

ALANYA ('ALĀ'IYYA)

by

SETON LLOYD and D. STORM RICE

Published by

THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT ANKARA

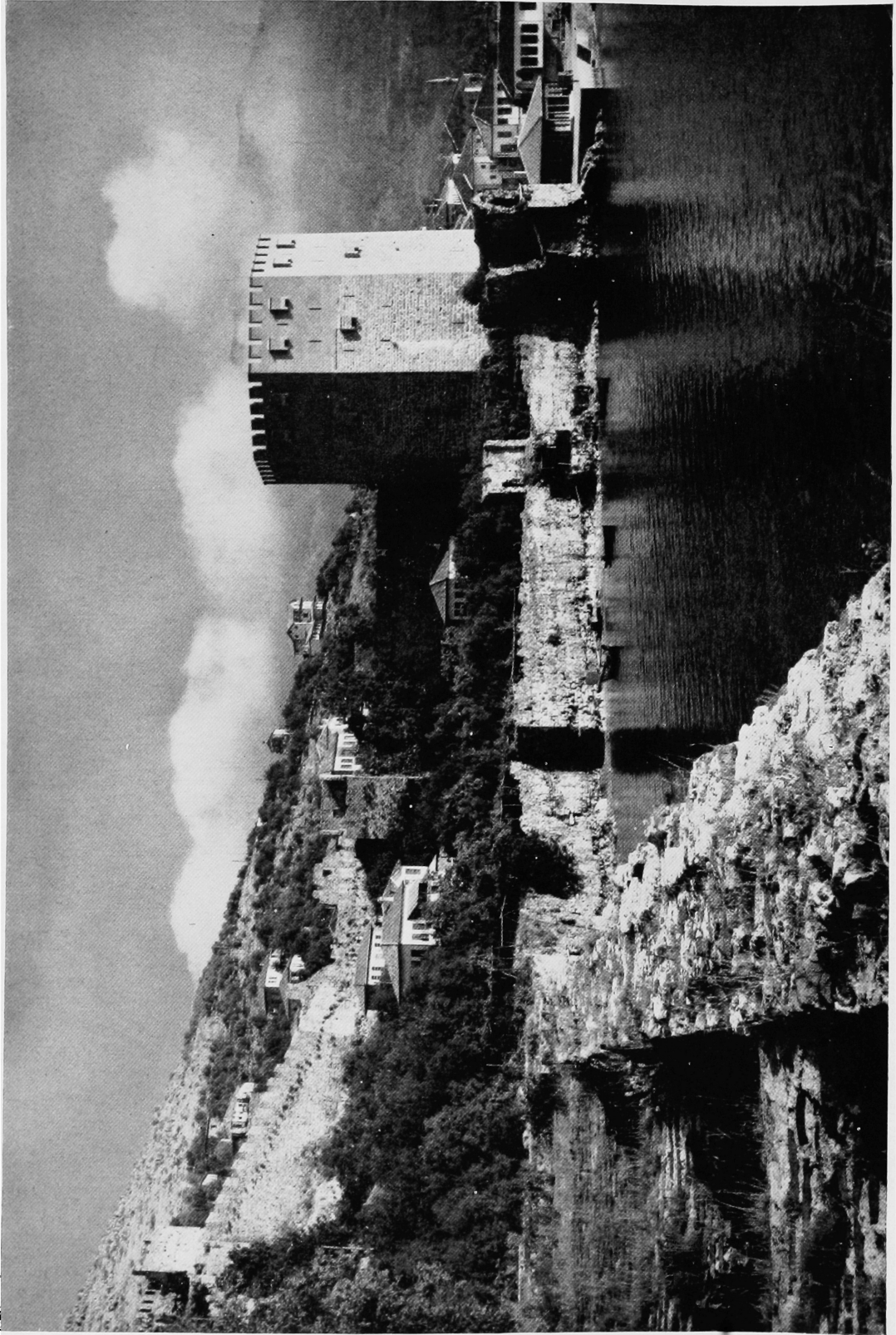
56 QUEEN ANNE STREET

LONDON, W.1

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ALANYA ('ALĀ'IYYA)



The Kizil Kule seen from the roof of the Tersane.

OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS
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No. 4

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SETON LLOYD and D. STORM RICE

Foreword by

STEVEN RUNCIMAN

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FOREWORD

The great peninsular rock of Alanya is one of the most striking spectacles to be seen along the south coast of Anatolia, with its sheer cliffs and its walls and houses, which have been described as resembling a chess-board placed on its end. Its present name is due to a modern misprint. To the ancient Greeks it was Korakesion, to the Byzantines Kalonoros, the Beautiful Mountain; and to the Latins of the Middle Ages who learnt much of their geography from Greek sailors it was Candelore or Lescandelour. It owes its name, 'Alā'iyya, and its importance to the great early thirteenth-century Seljuq Sultan of Rūm, 'Alā'ud-dīn Kayqubād, who captured the rock from a petty Armenian lord and founded a city to serve as a sea-port, a fortress and a summer resort. Its proximity to the Seljuq capital of Konya and the magnificent harbour which 'Alā'ud-dīn constructed ensured its prosperity. After the collapse of the Seljuq empire it passed under the suzerainty of the Qaramānoğlu princes, sometimes with local princes ruling under them. But its strategic and commercial importance was maintained. The Lusignan kings of Cyprus tried more than once to establish control over it; and both the Turks and the Egyptians used it as a base for attacks on the island. With the expansion of the Ottoman empire and the consequent changing of the trade routes and the general decline of maritime commerce in the eastern Mediterranean, it began to sink into insignificance and was easily occupied by Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror in 1472.

When the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa landed at Alanya in 1333 and was received by its emir, "seated by the sea-shore with his hair dyed black" in his pleasure-garden a few miles away, it was a great city with a huge fortress and amiable inhabitants whose only fault was their addiction to hashish. In 1811, when Captain Beaufort, R.N., called there, it was a desolate place with an open roadstead, a few miserable houses and a disagreeable population numbering less than two thousand souls. He was disappointed to find no old Greek inscriptions but noted some inscriptions in Arabic which, unfortunately, were "very differently translated by different persons".

It is still a small town, but picturesque and friendly; and its unimportance has preserved it from worse ravages than those of time. It remains perhaps the least spoilt Seljuq site that can now be found in Anatolia; and this study of its buildings and inscriptions will be of enormous value to the historian of the little-known politics, arts and technical achievements of the Turks of the Seljuq and Qaramān periods.

London, 1958

STEVEN RUNCIMAN

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A Survey of Seljuq monuments in Asia Minor is urgently needed for a better understanding and appreciation of Islamic architecture. This can most fruitfully be done by a series of monographs each dealing with the monuments of a given locality. The present Occasional Publication is based on work carried out at Alanya in 1953 by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara with the help of a grant from the Walker Trust.

One of us, who directed the expedition, is responsible for the architectural survey, for the drawings and plans reproduced here and for the description of the monuments. The other provided the short historical introduction, the photographs and the chapter on the Arabic inscriptions. Mr. M. Ballance made the plan of the Kızıl Kule and the small church in the İç Kale. Mr. M. Gough kindly supplied the interpretation of the Greek inscription from Oba (p. 69). The general plan of the site is based on an air-photograph made available by the Chief of Staff of the Turkish Air Force. Our thanks are also due to the Turkish Antiquities Department and to Bay Ahmet Tokuş, Deputy for Antalya, for much friendly help and advice.

London, 1958

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D.S.R.

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| FOREWORD | v |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | vi |
| PROVINCE OF ANTALYA—MAP | <i>facing</i> 1 |
| KORAKESION—KALONOROS— ‘ALĀ’IYYA—ALANYA | 1 |
| ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION— THE SETTING | 9 |
| BUILDINGS ON THE MAINLAND | 41 |
| THE INSCRIPTIONS | 49 |

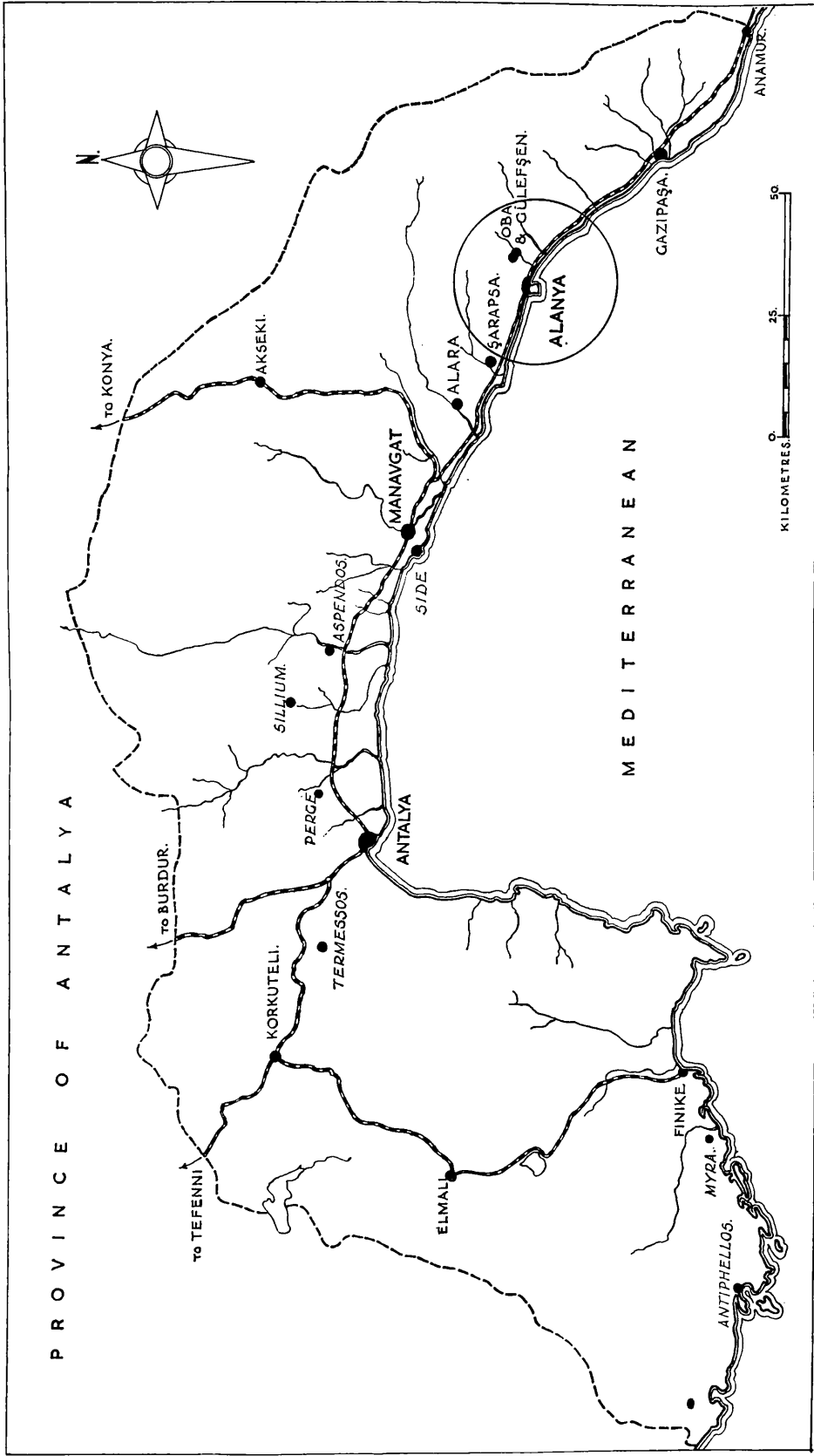
LIST OF FIGURES

| | PAGE |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| FIG. 1 General Plan of Site | 10 |
| FIG. 2 The Kızıl Kule | 13 |
| FIG. 3 Plans and section of Kızıl Kule | 14 |
| FIG. 4 Tersane Ground Plan | 17 |
| FIG. 5 Sea Elevation | <i>facing</i> 18 |
| FIG. 6 Towers flanking the Tersane | 19 |
| FIG. 7 Orta Kapı | 21 |
| FIG. 8 Erkapı | 23 |
| FIG. 9 Ehmedek | 24 |
| FIG. 10 Elevation of Ehmedek | 26 |
| FIG. 11 Graffiti in room of Ehmedek | 27 |
| FIG. 12 Süleymaniya Camı | 29 |
| FIG. 13 Hân and Bedestan | 31 |
| FIG. 14 Akşebî türbesi | 32 |
| FIG. 15 İç Kale | <i>facing</i> 33 |
| FIG. 16 Byzantine Church in İç Kale | 34 |
| FIG. 17 Seljuk Hammâm | 35 |
| FIG. 18 Arap Evliyası | 37 |
| FIG. 19 Cilvarda Burnu | 39 |
| FIG. 20 Oba Medrese | 42 |
| FIG. 21 Güleşen | 44 |
| FIG. 22 Şarapsa Hân | 46 |
| FIG. 23 Alara Hân | 47 |

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE

- Frontispiece.*—The Kızıl Kule seen from the roof of the Tersane.
- I (a) The Tersane from the roof of the Kızıl Kule. (b) The First and Second Sectors.
- II The Tersane. (a) From the sea. (b) The north entrance. (c) Interior.
- III Kale Kapısı—the main gate of the castle.
- IV (a) West wall of the İç Kale. (b) Kale Kapısı seen from the interior. In the foreground the sarniç.
- V (a) Tophane from the roof of the Tersane. (b) Inscription on same (No. 4). (c) Inscription over entrance to Tersane (No. 5). (d) Inscription on tower south of Tersane (No. 7).
- VI (a) The Meyyit Kapısı. (b) Curtain wall east of Kızıl Kule. (c) Main wall and curtain wall. Insc. No. 12. (d) Tele-lens photograph of insc. No. 12.
- VII (a) Entrance to Arap Evliyası. (b) Hellenistic masonry near same. (c) Detail of door. (d) Akşebe türbesi.
- VIII (a) Inscription over Kale Kapısı No. 14. (b) Kale Kapısı. Note checker decoration. (c) Insc. No. 16. (d) Insc. No. 15.
- IX (a) The Cilvarda Burnu. (b) Fresco on pendentive of dome in church of the İç Kale. (c) Monastery on Burun. (d) Church in İç Kale.
- X The Ehmedek seen from the İç Kale.
- XI (a) Staircase in Alara Hân. (b) Alara castle. (c) Inscription over entrance to Alara Hân (No. 36). (d) Şarapsa Hân.
- XII (a) Hân (Bezeztan). (b) Detail of vaulting in hân. (c) Wall of Fourth Sector. (d) Detail of (c).
- XIII Kızıl Kule inscriptions. (a) Insc. No. 1. (b) Insc. No. 2 detail. (c) Insc. No. 2. (d) Insc. No. 3.
- XIV (a) Andızlı Camı, Insc. No. 19. (b) Girene Çesme, Insc. No. 8. (c) Mecdüddin Sarniç, Insc. No. 20. (d) Andızlı Camı, Insc. No. 21. (e) Insc. No. 28.
- XV (a) Tower of Ehmedek, Insc. No. 17. (b) Meyyit Kapisi, Insc. No. 9. (c)–(f) Fragments in minaret and wall of Süleymaniya, Insc. Nos. 22, 26. (g) Greek inscription from medrese at Oba.
- XVI (a) Akşebe türbesi, Insc. No. 18. (b) Oba, Insc. of Güleşan mosque, No. 31. (c) Alanya, Fragment of Insc. No. 22. (d) Oba, Güleşan mosque, Insc. No. 32.



Facing p. 1.

KORAKESION—KALONOROS—ALĀ'YIYA—ALANYA

The antique city situated at the site of present-day Alanya was called Korakesion (Coracesium). It was counted at times among the cities of Cilicia Trachea and at others among those of Pamphylia.¹ Strabo, who considered Korakesion to be the first town met upon entering Cilicia Trachea from the west, describes it as a fortress perched on a steep rock.² Architectural evidence (see pp. 21, 24 f., 37) points, indeed, to an early occupation of the upper parts of the promontory. Some antique remains were incorporated in the medieval fortifications.

Korakesion lent itself well to defence by a small garrison. Its exceptionally strong natural defences and its excellent harbour made it an ideal refuge for pirates and rebels. Korakesion is first mentioned in history, in 199 B.C., for the effective resistance, which, alone of all Cilician cities, it put up against Antiochus III, the Great.³ Half a century later a local ruler, Diototus Tryphon, similarly refused allegiance to Antiochus VII (144–141 B.C.). This show of resistance inspired other rulers of small principalities in the neighbourhood (who had been wavering in their loyalty between the Seleucids of Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt) to rally forces and achieve some measure of independence.

The incessant quarrels of the Seleucids and Ptolemies and the initial lack of interference on the part of Rome created a political vacuum in Cilicia. This enabled the Armenians to push their conquests beyond the Taurus and unruly pirates gained the freedom of the sea. Cilicia became their principal base and the depot for their loot, but their operations quickly spread all over the Mediterranean.

In 75–74 B.C. Rome was at last stirred to take action. The proconsul Publius Servilius Vatia undertook a series of major campaigns against the pirates, but was unable to dislodge them from their strongholds in Cilicia Trachea, which, though officially numbered among the provinces of Rome escaped her control. It fell to Pompey in 65 B.C. to command the extensive operations which finally destroyed the power of the pirates. By a combination of simultaneous naval attacks in all sectors of the Mediterranean he forced them to seek refuge in Cilicia “as in a beehive”. The decisive engagement took place before Coracesium. There, Pompey destroyed the fleet of the pirates and laid siege to their mountain fastnesses.⁴ The battle of Coracesium put an end to nearly a century and a half of lawlessness.

Practically nothing is known of Korakesion in the early Christian and Byzantine periods. In company with other towns in Cilicia and Pamphylia it must have been converted to Christianity at an early date and was represented by a bishop at the early oecumenical councils. From navigators, to whom the promontory must have been a conspicuous landmark, it received the appellation “beautiful mountain”, καλὸν ὄρος and thus the city was

¹ Cf. Ruge in Pauly Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie, s.v. *Korakesion* and s.v. *Pamphylia*.

² Strabo, XIV, 668.

³ Tit. Liv. XXIII, 20.

⁴ Plutarch, Pompey, 28.

called Kalonoros by the Byzantines¹ and the name lived on in various deformations. Even after the Muslim conquest it was known to Armenians, Venetians, Genoese and Cypriots as: Candelor, Scandalore, Galanorum, etc.

The advent of the Muslims brought little change. Most of the south coast of Asia Minor escaped their domination. Their forces held permanent positions in Tarsus and elsewhere in the plain of Adana, but the forbidding nature of the coastal region made all attack along the seashore impracticable. Geographical conditions account for the immunity, isolation and obscurity of Korakesion-Kalonoros in the period before the Seljuq conquest. In addition to the difficulty of communications by land along the narrow and rugged coast-line of Cilicia Trachea, Kalonoros had next to no hinterland and access to the Anatolian plateau was rendered difficult by the towering chain of the Taurus mountains.

The natural communications of Kalonoros are with Antalya (Adalia, Satalia, Ἀττάλεια) to the west built by Attalus Philadelphus (158-138 B.C.) which, under the Romans, became the capital of Pamphylia and maintained its supremacy as the main port on the south coast of Asia Minor for many centuries. During the periods when Kalonoros was neither the base of operations of seafaring people, nor linked intimately to Antalya, its significance was negligible.

The Muslim conquest of Asia Minor was a gradual process. The main pressure along the Arabo-Byzantine frontier was for centuries maintained by the *ghāzīs*, those Muslim *limitanei*, a mixture of many races who formed a society with a code of its own. From the ninth century onwards the *ghāzīs* included a great number of Turks, but it was not until another two centuries had elapsed that the Turks gained a permanent foothold in Asia Minor. The opportunity came after the defeat inflicted on the Byzantines in 1071, at Mantzikert by another Turkish element: the Seljuqs. Though not originally planned by the Seljuqs who (having brought Persia and Mesopotamia under their domination) were seeking to annex Syria and Egypt,² the victory over the Byzantines was nevertheless exploited.

Sulaymān ibn Quṭlumush, a prince of a lateral Seljuq line, was dispatched to Anatolia. There, with the help of the *ghāzīs* who were already intimately acquainted with conditions in the country and supported by Turkoman tribes, he was able to found the first real Muslim state on the territory of Asia Minor.

Under Seljuq pressure and owing to previous Byzantine vexations, many Armenians moved into Cilicia and a belt of independent Armenian dynasties was set up from there to the Euphrates. The Seljuqs invaded the central plateau and formed a Muslim tier to the north and west of the Armenian principalities. They made their temporary headquarters at Nicaea and always had in mind a return eastward to the centres of old Islamic culture. Here, not long after their appearance on the scene, they had to meet the eastward-marching Crusaders. Not until the middle of the twelfth century did the Seljuqs found a capital—Konya—and concentrate on creating a stable state.

¹ Const. Porphyrogenetus, *De cerim.*, II, 44.

² Cl. Cahen in *Byzantion*, IX (1934), 613-42.

For a century they were obliged to fight on many fronts and entered temporary alliances with some of their enemies to stave off the threat of others. The adversaries with whom they had to contend numbered not only the Byzantines, Crusaders and Armenians but also their own kinsmen and their initial allies the *ghāzīs* among whom the Dānishmends, on their eastern flank, were the most powerful.

By 1180 the Seljuqs had defeated the Dānishmends and annexed their dominions, they had reached a *modus vivendi* with the Crusaders and entertained reasonable—sometimes amicable—relations with the Greeks.¹ They had consolidated their position in their capital Konya and created an efficient administrative system on the lines of the old Islamic states with Persian as the official language.

One of the curious by-products of the establishment of the Latin Empire at Constantinople in 1204 was the relaxation of tension and stabilization of the Turco-Byzantine frontier. A balance of power was reached which enabled the Seljuq sultan Ghiyāth ud-dīn Kaykhusrev I to take Antalya from an Italian adventurer of Greek upbringing—Aldobrandini—in 1207. He thus gained the first Turkish foothold on the Mediterranean coast and entered into contact with the Venetians. His son, 'Izz ud-dīn Kaykā'ūs I, was able to capture the Byzantine emperor of Trebizond in 1214. As ransom for his release he exacted the payment of an annual tribute and the surrender of the almost impregnable fortress and port of Sinop. He thus gained the first Seljuq town on the Black Sea. When Kaykā'ūs I also reconquered Antalya (which for a brief period had been lost to the Franks) direct communications from coast to coast, across Asia Minor lay entirely in Seljuq territory. The state derived considerable advantage from this busy trade-route. The remaining years of Kaykā'ūs I were given to campaigns against the Armenians and to an ambitious scheme for establishing his suzerainty in northern Syria, which failed.

His death in 616/1219 brought about the release from prison and accession of his brother Kayqubād I who had contested Kaykā'ūs's right to the throne in 1210 and who had been defeated by him. Kayqubād assumed the title 'Alā'ud-dīn. At Konya, he received the allegiance of the various amirs and a diploma from the Abbasid caliph. At Kaiseri he was urged, among others by Mubārīz ud-dīn Artuqush, governor of Antalya, to extend his dominions on the south coast and to attack Kalonoros.

The lord of this, hitherto, impregnable castle was an Armenian of the Rupenid branch named Kir Fard.² Even in 618/1221 the attack by land and sea in which catapults were freely used would not have led to the castle's capitulation, had Mubārīz ud-dīn not been able to persuade Kir Fard, with whom, as governor of Antalya he was acquainted, to surrender peacefully. In addition to receiving a guarantee for himself, his property and family, Kir Fard also obtained the fief of Aqshehir in exchange for Kalonoros. 'Alā'ud-dīn then named the place 'Alā'iyya after himself for it was his first conquest

¹ P. Wittek in *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 294.

² Ibn Bībī in Houtsma, *Receuil*, IV, 97 ff.

since becoming sultan. The re-naming of a town is almost without parallel in the Seljuq annals. Places almost invariably retained their old names, easily distinguishable under their turcized form.¹ 'Alā'ud-dīn is then said to have destroyed the churches of the town and to have built mosques in their places which he endowed with pious foundations. This set formula in the chronicles need not be taken literally, for the church in the İç Kale (pl. IXd) can hardly have been built after the Seljuq conquest and everything indicates that the builders of the innermost fortifications took great care to respect it (see p. 34). 'Alā'ud-dīn then peopled the town with inhabitants from every part of his realm and settled artisans and scholars there. The Turkomans ('Üj) were allowed into the sown area round the town. Then he built the fortifications. Inscriptions at Alanya mentioning the name of 'Alā'ud-dīn range from 623 to 629/1226 to 1231 and show his constant interest in the place until three years before his death, when his activities in the eastern provinces and in Mesopotamia must have absorbed him completely.

On his triumphal return from Kalonoros to Antalya, 'Alā'ud-dīn is said to have noticed the castle of Alāra which belonged to a brother of Kir Fard. The name of this Armenian prince is not recorded but he is said to have retired as a monk to that mountain stronghold. When summoned to surrender he was seized by an attack of colic and died. The place was then surrendered by his followers.² Like Alanya, it was provided with new and powerful fortifications by 'Alā'ud-dīn and a *khān* was built near the river overlooked by the castle (see pp. 46-48).

The annexation of the whole of Pamphylia was but the first step in 'Alā'ud-dīn's career of conquest. During his reign the sultanate of Rūm attained the peak of its development. Scholars, poets, administrators, mystics found support and honour at the court of Konya. A grandiose building programme proclaimed everywhere the sultan's power and enlightened policy. Mosques, madrasas, hospitals and convents for mystics were built in the main Anatolian towns and caravanserais went up along the routes which linked them.³

The Seljuqs of Rūm outlived the eastern, senior, branch of the family and many of their monuments, unlike those of the Seljuqs of Persia, are still standing to bear witness to the high attainment of Seljuq art.

But for all the territorial aggrandisement which 'Alā'ud-dīn brought about in eastern Anatolia and despite the temporary annexation of several cities in upper Mesopotamia the sultanate was doomed. In alliance with the Ayyūbids he committed the fatal mistake of defeating the Khwārazmshāh, whose armies constituted the last obstacle in the face of the advancing Mongol invaders. Just before his death 'Alā'ud-dīn received the summons of the Mongol Khan Abaqā calling on him to surrender. Kaykhusrev II, 'Alā'ud-dīn's son,

¹ On the many survivals of ancient place names see P. Wittek, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie', in *Byzantion*, X (1935), 12-64.

² Houtsma, *Receuil*, IV, 103 ff.

³ Cf. K. Erdmann, Notizen zum inneranatolischen Karavansaray, in *Kunst des Orients* II, 1955, pp. 5-29.

became a Mongol vassal six years after his death. In 1243, "a detachment of the Mongol army was sufficient to route completely the army of the Seljuks, in spite of their Byzantine auxiliary troops and even Norman mercenaries. Henceforth the sultans of Konya sank lower and lower and became the vassals of the Mongols, who used them as convenient instruments for the exploitation of Anatolia."¹

The intervention of the Mamlūks of Egypt who penetrated into Asia Minor in 1277 did not lead to the expected uprising against the Mongols, whose oppressive regime only stiffened after the retreat of the Egyptian army. By 1300 the Seljuq possessions were dismembered by turbulent *ghāzīs* whose emirs had carved out small principalities for themselves.

