

Terrance Michael Patrick DUGGAN*

An interpretation of some unpublished *in situ* and recorded Rum Seljuk 13th
c. external and internal figural relief work on the Belkıs (Aspendos) Palace,
Antalya

Abstract: This article is divided into four parts. Firstly, it notes the precedent provided by the conversion of the Roman theatre at Bosra in Syria into an Ayyubid Palace, for the conversion of the Roman theater into the Rum Seljuk palace at Belkis–Aspendos and the known extensive use made of Syrian trained architects for important architectural projects by Rum Seljuk Sultans in the first half of the 13th c. Secondly, the two bands of Seljuk low relief depictions of felines and a deer on a series of re-carved Roman limestone blocks on the exterior wall by the door leading to the southern köşk–pavilion erected above the parados and upon the lintel over this door, discovered by the author in 2007, extending over a length of nearly 10 m are described and the deliberate pecking of the surface of these low relief depictions it is suggested, was to provide bonding for applied painted stucco carved relief–work that completed this relief work on the exterior palace facade. The third section describes the painted Seljuk tympanum relief sculpture made of stucco plaster that concealed the Roman relief carving of Dionysus in the pediment of the scaenae frons in the 13th c. A sculptural relief depiction of a nude female figure which was fortunately recorded by Charles Texier early in the 19th c. in both his text and in the careful detailed drawings he made of it; and the surviving remains of the six carved stone frontal Seljuk busts on the re-carved cornice of the pediment of the scaenae frons are described, and both the recorded and the *in situ* indications as to the former appearance and the meaning of this 13th century interior palace relief work is noted, and why therefore the name of the settlement by Aspendos was it seems in the 13th c., and is today called Belkis. This painted plaster relief work seems to have decorated the inner wall of the Belkis Palace’s harem and it seems to be the earliest recorded depiction in any material of the scene made famous in later miniature paintings of Shirin bathing in a pool, made to accompany the text of the second of Hakim Jamal al–Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas b. Yusuf b. Zaki b. Mu’ayyad Nizam ud–Din of Ganja’s (1140/1–ca.1208/9) five great works comprising the Khamsa, Nizami’s famous *Khüsrev* and *Shirin*, completed in ca.1186. It is suggested that the former appearance of this sculptural relief–work was based upon a copy of a court miniature painting made to illustrate Nizami’s text probably originating from the court of the last Great Seljuk Sultan Toghril III r.1176–94, who commissioned this work from Nizami and to whom Nizami dedicated *Khüsrev* and *Shirin*. As such it provides important information concerning a type of court miniature illustration otherwise unknown to us, as examples of 12th c. Seljuk court illustrated works have not survived the passage of the centuries. The *in situ* remains of this Rum Seljuk painted stucco high relief sculpture in the pediment recorded by Texier were largely destroyed in the mid–19th century by gunfire, although stucco traces remain in the pediment today and traces of paintwork of undetermined date remain on the Seljuk busts on the re-carved cornice, although the stucco plasterwork that completed these six busts as life sized attendant figures to the naked Shirin in the pediment, because of their more exposed location following the loss of

* T. M. P. Duggan, member of the T.C. Culture and Tourism Ministry–Akdeniz University, Myra–Andriake excavation team (tmpduggan@yahoo.com).

the roof over this section of the palace, were lost long before the 19th c. Fourthly, reasons are given for the suggested date of the execution of this palace relief work to the period between 1236 to 1240, 1240 being the date of the arrival of Sultan Keyhüsrev's long awaited bride in the Rum Seljuk Sultanate, his Shirin, and for the conversion of this building into a Seljuk Palace to serve as a wedding gift given by Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II to his bride from the Caucasus, his Gurcu hatun, Keyhüsrev's Shirin, his Belkis, as Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II is recorded by contemporaries as a second Suleyman and his wife, his Shirin, was known as Belkis.

Keywords: Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II; Rum Seljuk sculpture; Aspendos; Belkis; Nizami of Ganja; Keyhüsrev and Shirin; 12th c. miniatures; stucco plaster; Islamic figural sculpture; Seljuk palace.

Part 1 A precedent for the conversion

The architectural and artistic connection to Syria under Rum Seljuk Sultans Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev I, Izzed-Din Keykavas I and Alaeddin Keykubat I are clear¹, with the use of techniques such as ablaq work, cut stone pendant muqarnas in portals and designs such as the 8 pointed star² and some of the figural designs on palace tile-work, elements that occur in Syria prior to their use in Rum Seljuk Anatolia that indicate a significant degree of Syrian influence passed into 13th century Rum Seljuk art and architecture, and, with the importance and the type of architectural commissions that were given to architects from Syria³, it seems possible that they or one of their pupils may have been responsible for designing the palace complex at Aspendos, of converting a Roman theater into the core of a palace complex. This is not only because of the important architectural commissions these Syrian architects executed for successive Rum Seljuk Sultans, but also because it is possible that a recently constructed Syrian palace-mosque complex built inside a Roman theatre on the haj road south of Damascus may to some considerable extent have provided the model for this Rum Seljuk conversion. The conversion of various Roman as also some Byzantine⁴ buildings by the Rum Seljuks during the first half of the 13th century, with the conversion of the Mausoleum of Trajan at Silenus into a hunting lodge – *sikarhane*⁵, the conversion of the Hıdırlık Mausoleum in Antalya into a köşk⁶, or the conversion of the Roman bathhouse at Hierapolis by Denizli⁷ into a tiled palace,

¹ For example, Eser 2006, 67–73; Tabbaa, Transformation 160ff.

² Duggan 2005, 172, fn. 190; 180.

³ Including work on the Alaeddin Cami, Konya, work on the Konya Palace, on the Sinope castle, construction of the Sultanhan by Aksaray and of the Red Tower in Alanya and probably also the palace complex at Alanya, Evdir Han and probably also the design of the rebuilding of the Antalya citadel following the Seljuk re-conquest in 1216 and which was largely destroyed in the 1743 earthquake, all of these are important Seljuk buildings.

⁴ For the conversion of Byzantine structures, a tiled köşkü was erected inside a part of the Kisleçukuru Byzantine monastery by Doyran, Antalya, Akyürek et al. 2003, 20, fig 15; there was the incorporation of the remains of a church apse into the Rum Seljuk enclosure wall of the Dim Çayı Mevkii enclosure by Alanya, Redford 1996, 455, Fig. 4, Photo. 4; the rest of this church was possibly destroyed in the 1222 earthquake, in addition to the conversion of the Byzantine *castrum* in Antalya into the Seljuk inner citadel prior to its almost total rebuilding after the re-conquest of 1216.

⁵ Karamut 2003; Karamut 2004; Demir – Türkmen 2006 and Demir – Türkmen 2008.

⁶ Alp, Mezar 23.

⁷ Where the 8 pointed star and cross Seljuk palace tile work was drilled off the walls to expose the Roman walls beneath, filmed and reported by Ali Ceylan at the IX. Müze kurtarma kazıları semineri 1998, Antalya, “Denizli Merkez, Pamukkale Roma Hamamı Kazısı”.

indicate the conversion of the Roman theater at Aspendos into a Rum Seljuk palace, although an altogether larger structure than any of these Roman buildings, was not, in itself an exceptional architectural event⁸ during the first half of the 13th century. However, the closest parallel and the most likely precedent for the conversion of the Aspendos 2nd c. A.D. Roman theater into a Rum Seljuk Palace complex was in Syria.

Nova Trajana, Bosra (Busra or Eski Şam in the Ottoman period) became the capital of the new Provincia Arabia after the annexation of the region under Emperor Trajan in 105, when it was re-founded to house the Roman governor and garrison of the province⁹ Legio III Cyrenica. It achieved colony status under Alexander Severus, and became a metropolis under Marcus Julius Phillipus. It was sacked by Queen Zenobia and later was the seat of the Orthodox Archbishopric and of the Byzantine Governor of the Province of Arabia until it fell to Moslem forces led by Khalid b. al-Walid in 634. The Roman theater at Bosra, probably built about 106 A.D. or perhaps later¹⁰, differs from the Aspendos theater of 161–9¹¹ in the form of the *sceanae frons* which is articulated by a series of three niches while that at Aspendos is flat. The Bosra theatre was fortified by the Omayyads, it was used by the Fatimids and then by the Seljuks after 1089, as also by the Ayyubids 1202–1251¹², and then by Baybars and the Mamlukes after 1261. Following the Ottoman Sultan Selim I's conquest of Syria in 1516 and the building of Muzeyrib castle, which became the administrative center garrisoned by Ottoman troops, Bosra lost its administrative and military importance to Muzeyrib to become a village of 300 houses and a mosque as noted by Evliya Çelibi in the 17th century. After World War One it was garrisoned by French colonial forces. The importance of Bosra was two fold, that it was reported to have been visited by the Prophet of Islam during a trading trip as a youth where he conversed with the Christian monk Bahira¹³ and, in consequence of this visit, it had an early Omayyad mosque, repeatedly modified and restored and, secondly, because it was situated at the center of the trade route network of the entire region and on the pilgrimage road for those making the haj to Mekka overland from Anatolia and Syria. It was the place 141 km after leaving Damascus where, before the Ottoman conquest when the route was moved, a four day rest–break was usually held on the haj¹⁴ to collect stragglers, provisions and the latest news.

⁸ The conversion of disused ancient buildings for use as köşkü or palaces was a relatively common event, there are however no certain examples of the conversion of Christian churches into mosques during the 12th and 13th century in Anatolia. Rum Seljuk mosques were built from scratch although frequently employing spolia, usually in a prominent position on a rise or hillside and in a manner designed to attract the attention, interest and wonder of the population, as an expression of the superiority of Islam and of Moslem rulers, an architectural statement of belief. The conversion of churches into mosques in Anatolia occurred on a large scale during the later Beylik and Ottoman periods reflecting the later large scale conversion of the majority Christian population. For the typical 200 year plus time lag from the introduction of Islam to widespread conversion, see for example Bulliet, *Islam* 37ff, Fig. 3.1; who writes, 170, “The situation of Anatolia in the early thirteenth century is analogous, in terms of conversion, to that of Iran in the early ninth century, when the bandwagon period of Islamization (sic) commenced.” A bandwagon process that began but was then disrupted in the case of Anatolia by Mongol rule and considerable chaos for more than a century, that probably impacted upon the speed of conversion to Islam, given the loss of a centralized authority, power, security and prosperity, factors which are often cited as reasons for conversion.

⁹ Jones, *Cities* 293.

¹⁰ Rossetto – Sartorio, *Teatri* 197. Sear, *Theatres* 309, records it as understood to have been erected under either Trajan (r. 98–117) or Severan.

¹¹ Sear, *Theatres* 367.

¹² Burns, *Syria* 65.

¹³ Lings, *Muhammad* 29–30.

¹⁴ Recorded by ibn Battuta in his haj of 1326 from Damascus.

The three floor palace complex, bath house¹⁵ and mosque erected within the Roman auditorium at Bosra was completed by al-Malik al-Salih I Ismail b. al-Adil II Abu Bakr Sayf al-Din, Imad al-Din, the Governor of Bosra from 1218¹⁶ (later Sultan of Damascus 1237–38 and 1239–45), building on the construction inside this Roman theater that had begun under Sultan al-Malik al-Adil I Muhammad from 1202 onwards¹⁷. As at the palace complex at Belkis–Aspendos, the Ayyubid citadel–palace at Bosra had its center in the former stage building of the converted Roman theater. A brief account of the appearance of the Bosra complex survives from the 1920’s, before most of the evidence of the theater’s use in later periods was removed between 1947 and 1950’s¹⁸ during its “restoration” by French and then Syrian archaeologists that returned it largely to its Roman form, as has also unfortunately largely been the case for the Seljuk palace in the Aspendos theater in a process that began in the 1930’s. It reads: “But the castle is the best of all. It is a mass of huge square buildings with a fosse round, and a bridge, and the Saracens¹⁹ built it round a Roman theater... *The whole center of the theater is filled in and three great halls built in it; one above the other, the lowest not yet explored and none of them lighted (except perhaps the top one).* We climbed down by the theater steps and along the subterranean passages which once ran around the tiers of seats. Here and there some marble columns gleam under the lamp, walled in the rough stone. The old porticoes were turned by the Arabs to defense. *In the heart of the palace is a dark damp mosque built by Saladin²⁰, with an inscription; and there are Arabic lines running around the outer walls too²¹.*”

For comparison, there were a series of wooden floors, palace wall painting, tile-work revetments and painted calligraphy, the tiled palace mosque with its painted calligraphic inscriptions constructed inside the skene building in the Belkis–Aspendos Palace, all largely destroyed during the course of its 1930’s restoration²². The stage and part of the auditorium were also built across by the Seljuks, the wall of the scaenae frons forming an interior wall of the palace and the porticoes were likewise built over at Aspendos. However, unlike the palace at Aspendos, attached to the exterior wall enclosing the theatre–palace complex at Bosra there are a series of massive fortification bastions, whereas there were only probably four relatively small false buttresses applied to the exterior façade at Belkis–Aspendos, concealing the blocked Roman doorways, only one false buttress remains *in situ* today, and, in this respect, given its location and the raids made upon it by Crusaders and then the Mongols, the Ayyubid palace complex at Bosra was designed to served a more militari-

¹⁵ Burns, Syria 65.

¹⁶ Burns, Syria 65.

¹⁷ TDV İA, “Busra”, 471; İA, 1997, “Busra”.

¹⁸ R. Burns writes, “The auditorium was filled with flimsy domestic and other buildings until it was cleared by the Department of Antiquities in the late forties, to reveal the (Roman) structure in full”, Burns, Syria 76. Rossetto – Sartorio, Teatri 198. A photograph of the palace wall constructed at the inner edge of the auditorium, and entitled “The Islamic structure inside the theatre”, bosra%2011[1] and of the palace building inside the auditorium, bosra%2001[1], are at www.bosracity.com (accessed 09–09–2011) taken prior to its demolition and records this palace was not any flimsy domestic structure but massive and it enclosed almost all of the area of the orchestra; while the photos of the destruction of the palace entitled, “Removing the Islamic structure out from the Roman Theatre”, eg. bosra%2047[1], bosra%2042[1] and, bosra%2043[2], indicate quite how vast and well-built this palace was so perhaps the Aspendos palace originally covered a considerable area of the Roman auditorium at Aspendos.

¹⁹ The large square towers located around the exterior wall of the theater are largely the work of Seljuk and Ayyubid rulers.

²⁰ Rather by Abu Bakr Sayf al-Din, Imad al-Din.

²¹ Stark, Letters 18–2, letter 106, dated 19.5.28, Transjordan.

²² Duggan 2008c, 497–511.

ly defensive function than the Rum Seljuk palace complex at Belkis–Aspendos, which was relatively isolated from the frontier, but which may also have housed in the extensive palace compound a considerable garrison of troops in addition to the palace staff before its occupation by the Turkmen by 1261. This is because S. F. Erten records, “According to one dictionary’s tale, in the Seljuk period Belkis city was flourishing and had 4,000 soldiers (garrisoned) there”²³. If one can assume that this citation from an otherwise completely unknown source is correct, then the settlement associated with the palace was known as “Belkis city”²⁴ in the 13th century, otherwise one wonders how did S. F. Erten recognized the settlement in the text as referring to Belkis? A flourishing Seljuk settlement containing 4,000 troops suggests a city–settlement of some considerable size involving a support staff in addition to families, a settlement of perhaps 10–12,000 people. Without an archaeological survey and excavations being conducted in and around Aspendos, not focused on the Roman or earlier remains but actively looking for 13th Seljuk remains and for evidence of the 13th century re–use of Roman–Byzantine structures before still more of this Seljuk evidence is removed in any further “restoration–cleaning” work, it seems impossible to be entirely certain in this matter. However, the size of the palace itself and the structures re–used by the Seljuks on the acropolis, together with the probable size of the enclosure, extending eastwards from the facade to the river and southwards towards the Seljuk bridge and the buildings within this area, would indicate some considerable population and a garrison of 4,000 troops and therefore the use of the term city to describe this Seljuk settlement does not seem to be improbable.

Part II The re–carved Roman limestone blocks depicting animals and decorative motifs

On the south side of the east facing main facade of the exterior of the Aspendos palace there is a Seljuk brick arch that was erected over the blocked–in Roman paradi, an arch that supported a platform–pavilion, like the brick arch and platform–pavilion that was erected on the north side of the former theater’s facade, balancing this facade conversion work. To the right of the southern Seljuk brick arch (Fig. 12), there are ordered in two rows below the two windows adjacent to this arch a series of re–worked limestone blocks that depict animals and there is also a feline and two square and two triangular devices carved upon the lintel block of the Seljuk door. There are no Seljuk carvings in these positions on the north side of the facade. The Roman door in the wall be-

²³ Erten, Livias 151: “Bir dıksiyonerin rivayetine göre Belkis şehri Selcuklular zamanında mamur olup dört bin askeri vardı.”

²⁴ Belkis is not exactly a common name for a Turkish village, there is only one other in Anatolia today with the exception of the satellite village of Little Belkis (Küçük Belkis) established in the 20th century close to what is now known as Big Belkis – Aspendos (Büyük Belkis). The other Belkis is in Balıkesir by Erdek, the former Arctonnesus–Dindyus, although C. Texier records both Sagalassos and Kyzikos as associated with Belkis, the latter as Bal Kiz Saray at the start of the 19th c., see also Çelebi, Seyahatname 7–8 (Vol. II); 115 (Vol.VIII); 958 (Vol. X). There are indications that the village of Belkis by Aspendos was settled in the 17th century, Guçlu, Serik 2, 61, and it may be that the void in the records concerning this village was a result of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571. As a consequence of the depopulation of the island of Cyprus from plague, malaria and warfare, large numbers of people living in Karamania, İçel, Bozok, Alaiye (Alanya) as also Teke province, the province that included Belkis, were transferred to Cyprus from 1571 on into the 18th century, many from the port of Silifke, (for the firman ordering this first population transfer to Cyprus dated, 13 Gemaziyulevvel 980, 21 September 1571, see Gazioğlu, Cyprus 297–303; to resettle and farm the depopulated island, and it may be that the population of the village of Belkis by Aspendos were sent to Ottoman Cyprus by the Ottoman administration, where they re–founded the village of Belkis, renamed by the Greek Cypriots in the 1970’s, as Belkis is by no means a common village name in either Anatolia or Cyprus. However, with the exception of S. F. Erten’s possibly earlier indication mentioned above, the first record of the name of the village by Aspendos as Belkis only dates back to Texier’s visit in c. 1833.

low the springing of the brick arch was blocked by the Seljuks during the theater's conversion into a palace, as was the case for the *paradoi* entrances and for four of the five Roman entrances in the main façade, these four were then concealed by applied false buttresses, the other becoming the porticoed grand palace entrance.

