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The Kible Wall of the Kargı Hanı

Scott REDFORD*

“Yatağımın yanında esmer bir duvar vardı,
Üstünde yazılarla hatlar karışmışlardı;
Fâni bir iz bırakmış birda yiğmişa kimler,
Aygün baygan manılar, açık saçak resimler...”
“Ey garip çizgilerle dolu han duvarları
Ey hanların gönlümü sırtlayan duvarları...”

Han Duvarları
Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel

The Kargı Hanı is a relatively isolated caravansaray that lies near the banks of the Kargı Çayı, a small river flowing from the Taurus Mountains into the Mediterranean between Manavgat and Antalya on Turkey’s southern coast. The valley of the Kargı Çayı links it, through the Taurus mountains, to Lake Beyşehir with its Seljuk-era palatial city of Kubadabad. The caravansaray is located in the wooded foothills several kilometers north of the coastal plain next to a stream leading into the Kargı Çayı. In addition to the han itself, there is a small bathhouse located just outside the main entrance (Figs. 1 and 2).²

There are two parts to the caravansaray (Fig. 3). The main portal gives on to an open rectangular courtyard, at the back of which lies a large vaulted hall. Despite the lack of an inscription on the portal, the building has been dated by Erdmann to the reign of Seljuk

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1 F. N. Çamlıbel, Han Duvarları. Toplu Şiirler. Yapı Kredi Yayınları (2004) 15-19. The poem was originally published in 1969. I am grateful to Oya Pancaroğlu for introducing it to me. Benni Claasz Coockson made the drawings in this article based on photographs taken by Tufan Karasu and a measured sketch provided by the author. Karasu, to whom I am also indebted for several trips to the building, took the photographs. I would also like to thank Cemal Pulak for his advice about the ship graffiti, Kent Redford for identifying the deer and ibex, and Josephine Powell and Robert Ousterhout for bibliographic assistance.

2 For a formal analysis of the the Kargı Hanı as well as an account of its state in 1955, see K. Erdmann, “Der Kargı Han bei Alanya,” Kunz des Orients 3 (1959) 1-13. This article also contains references to earlier mentions of the building in scholarly literature and guide books. The Kargı Hanı is also mentioned several times in A. Tükel Yavuz, “The Concepts that Shape Anatolian Seljuq Caravanserais”, Muqarnas 14 (1997) 80-95, including a plan, Fig. 7, on page 84. The route across the mountains from the Kargı Hanı was, to my knowledge, first sketched by X. de Planhol, De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidens Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve (1958) 89-90 and Fig. 10. Of the two mountain caravansarays mentioned here, the Orta Payam Han was treated by Erdmann in his Das anatolische Kervansaray des 13. Jahrhundert (1961) Vol. 1, 173-175, and the Tol Han by Aziz Albek, “Eynif Ovası ve Tol Han Hakkında Kisa Rapor,” Anadolu Sanati Araştırmaları 2 (1970) 55-59, who also gives brief but valuable information about nomadic movements in this area in the 1950s. Planhol’s plan presumes to connect the route starting with the Kargı Hanı via these two hans to Seydişehir, as do comments made by Albek. It remains to be seen whether or not there would have been a more direct route between the Tol Han and the west coast of Lake Beyşehir, where the Seljuk palatial city of Kubadabad was located.
Sultan II Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev, who ruled from 1237-1246. Erdmann's dating has been accepted by later authors. The predominant use of rough locally quarried stone in its construction and the lack of inscription and fine architectural detailing have contributed to the scholarly neglect of this well-preserved structure. The interior surfaces of those rough hewn slate walls were coated with white plaster—a feature not commonly found on the walls of other Seljuk hans. Although this plaster must have been renewed over the centuries, I believe that this is an original feature of the building. Anatolian Seljuk architecture of the 13th century is concerned with finished surfaces, and would not have left these interior walls in rough state.