The efflorescence of Alanya under 'Alā'ud-dīn was brief. There is no epigraphic evidence of any Seljuq building activity in the place after his death. During its period of prosperity conditions for trading at Antalya and Alanya were made attractive to foreign merchants. 'Alā'ud-dīn renewed the privileges granted to the Venetians before him by his brother Kaykā'ūs I and his father Kaykhusrev I. The imports of precious stones, pearls, gold and silver and that of wheat were exempted from duty and only a modest tax of 2 per cent was levied on other goods.² Together with Antalya, it shared in the cross-country trade-route leading to Sinop and benefited from the transit trade to Armenia which had considerably increased in importance and had made the "Turkey" of the day the richest country in the world.³

After the disintegration of the Seljuq sultanate in 1300 the lion share, together with control of the capital Konya, fell to the Qaramānoğlu. This *ghāzī* dynasty which had arisen in the eastern marches controlled many mountain strongholds and several passes in the Taurus chain, as well as a long stretch of the south coast which, at times, included Alanya. Opposed to another *ghāzī* state, the Ottomans, they recognized the suzerainty of the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt. Their revenue from the flourishing traffic of the Mediterranean must have been considerable.⁴

Owing to its proximity to the coast, Cyprus also played a role of increasing importance in the area but there appears to be no evidence to support the isolated assertion of Ludolf of Sudheim that Scandelore (Alanya), Anamur, Siki and Satalia (Antalya) paid tribute to Hugh IV King of Cyprus (1324–1359).⁵ In 1332 the famous Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed from Lādhiqiyya and landed at Alanya, which he describes as ruled by a Bek named Yūsuf ibn Qaramān.⁶ The same traveller states that wood was the chief export from Alanya to Egypt. The Genoese, Venetians and Florentines plied a lucrative trade with Scandelore and Satalia. They imported spices,

¹ P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1938, p. 30.

² Cf. W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1923, I, 303 f.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 547 f.

⁴ Cf. J. H. Kramers in *EI*, III, 789–97, s.v. Qaramān Oghlu.

⁵ Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 298.

⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, II, 256.

linen, sugar, etc. Pegolotti in his *Pratica della mercatura* provides a comparative table of weights and measures in vogue there. Merchants from Egypt and Syria also travelled through Alanya and Antalya to the ports of the Black Sea.¹

On Catalan and other maps the promontory of Alanya is called Cap Ubaldo or Cap Baldo, perhaps after some navigator for the name does not appear to be used by the chronicles.

Relations of Alanya with Cyprus knew varying fortunes. The Cypriots had gained a foothold at Gorhigos, surrendered by the Armenians, and this alarmed the Turkish princes. An alliance came into being between the Qaramānoghlu and the Tekkeoghlu, whose capital was at Antalya. It was their intention to invade Cyprus. To forestall this and to satisfy his crusading zeal, Peter I of Cyprus led an expedition to Antalya which he seized from the emir of the Tekkeoghlu on 24 August 1361. He also exacted an oath from the emir of Alanya that "he would be his slave and serve him", pay tribute and fly his flag. Nevertheless, only a year later, eight galleys from Alanya supported the Tekke Bek's abortive effort to retake Antalya. In 1373, in order to meet a Genoese attack, the Cypriots withdrew their garrison from Antalya and handed it back to the Tekke Bek on condition that he pay tribute. Boucicaut, the Governor of Genoa, attacked Scandelore (Alanya) with a measure of success in 1403 but made peace with its emir in the hope of using the harbour facilities of the town for an attack on Cyprus. The emir of Alanya had similar plans and was only restrained from putting them into effect in 1444 by the intervention of the Hospitallers of Rhodes. At that date the emir was probably independent of the Qaramānoghlu for the latter claimed equality of treatment from the Hospitallers. He alleged that Cyprus was paying the emir of Alanya a yearly tribute but this is unlikely to have been the case. In 1448, the great Qaramān evicted the Cypriots from their last foothold at Gorhigos but did not press his aggressive intentions towards the island itself. Matters stood differently with the emir of Alanya Louphtou Bey (Luṭfī Bek), who, having planned an invasion of Cyprus in 1450, was only deterred by a show of naval force of the sultan of Egypt. The treaty he concluded with King John II is preserved in Greek. It was a treaty of friendship and stipulated free access for traders of both parties to the ports of the other. It is under this treaty of friendship that the emir of Scandelore asked for and received help from Cyprus in 1451, when he was besieged by the Grand Qaramān.²

Munejjimbāshī's unpublished account³ of the end of the emirate of Alanya and its annexation by the Ottomans may be summarized as follows: "The rulers of Alanya were descendants from the Seljuqs through the female line, and some say they descended from the Seljuq emirs. Only two of them are known by name. Laṭīf Bek was a just Bek honoured by his neighbours except by the Qaramānoghlu who coveted his possessions. He gave his

¹ W. Heyd, *op. cit.*, II, 355.

² Cf. the references in G. Hill, *op. cit.*, II, 298, 321-2, 454, III, 517 ff., 521.

³ *Sahā'if al-akhbār fī waqā'i' l-a'sār*, Mss Ahmet III, 2954, fo. 905v., and Ms Beyazit No. 5020, fo. 440 r.

daughter in marriage to the Ottoman vizier Muḥammad ar-Rūmi in the hope of gaining Ottoman support against the Qaramānoğlu. Laṭif Bek was succeeded by his son Qilij Arslān Bek who remained in power until 876/1471 when the Ottomans under Gedik Aḥmed Pasha invaded the territory of the Qaramānoğlu and also laid siege to Alanya. Qilij Arslān surrendered when he realized that resistance was futile. He was exiled first to Rūmili, then to Egypt, and died in exile on his way from Egypt to Persia."

The earliest representation of Alanya is that given by the famous navigator Piri Reis in his maritime atlas of the Mediterranean (completed in 1523). It was dedicated to sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent whose mosque is indicated on the map in the upper sector of the castle. Piri Reis praised the Tersane and the anchorage but warned that it was dangerous during the scirocco.¹ Towards 1650 Ḥajjī Khalfa compared the fortress of Alanya in splendour with that of Baghdad. He gives as produce of the place: cotton, silk and sesame.²

When Evliya Çelebi visited Alanya in 1671-2³ it was the chief town of a *sanjaq* administered by a Pasha who came under the Beylerbey of Adana. The *sanjaq* included the ruined and abandoned castle of Alara and a small village of that name with sixty to seventy houses. Though it had lost much of its splendour and *raison d'être*, the castle of Alanya was kept rigorously separate from the straggling town at its foot. There were two manned strongholds, the Iç Kale and the Ehmedek, both capable of sustaining a prolonged siege and well provided with water from huge cisterns. Access to these military installations was forbidden to the populace. Evliya was particularly impressed by the Kızıl Kule which had a permanent garrison of a *dizdār* and forty men but, which, in an emergency, could house up to 2,000.

There was only one Friday-mosque (*jāmi'*), that built by Sulaymān in the Orta Hisar. In the lower town there was the Badr ud-dīn mosque⁴ sixteen *mihrābs* in all. There were also 6 schools (*mekteb*), 2 *madrasas* and 3 *khāns* as well as a *ḥammām* which functioned six months out of twelve. The 150 or so shops were well stocked with goods but there was no central covered market. A *firmān* allowed the inhabitants to kill any Frank, Armenian or Jew at sight but the Greeks, of whom there were about 300, had a quarter of their own.

Evliya copied four of the inscriptions and paced the distances between the various monuments. His description is fairly accurate.

Among more recent travellers some deserve special mention. Captain Francis Beaufort in command of H.M.S. *Frederikssteen* sent a party of officers ashore in 1810 and records their impressions. He found that Alanya's present importance "is not great though the capital of a Pashalik the streets and houses are miserable; there are but few mosques and they are very mean; there were no signs of commerce . . ." but he commented on its strategic position in the past: "certainly no place on the coast was so well calculated to

¹ *Kitāb ̄ Bahriye*, Istanbul, 1935, pp. 762 f.

² *Kitāb jihān numāh*, Istanbul, 1145 A.H., p. 610.

³ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyāhetnāmeḥ*, Istanbul, 1935, IX, 294-9.

⁴ Named after the amīr us-sawāḥil Badr ud-dīn. See insc. No. 21.

arrest the march of a conqueror or to bid defiance to a fleet, as this commanding and almost insulated rock".¹ In 1816 a Russian pilgrim to the Holy Land O. von Richter landed from a ship coming from Cyprus and after some difficulty continued his return journey over a rarely trodden route through Beyşehir to the Black Sea.² The names of Lanckoronsky, Wilhelm and Heberdey³ are associated with the nineteenth-century studies of the epigraphy and monuments of the region, and Rott visited the place twice in search of ancient buildings.⁴ The merit of putting Seljuq Alanya, as it were, on the map belongs to R. Riefstahl⁵ and to Ibrahim Hakki Konyalı,⁶ whose pioneer works are often referred to in the following pages with appreciation.

¹ F. Beaufort, *Karamania*, London, 1817, pp. 164 ff.

² O. von Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, Abth. III, Kleinasien, Berlin, 1816, pp. 329-40; C. Ritter, *Die Erkunde von Asien*, bd. IX, *Klein Asien*, Berlin, 1859, II, 612.

³ R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, Denkschriften d. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien, XLIV (1896), p. 136 ff.

⁴ H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien*, Leipzig, 1908.

⁵ R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1931, pp. 92 ff.

⁶ Ibrahim Hakki Konyalı, *Alanya (Alâiyye)*, Istanbul, 1946.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

THE SETTING

The promontory upon which the fortress is built is rather more than 800 metres square and the alignment of its projection into the sea almost exactly due south. It rises to a maximum height of more than 260 metres at the south-west corner, where the cliffs fall precipitately into the sea. These cliffs continue with diminishing height and steepness along the south and west sides, while to the east and north the descent to sea-level is made by more gradual slopes and terraces. Starting from a level far below the summit in the south-west corner, a long finger of rock (*burun*) thrusts out diagonally some 300 metres into the sea. A shallow recess on the east side served as a harbour in Seljuq times, as it must also have done in earlier ages, and was protected on the landward side by a system of fortifications, prolonged to enclose the whole southern half of the headland, with an inner citadel at the highest point.

THE FORTIFICATIONS (*see* FIG. 1)

The most conspicuous single feature of the fortifications, and indeed the first to be built, is the great octagonal structure, known as Kızıl Kule (the Red Tower), which overlooks the harbour on the north side. From it, the main line of defences runs westwards up the hill in an irregular zigzag, connecting eventually with the group of buildings called Ehmedek built upon the site of an older Hellenistic fortress. This occupies an eminence, beyond which the rocky flank of the hill falls once more steeply to the sea; but the enclosure wall swings southwards, mounting again towards the high citadel (İç Kale) and afterwards skirting the cliff edges on the southern face of the rock as it returns towards the harbour. These western and southern approaches needed little artificial improvement to their natural defences and were furnished with a single crenellated wall: the resources and ingenuity of 'Alā'ud-dīn's engineers were lavished rather upon the line from Kızıl Kule to Ehmedek, where the gentle slope of the ground in a position exposed to attack from the mainland, made the place most vulnerable. In addition to the main wall, it was provided with an outer "apron-wall" (*gömlek*) and a dry ditch, cut for the most part into the solid rock. It was here also that the two principal gateways occurred, the Kale Kapısı or Main Gate halfway up the hill, and a lower entry called Aşağı or Orta Kapı.

An important feature of the port-installations, and a remarkable survival, is the Tersane or vaulted galleries for the construction of large ships, which faces the sea on the south side of the harbour. Guarding it on the exposed southern side was a small wall-tower, to which a much larger one, now called the Tophâne, was afterwards added.¹

¹As is mentioned elsewhere (p. 54), the evidence of the inscriptions suggests that the Tophane was built first and the smaller tower some years later. The architectural circumstances make this difficult to understand.

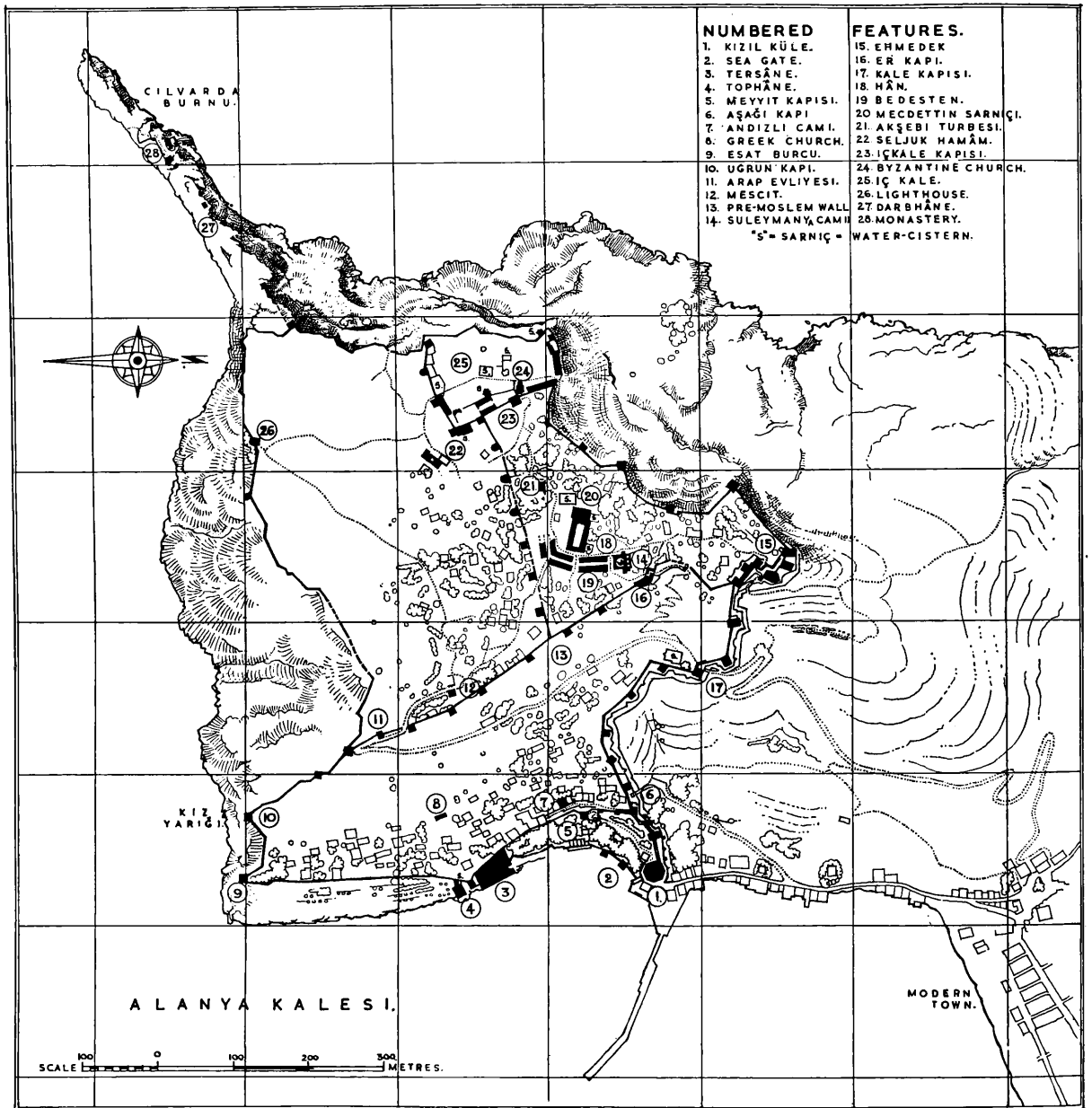


FIG. I.

DIVISIONS OF THE FORTRESS (see FIG. 1)

Within its enclosing fortifications, the city was again divided by inner lines of defence into several wards. Konyalı in fact distinguishes six separate *bölüm* or "sectors"; and it may be convenient here to retain his numbering. The First Sector, then, is a narrow, crescent-shaped area behind the harbour, terminating at one end in the Kızıl Kule and at the other in the Tersane. Behind this, the Second Sector occupies the whole lower slope of the hill, its upper limit being the old Hellenistic wall, afterwards rebuilt by 'Alā'ud-dīn, which starts at the Ehmedek and runs in a south-easterly direction clean across the town. The Third Sector is represented by the Ehmedek itself. The Fourth Sector is that to the south of the Ehmedek, through which passes the main approach to the citadel (or Fifth Sector) and is separated from the Sixth (or south-western) Sector by a wall built in post-Seljuq times. In proceeding to a more detailed description of the individual monuments and features of the fortifications, it may be well to deal with these sectors in numerical order.

BUILDINGS ASSOCIATED WITH THE FIRST SECTOR

(1) *The Kızıl Kule* (see Figs. 2-3 and frontispiece)

The Red Tower is an octagonal structure with an overall diametrical measurement of 29 metres at its base, and a maximum height of 33 metres from the terrace on the east side to the battlements. From the west side, where an entrance occurs at ground-floor level, there is a fall of 7 metres to the eastern terrace, corresponding to the slope of the rock on which the foundations are laid. The simple appearance of the building from the outside does not reflect the considerable intricacy of its internal planning. Five storeys—ground floor, first floor, mezzanine, open roof and roof terrace—allow for defence arrangements at five successive levels, not including the battlements. A large water-cistern is incorporated in the upper part of the central pier.

The ground floor gives an impression of extraordinary solidity. Around the octagonal pier in the centre, runs a vaulted gallery 3.50 metres wide, from which vaulted bays give access radially to splayed loops, placed centrally in seven of the eight external faces. The eighth bay takes the form of a vestibule reached from the entrance-door by a dog-legged passage only a metre wide. Against this face of the building, the main fortification-wall abuts at an acute angle, and the entrance to the tower is placed inconspicuously in the narrow corner thus created. From the entrance vestibule also there is a stone stair leading to the first floor, lit by a loop in the angle between tower and wall.

At first-floor level the plan becomes more complicated. The bays are now smaller and arranged in pairs. The remainder of the internal space is accounted for by two concentric galleries, separated by a wall with arched openings in each of its eight faces. In place of loops on the north-west side, there is a pair of staircases leading to the floor above, and between them an outside doorway giving access to the battlements of the main fortress-wall. The two central corridors are not vaulted at this level, but run up the full

height of the floor above, which Konyalı therefore rightly calls "mezzanine" (*asma kat*). Here, a third or outer gallery is added, with which they are connected only by small windows. This floor also has arrangements for defence, consisting (except on the west side where the staircases occur) of three openings in each face of the wall. Two are ordinary splayed loops, but the centre opening has straight sides, and is protected by a machicolation, carried on small stone corbels.

The next storey is an open roof-courtyard, surrounded by deep vaulted bays and splayed openings, arranged as on the first floor in pairs. In the centre is the raised mouth of the water-storage cistern already mentioned, which is housed in the central pier. It is lined with excellent cement and still holds water. On the north-west side of the roof, twin staircases arrive from below, and their upward continuation is provided for. Two bays between them combine to accommodate a single unsplayed opening, which, occurring as it does directly above the *chemin des rondes* or allure of the fortress wall, may have been used for drawing up some of the garrison's requirements on a pulley. In the pavement of the roof, which is now protected with cement, are to be seen small, curbed openings, which allow some light to penetrate through the vaulting below to the mezzanine and first floors. On either side of the vaulted bays, at a convenient height, are small recesses in the wall, perhaps for ammunition, measuring 45 cm. wide by 70 cm. high.

The fifth storey consists of a terrace, running all round the roof, supported on the vaulting of the bays just mentioned. The defensive openings are again three-a-side, the centre one being a loop and the other two provided with machicolations. It should be noted that the position of these contrivances (which require a clear vertical drop beneath them) is thus staggered to avoid their occurring directly above those at the mezzanine floor-level.¹ Two pairs of small staircases on the east and west sides give access from terrace to battlements.

The merlons of the battlements are 1.50 metres wide with a height of 1.80 metres and spaced 60 cm. apart. As restored, they have a weathered coping with a simple brick ornament.

Up to a point level with the springing of the mezzanine vaulting, the tower is built of stone rubble and faced with rectangular blocks, laid in regular courses. They are well cut and accurately jointed, with a slight rustication, which increases towards the base of the wall. The material is a warm-coloured limestone, and the jointing in lime mortar of extreme hardness and durability.² The same is to be observed in all Seljuq constructions throughout the fortress: often the mortar can be seen to have retained its strength even after the stone has crumbled. At two levels in the façade, lines of classical column-drums

¹ There is indeed a single machicolation, which occurs in the eastern wall-face at first-floor level, directly beneath one belonging to the fifth storey. But this is plainly a later addition, and since it occurs directly above an entrance-gate, may well also have been intended for pulling things up, rather than throwing things down.

² Rarely visible in this case, owing to recent repointing in cement.

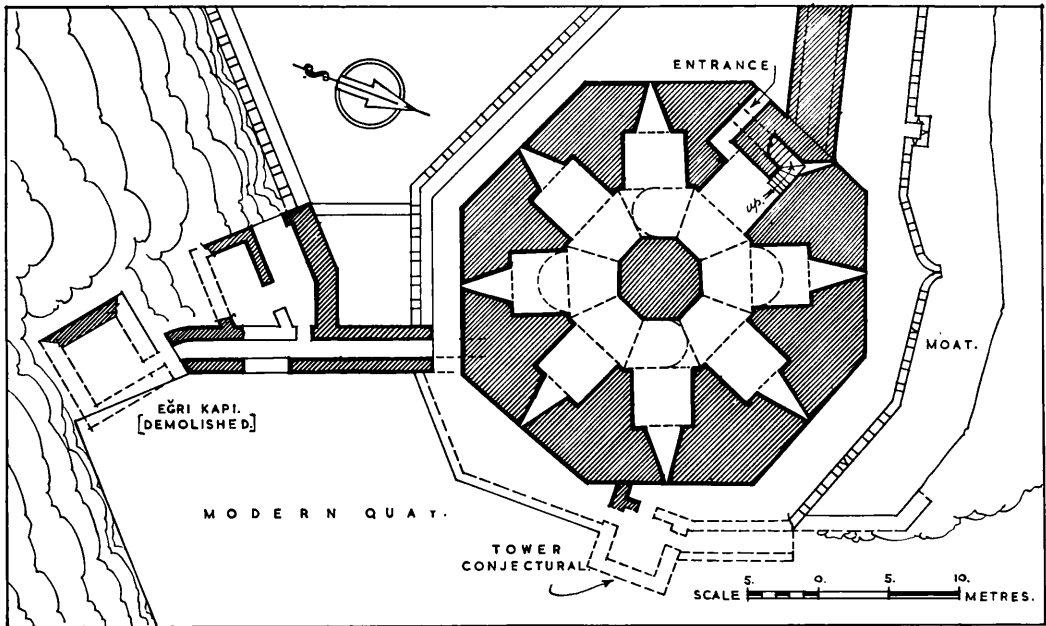
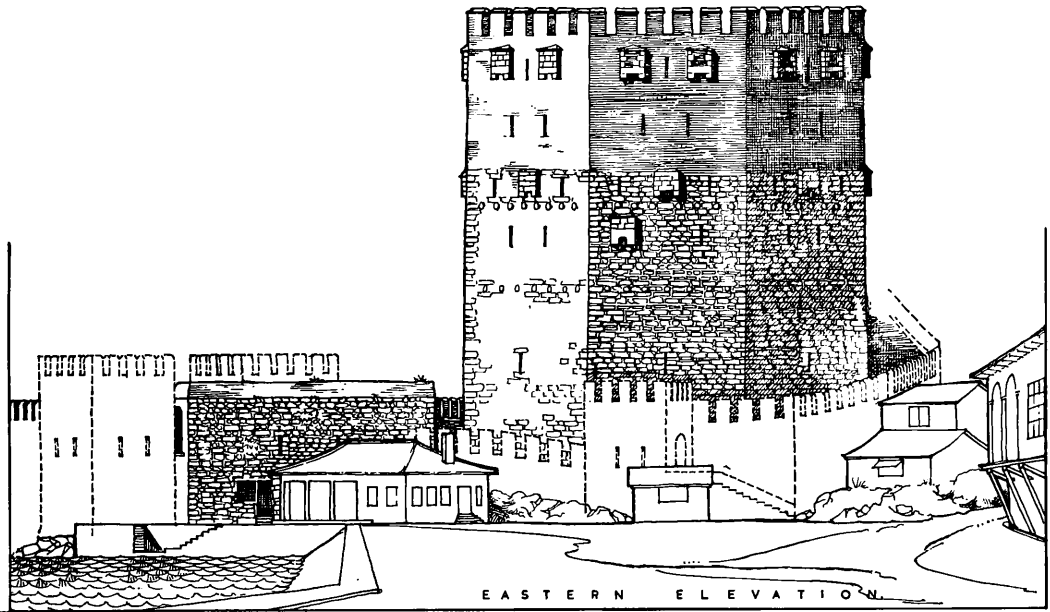


FIG. 2.