Above the door which was opened by the Seljuks to provide access to this southern platform-pavilion – through the removal of two courses of Roman stonework – the former Roman window sill and the block beneath it – carved upon the former Roman window–Seljuk door's lintel block, there is a silhouette relief of a feline, a “lion” moving to the left, one forepaw raised, together with decorative devices, two diamond-like squares and a triangle to the left of the feline and another triangle to its right (Fig. 1, Fig. 14, 15). This feline carved on the highest of these reliefs, resembles in shape the lions on Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhurev II's dirhams struck in 1239–43 at mints in Konya and Sivas²⁵, with raised fore-paw, moving forwards (Fig. 2a), with a raised tail on that minted in 1242–3 at Sivas (Fig. 2b), and this lion relief also parallels the lions struck on his gold dinar of 1240–1²⁶ except for the raised tail. This lintel block measures 258 cms. long and is 86 cms. high.

On the row of limestone blocks directly below the window aperture to the right of this door are carved a series of silhouette reliefs of animals (Fig. 3). From the left there remain *in situ* today: the depiction of a feline moving towards the left on the first block (Fig. 4, Fig. 11, A). This block has a length of 86 cms. and a height of 58 cms. The second block is 80 by 58 cms and carries a carving of a feline facing left, just possibly with a depiction of a human-faced sun above its fore-paws (Fig. 5, Fig. 11, B). The face of the third block is today entirely missing (Fig. 11, C), measuring 74 by 58 cms. The fourth block in this row carries an animal moving to the right but with the head turned to look back to the left, the back of the head and the fore-feet are missing but which from the hind quarters and the fore leg is probably a depiction of feline (Fig. 6, Fig. 11, D). This block measures 89 by 58 cms. This row of Seljuk relief carvings extends over a length of 329 cms.

The band of limestone blocks beneath the Roman window directly below that described above carries the second row of silhouettes of animals in relief extending over a length of 341 cms, with the second, third and edge of the fourth re-carved blocks likewise forming the sill of the window, (Fig. 7). They are from the left: on the first block of 83 by 59 cms, a carving of a deer, from the branched head of horns, moving to the left in profile (Fig. 8, Fig. 11, E). On the second block, 88 by 59 cms is carved a squatting feline with off-fore paw raised, facing left (Fig. 9, Fig. 11, F), similar in form to the squatting lion on the personal seal of Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat I of 1222–8 found at Kubadabad by Lake Beyşehir²⁷, allowing for the difference in format of a rectangular rather than a circular field. The face of the third block is badly damaged but there seems to be another feline depiction or just possibly a hunting dog, head missing, moving to the left, with perhaps a bird over the animal's hindquarters and possibly a rock, hare or rabbit beneath, (Fig. 10, Fig. 11, G). This block measures 77 by 59 cms. The face of the fourth block of 93 by 59 cms is lost (Fig. 11, H).

Both horizontal bands of 4 animals in silhouette relief carving, together with the carved lintel block with its lion and devices, extend over a total length of 9.28 m. Two of these relief carvings are lost, and another two of these relief carvings have been badly damaged. From the formerly nine depictions on this south facing wall of the palace, seven of these animal carvings remain *in situ* today, five depicting felines, if that on block H is a feline rather than a hunting dog, and probably another,

²⁵ Parlar, Sikke 74–77; Bartur Rainbow, Cat. Nos. 46–8.

²⁶ Bartur, Rainbow, Cat. No. 41.

²⁷ Arık, Kubad, Fig. 276; Uysal 2001, 614; Duggan 2007, 315–6.

that at the end of the upper row and one depicts a deer. One can probably assume that the two missing reliefs also carried depictions of animals, that lost from the last block of the lower row was possibly turning to look over its shoulder like that on the last block of row above.

The majority of these *in situ* carvings depict felines which might reflect the fact that the majority of all animals carved on Seljuk state and religious buildings, in relief carving, on column capitals, as candleholders and drainpipe holders etc. are felines. The importance given to the lion as a symbol of Islam stemmed in part from the Koran, *Al-Maddath-Thir*, The Cloaked One, Sura 74:50 where the unbelievers are described as behaving like frightened asses, fleeing from the Lion of Prophetic revelation and also from the fact that the *hijrah*, the emigration of the Prophet of Islam from Mecca to Medina took place under the auspices of the constellation Leo, symbolized by the lion, that is, when the light of Islam began its spread from Mecca, and the Islamic calendar and Islamic history and culture began. Hence lions were depicted on the black banners of the Abbasid Caliphs that were sent to Abbasid recognized rulers²⁸ and lions were probably depicted on the seal rings sent by Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad to Abbasid recognized Sultans when they were enthroned, seal rings that legitimized the ruler, lions, possibly copies of the lions on the seal ring, formed the reverse of the Rum Seljuk sultan's own profile portrait seals, two differing impressions of which have survived²⁹, and it seems evident that a depiction of a feline–lion served as a symbol of both Islam and of the legitimacy granted by the Abbasid Caliphate to Rum Seljuk Sultans, as to rulers in the Jazira and elsewhere and was employed as a symbol expressing that legitimacy, distributed widely in both carvings on state buildings and in the applied arts, to mark buildings and objects including flags as belonging to the Moslem community as represented by the Abbasid Caliphate³⁰. All of the surviving heads carved on these reliefs look towards the palace, towards the ruler and so to the Abbasid recognized legitimacy that the Rum Seljuk Sultanate represented. However, in this case it seems the choice of felines and deer may have been made for other reasons and an interpretation of the meaning of this series of reliefs of felines–lions and deer on this palace is given in section III below.

This collection of Rum Seljuk palace relief work of animals is both important and unique (drawing of the rows of relief carvings Fig. 11, blocks labeled A–H from top left to bottom right, a general view of the façade Fig. 12 and the carved lintel block Fig. 15), as is also the suggested technique employed in the completion of these relief carvings described below. There are no similar collections of bands of animal reliefs of this type surviving from the exterior of any other extant Rum Seljuk palace in Anatolia and no Rum Seljuk han or köşk has this quantity of animal reliefs of this size and silhouette type on its exterior façade. There is a row of 15 small animals and birds, much smaller fully carved stone reliefs, each separated by muqarnas, on the ayvan containing the fountain within the outer part of the Karatay Han that was completed during the reign of Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II³¹ and somewhat similar bands of animals do occur in other media, for example on a silver 13th c. Artukid belt today in the B.M., London³².

²⁸ For example the banner sent to the Ghaznavid Sultan from the Abbasid court, Bosworth, Ghaznavids 99.

²⁹ Duggan 2007, 309ff.

³⁰ For further remarks and examples concerning this subject see, Duggan 2006, 188–190; Duggan 2007, 317–8 and also regarding lions, see Öney 1971, 1–64.

³¹ For these reliefs, see Akalin 1989, 54–9.

³² Akurgal, Kunst, Abb. 147, 222. However these rows of animals also include winged and human headed creatures that would have been understood to represent jinn, while there is no evidence to suggest jinn were represented on these reliefs at Aspendos.

The location of this relief work suggests the direction of approach to this palace complex was from the south, as there are no carvings of animals or other devices on the matching north side of the facade of the Aspendos palace, while south of the palace complex lay the route north from the Seljuk bridge over the Köprü Cayı, leading through a yet to be located entrance into the palace enclosure, presumably walled around.

The technique

All of these animal reliefs were carved into the surfaces of the outer face of the *in situ* Roman limestone blocks re-carved in the 13th century. These Roman blocks have an outer surface layer of limestone but, at least, in the case of block C, as also block D, beneath this outer limestone layer there is conglomerate stone. In two cases the entire outer carved limestone surface layer has been lost from the block (see Figs. 3, 7, 11, blocks C and H) and in the case of block H, probably together with the lower right corner of the adjacent block (Fig. 11, G). It seems from the degree of discoloration of the *in situ* surfaces of these two blocks that block C fell considerably earlier than block H, which seems to have been a relatively recent loss which seems not to have been the result of the separation of these two layers of stone as conglomerate stone is not visible and this relief may have been intentionally removed.

The technique employed to make these silhouette reliefs is noteworthy. A contour was drawn around the animal-device on the face of the *in situ* limestone block and an incision was made around this outline and this outline incision remains clearly visible in places today. Within the body of the animal-device, numerous points were struck with a hammer and pointed chisel, creating a stippled effect, a rigorous pecking over the surface of the stone (Fig. 13), and the flat face of the Roman slab outside the contour of the animal was cut away, leaving the animal in relief, a silhouette figure, contrasting a relatively smooth surround with the pecked surface filling the form of the animal-devices depicted on the block. These silhouette animal-devices remain today a height of 0.5 cms. above the level of the surrounding outer re-carved surface of these blocks.

It seems most improbable that this was the original appearance of these depictions in the 13th c., the rough pitted surface that is visible today was almost certainly not what met the eye of the visitor to the palace in the 13th c., as the surrounding exterior walls of this palace were covered in plaster and were painted, traces of which remain *in situ* today and the mortar joints and stonework still carry traces of plaster and of red-sanguine masonry paintwork, for example on the left side of the upper joint along the large block forming the door lintel and also along the middle upper edge of the joint of the last block on the top row; and there are also, in immediately adjacent areas to these re-carved blocks, areas of *in situ* ochre yellow paintwork on plaster³³ (Figs. 14, 14a) that seems to have covered all the faces of the blocks surrounding these reworked blocks, with the joints between blocks outlined in red, on this wall of the façade of the palace, (Fig. 15). As is typical, the painted plastered inner area covering these stone blocks has been lost through surface separation and cracking, long before the painted plaster covering the edges of the surface of the blocks and the joints³⁴ is lost. Consequently the pits that cover the area that defines the body of the animal-device probably provided the required surface to key-in and firmly secure plaster-stucco relief work applied to the prepared surface of these blocks, forming a series of raised carved stucco-plaster animal reliefs. These stucco reliefs were then, given the paintwork on the surrounding blocks, painted in the colors usually employed to paint Seljuk stucco-plaster relief work: sanguine red, dark blue, turquoise blue, pale

³³ For reference to the Seljuk paintwork and plaster on Seljuk state buildings in the region see Duggan 2008a.

³⁴ See for example Duggan 2008a, Figs. 18, 28, 29.

yellow and yellow ochre, white and black,³⁵ perhaps with some additional applied gold leaf. These stucco reliefs would therefore have formed a brilliant series of heraldic–emblematic banner–like devices, with the surrounding flat area coated in a layer of plaster and painted, with the red masonry outlining the edges of the stone blocks³⁶, the smooth plastered surface of the surrounding blocks painted in ochre yellow³⁷. Slight traces of the original stucco–plaster might possibly adhere to some small areas of these relief carvings today³⁸ although this seems doubtful. A 1909 photograph of this facade³⁹ shows no visible traces of stucco–plaster work remained on the feline above the door a century ago, and it was probably lost at a much earlier date, given the roofs later applied over this area of relief work above the door and it seems reasonably certain that almost all of the stucco work applied to the other relief carvings was also lost centuries ago.

It is probable that the stucco–plaster employed in this exterior location was lime based, being impervious, but weathering combined with subsequent modifications to the structure and repeated seismic activity in this region over the past 750 years ruined this applied stucco work, cracking it and causing it to fall from the surface of the stone. Amongst the major seismic events that may have impacted on these stucco reliefs were those of: 1347, 1480, 1489 and 1491, the 1540's quake that destroyed structures in Alanya including a Seljuk mosque and part of the fortifications, of 1743 that resulted in a tsunami wave and which damaged the city walls, destroyed the Seljuk citadel and other buildings of Antalya and damaged buildings in Cairo and led to the complete abandonment of the adjacent settlement of Turkmen at Perge and which may have brought down the later Ottoman pavilions erected either side of the façade at Aspendos; that of 1756, and again in 1911 in Antalya which measured 6.1 on the Richter scale, the March 1926 Meis Island 6.9, followed by the huge earthquake of June 1926 that measured 7.7 on the Richter scale that was centered on Rhodes and which was felt in Cairo, Libya and Italy, that severely damaged structures in Antalya and throughout the region, and again in 1931, in a 6.2 on the Richter scale quake⁴⁰. Amongst other seismic damage to this structure, the Roman buttresses on the north and south sides of the analemata wall were badly damaged, with stone blocks ripped out, the Roman stone staircases in the stage building collapsed and the stone facade had also been severely cracked in places, consequences of these significant seismic events, leading to considerable structural repair work carried out during the course of the 20th c., including repairs to blocks in the wall directly below the lower row of reliefs, the blocks repaired with a mortar mix and the joints re–mortared immediately below and adjacent to the eastern end of the lower row of these animal carvings (Figs.7, 12).

There are clear *in situ* indications of two later angled roofs over this platform. They pass over the surface of the feline relief carved on the lintel over the doorway, one roofline extending diagonally downwards and ending to the right of and below the feline, cutting across its hindquarters with the remains of mortar and tile work connected to the support for this roof *in situ* today, attached to the carved Roman lintel on its right hand side, which obscures the rear paw of the feline (Fig. 14 and

³⁵ Duggan 2008a, 345, an expanded form of *hafit reng*, of red, yellow, blue, black and white, but with two blues and two or three yellows dependent upon if the gold leaf was termed a white or a yellow.

³⁶ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

³⁷ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 8/6–7/8, Yellow.

³⁸ Just possibly traces remain on the last block on the upper row on the upper left face and on the lower row on the third block from the left, on the left lower edge.

³⁹ AKMED Photographic Archive.

⁴⁰ For these seismic events in chronological order see: Duggan 2004, 123–170; idem, 2005, 357–398; and revised and amended in: idem, *Gizli Tarih*.

Fig. 15) and the indications left on the surface of this block indicate that this roofline extended to the right of and below the top of the door. This angled roofline rises to join the east facing wall where there are further clear indications that a roof covered this area with traces and areas of thick plain plaster that formerly entirely covered this protected east facing wall remaining *in situ* today. A triangular area of mortar applied to the carved Roman lintel, to the left of the remains of the roof support described above, which conceals the lower part of the felines' forepaw and other *in situ* remains indicate another roof with a shallower pitch also in the past crossed this relief work, passing over the other forepaw and meeting the east facing rear wall at the same height as the other roof. Thus, two different roofs had at different times been added to this structure, and both were applied subsequent to the carving of this relief, at a time when this relief carving had lost its symbolic significance and when the stucco relief work covering the supporting stone carving had already been lost, or may in part at least, have been deliberately removed when the first of these roofs was erected, to enable the angled edges of these roofs to snugly fit against the stone face of the lintel block. At least one of these roofs were presumably erected during the Ottoman period reuse of this building, when the former palace may have been employed as the residence of a *Derebey* from the late 16th c. to perhaps 1743, while it seems probable the palace was earlier reused by the rulers of the *Teke Beylik* during the 14th–15th c. when perhaps the earlier of these two roofs was erected. There was no access to this area of the external façade following the collapse of the Roman stone staircases, in the 1743 earthquake if not before⁴¹, and it therefore seems possible, from the Ottoman mortar and tile, that the later of these two roofs, the higher roofline with a shallower pitch, was added in the period after 1571 and before 1743.

Part III The Seljuk pediment sculptural relief work⁴²

The Roman broken pediment in the center of the *sceanae frons* contains today in its tympanum a damaged relief carving of Dionysus in volute foliage (Fig. 18). However, the relief carving in this pediment was understood to represent a female rather than a male figure and was said to represent Belkis, the Queen of Sheba⁴³, rather than Dionysus, when C. Texier visited Aspendos in the third decade of the 19th c.⁴⁴ and he relates the tale told to him by the villagers⁴⁵ concerning the Queen whose name was given to the village that had been recently re-established⁴⁶ by Aspendos, Belkis-Balkis. Texier clearly states this tympanum relief carving contains a, “*nude female figure carved in the pediment over the facade in the center with her hair hanging loose, the woman emerges from a vase and holds a stem in each hand. The villagers call this statue Belkis.*”⁴⁷ It is hard to believe that the local villagers either were unwilling or unable to discriminate between a male figure and a female figure in the relief work on this pediment, even with a possibly somewhat androgynous relief depicting Dionysus. With his classical education there can be little doubt that Texier must have

⁴¹ None of the 19th c. travelers including C. Texier, C. Fellows or G. Niemann obtained access to the upper floors inside the stage building as the two Roman stone staircases providing access to them and to the exterior pavilions had already fallen.

⁴² With the assistance of İ. Akan Atila, Archaeologist and Curator, Antalya Museum, who first drew the heads carved on the cornice to my attention in 1990 and who photographed them.

⁴³ Queen of Sheba – Belkis IA, TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi, Vol. V, O. S. Yüçetürk, 420–421.

⁴⁴ Between 1833 and 1837.

⁴⁵ Texier, *Asya* 265–6.

⁴⁶ Re-established by 1623 from the find of a dated tombstone of 1636, Güçlü, Serik 2, 61, from a settlement that may have then been called “Surlar Kökez”, today's Belkis Köyü, Güçlü, Serik 6.

