

ADALYA



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

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The paintwork and plaster on Evdir and Kirkgöz Hans by Antalya- and some implications drawn concerning the original appearance of 13th c. Seljuk State buildings

T. M. P. DUGGAN*

Introduction

Any attempt to reconstruct today the original 13th c. appearance of the carved portals, the exterior walls and buttresses and the interior walls of Rum Seljuk non-urban state *hans*¹, as also of other related Rum Seljuk state structures, is after the passage of nearly 800 years no easy task. Although the inclusion of Roman and Byzantine *spolia* taken from any adjacent antique site and built into these 13th c. Seljuk structures, often upside down or sideways if inscribed or carrying a figural relief, has been noted by many scholars², and considerable scholarly attention has also been paid to the inscriptions, as also to the typology and to the location of these *hans* and of their relation to trade routes, as also to the carved Seljuk stone relief work, both figural and non-figural; the original appearance of these newly completed Rum Seljuk buildings in the 13th c., before more than 750 years of weathering, use and ill use, neglect, vandalism and some modern unfortunately quite ill-informed “restorations”³, has received almost no attention in the literature⁴. This subject requires today a quite considerable exercise of the informed imagination, extrapolating from the remaining traces, the *in situ* evidence and from scattered contemporary and later recorded indications, in order to return these Seljuk state buildings to something approaching their original appearance.

With the presentation in this article of at least some of the remaining *in situ* evidence from these two *hans*, it is hoped that some more comprehensive research into the

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

I wish to record my debt to Prof. Tom Rasmussen for his encouragement of my initial interest in these buildings in 1989, and to Dr. M.-L. Champagne for a journey of 90,000 km. in 1991-2, looking at these buildings and for discussions at length as to their possible 13th c. function. I also appreciate the comments concerning this article made by D. Nicolle.

¹ These *hans* were non-urban state buildings, as is indicated by the inscriptions on their *in situ* inscription panels, recording that their construction was a result of a direct order given for their construction by the Sultan, as well as by their suggested primary function, providing security for state insured international merchandise transiting through Rum Seljuk territory, see: Duggan 2007, 289 and fn. 3 and 4.

² See for example the specific entries on *spolia* in each *han* in the catalogue of 13th c. *hans*: Erdmann 1961; G. Öney, “Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisinde Antik Devir Malzemesi”, Anadolu (Anatolia) XII, 1970, 17-38.

³ Quite how any correct restoration, in the proper meaning of the word to restore, that is to return something to its original appearance, can be carried out, without first conducting the necessary research into the building's original appearance must be a matter of considerable amazement to anyone possessing any scientific understanding.

⁴ There is no section dealing with plaster and paintwork in Erdmann 1961, and the subsequent literature to the best of my knowledge makes no mention of any surviving paintwork on the exterior of either of these two *hans*.

surviving evidence will be conducted and that a specialist in the science of archaeometry will obtain samples from these buildings to conduct scientific laboratory analysis to determine the actual chemical composition of the various materials, substances and pigments that were employed and to publish the findings from this laboratory analysis. This is because there still remains today fragmentary *in situ* evidence that clearly indicates the present appearance of the portals, as also the external and internal wall surfaces of these buildings, does not convey the original 13th c. appearance of these surfaces to any significant extent; what met the eye in the 13th c., is most certainly not the stripped stonework and rubble masonry walls that meet the eye today in the first decade of the 21st c..

The carved stone Seljuk portal⁵: A study of the surfaces of the stone portals of many Seljuk *hans* today, as also the carved stone portals of the many Seljuk religious and other structures, provides little clear evidence as to the appearance of these stone carved entrances in the 13th c. with the exception, firstly of the bold designs and forms of the Seljuk stone carving; secondly, the occasional insertion of panels of colored marble, for example in the portal of the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya of 1220⁶, in the portal of the Sultanhan by Aksaray, completed by 1229⁷, or in the portal of the Karatay Medrese, Konya of 1251-28⁸, portals that employ the Syrian style use of interlocked cut colored marble blocks and these buildings also have joggled voussoirs carved from two different colored marbles, or as in the remaining inner portal of Çay Han of 1278/9⁹ by Afyon; and thirdly, the occasional use of Syrian influenced *ablaq* stonework, alternating courses of colored and white stonework, as in the portal of Zazadin Han of 1235-8¹⁰, built by order of Sadeddin Köpek and also having joggled voussoirs of different colored marble.

Did the portals of Rum Seljuk *hans*, largely built from carved limestone blocks of a variety of sizes, textures and tones look as they do today when these buildings were completed in the 13th c., less the inevitable erosion and damage to this carved stonework over the past centuries? Was the variety of block sizes, the different tones of these limestone blocks and the joints between them, as also the *spolia*, that on occasion were employed in the construction of these portals, all visible in the 13th c.? Or was this evidence of construction, of the irregularities in block sizes and in the various tones and textures of the stone blocks employed and of the joints between these blocks all carefully concealed? Were the stonework joints filled and the stonework of these portals coated in sealant and painted, with the exception of any areas of colored marble work? The surviving evidence from Evdir and Kırkgöz Hans by Antalya suggests that the passage of the past nearly 800 years has left the majority of richly carved Seljuk stone portals stripped, almost entirely naked, as naked as the vast majority of once painted Roman sculptures¹¹ that are exhibited bare of their original Roman paintwork in archaeological museums today.

⁵ For the carved portal, *taçkapı* in Turkish, see for example, S. Ögel, *Anadolu Selçukluları'nın Taş Tezvinatı* (1987); R. H. Ünal, *Osmanlı Öncesi Anadolu-Türk Mimarisinde Taçkapılar* (1982).

⁶ Durukan 2001, 96.

⁷ Durukan 2001, 96.

⁸ Durukan 2001, 100.

⁹ M. Özkarcı, *Afyon-Çay'da Ebu'l-Mücahid Yusuf Külliyesi* (1996) 99.

¹⁰ Durukan 2001, 99. The external walls of this han include the use of Byzantine *spolia*, some depicting crosses.

¹¹ See for example the Exhibition Catalogue, V. Brinkmann - R. Wünsche, *Renkli Tanrılar, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi-Antik Heykel Sanatında Çokrenklilik* (2006).

I. Paintwork and plaster on Emdir and Kirkgöz Hans by Antalya

A. Emdir Han

The first Seljuk Sultan Han to be erected in western Anatolia is today called Emdir Han¹², north of the port-city of Antalya by Yukarı Karaman Köyü, which was probably designed by a Syrian architect given its distinctive plan, perhaps by Abu Ali al-Raqqā al-Kattāni al-Halabī, from Aleppo, known to have been active in Anatolia from dated inscriptions in the period from 1216 to 1228, or the Damascene Muhammad bin Hawlān al-Dimashqī, known to have been active in Anatolia from before 1219 to 1229. This Sultan Han would seem to have been built in or after 1216 when the city of Antalya was re-captured by Sultan İzzeddin Keykavus I¹³.

Previously un-mentioned in the literature, on the right hand side of the outer face of the richly carved portal of this Sultan Han, in the carved border decoration on a well preserved block measuring 81 cm. in height, in the recessed areas of the round molding bordering four flattened carved chevron ornamental relief devices, there is an *in situ* yellow¹⁴ line of quite thick paintwork extending for 10 cm. lengths along the outer edge of the molding. Areas of this yellow paintwork also remain visible on the upper face of the inner side of this round molding, and this yellow paintwork, in places also lines the inner edge of this round molding and covers parts of the flat area on the molding's inner side. These traces of paintwork remain only in the most protected areas of this portal relief carving (Fig. 1, 2007)¹⁵. The albeit fragmentary evidence of yellow paintwork bordering both sides of this round molding and on its inner upper underside, indicates this round molding together with the flat surface on its inner side, was originally entirely painted yellow and this yellow paintwork is also visible elsewhere on other less eroded parts of this molding in its upper reaches on the right hand side of the portal, but only in the protected areas where the inner edge of this molding joins the flat adjacent surface.

This yellow paintwork was applied on top of a thin, very smooth, probably lime based waterproof sealant layer, an undercoat that clearly from the surviving indications, was brushed onto the surface of the newly carved stonework (Fig. 2, 1991). The *in situ* remains of this sealant layer are also visible in other protected areas of the carved portal of Emdir Han, in addition to those areas where the yellow paintwork still partially adheres. It seems clear that this coating, that appears in direct light like a milky colored, slightly iridescent smooth layer was brushed over the entire carved stonework of the outer face of the portal before the colored paintwork was applied.

Consequently the *in situ* evidence indicates that once the stone carving had been completed and the portal was erected, the joints between the stone blocks were in-filled and the outer face of the portal was then painted with this relatively thin, probably lime-based

¹² For this han see Erdmann 1961, Katalog No. 55. Text, 175 ff. Abb. 324-331; Vakıf 1983, 580-3. It is of note that this han was called the "Eski Han", literally the "old han" in 1842, T. A. B. Spratt – E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis* (1874) Vol. 1, 226.

¹³ Durukan 2001, 59, suggests a date of 1213-4, although perhaps 1216 is more probable, with its construction immediately following upon the Seljuk re-conquest of the city in 1216. For the date of the re-conquest see O. Turan, *İstanbul'un Fethinden Önce Yazılmış Tarihi Takvimler* (1984) 77; Turan 1988, 102-106.

¹⁴ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 7/8 Yellow.

¹⁵ The yellow colored paintwork on this portal block is clearly visible, although un-remarked upon in the text in, S. Ögel, *Anadolu'nun Selçuklu Çehresi* (1994) 71.

covering, which formed a smooth protective surface over the carved stonework, and that this very smooth, milky, slightly iridescent surface was then painted over with colored paint.

It is to be noted that many of the carved and dressed stone blocks employed in the portal of Evdir Han differ somewhat in their color from each other, although not to the same degree as for example the stone blocks including *spolia* employed in the construction of the sides of the entrance portal¹⁶ and in the exterior walls of the Sultanhan by Aksaray, or those of the Karatay Han by Kayseri¹⁷, leading one to suggest that perhaps all of the carved and dressed stonework of a Seljuk portal, with the exception of any areas of colored marble paneling, marble or other inlay and *ablaq* work, may originally have been entirely covered by this same thin smooth sealant layer, that was then painted over in colors, as for example, similar traces of this same yellow paintwork adhere to the recessed areas of the geometric interlace and on recessed areas in the framing thin arched carved interlace surround on the outer face of the entrance portal of the Ertokuş Medrese, Atabey, Isparta of 1224¹⁸. This sealant coat and the subsequent paintwork thus concealing both the location of the in-filled joints between the different sized blocks and the range of stone textures and variants in tone of the natural stone color of the carved stone blocks forming the portal, filling any pores in the stonework; with any larger holes in the stonework or in *spolia*, probably in-filled with plaster to form an even surface beneath the sealant coat.

Further, in some protected inner parts of the carved stonework of the portal of Evdir Han, again largely on the right hand side, there remain *in situ* today (Fig. 3, 2007) traces of a very smooth thin layer of plaster applied to the stonework. This smooth plaster coating extends over areas of the stone carved *muqarnas* above the niche to the right of the door, over areas of the stone frieze-band above and also over areas of the carved interlace band that extends around the interior of this portal below the *muqarnas* semi-dome above the door and this stone carved interlace *torus* band extends to frame the niche of the portal on its outer face. This thin plaster coating over the carved stonework was probably also covered by the thin sealant coating and then painted, perhaps on the plain frieze-band area of the portal carrying a painted inscription or a foliage design¹⁹. That the finely

¹⁶ They include not only blocks of different colors in no established order or pattern, unlike the *ablaq* work of the outer face of the portal of this Sultan Han, but also *spolia* carrying clamp holes, indicating these side walls of the portal were almost certainly covered by plaster concealing these clamp holes.

¹⁷ Kadı Muhyiddin ibn 'Abdü'z-Zair's account of Baybars' campaign in Anatolia of 1277, with his reference to the red smooth-polished-shiny dressed stone masonry of the exterior facade of the Karatay Han, "*Bu yapı için yontulmuş ve parlatılmış, adeta mermer gibi, kızıl bir taş kullanılmıştır; Surları ve sütunları kalem ile eşlerinin yapılması mümkün olmayan, nakışlar ile süslenmiştir...*" (Sümer 1985, 80) is a description that most probably records sealed and shiny red painted stonework, rather than polished red stonework, given the variety of the different colors and tones of the dressed masonry that are actually employed in the stone facing of the exterior walls of the Karatay Han.

¹⁸ This paintwork is recorded in the color photograph published in, E. Işın (ed), Alaeddin'in Lambası, Anadolu'da Selçuklu Çağı Sanatı ve Alaeddin Keykubad (2001) Exh. Cat. 153, but this paintwork passes un-remarked upon in the text. Faint traces of a similar yellow remain *in situ* today, visible in places on the star pattern interlace design carved on the portal of the İmaret-Ulu Camii Medrese, by the Yivli Minare in Antalya.

¹⁹ For other examples of Seljuk paintwork, see: Önge 1991, unfortunately the color illustrations to the text of this article were not published; Y. Önge, "XIII ve XIV. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Mimari Eserlerini Süsleyen Boyalı Nakışlar", *Önasya*, 4/43 Mart 1969, 8-11; also the illustrations, some in color of the 13th c. paintwork in the Divriği complex, Y. Önge – I. Ateş – S. Bayram (eds.), *Divriği Ulu Camii ve Darüşşifası* (1978) 22, 23, 31, 92, 95, 97, 114, 154; G. Öney, "Bauschmuck und Kleinkunst", in: E. Akurgal (ed), *Kunst in der Türkei* (1980) 181; Öney 1992, 85-6; A. T. Yavuz, "Yıldız ve Yıldızlı Haç Tonozlar", in: Güner İnal'a Armağan, *Sanat Tarihinde İkonografik Araştırmalar*

carved stonework of the inner part of this portal was covered by a layer of plaster and was then painted may seem to contemporary taste to be an obvious case of gilding the lily, but there is clear evidence of a 13th c. Seljuk taste for carved stonework that was then decorated with painted designs in a range of colors²⁰.

This han's missing stone carved inscription panel²¹ would also have been in at least two colors, one for the background²², the other for the letters of the inscription, to render the inscription clearly legible.

There is also *in situ* evidence of yellow paintwork upon small areas of plaster that still remain attached to the in-filled joints between the large stone *spolia* blocks forming the exterior wall lying to the right of the portal, suggesting the exterior wall surfaces of this han were originally covered in yellow paint on plaster (Fig. 4, 2007, T. Kahya).

There is no reason, nor is there any record or other indication to suggest that this surviving yellow paint work, the remains of the sealant coating and the remains of a coating of fine plaster within this portal were later additions to the portal of Evdir Han, added subsequent to its completion in the second decade of the 13th c., rather, all of the available indications suggest that these three elements date from the completion of this painted portal.

B. Kırkgöz Han

Kırkgöz Han²³, located on the route along the foot of the mountains from Evdir Han to the paved Döşemealtı pass up onto the Anatolian plateau, leading to Susuz Han and İncir Han of 1238-9 was, like Susuz Han and İncir Han, built during the reign of Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II (1237-46) and is also, like Evdir Han, a Sultan Han. It stands beside the springs of freshwater that gave this han its present name. It seems probable that these three *hans*, Kırkgöz, Susuz and İncir, were ordered to be constructed by the Sultan at this time, in part to aid the export of alum, a valuable Seljuk state monopoly and earning the treasury 1 gold bezant per 100 kilos in just the customs tax revenue²⁴.

