

The Inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı and the Problem of Textual Transmission in Seljuk Anatolia

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The Kırkgöz Hanı is the first caravansaray north of Antalya on the Antalya-Burdur road linking Anatolia's Mediterranean coast with the interior. The building inscription of the caravansaray, carved on a single block of limestone and inserted over the entrance into the building, has attracted the attention of scholars over the decades due to the caravansaray's prominent location, and the fact that, with its six long lines, it constitutes the lengthiest building inscription of any surviving Seljuk caravansaray (Fig. 1). This inscription has been partially deciphered, but the difficulty of both the epigraphic style and grammar, and the novel content of the inscription, have prevented much of the inscription from being read. Here, I would like to propose a complete reading of its text.

This reading gives us new information and insights into the changing content of the inscriptions during the reign of Seljuk sultan Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II. For instance, this inscription assigns a function to the building - a highly unusual thing in Seljuk Anatolia, let alone the medieval Islamic world. It also adds to our knowledge of Seljuk regalia, those signs of office with which the sovereign traveled and that he displayed on and around his person. Last but not least, it raises the prominence of an ill-known member of the Seljuk dynasty, 'İşmat al-Dunyâ wa'l-Dîn, a cousin and wife of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad.

The difficulty of the Kırkgöz Hanı building inscription also provides an opportunity to examine the larger issue of the transmission of inscriptional texts in Seljuk Anatolia.

Are differences in epigraphic quality due simply to individual (in)competence? How, where, and when were the texts for lapidary inscriptions written and disseminated? What was the relationship between a text (presumably) written on paper and its copy on stone? What was the level of knowledge of Arabic on the part of Seljuk scribes when departing from established models?

Naturally, all of these questions will not and cannot be answered in this article. However, if we bear them in mind when examining this inscription, they help us erase the idea of a stark bipolarity between one original, complete text, its transcription onto stone, and its modern translation.

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Earlier Publications of the Text

Kurt Erdmann, in his book on Anatolian caravansarays, called the inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı "...fragmentarisch und schwer lesbar."¹ Paul Wittek, who was the first to publish this inscription, did so on the basis of notes and a copy made for him by the director of the Antalya Museum, Süleyman Fikri Erten. Writing in Rudolf Riefstahl's 1931 book, Wittek had the following to say:

*"The inscription is too fragmentary and uncertain to permit an attempt at translation. Only the indication of the date of the month can be secured, but a chronological indication of the date of the construction of this "felicitous ribat" is given by the statement "under the reign of Gijath ed-dunja wa'din Kaikbosrev b. Kaiqobad"*².

S. Fikri Erten provided the handwritten copy that was published by Wittek in Riefstahl's book. Erten also published a partial text in 1940 without making a translation. If we combine the two accounts to minimize solecisms, Erten's version of the Kırkgöz Hanı inscription runs as follows:³

- 1) Amara bi 'imārat hadhihi al-ribāt al-maymūna awfaqa... al-mu'ayyad 'alā sā
- 2) 'ir al-khalā'īqa al-bilād...wa'l-musāfir...bi aqṣar
- 3) min dawlat al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam ẓill Allah fi'l-'ālam sulṭān salaṭīn al-'ālam wa ṣāhib al-tāj wa'l-liwā
- 4) [awṭān] Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn al-sulṭān al-ā'ẓam Kaykhusraw bin Kayqubādh khallada Allāh sulṭānahu...
- 5) ilayhi malikahu aqālīm al-'ālam...Allāh al-ā'ẓam...
- 6) ...wa taqabbala minī...yawman shafā'hu wa'l-tārīkh al-thālīth 'ashar

Based on Erten's texts, the editors of the *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* made the following translation:

*La construction de cet heureux hospice a été ordonnée par le plus favorisé...assistée de Dieu audessus de toutes les autres créatures, le pays...et les voyageurs...(?) de l'empire de l'auguste sultan, l'ombre de Dieu dans le monde, le sultan des sultans du monde, le prince de la couronne et de l'emblème...Ghiyath al-dunya wal-din, le sultan auguste...Kaikubad-que Dieu éternise sa souveraineté...et sa royauté sur les cantons du monde...Dieu auguste...qu'Il agrée (cette oeuvre)...au jour d'intercession! Et la date est le 13...*⁴

Original and Copy, Tradition and Variation

Despite the protestations of Wittek and Erdmann, the building inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı is not fragmentary. Quite to the contrary, its frame and all of its letters and words are intact, even if the middle section of the limestone inscriptional block has eroded

¹ K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts* (1961) Vol. 1, 181.

² R. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931) 64-65 for a description of the building, 89 for the inscription. There, Wittek describes the inscriptional text, on which he evidently worked without benefit of photographs, in the following manner: "Incomplete and somewhat uncertain copy, due to very difficult writing of the original. Kindness of Sülejman Fikri Bej."