Due to its use of locally quarried and lower-quality stone, and due to the lack of ruined buildings in the neighborhood to furnish marble for architectural sculpture and/or inscriptions, the Kargi Hanı is relatively plain. This generalization applies to the exterior and courtyard portals, which have none of the geometric or vegetal bands of carved stone ornament normally found on Seljuk portals. It applies equally to that other architectural element often decorated in Seljuk and other Islamic artistic traditions, the mibrab. In fact, the presence of a mibrab is the only marker that distinguishes a corner room from other rooms around the courtyard, allowing it to be identified as a mescid, a small mosque for the Muslim staff of, and travelers to, the han (Fig. 4).

In the 1960's, Kurt Erdmann included the Kargi Hanı in his monumental study of Seljuk caravansarays. In it, he refers to "Die schmucklose Moschee," the mosque without ornament. And yet, paradoxically, the kible wall itself is the most decorated part of the whole building. Here, and nowhere else in the building, the plaster covering the wall surrounding the mibrab has been repeatedly inscribed with images, symbols, and even one instance of writing (Figs. 5-6).

Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel, in his well-known poem "Han Duvarları", relates the graffiti on the walls of old caravansarays to individual life stories. While he refers to "açık sıcak resimler" (indecent images) in the poem, his point of reference and reverie is writing. In the Kargi Hanı, only the kible wall bears testimonials to the kinds of passage of time and tradition Çamlıbel dwells on in his poem. These graffiti are located in a large caravansaray on the one wall that is the focus of religious devotion in its one prayer room, giving them extra, and different, cultural weight. Parts of these graffiti may be personal, relating to lifestories like the characters in Çamlıbel's poem, but most seem to have an extra-religious ritual significance. In this article, I would like to focus on those of these graffiti that can be identified, either with personal stories, or with representations of objects of importance, even veneration, for users of this caravansaray.

Like most architectural historians past and present, Kurt Erdmann focused on the original elements of the buildings he studied. Of these elements, the only one that he included in his books that could be called graffiti are the masons' marks on blocks of stone. These graffiti, either marks for placement or of completion by a particular mason, are widespread in Seljuk architecture. Given the fine ashlar masonry of most hans, masons' marks would have been part of the original visual impact of the buildings, whether they were intended as such or not. Due to the rough masonry of the Kargı Hanı and its plastered walls, Erdmann found only two signs inscribed on blocks, and doubted that they were masons'

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3 Erdmann 1961, 181-84 no. 57.
marks because of their lack of resemblance to other masons’ marks he had found on other caravansarays. But anyone staying in Seljuk hans would have had to be familiar with the practice of inscribing signs on walls, whether or not they understood the construction logic behind the masons’ marks.

A recent study by Ömür Bakrer documents masons’ marks on Seljuk buildings. Some of them duplicate certain of the signs found on the kible wall of this han. Previous scholars have noted the similarity between Turkish tribal signs (tamgas) and symbols and the masons’ marks on Seljuk buildings. By pointing out the similarity between mason’s marks on medieval French, English, and Seljuk buildings, Bakrer implicitly criticized a strict ethnic identification of such marks on stone such as the arrow. Both she and Erdmann have also documented mason’s marks that consist of letters that could be from the Greek and Latin alphabets. These mason’s marks provide evidence of the mechanism by which pre-Seljuk Anatolian and extra-Anatolian building traditions entered the Seljuk mainstream, contributing to the cultural diversity of medieval Anatolia.

Arrows are found incised on many Seljuk era buildings, but Bakrer rightly points out that these could be used to position stones as well as serve as masons’ marks. The one mark on stones found at the Kargi Han is a Y-like arrow. This sign, or others related to it, according to the list of tamgas of Turkish tribes listed in medieval sources like Rashid al-Din and Yazıcızade, could belong to the Kök, Salur, or Çepni tribes (boy). The variation between various lists of tamgas is enough to awake suspicion of their historical validity as markers of the presence of one tribe or another. Similar arrow-like graffiti are found on the kible wall of the mescid of the caravansaray. There is no historical evidence of the presence of these particular tribes in the Antalya vicinity, so the relationship of the two marks scratched in stone to both masons’ marks and to the mosque graffiti remains a vexatious one. However, as will be discussed below, we can state that arrow-related motifs were widespread in Anatolia and allied areas in the medieval period, and that these motifs were in no way related to strict tribal identifications.