Like the portal of Evdir Han, and also previously un-mentioned in the literature, there is evidence of a prepared coating that was applied to the carved stonework surface of this entrance portal to receive paintwork, it remains *in situ* today in the recessed carved areas of the capitals on either side of the entrance (Fig. 5, 2007) and on relatively protected areas of

(1993) 551-2, regarding the red and white paintwork in the interior of the Karatay Han and the interior paintwork at Divriği. Traces of red and yellow Seljuk paintwork also seem to adhere to the *mihrab* of the Karatay Medrese, Antalya, see for example, Yılmaz 2002, Fig. 215, but this paintwork is un-remarked upon, and regrettably this, as also other paintwork on *mibrabs*, passes by unrecorded in those sections concerning materials and technique in works such as: Ö. Bakırer, Onüç ve Ondördüncü Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Mihrablari (1976) Kat. No. 39 for this *mihrab*. Earlier Naser-e Khosraw in his "Safarname", The Book of Travels. W. M. Thackston (trans.) (1986) clearly states of the interior of the congregational mosque of Amid (Diyarbakır) in 1046, that "all the masonry was carved and painted with designs", no trace of this 11th c. paintwork remains visible today.

²⁰ Op. cit., fn. 18-19.

²¹ See Erdmann 1961, 178, for the record of the marble inscription panel that is today missing from the portal of this building.

²² Surviving 13th c. paintwork on inscription panel includes the use of a black background, like the black flag of the Abbasids, see for example: Öney 1992, 85.

²³ For this han - a Sultan Han from both the inscription and the size of the hall, see: Erdmann 1961, Katalog No. 56. Text, 179 ff, Abb. 332-37; Vakıf 1983, 577-580.

²⁴ Turan 1988, 118. For the importance of this trade in respect to these *hans* see, Duggan 2007, 290, 292.

the half columns and on their facing inner sides, as elsewhere upon the carved stone blocks on the outer face of the entrance portal, forming a smoother surface on top of the carved limestone. This coating in places on the columns as elsewhere, still carries traces of the original shiny paintwork applied to this south facing entrance portal (Fig. 6, 2007), paintwork that is largely of an off-white color and also in places there remains some slight traces of red paint work. In 1990 there was still clearly visible on the side of portal the trace remains of the Seljuk red zigzag-chevron design (Fig. 7, 1990) that originally covered the sides of this portal, paintwork now entirely lost. For other examples of this design, see type 4 below.

The *in situ* marble inscription panel in this portal retains today traces of pale yellow paintwork between some letters in the lowest line on the left hand side of this inscription²⁵.

The fact that a small area on the east facing side of this portal, where it joins the wall is not of dressed masonry but is of mortared brick that appears to be contemporary in date, indicates, together with the traces of red zigzag paintwork described above, that the sides of this portal were completely covered in a sealant coat over both the stonework and plaster in-filled areas, which would have concealed this brickwork in an otherwise entirely carved stone entrance portal. Traces of the sealant coat remain visible today in places on some of the stone blocks forming the sides of this portal, although the Seljuk red painted design is now lost.

Although no clearly visible traces of the sealant coat or of paintwork remains visible today on the inner carved stone portal providing access to the covered section of this han, it seems most probable that, following the precedent of the main entrance portal of this han, that this inner carved stone portal was also sealed and painted.

The exterior and interior external walls of Kırkgöz Han: The inclusion of dressed masonry, classical blocks and other *spolia* and a variety of other masonry elements in a range of sizes, together with unglazed brick, pottery and tile pieces set in mortar²⁶, those elements that together form the external walls, the buttresses, as also the merlons that topped the outer wall, merlons that remain *in situ* today only on a part of the north wall of Kırkgöz Han, form a collection of disparate materials, as is the case with the materials employed to form the exterior walls of many *hans*²⁷ and other Seljuk structures. This variety of construction material, contrasting as it so evidently does today with the carved stone work

²⁵ My thanks to M. Değer of Antalya Museum for drawing this area of remaining pale yellow paintwork on this inscription panel to my attention. Yellow background Seljuk paintwork also still remains in places on several *in situ* Seljuk inscriptions in the city walls of Antalya. Other painted examples include the inscription panel from the citadel gate of Antalya, Antalya Museum, Inv. No. 9/14; Ü. Demirer, Antalya Museum (2005) Cat. No. 187, the yellow paintwork remains *in situ* as background to the script as also on the rectangular cartouche enclosing the script; also on the *in situ* inscription panel of the Alanya galley-yard-Tershane; as also on the *in situ* inscription panel of Zazadin Han, where the letters are in red, the framing cartouche is painted in blue, A. Baş, "Yeni Buluntular ışığında Zazadin Han'ının Değerlendirilmesi", I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi (2001) Vol. I, Fig. 10, 554.

²⁶ For the technical composition of Seljuk mortar and plaster, see for example: O. N. Dülgerler - M. Yıldız, "Selçuklu Dönemi Konya Yapılarında Kireç Harcı İçerisinde Kül Kullanımı", in: I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi (2001) Vol. I, 251-255; E. Kahya, "Sivas Gökmedrese Üzerine Yeni Bir Değerlendirme", in: I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi (2001) Vol. I, 445. The thick white plaster removed from the walls during the works at Kırkgöz Han in July-August 2007 contained inclusions of charcoal, resembling the charcoal inclusions in the off-white mortar from the Sırçalı Medrese and from the Sahib Ata Hankah in Konya, illustrated in Dülgerler & Yıldız's 2001 article, Fig. 3, 8.

²⁷ Such as the crosses on *spolia* built into the exterior walls of Sadeddin Han, Erdmann 1961, Cat. No. 28, or the rubble masonry of Kargı Han.

of the entrance portal, as also with the carved stone portal that provides access to the covered section, suggests that the variety of material that is today visible in these exterior walls, buttresses and merlons was originally entirely concealed. This implication is confirmed by the recorded and *in situ* plasterwork over these same areas on other 13th c. buildings into the 20th c., for example, plasterwork still covered areas of the remaining Seljuk merlons of the Tershane of Alanya of c. 1226-9 into the 20th c.²⁸, as also remains *in situ* on some of the merlons of Alara Han²⁹, on parts of some of the merlons of Şarapsa Han, as also on parts of some of the merlons of the Karatay Medrese³⁰, Antalya of 1250-1 into the 1990's. *In situ* plaster remains were recorded on areas of the buttress to the left of the hall portal of Kargı Han and upon small areas of the western external wall of the hall of this han³¹ into the first half of the 20th c., gone by the 1990's; while areas of plaster, largely over the joints between blocks, the rest that covered the surface of the block has, as is typical, fallen off, (eg. Alara, Figs. 28, 29, and Aspendos Figs. 19, 20) remain *in situ* today on the exterior wall into the covered section; while the citadel walls of Konya retained both plaster and paintwork into the 19th c. (see below for this and other examples) and remnants of presumably 13th c. plaster still covered parts of the brickwork topping the Pazar Gate³² in Konya into the 19th c., as is recorded by C. Texier in his 19th c. drawing³³. It seems evident that layers of Seljuk plaster originally covered most, if not all exterior wall surfaces that today no longer carry any evidence of this coating and it can be understood from the evidence presented below that much of this 13th c. plasterwork would have originally been painted either in a single color or with painted designs, as the scant surviving traces of yellow paint on plaster in the joints of the exterior wall to the right of the portal of Evdir Han indicate this exterior wall surface was entirely covered in yellow paint.

A plaster coating applied to the exterior walls of *hans* formed a part of the security of these *hans*, which stored valuable trade goods, tax revenue and weapons, as their security would have been compromised if the weaker areas of construction of the structure and the location of the joints between the stones were visible, allowing robbers or rebels to more easily break through the walls or to climb up the exterior walls using the exposed joints in the stonework.

The remaining *in situ* evidence shows the exterior walls of Kırkgöz Han were covered in at least two layers of plaster and the outermost surface was then probably covered by a lime-based waterproof coating and was then painted³⁴. The result of this in visual terms

²⁸ See for example T. T. Rice, *The Seljuks* (1961) Photo 30.

²⁹ Vakıf 1983, on the color photo.

³⁰ Yılmaz 2002, Fig. 231. Removed in its recent restoration.

³¹ Erdmann 1959, Abb. 3 of the buttress, Abb. 7 of the exterior.

³² Texier 2002, Vol. III, Pl. 97.

³³ Exterior plaster also seems to have covered most of the north outer wall of the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya, Texier 2002, Vol. III, Pl. 100. Remnants of this plasterwork on the north and more on the east wall remain visible on a late 19th c. photograph, H. Karpuz, "Konya'nın Selçuklu Kent Dokusu ve Son Yıllarda Yok Olan Anıtları", in: I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi (2001) 1-9 Vol. II, 472 Fig. 3.

³⁴ Similarly the stone and wooden relieving beam walls of the Ka'ba rebuilt in 608 were covered in stucco-plaster, Creswell 1958, 2. Likewise the external and internal brick walls of the Mosque of Ibn Tulun in Fustat-Cairo of 879 were covered entirely by a stucco plaster cover, Creswell 1958, 305, as were the brick palaces and structures of Abbasid Samarra, such as the great Mosque of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil where the brick exterior walls and buttresses were coated in stucco-plaster as was the minaret, Creswell 1958, 276; Wheeler 1970, 27, as also applied to the mosque of Abu Dulaf. This is also the case for surviving 13th c. buildings in this region, see below. This prac-

was that the impressive carved stone and painted entrance portals were then integrated with the plastered and painted walls lying on either side of them, while the security of the building was enhanced.

The exterior wall to the left of the main portal of Kırkgöz Han carries areas of plaster that are incised to permit the firm adhesion of a further, perhaps final plaster coat to the exterior walls of this han and this initial plaster coat is also visible on the east wall between the first and second buttresses and traces remain elsewhere on the exterior walls. For the record, I saw in 1990 on the exterior of this han, on the first buttress from the portal façade on the left side, a small *in situ* fragment of red painted plaster, but failed to photograph it, which is most regrettable as it has since vanished. Likewise in the interior of this han the external wall around the door to the right of the dressed stone portal to the covered section, has above and on both sides of it, areas of applied plaster over the rubble masonry and mortar. This first plaster layer also carries a series of coarse designs pressed into it, (Fig. 8, 2007) indicating that a second layer of plaster was applied on top of this leveling coat, with these incised designs facilitating the adhesion of the second layer of plaster. This observation also applies to the external wall of the covered section, to the right (East) of the inner portal and indicates this wall was also entirely covered by at least two layers of plaster.

There is no record, nor is there any reason or indication to suggest that these layers of plaster coating, the lost outer layer almost certainly entirely sealed and painted, were added to these exterior walls in some later period after the completion of this han in the mid-13th c.

Further, there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that the Seljuk patrons of these structures were not concerned with the finished appearance of what they built, made and wore, rather, there is every reason to think that the overall finished, decorated appearance of the building, structure, object or textile was of the greatest importance to the 13th c. patron. For example, the surviving evidence for the covering of coarsely made rubble walls with mortar and then adding to this wall, 2 m. high under-glaze painted, glazed and sometimes luster tiled revetments and molded relief work borders and-or painted stucco-work and painted decoration and calligraphy, as was applied to the walls of Rum Seljuk palaces and *köşk*; the surviving indications of the tile-work, stucco work and paint work applied to the interiors of mosques, *medrese* and bath house; the use of glazed tile inserts into the brickwork of minarets, of monumental tombs, as also into other areas of unglazed brickwork; the use of finely incised and superbly glazed quality sgraffito ware, the extensive use of stamp-work on leather bindings and the use of *tezhip* (illumination) in surviving 13th c. Seljuk manuscripts; the use of gilding, engraving and inlays, including gold and silver on copper and bronze metal-work and the painting of bold and rich colorful patterns including the use of gold leaf on woodwork³⁵, as well as the abundant fine

tice of applying stucco-plaster to both exterior and interior walls, often with additional painted or applied decoration, continued into the 19th c. For a depiction of walls in 15th c. Damascus, where *ablaq* work in black and white bordering the *ivan* arch is visible, the rest of the stone walls have been plastered over and carry regularly spaced circular colored panel inserts carrying inscriptions and depictions of the Mamluk arms of Qayt Bay, see the oil painting entitled, "Reception of the Ambassadors", c. 1488 in the Louvre, J. Raby, "Venice, Dürer and the oriental mode" (1982) 55-65 Fig. 38. For a 1663 record of plastered fortification walls in Ottoman territory, Portuguese Voyages 1498-1663. C. D. Ley (ed.) (1947) 357.

³⁵ As for example on the painted "*rabla*" reading stand of 1278 in the Konya Mevlana Museum, Inv. No. 332 and on ceilings and wooden columns and capitals.

carving of surfaces of various materials in a variety of techniques, and the patterning and colors employed in surviving woven Rum Seljuk textiles, all support this suggested taste of powerful patrons in 13th c. Seljuk Anatolia for richly patterned, decorated and often very colorful surfaces. This taste is recorded by Ibn Bibi, who clearly articulates the importance to 13th c. Seljuk taste of colored designs in his description of the decoration of the interior walls of the Kubadabad Palace, “*The “kafesli”(lattice pattern) adorned walls should be so colorful, the colors of the birds in the sky should fade with envy, all laid on with turquoise and blue, so blue, the watchman of the sky should be driven into jealousy*”³⁶. The applied and overall decorated finished appearance of the work was of the greatest importance to the Seljuk patron, Sultan, Vizier (Sahibler), Emir or Valiler, and this taste almost certainly also applied to the decoration of the portals and to the wall surfaces of these state *hans*. It seems therefore that the present contrast between the richly carved stone entrance portal to the han and the vast expanse of plain wall on either side of it, reflects the subsequent neglect over the ensuing more than 700 years of the plaster and paintwork that was applied in the 13th c. to these wall surfaces, rather than reflecting a taste quite distinct from the evident 13th c. Rum Seljuk taste for overall richly decorated surfaces³⁷.

The interior walls: The mason marks on the external faces of Seljuk dressed stone blocks, on the blocks forming the internal arches of these Seljuk structures as elsewhere, have been noted in detail in the literature³⁸. Some mason marks that are visible today are upside down, others are carved at odd angles and in strange positions on the faces of the dressed stone blocks, while other mason marks appear to have been cut on the inner faces of these carved blocks. These marks were carved on these stones when these blocks were cut into shape before they were placed in position in the building³⁹, identifying which blocks were cut by each team of stone masons and, at times it seems, to locate blocks in their correct position during construction. The mason's mark indicated the identity of the carver of the block and these marks would have facilitated the payments made to each mason for the stonework completed by each team. The presence of these mason marks in odd positions, upside down etc, on the external faces of carved stone blocks today⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibn Bibi, Vol. I, 363. The turquoise and dark blue *döşemeler*, referring not to the floor itself but to the tiled revetments around the foot of the walls and the *kafesli*, explicitly meaning the latticework-like patterns of 8 pointed star and pointed cross tiles on main surface of these tile revetments, rather than referring to any latticework screens over windows or to wooden relieving beams (*batıl*) in the walls of the palace.

³⁷ The commonly repeated assertion that the portal was the sole focus of decoration to the exclusion of the adjacent walls in Rum Seljuk 13th c. architecture, a belief around which aesthetic theories have now been built e.g. A. Durukan, “Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Portallerinde Biçim ve Estetik”, in: Uluslararası Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu, İzmir (2002) 262-3, is, given the surviving *in situ* evidence from Kırkgöz Han and the presence or former presence of rubble and mortar - brick merlons, indicating the plastering and painting of both the merlons and almost necessarily the wall below them, in need of some substantial revision, if it is not, in fact, quite untenable.