³ S. Fikri Erten, *Antalya Tarihi* (1940) 77.

⁴ RCEA 4263, as reproduced by Erdmann, *op. cit.*, 181.

due to exposure to the elements, and only flakes of the red paint that once covered its letters remain. Why was this text considered incomplete and fragmentary? The easiest answer to this question lies in the date of the inscription, which, as is customary, is given at the very end of the inscription. Here, the date of foundation of the caravansaray stops at the *beginning* of the date: “the thirteenth” without giving the month, let alone the year, as it should.

Many medieval Islamic scribes had trouble fitting their inscriptional texts into the space provided; starting the inscription, as is the case here, with largely written, generously spaced words and letters, and only subsequently, as the end of the inscriptional space arrived, cramming in the remaining information. The Kırkgöz Hanı inscription could be viewed as just a very bad example of this tendency, where the scribe had so much of the date left to write, and so little room, that he made no effort to cram, but simply ended the inscription ‘early.’

However, there are many other indications of difficulty and illegibility in the text that raise other issues relating to Seljuk epigraphy, scribal practice, and the transmission of texts. While I view the main purpose of this article as providing an improved reading of this text, I would also like to use it as an occasion to discuss these issues. I am helped in this regard by another building inscription from another caravansaray, the Derebucak Hanı, a now-ruined building located near the town of Derebucak in the Taurus Mountains south of Lake Beyşehir. This fragmentary inscription preserves only part of the first and second lines, lines that duplicate the Kırkgöz Hanı inscription. The text is the same, but the style and manner of execution are so superior that they beg for explanation. To my mind, the writing of the Derebucak inscription ranks with the finest of Anatolian Seljuk cursive calligraphy, with the Kırkgöz Hanı inscription ranking with the worst. And yet, both inscriptions recognizably derive from the same text, not only in content, but also in the disposition of the letters and words⁵.

The surviving text of the Derebucak inscription runs as follows (Fig. 2):

- 1) ...al-ribāṭ al-mus[']lala al-mawqūfa
- 2) ...al-nā(zilīn) bihā (wa) al-(mus)ā(firīn) ‘anhā naḥ(w)

As is well known, Seljuk building inscriptions, including those on caravansarays, are formulaic. In Arabic, they give the names, titles, and genealogy of the sultan, a benediction, and then the date of construction. If the building has been built by someone other than the reigning sultan, that person’s name comes between the last of the sultan’s genealogy, or benediction to the sultan (in some cases there is no benediction), and the date. As a result, these inscriptions are mainly used by architectural historians in order to date buildings, and to a lesser extent, by historians, art historians, and epigraphers to chart the changing use of titles, and the revolving door of emirs of the Seljuk sultanate in Anatolia.

Since the Kırkgöz Hanı was built during the reign of Sultan Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II, let us look at an inscription of this sultan, from the İncir Hanı, which is dated to 1238-39, and lies to the north of Kırkgöz Hanı on the Antalya-Burdur road, in order to establish the formula.

⁵ O. Kunduracı, “Kübadabad-Alanya Arasındaki Selçuklu Kervanyolu Üzerine Yeni Araştırmalar II”, VI. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazı Sonuçları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildiriler (2002) 539 note 16.

- 1) *The construction of this blessed khān was ordered by*
- 2) *the most great sultan, the magnificent Shāh of Shāhs, master of the napes of the peoples,*
- 3) *the lord of the sultans of the Arabs and non-Arabs, sultan of the land and of the two seas, the Dhū'l Qarnayn of the Age, the second Alexander, crown*
- 4) *of the Seljuk family, Ghiyāth al-dunyā wa'l-dīn, father of victory, Kaykhusraw, son of Kayqubādh, son of Kaykhusraw, associate of the Commander of the Faithful, in the year 636 [1238-1239].*

The main interest of this inscription lies in the unusual titles the sultan assumes here: Dhū'l Qarnayn of the Age and the second Alexander. This feature of buildings built during the reign of Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II is a topic that I will return to in my examination of the Kırkgöz Hanı inscription. Otherwise, the titles are known from other Seljuk inscriptions, including the last one, bestowed by the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad. (There is no benediction section to this inscription)⁶.