A mescid is not necessarily a place to look for cultural diversity, and yet the kible wall of the Kargi Han disregards at least orthodox conceptions of the Islamic religion, which proscribe the use of images as part of worship. Despite this heterodoxy, here there seems to be a cognizance of Islamic sacral space and Islamic proscriptions, because the mibrab itself lacks any graffiti. It is as if the mibrab alone denoted a strictly Islamic space within the kible wall. Islamic prayer ritual can also be related visually to these graffiti, quite a few of which were inscribed low on the wall to either side of the mibrab, so that they enter the field of vision of the worshiper during prayer.

A fair number of the graffiti recorded here remain obscure in meaning. The graffiti on the kible wall of the Kargi Han that can be understood fall into two main categories: representations of wild animals, and depictions of symbols. In addition, as mentioned above, there is one piece of writing, a besmele written in the top right corner, as if to initiate the “page” of the kible wall (Figs. 5 and 6) Two kinds of animal are represented, deer and ibex, both of them wild. Imitating the behavior of these animals in nature, the drawings

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of the deer represent them singly, while there is a great cluster, or flock, of ibex along the wall to the west of the mibrab (Figs. 7-10). Two different types of deer represented here are roe and red deer. The red deer have larger, palmate antlers (Figs. 11 and 12), while the antlers of the roe deer are branching in shape. The heads of many of the animals are not incised, but consist of triangles that are gouged out of the plaster. With the exception of the magnificent deer represented to the far left of the mibrab, whose body is scored with multiple lines, most of these animals are rectangular boxes with legs, tails, and, most importantly, horns. It is as if the horns, the part of the animal visible at the greatest distance, were its most important part.

Deer and ibex are wild animals found in the Taurus mountains. Both are also game animals, hunted for their meat, although deer were also considered sacred in Anatolia. The fact that they are represented here, on the wall of the mescid, may be connected with a ritual of sympathetic magic, in which the animal is represented in order to “possess” it spirit before hunting and killing it. It is important to stress that there is no narrative aspect to any of these images: for instance, no hunt is depicted. As discussed below, there are two humans represented on this wall, but neither in connection with these animals.

In contrast to the schematic, stylized but recognizable representations of animals, the two representations of humans make no effort to duplicate the alert pose of a deer or the grazing posture of an ibex. The two humans are shown in almost comically simplified fashion, one box-like, and one worm-like. Both seem to be engaged in activities relating to pastoralism: one has a stick in its hand and may be tending a flock, while the other seems to be spinning wool. (Figs. 13 and 14, respectively)

A third representation links the world of humans and that of nature: the large and carefully rendered representation of a single-masted ship. As with most ship graffiti, it is the rigging and the sails that constitute the main part of the vessel: they are to the ship what horns are to the animals: both shorthand for the object represented and its most visible aspect (Fig. 15).

Instead of the relative homogeneity of the animals, the many symbols incised on this wall represent a more diverse set.The first two of these symbols place us at an intersection between tribal Türkmen symbols and practices, and those of the Seljuk and early Ottoman states. By far and away the most commonly represented symbol here is the arrow, almost always drawn pointing up (Figs. 16 and 17). In addition to the arrow itself, at the top of the mibrab itself an arrow-like inverted-Y shape is depicted (Fig. 18). This mark, repeated elsewhere here (e.g. Fig. 19), is familiar to all those who study Islamic metalwork from the 12-15th centuries as one of the most common motifs found there. It is also found generally, but less frequently, carved on Seljuk period buildings in Anatolia like the courtyard.

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6 F. W. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans (original publication date 1929) (2000) Vol. 1, 214-215, “Deer in general are more or less sacred animals. Gazelles, roe deer (sic), and stags must not be hunted on account of their close connexion (sic) with dervish saints. Dervishes are supposed to take the form of deers, and ascetics are said to have tamed them and lived on their milk. A Dervish named Gzikli Baba is said to have been present at the siege of Brusa (sic) riding on a stag. Their skins and horns are frequently found in turbe”. Veneration of the deer in Anatolia is associated with the Bektasî dervish order. While not Bektasî, another Turkish Anatolian sect known for its heterodox beliefs, the Tahtacs, were active in the mountains slightly to the west of this region; see Planhol, op. cit., Fig. 52 for areas of Tahtaci presence in the Taurus mountains. Proscriptions did not prevent the hunting of deer, as attested to the presence of deer bones from medieval archaeological sites, see, e.g. Kinet, where fallow, roe, and red deer bones have been recovered from 13th and 14th century levels; see S. Redford - S. Ikram - E. M. Parr - T. Beach, “Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report,” Ancient Near Eastern Studies 38 (2001) 75.
columns of the Çıfte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum.7