³⁸ See for example the specific entries on the mason marks in the catalogue of 13th c. *hans*, Erdmann 1961, Katalog. Text, Teil I, for those at Evdir Han, 177, for those at Kırkgöz Han 180; also the remarks of Ö. Bakırer, “Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Mimarisinde Taşçı İşaretleri”, in: Uluslararası Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu, İzmir (2002). There is of course no necessity or reason for a mason to employ the same mark when working on a different building, and it may well be these mason marks were site specific, related to the master builder in charge, or to accounting practice, rather than being the “personal property” or “signature” of the individual mason. The importance of these mason marks in the context of this article is that they were originally concealed by the plaster coat but are today visible, due to the loss of the plaster coating.

³⁹ J. M. Rogers, “The Çifte Minare Medrese and Gök Medrese, AnatSt XV, 1965, 65-6.

⁴⁰ The mason marks that litter the exterior portal of Alara Han likewise clearly suggest that the mason marks and consequently this entire portal and the exterior façade was coated and then painted, rather than leaving these many masons marks exposed to public view.

would suggest that these marks were originally concealed, were filled and were rendered invisible when these *bans* were completed in the 13th c.

Likewise the classical *spolia* incorporated into the walls of these *bans*⁴¹, carrying inscriptions in Latin and Greek, carved altars, friezes, lintels and entablature blocks and re-used dressed classical masonry blocks formed no part of the original decorative scheme of these structures, the vast majority of classical *spolia* that are visible in *bans* today were not seen in the 13th c., as this *spolia* material was entirely concealed beneath layers of plaster.

There is considerable surviving evidence to indicate the application of at least two coats of Seljuk plaster over the masonry and rubble interior walls and that white plaster also covered the vaulted ceilings of these *bans*. At Kırkgöz Han, *in situ* today are areas of the initial plaster coat carrying incisions to support the application of a second coat of plaster, in places within the rooms (Fig. 9, 2007), within the arcades and on the inside of the entrance portal, while in some areas of the arcades the smooth plaster of the final coat remains *in situ* today (Fig. 10, 2007). Other Seljuk state buildings in Antalya province such as the Tershane in Alanya of ca. 1226, Alara Han of 1231-2⁴² (Fig. 11, 1990, prior to the removal of this Seljuk interior plaster during its recent so-called “restoration”) and Kargı Han of 1237-46, north of Manavgat⁴³ (Fig. 12, 1990), have retained more of their interior plaster than either Evdir Han or Kırkgöz Han. The plaster over the segment between the two arches forming the arcades at Kırkgöz Han resembles the plaster on this same area in the Alanya Tershane, as also in this same area at Kargı Han, at Alara Han and also at İncir Han⁴⁴ by Bucak, Burdur, indicating the application of layers of plaster over the internal walls of *bans*, as over other masonry and rubble walled structures, was standard practice in the 13th c. Dressed masonry in the interior walls of *bans* was often covered in plaster e.g. Figs. 11, 12, and, as evidence from the Alanya and Aspendos Palaces and the Alara bath house, Fig. 24, shows, were also at times covered with paintings and painted designs⁴⁵ on this plaster.

Consequently the surviving evidence from these two *bans* by Antalya indicates the following: Firstly, that the carved outer face of some, if not all, stone portals of Seljuk state buildings were in the 13th c. covered by a thin probably lime based sealant coating, covering the in-filled joints between the carved stone blocks, covering also the variety of tones and filling the natural pores in the carved limestone blocks and that these portals were then painted in a variety of colors (Figs. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7). Secondly, in at least one case (Fig. 3), the inner areas of a portal were originally covered in a coat of fine plaster, presumably to carry both paintwork and painted calligraphy. Thirdly, that the exterior and the interior

⁴¹ For references to *spolia*, op. cit., fn. 2.

⁴² For my doubts concerning the function of Alara Han as a typical Seljuk Han, see, Duggan 2007, fn. 2. It would seem to have served a specific and distinct state function, differing significantly from other non-urban Seljuk state *bans*.

⁴³ The plaster over the *kible* (*qibla*) wall of the *masjid* remains almost intact, most of the other internal walls of this han carry only smaller areas of plaster remaining *in situ* today.

⁴⁴ Erdmann 1955, Abb 31.

⁴⁵ Areas of painted plaster cover remain *in situ* inside the stage building at Aspendos and require their urgent removal and conservation before the paintwork is entirely lost from the plaster. For an *in situ* fragment of Seljuk palace wall painting in yellow, white and red on plaster, from the upper level inside this stage building, see Duggan 2008. See also fn. 136 below, for a possible 13th c. depiction of painted portraits on a plastered internal wall.

rubble walls and some areas of dressed masonry were covered in several layers of plaster (Figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12), and with an initial coarser layer of plaster mixed with tile fragments, grit and sand filling any undulations in the rubble and mortar surface of a wall, which was then covered by at least one and probably two finer layers of plaster. Fourthly, as the marble inscription panel and portals carry traces of at least four colors, red, white, pale yellow and yellow ocher, it can be inferred from the above, that the exterior walls were plastered, sealed and were also painted, as indicated by the traces of yellow on the façade of Evdir Han (Fig. 4), including painting the merlons, and that paintwork was perhaps also applied to some areas of the interior walls, while other interior walls were covered in a final coat of sealed white plaster.

It may be that areas of dressed masonry in the exterior walls of some non-urban *hans* were only coated with sealant and were then painted, as seems to have been the case for the red painted urban *hans*, *medreses* and *tekkes* in Kayseri⁴⁶, and was certainly the case for the outer face of the entrance portals of both Evdir and Kırkgöz Hans, rather than always being coated in plaster beneath the sealant coat. There are however indications that some dressed masonry on exterior walls was also plastered over, as for example the interior of the portal of Evdir Han, the walls either side of the door to the *masjid* of Sarı Han⁴⁷ and on the buttress to the left of the entrance portal of Ağzıkara Han, as elsewhere on its exterior walls⁴⁸, evidence that remained *in situ* into the 20th c..

II. Examples of the repertory of colors and patterns employed on Seljuk state buildings largely in the Antalya region

A survey of the surviving and recorded paintwork on other Seljuk state structures in this region provides some indications of the colors that were frequently employed, in addition to the surviving yellow on the exterior wall and portal of Evdir Han, together with remains of an off-white and traces of red on the columns and outer border of the portal, and the red zigzag-chevrons formerly on the sides of the portal of Kırkgöz Han and traces of pale yellow on the inscription panel, and these contemporary state buildings would seem to provide indications as to the patterns and the other colors that were employed to finish the decoration of the plaster coated walls of these *hans*. There is both recorded and clear surviving *in situ* evidence of some of the decorative motifs and of at least some of the colors that were employed on the plastered exterior and interior walls of other Seljuk state structures, on Seljuk palaces, on pavilions (*köşk*) and on fortification walls within this same region, and, as these *hans* were also state buildings, like these palaces, pavilions and fortifications, it seems reasonable to suggest that these *hans* also carried elements of this same repertory of painted designs, both clearly identifying these structures as state buildings and aiding the security of these buildings by concealing the position of the masonry joints and the type of construction employed beneath this painted plaster covering.

⁴⁶ Op. cit., fn. 17. As also in respect to reference made by Kadı Muhyiddin ibn 'Abdū'z-Zair to this same shiny red paintwork decoration on the exterior walls of *medreses*, *tekkes* and *hans* in Kayseri, "Bu binalar sağlam oldukları gibi parlatılmış ve süslenmiş en güzel kırmızı taşlardan yapılmış eserlerdir" (Sümer 1985, 86). Although some reddish colored dressed masonry may have been employed in some areas of some of these structures, their recorded shiny-smooth-polished appearance would seem to suggest that these wall surfaces were also sealed and were then painted red.

⁴⁷ See Erdmann 1955, Abb 9. Gone in the restoration of this han in the 1980's.

⁴⁸ Cahen 1968, Photo 47, 412.

A. Evidence of Seljuk 13th c. paintwork from the Palace at Aspendos

Type No. 1. Zigzag-chevron band designs⁴⁹ in red⁵⁰, white (Fig. 13, 1997) and possibly also a turquoise blue that is today a pale grey⁵¹ remain *in situ* on parts of the thin hard plaster covering the central Seljuk entrance portico, which was applied to the facade of the Roman theater on its conversion into a Seljuk palace⁵². This pattern also occurs on the more thickly plastered exterior walls of the inner tower-staircases either side of the stage, a part of this painted plaster covers over earlier red paintwork outlining blocks, as No. 4 below, that indicates either a Seljuk renovation of earlier Seljuk paintwork, or just possibly the remnants of the original Roman red painted block design⁵³ (Fig. 14, 2007). It is reported this design also formerly ran across the thickly plastered stage wall, recorded in 1884⁵⁴ and which was still visible in the 1950's⁵⁵ and 1960's⁵⁶, and which, in the 13th century was an internal wall of this palace, however the earliest 19th c. photographic records of this internal wall show a thick coating of white plaster without any visible decoration and so these references to this paintwork on the stage wall would seem rather to refer to the *in situ* paintwork on the staircase towers than to paintwork on this stage wall. This ruled zigzag-chevron band design was incised into the damp plaster and then the paint was applied within these incised lines (Fig. 15, 2007).

Various zigzag-chevron band designs in red⁵⁷, yellow⁵⁸ and white within a painted rectangular border⁵⁹ were also painted during this 13th c. conversion of the Roman theater into a Seljuk palace, probably on top of a lime sealant coat, on top of the limestone blocks above some of the windows and elsewhere on the palace facade and on some blocks on the north exterior *analemmata* wall. These painted blazon-like devices that remain *in situ* today, there were probably others on the south *analemmata* wall, possibly indicated official ranks within the upper reaches of the Seljuk state (Fig. 16, 1997).

Type No. 2. A red⁶⁰ triangle apex down, on a white square, is painted on one of the plaster covering of limestone blocks in the facade, by the remaining 13th c. false buttress (Fig. 17, 2007).

⁴⁹ T.C. Antalya Valiliği, Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Kültür Envanterleri (Manavgat-Serik) (2004) 131; Önge 1991, 96; M. Edip Özgür, Aspendos (1988) 31.

⁵⁰ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

⁵¹ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 5/1, Grey.

⁵² J. Freely, *Classical Turkey* (1990) 130, states this entrance was erected by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I, but it seems more probably that it dates to between 1237 and 1243, to the reign of Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II.

⁵³ This possibly Roman paintwork is of the same color, Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red, as that employed by the Byzantines as also in 13th c. Seljuk paintwork and presumably was made from the same material, iron oxide or the sinopia that is mentioned by Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Book VII. For earlier examples of this same red paintwork: a fragment of Roman wall painting and a painted carved Roman architectural fragment and also a Byzantine inscription on limestone, the incised letters filled with this same red color, were found in the 2007 excavation season in the Roman Bath House excavations at Tlos, Lycia, their publication is forthcoming by Archaeologist F. Gülşen of Akdeniz University, Antalya; as also the Roman inscription from the West Gate at Rhodiapolis which also retains in places on the incised letters this same red paintwork and, for further Roman and Byzantine examples, see below, fn. 64 and 66.

⁵⁴ Lanckoroński 1890, 119.

⁵⁵ K. Otto-Dorn, *Türkische Keramik* (1957) 41.

⁵⁶ Bean 1979, 49.

⁵⁷ Sir C. Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, more particularly in Lycia² (1975) 149.

⁵⁸ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 8/6-7/8, Yellow.

⁵⁹ Lanckoroński 1890, Taf. XXIII, two of these chevron panels are visible on this plate, directly below the limestone frieze on the extreme right and midway between the left and the central arched window.

⁶⁰ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

Type No. 3. A red⁶¹ and white checkerboard design was painted on plaster, on the north inner wall above the *paradoi*⁶² (Fig. 18, 2007).

Type No. 4. The painting of a pattern of imitation stone block joints in red paint⁶³, each block depicted reserved in white plaster, the blocks of decreasing size from base to top, is on the remaining thickly plastered 13th c. false buttress applied to the exterior facade of this palace (Fig. 19, 1997). There seem to have originally been four Seljuk false buttresses, two either side of the Seljuk central portico-entrance, blocking the other Roman entrances into the stage building. This pattern of painted imitation stone blocks follows the same design that was employed earlier by the Romans and Byzantines⁶⁴, of outlining the plastered joints between the stone blocks in red paint, Roman paintwork⁶⁵ that may in places remain *in situ* today⁶⁶, although it seems more probable that this is earlier Seljuk paintwork. On the remaining Seljuk false buttress this red painted design and the plasterwork both concealed the nature of the rubble and wooden relieving beam (*batıl*) construction beneath the plaster coating, and provided an impression of strength and security by suggesting there were stone blocks of this size lying beneath the plaster, like the stone blocks employed in the construction of the Roman façade (Fig. 20, showing this design where it joins the façade, 2007). A similar design is also painted on the stucco covering the brickwork on the 12th c. Ribat Sharaf⁶⁷ and for similar reasons, implying the structure was made of stone blocks rather than brickwork covered with painted plaster and both this design and a variant of this design was also employed on the outer face of the Alara castles' lower walls (Figs. 28, 29).

Type No. 5. There are 13th c. paintwork remains on the plaster around the slit window in the south tower beside the stage which indicate this window, like that facing it, was surrounded on its outer edge by a red painted border⁶⁸ and then by a second red painted border that had a design at the top left hand border extending outwards, presumably matched by the same design on the outer upper right border, now lost (Fig. 21, 1997).

Type No. 6. Painted 13th c. calligraphic inscriptions are recorded on the plastered interior walls of this palace, on the south face of the north tower, recorded in the late 19th c. as, "a painted heraldic sign on the north parascaenium tower that points to the late

⁶¹ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

⁶² This same checkerboard pattern, in cobalt blue and white, occurs on a depiction of a sail of a boat on a Syrian 12-13th c. pottery fragment in the Cairo museum of Islamic Art, Abulafia 2003, 182.

⁶³ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

⁶⁴ This painted stone block pattern is frequently recorded in Roman mosaic work depicting fortifications and other buildings, e.g. Abulafia 2003, 126, from a house in the Quirinale Rome, today in the Museo della Civita Romana, Rome, as later, for example on the 6th c. Byzantine mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, where fortifications and the entranceways of buildings consist of rectangular blocks outlined in: black on white, red and brown on gold and red on white, and also forms the pattern on the sails of the vessels depicted in these mosaics. This pattern occurs on other 6th c. Byzantine mosaics from Tunisia and elsewhere, and is repeated in 11th c. depictions of city walls in Byzantine manuscripts, e.g. Bib. Nat. MS. Grec 2442, f. 97r.

⁶⁵ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

⁶⁶ Above the doorway from the cavea into the south tower the earlier Seljuk or possibly Roman freehand red outlining of the joints between the blocks runs beneath the Seljuk plaster carrying the incised and painted zigzag chevron design in red and white. This red paintwork is of the same tone as that employed to paint the overlying red zigzag pattern as also the stone carved incised letters of many surviving carved Roman stone inscriptions. There is it would appear, no credible evidence that this building was employed for anything except as a site to be looted for columns etc, following its abandonment as a theater, until its conversion into a palace in the 13th c.

⁶⁷ R. Ettinghausen – O. Grabar, *The art and architecture of Islam 650-1250* (1994) Fig. 297.

⁶⁸ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red. For the red line border type, Önge 1991, 95, 96.