Although large, the Kırkgöz Hanı is much more simply built than the İncir and Susuz caravansarays with their luxuriously carved portals. (Despite a lack of building inscription, the Susuz Han is universally attributed to the reign of Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II because of its close resemblance to the İncir Hanı.) By contrast, the Kırkgöz Hanı portal bears no carved decoration or colored stone whatsoever, and as noted, the building inscription itself is not carved on the customary marble, but rather limestone. The other caravansarays found on the south coast of Anatolia between Antalya and Alanya, the Şarapsa Hanı and the Kargı Hanı, are also both largely devoid of architectural decoration, and both are missing building dates. The last line of the building inscription of the Şarapsa Hanı, which also dates to the reign of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II, has been erased, and the Kargı Hanı has no inscription at all. Despite a lack of direct inscriptional evidence, it stands to reason that these plainer caravansarays were built in the last years of the sultan's reign, after the Baba'i revolt of 1241 and his defeat by the Mongols at Köse Dağ in 1243 and before his death in 1246, a time when he had diminished resources, but spent most of his time in these parts. It could be that this dowager queen formed part of his court at this time⁷.

Were it not for its superior inscription, the Derebucak Hanı could also be attributed to these latter years of the reign of Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II, based on its small size and strong planometric similarities to the Şarapsa Hanı, as well as the above-noted similarity between the content of its fragmentary building inscription and that of the Kırkgöz Hanı. The quality of its inscription, however, causes me to date it to the early years of Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II's reign. Its smaller size can be attributed to the fact that it lay in the mountains on a secondary route, much less traveled than the Burdur-Antalya road. Because the building itself is in ruins, it is hard to say more about the quality of its construction and/or architectural sculpture. However, because Seljuk sub-sultanic patronage often clustered in certain regions of Anatolia, and 'İşmat al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn's other

⁶ Erdmann, op.cit., 110. See Denise Aigle, "Les inscriptions de Baybars dans le Bilād al-Sām. Une expression de la légitimité du pouvoir," *Studia Islamica* 97 (2003) 73-77 for a consideration of the role of Alexander in medieval Islamic titulature, especially that of Baybars.

⁷ See Erdmann, op. cit., 107-110 for İncir, 111-114 for Susuz, 181-184 for Kargı and 171-173 for Şarapsa caravansarays.

surviving foundation is at Uluborlu, not distant from either caravansaray, the Derebucak caravansaray, if it, too, were built by her, could be seen as fitting into a pattern of her patronage, and not that of the sultan⁸.

Who Wrote Inscriptions in Seljuk Anatolia?

In a study the 1216 *fetihname* on the citadel walls of Antalya, Gary Leiser and I addressed the issue of authorship of Seljuk inscriptions. Because of the difference in content, format and calligraphic style of the *fetihname* inscription from other Seljuk inscriptions, we maintained that those who wrote this long inscription must have belonged to the Seljuk chancery, the *diwān al-inshāʾ*. Contrary to Max van Berchem's assumption, based on al-Qalqashandī, that this was the case for most Islamic inscriptions, Michael Rogers has proposed that in Seljuk Anatolia local *qāḍīs* wrote inscriptions. As the reader will see below, I associate the production of most inscriptions with the Persianate scribal retinues of the sultan and his emirs.

In the 1220s and 1230s, far from reflecting chancery hands, most Anatolian Seljuk lapidary inscriptions were written in a script that aimed for monumentality primarily through the elongation of the *hastae* of the letters, without a proportional emphasis on other parts of the letters, or by magnificence of the frame surrounding the inscription. With very few exceptions, inscriptional lines were separated by thick bands and surrounded by a frame, making for a lapidary script very different from the more fluid chancery hands found exceptionally in the *fetihname* inscription on the walls of Antalya, but otherwise primarily on texts written with pen on paper, and not with chisel on stone⁹.

The question of inscriptional authorship and scribal practice is partially revealed to us by three Seljuk building inscriptions found on the citadel walls of Sinop, which were repaired in the summer of 1215. Here, a scribe signs two of the inscriptions. In one, the inscription of the governor of Simre, his "signature" is "kataba al-faqīr Yawāsh al-Qayṣ arawī," or "Yawāsh the poor from Kayseri wrote [this]." From its style, it is obvious that another Sinop inscription, that of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Kutlughja, the *sūbāshī*, or military governor of

⁸ There is another inscription found at Derebucak Hanı that bears a fragmentary date. The inscription is badly weathered. Those parts of 2 lines of the surviving 3 lines of the inscription that can be deciphered read as follows:

1) ...[sa]na ithnayn...

2) ...sittamī[ʾ]a al-ḥamdu lillāh

There are lines between the text in Seljuk format, but three factors lead me to reject this inscription as part of an original inscription. First, it was carved on a column base, which would not have left enough room for the information needed for a Seljuk foundation inscription. Secondly, even though it is very badly preserved, the style of the writing is both worse than the worst Anatolian Seljuk inscriptional writing I have seen, and the shapes of many of the letters do not conform with Seljuk practice (despite a date that places it in the 13th century). Third, and most important, the content does not fit Seljuk epigraphic norms—the date appears at the top, followed by religious formulae, whereas the date should be the last part of the inscription. For this inscription, see Kunduracı, *ibid.*