⁴⁷ Texier, *Asya* 266–7.

been more than a little surprised to find a clearly female figure in this Roman pediment and the Queen of Sheba–Belkis was and remains otherwise unknown amongst the classical mythological figures associated with the Roman theater. Texier concurred with the villagers' collective opinion as to the sex of the figure in this pediment, and to this author, to suggest that Texier imaginatively completed his drawing of this female figure on the basis of the villagers' remarks is to suggest an exceedingly remote possibility. He was an educated man quite able to record accurately what he saw, and it seems what he actually saw in this pediment he recorded in both his text and in his drawing. This nude female figure was drawn as such by Texier (Fig. 16)⁴⁸, including recognizably female breasts which are certainly not visible on this relief today, wider hips and the omission of the square beam hole at the junction of the figures' legs that today renders this figure's sex somewhat indeterminate. However the beam holes to lower left and right are shown shaded in Texier's drawing that records the central part of this pediment, indicating the central beam hole was not visible when Texier drew this relief. The 7 petal rosette lower left was mistakenly drawn by Texier with only 6 petals⁴⁹, while the defaced areas of the Roman relief carved volutes in this pediment were not returned to their original appearance in this drawing but instead were depicted as they appeared at the time of drawing and largely as they appear today, indicating that this was a drawing that consciously attempted to record the pediment's appearance at that time, rather than being any fanciful attempt at reconstruction, with therefore implications in respect to the accuracy of the figure depicted in the tympanum. An attempt at the reconstruction of the Roman pediment and cornice was provided by Texier in a different drawing⁵⁰. Further, regarding the accuracy or otherwise of Texier's drawing of this relief, it should be noted that in four of Texier's published plates⁵¹ a stage is drawn between the front of the stage wall and the orchestra, a stage that did not in fact exist when Texier visited Aspendos, it had been removed when the Roman theater was used for wild beast and gladiatorial combats rather than for plays, but he thought it should be there and so he drew it in these plates. Consequently one can be reasonably confident that this relief of a naked female was there in the tympanum, otherwise Texier would not have drawn it, as there was in Texier's day and there remains today no known precedent for the presence in a theater's stage building's pediment of a "nude female figure carved in the pediment over the facade in the center with her hair hanging loose, the woman emerges from a vase and holds a stem in each hand." It seems therefore reasonable to suggest that although Texier may have inserted into his drawing what he expected but which was missing, such as the Roman stage, he did not insert into his drawings entirely unexpected things such as a naked female figure in the tympanum, unless he actually saw it there.

Consequently there is therefore every reason to suppose that the female figure that was recorded by Texier in both his text and his drawing, a figure which was also said by the local inhabitants to be a depiction of a female figure whom they described for some particular reason as Belkis, was actually there in the pediment and that Texier, despite his classical education accurately recorded in his drawing and text what he saw in this tympanum. Given the relative accuracy with which the rest of

⁴⁸ Texier, *Asya*, Plate. 241.

⁴⁹ It is drawn correctly by Niemann, Lanckoronki, *Die Stadte*, taf. 89, almost certainly from a photograph, Duggan 2008 (b), 33, citing Lanckoronki, *Die Stadte III*, recording the extensive use of photography both on the expedition and in the production of the engravings for publication. The time spent on site was entirely insufficient to permit the drawings and measured drawings that appear in the published text, disregarding the fact that the draughtsman Niemann was at the time suffering badly from malaria.

⁵⁰ In Texier, *Asya*, Fig. 232, Texier depicts the cornice on the right side of the pediment intact and the left as is, damaged, a clear attempt at reconstruction.

⁵¹ Texier, *Asya*, Plate Nos. 232, 233, 238 and 239

the volute decoration in this pediment was drawn, carved decoration that is nearly invisible to the naked eye, he almost certainly used an optical device⁵², perhaps a telescope to check on the details of his drawing. Texier's drawing of the face of this relief figure also seems to have been accurate, as it resembles the depiction of the face that is in part recorded by G. Niemann in 1884 (Fig. 17)⁵³, but which has since been destroyed, yet Niemann records no female breasts, thinner hips and the central beam hole in the tympanum, all of which are today visible.

One therefore may wonder what had happened to this relief in the intervening half century between Texier's and Niemann's visits, where had the female breasts and the lower torso – which concealed the central beam hole – that which is recorded in Texier's drawing gone to in this relatively brief interval of time? They are not recorded by Niemann in his accurate, almost certainly photograph-based record of the relief in this pediment in 1884, yet Niemann seems to have recorded the same face, a face which today no longer exists.

It seems most probable to the author that a Rum Seljuk relief sculpture was made during the course of the conversion of this Roman theatre into a Seljuk palace, to cover over the Roman relief of Bacchus–Dionysus that is there today⁵⁴. In this 13th century conversion the stage wall became an interior wall of the palace and this relief was no longer seen from the ground but was viewed by people standing on the wooden floor inserted towards the foot of this pediment and the carved stone Roman naked male relief figure in this pediment was covered over by another figure, having a feminine face, a figure with wider hips and female breasts, during the course of this building's conversion, which also and deliberately concealed from view the beam hole in the naked male figure.

It seems evident this 13th century relief sculpture was made from stucco, a material that was commonly employed for relief work in Rum Seljuk 13th century palaces and other buildings as traces of this stucco plaster remain *in situ* today in the upper areas sheltered by the cornice and in the area around the head of the figure and there are areas of remaining stucco infilling between the relief elements of the Roman egg and dart border (Fig. 28), and indications that stucco also covered other parts of the tympanum and cornice.

Given the pecking of the face of the two courses of limestone blocks recessed on either side of the apex of this cornice, pecking which resembles that on the animal reliefs described above, these re-worked limestone blocks were also covered in stucco–plaster and presumably also carried stucco high relief–work, that was supported by the deep pecking of the surface of these blocks. The combination of stucco work with tile–work revetments is typical of Rum Seljuk palaces and köşkü and seems also to have been the case in this area of the palace, as the conglomerate stone blocks along this wall in places retain patches of mortar with unglazed pottery that typically formed the surface to which a tile revetment in this palace was applied⁵⁵, such as the patch of mortar and unglazed

⁵² For these devices see for example, Duggan 2008b, concerning the records made through employing the camera obscura, camera lucida and through drawings made from photographs, “technical drawings”, engravings and photo lithographs.

⁵³ Lanckoronki, *Die Stadte*, taf. 89. It seems certain that Niemann's record of this relief was based upon a photograph taken during one of his two visits to Aspendos and that therefore a photographic record of this head survives, copied onto the engraving to produce this plate, and the original may survive in the archive where the photographs taken by Lanckoronki's party are in Vienna.

⁵⁴ For an account of the *in situ* Roman relief see Can 2005, 98–100.

⁵⁵ For example, this same bed of mortar and unglazed tile–work that formed the surface to which the Seljuk tile revetments were applied covers large areas of the walls of the south stairwell, to which surface there still remain attached today in the upper north–east corner of the stairwell *in situ* fragments of turquoise glazed Seljuk tile revetments.

pottery that remain *in situ* by the upper left corner of the conglomerate block in the course directly above the busts on the left hand side of the cornice (Fig. 19).

Stucco had a long history of use in palaces throughout the Islamic world, in the palace-pavilions built by the Omayyads⁵⁶ in Syria-Palestine in the late 7th-8th century, where there were stucco-plaster figures modeled in the round of human figures and human faces, and life size, painted stucco slave girl-concubine figures that survive from Kirbat al-Mafjar, as also the stucco-plaster painted, life size standing frontal statue of the Omayyad Caliph Abu 'Abd al-Malik Marwan II (744-50), that follows the Sassanid tradition both in the use of stucco sculpture⁵⁷ and relief-work and in the clear indication of ruler-ship provided by the pair of lions beneath him; and two further stucco statues of Omayyad "Princes", from Qasr al-Hayr West, all dating from the first half of the 8th century. The Omayyad Caliph 'Abd ar-Rahman III (912-61) had a sculpture made of his favorite wife Zahra, which was placed over the gateway providing the entrance to the Madinat al-Zahra, the city-palace, by Cordova⁵⁸, and which stood for at least 70 years, until it was pulled down by the Berbers⁵⁹ which may have been a Roman stone sculpture of Venus, possibly remodeled through the application of stucco and then painted to portray Zahra. Stucco was commonly employed in palaces from Baghdad, Samarra and Persia to Afghanistan, North Africa, Syria and Andalusia⁶⁰ for low relief work and also on occasion, for relief sculpture. Sadid ad-Din Muhammad 'Awfi writing in the early 13th century describes the palace of the Seljuk Prince Turanshah at Herat in the second half of the 12th c. as "decorated with sculpture, frescoes and of royal portraits in medallions which were located within the princely quarters of the palace"⁶¹ and it is probable that these sculptures were made of stucco, related to the well known, often life size and finely painted stucco sculptures of courtiers, palace guards and female dancers from the 11th - 12th c., attributed to Persia-Afghanistan, some illegally excavated from the Great Seljuk palaces at Rayy⁶² and elsewhere, that are sculpted in the round, some are static depictions of standing figures (Figs. 23a-b, 31), others seated,

⁵⁶ See for example Ettinghausen - Graber, Art 56-71, figs. 28, 30, 31; Hattstein - Delius, Art 81-87.

⁵⁷ An area of use of stucco that included from the 1st c. A.D. onwards, Mesopotamian and Persia, and the later Sassanid examples, as also Central Asia, such as the 7th-8th c. relief panels of Chal-Tarkhan, Varaksha by Bokhara, moulded stucco relief panels from Teshik Kala and the 8th-10th c. small carved stucco figurines from Mingoi near Sorçuk, a tradition that may stretch back to Chinese use before the 2nd c. B.C.

⁵⁸ Arnold Painting, citing Makkari (1577-1632)'s "Nafh at-Tib" 16. Barrucand - Bednorz, Andalusia, fn. 44, suggests this was a re-used classical statue of Venus rather than a portrait of Zahra, although numerous Omayyad precedents survive today of painted statues and reliefs of female figures from the Omayyad desert palaces, see above, admittedly not known from over a gateway to a city-palace, and depictions of rulers on major entrances such as at Qasr 'Amrah and Qasr al-Hayr are known that provide a clear precedent both for this depiction, as also for the location of Abd al-Rahman III's statue of Zahra.

⁵⁹ It is suggested it was pulled down in 1010 during the Berber sack of the Omayyad palace, Hillenbrand Architecture 443. Barrucand - Bednorz, Andalusia 61, suggests it was pulled down considerably later, but this seems less probable.

⁶⁰ From the 11th c. palace at Balaguer, stucco relief work that was painted, as also at the 11th c. Aljaferia Palace, Saragossa, Barrucand - Bednorz, Andalusia 122-3.

⁶¹ Hillenbrand, Architecture 414, no footnote, but presumably from the, "Jawami' al-hikayat wa lawami ar-riwayat".

⁶² First made widely known from Riefstahl, 1931, Plates, 514ff.; also Rice 1968, 112-121; Aslanapa, Türk 309-311; Irwin, Islamic Art, fig 89; Pancaroğlu 2005, Cat. Nos. 39, 41. The source for these attendant figures seems to be both from the tradition in the Islamic world stretching back to the Omayyads from the Sassanids, and from the tradition of Chinese life size attendant figures in terracotta, wood, stone and stucco, for example the 210 B.C. painted terracotta warriors of Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi, with stucco 13th c. examples surviving from graves and temples in Henan Province, Int. Herald Tribune, 31 March-1 April 2007, 9, Souren Melikian.

some portraying movement, of human figures, some life-size, that had their place in the audience halls of some Islamic courts in addition to those attendant figures painted on the walls of audience chambers⁶³. The surviving paintwork indicates a range of brilliant, vivid colors were employed on these stucco figural sculptures including white, yellow, cobalt blue, black and crimson⁶⁴, the same range of colors as are employed on surviving Rum Seljuk paintwork⁶⁵ applied to plaster and stucco. Figured stucco roundel reliefs from 11th c. Rayy of enthroned rulers survive⁶⁶, as also stucco carved relief figures in 12th century Syrian palaces and at the Kara Saray in Mosul and there is the stucco palace relief panel dating from 1195 from Iraq⁶⁷, depicting the enthroned Sultan Tuğrul III and attendants to left and right backed by an eight pointed star and pointed cross design⁶⁸ (Fig. 25) with a stucco inscription; as also the 12th–13th c. stucco panel from Persia of two jousting or fighting cavalymen with braided hair, today in Seattle USA⁶⁹, on which much of the 13th c. paintwork remains today. Stucco relief work was frequently employed in 13th c. Rum Seljuk palaces and köşk⁷⁰, as at the Kubadabad Palace, for relief decoration, window frames, decorative panels, cupboards and shelves⁷¹; painted stucco relief work furnished the Konya köşk⁷² and seems to have been the material employed to sculpt the falcon that was in the ayvan entrance to the citadel gate of Konya⁷³; was employed in the Antalya region at the Alanya palace⁷⁴, at the Alaed–Din köşk–mosque at Korkuteli and in the Alara Bathhouse⁷⁵, as also elsewhere, and, it is suggested, on the animal reliefs on the exterior of this palace and was perhaps more commonly employed in the manner here indicated in Seljuk Anatolia than surviving examples of stucco relief work would indicate. It was also employed in a religious context⁷⁶ forming for example the decoration of the lost mihrap and other parts of the 12th c. Shah Arman congregational mosque at Van, painted in yellow, blue, green and red⁷⁷; the relief-work of the mihrap of the Alaed–Din mosque in Ankara, the mihrap of the Sahip Ata Hani-

⁶³ As at the Ghaznavid audience hall at Laskar Pazar, Afghanistan, and those painted figures referred to by Sultan Salad–Din Eyyub in a letter to the Abbasid Caliph al–Nasir, dated the 7th of May 1183, who wrote that he had waged war beneath the black banners of the Abbasids and was, “not like those who wear arms for adornments or *were like figures painted on the wall*,” Lyons – Jackson, Saladin 192–3, and it seems lines of guards – courtiers painted on the walls of palaces in Baghdad and elsewhere were so common that Salad–Din could make this remark to the Caliph.

⁶⁴ See for example the color plates Pancaroğlu 2005, Cat. Nos. 39, 41.

⁶⁵ See for example Duggan 2008a; Öney – Erginsoy, El Sanatları 85–6, as also on the Alara castle bath house fresco fragments, Önge 1989, 120; Yetkin 1969–70, 69–88; Lloyd – Storm Rice, Alanya 48.

⁶⁶ In the Museum of Islamic Art and Architecture, Tehran Iran.

⁶⁷ Pennsylvania Museum, USA.

⁶⁸ A design employed for palace tile work revetments from Rum Seljuk palaces in Anatolia as elsewhere, to be associated like the 6 pointed star with the Prophet Süleyman, Duggan 2006, 177–181.

⁶⁹ Art Museum, Seattle, USA, Inv.No. 54.29.

⁷⁰ See for example, Karaçağ 2006; Öney – Erginsoy, El Sanatları 83–5, resim 49–53.

⁷¹ Arık, Kubad 177–181.

⁷² Arık, Kubad 37–40; Sarre, Konya, pl. 8–16.

⁷³ Duggan 2008a, 337.

⁷⁴ My thanks to Z. K. Bilici for showing me some painted examples in 2003, these same examples were shown by Prof. O. Arık at the Güzel Sanat Fak. Symposium at Akdeniz Univ. Antalya, in May 2008.

⁷⁵ Yetkin 1969–70, 69–88.

⁷⁶ As earlier in mosques, medrese and tomb mausoleum, in Persia, in Iraq for example, the window frames of the Jami al–Nuri at Mosul of 1170–3, as earlier in Egypt, at ibn Tulun’s Mosque in Fustat, Cairo.

⁷⁷ Belli, Van 435.

kahı in Konya of 1279–80, and that of the Ankara Arslanhane mosque of 1290, and for window frames, as in the Tokat, Gök Medrese, as elsewhere in Rum Seljuk territory.

The coating with stucco of a stone sculpture, to re-work and transform an antique relief or antique statue, as may have been the case with the earlier statue of Zahra and seems to have been the case with this Roman figural relief work at Aspendos–Belkis, or a freshly carved 13th c. stone sculpture, that was then covered in stucco and painted, as has been suggested for the animal reliefs on the exterior façade described above, may also have been the case for a number of other extant Rum Seljuk sculptures. They include the series of relief busts carved to the right and left of the figure in this pediment, (see below); and the relief sculpture of a figure playing a necked musical instrument from the walls of Konya, today in Berlin, the relief carvings of a double headed bird of prey from the walls of Konya⁷⁸, and perhaps also the relief of the seated bearded falconer and a small figure, that carries a far from smooth background also in the IMM, Konya, amongst other works of Rum Seljuk sculpture that may well originally have been coated with stucco and were then painted⁷⁹. The somewhat rough appearance of some figural Seljuk carved stone relief sculptures today, including the above examples, where lines of chisel grooves and other remaining sculptural marks are clearly visible, is perhaps more a consequence of the loss of the painted stucco coating from the surface of these works over the course of the centuries, than the appearance of these sculptures today being either the intention of the 13th century designers and artist–craftsman or the finished result of the 13th century work of sculpture when it was first seen⁸⁰, a comment that equally applies to mason marks, they were concealed when the structure was finished.

As it seems that a male figure, Dionysus, was changed through the application of stucco plaster into a female figure in this pediment at Belkis–Aspendos, so it is perhaps important when looking at the re-use of earlier sculpture, both Roman and Byzantine by the Rum Seljuks in the 13th century to realize that during the course of this 13th c. re-use of earlier sculpture, the appearance of a work of sculpture, its meaning, its sex, its actual form may have been entirely changed through stucco additions, consequently completely altering the meaning of the original work when it was refashioned and redeployed in a 13th century Rum Seljuk context. In the same way that the male figure of Dionysus–Bacchus could become a nude female figure in the 13th century, so antique carved stone lions could sprout 13th century wings and human heads, heads and wings grafted on to bodies through carefully applied stucco-work, completely altering the appearance and more importantly the meaning of the original work of sculpture, changing for example a Roman statue of a lion into a Seljuk jinn of the land⁸¹. Such a transformation may have been the case for example with the Roman statue

⁷⁸ Pancaroğlu 2005, Cat. No. 69; Konya IMM, inv. 188.

⁷⁹ For the paintwork and indications thereof, see Duggan 2008a, 337–8.