Middle Ages"⁶⁹, and which possibly matched the incised and then painted in red⁷⁰ Kufic calligraphic remains that are damaged but remain *in situ* today on the north face of the south tower (Fig. 22, 1990). This surviving "heraldic"-calligraphic "emblematic" inscription is located within a white plastered lunette, the border to this lunette was probably formed of cut glazed tile work, given the impressions that remain today in the plaster. A. Aziz in 1932 could report of this palace, "This (the broken Seljuk tiles in the tower rooms) would be a strong indication that the building was once used by the Seljuks *even if there were not script* and suchlike giving particular confirmation, too strong a sign for it to be just coincidence"⁷¹. This reference to script presumably referring to these two examples of painted calligraphy on the north and south facing towers either side of the stage, although there are other references to painted Seljuk calligraphy on walls recorded in 1931⁷², painted calligraphy that no longer survives. Consequently, calligraphic inscriptions were painted on interior plastered walls, as also upon some protected areas of external walls, as the remains of red⁷³ painted freehand Seljuk calligraphy without incised borders, which remains visible on the plaster covered border of the brick arch providing access through the middle wall in the fortifications of Alanya and as a surviving fragment from the palace at Alanya indicate. Calligraphy on the plastered exterior walls of a Seljuk building is also depicted in a miniature in the Konya mid-13th c. Varka and Gulshah manuscript⁷⁴.

B. The paintwork on the Alanya Palace and Rum Seljuk köşks

The Alanya palace has the zigzag-chevron band pattern in red and white on plaster in one of towers of the Citadel⁷⁵ and in the palace⁷⁶, as type No. 1 above, and a red painted foliage pattern painted on plaster, like that *in situ* on the middle gate (see below), was also found in the İç Kale palace⁷⁷, as also a fragment of an inscription painted in red⁷⁸, as type No. 6 above. The *şikarhane* or *av köşkü*, today known as Şekerhane Köşkü at Silenus, by Gazipaşa, the converted former mausoleum dedicated to Emperor Trajan, has the remains of Seljuk red⁷⁹ painted zigzags on the plastered interior walls⁸⁰, as also the Sugözü pavilion on the plastered interior walls and vault⁸¹, as also in the Güleşen pavilion⁸² by Alanya and the Hasbahçe Köşkü had this same pattern painted on the plastered exterior⁸³, and it

⁶⁹ Lanckoroński 1890, 119.

⁷⁰ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

⁷¹ A. Aziz, "Aspendos", Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi 1, 1933, 100, "*Bunlar binanın bir zamanlar Selçukiler tarafından da kullanıldığına delalet ediyorsa da yazı ve saire gibi bu bususu teyit edecek kuvvetli bir emareye tesadüf olunmaz*".

⁷² Duggan 2008a, citing, V. Rıza Zobu, O günden bu güne (1977) 362.

⁷³ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

⁷⁴ T. S. M. Ktp. H.841, 51a.

⁷⁵ Lloyd - Rice 1958, 33.

⁷⁶ Arık 2002, 256; Önge 1991, 96.

⁷⁷ Illustrated in Arık 2002, 256.

⁷⁸ Illustrated in b/w in L. Yılmaz, "Alanya Kalesi Kazısından Çıkan Çini Buluntular II", V. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazı ve Araştırmalar Sempozyumu, Hacettepe (2001) 593-608 Res. 14.

⁷⁹ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

⁸⁰ İ. Karamut, "Silenus Antik Kenti ve Traianus'un Kenotaphı", Arkeoloji ve Sanat 112, Ocak-Şubat 2003, 4 Res. 10, 11.

⁸¹ Redford 1996, 456, Photo 6.

⁸² Lloyd - Rice 1956, 43.

⁸³ Redford 2001, Fig. 4, 569.

is also found in the Hıdırlık mausoleum in Antalya, which was also converted into a *köşk* in the 13th c., all as No. 1 above. The red and white checkerboard pattern is found on the plastered exterior walls of *köşk* around Alanya⁸⁴, as No. 3 above, while the Şekerhane Köşkü by Alanya carries the outlining of blocks in red paint on plaster⁸⁵, as No. 4 above. There are the fragmentary *in situ* remains of yellow paintwork (Fig. 23, 2007) that seems to have covered the entire façade of the building to the west of and adjoining the citadel bathhouse at Alara, traces of this paintwork are at various heights on two walls, of the same tone as that employed on the exterior walls of the Kemer Köşkü, like the remaining traces of yellow paintwork on the exterior wall of Evdir Han; while in the interior of the Seljuk bathhouse by the *köşk*, there are the trace remains of a painted seated figure with *tiraz* (defaced), animals and plant motifs and geometric, possibly calligraphic and also floral ornament painted on the stucco-plaster coating the rubble stone-work of the pendentives and around the foot of the dome, painted in red, blue, yellow and black⁸⁶ (Fig. 24, 2007), subjects related to paintwork in bathhouses elsewhere in the region⁸⁷, and slight traces of red paintwork remain visible on surviving areas of the interior of the largely collapsed bath house's main dome. The Kemer Seljuk pavilion carries traces of *in situ* yellow paintwork⁸⁸ on most of its exterior walls (Fig. 25, 2007, T. Kahya) and the exterior walls seem to have originally been entirely covered with plaster and painted yellow; while a considerable area of black paint remains *in situ* towards the foot of the internal staircase (Fig. 26, 2007, T. Kahya) and white paint covers the east side of the staircase window. The dressed stonework walls of this staircase are still largely covered in plaster.

C. The paintwork on the plaster applied to Seljuk fortifications walls

For reasons of both security and appearance-identification as state buildings, citadel and city walls were coated in plaster and were painted in Rum Seljuk Anatolia, as, it is

⁸⁴ Redford 2001, 219.

⁸⁵ S. Redford, "Pavilions Southeast of Alanya", AST XV, 1997, 75.

⁸⁶ Önge 1991, 95, 96; Y. Önge, "Alanya ve Alara Kalelerindeki Selçuklu Hamamları", in: Antalya 3. Selçuklu Semineri (1989) 120; Ş. Yetkin, "Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat'ın Alara Kalesi Kasrı Hamamındaki Freskler", Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı III (1969-70) 69-88; Lloyd - Rice 1958, 48. If one compares the b/w photo in Önge 1989 Fig. 8 or Süslü 1989, Res. 166 with this photo No. 24, taken in 2007, the sheer speed of color and paint loss and the vandalism to this paintwork over perhaps less than 20 years is shocking.

⁸⁷ There is a surviving example of 11th c. Fatimid plasterwork with a cup-bearer figure painted in red, black and brown from a bathhouse near Cairo and today in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art. 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi in his Kitab al-ifadah wa'l-l'tibar, written in 1204 records of Egyptian bath houses, "The ceilings of all these places are decorated with paintings", Bk. 1, Ch. 5. Jelal ad-Din Rumi makes numerous references to paintings in bathhouses, mostly presumably known to him and his audience in Konya in the 1260's, i.e. within Rum Seljuk territory under the Mongol protectorate, in his Mathnawi, Bk. 4, of their form but lack of content, v. 800-2, on the rightness or wrongness of purpose of these paintings, v. 3000, of the blindness of the pictures in a bathhouse v. 3479-84; in Bk. 5, where a picture of Rüstem in the bathhouse is mentioned, v. 3918; in Bk. 6, that the paintings of people in bathhouses are lacking spirit, are like the dead, v. 146-7 & v. 1548, thereby indicating a range of depictions of people in 13th c. Rum Seljuk bath houses. This 13th c. paintwork was in addition to the employment on occasion of revetments of 8 pointed star and pointed cross tiles also carrying figural representations applied to bathhouse walls, as at Kubadabad, Alara, Kayseri in the Huand Hatun complex at Kayseri and elsewhere. The chief *Kadı* of Damascus in the 1360's Taj al-Din al-Subki, issued a *fatwa* warning that living things should not be painted on walls, indicating that walls, presumably bath house walls, were plastered and were being painted with depictions of living things at that time and this continued into the 15th c. as al-Ghuzuli in his Matali' al-Budur, states that walls of public bath houses in Mamluk territory carried paintings and that the most common scenes were of: 1. lovers, 2. meadows and gardens, 3. scenes of hunting.

⁸⁸ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 8/6-7/8, Yellow. For the first report of this pavilion, see A. Yavuz, "Kemer'deki Selçuklu Köşkü", Emin Bilgiç Hatıra Kitabı (2000) 279-302.

suggested, were the walls of these state *hans*. Plaster on Seljuk fortification walls is recorded in several 19th c. engravings and, given the examples of Seljuk plaster and paintwork that remain *in situ* today on the exterior walls of palaces, *köşks* and fortifications, it seems reasonable to suggest that these 19th c. engravings do in many cases at least, record⁸⁹ the remains of *in situ* Seljuk plaster on exterior walls, rather than always being the remains of plasterwork applied at some subsequent date. Examples include the city and citadel walls of Ankara that retained areas of plaster into the late 19th c.⁹⁰; plasterwork on the Seljuk walls of Antalya was recorded by F. Beaufort in 1812⁹¹ and by others (see below); on the Tershane and on the fortifications of Alanya including the Red Tower, recorded by Beaufort in 1812 as by others⁹² (see below), as also on the Seljuk fortification walls of Anamur also recorded by Beaufort⁹³, and on the city and citadel walls of Konya recorded by both L. Laborde and C. Texier (see below). Unfortunately none of these engravings are of a sufficient detail to clearly indicate any surviving Seljuk paintwork remains on this plasterwork.

Antalya: The Antalya Seljuk citadel was located on the western edge of the walled city today opposite the Turkish Army's officers club. A mid 18th c. wash drawing, depicts this citadel⁹⁴ and it is evident from this drawing, which was probably made by a highly skilled French artist employing a *camera obscura*⁹⁵, that both the citadel and the other depicted city walls for security reasons still carried a coating of plaster at this date⁹⁶. Although the upper section of the walls of this seven storey tall Seljuk Antalya citadel⁹⁷ were brought

⁸⁹ Some 18th -19th c. engravings were produced from drawings which were made using a *camera obscura*, others by means of a *camera lucida*, while others in the late 19th c. were the result of copying from photographs, for the reliable use of this scientific evidence see T. M. P. Duggan, "Camera obscura, Camera lucida, Antalya Selçuklu İç Kalesinin Görüntülemesinin Teknik Öyküsü", T. Kahya (çev.), Toplumsal Tarih 172, 2008, 30-35. In respect to the documentary value of engravings made from free-hand drawings, such as those drawn by Beaufort, it seems reasonable to suggest that if Beaufort recorded plaster on a wall, it probably was there. There seems no reason to suggest he embroidered his drawings with additional imagined details, nor did he exaggerate proportions for artistic affect, as was certainly the case with the freehand drawings-engravings of Thomas Allom amongst others.

⁹⁰ Sevim 1997, Vol. I, Pls. 51, 54.

⁹¹ Beaufort 2002, 124; Sevim 1997, Vol. I, Pl. 70.

⁹² Beaufort 2002, 163; Sevim 1997, Vol. I, Pl. 63, 64.

⁹³ Beaufort 2002, 202; Sevim 1997, Vol. II, Pl. 38.

⁹⁴ A greatly enlarged copy of this wash drawing is displayed in the Kaleiçi Museum, AKMED, Antalya,

⁹⁵ The precursor of the camera, similar to the later more portable *camera lucida* that allowed one to copy the reversed light image cast directly onto the paper. Given its small size, measuring only 41x26.5 cm. and its detail and accuracy, this is certainly no free-hand drawing of the city of Antalya.

⁹⁶ Presumably the responsibility for renewing this plaster work, as well as repairing any damage to the masonry of the city walls and the citadel, belonged to the *divarçı* and his workers, H. Moğol, Antalya Tarihi (1997) 123-4, although there is no reference to the re-painting of the city walls in the 19th c. The relatively recent re-plastering of parts of the city walls seems evident in an 1888 photograph of Antalya city walls on display at the Kaleiçi Museum, Antalya where the much lower outer city wall in places still retains much of its plasterwork. Plasterwork is also indicated in places on G. Niemann's views of the walls in Lanckoroński 1890, Fig. 3, 6; while mortar-plasterwork remains *in situ* on the merlons of the Roman tower adjoining Hadrian's Gate to the south. See also for new 19th c. Ottoman plasterwork, L. Laborde's drawing of the walls surrounding the outskirts of Afyon Karahisar, Laborde 1839, Pl. XXIV 52 this plasterwork carrying no painted designs.

⁹⁷ References to this Seljuk citadel in Antalya are recorded from the 13th c. through to the first decades of the 19th c. when only its lower walls and surrounding barbican remained: Ibn Bibi, Vol. II, 149, for the use of this citadel in the 13th c. as a Seljuk treasury; also: Ahmed-i Ridwan's early 16th c. poem on Antalya clearly distinguishes between the city walls and the citadel-"Kale", Göka 1996, 20-4; M. Herberer, Anılar, Osmanlı'da bir Köle. T. Noyan (çev.) (2003) 126 "*yüksekçe bir yerde bulunan kale hem şehre, hem de limana egemen durumda*"; by Piri Reis in his "Kitab-i Bahriye": where the port of Antalya is described, "*Kalenin burç ve barusu görünür. Kale önünde bir liman vardır, / That you can see the citadel and the walls. In front of the citadel is the port*", and by W. M. Leake, Journal of a tour in Asia Minor (1824) 133, who records it thus: "The town is situated around a circular port, behind it on a height is a castle built with battlements", the "castle" at this date being only the outer walls and barbican.

down in the mid 18th c., and most of the formerly plaster coated and painted city walls and also the 80 towers lining the inner and outer city walls were demolished largely from 1930 onwards⁹⁸; Ahmed-i Ridwan in the late 15th- early 16th c. seems to have recorded the 13th c. Seljuk painted plasterwork of the cities' fortifications in his poetry: "*kırmızı taşlarla işlenmiş bir zeberced şehir ki*"⁹⁹, recording these walls as decorated with type No. 4 above, and: "*Bu taşta parlayanlar kırmızı süs dikendekilerse can gülüdür*"¹⁰⁰, recording either No. 1, the zig-zag-chevron band design, or a repeat pattern of the red triangle of No. 2 above¹⁰¹. The available late 19th-early 20th c. photographic record unfortunately provides no certain evidence of any surviving paintwork, nor does Beaufort's drawing of 1812 nor William Bartlett's 1835 engraving of the harbor and its walls, but the sheltered parts of the Antalya fortifications, given the surviving Seljuk paintwork on the protected parts of the Alanya fortifications today, may still have retained until their demolition some traces of this painted Seljuk plaster that was recorded by Ahmed-i Ridwan. The continued use of paintwork applied to plaster to outline blocks in a variety of colors, including blue, red, gold and yellow, on the few remaining original plastered ground floor walls of 19th c. Ottoman houses within Kaleiçi (Fig. 27, Hamit Efendi Sok. Barbaros Mah. Antalya, 2007), as also on buildings in Balbey Mah. lying beyond the city walls, seem to indicate the continuity over the passage of the centuries of the design, No. 4 above, which was probably copied from the design employed on parts of the Seljuk painted city-citadel walls and was employed on these houses and their "predecessors", for exactly the same reasons, indicating strength and security¹⁰².

An indication of the thickness of the layers of plaster that were applied to parts of the Seljuk city walls in the 13th c. is provided by the fact that the ends of the *in situ* column drums that carry the 1216 *fetihname* inscription are set proud of the masonry of the reinforced inner city wall¹⁰³ that in 1216 divided the Moslem from the non-Moslem parts of the city, which runs the length of the western side of Uzun Çarşı Sok., indicating the quite considerable thickness of the Seljuk plaster coating that originally covered this internal city wall. To render this series of inscriptions clearly legible they would have been painted in at least two colors and it is most probable that the surrounding thick layers of plaster that formerly covered this wall would also have carried painted design(s), in the same manner as painted designs that surround the Seljuk inscription panel in the outer wall of Alara castle.

⁹⁸ H. Çimrin, *Bir zamanlar Antalya* (2006) I, 381.

⁹⁹ Göka 1996, 22. My thanks to Sn. M. Üstün for drawing my attention to this volume.