⁹ S. Redford - G. Leiser, Taşa Yazılan Zafer. Antalya İçkale Surlarındaki Selçuklu Fetihnemesi/Victory Inscribed. The Seljuk Fetihnâme on the Citadel Walls of Antalya. (Adalya Supplementary Series 7) (2008) 116-117; J. M. Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia. The Epigraphic Evidence", *AnatSt* 26, 1976, 71. Rogers uses the following logic to argue for *qāḍī* authorship of inscriptions: "Some Chancery control may also be presumed in Anatolia, to standardize Royal titlature upon a new Sultan's accession. But, paradoxically, whereas the Chancery language was Persian, foundation inscriptions were invariably Arabic. Chancery control must therefore have been indirect, and foundation inscriptions and *waqfiyyas* more closely related, since Seljuk *waqfiyyas* are invariably in Arabic..." This article, too, argues for an indirect relation between the Chancery and inscriptions, but of a different nature.

Kayseri, was written by Yawāsh, even though he is not named in this inscription. A third inscription from Sinop, on the curtain wall adjacent to this latter, belongs to an architect, one Mubārīz al-Dīn Mas'ūd bin Aqshā, also from Kayseri. Here, the following phrase occurs: “kataba Najm al-Dīn Yawāsh al-Bahā'ī,” “Najm al-Dīn Yawāsh al-Bahā'ī (slave of Bahā' al-Dīn) wrote (it)”¹⁰.

From these inscriptions the following conclusions can be drawn. First of all, that several people (likely scribes) were involved in preparing the inscriptions of Sinop citadel, but that one of them, and the best calligrapher of the lot, was Najm al-Dīn Yawāsh, whom must have been a scribe. From his self-styling as “the poor” and the use of the term “al-Bahā'ī” we can assume that he was a slave of Bahā' al-Dīn Kutlughja. This close association of a calligrapher with the retinue of one emir furnishes some insight into the relationship of scribes to the Anatolian Seljuk elite. Because the style employed by Yawāsh is superior to that of most Anatolian Seljuk inscriptions, and because this scribe signs the first inscription on the diagonal, as one would a manuscript at the time, we can assume that he was largely employed not in writing lapidary inscriptions, but rather correspondence or other work involving pen, ink, and paper.

Thusfar, I have related one case of superior lapidary style and execution to the involvement of a scribe belonging to the retinue of a high-ranking military governor. This thesis is slightly complicated by the third inscription, which is executed in an ordinary hand of far lesser quality than the previous two. One can only surmise that the architect, or someone else from the “Kayseri team,” included the scribe’s name in the inscription even though he did not actually write it, out of a sense of team solidarity. Other of the inscriptions from Sinop citadel also give the distinct impression that they were written on site, and that they involved the direct interaction of scribes, stone-cutters, and emirs, as argued above. Textual emendations to several of these cause breaks with the standard rectangular lined format of the time. A marginal addition to one inscription is actually prefaced with the word “laḥq” or addition, as if to a manuscript text¹¹.

From the evidence presented above, we can hypothesize that the texts of lapidary inscriptions derived *indirectly* from the Seljuk chancery, through the mediation of the Persianate administrative class of the Anatolian Seljuks, specifically those attached to the retinues of the patrons of those buildings. This class would have had education in Arabic adequate to the task of reproducing set formulae, but perhaps not much further. Yawāsh may have been exceptional in both his talent and recognition that allowed his name to be affixed to inscriptions, but the bulk of the evidence from Sinop points to active, on site involvement of several scribes in the production of inscriptions there.

Transcription and Translation of the Kırkgöz Hanı Inscription

What follows is an effort to read the entire text of the Kırkgöz Hanı inscription, despite the difficulties enumerated at the beginning of this article. Behind this translation lie two assumptions. These are as follows:

¹⁰ É. Combe, et al, (eds.), Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe [henceforth *RCEA*] (1939) Vol. 10 nos. 3765, 3769 and 3760 respectively, with corrected readings of these inscriptions given here. The most important of these corrections are “Aqshā” for “A[r]th'a”, and “al-Bahā'ī,” for “al-thānī”.

¹¹ *RCEA* no. 3761 where “laḥq” is read as “ḥaqq.”

1) As will be seen from the discussion of the first and second line, I am operating on the assumption that either the stonecutter, or the scribe who provided the text for the inscription, or both, were using a badly written copy of a text. The clarity of the Derebucak inscription provides a sense of what a cleaner version of the original text must have been like.

2) From the discussion of the sixth line, the reader will encounter a second assumption. This assumption could be viewed as a simple continuation of the first assumption: that of a badly written text that led to textual misunderstandings. This may be the case. But I would like also to assume another thing: that, in inventing new benedictions for the dowager queen, the author of this text exceeded his own capacity in the Arabic language.