⁸⁰ Duggan 2008a, 326–7, for some remarks concerning Seljuk taste. Likewise much Byzantine limestone relief carving was covered with plaster, applied plasterwork that was then frequently painted, examples carrying this plaster coating have been excavated from Byzantine churches, including from the 6th c. basilica at Rhodiapolis in 2007 and a limestone bema screen carrying red and possibly traces of yellow paint was found there in 2008; while the exterior of many East Roman rubble stone buildings including churches would it seems most probably have been originally plastered and painted.

⁸¹ Often and for no reason apart from a superficial resemblance termed today a “siren”, as though the Seljuks, as well as the modern art historians who use this term, were both familiar with and chose to employ figures from classical mythology without changing their names and meaning, without converting them and incorporating them into their own religion and culture and so providing them with a new and relevant meaning. This use of terminology from the antique, “sphinx”, “siren” etc, to describe 12th–13th depictions of jinn of the land and the air, is due to a formal resemblance, not a resemblance in meaning, and is part of the whole orientalist–colonialist renaming process

of Hercules erected on a pedestal built into the outer face of the Citadel Gate of Konya during Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat's restoration of these walls, that was headless when it was drawn early in the 19th c.⁸² and which may well have been transformed through the application of stucco and paintwork into a figure more in tune with 13th century Rum Seljuk culture than Hercules, perhaps converted through the application of stucco plaster and paintwork to depict a well-known and a more culturally relevant figure for the 13th c. ruling elite, such as Rustem or Feridun. Exactly this same process of transformation occurred with this conversion of a Roman theater into the Belkis palace, as also the Hıdırlık Roman mausoleum in Antalya into a Seljuk köşkü, or of a Roman bathhouse into a tiled palace. This process of transformation involves far more than a purely functional change of use; as it involves substantial changes to the object, item or structure's original function, appearance and importantly to its meaning and its consequent integration into a different cultural-religious context. The process of re-fashioning and the transforming of an earlier form, place, structure, object or person into something or someone else, through the application of decoration and the reworking of various types and materials was a key Rum Seljuk artistic idea and practice, involving the process of transformation-conversion on a number of different levels, religious, spiritual, physical, through dress⁸³ etc. suggesting that there was a process of artistic⁸⁴ and cultural conversion that preceded and exceeded in its pace the process of conversion of the populations of Rum Seljuk Anatolia to Islam during this period. A later similar intention and outcome is also evident, the changes to meaning and to form, which can be associated with the later re-use of Chinese worked jade and ceramics and other culturally alien objects, conversion work that was likewise carried out by court artists working for the Ottoman and other Islamic rulers, where an object coming from an alien culture was overlaid or included into something else to largely alter its original appearance⁸⁵ and, more importantly changing the original object's meaning, through converting it to carry a relevant and acceptable meaning and form within a different cultural climate.

It consequently seems very probable to this author that this drawing by Texier does record a Rum Seljuk 13th century palace stucco relief⁸⁶ that was applied on top of the defaced Roman relief sculpture of Dionysus and which survived relatively intact into the early 19th c. This stucco work was almost certainly originally painted and this stucco relief of a standing female figure, from the tips of the acanthus leaves rising to a height of 1.40 m., although probably cracked and damaged by seismic activity, had been largely protected by the stone cornice above it from any substantial damage by weathering over the preceding more than 500 years. Traces of this stucco work remain in place

that steals meaning away from another culture's artifacts on the basis of a superficial resemblance, and is, I think, to be rejected. The sense of the griffin-like figure deployed in the Seljuk period seems together with the dragon and the snake would seem also to be related to the jinn under the Prophet Süleyman's command.

⁸² Drawn by L. de Laborde, Laborde, *Voyage*, Pl. LXIV. Irwin, *Islamic Art* 211, attributes a talismanic function to this statue, while S. Redford draws attention to classical associations, Redford 1993, 148–56.

⁸³ As employed both metaphorically and physically for example in cutting the girdle-cord of Christianity on converting to Islam, new clothes, a change of dress associated with conversion.

⁸⁴ See for example Ibn Arabi's advice to a Byzantine painter in Konya at the start of the 13th c., Austin, *Sufis* 40–41.

⁸⁵ Rogers – Ward, Süleyman, *Cat. No 75*, of two different Chinese bowls joined together in the late 16th c. to form a box covered with gold and gemstones with a rock crystal handle; as likewise, *Cat. No. 77*, a cut down Chinese 15th c. ewer with attachments to transform it in the 16th c. into a flask.

⁸⁶ A small stucco human head, wearing a three pointed "sikke" and bearded, not of the same quality, was found at Kubadabad, and is today in the Karatay Museum, Konya, illustrated in, *Firat Seljuks*, no page or photo numbers given.

today in the upper parts of this relief around the defaced head and still fill some of the spaces in the Roman molding as noted above (Fig. 28) and so produced a different border pattern to this tympanum, one consisting of a row of balls, the intervals between balls of the Roman design in-filled, thereby producing a border resembling Abbasid painted and carved borders consisting of rows of circles, as at Samarra, a typical border design employed in a variety other materials including woven textiles and ceramics⁸⁷.

Stucco work almost certainly covered over other areas of this pediment including concealing the space that had been created in this tympanum by the earlier deliberate removal of the outer carved Roman volutes on the left hand side of the stucco female figure, although the matching volutes to the right remain *in situ* and the removal of the larger inner volutes on the right hand side of this figure, removed for some unknown reason. The date of the removal of areas of this Roman stone carved volute decoration from the tympanum is unrecorded, but was perhaps associated with the opening of the three large beam holes in the tympanum and the removal of the adjacent entire lower cornice blocks on either side and the removal of stone blocks from the lower sides of the broken pediment. Given the destruction of the depiction of Dionysus with the insertion of the central beam hole as also the defacing of the carved stone face of Dionysus, these alterations were of a post-pagan date and, given the indication that the central beam hole remained covered by the Seljuk stucco relief as late as the 19th c., this work was carried out before the Seljuk conversion of the structure, probably in the Late Antique period, prior to the mid 6th c. plague pandemic, associated in part perhaps with one of the waves of pagan statue smashing attached to the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity⁸⁸ but I can offer no explanation as to the intention or function of this post-pagan and pre-Seljuk work on this pediment. What was depicted on these deliberately defaced, the cleared areas of this tympanum during the 13th c. is suggested below. It is however evident from the areas of the tympanum that in the post 4th c. had been deliberately cleared of Roman carving and where there is no evidence of any substantial pecking of the stonework to indicate the direct application of stucco high relief-work⁸⁹, that no attempt was made in the 13th c. to replicate in stucco relief the formerly balanced Roman relief rosette composition. There is however a rectangular area of pecking that extends from the foot of the tympanum to the cornice, on the right side of the tympanum beyond the beam hole (Fig. 18), matching that to the left of the left beam hole, that would indicate the possible application of stucco to the surface of these areas of the tympanum relief, in addition to the stucco applied to and masking the central relief of Dionysus during this 13th c. conversion work.

The probable reason for the disappearance of the breasts and lower torso of this 13th century stucco relief of Belkis recorded by Texier in the period between his visit and that of Niemann's in 1884,

⁸⁷ See for example, forming the border to the fresco from the Jawsaq al-Khaqani palace, Samarra, Ettinghausen – Graber, Art, fig. 107, figs. 87–8 the border design of dishes, on silks, figs. 138–40, painted on the borders around figures in the ceiling of the Capella Palatina, Palermo Sicily, of c.1140 and as ceramic decoration applied for example to bands around the Yivli Minaret in Antalya.

⁸⁸ On statue smashing see for example: Lane-Fox, Pagans 673, for earlier examples of attempts at statue smashing, see for example, Symphorian of Autun (c. 179) who threatened to take a mallet to this “image of a devil”, Workman Persecution, 162. For the Imperial legislation encouraging the destruction of pagan shrines, see for example, Mitchell, Anatolia 67, fn. 83.

⁸⁹ Following the example of the bands of animal reliefs, as distinct from a thin coating of plaster applied in the 13th c. to a stone surface before the application of paintwork, as for example *in situ* on the portal of Evdir Han by Antalya, on and in the Belkis–Aspendos palace as elsewhere, Duggan 2008a.

who describes the relief figure in the pediment in 1884 as depicting the male figure “Bakkhus”⁹⁰, Dionysos, and this attribution⁹¹ is certain for the defaced Roman relief figure that remains today in this pediment, was probably because this stucco relief had been used for target practice, bullets had smashed into it and cracked the stucco, much of what remained of the stucco relief covering had been cracked off and shattered, the pieces falling down from this pediment to expose the Roman limestone relief lying beneath in the half century that elapsed between these two visits. It is recorded subsequent to Niemann’s visit, when the Seljuk stucco face still remained fairly intact from the evidence provided by his drawing, that target practice used to take place within the theater which had damaged the “carved stone head” of Bacchus–Dionysos⁹², in fact destroying the 13th c. stucco face covering over the probably already largely defaced Roman head. It is bullet holes not stone pecking that pockmark the area around the head of this relief today (see Fig. 28). Such similar target practice seems to have happened in the period between the 1830’s and 1884 causing the loss of the stucco breasts and the lower torso relief work. Other Seljuk carving has been a target for weapons practice in the past and has suffered damage as a result, see for example the bullet holes that pepper the stonework and have shattered parts of the carved relief work in the upper part of the inner portal of Karatay han outside Kayseri⁹³, as it would appear gunmen relish an enclosed space, such as inside the Aspendos theater or in the large sheltered courtyards of Seljuk hans to blaze away at carved relief work, particularly depictions of the human form and face located on high walls.

The relief in this pediment even after the stucco female relief figure was destroyed was stated by the Belkis villagers to depict Belkis⁹⁴, or a female, not a male figure⁹⁵; a tradition that continued to be related despite the physical loss of the female figure in this pediment, a continuity caused in part by the village itself being called Belkis and probably in part through tradition based upon the former appearance of this figure in the tympanum.

The busts

A series of Seljuk busts are carved on the earlier defaced cornice of this Roman pediment (Fig. 18). These busts on the pediment cornice were mentioned and roughly drawn by G. Niemann⁹⁶ who described them as probably Byzantine Saints⁹⁷, three to the left and one on the right, and these busts were also mentioned by S. F. Erten, who describes them as, “4–5 relief carvings of the heads of people in an irregular style”⁹⁸. They are also recorded without comment in various 20th c. general photographs of this area of the scaenae frons⁹⁹ and these busts have continued to be attributed to Early East Roman (Byzantine) 4th–5th c. art into the 21st c.¹⁰⁰. These busts have not been specifically

⁹⁰ Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte* 114.

⁹¹ Özgür, *Aspendos* 30; Freely, *Eastern* 82; Akurgal, *Ancient* 101, upper photo; Bean, *Kleinasien* 64.

⁹² Onat, *Antalya* 202, “Nişanlıklarını denemek için tabancalara hedef olan bu güzel rölyef...”, In order to do target practice, gunmen with pistols used to take aim at this beautiful relief.

⁹³ Işin, *Aladdin* 69.

⁹⁴ Aziz 1933, 99; Onat, *Antalya* 202.

⁹⁵ Özgür, *Aspendos* 33–5.

⁹⁶ Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte*, Fig. 85, Pl. XXV.

⁹⁷ Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte* 119.

⁹⁸ “Resmin etrafında dört beş tane kabartma insan başı varsada muntazam değildir.”, Erten, *Livas* 153.

⁹⁹ Eg. Freely, *Eastern* 80; Sear, *Theaters*, pl. 124; Atila, *Aspendos* 19.

¹⁰⁰ Can 2005, res. 18–19, 97–8, fn 56, citing J. İnan – E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, 1970, 179, dn, 48–9. Somewhat closer parallels than these examples cited by Can are to be found in the long row of heads carved on the western part of the north façade of the Armenian 8th c. Church at

noted as Rum Seljuk 13th century relief carvings which they clearly are, given the distinctive Seljuk headdresses and hairstyles worn by these figures, indicating these heads date from the Rum Seljuk remodeling of the theatre into a palace in the 13th century. For example the braided hair of the upper two busts to the left of the Belkis–Dionysus figure in the tympanum are characteristic of Seljuk¹⁰¹ rather than East Roman (Byzantine art); as is the form of the dragon headed finials to the hair braids of the uppermost bust, a form which occurs for example: on the tail of a “griffin” on a Seljuk stucco fragment today in Berlin¹⁰², as dragon headed wing finials of a doubled headed bird of prey (falcon or hawk) carved on the west portal of the Ulu Cami Divriği, 1228–9; on al–Jaziri’s drawing and on the doorknocker of the Cizre doors¹⁰³, as also as a finial to a letter on the calligraphic inscription incised on a 13th c. Artukid bronze drum¹⁰⁴, as earlier on two 12th c. Central Asian glass medallions of lions, the lions tails having dragon headed finials¹⁰⁵. Likewise there are parallels with surviving Great Seljuk stucco figures in the loops descending from the band of the headdress¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 23a–b, 31), as also on Rum Seljuk figures¹⁰⁷, with the loop descending onto the left shoulder of the uppermost bust on the right hand side of the cornice. There are also Rum Seljuk parallels for the center parting of the lower bust to the right of the central figure, either hair¹⁰⁸ or a headscarf¹⁰⁹, given this bust’s damaged condition it is impossible to tell which was represented.

These 13th century busts that are carved on the previously defaced cornice of this Roman pediment, three *in situ* on the cornice to the left of Belkis–Dionysos (Figs. 19, 21) and two remain *in situ* on the right, together with a fragment of a third (Figs. 20, 22) are of various sizes and in their present condition depict the basic forms of the face, types individualized through headdress and accessories, like the faces of court figures depicted in contemporary manuscript illuminations.

To the author the meaning is unclear of the marks that seem to resemble script between two uppermost heads on the left side of the cornice, although the upper element at least seems to have been deliberately carved.

The damage to the cornice below the second head on the right, probably caused by a block of masonry falling from above in an earthquake, has resulted in the near total loss of the third head balancing the third head on the left hand side, nothing remains except for a fragmentary indication of a lock of hair or a roll of cloth of a headdress to indicate this bust had existed at all. The leftmost

Ahtamar, one with center parted hair having some similarities to the bust with centre parted hair on the right hand side of this cornice, although the Ahtamar head is carved in lower relief, eg. İpşiroğlu, Ahtamar, Figs. 41, 52.

¹⁰¹ Numerous examples of örgülü – braided hair worn by courtiers are provided in Süslü Tasvir, 149ff, on palace tiles from Kubadabad as elsewhere, as also worn by Gulshah in manuscript illuminations to Varka wa Gulshah, T.S.M. Hazine Ktp. 841, as earlier in the art produced under the Great Seljuks, for example on many court figures depicted on luster ware and on figures depicted on minai decorated frit–ware vessels

¹⁰² Çaycı, Gezegen 41a–b.

¹⁰³ For the drawing in al–Jaziri T.S.M. Kütüp. Ms.A. 3472, fol. 165b, Pancaroğlu 2005, 113, Fig.33; Dorsay et al., İlim, Şekil 2.148.

¹⁰⁴ Akurgal, Kunst, Abb. 150.

¹⁰⁵ Carboni, Glass 280–1, Cat No, 73, m, n.

¹⁰⁶ On a standing Seljuk stucco figure in the V&A museum, London, illustrated in, Aslanapa, Türk 311; Pancaroğlu 2005, Fig. 39, 61, 62.

¹⁰⁷ As in Varka wa Gulshah TSM. Hazine Ktp. 841, fol. 31a, and Süslü, Tasvir, Res. 99, 104c, desen 63 and 56.

¹⁰⁸ See for example Süslü, Tasvir, desen 73–5 from the Kubadabad tiles and Varka wa Gulshah T.S.M. Hazine Ktp. 841, fol. 40.

¹⁰⁹ Süslü, Tasvir, res. 130 from the Kubadabad tiles.

head is the most summarily carved and lacks any indication of the location of the mouth, suggesting its completion with applied stucco and those on the left side of the cornice are carved in lower relief than those *in situ* on the right.

It seems reasonable to suggest these busts were also coated in stucco and painted but, unlike the female figure in the tympanum of this pediment, these heads were unprotected from the elements once the protecting roof over this entire interior wall of the palace fell in or was demolished¹¹⁰, and the painted stucco covering of these busts has been almost entirely lost through weathering. However, the *in situ* bust furthest to the right on this cornice perhaps has retained some of the paintwork on plaster in both of eyes, protected from the elements by the protruding eyebrows (Fig. 30, detail of photograph by A. Atila).

These busts are all on approximately the same level as the head of the figure in the tympanum, with the uppermost head on either side of the cornice nearly level with the head in the tympanum, completing this group of seven heads. It seems to the author most probable that these *in situ* carved stone relief busts are only the surviving remains of originally far larger works of Rum Seljuk palace relief sculpture, as it seems probable these busts were attached to bodies approximating in height to that of the Seljuk stucco relief figure in the pediment. The bodies of these figures, presumably attendant figures to the female figure in the pediment, would have been made from stucco (Figs. 24, 32 Speculative reconstructions), and would therefore have been similar in size to the well known life-sized stucco figures from Rayy and elsewhere (Fig. 23a–b, 31) as also to the figure in the centre of the tympanum. One can suggest that the outermost of the bodies of these relief figures on either side was attached to the face of the tympanum, given the area of stone pecking below the outermost busts on either side, while the other bodies of the stucco attendant figures concealed the Roman relief work and would have concealed the beam holes to left and right of the central figure in the pediment. This stuccowork has been entirely lost due to the loss of the protecting ceiling above, leaving only the stone carved busts, disembodied isolated relief carvings on the re-carved cornice. Stucco work may also have concealed from view the defaced and the *in situ* volutes on either side of the central figure, given the *in situ* stucco remains around the head of the central figure, to the same end as the Seljuk false buttresses erected on the exterior façade concealed the in-filled Roman doorways. Exactly what was depicted on the areas adjacent to the central figure in the 13th c. is unknown although the absence of pecking indicates the missing carved stone volutes were not replaced by stuccowork.