¹⁰⁰ Göka 1996, 22.

¹⁰¹ A repeat triangle design also forms a shield pattern in a miniature in the mid 13th c. Varka and Gulshah, Istanbul, TSM Ktp. H. 841, fol. 12a.

¹⁰² In respect to the colors traditionally employed on the exterior of houses in Antalya: the entire house or just the doors and window frames of the houses of those who had completed the Hajj to Mekka were still painted green into the mid 20th c. in Antalya, although when this tradition began in Antalya is today unknown, and the Rum population lived in white or blue painted houses, my thanks to archaeologist and curator, İ. Akan Atila, of Antalya Museum for this information; as also my thanks to *usta* H. Büyükozer for the information that the Moslem refugees from Crete that settled in Şarampol, Antalya in the late 19th c., all lived in single storey white painted houses, continuing the tradition of white painted house walls, that they brought with them from Crete. M. Pereira records that in 1965 many of the plastered walls of houses in Kaleiçi were painted with a pink or with a blue wash, M. Pereira, *Mountain and Shore*, (1966) 41, while plain ochre yellow paint covered the exterior plastered walls of several large *konaks* (mansion) located between the Karatay Medrese and Kırkmerdiven in Kaleiçi, and pale yellow paintwork is also to be found on some Ottoman plaster on houses facing Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Sok. in Kaleiçi, possibly indicating the continuity of this tradition from the 13th c. into the 20th c.

¹⁰³ See for example Figs. 339, 342, 343, 344 and 345, in: Yılmaz 2002.

Alara castle: has *in situ* painted plaster on parts of the outer east side of the gate in the lower battlements, carrying the design of the outlines of joints in stone blocks in a single red line, as No. 4 above (Fig. 28, 2007), and far larger areas of the buttressed lower walls carry a doubled red line¹⁰⁴ outlining the joints in stone blocks (Fig. 29, 2007). There are also the trace remains of “two figures” or “a heraldic device”, painted in red¹⁰⁵ and yellow¹⁰⁶ on a white background in a panel to the left of the remaining inscription panel in the lower wall near the main gate¹⁰⁷ and, although this *in situ* stone carved inscription panel today carries no visible traces of paintwork, surrounded as it is on all sides by *in situ* painted plaster work, it would, as noted above, be odd indeed if the background to this inscription was not originally painted and the letters forming the inscription were not originally painted in a contrasting color or were more probably covered in gold leaf.

Alanya castle: has visible remains of the red¹⁰⁸ and white zigzag-chevron band design on plaster on the wall by the middle gate, as type No. 1 above, and also a considerable plastered area covered by the checkerboard pattern¹⁰⁹ in red¹¹⁰ and white also remains *in situ* by the middle gate, as No. 3 above. Like the red borders around the slit window at Aspendos, there are also the remains of red painted¹¹¹ Seljuk 13th c. thick and a thin red painted border bands, as No. 5 above, but these borders have foliage between them, like that in the Alanya palace, and there is also a band of painted calligraphy in red¹¹² within this same area of the middle gate of the Alanya fortifications as No. 6 above, visible on the plaster covered brick arch providing access through the middle wall in the fortifications at Alanya. The use of red painted border decoration around this arch, as also around window slits, as No. 5 above, suggests this red border paintwork regularly occurred and may have originally been painted on the plaster around the outer slit windows and upon the edges of the arches of the arcades of state *bans*.

Konya: The citadel and city walls and towers of Konya were coated with a plaster¹¹³ and painted in the 13th c. and large areas of exterior plaster are recorded on van Berchem's pre-1910 photo of the Konya Köşkü¹¹⁴. Trace remnants of this plaster covering the citadel wall are indicated on a drawing by L. Laborde, completed between the 25th and the 29th of November 1825, recording plasterwork then *in situ* on areas of the outer face of the towers, since demolished, particularly on the outer face and side of the portal of the Citadel Great Gate and upon the outermost face of this tower, on the wall behind the statue of

¹⁰⁴ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

¹⁰⁵ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

¹⁰⁶ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 7/8 Yellow.

¹⁰⁷ Önge 1991, 95, 96, reads this painted panel as depicting two figures while Lloyd - Rice 1958, 48, records that “high up in the outer wall near the main gateway, where also there is a plastered panel, showing scanty traces of some sort of heraldic (?) device in coloured fresco”. It is hard to be sure today, after the subsequent weathering, which of these two descriptions is the more correct.

¹⁰⁸ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

¹⁰⁹ Lloyd - Rice 1958, 21-22, Plate VIII, b; G. Bean, *Turkeys southern shore* (1979) 78.

¹¹⁰ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

¹¹¹ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

¹¹² Lloyd - Rice 1958, 22.

¹¹³ Areas of plaster are recorded in early photos of Konya's walls, e.g. Sarré 1989, 91; also on Kayseri's fortifications including the merlons, e.g. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Kayseri - Niğde, Pl. V, VI, 1.

¹¹⁴ Sarré 1989, 111.

the headless Hercules¹¹⁵, in addition to the surviving traces of paintwork on the remaining plaster on the portal, almost certainly Seljuk paintwork, that is mentioned in L. Laborde's text to this plate¹¹⁶, but he fails to mention either the colors or the design(s) that were employed, just describing these traces of paint work as *primitif*¹¹⁷.

Laborde's 1825 drawing of the Citadel Gate¹¹⁸ also depicts, in the side entrance to the tower, sheltered by the *iwān*, a still intact Seljuk painted relief depiction of a falcon in at least 4 colors, this sculpture most probably made from painted stucco plaster rather than stone, given both its subsequent complete disappearance and the type of carving employed, the unsupported thinness of the jinn-serpents body as also the talons, equally unsupported, would otherwise make this a unique example amongst known Seljuk relief stone carvings. A quite detailed drawing of this probably therefore stucco, painted relief was also made by L. Laborde and was published on the same page¹¹⁹, and he describes this relief work in his caption to this plate¹²⁰. The paintwork in the lunette depicted in this 1825 drawing, as also the recorded paintwork on this gate, would seem to date from Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad's rebuilding of the city walls in 1221¹²¹. This type of painted stucco relief work may have been located in other sheltered portals and on other types of Seljuk building, such as the suggested painted stucco covering applied to the bands of carved stone animal relief work on the south side of the Aspendos palace under Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II¹²². This observation concerning formerly painted Seljuk relief work may also apply for example to the stone relief of a double headed falcon¹²³ from the walls of Konya that clearly still carries in

¹¹⁵ Published in Léon de Laborde, *Voyage en Orient I* (1839).

¹¹⁶ Laborde 1837, 117, in reference to Pl. LXIV depicting the citadel gate, "*et porte encore les traces de son coloriage primitif*".

¹¹⁷ Op. cit., fn. 116.

¹¹⁸ Laborde 1839, Pl. LXIV, 133.

¹¹⁹ Laborde 1839, Pl. LXIV, 134.

¹²⁰ Laborde 1839, 117, "*Les Seldjoudes ont fait sculpter au-dessus de la porte leur faucon fantastique ou heraldique, aux ailes déployées, aux serpents s'en laçant dans leurs serres, à l'aspect farouche*". This painted relief work seems to be the same bird of prey with a linked pair of dragon-jinn heads grasping the raptor's feet, reported as being over the Great Gate to the citadel, which is also described as a falcon and is engraved in C. Texier's work, *Texier 2002*, Vol. 3, 313, Pl. K/57, in a similar isolated manner to the second depiction in Laborde's volume. This same painted relief was then described as a lost "stone" relief carving by F. Sarre, who copied the detailed record of Laborde's plate, Sarre 1989, Figs. 29, 23, 38. How F. Sarre knew this then lost relief work was of made of stone seems unknown.

¹²¹ This restoration of the walls of Konya in 1221, recorded by Ibn Bibi, Vol. I, 272-3, occurred before the earthquake of 1222 that damaged the hall of audience on the Konya citadel and probably also damaged the Konya Köşk: Ü. Ü. Bates, "Evliya Çelebi's comments on the Saljuqs of Rum", in: R. Hillenbrand (ed.), *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia* (1994) 260 fn. 22; Öney 1992, 84. This earthquake damage, unlike that of 1273 associated with Jelal ad-Din Rumi's death, or that of 1906 that destroyed part of the remains of this köşk, was possibly a consequence of the major earthquake of 1222 that totally destroyed the Cypriot city of Paphos: P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374* (1994) 14; Al-Maqrizi, *A history of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*. R. J. C. Broadhurst (trans.) 1980, 146; F. Ş. Arik, "Selçuklular Zamanında Anadolu'da Meydana Gelen Depremler", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* XVI-27, 1992-4 (1994) 22; E. Altan, "1150-1250 Yılları Arasında Anadolu'da Doğal Afetler", in: İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmalar Merkezi. *Tarihi Boyunca Anadolu'da Doğal Afetler ve Deprem Semineri* (2002) 46; Durukan 2001, 96, dates this and the earthquake related restoration work to 1221, combining these two events, that appear to have been a year apart.

¹²² A brief description of this 13th c. palace relief work is provided at www.ilesam.org.tr, "Aspendos'ta Selçuklu İzleri" 15.05.2007; "The Lions of ancient Aspendos", *Sundays Zaman*, 07.07.2007; fuller publication of this find will be forthcoming in 2009.

¹²³ Ince Minareli Medrese (I.M.M.) Konya, 882. I think mistakenly identified as a "double headed eagle", as in Turks 2005, Cat. No. 69, as on the Prophet's own banner, "al-Uqab" there was only a single headed eagle. It would have been a quite unacceptable innovation to add a second head to the device employed by the Prophet of Islam on his own banner. Consequently, it seems evident that these birds of prey are double headed falcons

the protected area beneath both necks and heads, as elsewhere, traces of a thick protective sealant coating that would, following the precedent provided by the portals of both of these *bans*, have once carried a coating of paintwork that completed the otherwise somewhat simple carving of this relief. There would have been no need to carve the details, such as the feathers, if this carving was painted. Another relief carving of a double headed falcon from the walls of Konya was probably also completed with paint work, slight indications of plumage were carved on the left wing but the right wing largely lacks such indications¹²⁴. Paintwork may also have completed the carved stone relief, with eagles either side of the inscription “al-Sultan”, also from the citadel walls of Konya as, although this important inscription is well carved, the lack of any detailed carving on these eagles suggests they were probably painted, together with the background, and the letters forming the inscription were probably covered in gold leaf¹²⁵. These three suggested examples of formerly painted relief carving from the walls of Konya, also support the fact that the walls of the city and citadel were both plastered and painted, with the painted relief work then accenting this painted decoration on plaster, rather than looking absurdly incongruous set amongst an array of mortared joints and bare stone blocks; a point that is equally applicable to the yellow painted and probably formerly coated in gold leaf inscription in the *in situ* inscription panel in the portal of Kırkgöz Han, as also would apply to the inscription panels of other Seljuk buildings in relation to their surrounding painted wall surfaces.

The loss of 13th c. Seljuk paintwork may offer an explanation for some seemingly unfinished elements of stone carving on some other portals, as for example, in areas of the portals of the Menjukid Divriği complex of 1225-8, such as the blank stone carved relief panel divided by the apex of the arch on the north portal, that one may suspect carried a painted inscription, a panel that has over the course of years of weathering been entirely stripped of its original paint and plasterwork, as it would otherwise appear to have been left in an unfinished condition.

Confirmation of some of the evidence and inferences drawn from a variety of sources and places presented above for the Rum Seljuk practice of decorating the exterior walls of Seljuk state structures with paintwork, including gilding inscriptions and, on occasion, adding other relief work is both given and implied by Ibn Bibi, in his, *El Evamiru'l-Ale'ye Fi'l-Umuri'l-Ala'ye*, in the passage that describes the restoration of the city walls of both Konya and Sivas in 1221. This passage in part reads: “Upon that the Sultan gave orders. Those architects who knew their work and the *master painters* were brought. Not to lose any time, Emirs, Princes and the high born took to horse with knowledgeable architects and rode around the city...Not much later the great of the Sultanate and the notables began to build on the walls and fortifications of Konya and Sivas. All nights and days were filled with all possible effort and strength to build up the walls. With the support of God, The Almighty, great decisiveness and tenacity, a very great work was accomplished, on sound foundations the walls and towers rose up. The stones, resembling unfinished silver, were embellished with *all kinds of relief work and “temasil”*¹²⁶. Upon the soft stones and marble they wrote: *gold gilded*

(*doğan*) and that these double headed falcons were the symbol of the Seljuk Sultanate, as was recorded by C. Texier in the 19th c., Texier 2002, Vol. 3, 313, and the symbol that was also employed by some Artukid rulers.

¹²⁴ I.M.M. Konya, Konya Müzesi No. 881.

¹²⁵ I.M.M. Konya

¹²⁶ *Temasil*, the plural of the Arabic *timsal*, means: symbol, picture, image or representation. As Ibn Bibi has already referred to the relief carvings and in the following sentence refers to the carved inscriptions, quite what this word

verses from the *Qur'an*, the Prophet's most well known *Hadith*, couplets and aphorisms from the *Shahname*; nothing on the walls was left empty. . . Therefore for long years and countless days, in order to thank those who had been connected with this work, so that their names and surname would remain, *each name was inscribed on a stone (set in these walls) in gold letters*¹²⁷. Important in this context are Ibn Bibi's references to the use of master painters and that these master painters were regarded as being the equals of the master architects in his text, indicating both the presence in the early 1220's of a considerable group of master painters able to decorate the city walls of both Konya and Sivas, master painters that could be summoned as required, and also indicating that painted exterior decoration usually formed a part of the completion of a building project ordered by a Sultan. Ibn Bibi doesn't find this summoning of the master painters particularly remarkable but both usual and unworthy of any further comment, the implication being that, as Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I only came to the throne two years earlier, this group of master painters were already extant and had been working to these ends for some considerable time prior to this Sultan's accession. Secondly, the record of the extensive use of paintwork on these walls under the direction of these master painters, is indicated by Ibn Bibi recording that, "*nothing on the walls was left empty*", and possibly also in this connection by his use of the word *temasi*¹²⁸, with the *in situ* remnants of some of this paintwork being later noted by L. Laborde, and further, confirming that the carved letters of the inscriptions in the marble and also the limestone inscription panels, of at least some of these state structures, were originally covered in gold.

III. The contemporary record of paintwork depicted on buildings and fortifications in Islamic territory

Surviving 12th-13th c. depictions of painted plastered fortifications and other plastered, painted and decorated buildings, including the interior of a han, can be understood to provide further indications of the richness of the painted plaster and the applied decoration that was given to buildings and fortifications during this period. Examples include, firstly, the 12th c. painted paper fragment from Fustat¹²⁹, that may depict a crusader attack upon Ascalon, Palestine, where the presumably plastered city walls are depicted as painted with squares of alternating 4 horizontal and 4 vertical bands, with alternating white and red or yellow and white bands within each square, creating a similar bold visual impact to the Rum Seljuk zigzag-chevron design in red and white. The merlons topping these fortifications are also painted in red, white or yellow.

Secondly, in a *ca.* 1200 Andalusian manuscript illumination of the lamentation in the tale of Bayad and Riyad¹³⁰, a walled structure containing a watermill, a tower and a pa-

refers to is unclear. It is possible that this word refers to free-standing sculptures as the translator suggests, *beykel* = *timsal*, as there was the re-used Roman statue carved in the round of Hercules and perhaps there were other statues of this type deployed on these walls, but it seems to me it is rather more probable that this word refers to the works of the master painters on these walls, work by these master painters that is otherwise unmentioned, but which included the painting of the relief carvings, see for example the traces of yellow paint on the relief carving of the winged figure from the Pazar Gate, Öney 1992, Fig. 30, the backgrounds to the inscription, and the painting of patterns and perhaps also depictions of heraldic devices-figures, as at Alara, on these plastered walls.

