paid, to seal depots, treasuries, store houses and strong boxes⁴³.

Distinct from the seal ring worn by the Sultan and the seals of the office of "Tughra-i", Head of the Chancellery, there is presently no evidence in the surviving literature for the office of seal keeper or "Mühürdar" at the Rum Seljuk court⁴⁴, although the finds of these two portrait seals at court related sites may suggest such an office existed. Given the present scarcity of Seljuk profile portrait seal examples, only these two are known, one can only speculate as to which Rum Seljuk, or perhaps conceivably Great Seljuk Sultan⁴⁵,

³⁹ Arık 1987, 367.

⁴⁰ Arık 1992, 126 figs. 20, 21. Related to the horseman on the obverse of the lead seal of the Kakuyid Ala al-Dawla (1008-41) of 1038-9, Edhem 1904, Cat. No. 30.

⁴¹ Cahen 1968, 169.

⁴² Vryonis 1969/70, 276 "During the early Turkish period in Anatolia the Turks adopted the Byzantine practice (sic), of sealing their documents with lead seals, some of which continued to employ Christian iconography". Erdem 1904, illustrates 12 portrait lead seals with Arabic, a few having Greek, inscriptions, none of these are profile portraits, they include the frontal depictions of Christ, the Virgin and Saints typical of Byzantine lead seals.

⁴³ Ibn Khaldun 2005, 219.

⁴⁴ As indicated by Günel 2006, 201. The Ministry of the Seal was introduced by the Omayyad Caliph Mu'awiyah I (661-80), Ibn Khaldun 2005, 219, and Ziyad b. Abihi, Governor of Iraq, first established the office of "zimam ve mühür", of control and of the seal following the Sassanid precedent for this office, recorded by al-Baladhuri, Köprülü 1999, 151 fn. 408. At times the department was called, "Diwan-i İnsha" or "Diwan-i Risalat", the head of this secretariat-correspondence department of state being the "Munshi" or, under the Great Seljuks and Rum Seljuks the "Tughra'i". It is unknown if the office of "Mühürdar", Keeper of the Seal, under the Rum Seljuks existed, as distinct from Tughra-i, or if it belonged to the palace-court, paralleling and preceding, the later powerful rank of "Parakoimomenos", Chamberlain of the Seal, keeper of the state seal in the 14th c. at the Byzantine court, Kazhdan 1991, 1584, or if it was subsumed in the office of Tughra-i. For the office of Tughra-i, Günel 2006, 208; Köprülü 1999, 55-6, fn. 105, giving the examples of Shams al-Din Mahmud Tughra-i, Majd al-Din Tughra-i and Nur al-Din Tughra-i; also Shams al-Din Hamza Tughra-i, Nasir al-Din Husayn Tughra-i.

⁴⁵ The reflex bow and arrow formed the device on the seal (tamghas) of the Great Seljuks and is on the coins of Sultan Toghril and his two successors, Bosworth 1973, 304 fn. 34; Turan 1993, 394; Artuk 1960, 37-8; (as also a depiction of a mace, Köprülü 1999, fn. 98, 54, citing Ravandi.). The reflex bow is found on Sultan Toghril's medallion of 1063 and the reflex bow form is repeated on Rum Seljuk coins, at the apex of one or both faces, eg. Batur 1994, Cat. Nos: 14, 15, 37, 59, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 79, 81, and this reflex bow is oddly often described as a "rumi" motif, eg. Batur 1994, Cat No. 81, see also, S. N. Aykut, "Türkiye Selçuklu sikkeleri I. Mesud'dan I. Keykubad'a kadar (510-616/1116-1220) 2002, monogram catalogue, 142-157 and fn. 875, where the reflex bow motif is described as a "Hilal

first used a portrait seal and for how long this practice continued. However, the office holder in charge of this portrait seal of the Sultan must have held a high rank, close to the Sultan, if not the Sultan himself, as he was in charge of the Sultan's actual image, fundamentally different from the usual devices depicted on Rum Seljuk lead seals. The "Sahib"- "Sahib-i A'zam" had the authority to seal on behalf of the Sultan, but perhaps this seal was used for the Sultan's private correspondence, his personal seal.

Seal rings

When the Rum Seljuk Sultan Izzed-Din Keykavus I died in 1220, his seal ring, symbol of rulership, was taken by Sayfad-Din Ayaba and brought in haste to Prince Alaed-Din Keykubat confined in Kezirpert Castle, Malatya⁴⁶, the sultan's seal ring being a token of legitimacy and office given by the Caliph in Baghdad. Another seal ring was brought to Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat by the Caliph Abu'l Abbas al-Nasir (1180-1225)'s ambassador Shihabud-Din Abu Hafs Omar as-Suhravardi (d. 1234), one of the items for the Sultan's investiture as Sultan in 1220 by the Abbasid Caliph's ambassador⁴⁷. It is unclear today what devices or legends were on each of the seal rings that were sent by the Caliph to Rum Seljuk, as to other Abbasid legitimized rulers⁴⁸ as a part of their investiture, but it is not impossible that the lions depicted on the reverse of these two lead seals repeat the devices on the seal rings given by the Caliph to the Sultan⁴⁹.

The lion device

It seems evident that the occurrence of various forms of the lion device on a range of Seljuk coins⁵⁰, as on the Sultan's seals from both Karaköy Kalesi and from Kubadabad, and also on coins minted by Danishmend and other rulers⁵¹, as also its depiction in other materials, was an expression of allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphate, to the Caliphs in

(Ay)", "crescent moon motif", also: F. Kurtoglu, *Türk Bayrağı ve Ay Yıldız* (1992) 51-2; Erkiletlioğlu - Güler 1996, 25. A similar reflex bow motif is also depicted on both faces of the medallion of 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyar struck in the 10th c. and described by Erginsoy 1978, 338-40, as a stylized palm motif.

⁴⁶ Ibn Bibi 1996, Vol. 1, 221, 225 for "taht ve mühür", the throne and seal. Uyumaz 2006, 107, records the castle's name as Kezirpert.

⁴⁷ Ibn Bibi 1996, Vol. 1, 248.

⁴⁸ Ibn Khaldun 2005, 193, records that under the Abbasids, "a seal was made to be placed upon the documents of the ruler, in order to preserve them from becoming public", carrying, "a name or an emblem", 201; *ibid* 218-9, "people came to consider the seal ring as one of the royal marks and emblems"; in the Islamic world first used by the Prophet of Islam in his correspondence with the Byzantine Emperor and carrying the inscription "Muhammad, the Messenger of God". A copy of this lost silver seal ring, İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Mühürler Seksiyonu Rehberi* (1959) 1, inscribed in kufi script on a red carnelian gemstone, was made by order of the Caliph Othman (644-56) and is today in the Topkapı Palace, Inv. No: 21/167, photographed in color, H. Aydın, *Pavillion of the Sacred Relics, The Sacred Trusts* (2004) 101. For lead seals in early Islam see, 7000 years of seals, D. Collon (ed.) (1997) 182. 'Amr b. al As, the conqueror and first governor of Egypt, had a seal ring with a depiction of a bull, and the governor of Egypt in 707, Kurra b. Sharik had one carrying a depiction of a wolf, *EI2*, 1995, "Khatam", 1102. Abu'l-Abbas al-Tusi amongst others, kept Caliph Harun al-Rashid's private seal, but what was on this Caliph's seal seems not to be recorded.

⁴⁹ Cited in, I. M. Sayar, "The empire of the Salcuqids of Asia Minor", 268-80 in, *JNES* 10, No. 4, 1951, 276, a review of V. A. Gordlevskii's 1941 book. I have been unable to find the source of this remark that the Sultan gave a ring carrying a device (a lion ?) to a messenger, to enable him to act on his behalf.

⁵⁰ For example: on Rukn al-Din Jihan Shah's coinage; the lions on both the dinars and dirhems minted at Konya and Sivas in 1241-3 by Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II, as at other mints, and on Keykubad III's coinage.

⁵¹ Cahen 1968, 169. As on the fals of the Danishmend Shams al-Din Malik Ismail b. Ibrahim (1166-72) and also on al-Malik al-Nasir I Salah-ad-Din's (1169-93) fals, Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 698 from 1187.

Baghdad and to the legitimizing role Caliphal recognition provided to a ruler in Anatolia as elsewhere⁵². Because the lion device was recognized as a symbol of the Abbasid Caliphs, depicted on the Caliph's own banner sent to Abbasid recognized Sultans as a part of their investiture as legitimate rulers⁵³, with this lion on the black banner of the Caliphs recorded for example in Jelalad-Din Rumi's *Mathnavi*⁵⁴, there is consequently a clear distinction in meaning between the lions that were depicted on coins, seals, woven on cloth, painted or carved from stone produced in the Islamic world, and those lions that occur on Byzantine seals⁵⁵, as elsewhere in Byzantine art, often in association with Christian saints such as St. Thekla⁵⁶; and on coins minted in Lesser Armenia, particularly by Leon (Levon) I, 1185-1218⁵⁷ and by Hetoum I and Zabel (1226-52)⁵⁸, where the lion is similar, except that the lion's face is depicted frontal, the forepaws are not extended and the back of the lion is almost always surmounted by a cross.

⁵² It seems reasonable to suggest that Sultan al-Zahir Baybars al-Bunduqdari's employment of the lion device on his coinage, eg. Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. Nos. 796-800, as elsewhere, was a clear reference to the continuation in Cairo from 1261 to 1517 of the Abbasid Caliphate, following the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 1258 and the murder of the Caliph Abu Ahmad al-Musta'sim by the Mongols, and likewise the lion device served as a legitimizing symbol for rule by the sultan. The lion device is repeatedly employed on Mamluke dinars and dirhem from 1260-1 onwards, following Baybars' installation of a relative of al-Musta'sim (1242-58), Abu'l Qasim al-Mustansir (1261) and then Abu'l Abbas al-Hakim I (1262-1302) as Abbasid Caliphs in Cairo and it is to be noted that Baybars' emblem was a lion, not, as I suggested, Duggan 2006, 190, fn. 327, following Creswell, a panther.

⁵³ See for example Bosworth 1977, 79, for the Abbasid black banner with the lion device on a standard, "liwa" or "alam", black being the symbolic color of the Abbasid Caliphate's banners, and also a crescent, "hilal-i rayat", idem 1977, 99, and idem 1973, 280, fn. 21, for the black "çet-i siyah", the black parasol surmounted by an image of a falcon, sent by the Caliph on the investiture of a ruler as sultan, also Ibn Bibi 1996, cilt 1, 234, fn 574, for the çetr surmounted by an eagle; Consequently C. Cahen's remark concerning the lion device, that the "Seljukids, and their coins are more emphatically Muslim, except for the lion." Cahen 1968, 170, and, "equally valid for the Seljukids, whose coins are (apart from the lion image) more steadfastly Muslim.", Cahen 2001, 98, would seem to be in error, as the lion was one of the symbols of the Abbasid Caliphate. In exchange for this act of recognition by the Caliph, the 'ahd, or investiture diploma, "manshur", diploma of recognition and legitimizing symbols, also including robes of honor, "tashrif", sword with gold scabbard, horse with gold saddle, Serjeant 1972, 24, and seal ring, Ibn Bibi 1996, cilt 1, 241, the Sultan was to mention the Abbasid Caliph's name in the "khutba", the Friday sermon given at congregational mosques throughout the realm, on the coinage, Bosworth 1977, 79, and on the "tiraz", the inscription bands on the garments of state officials including the Sultan, see for example, Serjeant, 1972, 24, also 18, 19, 23; as also, Bosworth 1973, 52-4 and Ibn Khaldun 2005, 219-221; for the gift to the Caliph upon Prince Alaeddin's investiture as Sultan, Ibn Bibi 1996, cilt 1, 252.

⁵⁴ Nicholson 1982, Bk. 4, 3051; another indirect reference to the lion device on the banner is given in Bk. 1, 602-3, "We are all lions, but lions on a banner: We keep leaping because of the wind", referring to the Divine breath, the wind, moving Moslem spirits in the Dar al-Salam, in the lands of the Caliphate, symbolized by the lion on the black banner of the Abbasids. For further references to the symbolism of the lion in the period, see Duggan 2006, 188-90, and also, the lions on the Ghaznavid palace ceramic relief plaques from Ghazna; on several 12th c. glass medallions from Central Asia, that face forward and have a dragon's head as a finial for the tail, eg. S. Carboni, Glass from Islamic Lands-The Al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait National Museum, 2001, 280-1, Cat. No. 73 m & n.; and on a mid-13th c. brass spherical incense holder, probably made in Konya, Konya Mevlana Müzesi, Env. No. 399.

⁵⁵ For examples of lions on Byzantine lead seals see: Oikonomides, Vol. 5, 1998, 158, No. 242 from the 10th c., of a lion within a circular inscription band; Vol. 4, 1995, 13-14, Zacos 11, from the 10th century and Vol. 2, 1990, 171, Cat. No. 1, also from the 10th c. Also, Nesbitt 1996, Vol. 3. Cat. No. 71. 24, "a lioness or panther" on a lead seal from Optimatoi, all 4 paws on the ground, facing right, 10th-11th c.

⁵⁶ Oikonomides, Vol. 3, 1993, 188, Cat. No. 1077; 194, Cat. No. 490; 201, Cat. No. 1262.

⁵⁷ In particular, P. Bedoukian, "The double Tram series of Levon I of Cilician Armenia", 98-108 in, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, CXXXVI, 1976, Pl. 18, No. 8, which is similar except for the frontal head and the cross, minted 1196-7; Langlois 1855, Pl. 1 fig. 2 fig. 5.

⁵⁸ Langlois 1855, Pl. 1 fig. 8 without the cross above the lion's back, figs. 9, 10.

Profile depictions of faces

Depictions of faces in profile do occur in figurative works produced in Rum Seljuk and contemporary Islamic states but with very few exceptions, largely of physicians in medical works⁵⁹, those faces depicted in profile belong to minor characters in scenes where the important figures, the ruler and the faces of other important and lesser figures are shown in full face or in three quarters. Faces in profile occur for example in surviving manuscript illuminations from Konya⁶⁰, Baghdad⁶¹ and Iraq⁶² and occur relatively frequently in illustrations to manuscripts concerning star constellations and automata, in stonework reliefs⁶³, on a very few of the tiles from Kubadabad⁶⁴ and on ceramics from Iran⁶⁵, as on metal-ware from Herat⁶⁶ and from Syria⁶⁷. During the same period in the Byzantine, Armenian-Lesser Armenian traditions, on coins and seals⁶⁸, as in wall paintings and in manuscript illuminations, the faces of holy figures, the ruler and other important figures were, with only rare exceptions⁶⁹, depicted either in full face or in three quarters. With the exception of figures

⁵⁹ Exceptions that have profile portrait depictions as the main or the most important human face on a field include: manuscript depictions of Abu Zayd in Hariri's *Maqamat* and the depictions of famous physicians, these two Rum Seljuk seal impressions from Karaköy and Kubadabad and on a few surviving 8-pointed star tiles from Kubadabad, the profile depiction of rulers on some Artukid and other rulers' bronze-copper coins copying Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Sassanid models referred to below.