In addition to the pecking on the face of the tympanum below both outermost busts, there remains visible evidence of the pecking of the stone surface of the cornice directly below and to the side of these busts, beneath the two furthest left busts and the two *in situ* on the right, similar to, although less close and deep than the pecking of the stonework of the exterior animal reliefs, presumably because these figures were not exposed to weathering, being originally located on a protected interior palace wall and because the weight of this stucco work rested on the wooden floor, rather than relying upon close and relatively deep pecking of the stone work to firmly secure otherwise unsupported stucco relief work to the exposed surface of an exterior wall.

¹¹⁰ There is no *in situ* evidence to indicate there was a fire in the palace that brought down this western extension out over the orchestra – no evidence of heat shattered stone blocks on the tower staircases or the skene wall nor indications from the early photographic record of any fire damage. The thick layer of white plaster on the skene wall remained largely intact in early photographs, as also the glazed tiles in the staircase rooms, also indicating there was no major fire.

The subject of this Rum Seljuk stucco relief composition and the exterior relief work

There unfortunately is no certain proof as to the subject matter of this stucco relief-work in this pediment, due to the loss of protection afforded by the roof allowing the elements to destroy most of this 13th century stucco relief work before the 19th c., leaving just the busts on the re-carved Roman cornice and the protected stucco relief in the center of the tympanum which was recorded by Texier. However, the subject matter of the entire reworked “pediment” relief on an internal wall of this palace presumably related to the central figure in the pediment which, if the line of reasoning drawn from Texier’s drawing is correct, depicted in stucco relief a naked or a diaphanously covered standing female figure, without any of the possible traces of remaining paintwork having been recorded by Texier, it is impossible to tell which.

This figure in the pediment was known as Belkis, as the villagers stated to Texier, the name that had already given to the adjacent village at the time of Texier’s visit and which seems also to have been the recorded name of the Seljuk settlement at Aspendos¹¹¹, and Belkis inevitably figures in the relationship cited in contemporary literature between Rum Seljuk rulers and the Prophet Süleyman, who provided the model that was adopted by Rum Seljuk rulers amongst other Islamic rulers of the wise and powerful ruler, ruling on behalf of the Almighty¹¹². However, there seems to be no recorded incident in the life of Belkis—the Queen of Sheba, which this depiction could be understood to represent, while it seems almost certain that the wife of the Prophet Süleyman would not have been depicted in the 13th c. in this revealing manner. In the later manuscript illumination tradition Belkis is usually depicted as an enthroned, crowned and fully dressed Queen, consort to the enthroned Prophet Süleyman¹¹³, while in some illustrated religious texts she is depicted baring her covered legs

¹¹¹ Op. cit. fn. 24.

¹¹² Ibn Bibi describes Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II as Süleyman, Bibi, Evamiru’l-Ale’iye 37 (Vol. II). An attribute also given by ibn Bibi to Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I, Bibi, Evamiru’l-Ale’iye 232, 238, no. 594 (Vol. I), also given by him to other Rum Seljuk Sultans, Kılıc Arslan II, Giyathsed-Din Keyhurev I and Izzed-Din Keykavas I, idem 79, 89–90 (Vol. I). It had earlier been given by Abu l-Faraj Runi to the Ghaznavid Sultan Ma’sud III (1099–1115) “The Solomon of the Age”, Bosworth, Ghaznavids 89; given by Mas’ud-i Sa’d-i Salman to Sultan Malik Arslan Ma’sud b. Ma’sud III (1116), “With the power and omnipotence of Süleyman since I am from the origin and progeny of Da’ud”, ibid 91; it was given to the Salghurid ruler of Fars, Abu Bakr Muzaffarud-Din, Qutlugh Khan b. Sad I b. Zangi (1226–1260) by the poet Sadi in his dedication of the “Gulistan”, “The Lord of the Earth, The Axis of the Revolution of Time, *the Successor of Sulaiman*, the Defender of the People of the True Faith, the Puissant King of Kings, the Great Atabak”, and the Atabak is again described as “*Heir to the Throne of Sulaiman*”, trans. Eastwick, Sadi 6, 15. As in the 14th c. when the rulers of Fars adopted the title, “*Heir to Soloman’s Kingdom*”, Blair – Bloom, Art 23; For a 13th c. commentary on the verses from the Holy Koran on Süleyman and Belkis, see the chapter on Süleyman in Muhyi-d-Din Ibn Arabi’s *Fusus al-Hikam*, written in Damascus in 1229, Arabi, *Al-Hikam* 83–95, a work that was certainly known in Konya in the 1230’s from Sadred-Din Konevi’s teaching of it. Both the founder of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate and one subsequent Rum Seljuk Sultan were called Süleyman, Süleyman b. Kutulmuş and Rukned-Din Süleyman II, and it has been suggested that the Prophet Süleyman was of considerable importance in Rum Seljuk Palace iconography, Duggan 2006, 206–7, fn. 505–6, including the tiled revetments from this palace, with depictions of: the Jinn, animals, birds and people, and also including finds of 6 sided, hexagonal tiles that can be associated with the Seal of Süleyman, as also with the 8 pointed palace tiles. Solomon knew the language of birds, of jinn and of ants and controlled the winds and his 4 armies, the Jinn, animals, birds and people, forming the model Moslem ruler, ruling on behalf of the Almighty and summoning others to the faith in the One God.

¹¹³ For example, the c. 1500 Turkish copy of the *Süleyman-name* by Firdaws, with full page miniatures of Belkis enthroned and Süleyman enthroned, with the troops of men, jinn, birds and animals, in the Chester Beatty Lib. Dublin; Süleyman and Belkis enthroned on the same throne, surrounded by the armies of jinn, animals and birds, c.1600, school of Isfahan, Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. S86.0186, illustrated in, Barry, *Figurative Art* 364.

in front of the Prophet Süleyman, illustrations to the verse from the Holy Koran Sura *An-Naml* (The Ant), 27, Ayet 44¹¹⁴. Neither tradition of manuscript illumination includes any depiction of a naked or diaphanously dressed Belkis, she is depicted fully clothed and, at the most, baring her legs. Therefore, although the palace complex–settlement was most probably called Belkis in the 13th c.¹¹⁵, the subject of this relief seems to be not directly connected to Belkis, to the Queen of Sheba, and this relief has on the face of it, been wrongly, although by association logically, identified by the local villagers as depicting Belkis, that being the name of their own adjacent village.

It seems far more probable, to this author at least, that the subject of this stucco relief was Shirin bathing in a pool in the forest, attendants–guards represented by the bust–figures, a scene taken from the near contemporary work, “Khüsrev and Shirin”, completed in ca. 1186, the second of Hakim Jamal al–Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas b. Yusuf b. Zaki b. Mu’ayyad Nizam ud–Din of Ganja’s (1140–1 – ca. 1208–9) five great works comprising the *Khamsa*¹¹⁶. The works of Nizami who lived in the Caucasus, in adjacent Azerbaijan, were well known to the educated of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate¹¹⁷ and Ibn Bibi El–Hüseyn b. Muhammed b. Ali El–Ca’feri Er–Rugadi, employed extensive quotes from Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin” in his *El Evamiru’l–Ale’iye Fi’l–Umuri’l–Ala’iye*¹¹⁸. It is possible that the young prince Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev, became influenced by Nizami’s work when he was placed in nominal charge of Erzincan¹¹⁹, a city that had close connections to Nizami’s Azerbaijan, following the incorporation in 1227–8¹²⁰ of this territory into the Rum Seljuk Sultanate by his father.

Further, the ants in Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin”, recalling the ants spoken to by the Prophet Süleyman¹²¹, describe, “Khüsrev as like Süleyman, and Shirin as like Belkis”¹²², and so the villagers who told Texier that the stucco relief in the pediment depicted Belkis were probably unwittingly repeating to Texier what the great Nizami had written more than 600 years earlier, that Shirin was recognized as a second Belkis as Khüsrev was recognized as a second Süleyman. It seems most probable, given the evidence for the date of this conversion work presented in Part IV below, that Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II was recognized at court as the Heir to Süleyman and that his queen

¹¹⁴ Arnold, *Painting* 108, Plate XXXIII.

¹¹⁵ Op.cit. fn. 24.

¹¹⁶ Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin”, was commissioned by and was dedicated to the last Great Seljuk Sultan Toghril III (1176–94) for which Nizami was given the village of Hamduniyan, Rypka 1968, 578ff. Nizami’s Khüsrev was based in part upon the 6th c. Sasanid King and Shirin on the 6th c. Queen of Armenia (rather the niece of Mihın Banu, the Great Lady–Queen) as recorded in Firdawsi’s *Shahname*.

¹¹⁷ See for example Jelad–Din Rumi’s *Mathnavi*, Bk. V, v. 1204 and 2525, 2531; *Divan–i Shams–i Tabrizi*, “If you have newly become a lover, take the bitter medicine and drink it, so that Shirin may make you sweeter than Khusraw’s honey.”, Chittick, *Rumi* 307; and Rumi’s remarks, mentioning Shirin recorded in the *Manaqeb al–Arefin*, “Speak in any tongue, oh Khosrow with Shirin’s lips!” and , “He was loved like Shirin”, Aflaki, *Manaqeb al–Arefin* 202, 579.

¹¹⁸ Bibi, *Evamiru’l–Ale’iye* 7 (Vol. II); see also Bibi, *Evamiru’l–Ale’iye* 92 (Vol. I).

¹¹⁹ Bibi, *Evamiru’l–Ale’iye* 368 (Vol. I); Uyumaz Alaeddin 92.

¹²⁰ Uyumaz, I. Alaeddin 65.

¹²¹ Holy Koran Sura 27, *An–Naml* (The Ant), Ayet 18–19, “Till, when they reached the Valley of the Ants, an ant exclaimed: O ants! Enter your dwellings lest Solomon and his armies crush you, unperceiving. And Solomon smiled, laughing at her (the ant’s) speech, and (Solomon said) said: My Lord, arouse me to be be thankful for Thy favour wherewith Thou hast favoured me and my parents, and to do good that shall be pleasing unto Thee, and include me in (the number of) Thy righteous slaves.” Also for example Rumi, *Mathnavi*, Bk. IV, v. 871–2.

¹²² Nizami, *Chosrou* 78–9, “Some ants spread secretly the news: This is Belkis (Shirin), that one is Süleyman (Keyhüsrev)”.

from the Caucasus, his “Shirin”, was known as his Belkis, his Queen of Sheba, and some confirmation of this association comes from ibn Bibi who describes the newly wedded pair, Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II and the Lady from Georgia, “Gürcü hatun” in 1240 as, like the enthroned Süleyman and Belkis¹²³.

If the central part of this Seljuk stucco relief as recorded by Texier is understood to represent the scene of Shirin surprised bathing in the forest by Khüsrev, a subject of endless subsequent and probably of earlier but no longer extant 13th c. miniatures of Nizami’s text, the moment of the first glance between future lovers, the pool symbolized by the luxuriant vegetation at the pools edge, Texier’s “vase” (see Fig. 16), it would certainly be a more appropriate subject for depiction on the inner walls of a palace than the naked or near naked depiction of the Prophet Süleyman’s wife or of Eve, and, if this was the case, then the stucco relief that was recorded by Texier was probably the remains of one of the earliest, if it was not the earliest sculptural depiction of this subject, produced little more than 50 years after Nizami’s work was first illustrated.

This subject of Shirin bathing is perhaps the only possible reason for creating this depiction of a naked or near female figure on this wall of the palace, and was a subject that has permitted artists at Islamic courts to depict the naked or near naked female form for centuries and which is certainly the most common reason for the depiction of a naked or near naked female in later palace book illustrations¹²⁴.

The composition of this relief work was probably based, in part at least, on no longer extant illuminations of this scene in manuscript copies of this text originating from the court of the last Great Seljuk Sultan Toghril III r.1176–94, who commissioned this work from Nizami and to whom Nizami dedicated “Khüsrev and Shirin”. It is therefore perhaps possible to suggest, on the basis of a partial reconstruction of this relief work (Figs. 24, 32); the compositional type of the earliest palace illuminations to “Khüsrev and Shirin” that originated from the court design studio – *nakkashane* of the last Great Seljuk Sultan at the end of the 12th c., illuminations of the earliest manuscript copies of “Khüsrev and Shirin” that are no longer extant. The earliest surviving copies of Nizami’s “Kham-sa” date from the 14th c.¹²⁵ more than a century after it was first written and almost inevitably was first illuminated, given that “Khüsrev and Shirin” was commissioned by and was dedicated to this sultan and it rapidly became famous. It is possible, given the tentative reconstruction of the relief composition at Belkis–Aspendos to suggest that the late 12th –early 13th c. manuscript illuminations of this scene of Shirin bathing in the forest were rectangular in format, with the central figure of Shirin balanced by groups of attendant figures on either side and were therefore of a composition similar to the rectangular composition of the palace stucco relief depicting Sultan Toghril III enthroned and four attendant figures to left and to right, attendant figures that in part overlap each

¹²³ Ibn Bibi directly refers to the Georgian wife of Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II, as Belkis and describes the Sultan as Süleyman sitting on the throne, Bibi, *Evamiru’l–Ale’iye* 37 (Vol. I), “Keykubad’ın ruhunun şad olacağı bir görkem içinde zamanın Belkis’inin tahturevanının (mehd) yanında Süleyman mekanlı ve Feridun yapılı Sultan’ın huzuruna yöneldiler.”

¹²⁴ The other frequently encountered depiction of a naked female figure portrays Eve (Havva) in religious illuminations but there seems no possible reason for there to have been a stucco sculpture made of Eve on this palace wall in the 13th c. and Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II was not described as Adam.

¹²⁵ Muzaffarid by 1350? Tehran Univ. Lib. Ms. 5179, Titley 1972, 120–5, having a simple composition of scenes; Muzaffarid (?), Keir col. III.7–27, the scene of Shirin surprised bathing from this mss. is illustrated in, Canby, *Painting*, Fig 21. The next being of c. 1420 in the Freer Gallery, 31.32–37, “Khurev and Shirin”, Baysunghur, Herat, with 20 more surviving illuminated copies of the Kham-sa produced during the 15th c., Robinson, *Persian* 84–5.

other, that is today in the Pennsylvania Museum in the U.S.A., also a product of Sultan Toghril's nakkaşhane (Fig. 25). This same rectangular compositional type of a central figure with attendant figures to either side also occurs in the illuminations in the manuscript by Badi' al-Zamman Isma'il ibn Razzaz Abu'l-'Izz al-Jaziri, "A compendium of theory and useful practice in the mechanical arts", *al-jami bayn al-ilm wa'l-a mal al-nafi fi sin'at al-biyat*¹²⁶ of ca.1206, that records various court automata in a manuscript produced in the Artukid state, and also in the later Seljuk Konya copy of *Varka wa Gülshah*¹²⁷. This type of composition is also found on various ceramic works in the *minai* technique from Kashan and elsewhere where however, the format of this composition for obvious reasons is often more square than rectangular. This compositional type is of course far older than Nizami's work but may have been consciously chosen as an ancient type of composition, ultimately derived from Sasanid art including relief carvings, given the "Ur" nature of Firdawsi's *Shahname*, of Khusrev Parviz and the history of the Sassanid-Kayı dynasty that in part underlies Nizami's work. The reason for the inclusion of the attendant figures was possibly to reinforce the majesty of the primary subject, none of the attendant figures are looking at the naked figure, although in this inclusion of the attendant human figures it thereby differs from both Nizami's text and from later depictions of this scene, where Shirin is described and depicted as bathing in a pool alone.

Due to the revealing nature of the female figure depicted in this relief, the suggestion can certainly be made that at this height in the western part of this palace building, separated by the Roman wall of the *sceanae frons* from the eastern section that contained the palace mosque until its destruction in the theater's 1930's "restoration"¹²⁸, there may well have been located the private quarters of the palace – the harem, with this relief on the interior west facing wall and with the rooms extending out westwards over the palace pavement constructed over the infill on top of the Roman orchestra pavement. Unfortunately the complete removal in "cleaning work" in 1960 of the then still *in situ* Seljuk palace floor that overlay the Roman orchestra floor¹²⁹, and the complete lack of records of

¹²⁶ Dorsay et al., Ilim, Şekil 1.55, 1.56, 2.34.

¹²⁷ T. S. M. Kütüp. H. 841, fol. 4b, 69b

¹²⁸ Op. cit. fn. 23.

¹²⁹ The orchestra floor recorded by Texier, *Asya* 267, where the "empty orchestra" is noted, the same floor that is recorded by G. Niemann in 1884, Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte*, Tafel XX, was in fact the Seljuk palace floor, not the Roman theater floor, hence the problems in the text and in the published reconstruction of the theater in Lanckoronski's work concerning the floor of the theater, stemming from the higher Seljuk floor being mistaken for the original Roman floor. Niemann consequently failed to record the openings lying beneath the floor of the Roman stage in his measured drawing, as they were completely buried beneath this palace pavement which was only covered by a, "thin layer of earth". In consequence Niemann failed also to indicate the correct height of the stage above the orchestra, as he mistook the pavement covered with "a thin layer of earth", Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte* 104, "Im Innern des Theaters können in der dünnen Erdschicht, welche das Plattenplaster der Orchestra bedeckt..." for the Roman floor of the orchestra, he did not discover the Roman floor lying below it, and this resulted in the depiction of the extremely tall door into the north tower in the section through the theater on Tafel XXIV of Lanckoronski's work amongst other oddities. Unfortunately Niemann's record of this 13th century palace floor is decidedly skimpy, he records only one feature, a 25 cm wide groove in a limestone slab towards the outer edge of the pavement in the middle, Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte* 104, Fig. 84, possibly indicating the outer edge of the Seljuk buildings extending from the stage across the palace floor-orchestra as that at Bosra certainly did. There should have been other revealing marks on this pavement, indicating the location of bases and other supports for the Seljuk structures that were built on top of it, but, instead, Niemann draws a comparison from this groove to a corridor in the theater of Dionysos in Athens. Unfortunately in the "cleaning" work carried out by Antalya Museum to expose the Roman orchestra floor it regrettably seems that no record, plan or photographs were made of the 13th c. palace floor that was

this “cleaning work” that should have detailed these markings, means that the footings cut in the Seljuk palace floor, that would almost certainly have revealed the width and the extent of the west facing Seljuk additions extending out from the *sceanae frons*, perhaps across much of the orchestra, as has also been the case at Bosra, have been recently lost.