¹²⁷ Ibn Bibi, Vol. I, 272-3.

¹²⁸ Perhaps referring to representations such as the heraldic-figural panel on the lower wall of Alara Castle, *op. cit.*, fn. 107.

¹²⁹ Dept. Oriental Antiquities, B. M. London. In color, Nicolle 2001, 19; also, Hillenbrand 1999, Fig. 13.

¹³⁰ Ms. Arab 368, Bib. Apostolica Vaticana.

vilion on top of a tower in a complex, probably a *muniyas*, a country pavilion in Murcia, is depicted. The stone cornice is white with a red line running horizontally along it, as type No. 5 above, the plastered walls are painted with imitation stone blocks outlined in black, and an area of this walling is painted in pink, another in orange and another in red, which may reflect the practice of painted plasterwork similar to type No. 4 above, stemming from Roman and Byzantine precedent rather than this design being the artistic fancy of the illuminator.

Thirdly, there are the manuscript illuminations depicting the scene with Abu Zayd in the Wasit caravanserai, Iraq, in copies of the famous *Assemblies*, *Maqamat*, of Abu Muhammed al-Qasim ibn Ali al-Hariri of Basra (1054-1122), including the contemporary *Schefer Hariri*, painted in Baghdad in 1236 by Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti. The interior of this two storey urban han is depicted¹³¹ in the *Schefer Hariri* as having a red painted roof, shading the red painted first floor wooden balcony and red painted wooden decorative rail, that is supported by red painted wooden column capitals, above gold decorative bands around the six wooden columns, five iron two leaf doors, each with a brass door knocker-handle are on this first floor between these columns. The first floor balcony is supported by red painted wooden columns and by long wooden supporting brackets, extending out to support the floor above, that are painted in pale blue with white scrolling foliage.

Fourthly, on a large *ca.* 1240, Kashan, Persian bowl in the *minai* technique there is a scene filling the surface depicting the siege of a fortress-town¹³². The depiction of these fortification walls suggests they were covered in designs painted on plaster, including a pattern of six-pointed stars in red, cobalt and turquoise blue; while the depiction of the upper battlements and their corbel support, also most probably indicates paintwork rather than tile-work, in turquoise and black, of scrolling foliage, with the battlements topped by merlons of two different shapes, each merlon plastered and painted in several or a single color.

Fifthly, there are also the mid-13th c. miniatures in the Konya manuscript of Varka and Gulshah that depict the exteriors of several buildings and also the interior of a row of shops on fol. 3b, the walls of which are all entirely covered in dark blue paint, as some of the exterior walls of Seljuk buildings seem to have been entirely covered by a single color, such as yellow on the Kemer Köşkü or red on the Karatay Han and the walls of *tekkes*, *medreses* and *bans* in Kayseri as recorded by Kadı Muhyiddin ibn 'Abdü'z-Zair¹³³. One miniature illustrating the exterior of a building depicts a brick wall covered by a checker-board pattern, as No. 3 above but angled, the alternate squares of painted plaster, in the other squares the brickwork of the wall remains visible; with what can be understood as columns or applied half columns, similar to some of the columns in the interior of the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya, fluted, with bands around the middle, and with widely curved

¹³¹ Bib. Nat, Paris MS. Arabe 5847, fol. 89. Illustrated in P. J. Müller, *Arabische Miniaturen* (1979) Taf. 14. Other miniatures seem to depict the outlining of blocks on plastered walls, rather than stonework, eg. fol. 120 & 138, although this is not entirely certain.

¹³² Acc. No. 45.8, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. USA; in color, C. Hillenbrand 1999, Fig. 12. The colorful repeat designs of paintwork on plastered fortification walls continued to be represented in manuscript illuminations into the 15th c., see for example, Timurid, Herat, 1415-16, Istanbul, TSM, Ktp. Bağdat 282, fol. 169a, where the city walls are covered in a red, yellow, blue and black repeat pattern.

¹³³ Op. cit., fn. 17, 46.

capitals, applied to and articulating this facade. These columns and capitals, perhaps of stucco, painted and decorated reach the roofline, which is crowned by square and double square merlons plastered and painted with a foliage pattern¹³⁴. Both this type of square merlons, typical of Rum Seljuk *hans* and other structures, and the form of these fluted, banded columns, further support the attribution of the place of production of this manuscript to Rum Seljuk territory, probably to Konya. A series of similarly plastered and decorated square merlons that denotes the entrance to the garden enclosure on fol. 9b, crown the garden enclosure wall on fol. 31a, and also crown the house-köşk on fol. 33a. The building depicted on fol. 34b, has similarly decorated square merlons over the two leafed bronze door and what seems to be foliage pattern stucco decoration that was applied to the wall to the left of the door in a series of elongated pyramidal columns crowned by egg cup type capitals, the area lying between these columns of plain painted plaster. The building depicted on fol. 35b, also has a similar series of plastered and painted merlons above a stone or a stone block design painted on a plaster covered wall, as No. 4 above, perhaps also having a series of stucco columns and capitals applied to articulate the wall surface, rather than free-standing columns, given the form of decoration employed, typical of decorative stucco work. On fol. 51a, a portal is depicted with horizontal bands of zigzags, as No. 1 above, either side of a band of knots and perhaps, brickwork or imitation painted brickwork¹³⁵, with the white plastered wall to the left, covered with lines of pseudo-kufic script in gold and crowned by the characteristic square merlons plastered and painted with foliage.

Finally, there is a Seljuk period champlévé technique glazed fragment of a plate from Alaca, Mahmudiye Köyü¹³⁶, that seems to depict an internal colonnaded courtyard, probably on the first floor, surmounted by an inscription band in two colors, the column covered by a probably painted floral interlace and either side of the column are two presumably wall paintings in arched panels, a male and female bust portrait and, adjacent at either side, either a cover for each of these portraits or a matching in shape plastered panel, that is covered by the pattern of zigzag chevron bands, as type No. 1 above.

These examples indicate a similar taste throughout the wider region under Islamic rule for bright, bold colors and designs painted on the plaster covering of exterior and some interior walls, for surface decoration and, particularly in the examples from Varka and Gulshah, the articulation of flat surfaces with buttresses-applied pilasters, for painted designs on plastered square and rectangular merlons and for other applied painted stucco-plaster relief work.

IV. The associations attached to the designs painted on the plastered walls

The zigzag-chevron band design No. 1, is frequently found on a variety of surfaces and in contexts related to the palace-*köşk*, to fortifications, on Kırkgöz Han and also on and in

¹³⁴ Istanbul, TSM. Ktp H.841, 19a.

¹³⁵ For an example of Seljuk painted imitation brickwork, Öney 1993, 86, in the Konya, Tac-ül Vezir Medrese.

¹³⁶ Ankara Ethnographic Museum, Env. No. 17345; Süslü 1989, Res. 150, 99, suggests these busts are in two windows, but the absence of the lower half of both isolated figures, as also the form of the panel, rather than two windows, perhaps two wall painted portraits with covers are indicated. For Seljuk naturalistic portraiture see, T. M. P Duggan, "A 13th c. profile portrait seal depicting the face of the Rum Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I", Adalya X, 2007, for recorded examples of portraits, 330-35.

religious structures¹³⁷ and is, “characteristic of Seljuk royal structures”¹³⁸, signifying both legitimacy and ruler-ship in its associations with the ruler, both in a temporal and also in a spiritual sense, given this design’s frequent employment in religious contexts in Seljuk Anatolia, an importance that continued for centuries and which even at times formed the pattern employed on the *kiswab*, the annual woven textile cover of the Ka’ba in Mekka¹³⁹. The checkerboard pattern No. 3, can also be related to the court¹⁴⁰ and to the military, used on fortifications as at Alanya, as also on the shield of an infantryman on a 12th c. luster plate¹⁴¹, as a pattern on military clothing in miniatures in the mid 13th c. Konya copy of “Varka and Gulshah”¹⁴² and also on a round shield¹⁴³ in the same work painted in black and white; it forms the pattern of the armor on the relief carving of two soldiers from the

¹³⁷ For other examples of the use of this zigzag-chevron device in other media, see Duggan 2006, 204. It also occurs as a border design on the 10th c. silk saddlecloth known as the “shroud of St. Josse”, woven before 961 for the Samanid Emir of Khurasan, Abu Mansur Bakhtikin. It is also around the *şerefe* (balcony) of the 11th c. Sa’da Masjid al-Shamri in the Yemen as also around the 12th c. Seljuk minaret at Ta’uq/Duquq, Iraq as also on the columns either side of the 12th c. *mibrab* in the Great Mosque at Hama, Syria; as also in Anatolia on the columns either side of the *mibrab* in Zazadin Han and in the same place in the Yazır Köyü Mosque in Kayseri. This zigzag pattern but vertical rather than horizontal, is depicted in a woven textile worn by a camel riding drummer in a miniature in the mid 13th c. Konya copy of *Varka and Gulshab*, T. S. M. Ktp. H.841, fol. 36 a; it also occurs vertically in blue and white on banners carried by Islamic forces in some Christian miniatures depicting the Crusades, as later in the first half of the 14th c. on a miniature, Istanbul TSM. Hazine 52b-53a, where the banners of both armies carry this vertical zigzag device. It is also on a triangular shield held by a mounted hunter fighting a spotted feline on an early 13th c. dish from Rusafa?, Syria, Hillenbrand 1999, Fig. 6.29, on another triangular shield on a glazed ceramic bowl from Raqqa, Syria, Hillenbrand 1999, Fig. 7.38; and was depicted on a 10th c. bowl from Nishapur, where the mounted huntsman armed with a sword and with a falcon, is dressed in a garment decorated with this design that may represent armor, Metropolitan Museum, New York, Rice 1975, Fig. 43. It is also depicted vertically, alternating in red and white, on a brick or possibly a painted brick design, on a building having red doors, and red, black and yellow merlons, in an Ilkhanid *Shahname* of 1331, Istanbul, TSM H.1479, s. 185a. Later it is the pattern employed on the colored tile work covering of the Ottoman Yeşil Mosque minaret, as also on the Mamluk minarets in Cairo of Mughalbay Taz and Ghanim al-Bahlawan and it covers the dome of the Medrese of Barsbay of 1425 also in Cairo.

¹³⁸ Redford 1996, 454.

¹³⁹ See for example Istanbul, TSM Ktp. H.1221, of 1594, f. 97b, 123a and 223 for illustrations of the *kiswab* of this type in black and dark blue; Ibn Jubayr in his pilgrimage of 1184 records red bands on the green *kiswab* sent by the Caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah, but it is unclear if these red bands were chevron-zigzag bands, with perhaps the Abbasid *kiswab* providing the precedent for the use of this design employed in explicitly religious contexts. This design was also later employed horizontally on the woven silk tomb cover of Sultan Süleyman (the Magnificent, 1520-66) and also the design in red and black covering the coffin of Ibrahim Pasha (d.1536), depicted in the *Hünernâme*, Istanbul TSM Ktp. H.1524; this design in red and white also covered the coffin of Valide Sultan Nur Banu, depicted in the 1597 *Şahinşahname*, Istanbul, TSM. Ktp. Bağdat 200; on the coffin cover of Sultan Süleyman in green and black, bordered by the same pattern in red and orange, *Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman*, fol. 115v, and forms the zigzag-chevron pattern in inlaid ivory and black wood that covers the dome of a superb 16th c. Ottoman Qur’an box, Istanbul, TIEM 5. It later forms the pattern of the domed upper section of the tent of Sultan Ahmet III, depicted by Levni in his *Surname-i Vebbi* of 1720, fol. 41v, 42r. It is possible that this design was employed on a dome in the Haram at Mekka, Medina or Jerusalem, there is an indication of this design on the dome of the *qubbat al-maqdis* in the Haram at Jerusalem, Ş. Aksoy & R. Milstein, “A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates”, in M. Uğur Derman Armağanı (2000) 113 Fig. 1, 4, perhaps leading to its subsequent use on the interior of some Seljuk domes in Anatolia (e.g. the Sırçalı Masjid in Konya of 1242 and the Küçük Aya Sofya Masjid in Akşehir of 1278), as a design on the exterior of some Mamluk domes and minarets in Cairo (e.g. Faraj b. Barquq, op. cit., fn. 137, as also on the minaret of al-Nasir Muhammad’s mosque on the Cairo Citadel of 1335), and on this Qur’an box and other Ottoman domes. It also occurs in the tile-work covering of what appears to be a depiction of a mausoleum in a walled city, in a Timurid Herat manuscript of the *Shahname*, c. 1444, Royal Asiatic Soc. London, Ms. 239, f.278r.

¹⁴⁰ For other examples of the use of this checkerboard pattern, see Duggan 2006, 202-3.

¹⁴¹ E. de Unger Collection, London.

¹⁴² Istanbul, TSM. Ktp. H.841, s. 4a, 13b, 62a.

¹⁴³ Istanbul, TSM. Ktp. H.841, s. 25b, in black and white triangles.

walls of Konya¹⁴⁴ and is also painted on the sides of a stern-castle of a warship¹⁴⁵. While the outlining of large stone blocks in paint on plaster, No. 4 above, carries with it connotations of strength, indicating both security and power. There may be a further connection between the zigzag-chevron band pattern No. 1, the checkerboard pattern No. 3, and the stone block painted design No. 4, as also the alternating squares of horizontal and vertical bands painted on the walls of 12th c. Ascalon, this is with the forms of contemporary armor¹⁴⁶ worn by the elite. Consequently it seems these designs were associated with both security and with power, with the religion and the Seljuk Sultan and Sultanate and so with state buildings including fortifications, palaces, pavilions, designs that presumably also covered the plaster covered walls of many *hans*, not just the sides of the portal of Kırkgöz Han, as many *hans* were state buildings erected by order of the Sultan¹⁴⁷.

V. The colors employed on painted Seljuk stucco-plaster relief-work and sculpture

There was a long tradition of painted plaster and stucco-plaster in the wider region¹⁴⁸ prior to the arrival of the Seljuks in the 11th c. Colors were employed on late 11th-12th c. interior stucco work in Andalusia from Aljaferia and Balaguer¹⁴⁹, while the surviving examples of 12th – 13th c. Seljuk interior painted stucco-plaster work indicate that red, a reddish brown, dark blue, turquoise blue, yellow, white and black were employed and this palette of colors, with the occasional addition of gold leaf, was also usually employed to decorate Great Seljuk stucco-plaster work. Examples employing this palette include: a 12-13th c. stucco panel from Persia, possibly from Rayy, of two jousting or fighting cavalrymen with braided hair¹⁵⁰; as also on a considerable number of the 12th-early 13th c. life size and near life sized stucco sculptures of court attendants and other figures and parts thereof, modeled in the round from Rayy and from other Seljuk palaces in Persia-Afghanistan¹⁵¹, exam-

¹⁴⁴ Istanbul, TIEM, No. 2540, which seems to still retain some traces of Seljuk paintwork.

¹⁴⁵ Hillenbrand 1999, Fig. 8.42. 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi in his *Kitab al-ifadab wa'l-l'tibar*, written in 1204 records the decoration of Egyptian state wooden ships in a variety of colors, with gilding and the most beautiful varnish, al-Baghdadi, Bk. 1, Ch. 5, but does not describe the patterns that were employed.

¹⁴⁶ The checkerboard pattern resembles the small form of *jaušhan* (chain mail) lamellar cuirass as worn by the two warriors on the stone carved relief from Konya; the horizontal and vertical bands of paintwork resembling the hardened painted leather bands of another form of cuirass, see for examples, Nicolle 2001, 54, 58, 59. For the zigzag form of armor, see for an example, Rice 1975, Fig. 43.