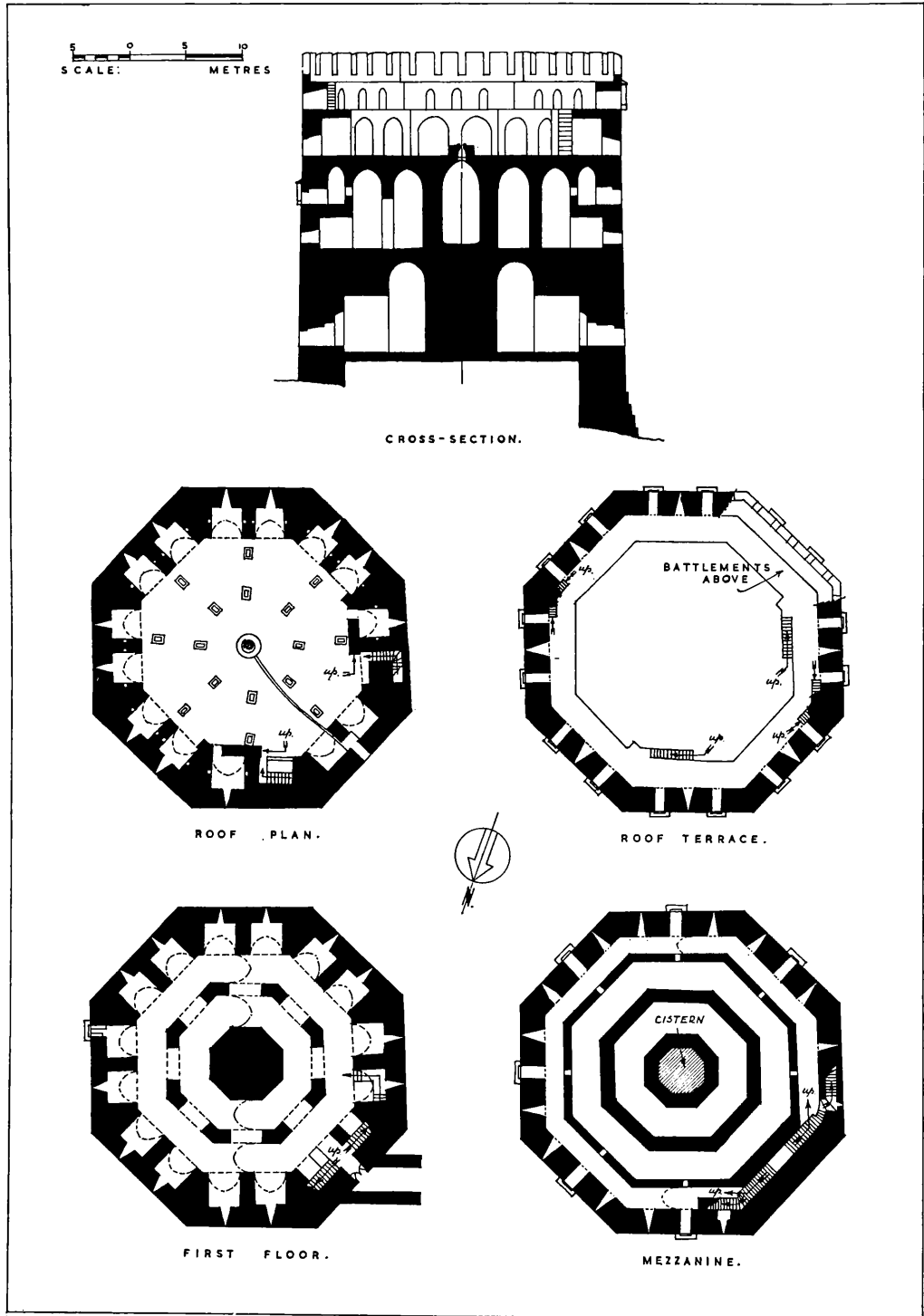


FIG. 3.

are incorporated in the fabric (pl. XIII c), their ends showing on the face. Isolated drums appear elsewhere.¹

The upper structure of the tower and the main interior vaulting is composed of reddish kiln-baked bricks, from whose colour its name is derived. One imagines that after a certain height had been reached, the labour of raising heavy blocks of stone began to present some difficulty, and a more manageable material had to be sought. The disadvantage of this expedient became clear in the course of time; for the brickwork proved susceptible to the effects of the weather, and recently had become much dilapidated. Between the years 1951 and 1953, however, a programme of repair was undertaken by the Turkish Antiquities Department, as a result of which it has now been skilfully restored to its original state. Much care was taken to assimilate new materials to the original structure and the reconstruction of features no longer existing was based on the most reliable evidence. At the same time, the face of the stone-work below was carefully repointed. There can be little doubt that the appearance of the tower today closely resembles that which it must have presented in the thirteenth century A.D. One may say in passing that, if this be so, there is evidence here and there of some attention to the aesthetic appearance of the building. The use of stone dressings in the upper machicolations is pleasant and the slight batter on the façade, accentuated by the offsetting of the lowest courses, gives a great feeling of strength.

The architect (or builder) of the Kızıl Kule has left his name on a plaque built into the north façade of the tower (pl. XIII d). His surname, al-Ḥalabī, suggests that he was a Syrian and in 612/1215 an individual of the same name is known to have executed a similar work at Sinop for 'Alā'ud-dīn's brother, 'Izz ud-dīn Kaika'ūs I. The inscription (No. 3) is further discussed on p. 55.

The outworks at the base of the tower are somewhat complicated. The low "apron" defence, with which the main fortress-wall is provided at an average distance of about four metres from its outer face, is continued all round the tower, to a termination which is no longer clearly defined, on the west side. Unfortunately, on the east side also it has been largely demolished, so that it is not possible to see the form of the entrance gate which must have occurred at this point. A stairway leading to it (said to have been in two flights) existed within living memory, and one is led to assume, both from the requirements of the situation and from an angular fragment of masonry, surviving at the base of the tower, that the approach must have been through a covered gateway. It has been tentatively restored in this way in our drawing (fig. 2).

From the south-east corner of the tower, a vaulted gallery with loops for defence led out to the Eğri Kapı, a small tower about seven metres square,

¹ The use of ancient column-drums, inserted horizontally in the fabric of a wall, is a well-known feature of Islamic architecture at this period. Cf. A. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture in Egypt*, I, where many earlier instances are collected.

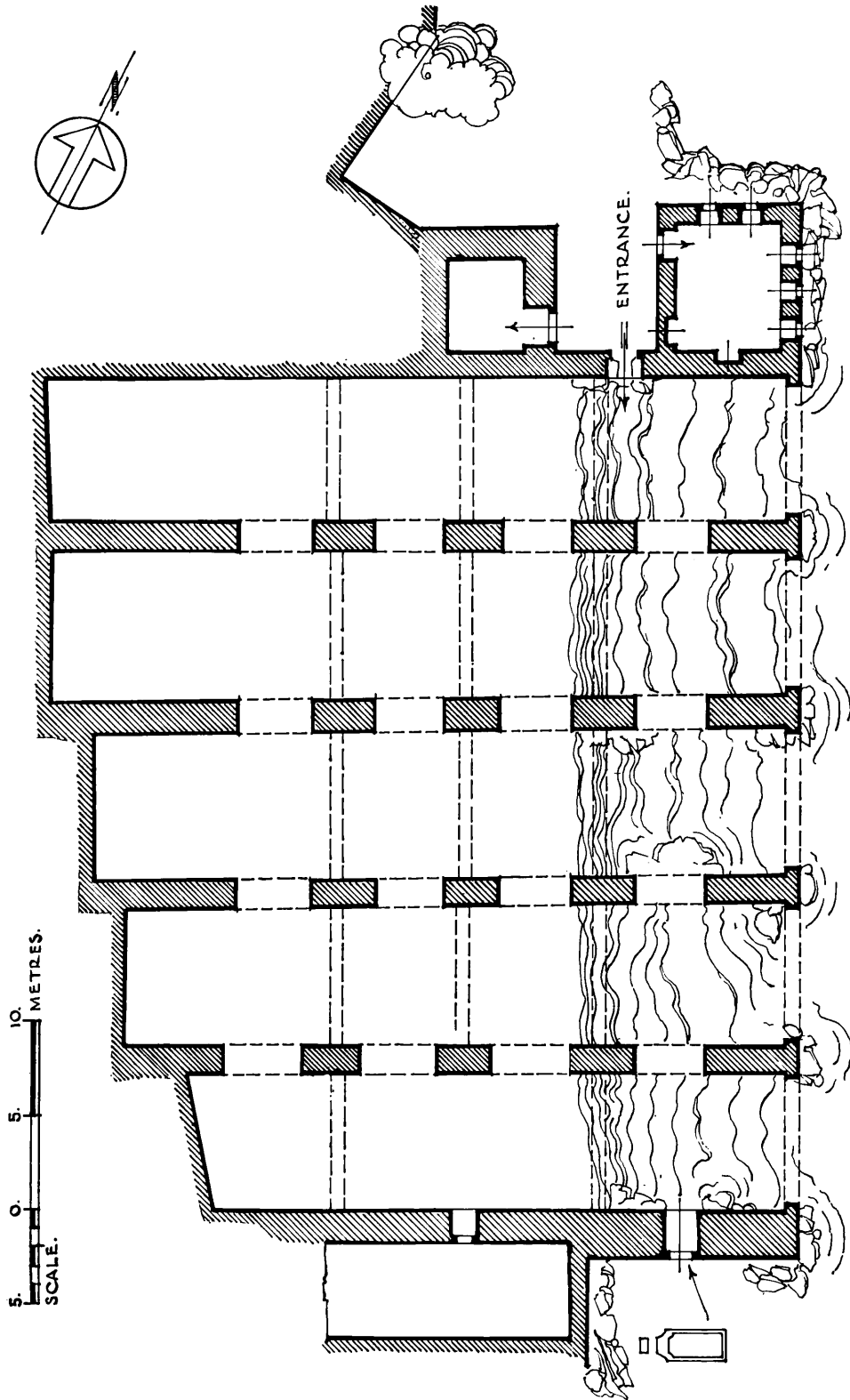
standing in the sea and overlooking the harbour. Konyalı records that this building was demolished by a *kaymakam* called Cemal Keşmir in order to obtain material for repairing the quay. Its foundations still exist, however, and part of one face shows its curious orientation, which may account for the name, "Crooked Tower". The vaulted corridor terminates in a clean face about one metre short of the actual tower, and one is left to assume that, as a measure of security, the two were connected only by a removable wooden bridge. At its northern end the corridor was apparently accessible from the ground floor of Kızıl Kule, though the opening by which it penetrated the wall has since been closed. (It can still be seen in Konyalı's photograph.) In the angle between the corridor and the harbour wall there is another small tower, now in a ruinous state, and used as a coffee-shop. It is possible to see that it had an entrance from the old quay, and it is said to have had a staircase leading up to the gallery level. The space between this tower and the apron-wall shows signs of having been used as a water-cistern (*sarnıç*).

(2) *The Tersane* (see figs. 4 and 5 and pl. II)

This building was a naval installation, in which large ships could be built in security and comparative secrecy, under cover from the weather. The building is nearly 57 metres long and consists of five vaulted galleries, running back to a maximum depth of 40 metres. They are separated by partition-walls, each with four arched openings covered by pointed arches, which reach to the springing of the main vault (pl. II c). Between these arches the vault is strengthened by projecting ribs, ending in small corbels. There are light-holes in the vault, grouped in twos or fours to each bay. The sea today penetrates about four metres into the galleries, the remaining length of which is piled with clean shingle. They are still the centre of the Alanya ship-building trade, and fishermen's boats are both launched from and laid up in the galleries.

The entrance to the galleries is from the old harbour on the north-west side. It is a narrow doorway spanned by a segmental arch and surmounted at a height of four metres by a five-line inscription, partially framed in a projecting stone moulding (pl. V c). There is a small store-house to the right of the door (pl. II b) (Konyalı calls it a *mescit*), and to the left a chamber measuring 5.50 × 6.50 metres, with three small windows in the east façade of the building and two in the north. The appointments of this light and rather pleasant chamber, with its symmetrically arranged wall-niches, suggests that it may have served as an office for the official in charge of the Tersane. The fact that this door now occurs at a point well below high-water mark gives the impression that the sea may have considerably encroached on the shingle inside the galleries.

The façades of the building and the remainder of its fabric, up to the springing of the main vaults, is built, like the Kızıl Kule, of ashlar masonry in regular courses, about three to one metre. The vaults themselves are of kiln-baked brick, laid radially. From an old print published by Konyalı



TERSANE - GROUND-PLAN.
FIG. 4.

(p. 209), it is possible to see that the façade may have terminated in crenellations, which have now disappeared. A brick structure which replaced them at the eastern corner is an addition in Ottoman times, to provide a screen behind which cannons must have been installed.

(3) *The Tophane* (see fig. 6 and pl. V a–b)

This tower clearly has the purpose of guarding the Tersane on the seaward or south-eastern side. It stands clear of the enclosure-wall, to which it is connected by a vaulted gallery, like the tower itself, of two storeys. In plan it is an irregular rectangle measuring 14·00 × 12·00 metres. It is founded on the rock about 10·00 metres above the sea and has a height of 19·00 metres. The lower storey is divided by partition-walls into four compartments. These have vaulted bays corresponding to the six narrow loops—two in each of the exposed faces of the tower—and are themselves vaulted. The approach-gallery also has two loops in the southern side, enfiling the base of the enclosure wall (one of these has later been converted into a door). In the first chamber there is a stair leading to the upper storey.

The upper storey is an open roof surrounded by vaulted bays, each with a splayed loop or other opening. The centre openings on each side have machicolations supported on stone corbels, which are carved in the form of primitive lions' heads. It is perhaps on account of these that the tower is occasionally called "Şeytan Kulesi". There are again open bays and loops on either side of the approach-gallery, which has a flat ceiling. In the angle between it and the wall, a substantial *sarniç* has at some time been installed, its outer face strengthened by a triangular buttress. From the tower roof two small staircases lead up to the battlements, which are of the usual crenellated type. A part of the upper structure of the tower has been demolished down to roof-level. There is an inscription (pl. V d).

THE FIRST SECTOR

The segment of wall connecting the Kızıl Kule with the Tersane faced the old Seljuq anchorage (pl. I a). A line of stones disappearing into the sea north of the Tersane is all that remains to indicate the alignment and breadth of the Stone Quay, which must have existed at that time. Somewhere about its centre, small openings in the wall give access to a range of five vaulted magazines, each rather more than three metres wide, running in beneath the rising ground behind the wall. Before them was a narrow stone terrace, raised about 1·50 metres above the level of the quay. North of these magazines the wall was strengthened by two towers. The first was of the normal square type, accessible from inside the wall: the second, having an arched opening in the north-east side, constituted the main approach from the harbour to the interior of the First Sector. Both these towers are today intact; but a considerable section of the wall west of the magazines collapsed during a disastrous storm in the winter of 1952.

The First Sector is limited on the east side by the main line of defences, running westwards from the Kizil Kule. Here, at the summit of the main

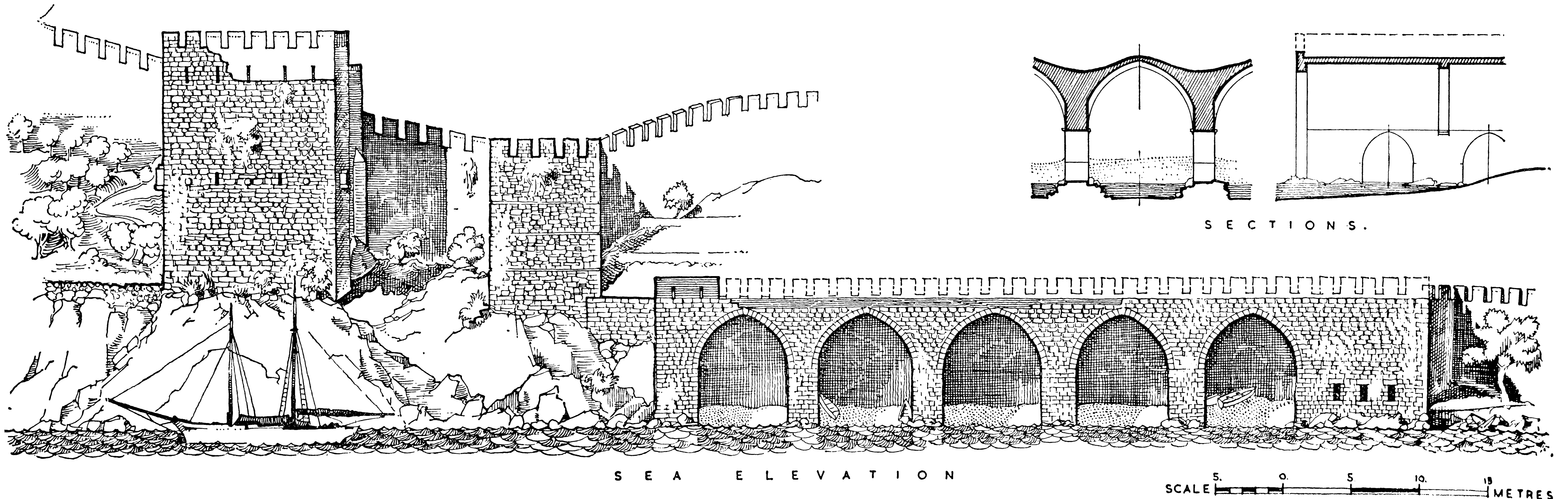


FIG. 5.

[Facing p. 18

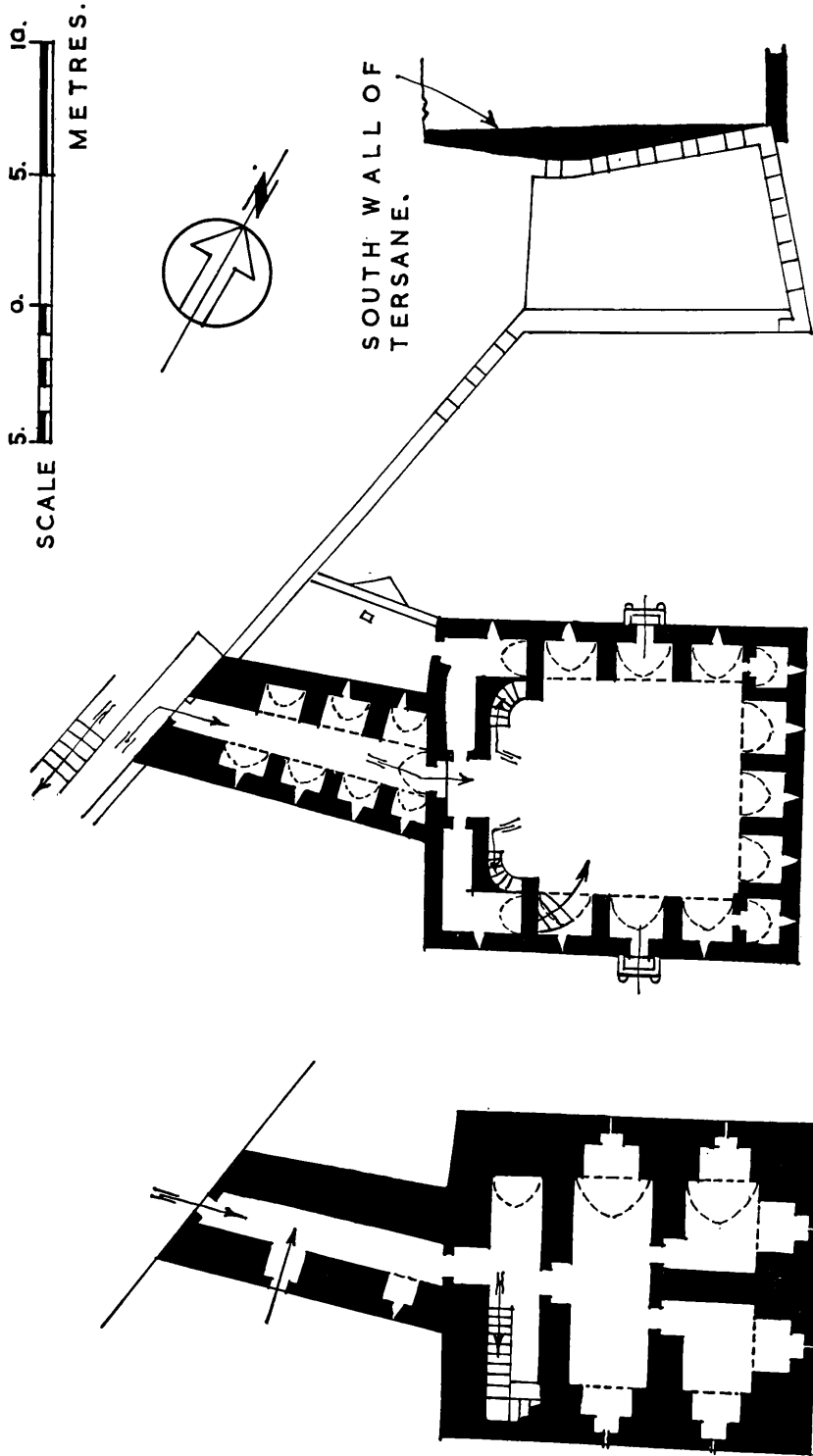


FIG. 6.

wall there is a promenade, completely screened from the ground on either side by parapets several metres high. It is divided into two sections by a central tower, and there appear to have been intermediate turrets supported on arches between the parapet walls. These have now collapsed. The outer (*gömlek*) wall is here provided at intervals with square or triangular bays having side-loops for enfilading. At a late period several larger openings have been cut, to serve as cannon-ports.

On the west side the sector is enclosed by a much flimsier wall, in the centre of which occurs the *Meyyit Kapısı* or "Corpse-Gate" (pl. VI a), giving access to the Second Sector. This gate, which is unremarkable and without ornament, is approached up a steep incline through an out-work with cannon-ports, which appears to be of post-Seljuq date. On the right as one enters there is a substantial stone water-conduit, which must have provided a main outlet for the drainage of the town above. The *Meyyit Kapısı* has an inscription with the name of 'Alā'ud-dīn, but other characteristics suggest that it may be a later imitation (see p. 57 below, pl. XV b).

The only features apparently of Seljuq date within the First Sector are a *çeşme* (the only source of running water on the entire rock), and a small *hammam*, both near the foot of the *Kızıl Kule*. *Konyalı* formed the opinion (p. 150) that this sector contained no considerable buildings save for military and naval installations. It was only in Ottoman times, when the old Seljuq market in the Fourth Sector had fallen into disuse, that it became a bazaar. In the time of *Evliya Çelebi* there were 150 shops (cf. *Seyahatname*, IX, p. 297). Today it is deeply enshrouded in the foliage of fruit-trees and contains no more than a couple of fishermen's cottages.

THE SECOND SECTOR

This sector comprises the eastern flank of the hill, overlooking the harbour. From the *Tophâne*, a single wall runs southwards to the south-east point of the rock. Here, commanding a view of the open sea beyond, are two towers, the first known as *Esat Burcu* (*Esat's Tower*) and the second *Uğrun Kapısı* which could be taken to mean the "Gate of Farewell", i.e. to ships leaving port. The latter is not actually a gate, but there is a gap in the wall near it, used by herdsmen, whose goats pasture on the rocky slopes outside the walls. From here the wall returns in a north-westerly direction to the tower which marks the beginning of the *old pre-Seljuq wall*, forming the upper limit of the Second Sector. This wall, which was rebuilt in Seljuq times, survives in some places up to several metres in height. It is built of Cyclopean masonry, in which very large blocks are incorporated, and the style of bonding strongly suggests a date in Hellenistic times. This, in pre-Seljuq times, must have been the main defence wall of the fortress, the First and Second Sectors representing further enclosures at the time of 'Alā'ud-dīn. Supported by square towers, at intervals of approximately fifty metres, it terminated to the north-west in the *Ehmedek* castle, which, as we shall presently suggest, is built over the remains of a Hellenistic fortress.

The Second Sector is limited on the north side by the main Seljuq fortification, which here climbs steeply up the hill, adapting its course to the contours. Two separate gates, the *Aşağı Kapı* below (pl. VI b) and the *Kale Kapısı* above, constitute the main approaches to the castle. Both must have been reached by means of wooden bridges across the ditch. At the *Aşağı Kapı*, the

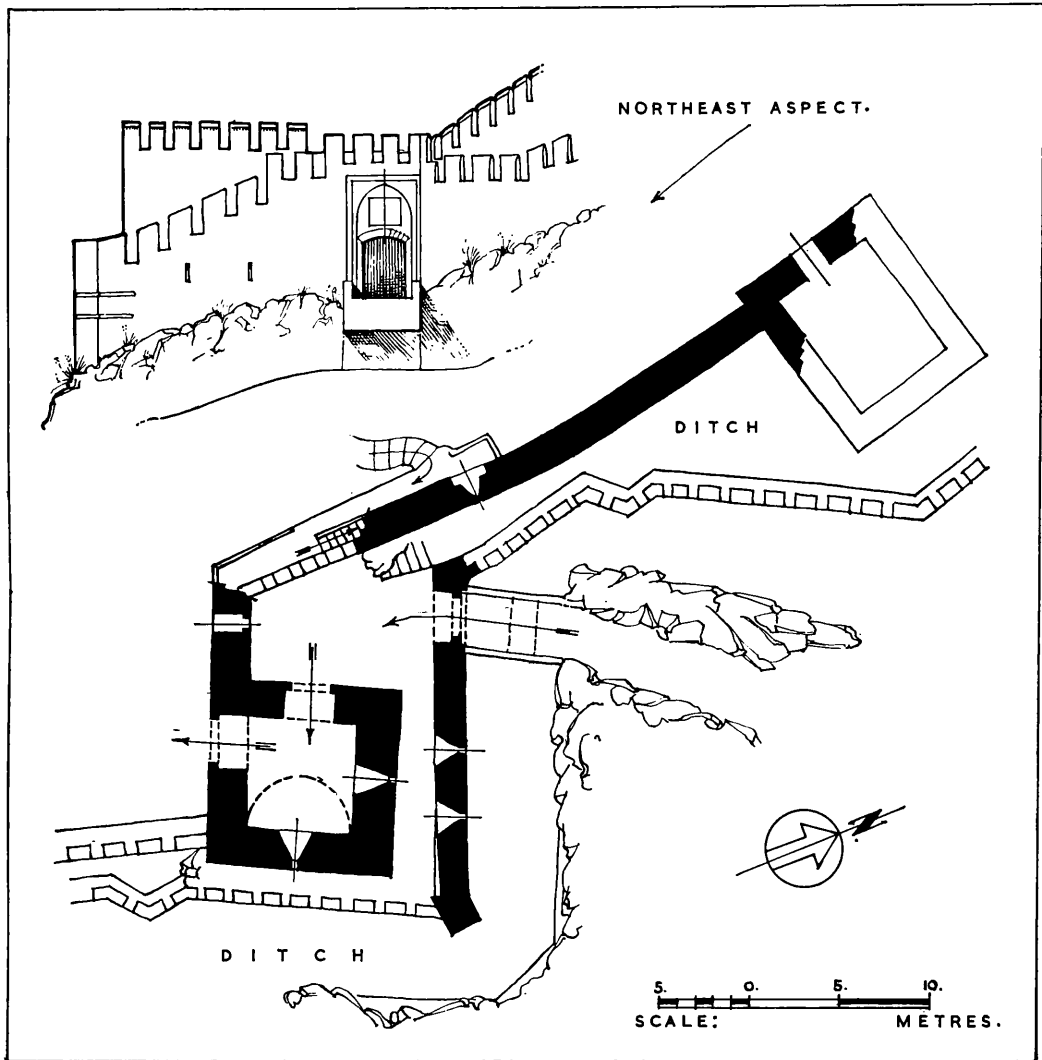


FIG. 7.

road then passes through a sort of tunnel, created by vaulting over the space between main wall and *gömlek*, and after crossing a small open court, enters a square gate-tower, which seems to have retained its original iron-studded doors.

The Kale Kapısı is a more dignified affair (fig. 7, pls. III, IV b, VIII). The outer gate is in the *gömlek* wall: it has a flat segmental arch and above it a framed inscription (No. 14, pl. VIII a). The outer face of the wall for some

distance on either side shows traces of having been ornamented in fresco with a broad checker of alternate red and white squares (pl. VIII b). The inside face of the archway also has at some time been decorated with a Kufic inscription frescoed in red. Beyond the archway a small open space between the two walls precedes the main gate-tower, where a right-angle turn is as usual made in entering. Both archways of this tower are surmounted by inscriptions. That over the outer arch (No. 15, pl. VIII d) is surrounded by several fragments of architectural ornament from some earlier classical building: that over the inner gate (No. 16, pls. IV b and VIII c) forms a smaller panel and is in Persian. Both these texts and the classical fragments are discussed elsewhere (see pp. 50, 59f.). The date of the Persian inscription is 623/1226, while that on the outer gate is dated 628/1230-1. These dates are of considerable significance, since one must infer that the outer gate, and therefore perhaps the whole *gömlek* wall, were built some five years later than the inner gate and main wall. The "bent entrance", created by the placing of the outer gate, provided a new element of defence.