- 1) *Amara bi 'imārat hadhibi al-ribāt al-musa'la al-mawqūfa al-mu'ayyada 'alā sā*
- 2) *yir (sic) al-khalāyiq (sic) al-nāzilīn bibā wa'l-musāfirīn 'anbā nahw mashbāriq al-arḍ wa maghāribihā fī ayyā*
- 3) *m dawlat al-sultān al-āzam zill Allāh fī'l-ālam sultān salāṭīn al-āfāq šāḥib al-tāj wa'l-liwā' [wa] a*
- 4) *l-naṭāq Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn abī'l-fath Kaykhusraw bin Kayqubādh kballada Allāh sultānabu al-sitt al-āli*
- 5) *liya malikat aqālīm al-ālam 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn durra tāj al-duwal bassaṭa Allāh fī'l-khayr*
- 6) *āt mulkāhā wa taqabbala minhā mā banāhā wa ballaghahā fī'l-dārīn mā shafā' [hā fī'l-tārīkh al-thālīth 'ashara*

- 1) *The construction of this commissioned, endowed, secure ribat was ordered for all*
- 2) *peoples residing in it, and travelers from it towards the east of the world and its west, in the days*
- 3) *of the state of the most great sultan, God's shadow on earth, sultan of the sultans of the horizons, possessor of the crown and the banner [and]*
- 4) *the belt, Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, father of victory, Kaykhusraw, son of Kayqubādh, may God extend to eternity his sultanate, [by] the exalted lady,*
- 5) *queen of the climes of the world, 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, pearl of the crown of nations, may God make profuse His favor in good things*
- 6) *on her property, and accept from her what he built her (sic), and extend to her in both realms (this world and the next) what will make her whole, in the year 13¹².*

¹² This translation, for the sake of clarity, turns an active verb into a passive one. In the original Arabic, the verb *amara* -to order- is in the active.

Commentary

Line 1. Like many opening lines, this line has wide-open spaces and sprawling words, especially the word “mawqūfa”. Another feature of initial lines is the use of ornament: here a crescent moon hovers over the middle of “mu’ayyada”: this is a symbol of royalty for this dynasty. The completely “untied” nature of the “tā’ marbūṭa”s in this inscription is first noticeable here - they are, in many cases, indistinguishable from the letter “rā”. Here, too, one encounters another feature of this inscription, the placing of three dots *below* the line of the “sīn”, to distinguish it from the letter “shīn”.

The word “ribāṭ” is used in other caravansarays, although it is not as common as “khān.” I do not assign this word choice a particular significance here.

The fifth word of this line, “mus’ala” is only comprehensible by referring to the Derebucak inscription. It appears as if the scribe or stonecutter of the Kırkgöz inscription confused the alif of “al-mawqūfa,” which in the Derebucak inscription hovers over the “sīn” of the previous word, with a letter that actually belonged to that word, and not the following one. He combined the “alif” with the “sīn”, making for a word without sense.

This confusion, however, underscores the close relation between these two inscriptions. The formats are different (the Derebucak inscription is curved at the top), and of course most of it is lost, but it is obvious from this example, as well as the placement of letters on line 2 (to be discussed below) that both inscriptions derive not only from the same text (in terms of content) but from a paper copy of that text, one that placed the words in particular locations in relationship to each other. Because most of the rest of the Derebucak inscription is lost, unfortunately, we cannot have recourse to this inscription to explain away further problems of this sort (and there are many of these!).

That said and done, I know of no other parallels for the word “mus’ala” in Anatolian Seljuk epigraphy. However, it fits with the meaning - a requested or desired caravansaray, as well as the alliteration, of the adjectives that follow the word “ribāṭ.”

The word “mawqūfa” means endowed by *waqf*. Based on two surviving examples, Michael Rogers has argued that Seljuk buildings had their endowment deeds, or *waqfiyyas*, drawn up years after the buildings were finished, and that “...foundation inscriptions evidently served, therefore, to bridge the gap between the conclusion of building and its declaration as *waqf*.” The use of this word in the Kırkgöz and Derebucak inscriptions imply that these buildings at least had been endowed before they were completed.¹³

Line 2. This line witnesses two commonplaces of Anatolian Seljuk epigraphy. The first is the splitting of words between lines. The second is the use of “yā” instead of “hamza”. The proper spelling is “sā’ir” instead of “sāyir” and “khalā’iq” instead of “khalāyiq”.