The suggested choice of this subject by Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II for the private quarters–harem of the Belkis palace may reflect not only both an interest in his namesake Khüsrev¹³⁰, and a real interest in Nizami’s work “Khüsrev and Shirin”, but can also be related directly to his own life, to his long intended bride¹³¹, the Lady from Georgia (Gürcü hatun) coming from the Caucasus, his “Shirin from the Caucasus”.

Further, it can be suggested that the choice of subject of the palace exterior relief work described in Part II above may also reflect Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin”, as lions and at least one deer were depicted in these reliefs and Nizami describes Khüsrev as playing the lion and Shirin the deer¹³², with the lovers represented by these two creatures¹³³, an allusion that was almost certainly picked upon as a significant symbolic motif and employed in the design of the exterior palace relief–work.

This interpretation of the meaning embodied in this relief work in and on the Belkis palace leads one to suggest that the Belkis–Aspendos palace was designed and was constructed for Giyathsed–Din Khüsrev’s love, a distant and long awaited love, like that described in the first part of “Khüsrev and Shirin”¹³⁴, and that the palace at Aspendos was probably constructed as a gift for his bride, for

at this time removed and disposed of. A similar thing has happened to the 14th c. Beylik and possibly initially Seljuk palace that stood within the Roman theater at Myra, as also at Bosra etc. op. cit. fn. 19.

¹³⁰ The inscription on the Eğirdir Taş Han records it as “adil Hüsrev’in koruyucusu”, “Founded by the Just Khüsrev”, Durukan 2001, 100, The Just Khüsrev, rather than the Victorious Khüsrev, Khüsrev Parviz, perhaps implicitly also referring to the Just Süleyman.

¹³¹ As ibn Bibi relates, it was his father Alaeddin–Din Keykubat I who having been offered a Georgian princess for his eldest son in 1232, Uyumaz, I. Alaeddin 68, confirmed this engagement in 1236, Bibi, Evamirü’l–Ale’iye 424 (Vol. I), and the marriage took place a long four years later when Giyathsed–Din was aged 17.

¹³² Nizami, Chosrou 83. The analogy of Shirin to a deer was due to the glance of a deer with the eye of love, for example: “She appeared (like) a moon, swayed (like) a willow, exhaled fragrance (like) ambergris and gazed (like) a deer”, by Abu Bakr ‘Abd al–Qahir b. ‘Abd al–Rahman al–Jurjani by 1071, Abu Deeb, Al–Jurjani 120.

¹³³ Lion chasing deer occur for example on the handle of a late 11th–12th c. cauldron signed by Mahmud al–Qazwini, Hermitage, Inv. No. TP 162, as later in the borders to f. 72a depicting Keyhüsrev defeating Bahram Chubin and f. 102a of Shirin killing herself at Keyhüsrev’s tomb in Akbar’s 1595 copy of Nizami’s works in the British Museum.

¹³⁴ The first part of “Khüsrev and Shirin”, in a remarkable case of life imitating art, can almost be read as the lived destiny of Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II. The parallels between this work of great art and the subsequent life of this Sultan are so striking if not frightening that one feels Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II not only knew this work by heart and internalized it, but perhaps felt that his own destiny was written in it. “Khüsrev and Shirin”, a moral poetic romance on ruler–ship, love and the treatment of the beloved by the lover, can be read almost as the prefiguring of the fortune of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate under Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II, paralleling the collapse of Khüsrev Parviz’s kingdom related in Nizami’s tale, with the wine drinking son and the righteous unbending father, as in the text; with charge of poisoning his father, Uyumaz, I. Alaeddin 94, as in the text; Khüsrev’s excessive generosity, as in the text; the long looked for bride from the Caucasus, as in the text; the assassination of the great Emir Sadred–Din Köpek in 1240, followed by the Baba Işak rebellion, like the uprising–rebellion of Bahram Chubin against Khüsrev Parviz in the text; and then the Mongol invasion and the loss of Seljuk independence in 1243. Have some people consciously modeled their lives, with varying degrees of accuracy and authenticity on a written text? Undoubtedly, as it is and has been the intention of religious texts and histories to provide accounts of exemplary lives for the reader to imitate, internalize and to understand to their capacity. However, to read and internalize, as Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II may have done as a youth, an account of Khüsrev Parviz’s life that

his Shirin, his Lady from Georgia, his consort, his Belkis, hence the name Belkis given to both the Seljuk and the modern settlements at Aspendos. This choice of subjects chosen from “Khüsrev and Shirin” for elaboration through the relief decoration applied to areas of the enormous Belkis–Aspendos palace may not only reflect the Sultan’s interest in Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin”, but also his youthful romantic and extravagant, irresolute and impulsive temperament, at odds with his father who did not want his eldest son’s succession to the Sultanate¹³⁵, a temperament that would play some small part in the loss of the independence and power of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate during his reign¹³⁶, but then, only a romantic and truly extravagant disposition could have envisaged, desired or approved at the age of 17, the conversion of this vast Roman factory–like abandoned theatre structure into a wedding present for his bride.

Part IV The probable date of this 13th c. palace relief work

Given the length of time Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat I spent in the Antalya region in winter and the possibilities for hunting and for wildfowling by the marsh–lake and along the river banks of the Köprü Çayı, when combined with the absence of Seljuk köşk structures along the route from Antalya to Alanya–Ala’iyye until one reaches Manavgat, some of the Seljuk conversions of structures on the Aspendos acropolis may date from the reign of Alaed–Din Keykubat I¹³⁷ and it seems most probable that he would also have ordered the construction of a bridge across the river to connect the route from Antalya to his newly conquered city of Alanya. The importance of the coastal route between Antalya and Alanya following the conquest of the region from Manavgat to Alanya in 1221, conquests extended eastwards by 1225 to Silifke, for the transit of troops as well as possibly state

over the course of a few years will seem to mirror his own subsequent fate as prince and ruler, written by a man who was deceased by the time he was born, a text that on the surface is not a religious text but a reworking of a historical text, well that seems to be quite a remarkable thing.

¹³⁵ It seems Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat wanted one of his two younger sons, Rükned–Din or İzzed–Din from his Ayyubid wife Gaziye Hatun, whom he married in 1227, to succeed him, not his eldest son Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev from his first wife, Bibi, Evamiru’l–Ale’iye 20, 21 (Vol. II).

¹³⁶ It should be noted however that it was the eastwards and southeastwards expansionist policy of his father in the second part of his reign, his father’s unawareness of Turkmen discontent or his inability to resolve this problem through co–option or through sürgün, together with his hosting of the Khwarizm Shahs forces on Seljuk territory, while knowing that the Mongols would not be amused by this action, that doomed both his successor, and the Sultanate. It can be argued that the character of Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II played a part in the collapse of the Sultanate, but the ink had already dried on the underlying issues by the time of his accession in 1237. The vital damage was done in the second half of Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat’s reign, fundamental damage to political relationships both internal and external that was masked by an evident but temporary economic prosperity. The “golden age” of Alaed–Din Keykubat was rather the golden glow of a setting sun, with the “noonday sun” under Sultan İzzed–Din Keykavas I, extending only into the first part of Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat’s reign.

¹³⁷ These include, buildings on the acropolis “painted with red patterns in a rude style” and the Nymphaeum which still had Seljuk sky blue tile–work in its niches, like those in the stage wall, both areas of Seljuk tile–work mistaken by Fellows for Roman paint work, “the plaster of which still retains its colouring of beautiful light blue”, Fellows, *Travels* 148; G. Niemann of Karl Graf von Lanckoronski’s party deliberately removed the last remaining visible and accessible pieces of Seljuk tile–work from the theatre, Seljuk tile–work that was found in a niche on the scaenae frons in 1884, and this tile–work consisted of 3 tiles and fragments of plain turquoise blue under–glazed border tiles which were loosened off and taken to Vienna, by Karl Graf von Lanckoronski’s party, Lanckoronski, *Die Städte* 116, this was the remains of “the beautiful light blue paintwork(sic)” noted by Fellows in the niches of the theatre.

and trade caravans, means that a bridge was certainly erected by Alaed–Din Keykubat I here, and, although the remaining inscription on the Seljuk bridge provides no evidence for it, there is the strong possibility that the largely *in situ* inscription on this bridge today marks the subsequent repair of this bridge, rather than its construction from scratch by 1239–40¹³⁸ by Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhusrev II. That the inscription was built into the outer face of the parapet, not within the body of the bridge, may also indicate possible restoration, but not necessarily so¹³⁹. The probable renovation rather than construction by Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II in 1239–40 of the Seljuk bridge may have become necessary for a number of reasons including the completion of this palace, and, given the mention of a prosperous city and 4,000 Rum Seljuk troops stationed at Belkis¹⁴⁰ in addition to the palace staff and officials, the maintenance of this bridge was important, ensuring connections between Antalya and Alanya and further east, as in the absence of a bridge when the river was in spate, this body of troops would have been marooned, restricted to the western bank.

Ibn Bibi relates in his work considerable information concerning the palaces and pavilions that were constructed and used during the reign of Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat I, however, he fails to mention the construction, nor does he make any reference to the use of this huge palace complex during this Sultan's reign, a palace only rivaled in area by that at Kubadabad. Its absence from Ibn Bibi's text would suggest, given his references to this Sultan's construction activity and his record of this Sultan's visits to palaces, that it did not exist as a palace during his reign and it would seem most improbable that it would have been constructed earlier, given that it stood at the edge of Seljuk territory prior to the conquest of Alanya. It is noteworthy that Ibn Bibi is altogether far less forthcoming concerning the continuation of construction activity under Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II, who was doubtless influenced in this activity by Sadred–Din Köpek until he was murdered in 1240. Ibn Bibi does not mention the construction of any building ordered by Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II during this Sultan's entire reign of 9 years, with the exception of the city entertainment pavilions–köşkü constructed on the orders of this Sultan¹⁴¹. However, the surviving building inscriptions from this Sultan's reign paint a entirely different picture of construction activity between 1237 and 1240 including the buildings constructed in this region mentioned below and also including for example, the construction of the vast Ağzıkara Han and the completion of the greater part of the massive Karatay han by Kayseri in 1240, the construction of which was only begun under Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat I.

It is the combination of a number of factors that leads me to suggest that Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II was responsible for the construction of this palace, not only its absence from Ibn Bibi's text, but also the completion of the bulk of the Kubadabad palace complex and the Kubadiye by 1236, which would have freed up craftsmen trained in tile production and in executing the same repertory of palace designs on tile work, as also the painters and stucco workers to work elsewhere, who probably then it is suggested here, worked on the tile–work, stuccowork, plastering and paintwork of the huge palace at Belkis–Aspendos; as also the importance that Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II attached to this entire region, made clear from the structures he and his officials ordered constructed within it. The majority of the structures that Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II directly or-

¹³⁸ Bilici 2001/2, 173–86, for the inscription from the bridge and the date of 1239–40, 177; for the bridge construction, see Kessener – Piras 1998, and also, Goodwin 1994.

¹³⁹ For examples of the location of inscriptions on Seljuk bridges, see Çulpan, Köprüler 1975.

¹⁴⁰ Op. cit. fn. 24.

¹⁴¹ Bibi, Evamiru'l–Ale'iyе 37 (Vol. II).

dered to be erected during his reign lay within this region of south western Anatolia; in addition to the bridge or repair thereof at Aspendos of 1239–40¹⁴², they include: Şarapsa han¹⁴³ on the Antalya–Alanya road, the large Eğridir Taş han of 1237–8 built outside Eğridir¹⁴⁴, Kargı han by Manavgat¹⁴⁵, Kırkgöz han¹⁴⁶, İncir han and Susuz han on the Antalya–Burdur road¹⁴⁷ and the Seljuk köşk at Kemer, Antalya¹⁴⁸. He also built a tower in the main city wall of Antalya dated 1244¹⁴⁹ and his Emir(?) Abu Bakr Saidoğlu built another tower dated 1244–5. His Atabeg, Mubariz ed–Din Armağanshah built his medrese in Antalya, completed in 1239–40¹⁵⁰ before being killed by Turkmen at Amasya during the Baba İşak uprising, while the turbe of Şeyh Şücaed–Din was also completed in Antalya in 1238–9 and the Dadil han in the Gelendost district of İsparta was completed in 1242. The bulk of the dated construction activity in his reign seems to have occurred within its first 4 years¹⁵¹, prior to the later stages of the Baba İşak (Baba Rasul) Turkmen rebellion that began in 1240 which was followed by the Mongol invasion and Rum Seljuk defeat at Köseadağ on the 26th of June 1243 and it seems reasonable to suggest the conversion of this huge palace would not have begun in the period after the Seljuk defeat of 1243 and was probably begun well before 1240. His considerable construction activity in the Antalya region, including it is suggested of this palace, was doubtless in part due to the influence of his Atabeg Mübarized–Din Ertokuş, under successive sultans long in charge of Antalya and the Antalya region following its conquest in 1207, who was sent by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat to Erzincan with the young Giyathsed–Din to administer Erzincan on his behalf. In addition to the above indications, there is also the very close parallel between the form of the feline carved on the lintel on the exterior façade with the depiction of the feline struck on some of Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II's dinars and dirhems in the period between 1237 and 1243, (Figs. 2a–b); and there are also the remains of the palace tile–work revetments from Aspendos today in the Antalya Museum, which seems to date from this reign, subsequent to the completion of the Kubadabad tile–work, to which there are variant designs and perhaps the brushwork is at times somewhat less controlled than at Kubadabad¹⁵².

In consequence of the above indications one can therefore suggest that the conversion of the Roman theater into the Seljuk palace probably occurred during the first part of the reign of Sultan

¹⁴² Op. cit. fn. 139.

¹⁴³ Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 101, where this Sultan is named.

¹⁴⁴ Durukan 2001, 63. It measures approx. 34,000 sq. m.

¹⁴⁵ Durukan 2001, 64.

¹⁴⁶ Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 89, the inscription names this sultan but the date is defaced.

¹⁴⁷ Durukan 2001, 64.

¹⁴⁸ Yavuz 2000; T. M. P. Duggan, *Turkish Daily News*, July 11th, 1998, “Rediscovered”. The limited and severe style of carving on the exterior lintel of this köşk parallels those found over doorways in the hans erected by this Sultan, as around the portal of İncir han and in the carving beside the entrance door at Susuz han. The inset in the wall over the entrance to the Kemer köşk for its inscription remains, but the inscription is lost.

¹⁴⁹ Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 80.

¹⁵⁰ Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 86–7.

¹⁵¹ See Durukan 2001, 99–101.

¹⁵² For this tile–work see Okay, *Çiniler passim*, color photo in, Demirer, *Antalya*, Cat. No. 188; *Antalya Museum* 1988, Cat. No 169. The first Seljuk tile–work entered the museum's collection in the 1920's but a full inventory was unfortunately not made of this material at the time of its accession and for decades afterwards, leading to possible loss from the museum's collection and confusion concerning the find–spots of Seljuk tile–work in Antalya, some repeated in Okay, *Çiniler*, who attributes some tiles to Aspendos that were certainly found in Antalya as was stated by Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 52, and photographed, pl. 97, that is, prior to the discovery of the remaining *in situ* ceramics at Aspendos after the 9th of March 1930.

Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II between 1237 and 1240 and one can surmise that the construction may have begun in the winter of 1237–8, associated with his forthcoming and long awaited marriage, when the new Sultan spent the entire winter in the Antalya region¹⁵³ before his return to Konya in the spring of 1238. The suggested date for the Seljuk palace relief work that is described in this article, as also for much of the exterior and interior paintwork and for the tile–work revetments of the stage building, staircases and rooms, is therefore to the three year period between 1237 and 1240, as this palace was it seems, most probably constructed to impress his bride, his Shirin, his Belkis from Georgia and would therefore have had to have been completed in time for her arrival in the Rum Seljuk Sultanate in 1240.

The Belkis–Aspendos palace was certainly under Turkmen control by 1261 at the latest, but the insecurity of the surrounding region from ca. 1245 onwards meant that the palace may have fully functioned only in the period from its completion by 1240 to ca. 1245, that is during the reign of only this sultan, with this very brief period of use explaining the absence of references to the palace complex of Belkis in the sources, with the single exception of its mention in a text noted by S. F. Erten. Further, with this sultan described as “Süleyman”, the just ruler and his queen from Georgia as “Belkis”, it seems reasonable to suggest, given that the city in the 13th c. and the township today still retains the name Belkis, that this palace complex may have been constructed as a marriage gift from the 20 year old Sultan in 1240 to his bride¹⁵⁴, to his Belkis, whose likeness may even have been depicted in the stucco relief in the tympanum¹⁵⁵, as it was also reportedly depicted on some of the dinars and dirhems struck during his reign, the face within the sun, with the Sultan being represented by the lion or lions illuminated by the light of love¹⁵⁶ (see Figs. 2a–b). The same relationship that was expressed on his coinage bearing the lion(s) and face in the sun, was expressed through the silhouette lions and deer carved on the façade of this palace originally covered by painted stucco relief work and by the depiction of Shirin–Belkis from Nizami’s text in the stucco relief in the re-worked pediment, that is the relationship of lover and beloved.

Abbreviated Literature

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Abu Deeb, Al–Jurjani | K. Abu Deeb, Al–Jurjani’s theory of Poetic Imagery, Warminster 1979. |
| Aflaki, Manāqeb al–‘ārefin | Shams al–Din Ahmad–e Aflaki, Manāqeb al’ ārefin: The feasts of the Knowers of God, (trans. by) J. O’Kane, New York–Costa Mesa 2002 |
| Akalın 1989 | Ş. Akalin, Karatayhan’ın Çeşme Eyvanını Kuşatan Hayvan Figürleri ile İlgili Bazı Yorumlar, Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi U/5, 1989, 54–59. |

¹⁵³ Turan, Selçuklular 409.