The Kale Kapısı is, with some difficulty, negotiable by jeep and from it the jeep-road continues along the contour of the hill towards the southern end of the pre-Seljuq fortress wall. Here it makes a hairpin-bend and, passing through a gap in the latter, ends some way inside the Sixth Sector. On the right, after entering through the Kale Kapısı, a large area of rock is sealed off as a catchment area, to supply a very large *sarniç* (rainwater cistern), which is to be seen below the road on the left. These cisterns, which exist all over the rock, are strongly built of baked bricks in cement and usually vaulted. Many of them, including this example (pl. IV b), are still in use and constitute the main source of drinking water for the inhabitants. Here, as in many other cases, the weight of water has necessitated the strengthening of the structure on one side with a triangular-shaped buttress.

From the main gate, a path winds steeply up the hill to the *Er Kapı* (Aya Dimitri Kapısı), a gateway giving access from the Second to the Fourth Sector (fig. 8). There are indications that in pre-Seljuq times also there was here situated one of the two gates in the old fortification-wall. The other occurred between the first and second towers at the south-east end, where its threshold and one stone jamb may be seen still in place, incorporated in the later Seljuq wall. Annexed to the *Er Kapı* is a large guard-room, divided into three vaulted compartments. North of the gate there is a very considerable gap in the wall, which has at some time collapsed outwards scattering its masonry over the slope below. The outworks with which the gate is now provided are built over this fallen debris and must therefore be of late date.

The northern limit of the Second Sector is the *main line of fortifications*, running up the hill from the Aşağı Kapı to the Ehmedek. This wall has nine towers, including those which form the two gate-towers: square structures built like the walls themselves of stone "rubble" and usually vaulted in brick. The second tower to the west of the Kale Kapısı appears to have had some special function, as it is above the average in size, and divided into two separate compartments. The main wall has a thickness of 1·80 metres and a

parapet 60 cm. thick, leaving 120 metres for the allure. The merlons are usually 1.00 metres wide and about 1.60 metres high with a space of 60 cm. between them. The *gömlek*, which is really hardly more than a crenellated parapet 60 cm. thick, runs a zigzag course at an average distance of about 2.00 metres from the outer face of the towers, having frequent triangular bays with loops for enfilading. The ditch, which is either cut into or built up from the solid rock, has an average width of 8.00 metres and a depth of 4.00 metres.

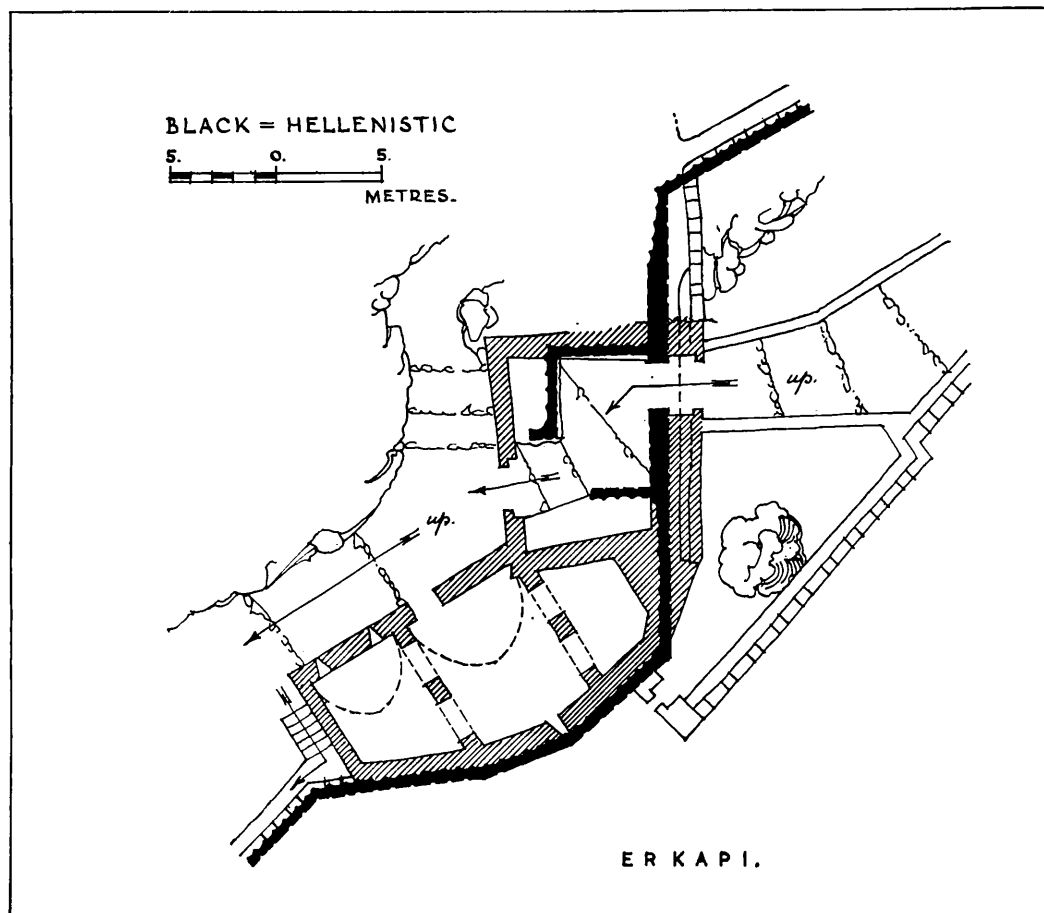


FIG. 8.

The lower slopes of the hill in the Second Sector are covered with the old timber houses of the Ottoman town; frame and batten structures, sometimes running up to a considerable height and with some examples of fine wood-carving. Konyalı records that in the last century a minor proportion of the peasant population were still Christians and at a point almost due west of the Tophâne one may still see the deserted and empty shell of a considerable Greek church. Here and elsewhere on the rock, the present inhabitants grow fruit and breed silk-worms, which they feed on mulberry leaves brought up by a donkey from the gardens on the mainland. The silk is either sold as cocoons

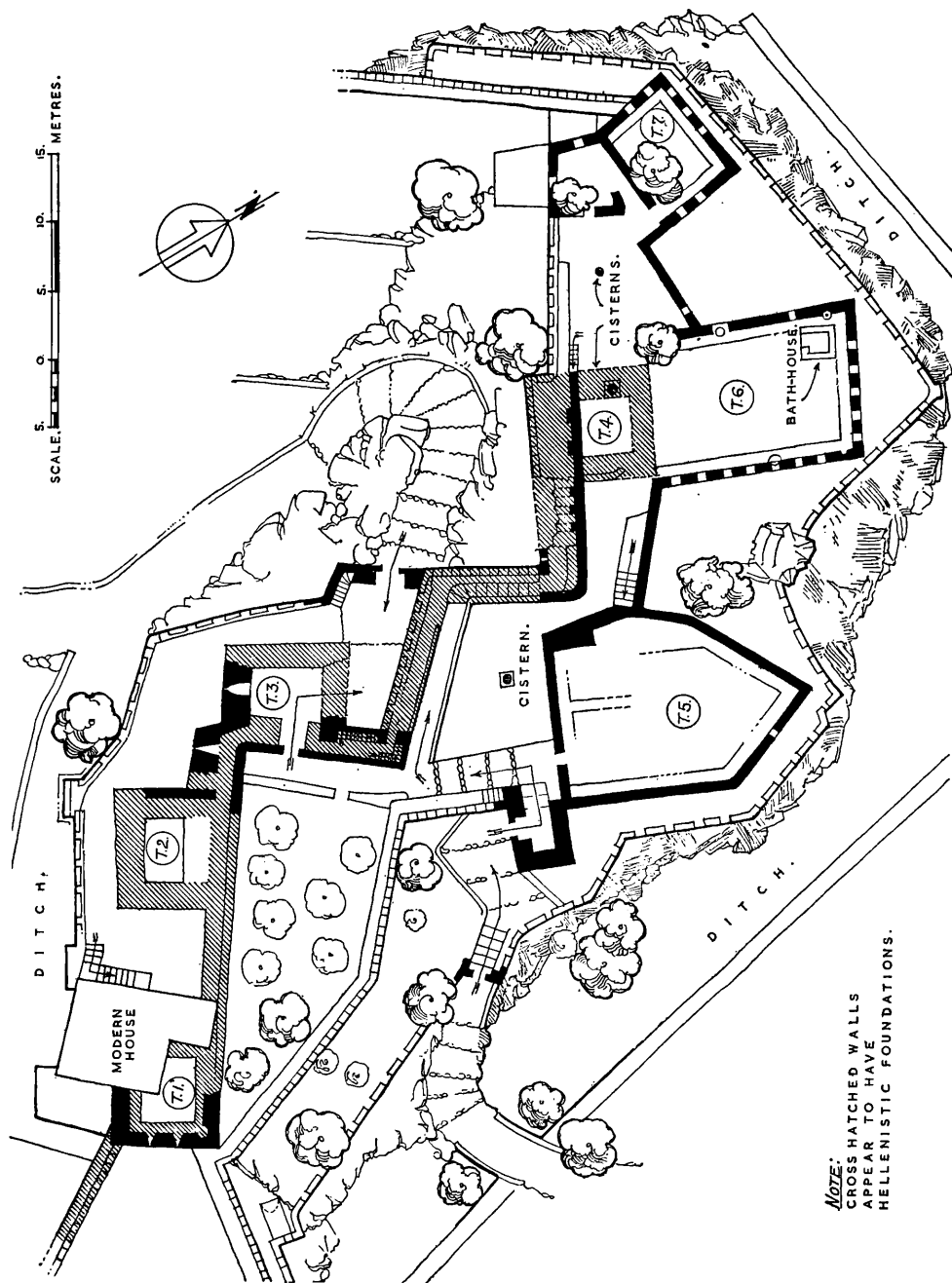


FIG. 9.

Note:
 CROSS-HATCHED WALLS
 APPEAR TO HAVE
 HELLENISTIC FOUNDATIONS.

in the Alanya market for export, or spun and woven by the women into the brilliantly coloured cummerbunds, worn until recent years by the entire male population.

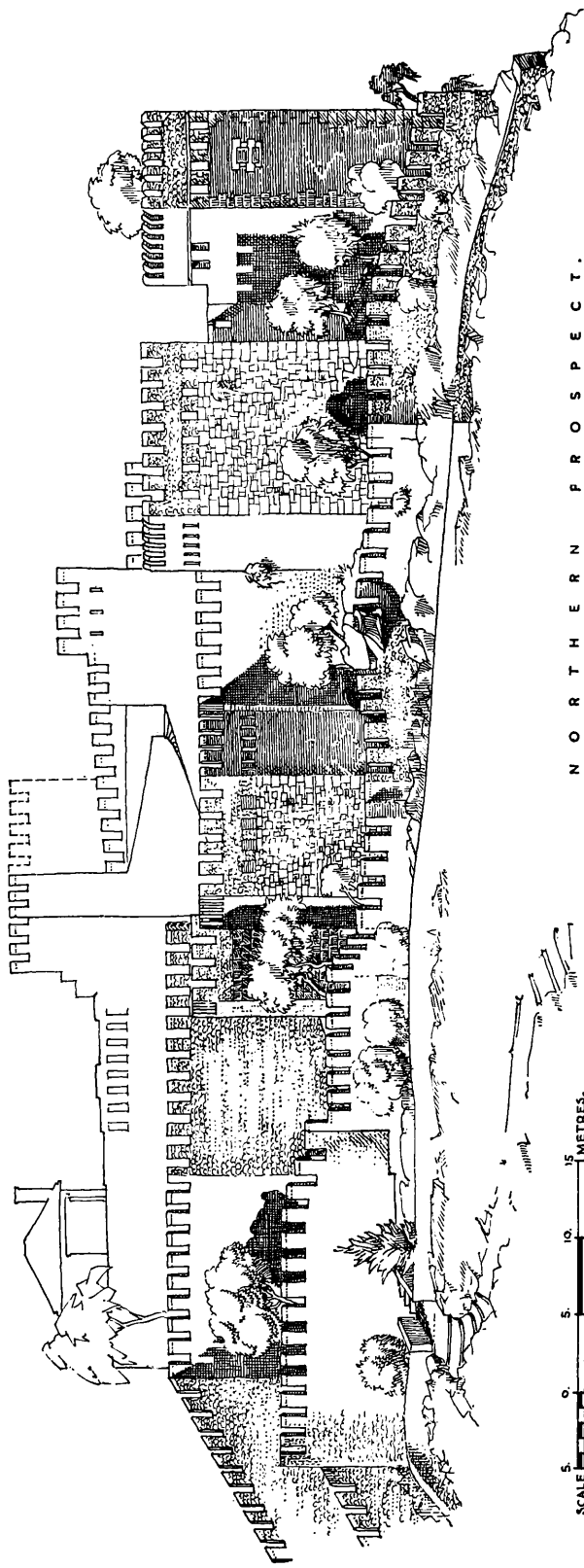
THE EHMEDEK (PL. X)

Konyalı identifies this Third Sector with the fortress standing on the northern shoulder of the hill, which has acquired the name Ehmedek ("Little Ahmet"), perhaps from a nickname of its builder in Seljuq times. This complex really comprises two separate groups of fortifications, each with three towers. The southern group, which marks the termination of the old pre-Seljuq fortress-wall, is itself constructed upon the ruins of apparently Hellenistic buildings of much the same character. The lay-out is too complicated to be easily explained; but in the plan (figs. 9-10), an attempt has been made to distinguish those parts of the structure where pre-Seljuq foundations can be easily identified. As has been said, it shows a group of three towers, linked together by heavy walls, and an extension to the west, where the original foundations of a fourth tower may perhaps be recognized in the construction of a later *sarniç*.

In Seljuq times, this rather shapeless group was reconstructed with a further extension to the westwards and new residential quarters built out above the slope of the rock on the north side. First came an irregular-shaped open courtyard, beneath which three very large cisterns were built to assure an adequate supply of water. These are still in use. Beyond were three large halls of dissimilar shapes and sizes, the westernmost of which appears to have the most recognizably domestic character. Its windows, with an almost vertical drop of some hundreds of feet beneath them, look directly out to sea, and beside them we observed, scratched on the plaster of the wall, presumably while it was still wet, graffiti representing old ships of many varieties (fig. 11). These however cannot be considered to be of Seljuq date, as will presently be seen.

The central hall must have been the main residential chamber. It has windows at regular intervals on two sides and at four points there is provision for open fireplaces with vertical flues. The actual walls of the chamber are 60 cm. thick, but the tower-like foundations upon which they stand have a thickness of 1.40 metres, and these are projected upwards some distance above the level of the cobbled floor, to form a raised ledge beneath the windows. In the north-west corner there is a small, free-standing domed compartment, measuring 1.50 metres square, which Konyalı takes to be a *hammâm*. About the easternmost of the three halls, less can be said since it is in a ruinous state. It is possible however to see that it had a lower storey beneath the courtyard level, and that this was divided into several vaulted compartments.

Something of the later history of this castle can be understood from a study of its northern and north-eastern façades. The original walls are of squared stone rubble with ashlar quoins, and end in crenellated battlements of the same material. But at a later period the spaces between the merlons have been filled with brick, the walls extended upwards rather more than a metre



N O R T H E R N P R O S P E C T .

FIG. 10.

and new battlements provided. The material used for this purpose is a rubble of undressed stones with brick copings to the merlons. In some cases, however, the spaces between the old merlons have been left open and, as the building now exists, these constitute the windows, for instance in the west and central halls. One must accordingly think of these halls as having been built upon the previously open tops of the old Seljuq towers at a late period, perhaps in Ottoman times. The framed inscription in the outer face of the western tower (No. 17, pl. XV a), of course, belongs to the original Seljuq structure.

The Ehmedek is protected on its exposed northern end and eastern sides, first by the continuation of the *gömlek* wall, here as elsewhere no more than a crenellated parapet, encompassing the irregular line of the fortress at some

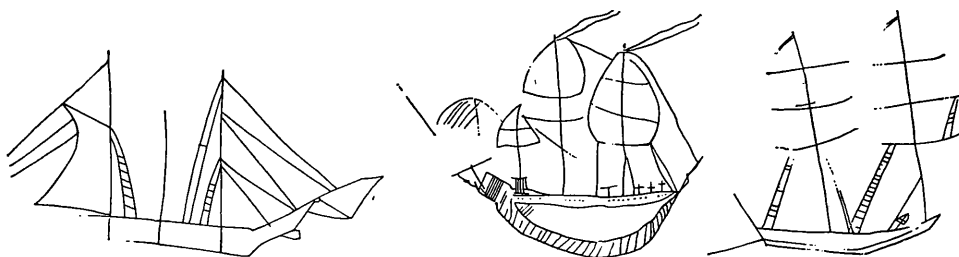


FIG. 11.

distance from the base of the walls. Outside this is the ditch, cut for the most part in the solid rock, but also having a built-up parapet along its outer edge. Both ditch and *gömlek* come to an abrupt end on the west side, where the precipitous fall of the rock make artificial defence unnecessary.

The main entrance to the fortress is by means of a defended gateway on the east side. From the rocky hillside, sloping down towards the modern town, one approaches by a built-up causeway over the ditch, and is confronted by a simple archway in the *gömlek* wall. From here steps wind up to the gateway, a miniature version of the main gateways, substantially built of ashlar, but with a parapet restored in later times. Straight in front of one on entering is the courtyard with the three *sarniç*, which gives access to the three main halls already described, but the path turns leftwards up shallow steps and brings one through a gateway in one of the old Hellenistic towers, now partly demolished. This tower and the old fortress of which it forms a part are again protected on the western or inner side by a *gömlek* wall, so that one must now descend through a fourth gateway in order to reach the enclosed part of the castle (Fourth Sector). The three old towers had upper storeys linked together by a walled promenade, from which at two points small stairways led up to even higher eyries, commanding an extensive view both in and outside the castle.

Of the four gates in the Ehmedek already mentioned, only two have any pretension to a studied architectural treatment. One is that in the old pre-Seljuq tower, which has been later provided with a flat stone lintel and relieving-arch: the other is that in the inner *gömlek*, which has a flat arch springing from moulded cappings and two curiously carved stone bosses above.

THE FOURTH SECTOR

This sector occupies the saddle between the rock on which the Ehmedek is built and the high citadel (*Iç Kale*) above. It must have represented the nucleus of the upper town in Seljuq, as well as Ottoman times. Here is the principal mosque, the *Süleymaniya Camu*, built probably in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. over the remains of an earlier Seljuq shrine. Behind it are the ruins of a considerable bazaar with at least forty vaulted booths, and to the west of it a controversial building which Riefstahl considered to be a *hân*, but Konyalı prefers to associate with Evliya Çelebi's mention of a *bedesten* or covered market. Behind this is the conspicuously large vaulted water-cistern, known as the *Mecdüddin Sarniçi*, and a little further up the hill, on the way to the citadel gate, a little building called the *Akşebi Türbesi*.

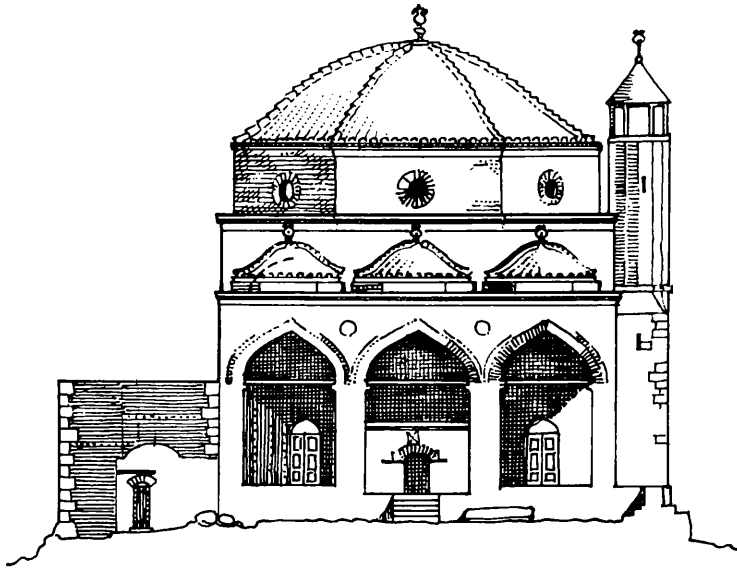
The southern limit of the quarter must originally have been a wall running almost due east and west, connecting the old Hellenistic wall with the *Iç Kale* above. Konyalı explains that this wall was destroyed by an earthquake in the time of Sulaymān the Magnificent, and that since then the Fourth and Fifth Sectors have formed a single unit known locally as the *Orta Kale*. At all events, nothing remains now but its six projecting towers, which are in a ruinous state, but can be seen to have been some round and some square (pl. XII c-d), as though they were built at different times.

The four main towers in the north-western wall of this sector (beyond which the rocky hillside slopes sharply down to the sea, nevertheless affording some grazing for goats), are also of widely different sizes and shapes. Starting from the Ehmedek, the wall runs south-west for about a hundred metres, with no other interruption than three small set-backs, a few centimetres deep, just sufficient to make vertical shadows at regular intervals. The first tower is then reached—a square structure with the walls abutting against adjacent sides, so that they make a 90-degree change of direction. At present this tower has a doorway in the southern angle, giving access for goatherds to the slopes outside. The second tower is again square and has a doorway facing south. The third is a much larger rectangular affair of two storeys, having room for a considerable chamber with a range of windows as well as a door leading outside. There is a fourth door in the wall between the last tower and the citadel, and a postern in the corner of the latter, where the wall abuts against it. It seems unlikely that all, or for that matter any of these openings existed in Seljuq times.

The *Süleymaniya Camu* (fig. 12) consists of a square sanctuary covered by a single almost hemispherical dome (25·50 × 12·50 metres) and an open portico, divided by cross-arches into three compartments, each covered by a smaller dome. The domes are of brick, but the walls partly of this material and partly of squared stone. There is a minaret attached to the north-west corner of the sanctuary and a vaulted *sarniç* built against the north-east corner, with a covered tap-room beside it.

The openings between the piers of the portico are spanned by four-centred brick arches, with wooden ties resting on small corbels at the springing.

5. 0. 5. 10.
SCALE METRES.



NORTH ELEVATION.

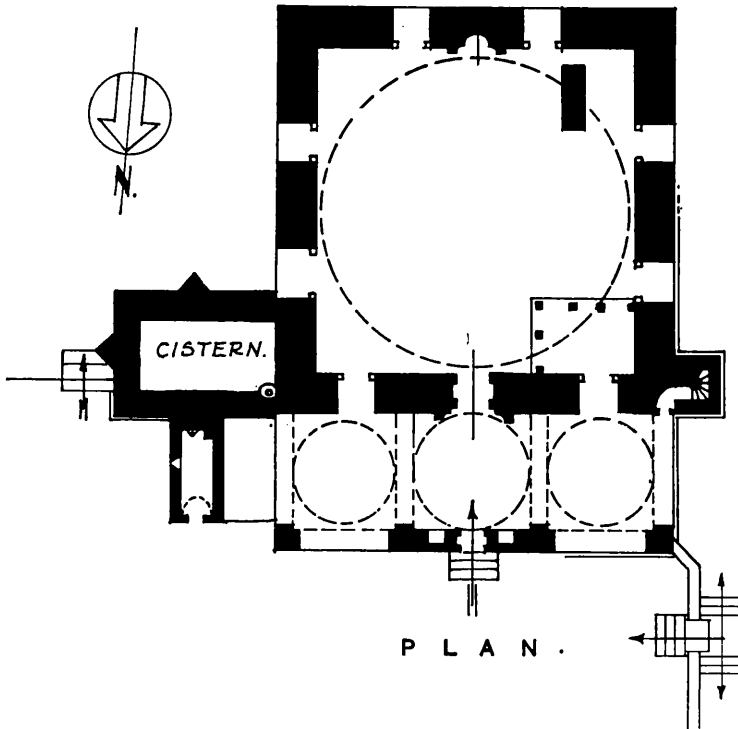


FIG. 12.

The centre opening is closed by a screen-wall about three metres high; and one enters through a narrow doorway with a segmental arch. Over the centre of this arch is a stone inscribed with the single word "Allah". There are three openings from the portico to the sanctuary, of which the central one only is in use. This has attractive panelled doors and some ornament around the doorway: a segmental arch with joggled voussoirs and an outer pointed arch framed in a broad architrave of plastered brick. Between the two arches is a square panel which appears to have once contained an inscription (now painted over?). The interior of the sanctuary is unimpressive. It has a simple *minbar* beside the *mhrab* and in the north-west corner, a wooden gallery for women, supported on posts and entered by the spiral stair of the minaret. The remaining three walls have two broad windows at floor-level, two smaller ones above and a fifth centrally placed directly beneath the springing of the dome.

The minaret is square in plan and built of squared stone rubble up to the level of the portico cornice. Beyond this it is of brick and twelve-sided in plan. The top has been demolished by lightning; and a wood and metal shelter has recently been built to cover it. Fragments of Seljuq inscriptions (No. 19 on pl. XV c-f) are to be seen in secondary use in the fabric of the minaret and elsewhere on the building.

The pan-tiled roof over the main dome rests on an octagonal drum with eight circular windows. Above and below this, as around the portico-wall, there are elaborate brick cornices.

The *Hân* (or *Bedesten*) may be seen in fig. 13 (pl. XII a-b), in its relation to the adjoining bazaar. Konyalı's objection to Riefstahl's identification of the building as a caravanserai is not easy to understand. It is based on Evliya Çelebi's statement that in his time (A.D. 1671) there was a disused and old-fashioned "*bezzāzistān*" with some of its shops inhabited and others serving as cubicles for students. But this description could equally well apply to the vaulted bazaar behind the mosque, and, if Riefstahl's dating of the *hân* be correct (seventeenth century) it may well have not yet been built in the time of the Çelebi.

In any case, the plan is clearly not that of a covered market but a caravanserai of the sort for which one can find many contemporary parallels. The rooms round the courtyard are for the merchants and the large vaulted portion behind for animals or storage. There are even signs of covered-way around the courtyard for use in wet weather. In fact, the only unusual feature of the building is the shape of the vaults over the principal chambers, which have flat, recessed panels in the centre. The walls are of brick, and attached to the north-east corner is a considerable *sarnıç*, now partly fed by a diversion of the water from the roof of the mosque.