⁶⁰ In some of the miniatures of *Varka ve Gülshah*, TSL, Ms. Hazine 841, Konya, dating from the first half of the 13th c. including: fols. 11a, 12a and 27a.

⁶¹ Repeatedly in the 1237 copy of al-Hariri's *Maqamat*, Bib. Nat. Paris, Ms. Ar 5847 including depictions of Abu Zayd, as in other 13th century illuminated copies of this work; both the physician 'Abdallah ibn Bukhtishu and his patient have faces in profile on f. 101v. of a 13th c. medical work, British Lib. Mss, Or. 2784 and there are 2 profile depictions of subsidiary characters and 11 three quarter depictions on the double frontispiece of the *Rasa'il ikhwan al-Safa* of 1287 in the Süleymaniye Lib. Ist. Esad Efendi, Ms. No. 3638, f. 3v.-4r.

⁶² Faces in profile occur repeatedly for both physicians and attendants in the 1224 copy of the *Materia Medica*, copied by 'Abdallah ibn al-Fadl, in the Freer Art Gallery; there are many faces in profile including the physician in the 1199 copy of the *Kitab al-Diryaq*, Bib. Nat. Paris, ms. Arabe 2964, and three male faces and one female face are shown in profile on the frontispiece of the *Kitab al-Diryaq* from mid 13th c. Mosul, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, Cod. AF 10, fol. 1.

⁶³ Eg. the 12-13th c. carved stone relief from Konya depicting two soldiers, TIEM, İst. Env. No. 2540; as on the portal of the hospital at Divriği in a small relief carving, where a frontal and profile portrait confront each other, K. Otto-Dorn, "Figural stone reliefs on Seljuk Sacred Architecture in Anatolia", 103-49 in *Kunst des Orients XII* 1-2 Fig 5 108-9 fn. 11, citing Gabriel's suggestion that these are portraits of the "maitres", the architects-sculptors.

⁶⁴ Arık 2000, figs 168, 204, 206.

⁶⁵ For example on the mid 13th c. minai plate depicting a battle scene in the Freer Art Gallery where at least two minor figures are depicted with faces in profile.

⁶⁶ Faces in profile are inlaid in silver on the bronze Brodinsky bucket of 1163, in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

⁶⁷ One of the figures in the outer arcade of 25 standing figures on a brass inlaid with silver canteen from mid-13th c. Syria, Atıl 1975, Cat. No. 28, has a face in profile; as also on the brass inlaid with silver basin c. 1240 made for Sultan Najm al-Din Ayyub also in the Freer Gallery, idem Cat. No. 27, which depicts a profile face of a horseman astride horse, finely depicted head on; a horseman also has his face in profile on a brass spherical incense burner inlaid with gold and silver from the mid-13th c. Syria?, Pancaroğlu 2005, Cat. No. 46; as also on a brass ewer inlaid in silver, signed by Yunus b. Yusuf al-Mawsili, in the Walters Art Gallery Baltimore, No. 54.456, where the face of the figure of a groom is in profile.

⁶⁸ This is in part for clear iconographic reasons, as post-iconoclasm Byzantine figures with the face shown in profile were characteristic of the depiction of Judas, the betrayer of Christ, for example, G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (1963) 107. In contrast, Christ (İsa) and the Saints were typically depicted frontally or in three-quarters, a consequence of the canon for the depiction of Holy personages agreed upon at the council of Nicaea in 787. See for examples, fn. 71 below. No contemporary coinage from the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia or Georgia has a human face in profile.

⁶⁹ Such as on some ivory relief carvings; the classical style profile depictions in the miniatures of a 13th c. Constantinople Psalter, Jerusalem Greek Patriarchate Lib. M.S. Hagiou Taphou 15, f.108, that echoed the classicising miniatures of the 10th and early 11th c. Byzantine "second hellenism", with their profile depictions of many

such as Judas⁷⁰, Goliath and the Roman soldiers with spear and sponge in Crucifixion scenes, it is generally only the minor characters, usually in crowd scenes⁷¹, or the defeated⁷², whose faces were depicted in profile. The Latin tradition concerning the depiction of faces in profile seems similar, on lead seals, such as those of Baldwin I or Louis IX, in illuminated miniatures⁷³, works of enamel, and wall paintings the depiction of the faces of important scriptural and ruler figures were, with very few exceptions⁷⁴, full face frontal or three quarters depictions. The exceptions being Adam at his expulsion, the face of Judas, of Goliath, of Moslems⁷⁵ and some minor figures in crowd scenes, but also in rare cases, the face of Mary⁷⁶, of David⁷⁷ of some of the Apostles and Angels who were occasionally depicted in profile. Coins however had been struck from the Merovingian period repeating the type of profile bust on Roman imperial coins, that became more accurate copies of the type under 9th c. Carolingian Emperors such as Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, indicating through the employment of this profile portrait coin type the attempted resurrection of Roman imperial power under the Holy Roman Emperors, that culminated in the minting from 1231 onwards of gold Augustales by Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen, that carried a profile bust image of an Emperor turned to the right as the "ordained of God and authentic successor of the divine Caesars"⁷⁸, crowned with a laurel wreath (Fig. 8). This portrait was not a naturalistic portrait of Emperor Frederick II, he was bald by 1228⁷⁹, it repeated the Roman Imperial wreathed profile portrait type indicated by its name, other Latin profile portrait coins also stemmed from this Roman Imperial profile type⁸⁰. One

faces, as in the 10th c. Paris Psalter where Moses and other faces are in profile; the profile face of John the Baptist and another figure, but not of Christ, in the Baptism of Christ, on f. 12v of the 13th c. Lesser Armenian Gospel Book of Prince Vasak, St. James, Jerusalem, No. 2568.

- ⁷⁰ As with the profile face of Judas in the 11th c. Byzantine frescos in the Karanlık Kilise in Cappadocia; the depiction of Judas receiving the 30 pieces of silver from the Cilician Gospel painted by Toros Roslin of 1263 in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, ms. W.539, and the Roman soldiers at the Crucifixion f.124; as also Satan in the Gospel Book of 1260, S. Der Nersessian, Miniature Painting in the Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth century (1993) fig 141; as also Judas in the Gospel of Gladzor of 1307.
- ⁷¹ The Homilies of Kokkinobaphos from Constantinople, Bib. Nat. Paris Ms. Gr. 1208, from the first half of the 12th c. the faces of two figures in the crowd at the Ascension are in profile; in the Gospel Book of 1232 Matenadaran No. 2743, the Dormition on f. 291 depicts the faces of 30 figures, all but one are in three quarters except for the face in profile of the man lifting the Virgin's feet; in the 1262 Gospel Book by Toros Roslin in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, ms. W.539, f. 208v. where all the faces in the Nativity are in three quarters except for the third shepherd at the rear; or in the Keran psalter of 1272 made for the wife of King Leon III, St. James, Jerusalem, ms. 2563, f. 368 depicting the incredulity of St. Thomas, where one minor figure's face is in profile, the rest are all in three quarters; or f. 362 v. where only one figure's face at the Crucifixion is in profile.
- ⁷² The frontispiece of Basil II's Psalter of 1019 shows beneath the feet of the frontal Emperor one of the eight defeated figures prostrate with his face in profile, Bib Apostolica. Vatican.
- ⁷³ Eg. Dodwell 1993, figs. 333-343, 346-7, 350-3, 374; as also applies to 13th c. Syrian Christian miniatures.
- ⁷⁴ Exceptions are on some coins, rarely on seals, as on a somewhat coarse 13th c. seal from the Teutonic Order that depicts Master Jacob de Laghini in profile seated reading from a lectern, and on some sgraffito St. Symeon Ware and other local pottery.
- ⁷⁵ As in illuminated 13th c. copies of William of Tyre's History of Outremer, eg. at the siege of Antioch.
- ⁷⁶ As in the miniature of the three Marys at the tomb, where two are depicted in profile as also the angel in the Shaftesbury Psalter c.1130-40, London, British Lib., and Christ in the miniature of the Virgin Christ and the artist Matthew Paris in the mid 13th c., Historica Anglorum, Brit. Lib.; as also the Virgin and some Apostles in the Hitda Codex of Cologne of c. 1020, in Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod.1640.
- ⁷⁷ In the leaf from the Winchester Bible of 1150-80 depicting scenes from the life of David, Pierpoint Morgan Lib. New York, ms 619 v., where Saul is frontal but both Goliath and David's faces are in profile, Dodwell 1993, fig. 373.
- ⁷⁸ Cleve 1972, 277-8, fig 4 obv.
- ⁷⁹ Cleve 1972, 224.
- ⁸⁰ Eg. coarse contemporary profile portraits were minted on coins struck by King Stephen 1135-54 in England, as by Raymond of Poitiers (1136-49) and Bohemond III (1149-63) at Antioch.

looks in vain in contemporary Christian art for the combination of a profile portrait and an accurate depiction from life of the face of a ruler.

Seals of the Byzantine Emperor

The tradition of a Byzantine ruler authenticating documents and treaties sent to other rulers through the attachment of a gold seal carrying a portrait of the ruler, as also the seal attached to the diploma of appointment issued to high officials which also carried the imperial portrait, had been a longstanding part of Byzantine chancellery practice⁸¹. It is recorded that in 1190, Emperor Isaac Angelus sent an ambassador (to Salah al-Din) with a letter bearing a gold seal with an impressed portrait of himself. Baha al-Din ibn Saddam in his life of Salah al-Din records: "This envoy brought a letter (dated 1 September 1189-August 1190) about the matter under consideration. We will describe this document, and give a copy of the translation. It was written in wide lines, but narrower than the writing of Baghdad. The translation on both back and front was in the second section (the first section was in Greek, the translation in Arabic); between the two the seal had been affixed. This seal was of gold, and had been stamped with a portrait of the King just as wax is impressed with a seal, it weighed 15 dinars."⁸². Importantly, the overwhelming number of depictions of the Byzantine Emperor on coins, seals as in other materials over the centuries following the iconoclast controversy⁸³, and almost without exception⁸⁴ in the two centuries prior to the cutting of this Rum Seljuk seal, do not depict the Emperor in profile⁸⁵ but in full face; consequently there seems to be no direct connection between contemporary Byzantine seals and coins carrying a depiction of the Emperor and these Rum Seljuk seals in respect to their profile depiction of the Sultan. Even though Alaeddin Keykubat

⁸¹ See above, fn. 6 & fn. 8. Also the "codicillus", the diploma of appointment for high officials carrying the portrait of the Emperor, Kazhdan 1991, 999.

⁸² Informing him of the passage of the Crusade through Byzantine territory, P. H. Newby, *Saladin in his time*, 1983, 136; C. M. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin 1185-1192, opponents of the third Crusade", 167-181 in, *Speculum* XXXVII, 1962, No. 2, 175, citing, (Bohadin) Trans. C. R. Conder, *Life of Saladin* (1897) 199-201.

⁸³ Emperors such as Leo I (457-74) and Constans II (641-668) issued profile portrait coinage, but this then ceases, see for example the complete absence of any examples of the Emperor in profile in: *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, Vol. III, 717-1081, A. A. R. Bellinger – P. Grierson (ed.), *Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and Whittemore Collection* (1993); as also on seals, *Oikonomides Vols. 1-6*. A rare example in contemporary Byzantine art of a profile portrait of an Emperor is on "The Constantine Bowl" in the BM, London, now dated to the 13th or 14th c., which has two coarsely incised profile portraits, a male head (Emperor Constantine I.) and a female head Faustia, Constantine's second wife, within roundels, either side of the frontal depiction of Christ, on the interior of this glazed ceramic bowl, Buckton 1994, Cat. No. 205, 191-2.

⁸⁴ No profile portrait of an Emperor seems to have been minted on either a coin or a seal in Anatolia in this period, see for example, *Catalogue des Monnaies Byzantines*, II, De Philippicus a Alexis III, 711-1204, C. Morrisson, 1970. The lead seal of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos carries a frontal standing portrait, dated 1261-2, Talbot 2004, Cat. No. 6, measuring 47 mms. This is also the case with the surviving gold chrysobull's of the period, see above, fn. 6. Although some other figures are depicted in profile on lead seals, such as: Nesbitt 1991, 1.23, 10th c. seal of Constantine Imp. Strator, the kommerkiarios of the west (Balkans), based upon a classical model. The wall painting from the St. Georges Chapel in the Ilhara valley, depicting a full length standing Byzantine portrait of the Rum Seljuk Sultan Mesut II or III, A. Tütenk, "Belisırma Deresi (Niğde): Belisırma Deresi'nde Freskli St. Georges (Kırk damatı) Kaya Kilisesinde (1289-95) son Konya Selçuklu Sultanı Mes'ut II ile ilgili Rumca Kitabe", 381-2, VII, T.T.K. 1972; Erkiletlioğlu - Güler 1996, 237, has a color photo and identifies it as Mesut III; Cahen 1968, 422-3; is likewise a frontal depiction, as is St. George and Lady Thamar, maintaining this Byzantine tradition of the frontal depiction of the ruler.

⁸⁵ See for example the lead seal of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, Talbot 2004, Cat. Nos. 6, 31, from 1261-2, where the Emperor is depicted standing frontally holding an icon of the Virgin over his head.

had spent part of his youth from perhaps age 7 to 14 in Constantinople⁸⁶ with his father and elder brother Izzed-Din and was aware of Byzantine culture and chancellery practice, the depictions on his own personal seal show no trace of Byzantine influence. The degree of physical likeness in the depiction and the choice of a profile depiction of the Sultan, clearly distinguish these two Rum Seljuk seals from those of the Byzantine Emperors.

Comparative material

True comparative contemporary material, issuing from a similar cultural context, having a similar function, addressing a similar audience upon similar material, of a profile portrait of a contemporary ruler in low relief, with the exception of the seal from Kubadabat described above, is today quite lacking. To draw comparisons between frontal and three quarters ruler portraits on manuscript frontispieces⁸⁷ or stucco relief panels⁸⁸ and these profile depictions on seals impressions perhaps only serves to indicate the differences between a formal depiction of the ruler as a type and a record of the physical likeness of an individual who is also the ruler, that is between public and a private portrayals of the ruler. Unfortunately the *Shah-Nameh* of 20,000 couplets written for Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I or III⁸⁹, by Hodja Dehkhani, based upon Abu'l-Qasim Firdawsi (d. 1025-6)'s monumental "*Shah-Nameh*", but which in Kodja Dehkhani's version concerned the Rum Seljuk Sultanate and which almost certainly had a portrait of the Sultan painted on its frontispiece, has not survived the passage of the centuries to permit any comparison to be made; nor has an illuminated portrait frontispiece for ibn Bibi's Selçukname survived. However, from the damaged double page frontispiece of the Rum Seljuk later 13th c. Konya copy in Persian of *Kalila wa Dimna*, f. 1b, 2a, the crowned ruler seated cross-legged with his head inclined to the right with one narrow eye visible, the rest of the face has been defaced, but which seems to have been a frontal, rather than three quarters depiction, as also from the frontal portrait of the enthroned ruler, depicting the Ghaznavid Sultan Bahramshah (1118-52), with beard, long hair and crowned, who commissioned this translation of the text into Persian, depicted on f. 6a⁹⁰, it seems most probable that the frontispiece to the *Shah-Nameh* and the Selçukname, as is the case with the other surviving 13th c. portrait frontispieces, would also have depicted the ruler as a type rather than providing any accurate depiction of the physical features of the face of the ruler. Similarly, Badr al-Din Lu'lu, Atabeg of Mosul (1211-59) is depicted on 5 of the surviving frontispieces⁹¹ from the 20 original volumes, of the 1215-19 Mosul copy of Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahani's (c. 897-967) *Kitab al-Aghani* or *Book of Songs*. That these depictions, both frontal and in three quarters probably represent the ruler Badr

⁸⁶ Uyumaz 2006, 107.