¹⁵⁴ A distorted echo of this gift by the sultan of the palace of Aspendos to his bride may be retained in the story told to Texier, that the King of the Snakes built the Aspendos castle for his only daughter (only love), Texier, Asya 461.

¹⁵⁵ For some examples of Rum Seljuk portraiture, see Duggan 2007, 328–335.

¹⁵⁶ As recorded by Ibn Bibi, Bibi, Evamiru’l–Ale’iye 38(Vol II). Mention is made of a naturalistic portrait of Keyhüsrev’s queen by A. Denti di Pirajno, in a reference to the interests of the Bishop of Tripoli, Libya in 1930, a portrait that was struck on a silver dirhem, but I am unable to determine if the coin that is referred to in the following passage: “I (the Bishop) was just re–examining these photographs of twelfth century Seljuk coins. Do you notice the reproduction of the traditional Greek and Byzantine designs? Look at this wonderful piece of Kaykosroway II; he was so much in love with his wife that he had her features stamped on his silver coins. It is magnificent.” Pirajano, Serpents 154, differed from the type depicting the face of his queen in the sun, minted on some gold dinars as also on silver dirhams, which were understood at the time to portray the face of Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II’s wife, as Ibn Bibi reported.

- Akurgal, Ancient
Akurgal, Kunst
Akyürek et al. 2003
Alp, Mezar
Arabi, Al-Hikam
Arık, Kubad
Arnold, Painting
Aslanapa, Türk
Atila, Aspendos
Austin, Sufis
Aziz 1933
Barracand – Bednorz, Andalusia
Barry, Figurative Art
Bartur, Rainbow
Bean, Kleinasien
Belli, Van
Bibi, Evamiru'l-Ale'iyeye
Bilici 2001/2
Blair – Bloom, Art
Bosworth, Ghaznavids
Bulliet, Islam
Burns, Syria
Can 2005
Canby, Painting
Carbonari, Glass
Chittick, Rumi
Çaycı, Gezegen
E. Akurgal, Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey, Istanbul 1985.
E. Akurgal, Kunst in der Türkei, Munich 1980.
E. Akyürek – A. Tiryaki – G. Kızılkaya, Antalya'nın Doyran ve Aşağıkaraman Köylerindeki Bizans Mimari Varlığı, Arkeoloji ve Sanat, 112, Ocak-Şubat 2003, 13–26.
Ş. Alp, Antalya'da bir Anıt Mezar: Hıdırlık Kulesi. Arkeolojisi, Rölöve, Restorasyon ve Restitüsyon Projesi (Unpublished Master Thesis), Akdeniz University, Department of Archeology, Antalya 2005.
Ibn Al' Arabi, Fusus al-Hikam: Wisdom of the Prophets, (trans. by) T. Burckhardt – A. Culme-Seymour – Swyre Farm, Gloucestershire 1975.
R. Arık, Kubad Abad, Ankara 2000.
Sir T. W. Arnold, Painting in Islam. A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture, New York 1928 (reprinted 1965).
O. Aslanapa, Türk Sanatı, Istanbul 1989.
I. Akan Atila, Aspendos, Antalya 2007.
R. W. J. Austin, Sufis of Andalusia. The Ruh al-Quds and al-Durrat al-Fakhira of Ibn 'Arabi, London, 1971
A. Aziz, Aspendos, Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi 1, 1933, 99–106.
M. Barracand – A. Bednorz, Moorish Architecture in Andalusia, Cologne 2002.
M. Barry, Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzad of Herat (1465–1535), Paris 2004.
E. Bartur, A Rainbow Linking East and West 2, YKB Exhibition Catalogue. Istanbul 1994.
G. E. Bean, Kleinasien 2. Die türkische Südküste von Antalya bis Alanya, Munich 1970.
O. Belli, Tarih Boyunca Van, Istanbul 2004.
Ibn Bibi El-Hüseyin b. Muhammed b. Ali El-Ca'feri Er-Rugadi, El Evamiru'l-Ale'iyeye Fi'L-Umuri'l-Ala'iyeye, Vol. I-II: Selçukname (trans. by) M. Öztürk, Ankara 1996.
Z. Kenan Bilici, Köprüpazar (Belkis) Köprüsü Kitabesi Üzerine, Adalya V, 173–86.
S. S. Blair – J. Bloom, Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800, New Haven & London 1995.
C. E. Bosworth, The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay, the Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040–1186, Edinburgh 1977.
R. Bulliet, Islam. The View from the Edge, New York 2001.
R. Burns, Monuments of Syria. A historical Guide, London 1996.
B. Can, Antoninler Dönemi Baroğu Işığında Aspendos Tiyatrosu Bezemeleri, Adalya VIII, 2005, 89–119.
S. R. Canby, Persian Painting, London 1993.
S. Carboni, Glass from Islamic Lands, London 2001.
W. C. Chittick, The Sufi Path of Love. The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi, Albany 1983.
A. Çaycı, Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatı'nda Gezegen ve Burç Tasvirleri, An-

- kara 2002.
- Çelebi, Seyahatname Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname: Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi Vol. II, VIII, X (edd. by) Z. Kurşun – S. A. Kahraman – Y. Dağlı, İstanbul 1999.
- Çulpan, Köprüler E. T. C. Çulpan, Türk Taş Köprüleri, Ankara 1975.
- Demir – Türkmen 2006 G. Demir – S. Türkmen, Documentation Work at the Şekerhane Köşkü at Ancient Selinus in 2005, Anmed 2006, 153–156.
- Demir – Türkmen 2008 G. Demir – S. Türkmen, Excavation and Documentation Work in 2007 at the Şekerhane Köşkü (Cenotaph) at Ancient Selinus Anmed 2008, 168–171.
- Demirer, Antalya Ü. Demirer, Antalya Museum, Ankara 2005.
- Dorsay et al., İlim M. Dorsay – S. Tekeli – Y. Unat, El-Cami Beyne'l-ilm ve'l-'Amel En-Nafi Fi Es-Sinaa Ti'l-Hiyel, Ankara 2002.
- Duggan 2004 T. M. P. Duggan, A short account of recorded calamities (earthquakes and plagues) in Antalya Province and adjacent and related areas over the past 2,300 years – an incomplete list, comments and observations, ADALYA VII, 2004, 123–170.
- Duggan 2005 T. M. P. Duggan, Supplementary data to be added to the chronology of plagues and earthquakes in Antalya Province and in adjacent and related areas, ADALYA VIII, 2005, 357–398.
- Duggan 2006 T. M. P. Duggan, The motifs employed on Rum Seljuk 13th century eight pointed star tiles from Antalya Province and elsewhere in Anatolia: An Interpretation, ADALYA IX, 2006, 149–219.
- Duggan 2007 T. M. P. Duggan, A 13th cen. profile portrait seal depicting the face of the Rum Seljuk Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I (1220–37) from Antalya Province – Precedents and Possible Influence, ADALYA X, 2007, 309–350.
- Duggan 2008a T. M. P. Duggan, The Paintwork and Plaster on Emdir and Kırkgöz Hans by Antalya and some Implications drawn concerning the original appearance of 13th c. Seljuk State buildings, ADALYA XI, 2008, 321–360.
- Duggan 2008b T. M. P. Duggan, Antalya'nın Selçuklu İçkalesinin Yerinin Saptanmasının Teknik Öyküsü, (trans. by) T. Kahya, Toplumsal Tarih, Sayı 172, Nisan, 2008, 30–35.
- Duggan 2008c T. M. P. Duggan, Aspendos Tiyatrosunun 1930 Yılı Restorasyonu ve Sahne Binası içindeki Selçuklu Sarayına İlişkin Yeni Bulgu ve Gözlemler, in: M. Oral(ed.), “20 Yüzyılda Antalya Sempozyumu”, Kasım 2007, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi yayını 2008, Vol. II, 497–511 (the photographs are no longer numbered, are oddly compressed and are not printed in order).
- Duggan, Gizli Tarih T. M. P. Duggan, Antalya'nın Gizli Tarihi. 2300 Yıl İçerisinde Bölgede Yaşanan Depremlerin ve Vebaların Kronolojisi, (çev.) M. Oktan, İstanbul 2011 (in print).
- Durukan 2001 A. Durukan, Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kaynakları Çerçevesinde Bani-ler, Sanat Tarihi Defterleri 5, 2001, 43–132.
- Eastwick, Sadi E. B. Eastwick, The Rose Garden of Shekh Muslihu'd-Din Sadi of Shiraz, London 1974.
- Erten, Livas S. F. Erten, Antalya Livası Tarihi, Antalya (1922) 1997.
- Eser 2006 E. Eser, Anadolu–Suriye Sanat İlişkileri, in: A.U. Peker – K.Bilici(ed.), Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı, 2 Vols, Ankara

- 2006, 67–73.
- Ettinghausen – Grabar, Art R. Ettinghausen – O. Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam (650–1250)*, New Haven – London 1994.
- Fellows, Travels C. Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor (more particularly in Lycia)*, London (1852) 1975.
- Firat, Seljuks S. Firat, *Selçuklu Sanatı: The Art of the Seljuks*, Ankara 1996 (No page numbers).
- Flemming, Landschaftsgeschichte B. Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964.
- Freely, Eastern J. Freely, *The Eastern Mediterranean Coast of Turkey*, Istanbul 1998.
- Gazioğlu, Cyprus A. C. Gazioğlu, *The Turks in Cyprus, a Province of the Ottoman Empire (1571–1878)*, London 1990.
- Goodwin 1994 G. Goodwin, *Anatolian Bridges of the Saljuq period in: R. Hillenbrand (ed), The art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, Costa Mesa 1994, 269–77.
- Güçlü, Serik M. Güçlü, *1864–1950 yılları arasında Serik (İdari, Ekonomik, Sosyal)*, Antalya 2000.
- Hattstein – Delius, Art P. Delius – M. Hattstein, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, Cologne 2000.
- Hellenkemper – Hild TIB8 H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Band 8, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, Teil I, Wein 2004.
- Hillenbrand, Architecture R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture. Form, Function and Meaning*, Edinburgh 2000.
- Irwin, Islamic Art R. Irwin, *Islamic Art*, London 1997.
- Işin, Aladdin E. Işin, Ed. *Aladdin's Lamp. Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat and the art of the Anatolian Seljuks*, Yapı Kredi Exhb. Cat, Istanbul 2001.
- İpşiroğlu, Ahtamar M. Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Ahtamar Kilisesi Işıklı Canlanan Duvarlar*, Istanbul 2003.
- Jones, Cities A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Province*, Oxford 1998.
- Karaçağ 2006 A. Karaçağ, *Alçı Sanatı*, in: A. U. Peker – K. Bilici (ed.), *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler dönemi uygarlığı*, 2 Volumes, Ankara 2006, 493–505.
- Karamut 2003 I. Karamut, *Work by Alanya Museum in 2002*, *News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean areas (ANMED)*, 2003–1, 53–4.
- Karamut 2004 I. Karamut, *The work carried out by Alanya Museum in 2003*, *News from Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean areas (ANMED)*, 2004–2, 119–120.
- Kessener – Piras 1998 P. Kessener – S. Piras, *The Aspendos Aqueduct and the Roman–Seljuk Bridge across the Eurymedon*, *ADALYA III*, 1998, 149–168.
- Laborde, Voyage Léon de Laborde, *Voyage en Orient I*, Paris 1839.
- Lanckoronski, Die Städte K. Graf v. Lanckoronski, *Die Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, Wein 1890.
- Lane-Fox, Pagans R. Lane-Fox, *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean World from the second century A.D. to the Conversion of Constantine*, London 1986.
- Lings, Muhammad M. Lings, *Muhammad. His life based on the earliest sources*, London 1983.
- Lloyd – Storm Rice, Alanya S. Lloyd – D. Storm Rice, *Alanya ('Ala'iyya)*, London 1958.
- Lyons – Jackson, Saladin M. C. Lyons – D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin. The politics of the Holy War*, New York 1997.
- Mitchell, Anatolia S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, Vol. II, *The*

- Rise of the Church, Oxford 1995.
- Nizami, Chosrou
Okay, Çiniler
Onat, Antalya
Öney – Erginsoy, El Sanatları
Öney 1971
Önge 1989
Özgür, Aspendos
Pancaroğlu 2005
Parlar, Sikke
Pirajano, Serpents
Redford 1993
Redford 1996
Redford 1997
Rice 1968
Riefstahl 1931
Riefstahl, Turkish Architecture
Robinson, Persian
Rogers – Ward, Süleyman
Rossetto – Sartorio, Teatri
Rumi, Mathnavi
Rypka 1968
Sarre, Konya
Sear, Theatres
Stark, Letters
Süslü, Tasvir
Tabbaa, Transformation
- Nizami, Chosrou und Schirin, trans. by J. Christoph Bürgel, München 1980.
S. Okay, Antalya Müzesindeki Aspendos Çiniler, Lisans Tezi, Ankara D.T.C. Fak., 1985.
B. Onat, Bir Zamanlar Antalya; Bir Antalya Sevdalısının Kaleminden, İstanbul 2000.
G. Öney – Ü. Erginsoy, Anadolu Selçuklu Mimari Süslemesi ve El Sanatları, Maden Sanatı, Ankara 1992.
G. Öney, Anadolu Selçuk Mimarisinde Arslan Figürü, Anadolu (Anatolia) XIII, 1971, 1–64.
Y. Önge, Alanya ve Alara Kalelerindeki Selçuklu Hamamları, in: Antalya 3. Selçuklu Semineri, 1989, 117–124.
M. Edip Özgür, Aspendos, İstanbul 1988.
O. Pancaroğlu, Seljuks of Iran and their successors – The Emergence of Turkic Dynastic Presence in the Islamic World: Cultural Experiences and Artistic Horizons, 950–1250, in: D.J. Roxburgh (ed.), Turks – A Journey of a Thousand Years 600–1600, London 2005, 70–101.
G. Parlar, Anadolu Selçuklu Sikkelerinde Yazı Dışı Figüratif Ögeler, Ankara 2002.
A. Denti di Pirajano, A Cure for Serpents; A doctor in Africa, London 1955.
S. Redford, The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique, Muqarnas X, 1993, 148–156.
S. Redford, Seljuk pavilions and enclosures in and around Alanya, AST XIV/1, 1996, 453–467.
S. Redford, Pavilions Southeast of Alanya, AST XV/1, 1997, 71–95.
T. T. Rice, Some reflections aroused by four Seljukid stucco statues Anatolica II, 1968, 112–121.
R. M. Riefstahl's, Persian Islamic Stucco Sculpture, The Art Bulletin, Vol. XIII, 1931, Plates 514–519.
R. M. Riefstahl, Turkish Architecture in South West Anatolia, Cambridge Mass. 1931.
B. W. Robinson, Fifteenth-Century Persian Painting. Problems and Issues, New York – London 1991.
J. M. Rogers – R. M. Ward, Süleyman the Magnificent; Ex. Cat., London 1988.
P. C. Rossetto – G. P. Sartorio, Teatri greci e romani II, Rome 1994.
The Mathnawi of Jalalud'din Rumi, (trans.) R. A. Nicholson, Books I–VI, Cambridge (1934) 1982.
J. Rypka, Poets and Prose writers of the Late Saljuq and Mongol Periods, in: J. A. Boyle (ed.), The Saljuq and Mongol Periods. The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 5, Cambridge 1968, 550–625.
F. Sarre, Konya Köşkü, (trans, notes, Ş. Uzluk), Ankara 1989.
F. Sear, Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study, Oxford 2006.
F. Stark, Letters from Syria, London 1942.
Ö. Süslü, Tasvirlere Göre Anadolu Selçuklu Kıyafetleri, Ankara 1989.
Y. Tabbaa, The transformation of Islamic art during the Sunni Revival,

- London 2002.
- Texier, Asya
Titley 1972
Turan, Selçuklular
Uysal 2001
Uyumaz, I. Alaeddin
Ünal 1974
Workman, Persecution
Yavuz 2000
Yetkin 1969–70
Yılmaz, Antalya
- C. Texier, Küçük Asya Coğrafyası 3, (trans. by) A. Suat, Ankara 2002.
- N. M. Titley, A 14th century Nizami Manuscript in Tehran, *Kunst des Orients* VIII, 1972, 120–125.
- O. Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, İstanbul 1993.
- A. O. Uysal, Kubad–Abad Kazı Buluntularında Sikkeler ve Mühürler, in: I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi, II Vol, Konya 2001, 389–396.
- E. Uyumaz, Sultan I. Alaeddin Keykubad Devri Türkiye Selçuklu Devleti Siyasi Tarihi (1220–1237), Ankara 2003.
- İ. Ünal, Antalya Bolgesindeki Çinili Eserler, *Türk Ethnografya Dergisi* XIV, 1974, 15–55.
- B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, London 1923.
- A. T. Yavuz, Antalya Kemer'deki Selçuklu Köşkü, in: O. Aslanapa – E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Emin Bilgiç Hatıra Kitabı, İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı*, İstanbul 2000, 297–302.
- Ş. Yetkin, Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad'ın Alara Kalesi Kasrı Hamamındaki Freskler, *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* III, 1969–70, 69–88.
- L. Yılmaz, Antalya (16. Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar), Ankara 2002.