The *Akşebe Türbesi* ("*Mescidi*") (fig. 15, pl. VII d) is situated some way above the *hân*, where the ground slopes up towards the İç Kale. The main building, which Konyalı (p. 287) describes as the *mescit* is built of red brick, a single compartment five metres square and covered with a semicircular dome of the same material. Annexed to it on the east side, and built largely of stone

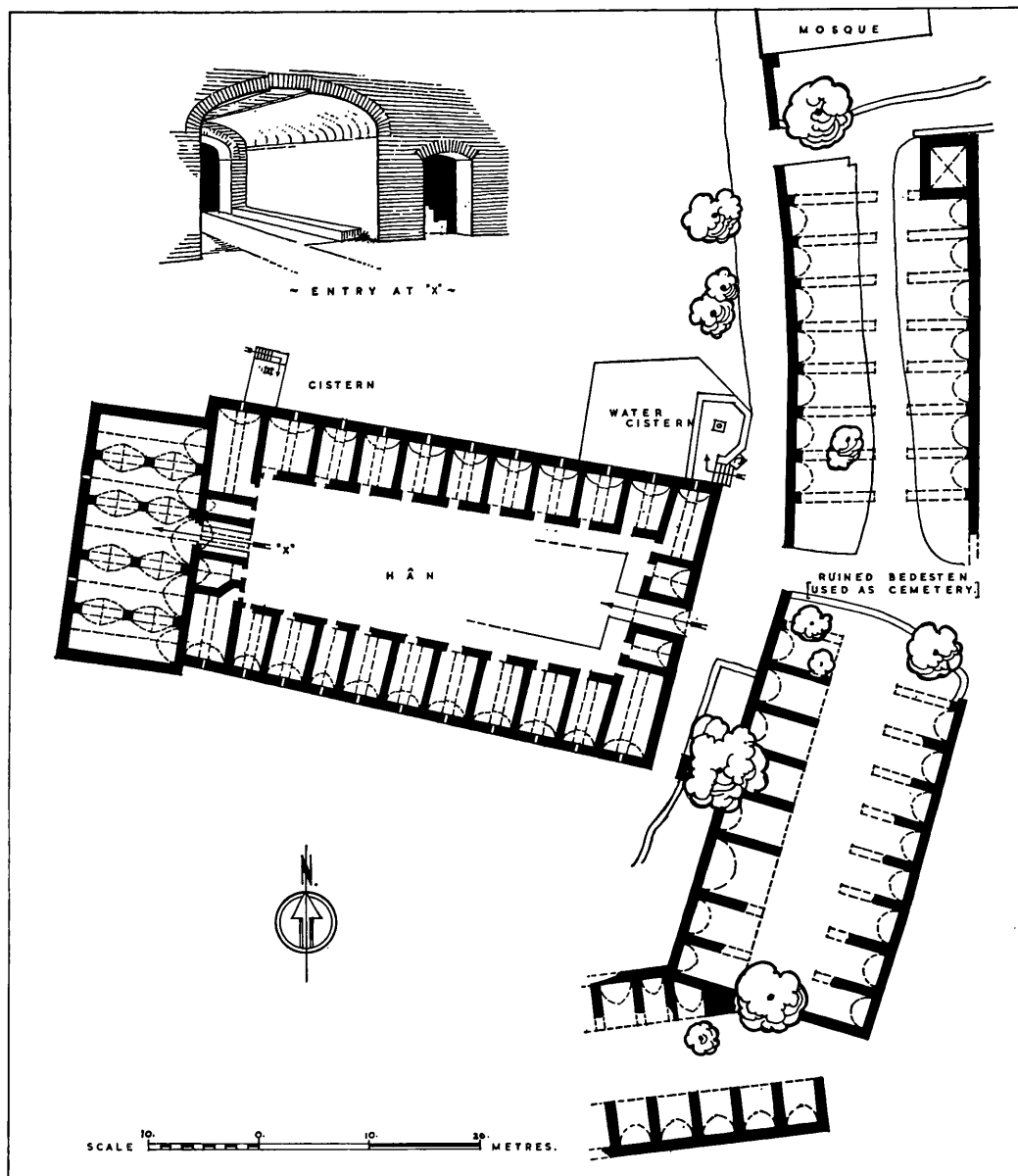


FIG. 13.

rubble, is a smaller domed compartment and a narrow vaulted chamber with an arched opening between. Detached from the building on the north-west side are the ruins of a small circular minaret, standing on a square base. This also is of brick, ornamented at intervals with blue glazed tiles: the base has stone quoins.

In the main *mescit* there have been so many structural alterations, that it is hard to be certain of the original appearance. In the south wall there is a blocked opening, where logically there should be a *mihrab*, and rectangular

niches on either side of it. The west wall also has two shallow recesses and there are three openings, subsequently blocked up, in the wall on the annexe side. The north wall has a more complicated arrangement. In the centre there is a very tall narrow opening, starting at floor-level and ending in a wooden lintel with a small relieving arch resting upon it. To the left of this is a doorway covered by a pointed arch, now partially blocked, and to the right, what appears to be the true entrance, since it has a stone segmental arch

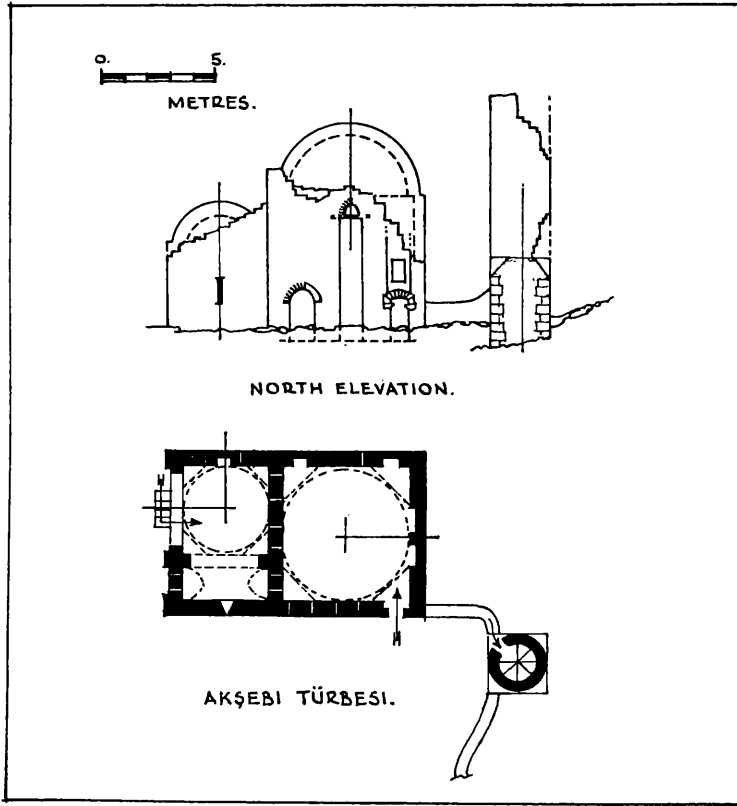


FIG. 14.

springing from ornamental corbels and a fine empanelled inscription above it (No. 18, pl. XVI a). In the annexe, Konyalı regards the narrow vaulted compartment on the north side as the tomb-chamber. In it he had seen a small head-stone in the Seljuq style, and was told that in living memory a sarcophagus, which he imagines to have been glazed, had been removed from here and sold to "foreigners". He points out that the smaller domed compartment from which it opens, has a *mihrab* (there are also blocked openings on either side of it) and concludes that it must therefore have had the function of a *yazlık mescit* ("summer chapel" ?). Certainly it has an open archway on the east side, and it is from here that access is at present obtained to it by a flight of stone steps.

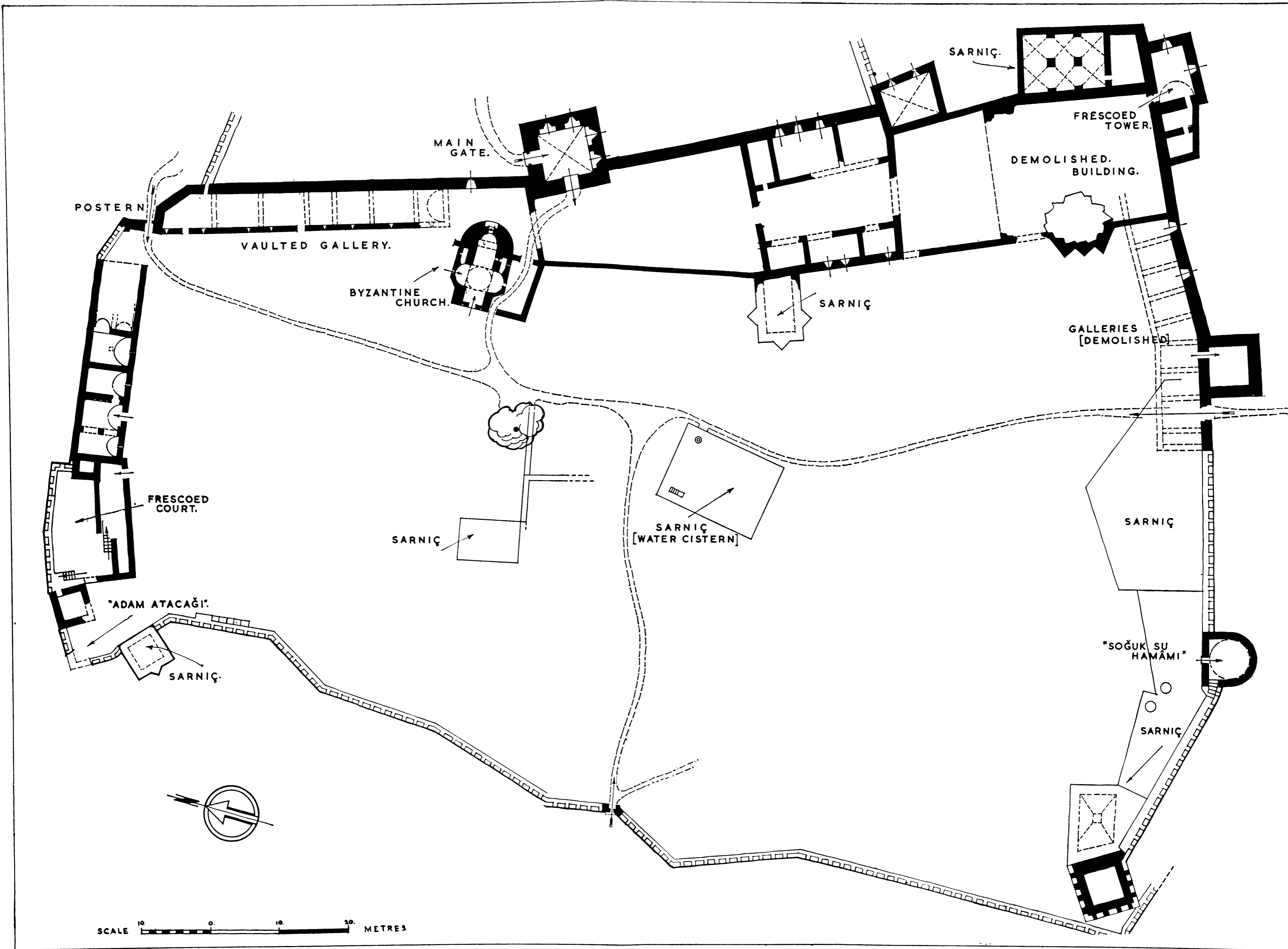


FIG. 15.

The present state of this interesting little monument is one of serious dilapidation. The domes appear at one time to have been covered with lead, which has long ago been removed and the whole structure is badly cracked. Konyalı suggests that since, in his opinion, both parts are of Seljuq date, it would merit a little money spent on restoration. It is tempting, however, to think of more pretentious buildings of the period, which should take precedence.

The İç Kale

This part of the castle, which may be described as the citadel, occupies the highest summit of the rock (fig. 15). The area which it covers is an irregular rectangle, 180 metres long, 150 metres wide at the southern end and a good deal less at the northern. The main buildings are grouped on three sides of this enclosure in proximity to the high fortification walls: on the fourth or western side a much less substantial wall suffices, since beyond it the rocks fall almost vertically, several hundred feet into the sea. In the centre of the enclosure, the most conspicuous surviving features are two enormous vaulted water-cisterns, built of brick. One of them still holds many thousands of gallons of water and is in daily use.

Considering the historical importance of the fortress, one would expect to find accommodation on a palatial scale in the citadel. Yet among the ruins which it contains it is hard to see anything answering to this description. In fact, if anything of the sort once existed, it must have been in the south-east corner of the enclosure, where there are signs of fairly substantial buildings having been anciently demolished. Here also, inside one of the corner towers, there is a frescoed ornament on the plastered wall-face: tall chevrons in red paint, such as one sees, testifying to Seljuq occupation, for instance in the theatre at Aspendos. Unfortunately insufficient remains of the buildings in this corner for the plan (fig. 15) to be self-explanatory. There is a vaulted *sarniç* in one of the south-west towers and another, supported by three triangular buttresses, built out on the west side of the only surviving group of residential chambers. Fragments of Seljuq glazed pottery and tiles are to be found among these buildings and also between the two main *sarniç* outside them.

The only other group of a residential character is in the north-west corner of the enclosure, where a unit with an open court beneath the battlements again has traces of frescoed ornament. With these exceptions, the buildings are mere barracks, ranged along the inside of the enclosure wall, sometimes two storeys high, like those to the north of the main entrance. Of the towers, the most curious is one in the south wall, which is circular in plan and covered by a flat dome. This is known locally as the *Soğuk Su Hammâmı* on account of terracotta pipes which are said to be built into the thickness of the wall. The writer, however, was only able to find holes in the structure left by the decay of the wooden beams used for reinforcement. There are several more vaulted water-cisterns in the vicinity of this tower: two of them can be entered by spiral staircases for cleaning purposes.

In the north-west corner of the enclosure, between a small square tower and a built-up *sarniç*, there is a breach in the wall with a precipitous drop beneath. Konyalı attributes to this the traditional name, *Adam Atacağı* ("the place for throwing people down"). But there are other places which would have been more effective for this purpose, for instance west of the lighthouse, where one can toss a stone into the sea from the ramparts.

There is at present a way into the citadel from the south between the Soğuk Su Hammâmı and the next tower to the east, but this is a mere gap in

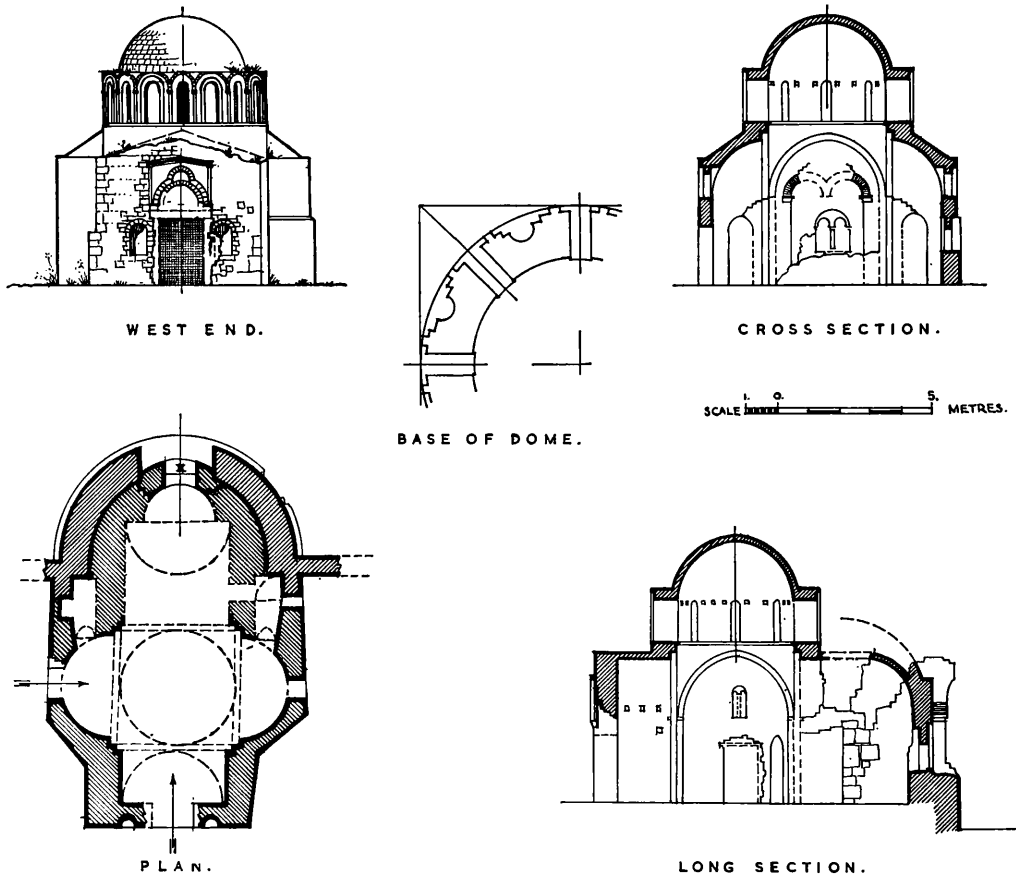


FIG. 16.

the wall and would in any case have brought one straight into a (now demolished) barrack-building. There are also two doors in the west wall used by goatherds, which appear to be of a fairly late date. There can be little doubt that the main and possibly only entrance in Seljuq times was through the large square tower in the centre of the east wall. This powerful structure with its fine arched doorways and loops in deep embrasures is a defensive unit in itself and as usual compels a right-angle turn in entering.

Rather surprisingly, the first building one sees inside the citadel is a small *Byzantine church*, and one is immediately struck by the fact that this building

must almost certainly have existed before the castle was built and have been permitted to survive in this prominent position all through the Seljuq period (pl. IX d). The church is a cruciform affair, built, as Riefstahl was the first to observe, into the surviving apse of what must have been a much larger, basilican building of an earlier period (fig. 16). It has a central dome, surrounded by an arcade framing alternate semicircular-headed windows and blind niches. The thrust of the dome is abutted on the north and south side

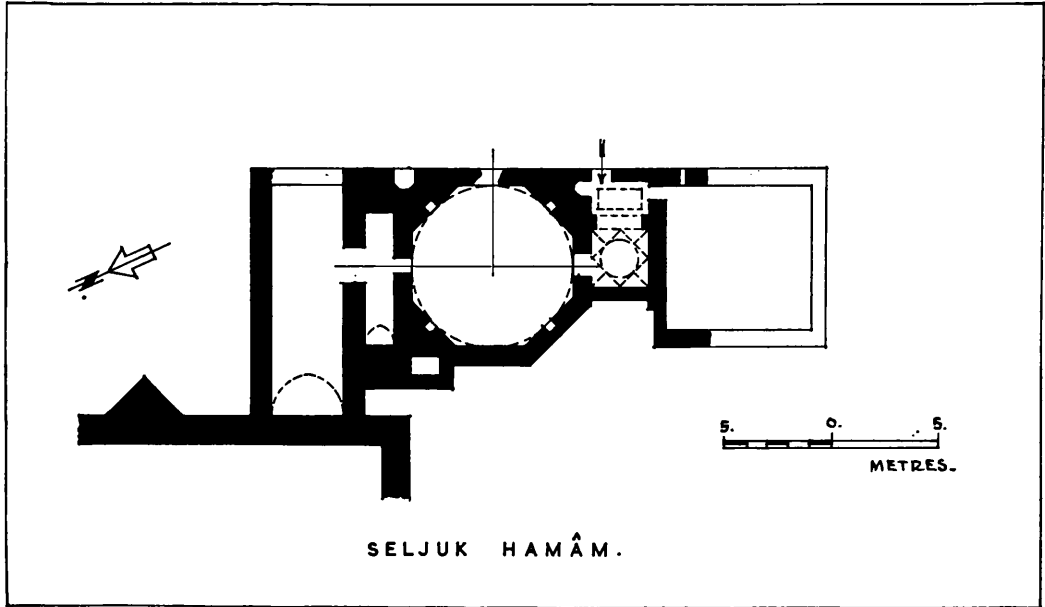


FIG. 17.

by semi-domes covering side-apses, each of which had a small vaulted chapel leading out of it to the east. (In both cases the inner walls of these chapels, which formed corner-piers to the dome, have now fallen, but the dome miraculously remains in place.) The east and west abutment is by barrel-vaults. The principal apse at the east end has a window (as its predecessor had), divided by a small column into two arched openings. There are axial doorways on the north and east sides. The latter has a doubly recessed ornamental arch over it, framed in a sham gable with tiny pilasters, and is flanked by two semicircular-headed niches (*piscinae* or for images?). The walls are built of stone rubble, brick being used for the dome and finer details. There is no longer any clue to the plan of the earlier building.

The dome of this church, with its pendentives and side-apses, have been at some period completely covered with frescoes. These are still well enough preserved to recognize for instance seated figures, probably of the four evangelists (pl. IX b), in the pendentives, one of them with a name inscribed over it, and between the drum-windows a scene with "many mansions" background. While the dome survives, these paintings are largely preserved from the effects of weather, but some scientific preservation and restoration might not be impracticable.

THE FIFTH SECTOR

In Konyalı's system, the İç Kale corresponds to the Sixth Sector. The Fifth Sector accounts for the remaining area within the enclosure, west of the Hellenistic wall. Modern habitations overflow to some extent into the north-east part of this sector, but the greater part of it is open hillside covered with scrub. Its principal features are a ruined building near the south-east corner of the İç Kale, now known as the *Seljuk Hammâmi* (fig. 17); a modern lighthouse occupying a prominent position directly due south of this, athwart the southern enclosure-wall; a small *mescit* at the present termination of the jeep-road, and the interesting little Byzantine chapel, called *Arap Evliyasi*, built over the ruins of the last tower but one in the old Hellenistic wall.

Konyalı, who was the first to recognize the so-called "Seljuq Bath", describes it as follows: "The doorway opens to the east. The outer cold-room, known as the dressing-room, and the inner cold-room are completely demolished. Passing from here into the washing-place, one sees a small private room on the right. The wash-room itself is octagonal and has a single dome: each side is 2·15 metres long and the diameter of the dome is 5·00 metres. There is a fountain at each of the corners. Part of the dome has fallen. From here one passes through a door covered by an archway into a separate part (of the building). Here, only the northern wall is demolished." He also concludes that the stoke-hole is on the İç Kale side and that water was brought here by underground pipe from the cisterns in the citadel. He does not mention that the bath has its own *sarniç*, or that terracotta pipes for heating are visible in the walls of the main octagonal chamber. For the rest, the reader will be able to judge the accuracy of his description from the plan, now published for the first time. He attributes the building to the Seljuq period mainly on the evidence of the bricks which are similar to those used in the Kızıl Kule, Tersane and Akşebe Türbesi.

The little chapel, known as *Arap Evliyasi* (Arab Saint) (fig. 19, pl. VII a-c) is of particular interest in that it illustrates three separate phases in the history of the castle. The first is a square tower, six metres wide in the old Hellenistic fortress-wall: over the ruins of this the Byzantine chapel was built, its own foundations projecting some two metres beyond the inner wall-face (pl. VII b). When the old wall came to be rebuilt in Seljuq times, the structure of the chapel was carefully preserved, the new walls merely abutting against it and providing its roof with a new crenellated parapet. Careful arrangements were even made to allow light to reach the little window in the north wall, which would otherwise have been blocked. In fact, the preservation of this building by the Seljuqs must have been due to the same motive which prompted them to spare the Byzantine church in the citadel. Konyalı gives the traditional name of the building as *Aya Yorgi Kilisesi* (St. George's Church). He says that among the rocks in front of the chapel there was originally a Christian cemetery. In Moslem times this continued to be used as a graveyard (a supposed Moslem grave came to light in 1932), and the chapel came to be used as a *mescit*. It received its later name *Arap Evliyasi* from a

tomb in the vicinity which has now disappeared. The chapel, however, shows no signs of a *mihrab*. Since, as may be seen from its west elevation (fig. 18), the treatment of the chapel doorway so closely matches that of the larger church in the citadel, that it might have been designed by the same man, there is every reason for considering the two to be contemporary. Stylistically, a date in the twelfth or eleventh century would fit both.

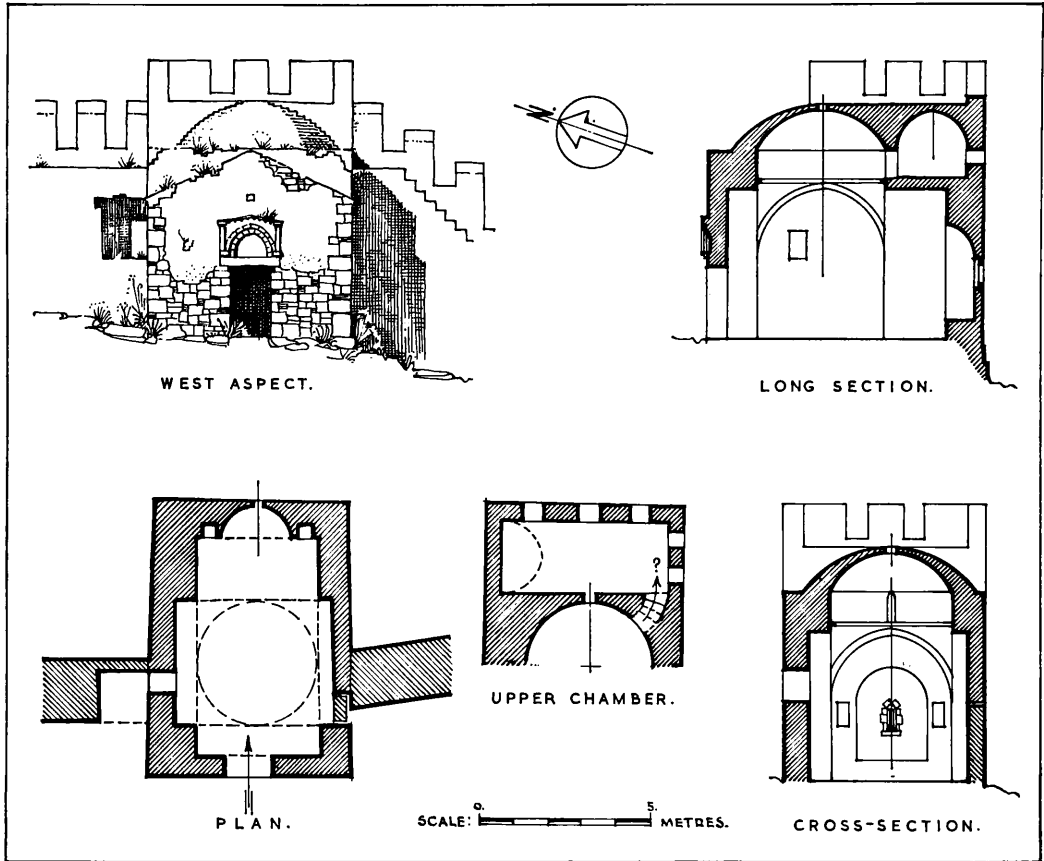


FIG. 18.