⁸⁷ For examples, see above fn. 10.

⁸⁸ Such as that of Toghrul II (1132-4) of Irak, showing the ruler enthroned and court attendants on an 8 pointed star and cross background, today in Pennsylvania Museum.

⁸⁹ A. Kartal, "Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Döneminde Şiir ve Şairler", 493-519 in, A. Y. Ocak (ed.), *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, I. cilt (2006) 500-1, with a bibliography of the controversy as to if it this work was written for Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I or III.

⁹⁰ T.S.M., H. 363, Rogers - Çağman - Tanındı (1986) 51. Pancaroğlu 2004, Cat. No. 37, suggests late 13th c. Mosul or Baghdad.

⁹¹ The surviving frontispieces are: Millet Kütüphanesi İst. Feyzullah Efendi (1565) Vol XVII (enthroned-seated) (1566) Vol. XIX (mounted); Egypt Nat. Lib, Adab 579, Vols IV (enthroned) & XI dated 1217; Copenhagen, Det. Kongelige Cod. Arab 168 dated 1219 (mounted).

al-Din Lu'lu⁹², the central figure in the composition, by his inscribed tiraz and through his size in relation to the adjacent courtiers. He presumably commissioned these rich volumes, as also the mid-13th c. Mosul copy of the "Kitab al-Diryāq"⁹³. However, these frontispiece depictions of Atabeg Badr al-Din Lu'lu are of the ruler as a type, rather than providing any accurate depiction of the particular features of an individual's face. For instance, the eyes depicted on all the 11 faces on one frontispiece⁹⁴, of Badr al-Din Lu'lu seated, wearing a fur trimmed brimless cap, a "kürklü bōrk"⁹⁵, his 8 attendants and 2 winged figures, are all of the conventional narrow type, of similar forms (Fig. 9)⁹⁶. These frontispiece depictions lack the individuality of features characteristic of any portrait from life and they can be described as "the depiction of an inner presence" rather than "an outer present", of mimesis not mimicry, of the imitation of essentials, not of externals⁹⁷, portraying the type of the ruler, on occasion identified by name, as distinct from the record of the particular features of an individual's face, characteristic of a portrait drawn from life, such as the large nose, long neck and wide eye on this seal impression.

Similar caveats also apply to any comparison made between this seal profile portrait and the 3 fragmentary under-glaze painted depictions of male figures, one from the Küçük Saray at Kubadabad, Beyşehir (Fig. 10) and two from the tile-work of the Büyük Saray (Figs. 11, 12). Each of these faces is depicted in three-quarters, each has a beard and moustache, two wear kûlah of distinct types but all three head furnishings having a trailing tiraz inscription, and on both fragments where the eyes are preserved, wide rather than narrow eyes are depicted⁹⁸. It has been suggested these are portraits of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat⁹⁹. Similarities with this seal profile portrait are the wide eyes, the relatively long neck and nose of the Büyük Saray fragments, while differences are in the form of the beard, sideburns and moustache as also in the form of the nose on Fig. 12, of a retroussé type. A fourth fragment from the Malanda Köşk at Kubadabad has been grouped together with these three fragmentary tiles¹⁰⁰. Although this Malanda Köşk depiction is somewhat

⁹² B. Brend, *Islamic Art* (1991) 114.

⁹³ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, Cod. AF 10, fol. 1. The frontispiece to this volume depicts an ruler seated, head turned three quarters with beard and moustache and similar narrow eyes, also wearing a fur trimmed brimless cap, a "kürklü bōrk" and surrounded by his court, given its date and probable production in Mosul, is almost certainly to be also identified as a depiction of Badr al-Din Lu'lu, of the ruler type.

⁹⁴ İst. Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi, No. 1566; Pancaroğlu 2005, Cat. No. 54.

⁹⁵ As also on Kubadabad tiles eg, Arık 2000, figs 177, 178, 185, 186, 196.

⁹⁶ It is most improbable that Badr al-Din Lu'lu, an Armenian and former slave from Anatolia, D. Patton, *Badr al-Din Lu'lu' Atabeg of Mosul, 1211-1259* (1991) 13, had eyes of this type, and it is evident that this narrow eye form was a widely practiced artistic convention. It would be most surprising, given the diversity of the origins of the people at the courts of the period, and of the marriages sultans made, together with the offspring of concubines from various regions, that the eye types of members of courts from Afghanistan to Konya would in fact have been as similar as they are depicted. The convention of the wide eye occurs for example in the Turkish 9th c. paintings of the Gawsaq al-Haqani at Samarra, E. Esin, "The Turk al-Agam of Samarra and the paintings attributable to them..." 47-88, *Kunst des Orients*, IX 1-2, as also in much Fatimid and Fatimid influenced art.

⁹⁷ See Coomaraswamy 1956, 117-29.

⁹⁸ See Arık 2000, for similar wide, as opposed to narrow or almond shaped eyes figs. 189, 191, as also on the faces of female figures, figs. 198, 199.

⁹⁹ M. Önder, "Kubadabad çinileride Sultan Alaeddin I. in iki portresi", 121-4 in, *Selçuk Dergisi* 3, Haziran 1988, 124; Arık 2001, 39; Arık 2000, 139-40.

¹⁰⁰ R. Arık, "Kubadabad Saray (Bir değerlendirme) ve Malanda Köşkü", 25-32 in, 1. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi (2001) cilt 1, 32; Arık 2000, 140, but is more cautious in its identification, describing it as "*portre gibi bir parça*", as a portrait-like, maybe a portrait fragment, 202, fig 275.

similar to the other three (Fig. 13), this figure has a different form of beard and appears to be wearing a “*khirqah*”, a cloak. Due to its damaged state it is unclear what this figure wore on his head. There are slight differences between these 4 faces in the manner of depiction and the form of the eye¹⁰¹ and in the proportion of the length of the head to its width¹⁰², while the beard type on the face from the Malanda Köşk is quite distinct from the others, of a ringlet type, and is quite possibly a depiction of an older man. There remains the possibility that three of these fragments (Figs. 10-12) could be depictions of the bearded ruler type¹⁰³ or more probably of bearded companions to the ruler¹⁰⁴, exceptional in that they are distinguished by wide rather than typically narrow eyes, rather than being copies made by the tile painters from any naturalistic drawing of the Sultan or from direct observation; while the fourth may represent some other figure, distinct from the bearded companion-ruler type. All four tile fragments seem to have been painted by different hands and are of a poorer quality than the finest of the Kubadabad 8 pointed star tiles¹⁰⁵, the most individualized of these depictions being that from the Malanda Köşk. The depictions of the faces of many of the other figures on the 8 pointed star tiles at Kubadabad, including those on human headed birds and human headed lions¹⁰⁶, as also on the contemporary 8 pointed star tiles from the Aspendos palace and elsewhere, are perhaps too schematic, largely conforming to groups of facial types known from other media, from miniatures to metal-ware, for these depictions to be understood to be actual portraits from life depicting a particular individual's facial characteristics¹⁰⁷, rather than being products of the repetition numerous times of particular facial types. Perhaps this characterization also applies to these 4 fragments from the same tiled wall friezes. For naturalistic portraits of a ruler to have been inserted into a frieze that otherwise consists of types would be altogether unprecedented in this period.

12th and 13th c. profile coin portraits

From the mid 12th to the early 13th century several rulers in Anatolia and the Jazira struck bronze-copper coinage, *fals*¹⁰⁸, carrying frontal, three quarters¹⁰⁹ and some pro-

¹⁰¹ If one compares the form of the eye of fig. 11, it is closer to Arık 2000, figs. 189 and 191, than to the eye form of fig. 12. The fragment fig. 13 may have the same form as fig. 11 but this is not entirely clear, while the eyes of fig. 10 are lost.

¹⁰² fig. 10 has a broader, squarer face than figs. 11, 12 and 13.

¹⁰³ See above fn. 10, for this ruler type, as also the miniature of 1199 from N. Iraq depicting a bearded, moustached, narrow eyed enthroned ruler seated cross legged with cup in right hand, *dastar-mandil*-kerchief of clemency in left, Barry 2004, 55, from Bib. Nat. Paris, Ms Arabe 2964. The turbanned, bearded and mustached seated figure holding a bird on a stone relief in the Konya İnceminareli Museum Konya, No. 892, seems to portray a dignitary rather than a ruler.

¹⁰⁴ Fig. 10 would not seem to be of the ruler type, as he is presenting or receiving a cup in outstretched hand, not holding it level with his waist, a comment that also applies to Fig. 12, holding out a pomegranate, actions more typical of someone other than, but close to the ruler. Likewise the pomegranate is held by other figures, Arık 2000, Figs. 178, 179, 191, and is itself not a symbol of rule, nor are these headgarments only worn by the ruler, as for example the sculptures of Moslem Ambassadors wearing turbans at Song tombs, see below, fn. 135.

¹⁰⁵ Such as Arık 2000, figs. 196-7 or the luster tiles figs. 200, 208.

¹⁰⁶ Arık 2000, figs 156-164, 164 a-169.

¹⁰⁷ Eg. Arık 2000, figs 177-186, 202, 205, 208.

¹⁰⁸ Özme 2006, 565, describes all these copper coins as “*fals*, *fulus*”, using “*dirhem*” only for those minted from silver, as distinct for example from Falk 1985, 385-88.

¹⁰⁹ Sultan Alaeddin Keyikubāt's name and titles surround a frontal-oblique bust on a *fals* dated h.634, 1236-7, minted

file portraits of rulers, copying those that had been struck on Hellenistic¹¹⁰, Roman¹¹¹, Sassanid¹¹² and Early Byzantine¹¹³ coins but usually carrying a legend in Arabic, that defined the minted coin as struck by a Moslem ruler. These 12th-13th c. portrait emissions are perhaps the first examples of any Islamic coinage in over 400 years to carry depictions of any ruler, following those depicting the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan standing with a sword, from the end of the 7th c.¹¹⁴ The Artukid ruler Husam al-Din Timurtaş, ruler of Mardin (1122-1154)¹¹⁵ with his fine copies of Hellenistic profile portrait coins (Fig. 14) and two Danishmend rulers, Malik Nizam al-Din Yaghi Basan (1142-64), whose fals carries a Roman style, wreathed profile portrait bust facing right, encircled by his name and titles (Fig. 15)¹¹⁶ and Dhu'l-Qarnayn of Malatya (1152-61), who minted copper fals with a classical profile portrait of a bearded ruler facing right, enclosed by a Greek legend¹¹⁷, struck perhaps the earliest in the subsequent series of coins struck by Moslem rulers in Anatolia and the Jazira that imitated Sassanid, Roman and earlier profile portraits of rulers on some of their coinage. The employment of antique coin profile portraits by Husam al-Din Timurtaş, the earliest dated example from 1148, was perhaps in part, inspired by the rude, almost entirely right facing bare headed profile portraits on one series of billion deniers minted by the Crusader Kingdom of Antioch, dating from some point during the rule of Raymond of Poitiers (1136-49) and Bohemond III (1149-63) and ceasing c. 1163¹¹⁸, although these coins from Latin Antioch hardly provide any parallel in terms of the quality of the profile portraiture. The Mengukid Fakhr al-Din Bahram Shah (1162-1225) minted an undated copper fals carrying a coarse profile portrait to the right within a hexagonal

in Mardin by Artuk Arslan b. Il Ghazi II (1203-39), the Caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mustansir 1226-42 is named on the reverse, H. Erkiletlioglu, "Sultan I. Alaeddin Keykubad adına, metbû meliklerce bastırılan müşterek sikkeler", 89-95 in, *Selçuk Dergisi* 3, Haziran 1988, 94-5; Artuk - Artuk 1970, No. 1234; Artuk - Artuk 1993, Type XIII. Through this inscription the Sultan could be seen, at least and perhaps only, in the local area of circulation of this fals, to publicly endorsing coinage carrying frontal portrait busts, although there are no other examples of this type of frontal portrait coinage that were minted within his territory during his reign carrying his name and titles, nor are there any examples of any profile portrait fals minted by Sultan Alaeddin or in his name.

¹¹⁰ Artuk - Artuk 1993, Cat. Nos. 12, 25-31, 36-8, profile portraits include: Seleucus II and Antiochus VII types and No. 39, a double profile portrait type.

¹¹¹ Artuk - Artuk 1993, Cat. Nos. 14, 39, profiles of Emperors Augustus and Agrippa, 32, 33, 34, and No. 79, profile Claudius types.

¹¹² Artuk - Artuk 1993, Cat. No.13.

¹¹³ Artuk - Artuk 1993, Cat. No. 46, profile of the Emperor Constantine I type.

¹¹⁴ Excluding medallions. T. Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine coinage*, 2005, 23 ff., A. M. Issa, *Painting in Islam-between Prohibition and Aversion* (1996) 30-31. For examples of the fals of the standing Caliph with "kalima", see: Falk 1985, Cat. Nos. 377, 378, 379; Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 9-13; D. & J. Soudel, *La civilization de l'islam classique*, 1968, ill. 23, has perhaps the finest illustration of this Caliph on a coin.

¹¹⁵ It is perhaps of importance that ibn al-Qalanisi in his chronicle notes, in contrast to his obituaries of other rulers, that Husam al-Din Timurtash had, "affection for men both of religious and profane learning", H. A. R. Gibb (trans.), "The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades-extracted and translated from the chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi", 2002, 321; Husam al-Din was also reported as, "occupied as he is with pleasures in his citadel", C. Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader times: The early Artukid State* (1990) 146. Perhaps an interest at court in secular learning, including history, made the minting of this type of coinage possible, as under Husam al-Din perhaps the earliest and certainly the finest of this antiquarian portrait type of coin were minted, copies of portraits of Antiochus VII, of Julianus and of a Roman Emperor, Artuk - Artuk 1993, 28 -34.

¹¹⁶ Şentürk - Johnson 1994, Cat. No.10.

¹¹⁷ Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 1186.

¹¹⁸ Eg. A. G. Malloy, I. F. Perston, A. J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusaders 1098-1291* (1994) 203ff. D. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford* (1995) 117 ff Pl. 15

frame¹¹⁹ and subsequent to these early, largely Artukid¹²⁰ and Danismendid profile issues, the Zengid Sayf al-Din Ghazi (1169-80) in 1179¹²¹ and his successor Izz al-Din Mas'ud I (1180-93) in 1181¹²² minted profile portrait fals, followed by the Begtekinid Atabeg of Irbil (1190-1233), Abu Said Muzaffer al-Din Gökböri b. Ali Küçük, probably copying the Artukid profile portrait fals type, as he ruled Harran until 1190, who minted a copper fals at Irbil in 1191-2 carrying a coarse copy of an antique profile portrait¹²³, as did Kutb al-Din Muhammad (1197-1219) of Sinjar in 1199¹²⁴, and Badr al-Din Lu'lu of Mosul minted a copper fals with a bust of Seleucus II, to the left, in 1231¹²⁵ following the Artukid precedent.