This line is much more compactly written and spaced than the first line. It continues the tendency of the ends of words to trail off into lines and tails. Again, the Derebucak inscription, with its crisp letter forms, helps complete the reading this line, even though

¹³ Rogers, op. cit., 70. Another inscription from the reign of Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II relevant to this issue is the 640/1242-43 inscription of the Sırçalı Medrese in Konya. There, the emir Badr al-Din Muşlih proclaims that he has endowed the building (“waqafaha”) for use by members of the Ḥanafī school of law. This inscription also constitutes another example of an inscription from the reign of this sultan specifying a function for a building that is being endowed. For the latest publication of this inscription, see R. Duran, *Selçuklu Devri Konya Yapı Kitabeleri (İnşa ve Ta’mir)* (2001) 54-55.

it is only partially preserved. In turn, the Kırkgöz Hanı inscription allows us to propose a reading of the fragmentary second line of the Derebucak Hanı inscription, which has not previously been read.

As noted above, there is a difference between the format of the Kırkgöz and Derebucak inscriptions, with the former rectangular, and the latter curved at the top. The Derebucak inscription also must have been smaller, because the text of ends of the first and second lines (which are all that are preserved) is, in both cases, less than the Kırkgöz inscription: the first line is three words shorter and the second line is six words shorter. Be that as it may, the placement of the words “biḥā” and “anhā” above the words that precede them point to a common model, and not just a common text.

Comparisons between word shapes in this line also bring out the issue of the difference of quality between these two inscriptions. The word “al-nāzilīn” has, in the Derebucak inscription, the correct orthography, with a dot and a shadda over the first “nūn,” and a ‘hook’ to mark the place for the “yā,” and a change of direction to mark the beginning of the final “nun.”

By contrast, the Kırkgöz Hanı inscription has no dot over the “nūn” and no shadda, and the end of this word is simply a downward curving line. There are many non-canonical elisions in the Kırkgöz inscription that are correctly separated in the Derebucak inscription. To cite two present on this line: the word “naḥw” in the Kırkgöz inscription is elided with the alif of the preceding word “anhā,” and there is no separation between the “alif” and the “zā” in nāzilīn as there should be. These are indications of a bad copy.

The second line is remarkable mainly for its content. Here (and at Derebucak), for the only time in Seljuk Anatolia, a function is ascribed to a caravansaray. And that function is the traditional one: residence for travelers. Given the type of building involved, this is an obvious choice, but reassuring in a way, given the number of other functions modern authors have assigned to caravansarays over the years. Although the inscriptions of Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II’s reign are notable for grandiose and unusual titulature (as noted above for the İncir Hanı) and benedictions (as will be discussed below), and that grandiosity is evident in the global scale of the statement in this line, nonetheless, I do not know of another instance of travelers to or guests in a caravansaray to be mentioned in a building inscription. This is another example of the pattern-breaking nature of the inscriptions of this sultan.

Line 3. This line begins with another divided word. The next word, “dawla” is spelled with a “tā” and not, as it should, with a “tā’ marbūṭa.”

The first three titles of this line are found elsewhere in Anatolian Seljuk titulature. What comes after is unusual, especially as concerns regalia or insignia of the sultan. This is the only time in a Seljuk inscription that the sultan lists 3 regalia: crown, banner, and belt.¹⁴

Line 4. The word naṭaq, meaning belt or girdle, is actually found on this line. It embodies the difficulties that the sloppy writing has engendered. The tail of the “qāf” intersects with the hasta of the “ṭā” and seems to end there. But a smaller line at a different angle

¹⁴ For a brief discussion of Seljuk regalia, see S. Redford, “A Grammar of Rum Seljuk Ornament,” *Mésogéios* 25-26 (2005) 288-90. The list of regalia in that article does not include a belt. The more common word for banner or flag is “sanjāq,” and not “liwā” as here.

picks up to the other side of this hasta, and dribbles on until it intersects the dot atop the “ghayn” of “Ghiyāth,” the next word.

This line continues the proper order for a Seljuk inscription, passing from titulature to genealogy to benediction (du‘ā). After the short benediction for the sultan comes the words “al-sitt al-‘ali-“ to be completed on the next line with a “ya,” making for the “exalted lady.” Who is this lady? The next line reveals her identity.

Line 5. This line gives the name and two titles of the patron of this building. She was a member of the Seljuk dynasty named ‘Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn, who, with this inscription, gains more prominence than she has previously had. She is known epigraphically by one other inscription, dating to the reign of her husband Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad, who may have married her after he assumed direct control of the city of Erzurum from her brother Jihānshāh, in 1230. Her father, Mughīth al-Dīn Tughrulshāh, who was Alaeddin’s uncle, died in 1225. This inscription, dated Rajab 629/April-May 1232, is from the Çarşı Camii in Uluborlu. Here, too, she is called *malika*, or queen. She does not seem to have been Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II’s mother¹⁵.