The chapel has a flat brick dome, rising from a shallow drum. By means of pendentives it is supported on four semicircular arches, the easternmost of which is prolonged to form a barrel-vault. The apse has a single small window, flanked by two little niches. Some sort of opening in the south wall has been blocked when the Seljuq wall was built. Above the vaulted "chancel", there is a pleasant upper chamber, also vaulted, its five small windows commanding a magnificent view. It is at present reached by a hole broken through the vault, and the location of the original entrance remains a puzzle.

The jeep-road, which passes the Arab Evliyasi on the east side, then enters the Fifth Sector through a gap in the wall and ends a hundred metres to north-west. Here there is a small and unpretentious building, said to be a *mescit* but the writer was unfortunately unable to obtain the key.

THE CILVARDA BURNU

This is the name given to the narrow ridges of rock which project four hundred metres out into the sea at the south-west corner of the promontory (fig. 19). In the line of Seljuq fortifications, there is a single tower at this point and, from a breach in the wall nearby, a pathway leads downwards towards the *burun*, with occasional flights of steps cut in the solid rock. These latter have deteriorated in the course of time, and today the descent is not recommended to anyone but a proficient rock-climber.

In addition to the monastery group which occupies a rocky summit at a horizontal distance of about 270 metres from the castle walls, there are the ruins of two other small buildings on the *burun*. The first seems to have been a square look-out, connected with the tower above by a wall about sixty metres long. The spine of the ridge breaks down into a saddle at this point, and the wall would have prevented all access across it from the western face of the rock to that on the south. A hundred and thirty metres further along the ridge there is another small building, of which only the emplacement remains, perhaps to be identified with the so-called *Darbhâne* (or "mint"), mentioned by Konyalı. The source of such a name is obscure; but so is the purpose of a building in so inaccessible a position. Beyond this, the descent by climbing is possible as far as a point just short of the monastery church, where a deep rift in the rock makes further progress impossible. There is no doubt that when the monastery was occupied, the link with the castle was completed by rock-hewn steps, and a part of these can still be seen, passing through a small built-up gateway on the north-west side of the rock. For one reason or another, the remainder have been demolished, and today the only means of reaching it is by boat.

The general lay-out of this dramatically isolated little retreat has never before been examined or recorded. One lands (with some difficulty unless the sea is calm) on a small natural quay, from which one must turn back and climb up the rocks to the north-eastward (cut steps again). As may be seen in our general plan (fig. 19), one next approaches a defensive wall running clean across the rock from one side to the other. It is crowned with crenellations (which appear to be ornamental), and one enters through a curious little gateway, hardly more than a metre high. From here the path zigzags up the slope towards the main terrace, which one reaches by means of a flight of steps, now almost completely demolished. These steps are overlooked by a small square gatehouse, the shell of which has survived. The terrace itself, from which there must have been a pleasant, if monotonous, view of the sea, is paved with a mosaic of bluish and white limestone pebbles. Beneath it, at the stair end, there is a commodious water-cistern strengthened by two heavy buttresses projecting from the terrace wall.

One now ascends again towards the summit of the rock, where on the right stands the little chapel and above it on the left the less well preserved ruins of the monastery itself. The chapel, whose dome is still standing, resembles the Arap Evliyasi in almost every detail, save for the projecting

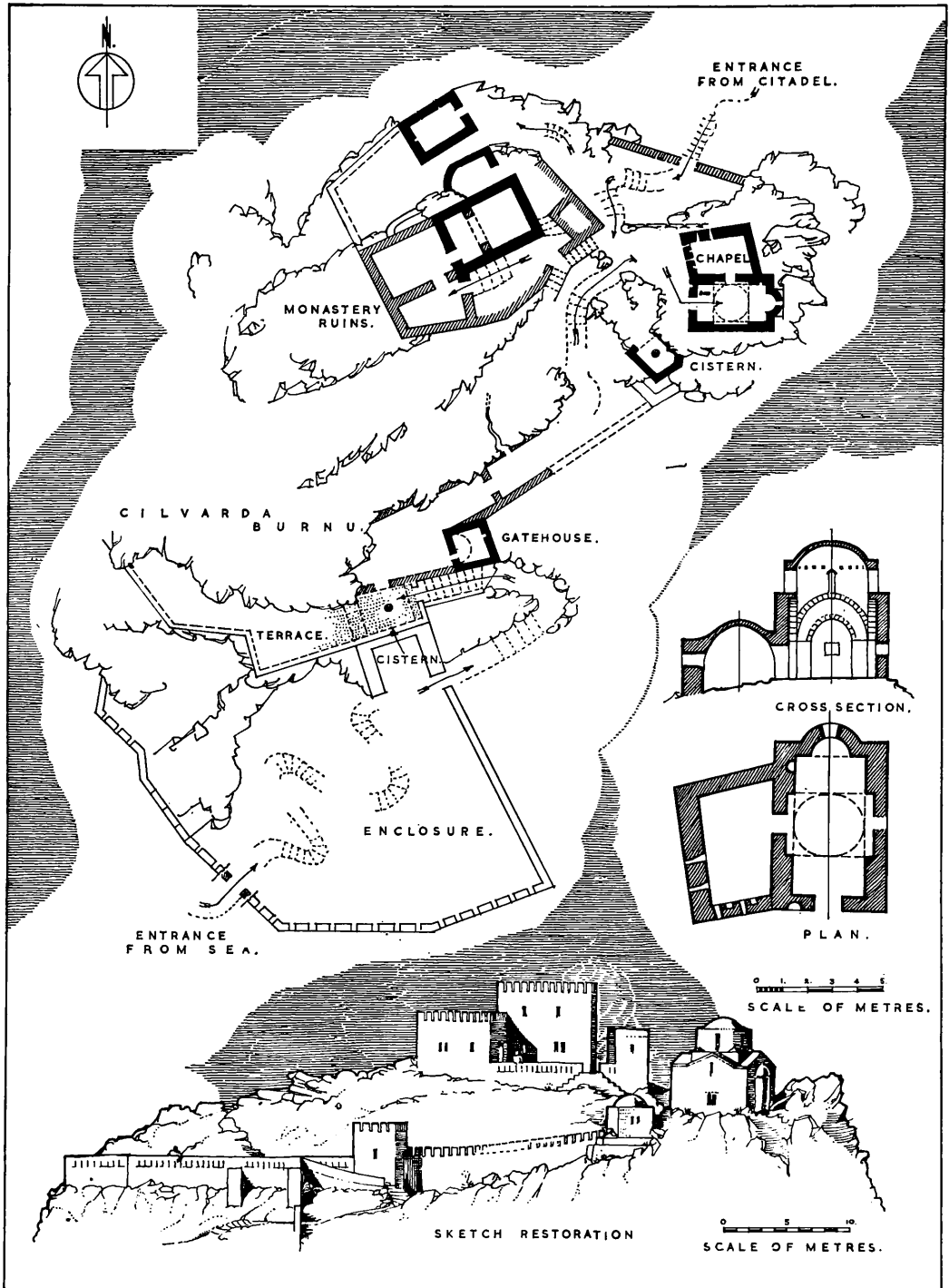


FIG. 19.

apse and the irregular-shaped, vaulted sacristy, which is annexed to it on the north side. Like the church in the citadel, it had one or more niches in the wall beside the west doorway. There was a small chamber built over a water-cistern near the south-west corner of the building and there are traces of a defensive wall connecting this with the little gatehouse below.

The monastery buildings themselves are in such a thoroughly ruined state that it is difficult to identify the half-dozen chambers of which it is composed, save for that at the summit of the rock, which is clearly the refectory. A protective wall can be seen on the north side, with a gate through which one must have entered when arriving from the castle.

Our tentative reconstruction of the whole group (fig. 19) owes much to the imagination, but may help the reader to picture the setting in which this small religious community must have lived on its sea-girt rock.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

BUILDINGS ON THE MAINLAND

It has already been observed that the ruins of such residential buildings as have survived in the castle itself at Alanya seem hardly adequate, either in size or elegance, to the accommodation of Seljuq dignitaries during their periodical sojourns there. In fact, the interior of the fortress, with its lack of running water and exposure to the elements, may have had little to recommend it to the civilians, who would be likely to have preferred the groves and orchards of the neighbouring mainland. Here there are shallow but protected valleys with clear springs and swift-running trout-streams, coming down from the mountains behind. One such valley has a considerable river, the Dim Çay, and at a point 9·5 kilometres from Alanya itself, where a road crosses it on a bridge of Seljuq date, is the village of *Oba*, in whose vicinity there are traces of an important settlement in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The most impressive building at *Oba* itself is the little Seljuq *medrese*, which, though in a ruined state, has some interesting architectural features¹ (fig. 20). The entrance is from the west through a vaulted passage into a small square courtyard, with ranges of three small cell-rooms (average 2·50 metres square) on either side and is faced by a high, vaulted *iwān* on the fourth side. In plan, the latter projects from the main rectangle of the building, but the space to the north of it is filled by a large square chamber covered by a dome. The interior of the court is much obstructed by shrubbery and the foliage of several large fig-trees.

There is clear evidence here that *Oba* had previously been the site of a Byzantine or classical settlement, for many architectural fragments are in secondary use in the fabric of the building.² For the rest, most of the architectural ornament is concentrated in the main entrance from the west and the small doorway of the domed chamber beside the *iwān*. The western door has an outer archway of brick, resting upon stone architraves with receding fasciae, ingeniously but irregularly composed from classical fragments. The arch itself and adjoining rubble of the façade is completely unornamented, and must originally have been plastered. The inner doorway is considerably recessed and covered by a flattened arch. Here there is interesting ornament on the stone architraves, including, in the reveal, a simple guilloche, filled alternatively with rosettes and formalized fish. There are moulded impostes at the springing of the arch, and in the filling between it and the outer relieving arch, the abacus of an Ionic capital is incorporated as ornament, with only the under-side exposed.

The doorway in the north-east corner of the courtyard, leading to the domed compartment, is purely Seljuq in design and attractively ornamented. The usual flattened arch with moulded impostes is framed in a rectangular

¹ It is perhaps noteworthy that no such building appears to have existed on the Alanya rock, a fact upon which Evliya Çelebi commented with surprise (*Seyahatname*, IX, 297).

² Outside the axial window of the *iwān*, for instance, a twelve-line Greek inscription is built into the wall upside-down. It mentions 'the people of Coracesium', see p. 69.

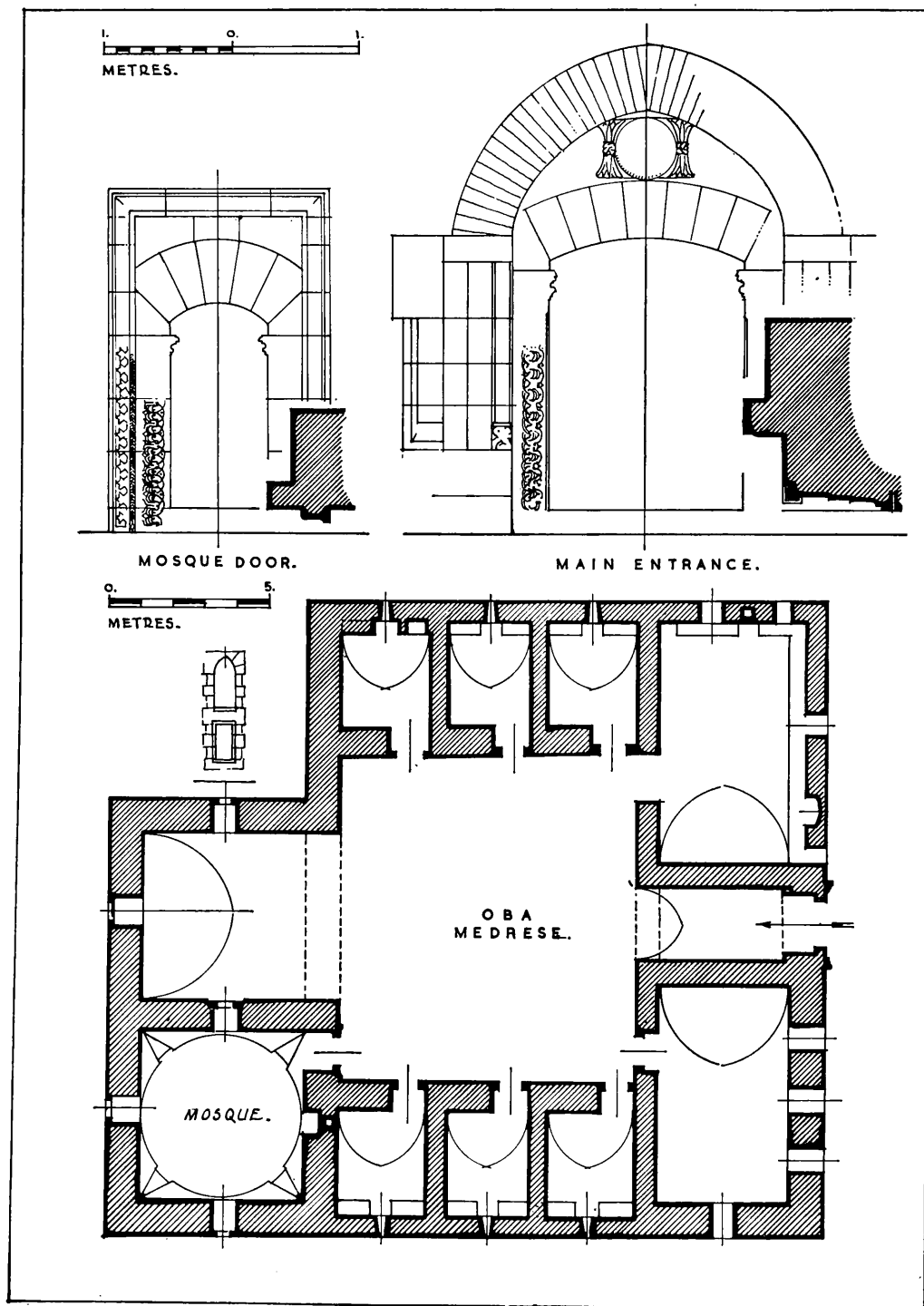


FIG. 20.

architrave, consisting of a broad fascia and ovolo, both enriched with carved ornament. There is also ornament in low relief carved on the flat faces of the actual door-jambs, discontinued at varying heights on either side, in the arbitrary manner of contemporary craftsmanship.

The domed compartment itself, by analogy with *medreses* elsewhere, one would unhesitatingly identify as a private mosque, were not the place of the *mihrab* taken by a window. Such windows occur axially on three sides of the chamber. They are rectangular, and above the flat lintel have a second opening covered by a pointed arch: on the fourth side there is an opening for a fireplace with a flue in the thickness of the wall. The dome is of stone and rests on panelled pendentives. Each of the cell-rooms has a narrow, splayed window high up in the wall. Both here and in the two larger chambers, flanking the entrance on the west side, there seems to have been some secondary thickening of the wall to allow for the installation of fireplaces, and the provision of smoke-flues, for these in some cases obstructed the windows. The flues terminate above the roof in small, neatly-built chimney stacks.

There is no building inscription to date the *medrese*. Konyalı attributes it to the independent Beys of Alanya, and finds records of its *waqf* registration as late as the sixteenth century (p. 358).

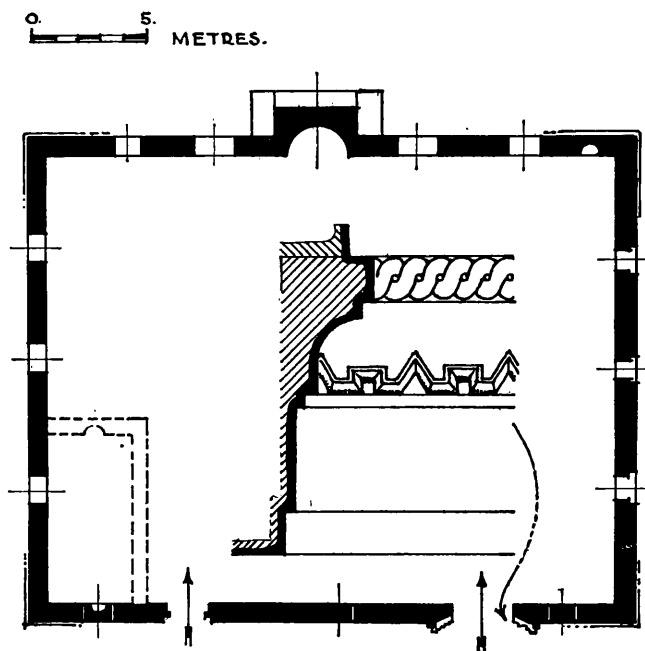
Konyalı also quotes Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of his visit to 'Alā'iyya in 733/1332¹ and other evidence, to show that there was a palace at Oba, originally built by 'Alā'ud-dīn. But there are no substantial ruins to be seen in the district. Only at *Gülefsen*, about three kilometres away, one can recognize the remains of a stone kiosk overlooking a spring of water, and at Has Bahçesi nearby, much the same sort of building has been converted into a *sarniç*. Here also a single ruined tower has survived from some sort of fortification, and shows traces of frescoed ornament similar to that observed in the İç Kale at Alanya.

There are two better preserved ruins at *Gülefsen*. One is a small domed *türbe*, which Konyalı attributes to "Alā'ud-dīn, son of Yūsuf of the Qaramānoghlu" and to the date, 775/1373, on the strength of an inscription which he saw in the nearby school, displaced, as he thought, from a position above the doorway by the growth of a tree. (This is probably a wrong identification of No. 32, described on p. 66 below, pl. XVI d.) The other building is a mosque, dated by an inscription *in situ* to the time of Qaramānoghlu Maḥmūd Bey.

The mosque (fig. 21), which is of an impressive size (27·00 × 21·00 metres), is in an extremely ruinous state, only the four outer walls remaining standing. The *mihrab*, substantially built of ashlar masonry, is on the short axis of the building, and on this (the *qibla*) side, many architectural fragments, some fallen and some still in place, suggest that there was a covered *muṣallah*, supported upon columns recovered from the ruins of an earlier classical building. There are three large window openings in the east and west walls, and four more in the *qibla* wall, two on either side of the *mihrab*. There are

¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, II, 256.

two main gateways in the north wall. That on the left has an arched opening, framed in a simple ashlar surround. Above the keystone, there is a five-line Arabic inscription, set in between two unequal fragments of carved interlace ornament, obviously intended for some other purpose. The inscription gives the date 775/1373, and the name of the builder (No. 31, p. 66 below, pl. XVI b), Badr ud-dīn Maḥmūd Bey ibn 'Alā' ud-dīn ibn Yūsuf. The doorway on the right is almost completely demolished, but a single stone surviving



GÜLEFSEN.

FIG. 21.

at the base of the architrave on the right-hand side, shows that it had an outer fillet ornament with a guilloche, and a cavetto with typical Seljuq enrichment. Konyalı mentions having seen in the local school building a stone bearing a second inscription, similar to that already mentioned, which he supposed to have fallen from the upper structure of this gate. There are three more window openings in the north façade, which have subsequently been blocked up, and a late structure in the north-east corner of the courtyard.

The Seljuq highroad, built by 'Alā'ud-dīn I to assure communications between Alanya and the capital at Konya, runs westwards along the coast and has a first staging-post at *Şarapşa* (15 kilometres), where there is a *hân* (pl. XI d). This building was planned by Riefstahl, but has now been remeasured, with details of the two ornamental doorways. It has an unusual plan (fig. 22), with a length of nearly 70 metres and a breadth of only 15. The interior is roofed with a single vault, built of stone rubble, and divided into nine bays

by transverse arches of ashlar. Corresponding to these arches on the north and south façades are projecting buttresses and, between them, splayed openings with loop windows. The only provision for the comfort of the travellers themselves is a series of earth platforms, raised about thirty centimetres above the pavement, upon which the animals would stand. Annexed at the east end of the building, is a small rectangular chamber (4.50×2.00 metres), vaulted on the cross axis, which is recognizable from its *mihrāb* and the inscription over the ornamental doorway as a private mosque.

The main entrance to Şarapsa Hân, in the centre of the north façade, is a more pretentious piece of architecture than anything to be found in the castle at Alanya itself. It is built of rather porous limestone laid in finely-jointed ashlar courses, which average about two to one metre. It is designed as a projecting feature in the façade, occupying the width of the central bay, and the whole is framed rectangularly by a wide architrave, whose upper horizontal member, together with several courses of stone beneath it, has now disappeared. Within this framework is an arched opening running up to the full height of the building and corresponding in depth to the projection of the buttresses. The opening itself is covered by a splayed vault, resting at either side upon two small squinch arches and again framing a recessed panel which contains an inscription (No. 34). Beneath this, the doorway itself has a flattened arch with moulded impostes just beneath the springing, surmounted in its turn by a flat arch with joggled voussoirs. The details of this arrangement can be seen best in our sketch (fig. 22).

The smaller doorway, leading to the mosque chamber, is also carefully studied architecturally. The door itself, which has a double stepped approach, matches that of the main entrance; but the flat relieving arch above it has voussoir-jointing of a more sophisticated pattern, and the outer archway, which springs from its own moulded impostes, is trefoil-shaped. The whole is again framed rectangularly by a projecting architrave. The inscription (No. 35) in this case is set in the upper element of the trefoil arch. Only these doorways and the more prominent corners of the structure are built of ashlar masonry: the remainder of the walls and their crenellated battlements are of rubble.

The inscriptions show that the *hân* was built in the time of Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Kaykhusrev II, son of 'Alā'ud-dīn Kayqubād I, that is between 634/1236 and 643/1245. Konyalı (p. 365) remarks on the resemblance of the building to a fortification and suspects that it might have originally been intended for some other purpose. Riefstahl (p. 51) is more interested in the originality of the plan, which since it has no parallel outside Turkey, may be considered to be a purely Seljuq architectural product.

Soon after Şarapsa, the road leaves the coast and turns obliquely inland. It meets the waters of the Alara Çay at a point where they emerge from a deep mountain gorge into an open valley, about 10 kilometres from the sea. Here, on an isolated rock at the mouth of the gorge, stands Alara Castle and nearby, on the river bank, there is another fine *hân*, marking the second staging-post on the journey to Konya.

Alara Hân, whose plan is now for the first time correctly published (fig. 23), is one of the most ingeniously arranged of the smaller Seljuq caravanserais. The accommodation for travellers is in this case segregated from the animals, and their comfort well considered. It is in the centre of the building and consists of an unroofed corridor, flanked on either side by a range of four small vaulted chambers, between which are little open *iwāns* for the

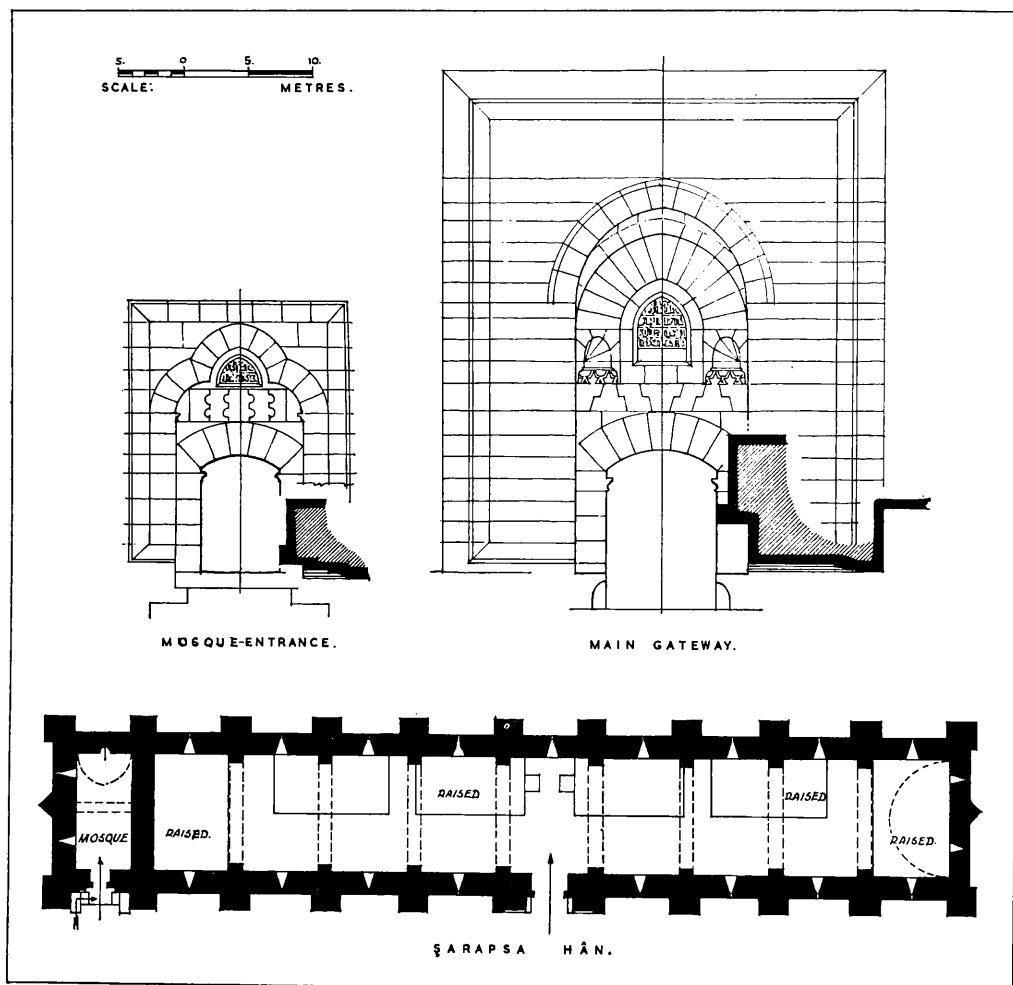
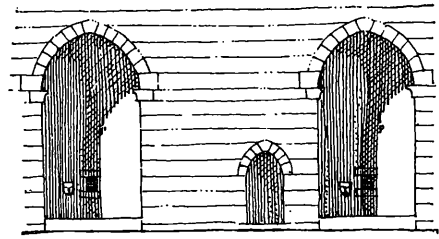


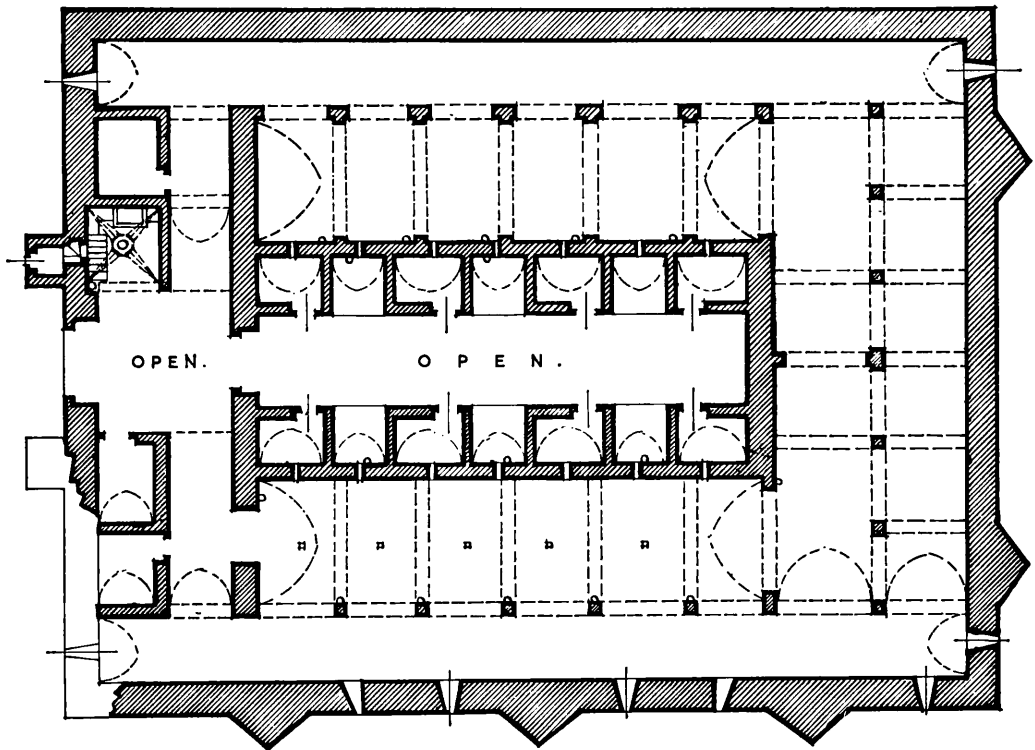
FIG. 22.

visitor's evening leisure. Around these on three sides of the building are the stables—a double range of vaulted galleries, separated by open arcading. The entrance is on the fourth side, flanked by small square towers (one fallen), in one of which a tiny upper chamber serves as a mosque and is reached by a stone stairway (pl. XI a). The compartment immediately inside the building on the left, from which the mosque is approached, is also distinguished from the other administrative offices on the right, by a carefully



ELEVATION OF IWĀNS.