Özet

Bazı yayımlanmamış *in situ* ve 13. yy. Rum Selçuklu dönemine kaydedilmiş Antalya Belkıs (Aspendos) Sarayı'nda dış ve iç duvarlardaki kabartma figürlerinin yorumlanması

Bu makale dört bölüme ayrılmıştır: İlk bölüm, Suriye Busra'daki Roma tiyatrosunun Eyyubi Sarayına dönüştürülmesinin, Belkıs–Aspendos'taki Roma tiyatrosunun Rum Selçuklu Sarayına dönüştürülmesine emsal teşkil ettiğini ve 13. yy'ın ilk yarısında Rum Selçuklu Sultanları tarafından önemli mimari projelerde, tanınmış Suriyeli eğitimli mimar kullanımını incelemektedir. İkinci bölümde, 2007 yılında yazar tarafından keşfedilmiş, boyu yaklaşık 10 metreye kadar uzanan kedi türü hayvanlar ve bir geyikten oluşan iki sıra Selçuk hafif kabartma tasvirleri betimlenmektedir. Bu tasvirler, parados üzerine kurulu köşkün güneye açılan kapısının dış duvarında, yeniden oyulmuş bir dizi Roma kireçtaşı bloğu ve kapının lentosu üzerinde bulunmaktadır. Bu hafif kabartma tasvirleri yüzeyindeki incelikli murç izlerinin, sarayın dış duvar yüzeyindeki sıva, boya ve oyma uygulanarak yapılan kabartmayı tutturma amaçlı olduğu önerilmektedir. Üçüncü bölüm, 13. yy'da *sceanae frons* alınlığındaki Roma Dionysus kabartmasını gizleyen alçı plasterden yapılmış, boyalı Selçuk tympanum heykel kabartması ile ilgilidir. 19. yy'ın erken dönemlerinde, Charles Texier tarafından hem metninde hem de özenli ve detaylı bir şekilde yapmış olduğu çizimlerinde tesadüfen kaydedilmiş çıplak kadın figürlü heykel kabartma tasviri ve aynı şekilde *sceanae frons* alınlığında yeniden kazanmış korniş üzerinde bulunan altı adet taşta oyulmuş Selçuk büstlerinden kalan kalıntılar tanımlanmaktadır. Önceki görünümüne dair hem kaydedilmiş bu *in situ* bulgular, hem de bu 13. yy saray içi kabartmasının anlamı ve yine buna bağlı olarak Aspendos yakınındaki yerleşim yerinin neden 13. yy. da olduğu gibi bugün hala Belkıs olarak adlandırıldığı belirtilmektedir. Bu boyalı plaster kabartmanın, Belkıs Sarayı hareminin iç duvarını süslemiş olduğu ve bu, “Pınarda Yıkanan Şirin” temalı geç minyatür boyamalarında ün kazanmış ve yaklaşık 1186 yılında tamamlanan Nizami Gencevi'nin Hemse'sindeki beş büyük eserinden ikincisinin, yani Nizami'nin ünlü Hüsrev ve Şirin metninin beraberinde verildiği sahnenin bütün örnekleri arasında en erken kayıtlı betimleme olarak görünmektedir. Bu heykel kabartmasının, ilk görünümünün büyük

olasılıkla, bu işi Nizami'den sipariş eden ve yine Nizami'nin "Hüsrev ve Şirin" eserini ithaf ettiği 1176–1194 yıllarında hüküm süren son büyük Selçuklu Sultanı üçüncü Tuğrul'un sarayına ait Nizami'nin eserinden resmedilmiş saray minyatür resminin bir kopyasına dayandığı ileri sürülmektedir. Bu bakımdan, aksi halde bilemeyeceğimiz Selçuk saray minyatür resmine ilişkin önemli bilgiler sağlar, zira 12. yy Selçuk saray resim işçiliği örnekleri yüzyılların akışı içerisinde hayatta kalmamıştır. Texier tarafından kaydedilen alınlıktaki bu Rum Selçuk boyalı sıvası, yüksek kabartma heykelinin *in situ* kalıntıları, bugün hala alınlıktaki sıva ve yeniden oyulmuş korniş üzerindeki Selçuklu büstlerinde belirlenemeyen bir tarihe ait boya işçiliği izleri kalmışsa da, 19. yy'ın ortasında silah atışıyla büyük ölçüde tahrip edilmiştir. Yine aynı şekilde, alınlıktaki çıplak Şirin figürüne eşlik eden gerçek ölçülü figürler olarak bu altı adet büstü kaplayan alçı, sarayın bu bölümünün üzerinde duran çatının kaybını takiben daha korunmasız hale gelmesinden ötürü, 19. yy'dan uzun zaman önce kaybolmuştur. Son bölümde ise bu saray kabartma işçiliğine dair 1236–1240 yılları arasına yapılan tarihlendirme önerilerinin nedenleri verilmektedir. Rum Selçuklu Sultanlığında, Sultan Keyhüsrev'in uzun zamandır beklenen gelininin – Keyhüsrev'in Şirin'inin– gelişi ve Gıyasedin Keyhüsrev tarafından Kafkas eşine, Keyhüsrev'in Şirin'ine, "onun Belkıs'ına" –zira ikinci Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev çağdaşları tarafından ikinci bir Süleyman ve eşi Şirin ise Belkıs olarak biliniyordu– düğün hediyesi olarak sunulan bu yapının Selçuklu Sarayına dönüştürülmesi 1240 tarihine rastlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sultan ikinci Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev; Rum Selçuk heykeli; Aspendos; Belkıs; Nizami Gencevi; Keyhüsrev ve Şirin; 12. yy. minyatürleri; sıvalı plaster; İslami figürlü heykel; Selçuklu Sarayı.



Fig. 1: Lion carved on the lintel above the door.



Fig. 2a: A dirham struck by Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II, from Batur Rainbow, Cat. No. 46.



Fig. 2b: A dirham struck by Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II, from Batur Rainbow, Cat. No. 48.



Fig. 3: Upper row of relief carvings.



Fig. 4: Feline to left.



Fig. 5: Feline, with sun symbol between forepaws?



Fig. 6: Feline.



Fig. 7: Lower row of relief carvings.



Fig. 8: Deer.



Fig. 9: Seated feline.



Fig. 10: Feline or just possibly a hunting dog pouncing.



Fig. 12: General view of this façade.

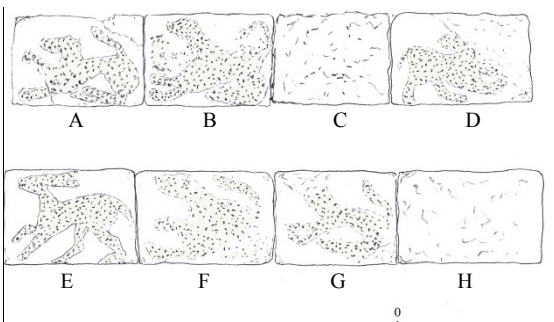


Fig. 11: Measured drawing of these silhouette relief carved blocks (A. Aygün).



Fig. 13: Detail of the pecking.



Fig. 14: The indications and *in situ* remains of the two roofs remaining on the lintel.

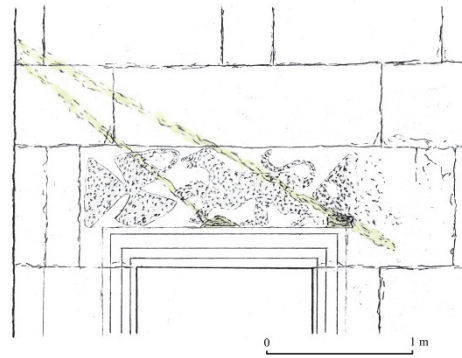


Fig. 15: Measured drawing of the *in situ* remains of the later roofs on the lintel (A. Aygün).

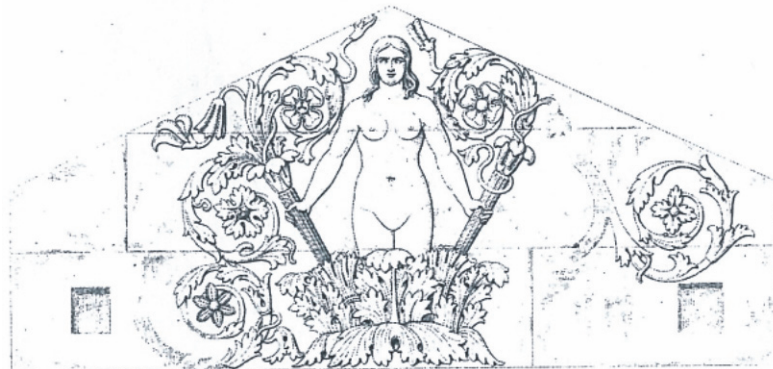


Fig. 16: Texier's drawing of the tympanum relief.

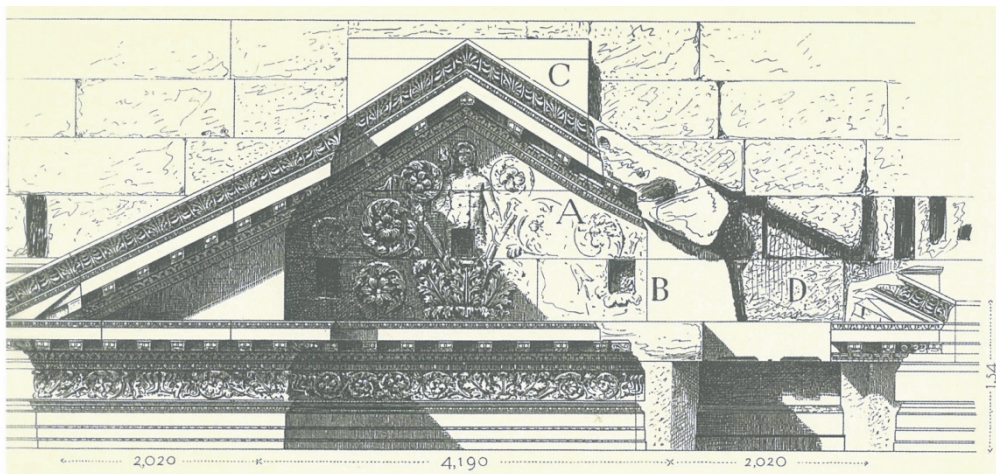


Fig. 17: Niemann's record of the tympanum relief.



Fig. 18: General view of the busts carved on the cornice and the area of pecking below the outermost busts on either side.



Fig. 19: The busts to the left of the central figure, the pottery and mortar attached to the conglomerate block to the left of the cornice



Fig. 20: The busts to the right of the central figure



Fig. 21: Drawing of the busts to the left of the central figure



Fig. 22: Drawing of the busts to the right of the central figure



Fig. 23a: Near life size Seljuk painted palace stucco figure (from Aslanapa Turk)



Fig. 23b: Near life size 13th c. Seljuk painted palace stucco figure (from Ettinghausen Art)

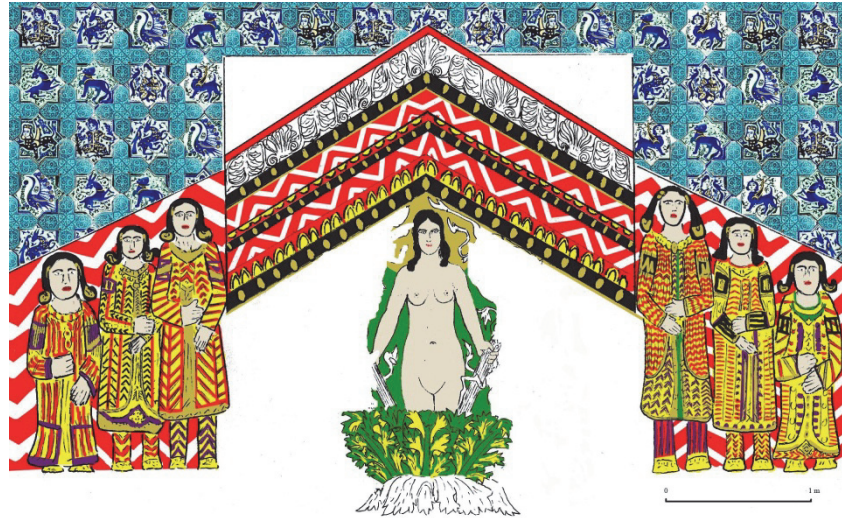


Fig. 24: Speculative reconstruction of the appearance of the palace tympanum relief, with and without rosettes (computer images generated by A. Aygün). The area un-tiled above the pediment cornice was covered, from the *in situ* pecking, in high relief stucco-work although the subject of this stucco work is unknown and this area is left blank. The area between the central figure in the pediment and the attendant figures to either side in the 13th c. was at least in part, from the *in situ* stucco remains by the head, covered in stucco, and I suspect the area of volutes may, given the areas of earlier defacing, have also been concealed, the stucco-work presumably extending from the attendant figures towards the central figure, free-standing or tied to the volutes for support, but representing what forms and in what manner I am unable to hazard, although almost certainly with some indication of foliage-forest and perhaps carrying indications of the water of the pool, possibly even the horse Shadib.

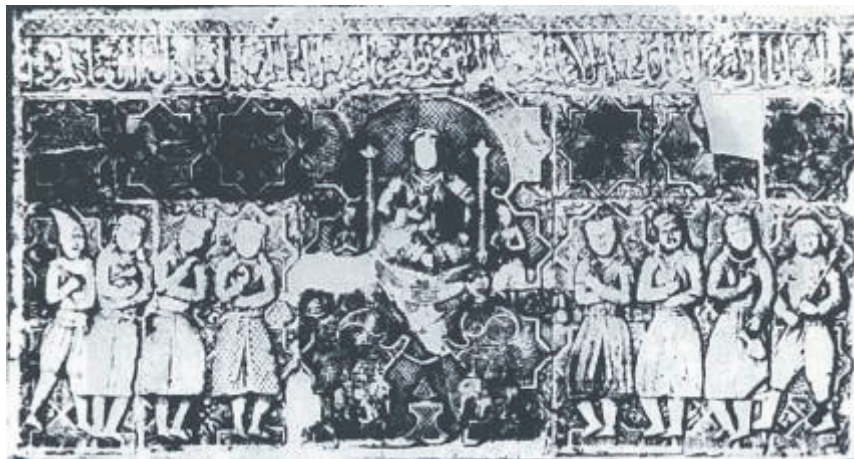


Fig. 25: The stucco relief depicting Sultan Togril III enthroned with courtiers to right and left, (from Süslü Tasvir, res. 274).



Fig. 26: Areas of yellow paint and red painted stone block outline on the block adjacent to the end of the upper row.



Fig. 27: Traces of a red border and yellow areas of paint in the upper right corner of the block directly above the first feline in the upper row.



Fig. 28: The remains of stucco infilling in the border to the tympanum and around the head together with surrounding bullet marks.



Fig. 29: A line of red paint still attached to the upper edge of the re-carved block shown in Fig. 6, block E



Fig. 30: Detail of paintwork in the eye of the lower bust.

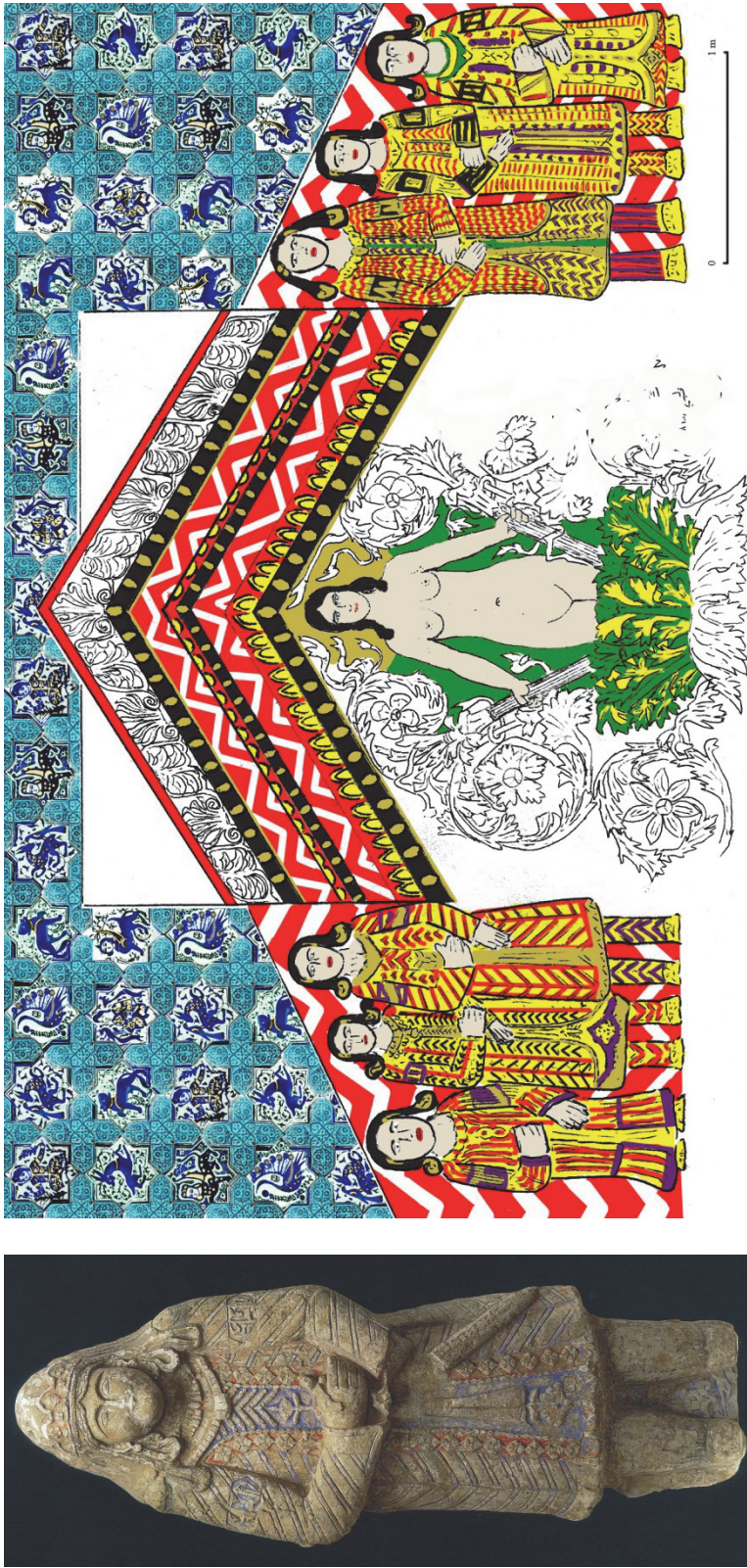


Fig. 32.

Fig. 26c: Near life size Seljuk 12th c. painted palace sruccho figure measuring 144 cms. in height (from Pan-caroglu 2005)