The fact that these portrait coins were issued over a period of more than 70 years by Moslem rulers clearly indicates that portraiture was not anathema to some Moslem rulers, regardless of hadith¹²⁶ and fatwa that circulated to the contrary. Fatwa such as that issued by the renowned Shafi Syrian jurist-theologian Yahya b. Sharaf Muhyi al-Din al-Nawawi (1233-1277), directly addressed the issue of figural images on coins, forbidding any representation of living beings on any coins in circulation and was clearly in response to the 13th c. figural issues by mainly Artukid and Ayyubid rulers and their circulation within the Moslem community¹²⁷. Why these copper portrait coins were issued in the 12th and 13th c.¹²⁸, in contrast to the near uniform employment of script for both faces on coinage

¹¹⁹ Batur 1994, Cat. No. 4.

¹²⁰ Other Artukid rulers in Amid (Diyarbakır), Mardin, Mayyafariqin (Silvan) and Kharput by Elaziğ, minted coinage with Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Sassanid portraits and figures amongst other devices on their bronze coins. See Özme 2006, 566-568, for a typology of these portrait types; also Artuk - Artuk 1993.

¹²¹ Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 1252.

¹²² Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 1253.

¹²³ Falk 1985, Cat. No. 524; Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 1293.

¹²⁴ Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 1285.

¹²⁵ Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 1272.

¹²⁶ Such as: "Hayyan ibn Husain relates: Ali ibn Abi Talib said to me: Shall I assign you a task that the Holy Prophet had assigned to me? Leave not a portrait unwiped out, and leave not a high grave unlevelled"; or that reported by the Jewish convert to Islam, "Abu Hurairah relates that he heard the Holy Prophet say: The worst chastised on the Day of Judgement will be the portrait painters", and that, "Abu Talha relates that the Holy Prophet said: Angels will not enter a house in which there is a dog or a portrait", Khan 1989, 248.

¹²⁷ "The learned men of our school and other ulema say: The copying of any *living beings* is strictly forbidden and is one of the great sins, because it is threatened with the severe punishment threatened in the traditions. It does not matter whether the maker has made the copies from things used in little esteem, or from other things, for the making of them is in itself haram, because it is an imitation of God's creative activity. From this point of view, it makes no difference whether the image is put on a piece of cloth, carpet, *coin, gold, silver or copper*, vessel or wall etc." EI² 1995, "Sura", 890; Arnold 1965, 9-10. Evidently the copying of living beings was occurring upon all these surfaces during the 13th c., as with these largely Artukid and Ayyubid coin portraits, hence this ruling. However, in contrast to al-Nawawi's fatwa, the renowned jurist-scholar, who trained in Maliki law as a youth, Sheik Muhy al-Din ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240), as also the renowned Shafi jurist-scholar and Sheik Jelalad-Din Rumi (1207-73), had *advised in person* painters at Seljuk Konya on their depiction of living beings, *supporting by their actions and through the conscious record of their own words and actions in this matter, a diametrically opposed position to that taken by al-Nawawi regarding this issue of the depiction of living beings by artists*. See C. Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur* (1993) 45-7 and in particular, ibn 'Arabi's remarks on the rulings of doctors of law in matters such as this, *ibid* 46-7, recorded in his *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*. Jelalad-Din Rumi had several portrait painters as "murids" and rather than forbidding the depiction of living things writes; "Anyone can paint a picture on a wall. It has a head but no intellect; an eye, but no sight; a hand, but no generosity; a breast, but no illuminated heart; a drawn sword, but no cutting edge. In any prayer-niche you can find the painting of a lamp. But when night comes, it gives no light. They paint a tree on the wall, but if you shake it, no fruit will fall to the ground. *Even so, that picture on the wall is not completely without benefit*", W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love, The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi* (1983) 129-30, citing Rumi's *Majalis-i Sab'ah*, 28; see also, V. Macit Tekinalp, "Yerel Geleneğin İzleri", 45-52 in, A. U. Peker & K. Bilici (eds.), *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygurluğu*, cilt. 2 (2006) 47.

¹²⁸ There are no surviving examples of these portrait coins minted in either silver or gold. In the case of Sultan Masud

in other contemporary and earlier Islamic states, who collected and selected the original coins that were employed as models, as some examples date from more than 1000 years earlier and must have been found in coin hoards, and who cut the dies of these sometimes remarkably accurate copies of earlier portraits of rulers on coins, raise important questions. These antiquarian coin images, together with references to, and the reuse of the remains from antiquity, seem to have been linked to some distinct Islamic 12th-13th century perception of the past in these territories and of the rulers' own place within it¹²⁹, that evidently took a different form to that taken in respect to the past in Orthodox Byzantium¹³⁰, that differed in its turn from that taken in the Latin West during this same period¹³¹, but having common elements.

Although the Artukid, Danishmend, Mengukid, Begtekinid and other rulers' copies of Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine-Sassanid profile portrait coinage provides a possible precedent for the employment of a profile portrait on these two Rum Seljuk seals, together with probably frequent finds of ancient profile portrait coins¹³², any real comparison with these two profile portrait seals is difficult to make. Firstly, because none of the copies of ancient profile portrait types struck in Anatolia and the Jazira provide us with any indication as to any contemporary portraiture, rather they indicate a greater or lesser ability to reproduce a pre-existing ancient portrait. There are no known contemporary profile portraits of rulers minted on the coins from this region¹³³. Secondly, because a copper coin was a public,

I and Danishmend rulers in recently conquered Byzantine territory, the argument runs that the largely Byzantine population expected a ruler portrait on the coinage (eg. Irwin 1997, 215; Cahen 1968, 169), but is this line of reasoning plausible, given the importance of the coinage, of the right to mint coins which belonged to the ruler, which also defined the legitimacy of the ruler, see above fn. 54, as also of the example of Islamic coinage minted by the contemporary adjacent states and, in the case of the Danishmend profile portrait coins, there was no contemporary Byzantine parallel. Perhaps Masud I's fals was struck in the 1120's in acknowledgement of the support given to him by John II Comnenus, as may have also been the case later for Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev I; while for the Artukids, as also for some Ayyubids, ruling over territory in the Jazira that had been largely Moslem ruled for centuries and which had previously consistently produced typical Islamic type currency under the Hamdanids and Marwanids, clearly this argument does not apply at all.

¹²⁹ In part this matter is addressed by S. Redford in: "Selçuklu Sarayları, Bahçeleri ve Kırsal Ortam", 291-303 in, *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı* (2006) 299-300; idem "Byzantium and the Islamic World, 1261-1557", 389-396 in, H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium Faith and Power (1261-1557)* Ex. Cat. 2004; idem, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the antique", 148-155, *Muqarnas*, X, 1993. See also G. Öney, "Elements from ancient civilizations in Anatolian Selçuk Art" *Anadolu (Anatolia)* XII, 1968, 27-38, for examples of the varied reuse of antique spolia.

¹³⁰ Following on from the mid-9th c. reawakened interest and study of classical literature and science and in the classicizing strand in the arts; see for example: R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (1996) 64-69; S. Vryonis, "The decline of Byzantine Civilization in Asia Minor, eleventh to fifteenth centuries", *D.O.P.*, Vol. 29, 1975, 351-356, where a list of 12 of the classical authors accessed by one Byzantine author after 1204 at Nicaea, including Homer, Hesiod and Herodotus, is given, 355.

¹³¹ See for example, Williamson 1995, 134-6; Cleve 1972, 333-346.

¹³² Busbecq remarks in the 16th c. on the great abundance of antique coins everywhere, some reused as weights, others melted down to make bronze vessels, O. G. de Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, Trans. E. S. Forster, 2001, 32-3.

¹³³ The only possibly comparable profile portrait, in addition to that from Kubadabad, is a distinct depiction of an individual, a ruler, in profile to the right, on a reported 13th century (Khwarizm?) coin from a hoard from Tajikistan, Parlar 2001, 150, Foto 48, taken from E. A. Davidovic, *Kladi Drevnikhi Srednevekovikh Monet Tadzhikistana*, Hoard of Ancient and Medieval coins from Tajikistan (1979). I have been unable check this source. The portrait surrounded by a bead and reel border and wearing a diadem indicating the artist closely followed a Hellenistic portrait model and the bead and reel frame border occurs on some Hellenistic Bactrian coins, eg. *The Hellenistic Kingdoms, Portrait coins and history*, N. Davis, C. M. Kraay, 1980, minted by Euthydemus I, Demetrius, Eucratides, Amyntas, figs 131, 135, 144, 174, as also on those of Antiochus III, Seleucus IV, Alexander I Balas, Demetrius II and Antiochus VI-VIII. However, the rear right shoulder, the tilted head, long shoulder length hair and the moustache possibly indicate the portrayal is of a contemporary ruler rather than a direct Hellenistic copy or a Hellenistic original.

reasonably widely circulated statement of ruler-ship and often indicated the source of the ruler's legitimacy and authority, it is therefore quite distinct from this type of profile portrait seal, an object that was not widely circulated amongst the population, perhaps only members of the court and some officers and officials ever saw one.

Part II

Evidence for the existence under the Abbasid Caliphate from the late 10th century onwards of portraits drawn from life at various courts survives in the literary record, together with the continuation of the earlier tradition of formal rather than lifelike portraiture. However, with the complete loss of naturalistic drawings or painted portraits from this period, it is unclear if the naturalistic portraiture that is recorded from the second half of the 10th century onwards was an independent development by gifted individuals such as Abu Nasr ibn 'Arraq and Abu'l-Khayr; or was inspired in part by scattered references to naturalistic portraiture and perhaps examples in illuminations in surviving classical texts, as also of finds of Roman and Hellenistic portrait coins and carved reliefs; or was a result of diplomatic and trade contacts with Tang-Song dynasty China, where portraits expressing some individuality, including many in profile, had been made from the Han dynasty onwards, horizontal and vertical painted silk scrolls with portraits were produced from the 9th c. onwards at the Chinese court, together with portrait sculptures made of individual Moslem ambassadors to the Song Emperors (960-1279)¹³⁴. Chinese and possibly Korean portraits on silk or paper may have formed a part of diplomatic exchanges of gifts with Moslem ambassadors and rulers and the presence of portraits in China as well as the extensive trade with China was recorded by Abu'l Hasan 'Ali al-Masudi (d. 957)¹³⁵ amongst others. The beginning of portraiture from life at Abbasid courts may have been some combination of these three factors.

Farid ad-Din Attar (c. 1120-1220) records perhaps the earliest named Moslem portrait painter, who was the father of the renowned Sufi Master Abu Sa'id ibn Abu'l-Khayr (967-1049). Active during the reign of Sultan Yamin ad-Dawla Mahmud of Ghazna (998-1030),

¹³⁴ Such as the 3.15m. stone portrait figure of an ambassador from the tomb of the Song Emperor Zhenzong (d.1022) by Gongxian in Henan Province, *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art*, J. Rawson (ed.), (1999) 149 fig. 100.

¹³⁵ Arnold 1965, 93, citing Masudi's "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems", 1861, Vol. 1, 315-8. For the trade route from Basra - al-Ubullah to Canton operating from the 8th c. to 947, Hourani 1995, 61ff, note to 69, 140-1. Islamic diplomatic missions to China are recorded by Chinese sources from 651 onwards, and during the Song period, 960-1279, 20 embassies are recorded reaching Southern China, others reaching the Laio of Northern China in the 10th c., E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (1888) Vol. 1, 265, while M. S. Gordon, *The breaking of a thousand swords-A history of the Turkish Military of Samarra AH 200-275/ 815-889* (2001) 36 fn. 244, records a possible Chinese embassy to the Samanid Nasr ibn Ahmad (864-92). There are repeated references to Chinese figural and other painters from the late 10th c. onwards; as in the competition between the Rumi and Chinese painters mentioned by Abu'l-Qasim Firdawsī (d.1025-6) in his "Shah-Nameh", by Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali (1059-1111) in his "Ihya' ulum ad-Din", "Revitalisation of the religious sciences", Barry 2004, 9, 128, also told by Nizami of Ganja in the first part of his "Iskander-Name" entitled the "Sharafnamah", or "Book of Nobility", of c.1200, a competition which Alexander the Great judges, and by Jelalad-Din Rumi in his *Mathnavi*, Nicholson 1982, Bk. 1, v. 3469ff, as also, "Twill rival China's paintings, Arjang's (Mani's) pictured leaf," in Sadi's (d.1259) "Gulistan", *The Rose Garden of Shekh Muslihu'd-Din Sadi of Shiraz*, E. B. Eastwick (ed.), 1974, 15, allusions that indicate Chinese paintings and perhaps portraits were known from the 10th c. onwards at Baghdad and elsewhere, perhaps Chinese portrait painters had even worked in Baghdad. For a fine example of 8th c. Chinese portraiture, Portal 2000, 77, fig. 40. For contacts with al-Sila, Korea, Hourani 1995, 72; for mention of the Koryo dynasty (918-1392)'s "Tohwawon", the government bureau of painting, modeled on the Song example, and of the import of paintings from China, Portal 2000, 91-2. For the significance of the change from the depiction of an inner type in a portrait of a ruler, to the depiction of an individual's facial likeness, Coomaraswamy 1956, 117-29.

Abu'l-Khayr was a noteworthy painter, who had painted portraits of Sultan Mahmud and of his armies' battles and his elephants within Sultan Mahmud's palace¹³⁶, however it is unclear if these were portraits of the ruler as a type or were from life. Nizami'Arudi-i-Samarqandi in his "Chahar Maqala" or Four Discourses, written in the mid 12th century, records another, Abu Nasr ibn 'Arraq, who amongst his other skills, as a mathematician and astronomer, was also a portrait artist able to record a sufficient likeness for the person depicted in one of his portraits to be recognized on the basis of a copy of this portrait. Nizami relates that Abu Ali ibn Sina (Avicenna 980-1037), Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (973-1048), Abu'l Hassan Khammar, Abu Sahl Masihi, Abu Nasr ibn 'Arraq and other scholars at the court of Abu-l-'Abbas Ma'mun b. Ma'mun, Ma'munid Khwarizmshah (1009-1017) were requested/required to be sent to grace the court of the mighty Sultan Mahmud, prior to the Ghaznavid annexation of the prince's territory in 1017. Both ibn Sina and Masihi escaped from Sultan Mahmud's request, but Masihi died while making his escape, Ibn Sina made his way to the court of Shams al-Ma'ali Qabus b. Vushmagir of Gurgan (978-1012). During the course of Ibn Sina's journey via Abiward, Tus and Nishapur to Gurgan, Sultan Mahmud had circulated 40 (probably meaning many) copies of a portrait drawn on paper that had been made of Ibn Sina by Abu Nasr ibn 'Arraq, to all of the courts in the region. Upon ibn Sina's arrival at the court of Shams al-Ma'ali Qabus, having cured a favorite relative of Sultan Qabus, he was recognized from one of these copies of the portrait that had been made of him by Abu Nasr ibn 'Arraq, and he was given sanctuary by Sultan Qabus¹³⁷. This passage clearly indicates the accuracy of some court portraiture at the start of the 11th c., before 1012, of a familiarity with portraits drawn from life at courts and of some of the uses made of this art in providing and keeping a visual record of the likeness of famous or important people. It may well be that the official post of court portraitist existed both in the capital and at the Samanid, Ghaznavid and other courts of the period.