STAIR TO
TOWER CHAMBER.



SCALE 5 0 5 10 METRES.

FIG. 23.

designed quadrupartite vault, with projecting groins and an octagonal opening in the centre. In the back walls of the private chambers and *iwāns*, there are small windows, through which the traveller could communicate with his servants or keep an eye on his beasts, and beside each of these a projecting stone is carved into the shape of an ornamental mask, resembling a lion's head. Such masks also occur outside the chambers and low down on the piers which support the arcading in the stable galleries. They are difficult to see since the galleries are lit only by infrequent splayed loops in the outside wall and small openings at the crown of the vaults.

The entrance façade is of carefully jointed ashlar masonry, terminating in rubble crenellations. The doorway itself, which has the conventional flattened arch, is surmounted by a six-line Arabic inscription, framed in a broad stone architrave. The side-elements of the frame rest upon stone corbels, again carved into the form of conventional lions' heads. According to the inscription (No. 36), the *hân*, like Alara Castle, was built by 'Alā'ud-dīn Kayqubād I in the year 629/1231 (pl. XI c).

The visit paid by our expedition to Alara did not, unfortunately, leave time for a survey of the castle ruins, or indeed for any detailed architectural examination. Access to the rock is at present extremely difficult, rock-hewn stairways having been destroyed in the course of time and the ruins themselves being in part covered by almost impenetrable scrub. Our party did, in fact, succeed in reaching the summit, and made a cursory investigation of the buildings there, but could do little recording, apart from the photography of inscriptions.

It is possible to say that one passes through two gateways in successive lines of fortifications, before the actual citadel is reached. (These can in fact be seen in the photograph, pl. XI b.) The inscriptions (cf. No. 37, p. 69 f.) are high up in the outer wall near the main gateway, where also there is a plastered panel, showing scanty traces of some sort of heraldic (?) device in coloured fresco. Another focus of interest, and indeed the only portion of the ruins which has a recognizable purpose, is the little building which still stands on ultimate summit of the rock. This was clearly a *hammām*. Its two major compartments are covered by small domes and one has terracotta water-pipes still visible in the thickness of the wall. The walls of this compartment (the hot-room?) also show signs of having been entirely covered with frescoed ornament. Apart from geometrical and floral ornament in the pendentives and elsewhere, it was possible to recognize, in the lower register of the dome itself, four human figures sitting cross-legged in the Persian manner. One of these, with the right hand upraised, appeared to have ornamental arm-bands above the elbow.

It is hoped that a further expedition may be organized in order to make a recording of these important paintings, before they further deteriorate.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Three Greek inscriptions were recorded by Heberdey and Wilhelm in 1891–2 at Alanya. Of these only the short dedicatory text on a jamb of the inner door of the main gate to the citadel is still to be seen. These two travellers had heard of a Greek inscription at Oba but were unable to find it. It is probably the text built into the wall of the *medrese* there (pl. XV g) which is rendered below, p. 69. The first record of four Arabic inscriptions in Alanya was made by Evliya Çelebi. The first scholarly publication was due to the pen of Halil Edhem and a considerable advance was achieved by Paul Wittek's analysis of the epigraphic material for Riefstahl's book. Only these two publications are referred to by the *Répertoire (RCEA)*. A very thorough collection was made by Ibrahim Hakki Konyalı (IHK), but many of the texts are placed in awkward positions and special equipment was required to photograph them.

The physical aspect of epigraphic material is of great importance not only to the student of palaeography but also for the artistic value of Islamic calligraphy. My readings differ in details from earlier ones and, although only few new inscriptions have been discovered, it seemed advisable to present as many as possible in the reproductions for they offer a remarkable variety of styles in a single place and in an extremely short period of time.

Max van Berchem distinguished between two major types of scripts in the epigraphy of the Seljuqs of Asia Minor and his distinction still holds good. He called the rounded, *naskhī*, script with regular characters, large and firm strokes (which recall contemporary inscriptions in Syria)—Ayyūbid *naskhī*, and the script with irregular letters, more closely grouped and often inter-looped, and with smaller bodies and longer *hastae*—Seljuq *naskhī*. The first variety is found in monuments which by their style show affinities with contemporary monuments in Syria and the second variety mainly in monuments which, according to van Berchem, betrayed their oriental (Armenian or Caucasian) origin.

There is no need to insist on the basic difference between the style of the inscriptions on the Kızıl Kule (Nos. 1–3) (pl. XIII a–d) (which was the work of an Aleppan architect) and all the others at Alanya. But in the second group a good many distinctions can be made. There are Seljuq inscriptions in which the lines are separated by bulky bars in relief (Nos. 4–11, 15, 17, 19–22, 35, 36) and others where there is no division between the lines (Nos. 12, 14, 18, 26a, 26c and 34). On one occasion the two styles appear in the same building and are clearly contemporary (Nos. 34–5). The quality of the script also varies very greatly. It ranges from the neat and compact but unadventurous script of the Tersane (pl. V c) and its towers (pl. V b, d) (Nos. 4–6) to the bold masterpiece of calligraphy on the tower of the Ehmedek (No. 17) (pl. XV a). No. 8, now only a pitiful fragment, must also have been a very elegant inscription (pl. XIV b).

Only the three inscriptions on the Kızıl Kule are vocalized. Ornaments are rarely used, the most elaborate being the geometric designs on the main

gate of the castle (pl. VIII a) (No. 14). Frames are equally rare. Generally the inscriptions are only a few centimetres deeper than the face of the wall into which they are set, and protection from the rain is afforded only by the bevelling of the stones surmounting them. The only intact special frame is that over the entrance to the Tersane (No. 4) (pl. V c) and some sort of frame must be presumed in other instances (Nos. 12, 14). In yet others, a row of bricks, set to form projecting triangles, offers some protection from the rain (Nos. 10 and 11). Floral scrollwork is used very sparingly. It appears in connection with the lettering only on the middle slab of the Akşebe mesciti (No. 18) (pl. XVI a) and one letter of inscription No. 17 is surmounted by a palmette (pl. XV a).

The texts of the Qaramānoghlu are not attractive and show a deliberate desire to imitate certain traits of the epigraphy of their Mamlūk suzerains. Characteristic features of this trend are to be seen in the heads of the *alifs* and *lāms* (esp. in No. 32) and in the "filling" of the spaces available with compact masses of lettering (pl. XVI b, d).

All the inscriptions are carved in relief on what appear to be (with very few exceptions) re-used antique marble slabs and sawn-off columns. In the earliest building phase (623/1226) classical fragments of sarcophagi, a capital and part of a cornice moulding were employed (Nos. 1 and 15) (pl. VIII d).

On the inner face of the wall behind the gate dated 628/1230-1 are some traces of an epigraphic *décor* painted in the same deep brown colour which was used for the checker-board decoration and the chevron decoration elsewhere in the fortress. The letters used are of a kufic variety and seem to have been interlaced with circles in the centre. The *hastae* end in leaves and semi-palmettes. Unfortunately no words can be made out as only a few fragments of plaster still adhere to the bricks. The character of the letters, however, is not in doubt and they are almost certainly contemporary with the outer gate.

No. 1

1. امر بعمارة هذا البرج المبارك مولانا السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم مالك رقاب
2. الامم سلطان سلاطين العالم حامى بلاد الله حافظ عباد الله علاء الدنيا و
3. الدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين محيى العدل فى العالمين منصف المظلومين من الظالمين
4. ظلّ الله فى الارضين جلال للدولة القاهرة مغيث الامّة الباهرة محيى العدل والانصاف
5. سلطان البرّ والبحرين كهف الثقلين مُحَرِّز الحافقين تاج آل سلجوق سيد الملوك
6. والسلاطين ابو الفتح كيقباد بن كيخسرو بن قلعج ارسلان برهان امير المؤمنين
7. خلّد الله سلطانه فى (غرة) ربيع الآخر سنة ثلث وعشرين وستائة

No. 1 (pl. XIII a) On the south side of Kızıll Kule. Ayyūbid *naskhī* in relief, seven lines.

Ref. *RCEA*, No. 3957; Wittek, No. 12, p. 96; *IHK*, p. 165.

Translation. "Has ordered the construction of this blessed tower our exalted lord, the most august king of kings, the master of the necks of the

nations, the sultan of the sultans of the world, the defender of Allah's lands, the protector of Allah's servants, 'Alā'ud-dunyā wad-dīn refuge of Islam and of the Muslims, the reviver of justice in the worlds, he who does justice to the oppressed against the oppressors, the shadow of Allah on earth, the glory of the conquering dynasty, the refuge of the splendid community (of Muslims), the reviver of justice and equity, the sultan of the land and the two seas, the refuge of all creation (viz. men and spirits), the guardian of the two horizons, the crown of the house of Seljuq, the master of the kings and sultans, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev, son of Qilij Arslān, the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful, may Allah perpetuate his reign. On the 1st of Rabī' II 623 (= 31 March-28 April 1226)."

Commentary. The emphasis in this text, the longest found at Alanya, is on the sultan's role as administrator of justice and the protector of the Muslims. No mention is made in this, or any other text at Alanya, of his role as leader of the holy war against the infidels. Many of the titles assumed by 'Alā'ud-dīn are of long standing and the majority were already worn by the great Seljuqs.

Line 2. *hāmī bilād allāh* corresponds to *hāfiḥ bilād allāh* in the titles of Qilij Arslān's inscription at Konya dated 551/1156,¹ and this was preceded by the title *mālik bilād allāh* claimed by Malikshāh in 481/1088.²

Line 3. *ghiyāth al islām wal-muslimīn* occurs in an inscription dated 512/1118³ bearing the name of the great Seljuq Sanjar at Mashhad. *Muḥyī al-'adl fi'l-'ālamīn* appears in inscriptions of Malikshāh at Diyarbakr dated 481/1088-484/1091.⁴ This title and that of *munṣif al-mazlūmīn min az-zālimīn* is also claimed by the Zengid Nūr ad-dīn⁵ and after him by most Ayyūbids.

Line 4. The notion that the sultan is Allah's shadow on earth reflects an idea attributed to the prophet.⁶ *Jalāl ud-daula* is also a good old Buwayhid, then Seljuq title.⁷ *Mujir al-umma al-bāhira* = *mughith al-umma al-bāhira* occurs in a text by Nūr ad-dīn from Hama dated 558/1163.⁸ The notion that the sultan is the refuge of all Muslims (not only of his subjects) is a very ancient one and expressed by *ghiyāth al-umma* in a text from Persepolis dated 392/1002.⁹

Line 5. The title *sultān al-barr wal-baḥrain* is peculiar to the Seljuqs of Rūm. It first appears in a fully dated inscription by Kaykā'ūs I (616/1219) placed above the door of the 'Alā'ud-dīn mosque at Konya which he had begun to build.¹⁰ It reflects the claim of the Seljuq sultans to be dominating the Mediterranean and the Black Sea through their possession of the ports of

¹ RCEA, No. 3218.

² RCEA, No. 2773.

³ RCEA, No. 2978.

⁴ RCEA, Nos. 2773, 2780, 2792.

⁵ Cf. N. Elisseff, 'La titulature de Nūr ad-dīn d'après ses inscriptions', in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Inst. français de Damas*, XIV (1952-4), 181; add V. Kratchkovskaya in *Epigraphika Vostoka*, I (1947), 19 ff.

⁶ Cf. *CIA, Egypte* I, 368 and 496.

⁷ Cf. Malikshāh at Diyarbakr in 481/1088 RCEA, No. 2773, etc.

⁸ RCEA, No. 3248.

⁹ RCEA, No. 2087. There is therefore no need to consider it as derived from a *laqab* as proposed by Wittek, op. cit., pp. 81, 88.

¹⁰ RCEA, No. 3835.

Antalya and Sinop.¹ Antalya was conquered by Kaykhusrev I in 603/1207 and Sinop by his son Kaykā'ūs I in 611/1214. At the time of the latter event, however, the Seljuqs had lost control of Antalya, which had reverted to the Franks at the death of Kaykhusrev I, in 607/1210. It had to be regained by Kaykā'ūs I, who—so a long inscription from the walls of Antalya informs us—laid siege to the city by land and sea. The assault began on 1 Ramaḍān 612 (= 24 December 1215) and lasted for more than a month.² Sinop, so Ibn Bibī reports with precision, surrendered more than a year earlier, on 26 Jum. II 611 (2 November 1214).³ This explains why in the inscriptions on the İç Kale of Sinop dated Rabi' II 612 (= 30 July–25 August 1215)⁴ Kaykā'ūs is called *sultān al-barr wal-baḥr*, “sultan of the land and the sea”, in the singular, viz. the Black Sea. The dual form *al-bahrain* appears after the re-annexation of Antalya and is adopted by 'Alā'ud-dīn Kayqubādh I. The reappearance of the singular form in an inscription of this ruler dated 629/1231 at Alara (see No. 36 below) is at first sight puzzling. But the word *baḥr* there should be understood in its generic sense preferred because it matches the names of the nations, *rūm*, *shām*, *arman* and *franĵ*. There remains one anomaly.⁵ In an inscription dated 614/1217–18 in the porch of a hospital at Sivas, Kaykā'ūs I is called *sultān al-barr wal-baḥr*,⁶ but this may be due to a scribal error rather than to protocolary inconsistency. On a photograph reproduced by Gabriel⁷ the portion of the text containing this title is clearly visible. There is a marked difference between the *rā* of *baḥr* and the *rā* of *barr* and it may well be that the last syllable of *barrain* was omitted by mistake.

Tāj āl saljūq. The first to use *tāj* in his titles but in combination with *dawla* was Tutush⁸ (471–88/1079–95). The combination of *tāj* with *āl saljūq* is peculiar to Anatolia.⁹

Line 6. It is customary that the last title specify the relationship of the ruler to the caliphate.¹⁰ Three such titles were used by the Seljuq sultans of Rūm: (a) *nāṣir amīr al-mu'minīn*, (b) *burhān amīr al-mu'minīn* and (c) *qasīm amīr al-mu'minīn*; (a) defender, (b) evidence and (c) partner of the commander

¹ Afterwards the Mamluks used occasionally '*mālik al-barrain wal-bahrain*', 'the two lands (Africa and Asia) and the two seas (the Mediterranean and the Red Sea)'; cf. *CIA*, *Egypte*, I, 127.

² *RCEA*, No. 3757.

³ Houtsma, *Receuil*, IV, 57; cf. also Kramers in *EI* article 'Sinūb', III, 457a. Ibn Bibī places the taking of Antalya before the annexation of Sinop. He is followed in this by Munejjimbashi Ms. Ahmet III, 2954, fo. 574v) who even insists that the sultan could only turn towards the Black Sea after dealing successfully with Antalya. In this they are not supported by the epigraphic evidence nor by the western chronicles who place the return of the Turks to Satalia (Antalya) in 1212, cf. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, 78 note.

⁴ *RCEA*, No. 3761 and Şakir Ülkütaşır, in *TT*, V (1949), 122. We also find at Sinop the formula by land and sea (*barran wa bahran*, *RCEA*, No. 3767 and Ülkütaşır, op. cit., p. 123.

⁵ Already pointed out by Wittek, in Riefstahl, op. cit., p. 84.

⁶ Cf. *CIA*, III, No. 1, p. 6, which gives earlier references and *RCEA*, No. 3809.

⁷ A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, II, p. xxxv, 2.

⁸ *RCEA*, Nos. 2734, 2778, 2804, 2860.

⁹ Cf. Huart, *Épigraphie arabe*, p. 87, *CIA*, III, 7, also *tāj āl mangūjek*, *RCEA*, No. 4355, *CIA*, III, No. 56.

¹⁰ Cf. *CIA*, III, 68.

of the faithful. 'Alā'ud-dīn used all three¹ but only (b) and (c) appear at Alanya. The study of the hierarchical value and development of the titles ending in *amīr al-mu'minīn* is yet to be undertaken.² So far as can be judged by the inscriptions collected in the *Répertoire* the predecessors of Kaykā'ūs I used only the formula with *nāšir*.³ Kaykā'ūs (with one perhaps questionable exception⁴) used only the title with *burhān*⁵ and often it was omitted and

¹(a) His inscriptions with *nāšir amīr al-mu'minīn* are as follows:

| AH | Place | RCEA No. |
|---------|---------|----------|
| 616 | Konya | 3836 |
| 617 | Konya | 3854 |
| 617 | Antalya | 3861 |
| 627 | Denizli | 4021 |
| 630 | Maraş | 4059 |
| undated | | |
| 61(?) | Antalya | 4021 |
| — | Sivas | 3918 |

(b) Those with *burhān amīr al-mu'minīn*:

| AH | Place | RCEA No. |
|---------|------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 619 | Ankara | 3878 |
| 621 | Sivas | 3917 |
| 621 | Kayseri | 3919, 3920, 3922 |
| 623-626 | Alanya | here Nos. 1, 2, 5-7, 10, 11, 15, 22, 25 |
| 626 | Antalya | RCEA 4009 |
| 626 | Sultan Han | 4006 |
| 627 | Konya | 4020 |
| 631 | Niksar | 4070 |
| 631 | Amasia | 4071 |
| undated | Antalya | 4128 |
| | Afyon | 4131 |
| | Kayseri | 4133 |

On unique textile at Lyon, 4135.

(c) 'Alā' ud-dīn's inscriptions with *qasīm amīr al-mu'minīn* are:

| AH | Place | RCEA No. |
|---------|------------|-------------------|
| 626 | Divriği | 4002 |
| 626 | Sultan Han | 4007 |
| 628 | Alanya | 4028, here No. 14 |
| 629 | Alanya | here Nos. 19, 22b |
| 631 | Tokat | 4069 |
| 631 | Sancir | 4089 |
| undated | Alanya | 4129, here 4 |

² N. Elisseeff, op. cit., p. 193 is engaged on it.

| ³ AH | Sultan | Place | RCEA No. |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------|----------|
| 550 | Mas'ūd | Konya | 3201 |
| 551 | Qilij Arslān II | Konya | 2319 |
| 588 | Qilij Arslān II | Konya | 3455 |
| 599 | Sulaymānshāh II | Konya | 3554 |
| 607 | Kaykhusrev I | Dukuz Hane | 3668 |

⁴ This exception is alleged to occur in an inscription, RCEA, No. 3665, dated 607 in the Külük Cami at Kaiseri. The only reproduction available to date is that given by Gabriel, op. cit., pl. X and the word *qasīm* is not visible on it. The inscription—which is high above the ground—was copied by Halil Edhem, who wrote to M. van Berchem 'qu'il l'a copié

'*azza naṣruhu*, "may his glory increase", inserted in its place.¹ 'Alā'ud-dīn Kayqubād I used both *nāṣir* and *burhān* throughout his reign. The third—and it seems definitely higher title *qasīm*, "partner", "associate"—appears thrice at Alanya (Nos. 4, 14, 26b to be added to 20). The earliest use of the title by this sultan seems to occur at Diwriği and Sultan Han in 626/1229, but it does not completely replace the, presumably, lower titles previously displayed by him (see above, n. 23b).

Line 7. A word is missing before the name of the month Rabī' II but this can be completed by reference to No. 2 line 4. It is *ghurra*, "first of". A glance at the photograph of No. 1 will show traces of the letters which have fallen off, the *ḍamma* over the *ghain* and the two dots over the *tā' marbūṭa* are still intact.

No. 2

1. امر بعمارة هذا البرج المبارك مولانا السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم
2. مالك رقاب الامم سلطان البرّ والبحرين علاء الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح
3. كيقباد بن كيخسرو بن قلع ارسلان برهان امير المؤمنين خلد الله
4. سلطانه في غرة ربيع الآخر سنة ثلاث وعشرين وسبعمائة

No. 2. On the north side of Kızıl Kule. Ayyubid naskhi in relief, 4 lines. 180 × 240 cm. (pl. XIII c and detail b).

Ref. IHK, p. 167.

Translation. "Has ordered the construction of this blessed tower our exalted lord, the most august king of kings, the master of the necks of the nations, the sultan of the land and the two seas, 'Alā'ud-dunyā wad-dīn Abu' l-Faṭḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev son of Qilij Arslān, the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful, may Allah perpetuate his reign on the first of Rabī' II 623 (31 March 1226)."

No. 3

1. عمل ابو علي بن ابي
2. الرخا بن الكتاني
3. الحلبي رحمه الله

rapidement et qu'il ne peut en garantir la parfaite exactitude' (ZĀ, vol. 27, 1912, p. 91). It certainly needs verification.

| ⁵ AH | Place | RCEA No. |
|-----------------|---------|-----------------------|
| 610 | Konya | 3732 |
| 612 | Antalya | 3757 |
| 612 | Sinop | 3761, 3765-7, 3769-73 |
| 612 | Mar'ash | 3775 |
| 614 | Sivas | 3809 |
| 615 | Sinop | 3825 |
| 616 | Konya | 3835 |

¹ RCEA, Nos. 3931-4, 3936-8, and 3939 (*a'azza llāh anṣāruhu*).

No. 3. Architect's signature plaque south of north-east single entrance to Kızıl Kule. Ayyubid naskhi in relief, 3 lines. 50 × 50 cm. (pl. XIII d).
Ref. Edhem, p. 156, IHK, p. 164.

Translation. "Work of Abū 'Alī son of Abu 'r-Rakhā' son of al-Kattānī al-Ḥalabī, may Allah have mercy upon him."

Commentary. The name of the same man is recorded in inscriptions on the fortifications of Sinop dated 612/1215¹ where they have been misread al-Kitābī instead of al-Kattānī.² The Alanya text is provided with diacritical points and there can be no doubt about the correct reading. This is the only architect's signature at Alanya. The style of the inscriptions on the Kızıl Kule and the style and quality of the workmanship of this tower are conspicuously superior to anything else at Alanya. The Syrian origin of the architect is certain, nor was he the only Syrian architect employed by the Seljuqs.³

No. 4

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| المنّة لله | 1. |
| السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه | 2. |
| المعظم علاء الدنيا والدين ابو | 3. |
| الفتح كيقباد ابن كيخسرو ابن قلعج | 4. |
| ارسلان قسيم امير المؤمنين | 5. |

No. 4. On north entrance to the Tersane. Seljuq naskhi in relief, 5 lines of which the first under pointed arch contains the sultan's device. Each line underlined (pl. II b and pl. V c).

Ref. RCEA, No. 4129; Wittek, No. 15, pp. 100 f.; IHK, p. 21.

Translation. "The Grace is Allah's. The most august sultan, the exalted king of kings 'Alā'ud-dunyā wad-dīn Abu 'l-Faḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev son of Qilij Arslān, the Partner of the Commander of the Faithful."

Commentary. Wittek has already pointed out that this inscription should, in principle, be later than the inscriptions dated 623/1226 and probably after 626/1229 when 'Alā'ud-dīn adopted the formula of *qasīm amīr al-mu'minīn*.⁴ This view can now be reinforced by the discovery of inscriptions 5, 6 and 7 dated 625 and 626 on the towers west of the Tersane. In these three inscriptions the sultan still calls himself *burhān amīr al-mu'minīn*. On the uses of these titles see above, p. 52.

¹ Cf. RCEA, Nos. 3761 and 3774.

² Correctly in Ülkütaşır, op. cit., pp. 119, 122.

³ Cf. L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and their Works*, Geneva, 1956, pp. 35 f., who reads Rajā'.

⁴ Op. cit., insc. No. 10, p. 95.

No. 5

1. المنّة لله
 2. السلطان
 3. المعظم علاء الدنيا والدين سلطان البر والبحرين
 4. ابو الفتح كيقباد بن كيخسرو برهان امير المؤمنين
- في سنة خمسة وعشرين وستمائة

On separate panel to the right :

No. 5. On the north side of the Tophane. Seljuq naskhi in relief, 5 lines.

Ref. IHK, p. 217. (Pl. V b.)

Translation. "The Grace is Allah's. The exalted sultan 'Alā'ud-dunyā wad-dīn sultan of the land and the two seas, Abu 'l-Faḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful. In the year 625 (= 1227-8)."

No. 6

1. نصر من الله وفتح قريب
 2. السلطان
 3. الاعظم علاء الدنيا والدين سلطان البر وا
 4. لبحرين ابو الفتح كيقباد برهان امير المؤمنين
- في سنة خمسة وعشرين وستمائة

On separate panel to the right :

No. 6. On the east side of the Tophane facing the sea. Seljuq naskhi in relief, 4 lines.

Ref. Unpublished.

Translation. "Victory from God and early conquest.¹ The most august sultan 'Alā' ad-dunyā wad-dīn, the sultan of the land and the two seas Abu 'l-Faḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev, the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful. In the year 625 (= 1227-8)."

No. 7

1. في ايام السلطان المعظم
2. علاء الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح كيقباد بن
3. كيخسرو برهان امير المؤمنين في شهر
5. الله صفر ختم بالخير سنة ستة وستمائة.

No. 7. On north side of small tower between Tersane and Tophane. Seljuq naskhi in relief. First lines concealed by vegetation (pl. V d).

Ref. Unpublished.

¹ Qurā'n LXI, 13.