¹⁴⁷ Op. cit., fn. 1.

¹⁴⁸ For example earlier, at Sasanid Ctesiphon, yellow, red, brown ochre, ultramarine and black paintwork on plaster is recorded, Wheeler 1970, 23; and a similar but wider range of colors, is recorded by Vitruvius employed on Roman stucco and plasterwork, Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Book VII, as surviving Roman remains confirm. Finds of painted stucco and painted plaster from 9th c. Abbasid Samarra show red, yellow, white, black and shades of blue were employed and the surviving 9th c. painted plaster niches from Abbasid Nishapur show red, white, yellow, black and blue were applied to plasterwork, Dimand 1947 (largely examples from the Metropolitan Museum of New York's collection) 24-5; and the 10th c. stucco revetment panels from the excavations at Sabz Pushan, Nishapur are colored in red, white, yellow and blue, Dimand 1947, 90; while the 11th c. painted plaster wall painting, including a depiction of cup bearer, from a bath house near Cairo employs red, orange, black and brown plus the white of the plaster, U. al-Khamis, "Fatimiler: İki Asırlık Üstünlük", in: *Akdeniz'de İslam Sanatını Keşfedin* (2007) 110, all of these finds from the interiors of buildings. (This last title is edited by İ. Türkoğlu in Turkish, by M. Gomez in English. Schubert and Kahyaoglu were editorial coordinators. And each part is a chapter)

¹⁴⁹ See for example, M. Barracand - A. Bednorz, *Moorish architecture in Andalusia* (2002) Pl.122.

¹⁵⁰ Art Museum, Seattle, USA, Inv. No. 54.29. Illustrated in color, Nicolle 2001, 54.

¹⁵¹ First made widely known from R. M. Riefstahl's, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculpture", *The Art Bulletin* XIII, 1931, Plates, 514 ff.; also, T. T. Rice, "Some reflections aroused by four Seljukid stucco statues", *Anatolica* II, 1968, 112-121; O. Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı* (1989) 309-311; in color in N. Ölçer, *Anatolian Seljuks*, in: *Turks* 2005, 102-145 Nos. 39, 41.

ples that provide an indication of the palette employed and enjoyed by the Great Seljuks and their successors.

In addition to the surviving 13th c. Rum Seljuk painted plaster work on the exterior and interiors of the buildings mentioned above, plaster-stucco relief work was often employed in 13th c. Rum Seljuk palaces, bath houses and pavilions¹⁵², at the Kubadabad Palace for relief decoration, window frames, decorative panels, cupboards and shelves¹⁵³; and stucco relief work also furnished the Konya Köşk¹⁵⁴ and was also employed in a range of religious structures, forming for example, the painted stucco relief-work in the “Konya Palace”¹⁵⁵ and in the *mibrab* of the Alaeddin Mosque in Ankara; for shelves in the mosque-hospital complex at Divriği, in the *mibrab* of the Sahib Ata Hankâhı in Konya of 1279-80, as also in the Ankara Arslanhane Mosque of 1290, and for window frames in the 1275 Gök Medrese, Tokat, as elsewhere in Rum Seljuk territory. It seems possible, regarding the remarks on Seljuk taste made above, that the present off-white appearance of much of the *in situ* and excavated Seljuk stucco relief work, including the dragon-horsemen relief¹⁵⁶, reflects the passage of time and the loss of the original surface paintwork in chemical reactions when painted stucco relief work is buried for centuries under the earth and also to previous cleaning activity, rather than that its present white appearance necessarily reflected any general 13th c. Seljuk taste for unpainted white stucco relief work, except if it was deliberately employed to contrast with its colored surroundings. Perhaps the clearest indication of the use of color on this form of decoration is on the tomb of Sultan Kaykavus I in the Darüşşifa in Sivas of 1217-18, where the stucco plaster designs still carry trace indications of paintwork that rendered the design legible through continuing that of the cut tile work. In the Antalya region painted stucco relief-work has been found at the Alanya palace¹⁵⁷, at the Alaeddin *köşk*-mosque at Korkuteli and the remnants of finely painted stucco-plaster remain *in situ* within the Alara bathhouse on the citadel, and there is also the record of painted Rum Seljuk stucco-plaster recorded by Jelal ad-Din Rumi when describing paintings in bathhouses¹⁵⁸.

This same range of seven colors: red, dark blue, turquoise blue, yellow ocher, pale yellow, white and black, plus gold leaf, that was employed in the painting of Great Seljuk stucco work was also employed on Seljuk woodwork: on the painted *rable* (reading stand) of 1278 in the Konya Mevlana Museum¹⁵⁹, decorated in red, gold, black, white and dark blue; as also on woodwork in the Ulu Camii (Great Mosque) of Sivrihisar of 1274-5 and on the wooden capitals and beamed ceiling of the Eşrefoğlu Mosque in Beyşehir of 1298¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵² E.g. A. Karaçağ, “Alçı Sanatı”, in: A. U. Peker (ed.), K. Bilici, Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler dönemi uygarlığı (2006) 493-505; Öney 1992, 83-5.

¹⁵³ Arık 2000, 177-181.

¹⁵⁴ Arık 2000, 37-40; Sarre, Pl. 8-16.

¹⁵⁵ Sarre 1989, 37, his comments on Texier’s color plate, Texier 2002, Vol. III, Pl. 101, are noteworthy.

¹⁵⁶ Today in the TIEM, Istanbul, No. 2831.

¹⁵⁷ My thanks to Doç. Dr. Z. K. Bilici for showing me examples of red and black painted stucco calligraphy from Alanya in 2003.

¹⁵⁸ Op. cit., fn. 87.

¹⁵⁹ Inv. No. 332, illustrated in, Turks 2005, No. 88

¹⁶⁰ Illustrated for instance in: Öney 1992, 153. It seems sensible to suggest there was the repetition of the former colors and painted designs in any Ottoman repair work to this wooden ceiling, as distinct from the clearly Ottoman designs painted on the wooden *dikka* in this mosque; and it seems to this author at least, that there

It seems reasonable to suggest that this same range of colors which was employed for painting plaster, stucco-plaster work and woodwork, was the same range of colors that were also employed on the carved stone portals and on the walls of state buildings in 13th c. Rum Seljuk Anatolia, given the *in situ* evidence from these two *hans*, together with that from the Aspendos palace and the other indications of the use of elements of this same range of colors on the interior and exterior walls of other 13th c. Seljuk state buildings in this region and in the sources mentioned above, the seven colors, a form of *baft rang*: white, black, red, two forms of yellow, light yellow and yellow ocher and possibly two blues, with gold leaf frequently employed to cover the letters of the stone carved inscriptions in the inscription panels of state buildings.

VI. Conclusions

The *in situ* evidence of yellow paintwork on part of the carved stone portal of Evdir Han covering parts of a round molding and the adjacent inner flat surface and the traces of an off-white shiny paint and perhaps also traces of red on parts of the columns and the red painted zigzag-chevron design on the outer carved stone entrance portal of Kırkgöz Han; together with the surviving smooth sealant coating that remains *in situ* on parts of the carved stonework of the outer face of the entrance portals of both of these *hans*, indicates that the outer face of the stone carved portals of these two Seljuk state structures were originally completely coated with this smooth sealant coat and were then painted in colors. There is evidence that suggests the entire stone carved inner area of the portal in front of the door into Evdir Han was plastered and then presumably was painted with colorful fine designs including foliage and painted calligraphy, while the today missing inscription panel from this han was also in at least two colors, if only to render the inscription more easily legible. The *in situ* inscription panel of Kırkgöz Han still today retains traces of the yellow that colored the background to this inscription, while the script in the inscription panel of Evdir Han, erected by order of the Sultan, was almost certainly covered in gold leaf and this was probably also the case for the script in the inscription panel of Kırkgöz Han, it also being a Sultan Han.

The *in situ* evidence indicating the application of layers of 13th c. plaster to both the exterior and interior rubble and rubble and masonry walls, when combined with evidence from other surviving Seljuk structures and the contemporary record, shows the rubble and areas of rubble-masonry in the walls of these *hans* were entirely coated by several layers of plaster of increasing fineness. The exterior rubble walls and brick-rubble merlons of these *hans* were covered with a series of plaster coats and these were most probably also painted with the characteristic repertory of Rum Seljuk colors and patterns, familiar from other Seljuk state structures, after being covered by a protective sealant coat. The larger areas of exterior walling would probably, from the precedent provided by the examples given above, have been covered by the zigzag-chevron band design, type No. 1, the checkerboard pattern, type No. 3, the outline of stone blocks, type No. 4 or its double line

has been a greater continuity in the use of colors and designs than one might perhaps expect, as for example with the zigzag-chevron in red which seems to have been employed for more than five hundred years regardless of changes in rulers. That interior paint work was refreshed in approximately the same colors and designs over the course of the centuries up to the present day is evident from comparing early 20th c. photographs with the tones of *in situ* paintwork today in some mosques.

variant as at Alara Castle or perhaps of plain yellow, as at Alara Castle on the summit, on the Kemer Köşkü, and as may have also been the case for the external walls of Evdir Han (Fig. 4), although the evidence here is more fragmentary, or in a shiny red, as is recorded of both the Karatay Han and the urban *hans*, *tekkes* and *medreses* in Kayseri in the 13th c.¹⁶¹; the portals probably carried foliage designs, calligraphy and other patterns, e.g. types No. 5 & 6, as well as plain color over the carved stone patterns framing the portal, as with the use of yellow paintwork on the portal of Evdir Han; the merlons painted with a foliage design, as with the merlons depicted in Varka and Gulshah; the slit windows and arches of the arcades with red painted double borders, type No. 5; while paintwork perhaps also originally covered some areas of the plastered interior walls.

It seems probable the areas of dressed masonry in the walls, the dressed stone buttresses and perhaps most carved architectural elements such as the dressed blocks forming the arcades and the lintels over doors were originally covered with the sealant coat over any plaster that was applied to conceal the joints, masons' and other marks, such as the clamp holes in antique *spolia*, and which were then probably painted; perhaps with the outlining in red of stone blocks over the dressed masonry and buttresses of the exterior walls, as at the Aspendos Palace on the Seljuk false buttress, type No. 4, or the arches in the arcades given red double borders, type No. 5, rather than being necessarily covered by the thick layers of plaster that concealed the rubble areas of walling and the merlons¹⁶².

These 13th c. Rum Seljuk carved and painted portals and the designs and calligraphy once painted upon the plastered walls are further indications, in addition to those provided by surviving Rum Seljuk textiles, ceramics, painted and gilded woodwork, tile-work, including luster-work, inlaid work, miniature and wall paintings and the use of *ablaq* work and colored marble inlays on buildings, that bright contrasting colors and meaningful rich and often bold, sometimes startlingly sharp designs, completed the finish of Rum Seljuk buildings. These patterns, colors and calligraphy defined and identified the physical environment built and inhabited by the Rum Seljuks, paintwork on plastered wall, as on carved stone portal, that reflected their choices in design and surface decoration in arresting combinations of colors and patterns. The richness of these painted stonework portals and the smooth plastered and painted walls provided the visual accompaniment to the Rum Seljuks' deeds and lives and these painted designs identified Seljuk state structures and textured the landscape, clarifying it through bold contrasts. These painted designs carried meanings and mental associations, which colored thought, and these patterns are in part recorded in other media, as is noted above, forming a part of the visual-symbolic climate of the 13th c. Rum Seljuk Sultanate.

However, neither the paintwork on the portal and on the outermost layer of plaster, nor the gold leaf and color on the inscriptions, nor the layers of plaster covering the exterior and interior walls were renewed over the course of the intervening centuries and almost all of this 13th c. Seljuk paintwork and gold leaf, together with most of the layers of fine plaster covering, and the initial, in places thick, plaster coat, have been lost from these buildings. The lack of maintenance given during the ensuing centuries to the 13th c. paint-

¹⁶¹ Op. cit., fn. 17, 46.

¹⁶² But, see above, fn. 47 & 48, regarding Sarı Han and Ağzıkara Han, for probable 13th c. examples of painted and possibly plastered coating over exterior walls of dressed masonry, as also is certainly the case for the plastered over carved stonework inside the portal of Evdir Han, Photo 3.

work and plasterwork on these *hans*, as also to these same elements on city walls and upon other Seljuk buildings, may have been due to its cost and its irrelevance to later administrators, the physical functioning of these structures was not impaired by these losses, while the symbolism embodied in this paintwork, its meaning to its 13th c. audience, was probably no longer regarded as being of sufficient relevance to be worthy of the cost of its maintenance during the course of the ensuing post-Seljuk centuries when other visual-symbolic norms were established by the state.

But these bold, vibrant combinations of colors and designs that completed the 13th c. finish of these buildings provided the colorful rich visual content that is today almost entirely missing. These buildings have been largely stripped of this rich tissue of surface decoration and have been rendered naked through the passage of nearly 800 years, leaving us with just the bare skeleton, the raw but often finely carved stonework of the portal, and the bare stonework, rubble masonry, *spolia* and scant traces of mortar on the walls of these *hans*, and this seems to be the case for many other Seljuk state structures today, stripped through a lack of maintenance, through centuries of neglect and weathering, and also through some modern seriously ill-informed “restoration” work¹⁶³, stripped of the symbolic meaning carried in the paintwork, in the designs¹⁶⁴ and colors and in the painted inscriptions, stripped of their original rich dress of significant color, stripped of their layer of protective sealant, of their layers of plaster and mortar and of the gold leaf covered script in the inscription panels.

¹⁶³ As at Alara Han where Seljuk plasterwork was removed in its so-called “restoration”, and likewise some of the remaining Seljuk 13th c. plaster and mortar was removed by compressor cleaning from the walls of Kırkgöz Han, during the so-called “restoration” of this Sultan Han, during July-August 2007. For the similar removal by compressor cleaning of layers of plaster and paintwork from the interior walls of the Yivli Minare Mosque Antalya, see “Kompresörlü Restorasyon!” (Yivli Cami), Radikal Gazetesi (03-06-2007) 12.

¹⁶⁴ For a brief explanation of the importance in an Islamic context of coating the materials of construction with meaningful, symbolic patterns, designs, depictions and colors, see, T. M. P. Duggan, “The language of traditional art”, paper given at IRCICA, Yıldız Saray, Cit Kasr, Istanbul (2000) printed in the Turkish Daily News, June 27th, 2000, archive, www.Turkishdailynews.com.

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Öz

Antalya Yakınlarında Evdir ve Kırkgöz Hanlarında Boyama Bezeme ve Sıva 13. Yüzyıl Selçuklu Devleti Binalarının Özgün Görünüşleri Üzerine Önermeler

Bu makale 13. yüzyıla ait Anadolu Selçuklu hanları ve diğer devlet yapılarının alçı ve boyama bezemesi hakkında olup Antalya yakınlarındaki Evdir ve Kırkgöz hanlarının boyama bezeme örnekleri burada ilk kez yayınlanmaktadır. Ayrıca bu ve diğer Selçuklu Devleti yapılarının asıl görünüşleri hakkında bu bulgulardan ve ilgili malzemeden elde edilen çıkarsama ve yorumlar da belirtilecektir. Bu boyama bezemeli devlet yapılarının duvarları üzerindeki desenlerin tipolojisi verileceği gibi, halen yerinde korunan bu 13. yüzyıl boyama bezemenin ve taçkapılar üzerine uygulanan *in situ* dolgu macunu izlerinin tam bilimsel analizi gereksinimi ortaya serilecektir.