The marriage of the daughter¹³⁸ of the Abbasid Caliph Abu Ja'far al-Qa'im (1031-75) to the first Great Seljuk Sultan Rukn-ad-Dunya-wa-d-Din Tughrul I (1038-63) was marked by the issuing in 1063 of a gold medallion at "Madinat al-Salam", Baghdad, having a diameter

¹³⁶ Arnold 1965, 26, citing Attar's, "Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya". The painting of battle scenes with portraits continued under Timur in the 14th c. as Ahmed ibn Arabshah relates in his contemporary account, "Timur the Great Emir", in the North Garden Köşk at Samarkand, supervised by the famous artist Abdul Hayy captured by Timur in Baghdad in 1393 (quoted in J. Marozzi, Tamerlane 2005, 214.), and which is also recorded by Muhammad Zahir al-Din Barbur in his "Barbur-Nama", "painted inside with the paintings of his battles in Hindustan", A. S. Beveridge (trans.) Barbur-nama (memoirs of Barbur) Zahirud-din Muhammad Barbur Padshah Gazi (1990) 78. Barbur also records by Herat in 1506, a large room in a park köşk-complex with paintings commissioned by Abu-Said Mirza that, "depicts his own wars and encounters", idem, 302; as also by the Ottomans in the 16th c., eg. by Busbecq in his first letter, where battle scenes on the folding doors in one of the Sultan Süleyman's pavilion-köşk in the Black Sea region depicted the battle between Sultan Selim and Shah Ismael at Caldiran 1514, Busbecq 2001, 26; at the Karabali gardens, recorded by Reinhold Lubenau, G. Necipoğlu, "The suburban landscape of sixteenth century Istanbul as a mirror of classical Ottoman Garden Culture", 32-71, in A. Petruccioli (ed.), Gardens in the time of the great Muslim Empires (1997) 33, of painted battle scenes at pavilion-köşk, and these battle scenes finds their precedent in the great painted iwan of Ctesiphon and its Sassanid battle scenes of the capture of Antioch, preserved into the 9th c. as recorded by the poet al-Buhturi (821-891), Irwin 1999, 139-142.

¹³⁷ E. G. Browne, Revised translation of the Chahar Maqala, 1921, Anecdote XXXV, 87; Arnold 1965, 127.

¹³⁸ Nishapuri names her Sayyida, sister (but rather daughter) of the Caliph, and records that the betrothal was at Tabriz, where "all the city was decorated and they scattered much money, and the Chief Judge of Baghdad concluded the marriage contract.", The History of the Seljuk Turks from the Jami al-Tawarikh, an Ilkhanid adaption of the Saljuq-Nama of Zahir, C. E. Bosworth (ed.), K. A. Luther (trans.) 2001, 44-5 and fn. 36. The marriage contract was made in 1062 but the Sultan did not meet his wife, he was campaigning in Armenia, until the following year in Baghdad, where the medallion would have been struck, shortly before he died at Rayy, Bosworth 1968, 48-9; G. Makdisi, "The marriage of Tughril Bey", IJMES, 1, No. 3, 1970, 259-75.

of 45 mms., carrying a frontal portrait on each face¹³⁹(Fig. 16). The differences between the faces of the two figures on this medallion are marked and each is individualized, beards, moustaches, form of face and hair style, as well as dress are quite distinct and, compared to surviving 9th and 10th c. medallions¹⁴⁰, a far greater degree of particularity of individual facial characteristics is recorded. On the obverse is a depiction of a figure enthroned seated cross legged, crowned, with braided hair, a moustache and pointed beard, within an encircling legend giving the kalima and the name of the Caliph. On the reverse, the encircling legend names the Sultan and gives his titles, enclosing a depiction of an elderly figure with beard and long moustache, wearing a “kulah”, seated cross legged, holding the cup of the world in his hand, similar in type, although marked by a much greater individualization, to the depictions of the Caliphs on 10th c. medallions. Although as İbrahim Artuk says¹⁴¹ there is no hard evidence that either of these portraits are of Sultan Tughrul I, given the type of earlier depictions of Caliphs on earlier medallions, one can suggest the reverse depicts the elderly Caliph al-Qa'im and that the obverse depicts Sultan Tughrul enthroned.

Dawlatshah in his “Memories of the Poets” of 1487, records that the poet Adib Sabir was sent by the Great Seljuk Sultan Ahmad Sanjar (1118-1157) to keep a watch over 'Alaed-Din Kizil Arslan Atsiz, Prince of Khwarizm (1127-56) and, when Kizil Arslan Atsiz hired two assassins to go to Merv to murder Sultan Sanjar, Adib Sabir sent a message warning the Sultan of the plot. He enclosed, together with his message, doubtless written in code, the portraits¹⁴² of both assassins. These portraits, either quick sketches or possibly copies of portraits of the assassins made at Kizil Arslan's court for record purposes, were conveyed secretly to the Sultan at Merv in the shoe of an old woman, suggesting they were drawn on silk rather than on paper. The assassins were identified, apprehended and executed and, when news of this reached Alaed-Din Atsiz, he had Adib Sabir bound hand and foot and drowned in the Oxus River in 1151-2¹⁴³.

Sadid ad-Din Muhammad 'Awfi writing in the early 13th century describes the palace of the Seljuk Prince Turanshah at Herat in the second half of the 12th c. as “decorated with sculpture (perhaps of stucco), frescoes and *of royal portraits in medallions* which were located within the princely (rather than “public”) quarters of the palace”¹⁴⁴. It is unclear if these portraits were of the ruler type with inscriptions or were made from drawings made from life.

¹³⁹ Turan 1993, 389; Artuk - Artuk 1960, Lev. III, 39-40; Batur, 1994, Cat. No. 3. This very rare example is today in the Yapı Kredi Bank Collection: Şentürk - Özpallabıyıklar 2004, Inv. No. 8187, 345.

¹⁴⁰ See for example, from the original in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Arnold 1965, fig LIX fig d.; N.A.R. Daftar, “The medallion of Caliph al-Mutawakkil”, 170-1 in, the Numismatic Chronicle, CXXXVII, 1977; Artuk 1960, Lev. II, Fig 2; Artuk - Artuk 1971, Cat. No. 1033, 336-7, the inscription names Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyar; Erginsoy 1978, 338-40.

¹⁴¹ Artuk 1960, 36.

¹⁴² Browne 1997, 308, says “portraits or descriptions”, but G. Necipoğlu, citing Devletshah, is clear as to these being portraits of the assassins, Necipoğlu 2000, 22, fn. 4. and given the above references to the use of portraits for identification purposes, as also the difficulty of recognizing anybody from just a verbal description in the absence of truly remarkable features, it seems visual portraits of the assassins, rather than verbal descriptions, were what was meant.

¹⁴³ For this date Necipoğlu 2000, citing Devletşah el-Semerikandi, “Tezkiretü's-şu'era Tezkere-i Devletşah”, N. Lugal (haz.), (1963) 157-8. However, Browne 1997, 308, gives three possible dates for this, Daulatshah's of 1151-2; in or before 1147 given in the “Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-gusha” by 'Ata Malik Juwayni, secretary the Mongol Hulagu Khan, and that what he suggests is the most probable, 1143-4, given by Dr. Ethé.

¹⁴⁴ R. Hillenbrand, Islamic architecture-form, function and meaning, 2000, 414, no footnote given, but presumably from the, “Jawami' al-hikayat wa lawami ar-riwayat”.

Al-Husain b. Muhammad b. Ali al-Ja'fari al-Rugadi, ibn Bibi records¹⁴⁵ that life-like portraits were secretly made of 13 eligible men at the Seljuk court, including portraits of the 12 sons of Sultan Kiliç Arslan II (1155-1190), so that the daughter of Queen Tamara of Georgia (1184-1211), could choose her husband. It was from this collection of 13 portraits that her daughter chose her husband, the Rum Seljuk prince, ruler of Tokat and future Sultan, Rukn al-Din Suleyman Shah (1197-1204). No doubt there were other factors at work in her choice of husband in addition to these portraits, but ibn Bibi's account relates that these portraits were made to be as accurate, as life-like, "*as they (the sitters) appeared in fact*" ¹⁴⁶. The fact that these naturalistic portraits had been made of his father and uncles, was known to Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I. This passage carries the clear implication that with the consent of Sultan Kiliç Arslan for these naturalistic portraits to be made of his sons, members of his court, for this purpose, naturalistic portraiture recording the physical likeness of an individual was as accepted a part of court culture towards the end of the 12th c. at the Rum Seljuk court, as it was in Georgia.

One of the most famous poets in courtly circles as elsewhere was Hakim Jamal al-Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas b.Yusuf b.Zakib. Mu'ayyad Nizami of Ganja (c. 1140-1217), whose references to painters of accurate naturalistic portraits and to their work, as also to sculptors and to sculpture, form key themes in his narrative poetry. His writings carry no hint of disapproval of these artists, their skills or the images they make, rather, he expects his audience, with his works dedicated to rulers¹⁴⁷, to find nothing odd in painted portraits of people, for his audience to be familiar with portraits and with the idea that portraits were used to recognize people. Incidents in Nizami's works involving painted portraits and sculptures were repeatedly chosen as the subjects for miniatures illustrating the manuscript texts of his works, the earliest illuminated examples of which have not survived, but, given their dedications to princes, his manuscripts were doubtless illuminated in the

¹⁴⁵ Ibn Bibi 1996, cilt 1, 85-88. The name and origin of this portrait painter, probably Queen Tamara's court portraitist, is unknown, Georgian, Armenian, Byzantine, Azeri, Turk, Persian? At that time at court, ability was important and, often to a lesser extent, religious confession, the matter of ethnicity being not of any great significance, consequently ibn Bibi doesn't bother to mention it; although at the end of the 13th c. Rashid al-Din's *Vakıfnama* mentions Turkish, Qaravin, Rumi, Georgian, Indian and negro craftsmen employed at his Rashidi quarter near Tabriz on calligraphy, painting, as gold-smiths, in gardening, music, architecture etc. G. Inal, "Artistic relationships between the far and the near east as reflected in the miniatures of the *Gami at-Tawarih*", *Kunst des Orients* X1-2, 113. There seems to be no evidence of portraiture on Georgian coins, except for the earlier depiction of King Giorgi III (1156-84), of 1174, seated cross legged, crowned by a cross but otherwise similar to 10th c. depictions of caliphs and sultans on medallions, D. M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatic history of Georgia*, 21, No. 9, Pl. II, a depiction which may echo an Artukid coin, given the change in Georgian currency from Byzantine style to Islamic after 1122. This same selection of a marriage partner from a series of portraits, occurred a little over two centuries later, when Charles VI (1368-1422) of France had to choose a wife from a Bavarian, an Austrian and a Lorraine Duchess, and the "*Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denis*" records that a talented painter was sent to each of the three courts and the three portraits were then submitted to the king, who chose Isabella of Bavaria, on account of her beauty.

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Bibi 1996, 88, "*Orada o, şebzadelerin yüzünü olduğu gibi çizsin. Onların evde ve sokaktaki davranışları ve buylarını gözlemlensin*", "So let it be that there he should draw the portraits of the Princes as they appear in fact. Also their manners and habits both at home and in the streets should be observed".

¹⁴⁷ The "*Makhzan al-Asrar*" or "*Treasury of Secrets*", completed c. 1174-5, the first epic of the "*Khamsa*", was dedicated to the Mengüjekid Fakhr al-Din Bahram-Shah of Erzincan (1162-1225) and Nizami received 5,000 dinars and 5 nimble mules from Fakhr al-Din in appreciation; "*Khusrev and Shirin*", (after 1181) was dedicated to the Iraqi Seljuk Toghril III (1176-94); "*Layla and Majnun*" of 1188, was composed for the Shirvan-Shah Akhsitan (r. 1160-79, d. c.1197-1204); the "*Haft Paikar*" of 1197, is dedicated to the Aqsunqurid 'Ala al-Din Körp-Arslan, Prince of Maragheh (1188-1208); while the "*Iskander-Nama*", completed about 1203, carries a dedication to 'Izz al-Din Mas'ud II, ruler of Mosul (1211-1218).

13th c., familiarizing both reader and listener with portraiture and with the use of painted portraits as a means of identification of the beloved¹⁴⁸ or, as in the *Īskandernama*, of identifying Alexander the Great from his portrait. Both Farhad the sculptor and Shapur the painter have key roles in Nizami's tale of "Khusraw wa Shirin", with the third portrait that was painted by Shapur bringing together the lovers; while Nizami's fourth epic, the "Seven Pictures" or "Haft Paiker" is based around the seven portraits of the seven princesses from the seven climes, together with the portrait that had been painted of himself, that Bahram V Gur discovers in a room behind a locked door in the castle of Khawarnaq. Bahram falls in love with each of these seven princesses from the accurate painted images, long before he sees and marries them.

Jelalad-Din Rumi (1207-73) alludes amongst his frequent references to painters and painting, as a commonplace of the time in his *Mathnavi*¹⁴⁹, to portraits of people both beautiful and ugly, and of some portraits depicting emotions on the face of the sitter and in consequence he remarks, presumably to one of the portrait painters within his circle, perhaps to his "murid" and convert to Islam, Ala'ed-Din Thrayanos, to his "murid" and convert to Islam, Ayn al-Devla ar-Rum or to his "murid" who remained Orthodox, Kalo Yani¹⁵⁰: "If you depict the portrait on the paper as sorrowful, it has no lesson (learns nothing) of joy or sorrow. Its appearance is sorrowful, but it is free of that (sorrow), or its appearance is smiling, but it has no (inward) impression of that joy."¹⁵¹ Jelalad-Din Rumi also relates that painters painted pictures that caused, "the remembering of departed friends by

¹⁴⁸ Later Khwaju Kirmani of Tabriz's (1290-1353), *Humay* and *Humayun*, was also based around a painted portrait, familiarizing the reader-listener with court portraiture. Barry 2004, 121 ff.