Line 6. The last line contains a grammatical problem, concerning gender and pronoun referents. The feminine pronoun referent “hā” refers to the patron herself. However the verb *banā’* is in the masculine, giving a meaning of “what he built her”. The only masculine referent here could be God, but the benediction is to God, for Him to accept what she has built. God is often given credit for victories and other good things, and this could be seen as an example of that, but this meaning does not fit with the thrust of the benediction. A grammatical error of this kind cannot, in my opinion, be simply written off as the product of a badly written copy, as I have in my commentary for the first line of this inscription. It must stem from a scribe attempting to break new ground in the invention of novel benedictions for a female patron. ‘Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn must have been advanced in age, or ailing at the time, hence the specific wishes for her in this world and the next.

As noted above, the date ends at the beginning, with a date, but no month or year.

Conclusion

The changing titulature of the inscriptions of Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II reveal a close interest in this form of public text during this time. If the model for textual formulation and transmission proposed above is to be applied in this case, then we must indeed think of texts generated by circles close to the sultan, the *diwān al-inshā’* or otherwise, otherwise the distinct change in formulae is hard to explain. However, we should interpose layers of bureaucracy - the patron, the architect, and/or the building supervisor, who was himself often an emir. It could be scribes attached to one of these retinues who were responsible for coming up with the actual text to be incised on an actual stone of a certain size at an actual building site.

Alternatively, in this case, the difference between the fineness of the Derebucak inscription, and the sloppy execution of the Kırkgöz inscription, could, along with the plainness of construction of this and other caravansarays, be viewed as reflecting the

¹⁵ O. Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye* (2004) 394 note 78. The text of the inscription from Uluborlu is reproduced by Rogers, op. cit., 72.

post-1243 disarray of the mighty Seljuk administration that had built so many, and such fine, buildings in the short decades since the first large Seljuk building project at Sivas in 1215. According to this explanation, the Derebucak inscription could be seen as the model for the Kırkgöz inscription. But the Derebucak inscription must have been shorter, even considerably shorter. Given the fact that the only other building that Queen 'İşmat built was not distant: at Uluborlu, across the Taurus mountains northeast of Kırkgöz Hanı and northwest of Derebucak Hanı, can we assume that she was the patron of this other caravansaray as well? If so, then the list of titulature of the sultan, or perhaps the benediction section, must have been shorter.

The Kırkgöz Hanı continues the tradition of novel and grandiose titulature that constitutes one of the features of the brief and eventful reign of Sultan Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II. The enumeration of regalia here could be read as an insistence on his legitimacy: the sultan actually still had these items in his possession, and with them retained the right to rule, despite his defeat at Köse Dağ. The dowager queen, in turn, styles herself the pearl in the crown, one of those signs of office. The assigning of a function to the caravansaray: the mentioning of peoples, residents in the caravansaray, and travelers, can be seen as an extraordinarily *non*-pompous gesture. Certainly the capaciousness of the (queen-sized) caravansaray itself must reflect the booming trade passing to and from Antalya from Egypt and beyond.

However, when one then adds that these travelers are coming from the ends of the earth to the Seljuk realm, the rhetoric once again becomes inflated; especially if one considers that it was a true world empire, that of the Mongols, that had defeated the Seljuks of Anatolia, with the Seljuk sultan and his court seeking refuge from these foes beyond the Taurus mountains in this part of his realm at the farthest remove from them.

Öz

Kırkgöz Hanı Yazıtı ve Selçuklu Anadolu'sunda Metinsel Aktarım Sorunu

Bu çalışmanın konusunu oluşturan, Antalya'nın kuzeyindeki Kırkgöz Hanı inşa yazıtı, bir Selçuklu kervansarayından günümüze ulaşan en uzun yazıt olup burada tam tercümesi verilmektedir. Kimi zamanlarda yeni ve abartılı unvanlar kullanan II. Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev'in dönemine ait yazıtlarda olduğu üzere bu yazıtta da yenilikler göze çarpar. Örneğin, söz konusu yazıtta, daha önceki Selçuklu hükümdarlık alametleri arasında hiç görülmeyen üç tanesi dikkati çeker: Sultan burada taç, sancak ve kuşağın sahibi olarak betimlenmiştir. Ayrıca bir kervansarayın, dünyanın bir ucundan gelip bir başka ucuna giden yolcular için konaklama yeri olduğu şeklinde işlevini belirlemesiyle de bu yazıt özgündür. Kervansarayların işlevleri mimarilerinden rahatlıkla anlaşılmasına karşın ilk kez burada bir kervansarayın işlevi açıkça belirtiliyor.