Makalenin ilk bölümünde Antalya yakınlarındaki Evdir ve Kırkgöz hanlarının taçkapılarındaki boyama bezemenin *in situ* izleri ve Kırkgöz Hanın iç ve dış duvarlarında görülen alçı bezeme izleri irdelenmektedir. Boyama bezeme örnekleri arasında şunlar görülüyor: restore edilmemiş bir Sultan Hanı olan Evdir Han ve taçkapısında taştan kaytan silme üzerinde ve de hemen yanındaki taçkapının yan yüzünü çerçeveleyen oymanın iç düz yüzünde sarı renkli boyama bezeme; bu taçkapı üzerinde başka noktalarda korunan ve orijinalde üzeri boyanan, dolgu macunu izleri ve taçkapının iç kısmına uygulanmış düzgün sıvanın *in situ* kalıntıları ile taçkapının hemen sağındaki duvarın dış yüzeyi üzerindeki sıvaya uygulanan sarı aşıboyası boyama bezemenin kalıntıları, bu makale ile ilk kez yayınlanmaktadır. Taçkapının iç yüzeyindeki sıvanın üzerine orijinalde 13. yüzyılda kalemişi ve hatta boyayla hüsnühat işlenmiş olmalıdır. Benzer şekilde Kırkgöz Hanın taçkapısında yine aynı dolgu macunu kalıntıları ve sütunçeler, başlıklar ve taçkapı cephesinin bitişik alanları üzerinde günümüze ulaşan kırmızı ve beyaz boyama bezeme izleri seçilmektedir. Hâlbuki 1990 yılından bir fotoğrafta bu taçkapının yan tarafında boyayla yapılmış zikzak ve V motifli bir 13. yüzyıl Selçuklu deseni görülebiliyor ki, bu bezeme günümüze, ne yazık ki, tıpkı kitabe üzerindeki açık sarı boyama bezeme izleri gibi ulaşamamıştır. Kırkgöz Hanın dış ve iç duvarları üzerinde görülen alçı işinden günümüze ulaşan katmanlarla birlikte Selçuklu boyama bezemesinin yayımlanmamış bu örnekleri açıkça gösteriyor ki, 13. yüzyıl Anadolu Selçuklu kırsal alan hanlarının taçkapı ve dış duvarları boyanıyordu. Bu boyama bezeme veya alçı bezemenin söz konusu hanların 13. yüzyılın ilk yarısında tamamlanmasından sonraki bir dönemde eklendiğine dair bir kayıt, bilgi, sebep veya herhangi bir ipucu bilinmemektedir.

Hanların dış duvarlarını bu şekilde sıvamanın bir de güvenlik yönü söz konusudur. Moloz taş ve harç ile örülen kısımların örtülmesi ve derzlerin duvarlara saldırı veya yukarı tırmanma amacıyla kullanılmasını önleme amacı güdülmüştür olmalıdır.

Selçuklu banilerin yapıların bitmiş dış görüntüsüne verdikleri önem, *in situ* belgelerle birlikte, bu Selçuklu hanları ve diğer yapılarının bugün gördüğümüz çıplak duvarlı ve oyma taş işçilikli taçkapılı görüntüsünün aslında 13. yüzyıldaki görüntülerini yansıtmadığı düşünülmektedir. Bu makalede sunulan kanıtlar eşliğinde taçkapı, dış duvarlar ve kısmen iç duvarların, renkli kakma mermer işçiliği ve alması iki renk (*ablaq*) işçilik haricinde canlı renkler ve desenlerle boyandığı ve dış duvarların moloz taşlarla inşa edilen kesimleri, mazgallar ve kesme taş içermeyen duvarların birkaç kat sıva ile kaplandığı ve sonra boyandığı; öte yanda, iç duvarların da sıvandığı ve bazı durumlarda boyandığı önerilmektedir. Bu duvarlarda kullanılan çok sayıda Roma ve Bizans dönemlerine ait devşirme malzemenin büyük kısmı ve kesme taşlar üzerindeki usta işaretleri aslında 13. yüzyılda sıva katları altında gizliydi ve görülmüyordu.

Ayrıca 13. yüzyıl Anadolu'sunda inşa edilen birçok kırsal alan hanının aksine bu iki hanın devlet yapısı olduğuna dikkat çekilmektedir. Bu iki han devlet tarafından inşa edilmiş yapılar olduğundan, bölgedeki günümüze ulaşmış diğer Selçuklu devlet yapıları olan saray, köşk, hamam ve surlar da boyama bezemeleriyle birlikte incelenerek literatürde geçen diğer boyama bezemeli Selçuklu yapılarıyla birlikte değerlendirilmektedir. Antalya ilindeki 13. yüzyıl Anadolu Selçuklu devlet yapılarının iç ve dış duvarlarında görülen renkler, desenler ve motifler, Kırkgöz Hanındaki zikzak – V motifine ek olarak, aynı zamanda bu kırsal alan hanlarının dış duvarlarında kullanılan renk ve desenler hakkında fikir verdiği gibi genel çevrede görsel olarak devlet yapılarını vurgulamak amacıyla 13. yüzyıl Anadolu'sunda kullanılan renk, desen ve motifler hakkında da bilgi veriyor.

Makalenin ikinci bölümünde, hanların taçkapılarının dış ve iç yüzlerinde ve kitabelerinde görülen boyama bezemeye ek olarak, bugün Aspendos Sarayının iç ve dış duvarlarında *in situ* halde görülebilen Selçuklu boyama bezemesi, desen tipolojisinin altı grubu halinde irdelenmektedir:

1. Zikzak – V motifi: kırmızı-beyaz, kırmızı-sarı ve olasılıkla kırmızı-mavi renklerde.
2. Beyaz zemin üzerinde tepe noktası aşağıda olan kırmızı boyalı üçgen.
3. Kırmızı ve beyaz renklerde dama tahtası deseni.
4. Taşların kenarlarının kırmızı boyandığı desen.
5. Pencere çevresinde, beyaz sıva üzerine kırmızı boyayla yapılmış genelde çift çizgili çerçeveler.
6. Beyaz zemin üzerine kırmızı boyayla yapılan hüsnühat.

Bu tipler, 13. yüzyıl Anadolu Selçuklu devlet binalarının sıvalı duvarları üzerine uygulanan boyama bezeme için tipik özellikler gibi görünüyor.

Yukarıda sayılan altı tipe ek olarak bir Selçuklu yapısının tüm duvarlarına veya büyük alanlarının sıvasının üzerine tek renk boya uygulandığı örnekleri, kayıtları ve bazılarının ise *in situ* izleri söz konusudur. Örnekler arasında bazı binaların sarı boyalı dış sıvalı duvarlarının yanı sıra kırmızı boyandığı ve de kimi oda ve başka yerlerin siyah boyandığı şeklinde kayıtlar mevcuttur. Kemer Köşkü ve Alara Kalesi'ndeki yukarı hamamın bitişiğindeki yapının dış duvarları sarı boyalıdır; Karatay Hanı ve kent içi hanlar, Kayseri'deki medrese ve tekkenin dış duvarlarının 1277 yılında kırmızı boyalı olduğu kayıtlıdır. Kemer

Köşkünün merdiveninin bir kısmı ve *in situ* kanıtın da işaret ettiği üzere iç duvarlarının bir kısmı siyah boyalıdır.

Bu tipolojide tanımlanan boyama bezeme tiplerine örnekler Antalya-Alanya yöresinden verilmiştir. Ayrıca Antalya, Alanya, Alara, Konya surlarında halen mevcut veya belgelerde geçen alçı ve boyama bezeme örnekleri de zikredilmekte, Konya surlarından taş işçiliği örnekleri üzerinde halen yerinde duran dolgu macunu kalıntılarına dikkat çekilmektedir. Alara'nın aşağı kale surlarındaki kitabenin *in situ* Selçuklu boyama bezemesi de taş oyma kitabelerin de boyandığını düşünülmektedir.

İbn Bîbî'nin 1221 yılında Konya ve Sivas surlarının inşalarıyla ilgili sözlerini ve Selçuklu devlet yapılarının dış duvarlarını bezemek için usta boyacılar tutmanın yaygınlığına atıfta bulunmasını da burada zikretmek gereklidir. İbn Bîbî ayrıca kitabelerde yazıların üzerine altın varaklar uygulandığı ve "duvarlarda hiçbir noktanın boş bırakılmaması" sözüyle ve de Alara Kalesindeki *in situ* kanıtlara da dayanarak, bu surların tamamen boyandığı hususuna dikkat çekilmektedir.

Selçuklu Anadolusundan ve İslam yönetimi altındaki daha büyük coğrafyadan verilen iç ve dışları alçı ve boyama bezemeli altı örnek yapı, bu dönemde bina yüzeylerine boyama ve alçı bezeme uygulanmasının yaygınlığını göstermek içindir. Bu örnekler şunlardır: Fustat'tan bir kâğıt üzerine guaş boyama, olasılıkla Aşkelon'a Haçlı saldırısının betimlendiği 12. yüzyıla ait bir resim; 1200 yılı civarından bir Endülüs elyazması minyatüründe Bayad ve Riyad'ın Hikâyesi'nden bir ağıt sahnesi; Irak-Vâsıt'ta bir kent içi hanın içini tasvir eden ve Yahya ibn Mahmud el-Vâsıtî tarafından 1236 yılında Bağdat'ta yapılmış "Schefer Hariri"; 1240 civarından büyük bir minaî teknikli İran-Keşan kâsesinde kaleli bir kentin kuşatılması sahnesi; Varka ve Gülşah elyazmasında değişik binaların dışlarını betimleyen, 13. yüzyıl ortasına tarihli Konya yapımı minyatürler; ve, Alaca, Mahmudiye Köyünden champlévé teknikli sırlı bir kâse parçası.

Bu desenlere verilen görsel ilinti, güç, güvenlik ve devlete olduğu kadar dinedir. Bu desenler başka malzemeler üzerinde de görülür. Örneğin, zikzak – V motifi dini yapılarda, köşk ve han duvarları gibi devlet yapılarında, hatta Kâbe'ye her sene hediye edilen kisve üzerinde de görülür.

Günümüze ulaşan boyama bezemeli Anadolu Selçuklu ahşap örneklerinde ve de Büyük Selçuklu siva, stuko-siva kabartma ve yontu eserlerinde de olduğu gibi, bu örneklerden yapılacak bir önerme şöyledir: aynı "yedi renk" grubunun çeşitli kombinasyonları kullanılmıştır. Bu yedi renk kırmızı, koyu mavi, türkuaz, açık sarı ve sarı aşıboyası, beyaz ve siyah olup altın varaklarla birlikte kitabe, taçkapı ve duvarlarda kullanılmıştır.

Halen *in situ* duran kanıtlar ve hem yazılı hem de diğer kaynaklardan elde edilen bilgilere dayanarak ulaşılan sonuçlar 13. yüzyıldaki bu Selçuklu boyama bezemesinin önemine işaret ediyor. Bugünkü görüşlerinin aksine, Selçuklu devlet hanları ve diğer yapılarının oyma taş işçilikli taçkapıları ve dış duvarları, parlak ve canlı renklerle, desenlerle ve hatta bazı durumlarda boyama hüsnühat ile bezendiği kanıtlarla sabit görünüyor. Bu boyama bezeme, ya stuko ile sıvıanan duvar yüzeyine ya da oymalı duvarın yüzeyine uygulanan üstübeç katının üzerine yapılıyordu. Oymalı taş kitabeler ise en az iki renkle boyanıyor veya arka fon tek renkle boyanırken harflerin üzerleri altın varaklarla bezeniyordu. Bu boyama bezemenin yok olmasının sebepleri arasında asırlarca süren bakımsızlık, hava koşulları, insan eliyle tahribat sayılabilir. Aslında bu boyama bezeme hem kitabeyi hem de yer aldığı yapıyı rahatlıkla okunabilir hale getiriyordu.



Fig. 1



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

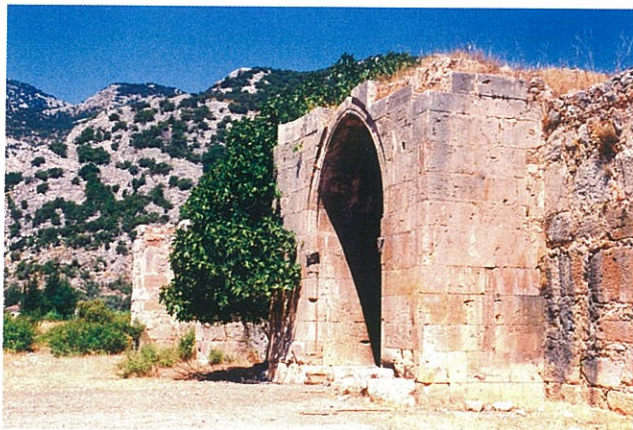


Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 14

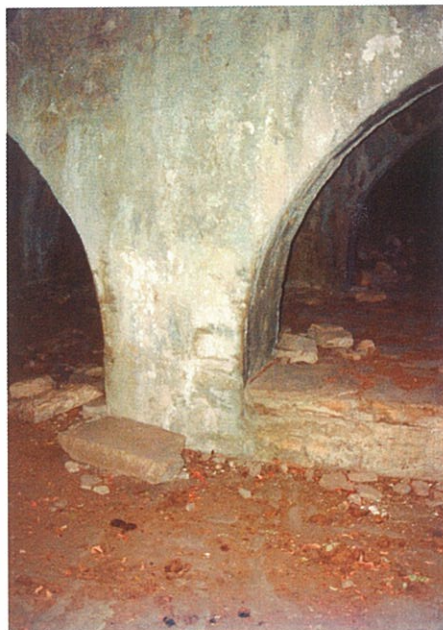


Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 21

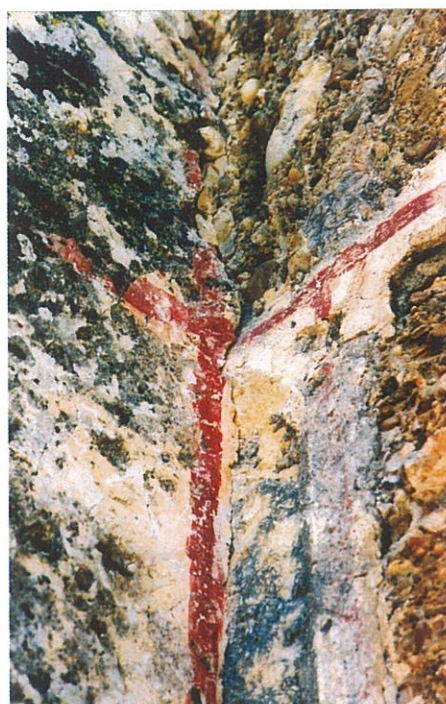


Fig. 20



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 27

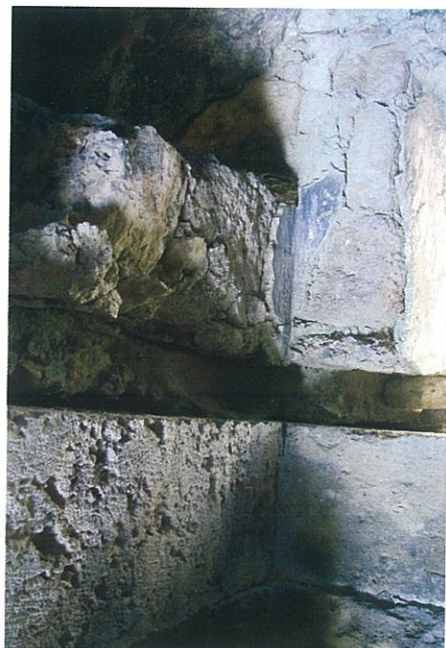


Fig. 26



Fig. 28



Fig. 29