¹⁴⁹ Book 2 is dated h. 662, 1263-4. Rumi's references to painters-artists and paintings in the *Mathnavi* include some that draw the analogy between the Creator and the painter, Creation and a picture. Figural paintings are mentioned as an accepted, and it seems, a common part of the urban environment; at times, painters and paintings are employed by Rumi as an aid to understanding the nature of the temporal world and of its ephemeral nature: Nicholson 1982, Bk. 1, 1982, v. 1020, "The painting on the wall is like Adam; see from the (pictured) form that thing that is wanting.", as also, v. 2765, "To the picture of a fish, what is the difference between land and sea?", and, v. 3035, "What else (but good) should the picture think of the painter, since he bestowed thought and knowledge upon it?"; Nicholson 1982, Bk. 2, v. 2537ff, a parable employing the ability of a painter to paint both the beautiful and the ugly to describe the nature of Creation; as also, Bk. 3, v. 1372, "The ugliness of the script is not the ugliness of the artist; nay, 'tis an exhibition of the ugly by him. The power (skill) of the artist is that he can make both the ugly and the beautiful"; Bk. 3, v. 937, "When the picture (creature) struggles hand to hand with the painter (Creator) it only tears out its own moustaches and beard."; Nicholson 1982, Bk. 4, v. 381ff, "What authority should the pictures (phenomenal forms) desire to exercise over such an Artist for the purpose of testing Him? If it (the picture) has known and experienced any trial, is it not the case that that the Artist brought that (trial) upon it? Indeed, this form that He fashioned-what is it worth in comparison with the forms which are in His knowledge? Other verses indicate both a knowledge of painters, of their skills and of paintings: *ibid*, Bk. 5, v. 1502, "You were averting your face from the Painter of the face; since you were gaining heart's delight from a (mere) picture."; Bk. 1, v. 611, "Before the painter and the brush the picture is helpless and bound like a child in the womb."; Bk. 4, v. 2562, "I saw (beautiful) pictures and paintings in the house"; Bk. 5, v. 3093, "The carpenter has authority over a piece of wood, and the artist has authority over the portrait of a beauty". He also relates the famous story of the competition between the Rumi, and the Chinese painters, Bk. 1, v. 3469ff., won in this case by the Roman-Byzantines who are equated to the Sufi, with a heart like a mirror. For the tradition of associating the Byzantines with the skilled depictions of people, see El-Cheikh 2001, 57, citing al-Jahiz (d.868), Ibn al-Faqih (d.903) and Zakariyya al-Qazvini (d.1283).

¹⁵⁰ Turan 2006, 469; Turan 1993, 389 and fn. 266. Eflaki records both Ayn al-Devla and Kalo Yani excelled in the representing of human figures, S. Vryonis, "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor", D.O.P., Vol. 29, 1975, 67-8.

¹⁵¹ Nicholson 1982, Bk. 1, v. 2766. Zakariyya al-Qazvini (1203-83) also remarks in his *'Atharu'l-Bilad* that the Byzantines had great skills in painting, "they paint the human being laughing or crying, happy or sad", El-Cheikh 2001, 57.

their friends”¹⁵², clearly implying the painting of recognizable individualized naturalistic portraits at that time and that these works were by no means rare in Rum Seljuk Anatolia, at least at court and within urban society. He also relates in his *Mathnavi*¹⁵³ a tale concerning a naturalistic portrait drawn on paper that caused the Sultan of Egypt to send an army to Mosul to obtain from its ruler the girl whose portrait had been depicted on the paper: “An informer said to the Caliph of Egypt, “The king of Mawsil (Mosul) is wedded to a houri. He holds in his arms a girl like whom there is no (other) beauty in the world. She doesn’t admit of description, for her loveliness is beyond (all) limits: *here is her portrait on paper*.” When the Emperor (sic) saw the portrait on the paper, he became distraught and the cup dropped from his hand.”...“When the envoy came to the captain, *he (the captain) gave him the paper on which the features of the girl were depicted*. (Saying), “Look on the paper: this (is what) I require. Hark, give (her up), or else I will take her by force, for I am the Conqueror.” On the return of the envoy, that manly king (of Mawsil) said, “Take no account of a (mere) form, lead her away at once. I am not an idolater in the epoch of the True Faith: ‘tis more fit the idol should be in the hands of the idolater”¹⁵⁴. A tale perhaps indicative of the quality and the power of 13th c. court naturalistic portraiture.

Shemsed-Din Ahmed Dede Aflaki records in his “Menakib al-Arifin”(begun within 45 years of Rumi’s death in 1318 at the request of Rumi’s grandson Chelibi Amir ‘Arif and completed in 1353) that during Jelalad-Din Rumi’s lifetime there was a great painter, greater than Mani¹⁵⁵, who was called “Aynu’l Devla ar-Rum”, possibly the official title given to the Rum Seljuk court portraitist and meaning, “the eye of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate”, who was a convert to Islam¹⁵⁶. In Konya, “The Lady¹⁵⁷ gave ‘Aynu’l Devla ar-Rum presents and ordered him to draw a picture of Rumi. She told him the picture should be as “lively¹⁵⁸”, as lifelike as possible, so that she might take it on her journey (to Kayseri). Aynu’l Devla in the company of some officers (of the court) went to Rumi and wanted to tell him of the situation, but before he could open his mouth, Rumi said, “If you can draw my picture it will be a great achievement¹⁵⁹”. The painter brought some paper and turned his face towards Rumi who was standing. The painter, casting a glance at his face, began to draw Rumi’s picture and looked at Rumi again and found his face changed. Upon this he drew another picture. When he had finished it he found Rumi’s face changed again. He drew 20 pictures

¹⁵² Nicholson 1982, Bk. 4, v. 2881.

¹⁵³ Nicholson 1982, Bk. 5, v. 3831-3853.

¹⁵⁴ Perhaps the negotiations between Faris al-Din Aqtay al-Jamdar head of the Bahri Mamlukes in 1254 and of al-Malik al-Mu’izz, Sultan of Egypt in 1257, for the hand of the daughter of the ruler of Mosul, R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages-The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382*, 1986, 28, 29, is the basis of this tale.

¹⁵⁵ Reputedly a great artist and founder of Manichaeism (c.216 - 274), whose name was employed to describe great artists of the Islamic world, as Apelles was by those educated in the Greek-Roman tradition.

¹⁵⁶ Turan 2006, 469; Kaymaz 1970, fn. 106, “rumi”, a Byzantine. Neither scholar indicates if this name was a official or an honorific title given to this portraitist, or if it was the name he adopted when he converted to Islam.

¹⁵⁷ That is Princess Tamara, daughter of Queen Rusudan of Georgia (1223-47) and the Mengukid ruler of Erzurum. Princess Tamara’s marriage to Giyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II was proposed in 1231 by Queen Rusadan and Princess Tamara was the wife of the Sultan from 1239-47. She remarried in 1266, marrying the Regent of Rum Seljuk Anatolia under Mongol overlordship, the Pervane, Mu’min ad-Din Süleyman. She had converted to Islam, was a “murid” of Mevlana Jelalad-Din Rumi and paid part of the costs of the erection of his tomb in Konya, a total of about 130,000 dirhams, Kaymaz 1970, fn. 106; Türkmen 1992, 57.

¹⁵⁸ Türkmen 1992, 29.

¹⁵⁹ Amongst other references to painting, Rumi “calls himself a painter whose images melt away in the presence of the divine beloved”, J. Renard, *Seven doors to Islam-Spirituality and the religious life of Muslims*, 1996, 127.

one after another, and each time Rumi's face was different. He became astonished, broke his pen, and shouting and crying he bowed down in front of Rumi...Aynu'l Devla came out shedding tears. People took the papers (drawings) to the Georgian Lady and she put them in her box. Whenever she desired to see Rumi's face and would try to look at these pictures, Rumi's actual face would appear in front of her and she would feel happy."¹⁶⁰. Important is the fact that the patron requested that the portrait be naturalistic, as lifelike as possible, that the portraits were drawn on paper, that the artist was able to record 20 portraits in a brief period of time and that these portrait drawings were then stored in a box¹⁶¹. Also important is that the artist seems to have been attached to the court, was given presents for this commission and was given an escort of officers. These portraits were drawn between 1266 and 1273¹⁶².

From the above recorded examples it can be suggested that the profile portrait on this seal of Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I and that from Kubadabad, formed a part of the naturalistic portrait tradition at Abbasid courts outlined above, of making a likeness of a specific individual. The actions of both Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and Qabus b. Vushmagir were well known to Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat¹⁶³ who was himself a knowledgeable and skilled artist¹⁶⁴, including the account of the accurate portrait made of ibn Sina by Abu Nasr ibn 'Arraq and copied and circulated from Sultan Mahmud's court. These 11th c. rulers, together with Nizam al-Mulk, were the Sultan's exemplars and teachers, as is recorded by ibn Bibi. From the above accounts the recording of a likeness of a particular individual was for a variety of purposes related to the recognition of a particular individual by members of the court, by officials and at times portraits were made for members of the urban population. Some of these naturalistic portraits were kept secure in boxes, establishing at courts an archived record of particular individuals' actual appearance. The earliest examples given above, from the 11th c., precede examples of naturalistic portraiture in Western Europe by nearly three centuries¹⁶⁵, but the almost total loss of this naturalistic court portraiture¹⁶⁶ has often led scholars to be skeptical of its existence, or to regard it as an

¹⁶⁰ Menakib al-Arifin, 3/374, quoted in Türkmen 1992, 28-9. Traditionally a painter was required to be what they represented by means of art and this inability of Ayn al-Devla to depict a true likeness of Rumi was known to Rumi, hence his remark, "If you can draw my portrait it will be a great achievement". Rumi wrote, "Study me as much as you like, you will not know me, for I differ in a hundred ways from what you see me to be... for I have chosen to dwell in a place you cannot see", and even with the substitution of mimicry for mimesis, the imitation of the externals for the imitation of the essentials, Coomaraswamy 1956, 127, a portrait proved impossible.

¹⁶¹ The "Qisas al-Anbiya", "Tales of the Prophets", written in the 11th c. by the compiler Abu Ishaq Ahmad an-Nishaburi, Ath-Tha'labi of Nishapur (d.1036), Barry 2004, 245, relates that some time after 632 some of the Companions of the Prophet traveled to Constantinople, where they were shown by Emperor Heraclius (610-41) a series of portraits of all the Prophets, from Adam to Muhammad, that had been painted on silk by the visionary Prophet Daniel and which were kept in a precious casket. This tale indicated to a 11th c. audience that portraiture was not anathema to the Prophets, that there was a portrait of the Prophet Muhammad; that successive related figures, in this case Prophets, could form a chain of images; that portraits were perhaps painted on silk in the 11th c. perhaps following Chinese examples and, that collections of portraits of individuals may have been stored in caskets, as is recorded for this collection of portraits drawn of Jelalad-Din Rumi.

¹⁶² Türkmen 1992, 28, "after the death of her husband she married Pervane and became attached to Rumi's spiritual supervision", was his "murid"; Kaymaz 1970, fn. 106.

¹⁶³ Ibn Bibi 1997, cilt 1, 246. Ibn Bibi cites from the Qabus-Nameh of c.1082.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Bibi 1997, cilt 1, 247.

¹⁶⁵ P. Williamson records, "Even at this date (the 1230's) even royal effigies were not intended as portraits, but rather as idealized noble types. It was not until the end of the following century...that royal portraiture even in a limited sense was first seen.", Williamson 1995, 111.

¹⁶⁶ A similar situation to the loss of naturalistic portraits also exists for illustrated manuscripts, the literary evidence indicates illuminated paintings of people in texts as well as frontispieces and of individual paintings as early as

aberration. However, naturalistic portraiture was not foreign to the Islamic courts of the period and it is within this court context of lifelike portraiture that Sultan Ala'ed-Din's portraits on these two seal impressions can be seen. These two seal impressions are perhaps the only intact examples of profile portraits from life to survive from those that were produced at Islamic courts between perhaps the late 10th and the 13th c.

Part III A possible Rum Seljuk contribution to Italian late 13th-14th c. profile portraiture

The fact that cultural artifacts from the world of Islam, textiles, carpets, decorated metal ware, glasswork etc, often carrying tiraz type inscriptions in Arabic, were imported into, or sent as diplomatic gifts to the Italian maritime-trading states, together with raw materials vital to western manufacturing, such as the mordant alum, dyes, as also silk, cotton and other textiles, wheat, sugar, precious stones such as lapis lazuli, gold and spices, is well known; as is the impact upon renaissance art and artists, both in Italy and north of the Alps, of this contact with the culture of Islam¹⁶⁷. This resulted in the depiction of Arabic and pseudo-Arabic inscriptions in international gothic and renaissance paintings, sculpture and other works of art¹⁶⁸, of the depiction of turbaned figures in oriental dress in works of art and the depictions of other "exotica" from the East in paintings and engravings¹⁶⁹ as in sculpture. However, distinct from examples of oriental "exotica" imported into Western Europe, there is the possibility that there were perhaps more significant contacts in the first half of the 13th century, during the formative years of the Italian renaissance, between the mercantile states of Venice, Florence, Pisa and Genoa and the Seljuk Sultanate of

the 8th century, the 731 translation and illumination of the Sassanid Book of Kings and adorned, illustrated and ornamented copies of the Book of Kalila and Dimna and the Book of Mazdak, all translated into Arabic by 'Abd Allah ibn al-Muqaffa, are mentioned in 840, Browne 1997, Vol. I, 332; Barry 2004, 66; as obviously the scientific translations into Arabic of the late 8th-9th c. were illustrated, copying antique illuminations, as the subsequent copies of these works of translation indicate, but with the exception of earlier 8th c. (?) non figurative Sana fragments of illuminated Koran frontispieces, these earlier illuminated works have not themselves survived. Examples exist only from the 11th c. onwards, copies of al-Sufi (d.986)'s astronomy "Kitab suwar al-kawakib" from the first decade of the 11th c. being the earliest, followed by the illustrated "Materia Medica" of 1083 in Leiden with 620 images,. This is also the case for carpets as a group prior to the 13th-14th c., with the exception of small fragments, earlier carpets for which extensive literary references survive, see Serjeant 1972, have not survived; while for figural sculpture the situation is with few exceptions, equally dire, and the loss of sculptural court automata, perhaps from the 8th c. to the 13th c., has been total.

¹⁶⁷ See: Sir T. Arnold - A. Guillaume, *The Legacy of Islam* (1947) 108-154; J. Beckwith, *The influence of Islamic art on Western Medieval Art* (1989); J. Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the oriental mode* (1982); *Re-Orienting the Renaissance-Cultural Exchanges with the East*, G. MacLean (ed.) (2005) 1-28; G. Renda, "Europeans and the Ottomans: interactions in art", 1091-1129 in, H. İnalcık - G. Renda (ed.), *Ottoman Civilisation*, Vol. 2 (2004) 1091-2.

¹⁶⁸ As on Duccio's, "The Maesta" of 1308-11, in the M. del Opera del Duomo, Siena, on the cloth behind the Virgin and on the cushion beneath her, and on Paolo Veneziano's "Coronation of the Virgin" of c.1350, in the Accademia, Venice, where tiraz inscriptions are on the cloth held by the angels, as on the borders of the garments worn by both Christ and the Virgin and by the angels at the foot of the composition, amongst many other examples of tiraz in Italian painting from the 14th and 15th centuries. In sculpture, Andrea del Verrocchio's bronze statue of "David" of 1473-5 in the Bargello, Florence, has a garment border of pseudo-thuluth script.

¹⁶⁹ Employed in part to concretize and associate the "other" in western Christian eyes, no longer only with the Jew, but, through dressing Jewish figures in Christian religious works such as in Dürer's "Ecce Homo", in the actual dress of Moslems, Ottomans and Mamlukes, rather than in the dress worn by oriental Jews, thereby suggesting that the Moslems mocked Christ, to vilify Islam by visually linking Islam and Moslems to the Christian view of the sins of the Jews, as in the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch (c.1450-1516) in his: *Ecce Homo*, the *Ship of Fools*, the *Last Judgement*, and with the Moslems being placed amongst the residents of Hell in his triptych entitled the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, as also in the engravings of Albrecht Dürer (1471-28) and others, this being the reason it seems for Phillip II of Spain's collection of Bosch's paintings.