In addition to being a tribal mark, as Osman Turan pointed out decades ago, the arrow was an important sign of invitation and, together with the bow, of authority in medieval Turco-Islamic culture.8 Given the use of the valley of the Kargı Çayı for commerce and tribal migration between the Anatolian plateau near Beyşehir, the Taurus mountains, and the Mediterranean coastal plain, these arrows must be connected with their symbolic value. Similarly, there are several depictions of a mace, another symbol of sovereignty and authority in the Seljuk and early Ottoman worlds (Fig. 20)9. Their scratching on the walls of this mescid, itself a product of official high-culture, mirrors the dual nature of the arrow and mace in medieval Anatolia, pre- or extra-Islamic symbols of power used by the court as well as by chieftans of nomadic tribes.

In addition to the arrow and mace, there are representations of symbols widely found on kilims, cicims, and other nomadic weavings (Figs. 21 and 22). The meaning of the “S” or “Z” has never been satisfactorily explained by textile scholars, although they are found on rugs dated to Anatolia as early as the 12th century.10 Neither, for that matter, is the diamond with hooks (located at the far left of the wall, and visible in Fig. 5 to the left of the large deer graffito), although it, too, is one of the most common features of Anatolian nomadic textile design. Representations of this symbol on late Byzantine jewellery from the 14-15th centuries, however, show that this symbol was important enough to be copied by the vassals/foes of the early Ottoman state.11

The last set of symbols consists of stars. These can be divided into two groups. The first is a kind of cross-shaped star with the ends of the cross indented to form triangles. This kind of star finds its closest parallel in the Seljuk tiles found at nearby Aspendos theater (Fig. 23). This form is related to a pre-Islamic symbol of sovereignty, the linking of four bows together to form a lozenge—or in this case a star-like figure.12

The second form is a more famous form of star, the star of David, or seal of Solomon (mûbrü Sûleyman)13. This star was traditionally considered to be a magic symbol, and

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7 For the arrow in the shape of a “Y” see, e.g., G. Öney, Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisinde Süsleme ve El Sanatları (1978) 21 (the hospital at Amasya) and Ü. Erginçöy, İslam Maden Sanatının Gelişmesi (1978) 256-58 for this design on the “Blacas Ewer” made in Mosul in 1232.
9 See Planhol, op. cit., Fig. 14, for major transhumant routes of Türkmen nomads in this region. For the mace, see S. Redford, “A Grammar of Rum Seljuk Ornament”, Mesogeiós 25-26 (2005) 289.
10 See, for instance, the Potala Palace Konya rug, dated to the 12th-14th centuries, and the Bode dragon and phoenix rug, dated to the late 14th to early 15th century: both are illustrated in H. Kirchheim, (ed.), Orient Stars: A Carpet Collection (1993) Pl. 185, p. 292 and p. 271 Fig. 3, respectively. The Potala palace rug, in addition to the “S” motif, also has pseudo-Kufic borders.
11 See, for instance, the gold ring of the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine XI and Theodora, of ca. 1428: see N. Saraga, To Vyzantio os Oikoumene (2001) 123.
used for incantations and spells by Seljuks and Ottomans alike. It occurs three times here. The first instance lies near the top right of the mihrab, where the star is carefully drawn. In the other two instances, which occur to the top left of the mihrab, the star is even more carefully drawn. In these last two instances, the star is drawn with finely incised parallel lines. Unlike most of the other graffiti here, there is no overlapping of lines or instances of multiple incision to make one line. Of all of the graffiti-makers using this wall, in my opinion, the person who drew these last two stars was the only person with professional experience drawing (Fig. 24).