Bu yazıt ve Derebucak kervansarayının buna benzeyen yazıtı kullanılarak çalışmamızda Selçuklu hanedanının kâtip sınıfının yazıt metinlerini nasıl oluşturduğu, nasıl kopyaladığı ve gereken yerlere nasıl iletildiğini anlama konusunda bir yöntem öneriliyor. Sinop Kalesi'ndeki yazıtların yeniden okunmasıyla elde edilen yeni kanıtların ışığında, bânînin maiyetindekilere bağlı olan kâtiplerin, yazıtların kopyasını bizzat hazırlayanlar olduğu ve onların hazırladıklarının yerinde taşla işlendiği ve bina duvarlarına yerleştirildiği öneriliyor. Aynı ya da çok benzer metinlere sahip Kırkgöz ve Derebucak Hanları inşa yazıtlarının kalitesindeki farklılıklar irdelenip 1240ların başındaki sıkıntılar nedeniyle Selçuklu inşaat idaresinin dağılması da dâhil olası açıklamalar öneriliyor.

Son olarak da bu makalede söz konusu hanın bânîsi ve Sultan Alâeddin Keykubad'ın az bilinen eşi İsmetü'd-Dünya ve'd-Din daha yakından tanıtılıyor. Sultanın hem kuzeni hem de Erzurum Beyi'nin kızı olan İsmetü'd-Dünya ve'd-Din yalnızca Uluborlu Çarşı Camii'nin inşa yazıtından tanınmaktadır. Bezemesizliğine karşın Kırkgöz Hanı'nın muazzam ebatları ve de İsmetü'd-Dünya ve'd-Din'in eşinden daha uzun hayatta kalması ile önemli binaları yaptırmaya devam etmesi de adı geçen ecenin Selçuklu elidinin anlatımlarındaki yerinin yeniden değerlendirilmesini gerektirmektedir.

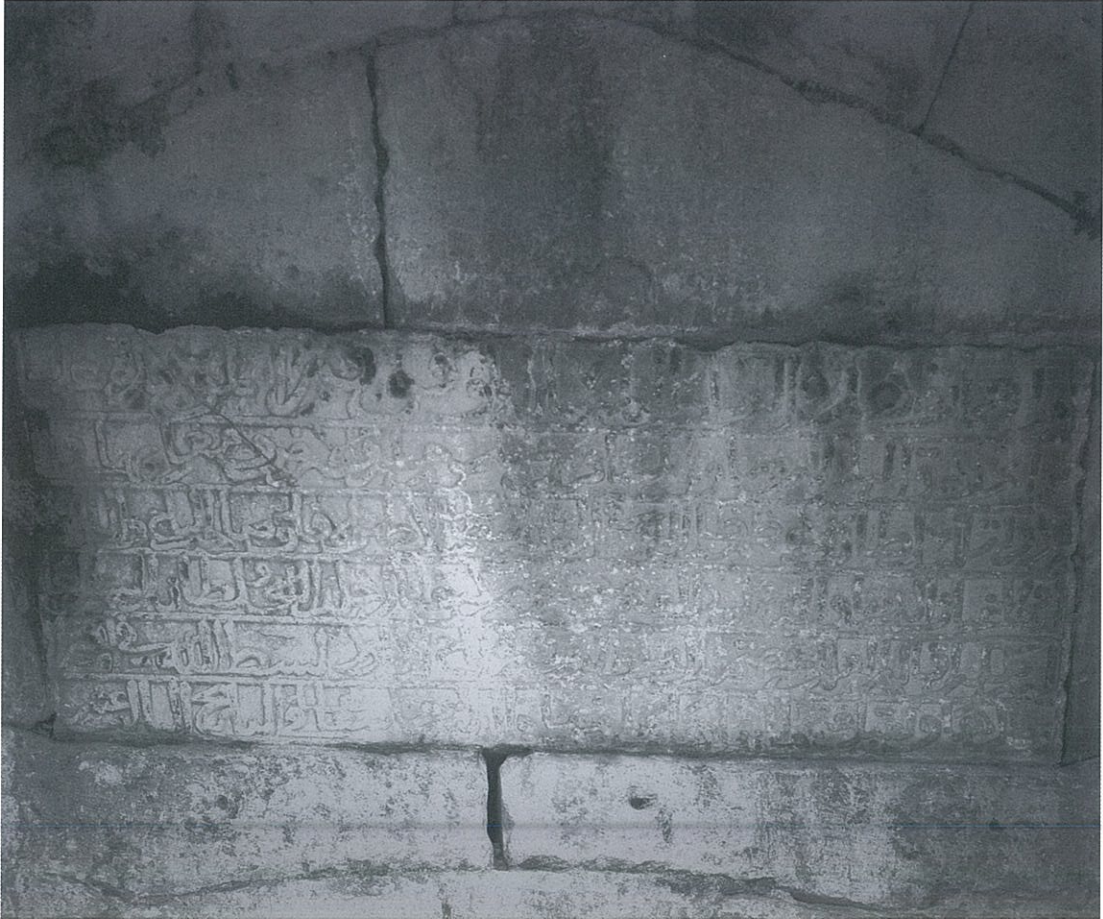


Fig. 1 The building inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı.



Fig. 2 The building inscription of the Derebucak Hanı.