Rum. There is the possibility that examples of court portraiture from the Sultanate of Rum reached these Italian states as paintings or drawings on paper or silk, as also on profile portrait seals attached to treaties and other documents to, in part, inspire the development of early Italian renaissance profile portraiture. Rum Seljuk naturalistic profile portraits, like this seal, may have worked, in combination with examples of portraiture from ancient Roman art, primarily coins and relief sculpture, together with Pliny's references to Roman portraiture and the relief sculptures of Nicola Pisani (active 1250's -84) and his school¹⁷⁰, to produce the early renaissance profile portrait. With the trade treaties between the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and the Venetian Republic of 1207 and of March 1220, renewable every two years and with no evidence to indicate this did not happen, it is possible that seals, perhaps of this same profile portrait type but of gold, were attached to communications between Sultan Ala'ed-Din Keykubat I, written in red ink, as with Byzantine Imperial decrees, and Doge Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) and probably also his successor, Doge Giacomo Tiepolo (1229-1249), which became lodged within the Venetian archives¹⁷¹. Perhaps more than 12 gold Seljuk portrait seals attached to treaties reached Venice, as the 1220 treaty was recorded as "an exchange of chrysobulls", of documents authenticated by gold seals stamped with the portrait of the ruler, a "bulla aurea"¹⁷². This possibility of Rum Seljuk influence passes unrecognized in the scholarly literature concerning early Italian renaissance art and, for obvious religious reasons it is unlikely to have been acknowledged by any of the contemporary or later Italian sources. Admittedly the same antique example for profile portraiture were available in Italy as may in part underlie the earlier development of profile portraiture in Rum Seljuk Anatolia, but the occurrence of profile portraiture of a least one ruler in a powerful contemporary state and trading partner, may have been a factor in the development of profile portraiture in Italy. In this context, it can be noted that the profile portrait on this seal predates by nearly a century the development of naturalistic profile painted portraits of contemporary rulers by Italian artists¹⁷³ and, secondly, that

¹⁷⁰ And his associates, Giovanni Pisani, Nicola's son (c.1265-c.1315) and Nicola's pupil Arnolfo di Cambio (active c.1267) who combined Roman Imperial and gothic styles, having trained under masters of the Romanizing school in southern Italy, a legacy of Emperor Frederick II, Williamson 1995, 134-6. "Sculpture changed in the hands of Nicola and his son Giovanni more precociously than painting in the development of facial individuality and bodily movement, and what painting achieved on these lines was due in part to the imitation of sculpture", G. Holmes, *Florence, Rome and the Origins of the Renaissance*, (1988) 144.

¹⁷¹ Giving a total of at least 8 portrait seals to Venice from the reign of Ala'ed-Din Keykubat I, and there is no reason to suggest this renewal of the treaty every two years did not continue under his successor, at least until the Mongol defeat of 1243, giving a further 4 portrait seals. Following this defeat, Rum Seljuk coinage for 4-5 years loses its images and becomes almost entirely calligraphic on dinars and dirhems until the first reign of Sultan Kilic Arslan IV 1248-9, and perhaps the portrait on the Sultan's own seal was also terminated, but this is speculation. Thus, from 1220 to 1243, a total of perhaps 12 Seljuk portrait seals "chrysobull", went to Venice, one to Pisa in 1229 and one to Florence in 1240 on treaties, with perhaps other portrait seals attached to other documents. Florence and Pisa were also key city states in the transition from the *Maniera Greca-Byzanto-Gothic* of Trecento Italian art to that of the Renaissance, hence the importance of examples of 13th c. Rum Seljuk portraiture reaching these states at this time.

¹⁷² Uyumaz 2006, 108; Martin 1980, 324-5; Turan 2000, cilt I, 169.

¹⁷³ For the profile bust on the gold Augustales of Emperor Frederick II, see above fn. 79. Giotto (1266-1337) had produced profile portraits at the Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello) in Florence, c. 1302, including those of Dante, of Dante's master Brunetto Latini and a self portrait, other profile portraits, of Pope Clement V (1305-15) in the Guelph Palace, Florence and of Cardinal Stefaneschi in the Vatican Polyptych; by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1319-47) in his fresco of "Good Government" in the Siena town hall of 1337-9, Pope-Hennessy 1966, 4, fn. 1, 35; and profile portraits from life of St. Francis, St. Dominic and of Giotto at Arezzo, pre 1306; Simone Martini (c.1284-1344) had painted a profile portrait of Cimabue in the Chapter house of Santa Maria Novella and one of himself using two mirrors, G. Vasari, trans. G. Bull, "Lives of the Artists", 1987, Vol. 1, 58, 60, 62, 56; while, in "Gothic Italy the use of a profile portrait for the donor of an altarpiece was an almost invariable rule", Pope-Hennessy 1966, 35. J. Steer records that, "By the middle of the (15th) century the profile form of the portrait head which, partly under

following the issuing of the unique “Roman Imperial coin” type medal, carrying a profile portrait that was minted to commemorate Francesco I Carrarra, the Lord of Padua’s recovery of his city in 1390¹⁷⁴, the “first true portrait medal of the renaissance, the progenitor of all subsequent medals and therefore of immense significance”¹⁷⁵, was Antonio Pisano’s (Pisanello) (c. 1395-1455) portrait medal of the profile of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, facing to the right, dated to 1438-9¹⁷⁶.

It may be that in the course of his work, Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329-1339), came across some copies of Rum Seljuk profile portrait seals of this type attached to treaties, to diplomatic or other documents, or copies thereof, which led him to commission Paolo Veneziano (d. before 1362) to record his own likeness likewise in a profile portrait¹⁷⁷ in the “Presentation of the Doge Francesco Dandolo and the Dogaressa to the Virgin by St. Francis and St. Elizabeth”, situated above Doge Francesco Dandolo’s tomb in the Frari Chapter house in Venice, completed prior to October 1338, and which contains, “probably the oldest ducal portrait in Venice to be drawn from life”¹⁷⁸. Although it is impossible to be certain today, it is at least possible to suggest that the earliest portrait drawn from life of a Doge of Venice, a portrait in profile of the head of the Republic, was perhaps, in part¹⁷⁹, a consequence of the portraits in profile of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I on Rum Seljuk seals similar to this, but of gold, attached to Rum Seljuk documents and treaties kept in the Venetian state archives, although the profile portraiture that was occurring in Florence and Siena in the first three decades of the 14th c.¹⁸⁰ was probably as, if not more, influential in this choice of a profile portrait for the Doge.

the influence of antique coins, had been standard with International Gothic artists (working from 1370’s onwards), was already out of date”, J. Steer, *A concise history of Venetian Painting* (1970) 109; but Alfonso of Aragon’s triumphal arch at the Castel Nuovo, Naples, of the 1450’s carries a profile marble relief portrait of Caesar Trajan on its left hand pedestal, repeating the imperial associations of a profile depiction cited by Charlemagne in the 9th c. as by Frederick II in the 1230’s. Although profile portraits of rulers had been painted in Italy since the start of the 14th century, there is a gap of perhaps 70 years between these Rum Seljuk examples and the earliest painted profile portraits of contemporary rulers in Early Italian renaissance art.

¹⁷⁴ Pope-Hennessy 1966, 64, fig. 64, a consequence of the Italian humanists interest in Roman coins and portrait busts, stemming in part from Pliny, Pope-Hennessy 1966, 70, 71, 77, 155-7, and inspired by Plutarch (1304-74), who regarded Roman Imperial coins as “a portrait gallery”. This medallion’s portrait is based upon the sestertius of Galba and Vitellius, R. Weiss, “The study of ancient numismatics during the Renaissance (1313-1517)”, *The Numismatic Chronicle* VIII, 1968, 179.

¹⁷⁵ Nelson 2004, 535, Pisanello also completed a chalk drawing of the Emperor at the same time, Cat. No. 319. Pisanello’s medal was followed, for example, by Matteo de’Pasti’s 80 mms. bronze profile portrait, to the right, of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini in 1450-1.

¹⁷⁶ He had earlier painted a series of frescoes in the Doges Palace in Venice from 1415 to 1422, later destroyed.

¹⁷⁷ That past treaties with the Venetian Republic were of interest to later Doges is shown by Doge Andreas Dandolo’s (1343-54) compilation of past treaties in the “Liber Albus”, that includes a copy of the Rum Seljuk treaty of March 1220 between the Venetian Podesta in Constantinople and Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat, Martin 1980, 327-8, *Liber Albus*, folios 52-4; Turan 2000, 168-179.

¹⁷⁸ J. J. Norwich, *A History of Venice* (2003) 109.

¹⁷⁹ Even allowing for the important role Roman profile portraits on coins had upon later patrons such as Leonello d’Este, Marquess of Ferrara, Pope-Hennessy 1966, 155-7 and fn. 4: “My admiration for the faces of the Caesars is no whit less when I gaze upon them in bronze (for it is in bronze rather than in gold and silver that most of them have survived), than when I behold them in the writings of Suetonius or of other authors, for then I only perceive them with the mind”.

¹⁸⁰ For early renaissance Italian examples of portraits subsequent to this seal impression, see above, fn. 173.

Conclusions

The find of this seal impression from Karaköy Castle, Antalya, provides us with the first known naturalistic portrait of the face of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I in a clearly legible condition, dating from the third decade of the 13th c.. Consequently the current conception of figural art practiced under Rum Seljuk patronage – previously limited to the type of faces of human figures depicted for example in the miniatures of the 13th c. Varka and Gülshah, on Kubadabad tile work and other examples - needs to be modified in response to this find and that from Kubadabad showing two naturalistic low relief profile portraits of the Sultan. The distinct individuality of features and dress depicted in these two profile portraits of the same ruler from within the same decade, indicates that profile portraits which had been drawn from life, probably on paper, served as the models for the sculptors of these seals and indicates both the quality of some Rum Seljuk naturalistic portraiture and of some palace workshop work in modeling and casting naturalistic low relief sculpture. Perhaps a deliberate choice was made to ensure accuracy in the depiction of the face of the Sultan through employing a profile rather than a frontal or three quarters depiction.

These two finds substantiate the evidence from the surviving contemporary literature of the practice at court of naturalistic portraiture in 13th c. Rum Seljuk Anatolia and by inference, of other reported examples of a tradition of naturalistic portraiture in the Islamic world. These finds indicate that rulers in 13th century Rum Seljuk Anatolia, as is recorded from elsewhere in the Islamic world in the preceding three centuries, could call upon able artists who were capable of recording not only a depiction of the ruler as a type, but also if required, to record an accurate physical likeness of the Sultan or other person on paper or silk and of converting that physical likeness into a sculpted wax original to produce a cast negative die employed to strike the actual physical appearance of the ruler into metal. This profile portrait, given the small size of the actual portrait, within a field of only 13 mms. d., possibly marks a climax reached in naturalistic portraiture, as also naturalistic relief sculpture, under the auspices of the Abbasid Baghdad Caliphate and an end point. It had no known progeny in Moslem territory; there was no further development in naturalistic profile portraiture from this summit reached under Rum Seljuk rule, perhaps due to the Mongol devastations, plague and chaos of the subsequent 200 years. It is the sole surviving intact example of a naturalistic profile portrait to have been made of any Seljuk ruler.

The choice of a naturalistic profile depiction for both of these Rum Seljuk portrait seals clearly distinguishes them from the frontal and three quarters depictions on surviving seals and in other media of contemporary Latin and Byzantine Emperors and other Christian rulers; as also from the copies made of antique profile coin portraits that were minted by the Artukids, Danishmend and other rulers, as also by Latin rulers such as Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen.

The combination of the physical likeness of the face of the Rum Seljuk ruler with, on the reverse the lion, symbol of the Abbasid Caliphate and the use of Arabic script listing the titles granted by the Caliph to the Sultan, served to directly reinforce through the choice of these devices on the Sultan's own personal seal, the legitimacy of the Sultan and Rum Seljuk rule as being on behalf of the Abbasid Caliphate. This seal impression is an

authoritative personal and relatively private statement that indicates how Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat saw himself, how he wished to be seen by the recipients of his personal communications and how he regarded the legitimacy of his rule as Rum Seljuk Sultan. The importance given by Alaed-Din Keykubat to the public recognition of the legitimacy of his ruler-ship as being on behalf of the Abbasid Caliphate is evident, not only in his public enthronement by the Caliph's ambassador Shihabud-Din Abu Hafis Omar as-Suhrawardi, in the gifts he made to the Caliph following his investiture: 7,000 gold pieces including 5,000 gold dinars struck in his name and that of the Caliph Abu'l Abbas al-Nasir weighing more than 14 kgs. of gold¹⁸¹, and 2,000 quality minted "sikke-i Alai", of 750, 225 and 150 dram weights, trunks of the finest suits of clothing, Rumi slaves (ghulam), pack mules, Arab horses and geldings¹⁸², but also on the reverse of both the surviving portrait images on his personal seals, where the title "The Conqueror", "Abu'l Fath", is associated with the lion, symbol of the Abbasid Caliphate rather than around his own portrait, perhaps to indicate that the victory was due to and on behalf of the Abbasid Caliphate, rather than just his own achievement.

With the title "the eminence of the world and of the religion", "Ala al-Dunya wa'd-Din" around this profile portrait of the Sultan, it is clearly indicated that there was no contradiction perceived at the court of Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat between naturalistic portraiture and having the title "Eminent in Islam"; as similarly Sultan Tughril I and the Abbasid Caliph Abu'l Ja'far al-Qa'im in the 11th c. saw no incompatibility between Islam and portraiture and saw no problem in the issuing of what can be understood as frontal portraits of the Caliph and the Sultan upon a commemorative medallion which, like these seal impressions, had only a restricted circulation.

This article also raises the possibility of influence upon the development of Early Italian Renaissance profile portraiture from earlier 13th c. Rum Seljuk profile portraiture, reaching Italy through diplomatic and trade relationships and on seals attached to diplomatic correspondence between the Rum Seljuk Sultanate and the Italian city states of Venice, Pisa and Florence.

This seal impression recording a visual profile likeness of the Sultan, in addition to his name and titles, authenticated to the recipient that the sender of the document or package was the Sultan himself and showed Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat possessed a quite profound understanding of the power of a naturalistic portrait.

¹⁸¹ For this weight of 14 kilos of gold, the 1221 dinar minted in Kayseri of 2.86 gr. the nearest contemporary dinar has been used. It is the lightest surviving dinar struck by Alaed-Din, whose dinars reached 5.23 grs.. İzzed-Din's of h. 615 is of 4.40 gms,

¹⁸² Ibn Bibi 1997, cilt 1, 252. O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye* (1995), 330, has an added a zero, giving 50,000 dinars, 140 kilos of gold, hence Parlar 2001, 17, a typo or a confusion with the later gift of 50,000 *akçe*, Ibn Bibi 1997, cilt 1, 279.