For this reason, I tie the presence of these stars to a professional spell-maker or incantor. In fact, these stars may be tied to the besmele on the wall, which is written in the Kufic style, a style often associated in medieval Islam with magic and incantation. Like the arrow, the star of David is also found as a mason’s mark and a tamga. Because of the care and skill of its incision, as well as its placement in this religious setting, I believe that it was a magic, and not a tribal symbol.

Even though it is impossible exactly to date these graffiti, the body of evidence points to a Seljuk or Beylik period date for the bulk of them. As demonstrated in this article, the symbols inscribed on the walls all find parallels in works of art from this era. There is no reason to think that even the representation of the ship is not from this period. The value of these graffiti lies primarily in relating the religion of Islam to a variety of other belief systems current in Anatolia, primarily, in my opinion, among the Türkmen tribes that inhabited this region beginning in the mid 12th century. By placing graffiti in a religious setting, their makers related pre- and extra-Islamic symbols of power to that of the Islamic religion, adding a variety of beliefs to the variety of cultures in medieval Anatolia.

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14 For instance, see the use of Kufic style pseudo-writing used as incantatory text in magic-medicinal bowls, of which there is an early example dated to the reign of Nur al-Din Zangi in 12th century Syria, and in the texts reproduced in a Seljuk royal manuscript dated 1272-73 and copied in Kayseri and Aksaray. For the bowl, see F. Maddison – E. Savage Smith, Science, Tools and Magic. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 12 (1997) 72-78. In this book, Savage - Smith enumerates the existence of 59 magic-medicinal bowls. For a magic-medicinal bowl attributed to the Jazira or Anatolia in the second half of the 13th century, see J. Allan, Metalwork Treasures from the Islamic Courts Doha, Qatar (2002) 80; M. Barrucand, “The Miniatures of the Daqa’iq al-Haqa’iq (Bibliothèque nationale, pers. 174): a Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia”, Islamic Art 4 (1991) 113-142; discusses the illustrated manuscripts in this compendium, which includes several on incantation using pseudo-Kufic and the magical uses of alphabets.

15 Prof. Cemal Pulak, of the Institute for Nautical Archaeology, Texas A & M University, in an e-mail, calls the ship representation “generic” but does not rule out a medieval-early modern date. For less generic, more detailed graffiti representations of ships from a nearby region, most of them likely dating to the Ottoman era, see T. Karasu, Alanya Gemileri. DAKTAV (2005).
Özet

Kargı Hanı Kible Duvarı


Kargı Hanı’nın bu kible duvarındaki grafitiler, Türkmen boylarına kullanılan İslamiyet öncesi ve dışı güç sembollerinin İslam dinine ilintilendirilmesi açısından, Ortaçağ Anadolu’ndaki kültür ve inanç yelpazesinin zenginliğini artıran unsurlar olarak önem taşımaktadır.
Fig. 1
Map showing location of the Kargi Hanı.

Fig. 2
General view of entrance to the Kargi Hanı.

Fig. 3  Plan of the Kargı Hanı (from Erdmann, 1961)
showing the location of the mescid.
Fig. 4  General view of the kible wall of the mescid.

Fig. 5  Measured drawing of the kible wall.
(Drawing by Be. Claasz Coockson)
Fig. 6  Photograph of the besmele in the upper right hand corner of the wall.

Figs. 7  Photographs of the ibex graffiti.

Figs. 8  Photographs of the ibex graffiti.
Figs. 9  Photographs of the ibex graffiti.

Figs. 10  Photographs of the ibex graffiti.

Fig. 11  Red deer graffito.
Fig. 12  Red deer graffito.

Fig. 13  Graffito of human figure holding a staff.

Fig. 14  Graffito of a box-like human figure spinning wool (?).
Fig. 15 Ship graffito.

Fig. 16 Arrow graffiti.

Fig. 17 Arrow graffiti.
Fig. 18  Y-shaped arrow graffiti.

Fig. 19  Y-shaped arrow graffiti.

Fig. 20  Graffito of a mace.
Figs. 21  Graffiti of “Z” figure.

Figs. 22  Graffiti of “S” figure.

Fig. 23  Star graffito.
Fig. 24  Star of Suleyman graffito.