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Özet

Sultanı I. Alâeddin Keykubat'ın Profilden Portresini Taşıyan Bir 13. yy. Mührü: Öncülleri ve Olası Etkisi

Bu makale dört bölüme ayrılmıştır. İlk kez bu makalede yayınlanan mühür, 2000 yılında Antalya ili Gündoğmuş ilçesi Karaköy Kalesi'nde ele geçmiştir ve bugün Antalya Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde B-112 envanter numarasıyla korunmaktadır. Bu mühür baskısı 25 mm çapında ve 4 mm kalınlığında olup 15.8 gram ağırlığındadır. İki kurşun puldan basılmıştır. Ön yüzünde bu makalenin ana konusunu oluşturan portre, arka yüzünde ise bir aslan figürü yer almaktadır. Her iki yüz Arapça bir yazıtlı kuşatılmıştır: Ön yüzde, “Büyük Sultan, Dünyanın ve Dinin mümtazı, Keyhüsrev oğlu Keykubat”, arka yüzde: “Büyük Sultan, Dünyanın ve Dinin mümtazı, fatih Keyhüsrev oğlu Keykubat” yazılıdır. Arka yüzde “ebu feth” yani fatih unvanının eklenmesi ve başka unvanların yer almaması bu mührün 1221'de Alanya'nın fethi ile 1228 yılı arasında bir döneme ait olduğunu düşündürmektedir. 13 mm çapında bir alanda yer alan bu profilden portre, hünkârın bilinen tasvirlerinden tip olarak farklıdır çünkü bireyin gerçek yüzünün kişisel özelliklerini betimlemektedir. Bu portrede betimlenen şahsi ayırt edici özellikler şunlardır: a) büyük düz burun, b) ağzın kenarına uzanan gür bıyık, c) geniş göz – karakteristik geleneksel dar gözden farklıdır, d) açık baş, e) çene ucundan boyna uzanan çizgi yoğun sakal bulunmadığına işaret ederken kulak memesinin üstünden yanak üzerinden aşağı doğru uzanan ince ama belirgin favori çizgisi, paralel tırtıklarla belirlenmiş ve yoğun bıyığa karşın güzel kırpımlı sakala işaret etmektedir, f) uzun saç, g) belki de örgülü olan bu saç, başın iki yanında topuz halinde toplanmış olup olasılıkla da süslenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bu mühür baskısında belirli bir bireyin güçlü ve ayırt edici portresi olarak karakterize edilebilecek bir figür yer almaktadır. Bu figür çağdaş bir şahsiyeti betimlemektedir ve bu yüz 30'lu yaşlarında birini göstermektedir. Sultan Alâeddin Keykubat 1190'da doğmuş ve bu baskıda onun adı ve unvanları geçtiğinden, bu mühür baskısının sultanın kendi portresini taşıyan şahsi mührünün baskısı olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Uzun saç ve topuz kombinasyonunun ince ve keskin kırpılmış favori ve güzel kırpımlı sakalın gür bıyıkla tezadı bir araya gelince bu portrenin, Klasik, Hellenistik, Roma, Sasani, Erken Bizans veya Latin sikkelerinde görülen profilden portrelerin ortak temel profilden portre tipini sürdürmesine karşın bunların hiçbirinin kopyası olmadığı görülmektedir.

Bugüne kadar bilinen en yakın benzer Anadolu Selçuklu kurşun mührü Kubadabad'ın Küçük Sarayında 1990'da ele geçmiştir. Bu mührün ön yüzünde sağa bakan profilden bir erkek başı omuzlarıyla birlikte, cübbe giymiş ve belki de başının arkasında topuzlu saçlarıyla fes benzeri bir başlık takmış halde betimlenmiştir; sakallı yüzde büyük ve ayırt edici bir burun görülmesine karşın figür iyi durumda değildir. Arka yüzde çömelmiş bir aslan

betimlenmiştir. Bu mühür baskısının arka yüzündeki yazıt ile Karaköy Kalesi'nde ele geçen mühürdeki yazıtta "ebu'l-feth" ibaresi arka yüzde aslan figürünün etrafında görülmektedir. Her iki mühür baskısındaki aslanların, Abbasi halifesi tarafından gönderilen mühür yüzüklerde işlenmiş olan belirteci, Abbasi halifelerinin siyah sancaklarında görüldüğü üzere Abbasi Halifeliğinin sembolü olan aslanı tekrarladığı önerilmiştir. Karaköy mühür baskısındaki iyi korunmuş haldeki profilden portrenin Sultan olarak tanımlanması doğru olduğu takdirde bu profilden portrenin Sultan'ın bir başka portresinden yapılmış olduğu anlaşılmalıdır – ki, her iki portrede de aynı ayırt edici burun, kısıdan ziyade uzun bir boyun, topuz halde toplanmış uzun saç yer almaktadır. Bu iki portre arasındaki farklılıklar aynı sultanın 7 yıllık bir zaman diliminde iki farklı natüralist profilden portresinin çizilmiş olması, Anadolu Selçuklu sarayında düzenli natüralist portrecilik uygulamalarının olduğu göstermektedir.

Bu mührün çağdaşı mühürler üzerinde, profilden natüralist Bizans imparatorları ve Latin egemenleri betimleri bilinmemektedir. Çağdaş Hristiyan geleneğinde yüzün profilden betimlenmesi genellikle Yahuda'nın yüzü ve ilgili betimler ile kalabalık sahnelerdeki önemsiz figürlerle ilgilidir. Bununla ilgili istisnalar bazı Latin sikkelerinde görülür. Kutsal Roma İmparatoru Charlemagne, İmparator II. Frederick Hohenstaufen'ın 1231'den itibaren darbedilen altın Augustales'i ve bazı başka Latin egemenleri dâhil olmak üzere profilden portreli Roma sikkelerinin kopyaları sonraki dönemlerde darbedilmiştir.

Minyatürlü elyazmalarının zahriyelerindeki hünkâr tasvirleriyle karşılaştırmalar yapılmıştır; zahriyelerde hünkârın profilden tasvirinin bulunmaması ve bu mühür baskılarında olduğu gibi kendi yüzleriyle tasvir edilmemelerine, bilakis bir tip olmasına dikkat çekilmektedir. Ayrıca Kubadabad Sarayı'ndan gelen dört adet sekiz kollu yıldız çini parçası üzerindeki Sultan Alâeddin Keykubat "portreleri" ile de karşılaştırma yapılmış ve bu dönemde, normalde tiplerden oluşan bir frizde bir hünkârın natüralist portresinin yer almasının tamamen öncüsüz bir ilk olacağı görülmüştür. Ve, bu tasvirlerin bazılarının sultanın kendinden ziyade belki de bir bardak veya nar sunan yüksek saray memurlarını temsil ettiği çünkü saraylı diğer figürlerin hünkârınkine ek olarak türban taktığı ve sakallı olduğu önerilmektedir. Anadolu'da ve Cezire'de Müslüman hünkârlar tarafından 12. yy. ortasından 13. yy.'a kadarki dönemde basılan sikkelerdeki profilden portrelere de dikkat çekilmiş ancak bunların çağdaş hünkârları betimlemekten ziyade antik sikke tiplerinin kopyaları olduğu ve dolayısıyla dönemin portreciliği hakkında doğrudan bilgi sağlamadığı belirtilmektedir.

İkinci kısımda tip şeklinde hünkâr tasviri uygulamalarından farklı olarak 10. yy. sonlarından itibaren Abbasi saraylarında hayattayken yapılan portrecilik çalışmaları özetlenmektedir. Literatüre geçmiş, natüralist portre örnekleri arasında şunlar da verilmiştir: İbn Sina'nın hayattayken Ebu Nasır bin 'Arrak tarafından çizilen portresi; 12. yy. ortasında Edib Sabir tarafından çizilen iki Haşhaşi portresi; yüzyılın sonuna doğru çizilen Sultan Kılıç Arslan'ın oğullarının portreleri hakkında İbn Bibi'nin sağladığı bilgiler. 13. yy.'da Celaleddin Rumi, aralarından ayrılan arkadaşlarını hatırlayabilmek için hayattayken portrelerinin çizildiğini bildirmekte ve Şemseddin Ahmed Dede Eflaki ise muhtemelen 1260'lar da Celaleddin Rumi'nin 20 kadar portresini daha hayattayken yapan portreci Aynü'l Devle er-Rum'dan söz etmektedir. Ebu Nasır bin 'Arrak'ın İbn Sina'nın portresini yaptığı bilgisi nerdeyse kesinlikle Sultan Alâeddin Keykubat tarafından biliniyordu. Çünkü İbn Bibi, Sultan'ın hem Gazneli Mahmud hem de Kabus bin Vuşmagir'i model aldığı ve babasının ve amcalarının daha hayattayken portrelerinin yapıldığını kesinlikle bildiğini ifade etmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, natüralist portrecilik Anadolu Selçuklularına ve dönemin diğer İslam saraylarına yabancı değildi ve Sultan'ın bu mühür baskılarındaki portreleri, diğerlerinin yanı sıra Genceli Nizami'nin *Hamse*'sinde belirttiği natüralist portreciliğin bu saray konteksti dâhilinde örnekleri olarak görülmelidir.

Üçüncü kısımda, Venedik, Pisa ve Floransa ile yapılan antlaşmalara eklenen bu tür Anadolu Selçuklu mühürlerindeki profilden portreciliğin olası etkisi irdelenmektedir. Çünkü, Venedik'le 1220 yılında yapılan antlaşma, Erken İtalyan Rönesans sanatında gerçeğine bakarak çizilen profilden portreciliğin yükselişine denk gelen, hünkâr portreli altın mühürlerin eklendiği, "*kbrysobulla* takası" olarak kaydedilmiştir.

Sonuçta, bu baskının Sultan'ın şahsi mühründen geldiği ve Sultan Alâeddin Keykubat'ın natüralist profilden bir portresini betimlediğini söyleyebiliriz. Bu, tıpkı Kubadabad örneği gibi, sultanın kendisine bakarak çizilmiş bir portresinden yapılmıştır. Bu örnek, 11.-14. yy. arasında İslam saraylarında yapıldığı ve büyük oranda saray erkânıyla sınırlı olduğu tarihsel kaynaklarca bildirilen natüralist portrecilik sanatının nadir ve tam bir örneğidir.



Fig. 1 Obverse of seal impression from Karaköy, Antalya.



Fig. 2 Reverse of seal impression from Karaköy, Antalya.



Fig. 3
Side view of Karaköy
seal impression.



Fig. 4 View of Karaköy Castle from the east, on the peak in the middle distance, rising steeply from the Alara river.



Fig. 5 Obverse of seal impression
from Kubadabad, Küçük Saray, Beyşehir,
from Arık 2000.



Fig. 6 Obverse of seal impression
from Kubadabad, Küçük Saray, Beyşehir,
from Uysal 2001.



Fig. 7 Reverse of seal impression
from Kubadabad, Küçük Saray, Beyşehir,
from Arık 2000.



Fig. 8 Obverse of gold Augustales
of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen,
minted from 1231 onwards, from Cleve 1972.

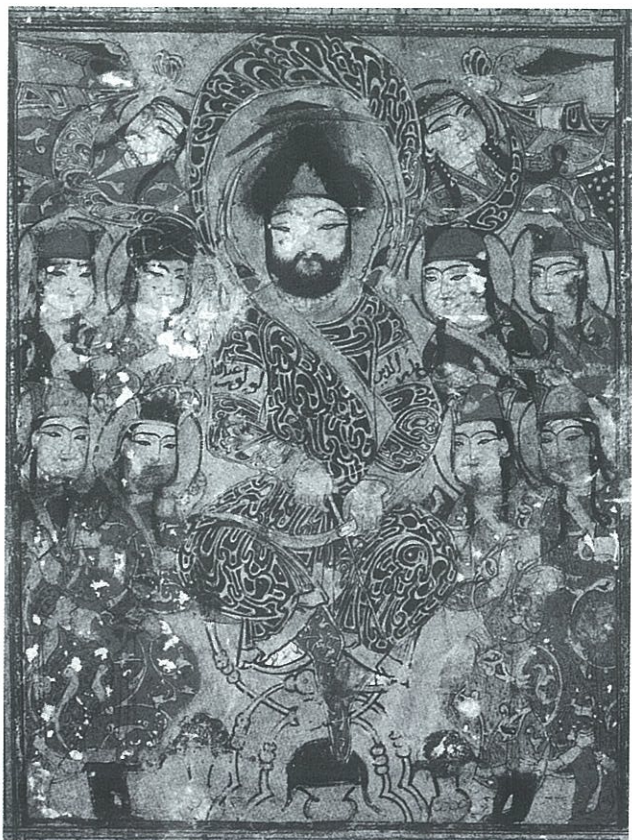


Fig. 9
Frontispiece of Vol. XVII, 1216-20,
of the Kitab al-Aghani, of the enthroned
ruler Badr al-Din Lu'lu of Mosul, 1211-59,
from Turks 2005.



Fig. 10 Tile fragment from an 8-pointed star tile Kubadabad, Beyşehir, from Arık 2000.



Fig. 11 Tile fragment from an 8-pointed star tile Kubadabad, Beyşehir, from Arık 2000.

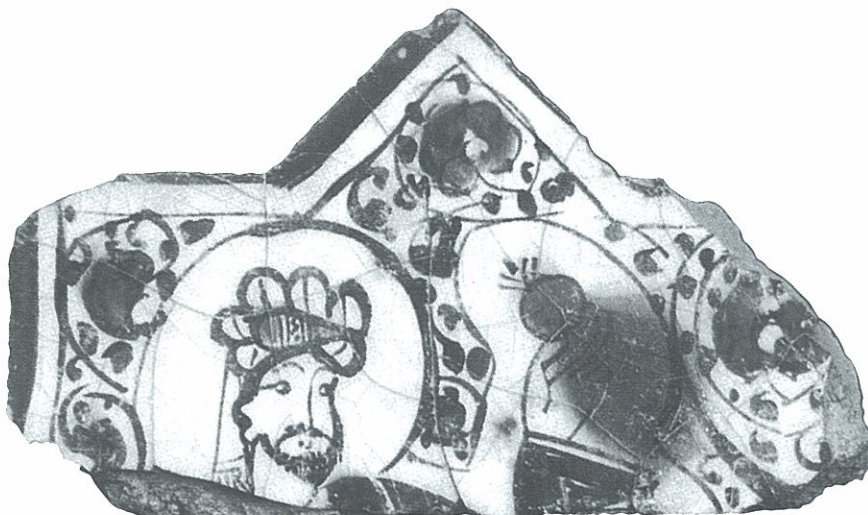


Fig. 12 Tile fragment from an 8-pointed star tile Kubadabad, Beyşehir, from Uysal 2001.



Fig. 13
Tile fragment from an 8-pointed star tile
from the Malanda Köşk, Kubadabad,
Beyşehir, from Arık 2001.



Fig. 14 Copy of Antiochus VII's profile bust struck on an undated copper fals by the Artukid Husam al-Din Timurtash, 1122-52, from Artuk 1993.



Fig. 15 Roman Emperor's wreathed profile portrait on an undated copper fals struck by the Danishmend Melik Nizam al-Din Yaghi Basan, 1142-64, from Batur 1994.



Fig. 16 Sultan Toghrul's gold marriage medallion of 1063, obverse and reverse, from Şentürk – Özpalaııııklaı 2004.