Translation. “. . . In the days of the exalted sultan ‘Alā’ ud-dunyā wad-dīn Abu ‘l-Faḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev, the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful. In the month of Allah Ṣafar, may it be brought to an auspicious conclusion in the year 626 (1st safar = 30 December 1228).”¹

No. 8

1. [السلطان الاعظم شا هنشاه . . .]
2. [سلطان الحق كشوار كشاي . . .]

No. 8. Fragment of a fine large inscription re-used in the Girene Çeşme, south-west of Kızıl Kule (pl. XIV b). Size of fragment 45 × 70 cm. Seljuq naskhi.

Ref. IHK, p. 319.

Translation. “. . . the most august sultan, the king of kings . . . the sultan of justice, the conqueror of the regions . . .”

Commentary. As evidenced by the surviving titles this fragment must have come from a long and carefully carved inscription. The calligraphy is outstandingly distinguished. The title *kishwār kushāy*, conqueror of the regions (which corresponds to *mukhriz al-khāfiqain*, the guardian of the two horizons in No. 1) occurs once more in the epigraphy of the Seljuqs of Rūm and this in a text by ‘Alā’ ud-dīn himself, dated 629, at Alara (see below, No. 36), where it is used as here in combination with *sulṭān al-ḥaqq*, “sultan of justice”.

No. 9

1. السلطان
2. علاء الدنيا والدين

No. 9. Above the door of the Meyyit Kapisi. Two lines of Seljuq naskhi (pl. XV b).

Ref. IHK, p. 181.

Translation. “The sultan ‘Alā’ ud-dunyā wad-dīn.”

Commentary. This is the shortest complete inscription at Alanya.

No. 10

1. السلطان المعظم علاء الدنيا والدين
2. ابو الفتح كيقباد بن كيخسرو برهان امير المؤمنين

No. 10. On the north side of the perimeter wall, near the Kızıl Kule. Seljuq naskhi, 2 lines.

Ref. IHK, p. 179.

¹ See above, No. 4.

Translation. "The exalted sultan 'Alā' ud-dunyā wad-dīn, the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful."

No. 11

1. السلطان المعظم علاء الدنيا والدين ابو ا
2. لفتح كيقباد بن كيخسرو برهان امير المومنين

No. 11. On opposite side of perimeter wall facing south, Seljuq naskhi, 2 lines.
Ref. IHK, p. 179.

Translation. As in No. 10.

No. 12

1. المنّة لله
2. [ما] امر بعمله السلطان
3. المعظم علاء الدنيا
4. والدين ابو الفتح كيقباد
5. بن كيخسرو في سنة ثلاث وعشرين وستائة

No. 12. On north side of first tower in the perimeter wall nearest to Kızıl Kule. Seljuq naskhi in 5 lines (pl. VI c-d).
Ref. IHK, p. 179.

Translation. "The Grace is Allah's. What has ordered to be made the exalted sultan 'Alā' ud-dunyā wad-dīn Abu 'l-Faḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev in the year 623 (1226)."

Commentary. The verb 'amala is used instead of 'amara in the other inscriptions. The script is more crowded and careless than in most of the others.

No. 13

1. [المنّة لله؟]
2. امر بعمارة هذا البرج المبارك السلطان
3. المعظم علاء الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح
4. كيقباد بن كيخسرو في سنة ثلاث وعشرين وستائة

No. 13. On the north side of the tower of Orta Kapı (Aşağı Kapı). Seljuq naskhi, 4 lines.
Ref. IHK, p. 180.

Translation. "(The grace is Allah's.) Has ordered the construction of this blessed tower the exalted sultan 'Alā' ud-dunyā wad-dīn Abu 'l-Faḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev in the year 623 (1226)."

No. 14

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|----|-----------------------------|----|
| On panel to the right : | العبد قراجة | 1. | امير المؤمنين | 1. |
| On panel to the left : | في سنة ثمانيه | 1. | السلطان الاعظم شا | 2. |
| | وعشرين وستائه. | 2. | هنشاه المعظم علاء الدنيا | 3. |
| | | | والدين ابو الفتح كيقباد قسم | 4. |

No. 14. On the outer door of the main gateway of the fortifications. (Kale Kapısı = Yukara Kapı = Pazar Kapı = Koca Kapı.) Arched central section with rope border, Seljuq naskhi in four lines. Two separate plaques to right and left (pl. VIII a).

Ref. *RCEA*, No. 4028; *Evliya*, IX, 295; *Edhem*, p. 155, No. 1; *Fikri*, *Antalya*, p. 65; *Wittek*, No. 9, p. 93; *IHK*, p. 182.

Translation. (Centre) "The most august sultan the exalted king of kings 'Alā' ud-dunyā wad-dīn Abu 'l Fath Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev, Partner of the Commander of the Faithful. (To the right) The slave Qarāja. (To the left) In the year 628 (1230-1)."

Commentary. In this curious inscription the first line has to be read last. This confused *Evliya* who has *al-mawlā* in the first line instead of *amīr al-mu'minīn*. On the use of this title, see above, p. 52.

The *Qarāja* referred to in this text is almost certainly not the architect for the word *'amal* is missing. He was, in all likelihood, an emir called upon to carry out part of the fortification work and, needless to say, meet the expense. Similar amirial signatures are to be seen at Sinop where amirs from Niğde,¹ Simre,² Kayseri,³ Sivas,⁴ Amasya,⁵ Honas⁶ and Erekli⁷ were allowed to leave a permanent record of their achievements. The same method was applied elsewhere and even in the capital Konya.⁸ *Qarāja* is not an uncommon name and the person who was responsible for the strengthening of the Alanya fortifications by the erection of an additional gate in 628/1230-1 cannot be identified with certainty. There is an *amīr jandār* of that name who is mentioned by *Ibn Bibī*.⁹

No. 15

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| السلطان المعظم علاء الدنيا والدين | 1. |
| كيقباد بن كيخسرو برهان امير المؤمنين | 2. |

No. 15. Above the east entrance of the main gate, surrounded by classical fragments re-used decoratively. Seljuq naskhi, 2 lines (pl. VIII d).

¹ *RCEA*, No. 3768; *Ülkütaşır*, p. 120.

³ *RCEA*, No. 3769; *Ülkütaşır*, p. 125.

⁵ *RCEA*, No. 3771; *Ülkütaşır*, p. 127.

⁷ *RCEA*, No. 3762; *Ülkütaşır*, p. 130.

⁸ *Wittek*, op. cit., p. 94 and his reference to *Ibn Bibī*, *Recueil*, III, 258.

⁹ *Recueil*, IV, 216-17.

² *RCEA*, No. 3765; *Ülkütaşır*, p. 124.

⁴ *RCEA*, No. 3773; *Ülkütaşır*, p. 127.

⁶ *RCEA*, No. 3764; *Ülkütaşır*, p. 130.

Ref. *RCEA*, No. 4128; *Evilya*, IX, 295; *Edhem*, p. 156, No. 2; *Wittek*, No. 10, p. 94; *IHK*, p. 185.

Translation. "The exalted sultān 'Alā' ud-dunyā wad-dīn Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev, Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful."

Commentary. Identical short version of Nos. 10 and 11.

No. 16

1. بنده كمينه ياقوت و تاقباشى
2. فى تاريخ سنة ثلث عشرين ستمائه

No. 16. On the inner face of main entrance. Persian, 2 lines in contracted script (pl. VIII c).

Ref. *RCEA*, No. 3958; *Wittek*, No. 11, p. 95; *IHK*, p. 186.

Translation. "The humble slave Yāqūt Utāqbāshī in the year 623 (1226)."

Commentary. Like *Qarāja*, Yāqūt is the name of the commander responsible for the construction. It is not an uncommon name. Ibn Bībī names a Sinān ud-dīn Yāqūt¹ and a Yamīn ud-dīn Yāqūt.² Yet another, Badr ud-dīn Yāqūt has left an inscription on a tower which he had constructed at Sivas.³ It is not possible to identify any of these with the Yāqūt mentioned at Alanya.

No. 17

1. السلطان المعظم علاء ا
2. لدنيا والدين كيقباد بن كيخسرو
3. . . . ، . . . تاريخ (?) سنة اربع وعشرين وستائه

No. 17. On the north side of the main tower of the Ehmedek. Fine Seljuq naskhi, 3 lines (pl. XV a).

Ref. *IHK*, p. 191.

Translation. "The exalted sultan 'Alā' ud-dunyā wad-dīn Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev . . . the year 624 (1227)."

Commentary. This is calligraphically, perhaps, the finest inscription at Alanya. Note in particular the perfect balance of the first two lines and the exquisitely fluid *Kayqubād bin Kaykhusrev*. Konyali read the first two words in the last line, on the lower slab: *kamterīn bendekān*, "the humblest slave" and left the third word blank. I was unable to check this reading which, judging by the part visible on the photograph, does not seem to be correct. The last word I read *ta'riḳh*.

¹ *Recueil*, IV, 234 f.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 299.

³ Cf. *RCEA*, No. 3918, *CIA*, III, No. 6, p. 16 and pl. XV.

No. 18

1. الله يعلم غيب
2. السماوات والارض
3. انما يعمر مساجد الله
4. من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر
5. في ايام السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا والدين
6. العبد الضعيف المحتاج الى رحمة الله تعالى اقشبة
7. بتاريخ سنة ثمان وعشرين وستائة

No. 18. Over door of the Akşebe Mescidi. Seljuq naskhi in 7 lines on three ill-matching slabs of marble. 108 × 68 cm. (pl. XVI a).

Ref. RCEA, No. 4029; Wittek, No. 14, pp. 99 f.; IHK, p. 288.

Translation. Slab (a) "For indeed Allah knoweth the mysteries of the heavens and of earth" (Qur'an II, 18). Slab (b): "For indeed there buildeth the mosques of Allah he who believeth in Allah and in the Last Judgment" (Qur'an IX, 18). Slab (c): "In the days of the most august sultan 'Alā' ud-dunyā wad-dīn, the weak slave in need of Allah's mercy, may He be glorified, Aqşebe, in the year 628 (1230-1)."

Commentary. On examination of the photograph reproduced here it will be apparent that the top part of this inscription was originally semicircular. There are also marked differences in the style of the calligraphy between the three slabs now forming an ill-adjusted text. The marble used for the first slab also differs from that of the remaining two. It seems that only the third part is in its original position and that the others were added later. The same Aqşebe mentioned here is also the author of the next inscription. He has not been identified but must have been a contemporary of 'Alā' ud-dīn.

No. 19

1. فاذا جاء اجلهم لا يسأخرون ساعة ولا يستقدمون
2. كل من عليها فان ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والاكرام
3. العبد الضعيف اقشبة المحتاج الى رحمة الله تعالى

No. 19. On the outer wall of the Andızlı Camı to the left of the entrance. Seljuq naskhi with heavy underlining, 3 lines (pl. XIV a).

Ref. RCEA, No. 4030; Wittek, No. 13a, p. 99; IHK, p. 299.

Translation. "When their time cometh, they will not tarry an hour nor will they anticipate it (Qur'an VII, 32-XVL, 63). All those on (the earth) will decay and there will remain the face of your Lord who is possessed of Glory bounty (Qur'an LV, 26-7). The weak slave Aqşebe who stands in need of Allah's mercy, may He be glorified."

Commentary. See above, No. 18. The choice of the Qur'ānic texts in this

inscription indicates that it was intended for a funerary monument, probably for Aqšhebe's own *türbe*, which may or may not have been connected with the small mosque built by him.

No. 20

(+ 26 b)

1. السلطان {الاعظم . . .}
2. علاء الدنيا ووالد {بن ابو الفتح كيقباد}
3. بن كيخسرو بن قلعج ا [رسلان ق] {سيم امير المؤمنين}
4. في تاريخ سنة تسع وع [شرين وستائه على يد الع {بد . . .}

No. 20. In the roof of the Mezdüddin Sarnıç. Re-used fragment of a larger inscription. Last 4 lines, elegant Seljuq naskhi, 108 × 60 (pl. XIV c). Added in round brackets are the parts on a fragment now embedded in the masonry of the Süleymaniya mosque, which can be matched with it (pl. XV f). (See also No. 26 below.)

Ref. IHK, pp. 198 and 294.

Translation. “. . . (the most august) sultan . . . ‘Alā’ ud-dunyā wad [dīn Abu'l-Faḥ/Kayqubād] son of Kaykhusrev son of Qilij A[rslān the [par([tner of the Commander of the Faithful.] On the date of the year 6(29 by the hand of the weak[slave . . .].”

Commentary. Only the first letter of *qasīm* remains on the fragment in inscription 26b, but there can be no doubt about the reading of the title in *amīr al-mu'minīn* (see above, p. 52).

No. 21

1. تقرب الى الله تعالى في ايام دولة السلطان الاعظم غياث الدين ووالد الله سلطانه
2. بعمارة هذا الجامع العبد الراجي رحمة ربه بدر الدين امير السواحل ابو المعالي عمر بن امير الحاج احسن الله خاتمه
3. حامدا لله ومصليا على خير خلقه محمد وآله الطيبين في شهر سنة ست وسبعين وستائه

No. 21. In the Andızlı Camı between the door and the minaret, near the roof. Late Seljuq naskhi, heavily underlined, 3 lines, 55 × 120 cm. (pl. XIV d).

Ref. *RCEA*, No. 4754; *Evlıya*, IX, 297; *Edhem*, p. 157; *Witteck*, No. 13, p. 97; *IHK*, pp. 298 f.

Translation. “Has gained the favour of Allah, may he be glorified, by the building of this mosque, in the days of the most august sultan Ghiyāth ud-dunyā wad-dīn. May Allāh perpetuate his reign, the slave who seeks Allah's mercy, Badr ud-dīn, the amir of the littoral, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'Umar son of the amīr al-Ḥajj, May God let his end be good, lauding Allah and praying

upon the noblest of his creatures Muḥammad and his pure family in the months of the year 676 (began June 1277)."

Commentary. The sultan mentioned is Kaykhusrev III (663–682/1264–83). The same amir who calls himself here *amir as-sawāḥil*, amir of the littoral, calls himself in 680/1281, in a text at Uluburlu, *malik as-sawāḥil*. Wittek commented on it as follows: "In the later period, this title, expressing a function, which dates from the Seljuk period is carried by the princes of the Emirate of the Littoral, for instance by the Tekke-oğlu and by the Menteshoğlu, whose prince is called simply Σάλπαις by Pachymeres . . ." (< sāḥil bāgi < amir as-sāḥil).¹

No. 22

- [سلطان سلا] . . . 1.
 طين العرب والعجم ابو الفتح كيقباد 2.
 بن كيخسرو برهان امير المؤمنين 3.

The last portion of this text reproduced in *IHK.*, p. 200, reads :

[الا] . . .
 عظم مالك رقاب الامم . . .

No. 22. Fragments of a large inscription. Provenance unknown, temporarily housed in the elementary school at Alanya (pl. XVI c).

Ref. *IHK.*, p. 199.

Translation. ". . . the sultan of the sultans of the Arabs and Persians Abu'l-Faḥ Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev, the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful."

Commentary. Konyalı reproduces a fragment of the same text which is now lost. It reads "[. . . the most august sultan], the master of the necks of the people . . .".

No. 23

- عمارت البرج في سنة 1.
 خمسة عشرين ستائه 2.

No. 23. Inscription from a tower, provenance unknown, now temporarily housed as No. 22. Poor uncalligraphic script, 32 × 50 cm.

Ref. *IHK.*, p. 199.

Translation. "The building of the tower in the year 625 (1228)."

Commentary. With No. 24 this text shares the doubtful privilege of being the ugliest epigraphic document at Alanya. Note also the incorrect long *ta*

¹ Cf. Wittek, *op. cit.* pp. 98 f. also *idem*, *Das Fürstentum Mentesehe*, p. 30 n. 2 and p. 32.

for the final *ta* in the first word. The crude ornament in the left-hand bottom corner has some affinity with that on inscription No. 9 above, which is also among the less distinguished.

No. 24

نصر من الله وفتح قريب

No. 24. Detached text of unknown provenance now with Nos. 22–3. Crude naskhi, one line, 25 × 60 cm.

Ref. IHK, p. 199.

Translation. “Victory from Allah and Early conquest” (Qur’ān LXI, 13).

No. 25

1. عمر هذا البرج . . .
2. . . . كيقباد . . .
3. [بره] ان امير المؤمنين

No. 25. Fragment described by IHK, p. 199 now no longer extant, 30 × 60 cm.

Translation. “. . . Has built this tower . . . Kayqubād . . . the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful.”

No. 26

1a. على يد ا
2. لعبد الضعيف
1b. [ا] رسلان ق[سيم امير المؤمنين
2. [عش]رين وستائه على يد الع[بد] . . .
c. ابو الفتح . . . الموء [منين]
d. الله ربى

No. 26. Fragments used in the masonry of the minaret and walls of the Süleymaniya mosque.

Ref. IHK, p. 294.

(a) In the base of the minaret (pl. XV c).

Translation. “At the hand of the weak slave . . .”.

(b) On the east side of the enclosure wall. This fits on to lines 3–4 of inscription No. 20, see above, p. 62 (pl. XV f).

(c) Ibid. fragments of a different large inscription without bars between lines “Abu ’l-Faḥ” . . . al-mu’/minin/ (pl. XV e–d).

(d) On the qibla wall: “Allah is my God.”

No. 27. Re-used fragment embedded in the masonry of the great sarniç facing the main entrance. Provenance unknown.

Ref. Unpublished.

Translation. "The slave Qarāja."

Commentary. This fragment is identical for script and arrangement with that in No. 14 (b).

1. حرسها الله تعالى امير معظم
2. قرمان بن ساوجى المولوى فى سنة سبع وعشرين وثمانمئة

No. 28. Re-used in a wall of a modern house (owner Ömeroğlu Kağıkci Sülayman). Provenance: the Ehmedek (pl. XIV e).

Ref. IHK, pp. 193 f.

Translation. "May she (the citadel ?, the city ?) be protected by Allah, may he be glorified. The august amir Qaramān son of Sāvji, the Mevlevi in the year 827 (1424)."

Commentary. This is the only epigraphic evidence of the rule of the independent amirs of Alanya. A similar protective formula appears on their coinage, *ḍarb 'alā'iyya ḥumiyat min al-'āfāt wal-baliyya* "Coinage of 'Alā'iyya. May she be safe from misfortunes and calamity" (cf. IHK, pp. 134 ff.).

1. مرحوم المغفور الشهيد السعيد المحتاج الى رحمه
2. الله تعالى براق بن ابراهيم فى شهر صفر سنة ٩٠٩

No. 29. From the destroyed Türbe in the garden of the elementary school.

Reproduced in IHK, p. 337. No longer extant.

Translation. "The blessed, the late Barāq son of Ibrāhīm who needs the mercy of Allāh, may he be glorified, in the month of Şafar 909 (21 July–23 August 1503)."

No. 30

1. هذا قبر المرحوم
2. عبد الوهاب محمد ابن
3. القاضى الفيومى رحمه الله
4. مات المرحوم فى
5. اواخر صفر سنة
6. ٩٩٤

No. 30. Tombstone from the cemetery in the İç Kale. No longer extant.

Ref. but not reproduced by IHK, p. 382.

Translation. "This is the tomb of 'Abd al-Wahhāb Muḥammad son of the Qādī al-Fayyūmī, May Allāh have mercy upon him. He died at the end of Şafar 994." (Şafar ended on 19 February 1586.)

OBA

No. 31

1. انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر
2. صاحبه ومالكه الامير الاعظم مالك رقاب
3. الامم خسرو معظم بدر الدنيا والدين
4. محمود بك بن علا الدين بن يوسف
5. عمر هذا المسجد فى سنة خمس وسبعين وسبعائة

No. 31. Above the central entrance to the mosque of Güleşen. Crowded thick naskhi with heavy bars between the lines, 90 × 60 cm., 5 lines (pl. XVI b).

Ref. IHK, pp. 348 f.

Translation. "For indeed there buildeth the mosques of Allah he who believeth in Allah and the Last Judgment (Qur'ān IX, 18). Its master and owner the most august amir, the master of the necks of the nations, the Khusrev [of his time] Badr ud-dunyā wad-dīn son of Yūsuf has built this mosque in the year 775" (1373).

Commentary. See the following inscription for a fuller name of this emir of the Qaramānoğlu. *Khusrev* stands for *Khusrev Īrān* or *Khusrev zamānīhī* and has no political significance. It is a purely honorific appellation which several rulers arrogated to themselves, claiming comparison with Chosroes I, whose legendary sense of justice they were pretending to emulate. The year in which this mosque was built corresponds to the voluntary withdrawal of the Cypriots from Antalya (see above, p. 6) and a definite easing of the strain on the coastal districts of the Qaramānoğlu.

No. 32

1. وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
2. بنى الامير المعظم محمود بن علاء الدين بن يوسف
3. بن قرمان فى سنة خمس وسبعين وسبعائه

No. 32. From the door to the right of the main entrance to the Mosque of Güleşen, now preserved in the Oba school. Heavy naskhi in 3 underlined lines, broken in two pieces. 62 × 95 cm. (pl. XVI d).

Ref. IHK, pp. 149 f.

Translation. "For indeed the mosques are Allāh's. Do not appeal to anyone with Allāh (Qur'ān LXXII, 18) Has built the exalted amir Maḥmūd son of 'Alā' ud-dīn son of Yūsuf son of Qaramān in the year 775" (1373).

Commentary. Like the preceding inscription this text lacks calligraphic elegance and its grammar is faulty. If the first word in the second line is read as a verb *banā* it would require a suffix and a long *alif banāhu* "has built it" (viz. the mosque). It cannot be read as a passive *buniya*. Another possibility, and perhaps the most likely, is that a "broken" *alif* has been used for a long one and that the word should be read as a substantive *binā*, "building of . . .".

No. 33

1. تربة الامير المرحوم علاء الدين بك
2. ابن المرحوم يوسف بك ابن قرمان سنة خمس سبعين سبعمائة.

No. 33. Reported by IHK, p. 351 as set in the wall of the türbe of the father of the author of No. 32. Two lines of poor *naskhi* separated by heavy bar, 40 × 40 cm. Careful search has failed to reveal this inscription which on the photograph given by IHK reads as follows:

Translation. "Türbe of the late amir 'Alā' ud-dīn Bek son of the late Yūsuf Bek son of Qaramān in the year 775" (1373).

ŞARAPSA HAN

No. 34

1. السلطان
2. الاعظم شاهنشاه
3. المعظم ظل الله فى العالمين
4. غيات الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح كيخسرو بن كيقباد

No. 34. Over the entrance to the khān. Five lines of Seljuq naskhi of which the last one has been carefully chiselled away.

Ref. Wittek, No. 16, p. 101; IHK, p. 366.

Translation. "The most august sultan, the exalted king of kings, the shadow of Allah in the worlds, Ghiyāth ud-dunyā wad-dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Kaykhusrev son of Kayqubād."

Commentary. The khān was built by Kaykhusrev II (1236-46).

No. 35

1. انما
2. يعمر مساجد الله
3. من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر

No. 35. Over the door of the small mosque in the khān, 3 lines of Seljuq naskhi.

Ref. Wittek, No. 17, p. 102; IHK, p. 366.

Translation. "For he buildeth the mosques of Allah he who believeth in Allah and the Last Judgment" (Qur'ān IX, 18).

ALARA

(a) Khān

No. 36

1. العظم (sic) شاهنشاه المعظم مالك رقاب
2. الامم سيد سلاطين العرب والعجم سلطان
3. الحق كشور كشاي جهان سلطان البر
4. والبحر والروم والشام والارمن والفرنج
5. علاء الدنيا والدين كيقباد بن كيخسرو بن
6. قليج ارسلان برهان امير المؤمنين في التاريخ سنة تسع وعشرين وستائه.

No. 36. Over the doorway into Alara Khān. The upper part which was arched is missing. Remaining six lines of undistinguished Seljuq naskhi with dividing lines in relief (pl. XI c).

Ref. IHK, p. 371.

Translation. ". . . the most august (?) . . . the exalted king of kings, the master of the necks of the nations, the lord of the sultans of the Arabs and the Persians, the sultan of justice, the conqueror of the regions, of the universe, the sultan of the land and sea of the Greeks, Syria, the Armenians and the Franks, 'Alā' ud-dunyā wad-dīn Kayqubād son of Kaykhusrev son of Qilij Arslān, the Evidence of the Commander of the Faithful, on the date of the year 629" (1231).

Commentary. This text abounds in singularly ugly letters, especially the *mīms*. The word *amīr* in the last line is contracted as on coins the ligature of *alif* and *dāl* in Kayqubad is particularly ungainly. The first word in the

first line is an adjective qualifying the preceding substantive in the missing part of the text. That was probably *as-sultān* followed by the usual *al-a'zam*, "the most august", here distorted to "zm".

(b) Castle.

No. 37

أبو ال فتح؟

No. 37. On the perimeter wall next to the main gate of the castle of Alara. Small square text in two lines wilfully chiselled away. Illegible except for two letters in the first line.

Ref. Unpublished.

May be read [Abu'l-]Fath.

Commentary. There were several sultans with that *kunyā* but in this case it is probably referring to 'Alā' ud-din Kayqubād I to whom we owe the khān of Alara.

No. 38

السلطان 1.

المعظم 2.

شاهنشاه 3.

No. 38. On perimeter wall of Alara castle to the right of the main gate, high up. Partly destroyed but legible, 3 lines of heavy Seljuq *naskhī*.

Translation. "The exalted sultan, the king of kings."

Commentary. This brief inconclusive text is nevertheless complete, for it is set in a neat frame. The inscriptions on the walls of the castle probably consisted of a lengthy text divided into panels.

Oba. Rectangular block of limestone, in secondary use in the wall of the medrese. Ht., 1.00 metres; width, 0.48 metres.

ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτου | αὐθερέτου Αὐρ. Ὁ[βρι] | μιανοῦ τοῦ Ἡσιακ[οῦ] | ἀγῶνος θέμιδος
 τ[ε] | τρακτηρίδος α' τῆς κ[α] | ταλιφθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ | πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Αὐρ. Ὁβρι | μι[νοῦ]
 Βινδημιδος | τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Αὐρ. | Πασικράτης δις βουλευ | τῆς Κορακησιώτης νει | κῆσας
 ἀνδρῶν πανκρά | τιον.

Translation. "While Aurelius Obrimianus was, on his own initiative, *agonothete* of the Isiac games, on the occasion of the first quadrennial contest endowed by his father of immortal memory, Aurelius Obrimianus son of Bindemis; Aurelius Pasicrates son of Pasicrates, councillor of Coracesium and winner of the men's pancratium, set up this stone."

Commentary. The frequent occurrence of the name of Aurelius places this inscription after A.D. 212 (the *Constitutio Antoniniana*). The confusion of ε with α in line 2, the itacism in line 3 and the general form of lettering accords well with a third-century date.

Lines 1-4. Annual games in honour of Isis (with Serapis) are known from Cadyanda in Lycia (*TAM* II, 677, 679). The games at Coracesium were presumably instituted in the time of the Ptolemaic occupation, or as a later outcome of the Egyptian connection.

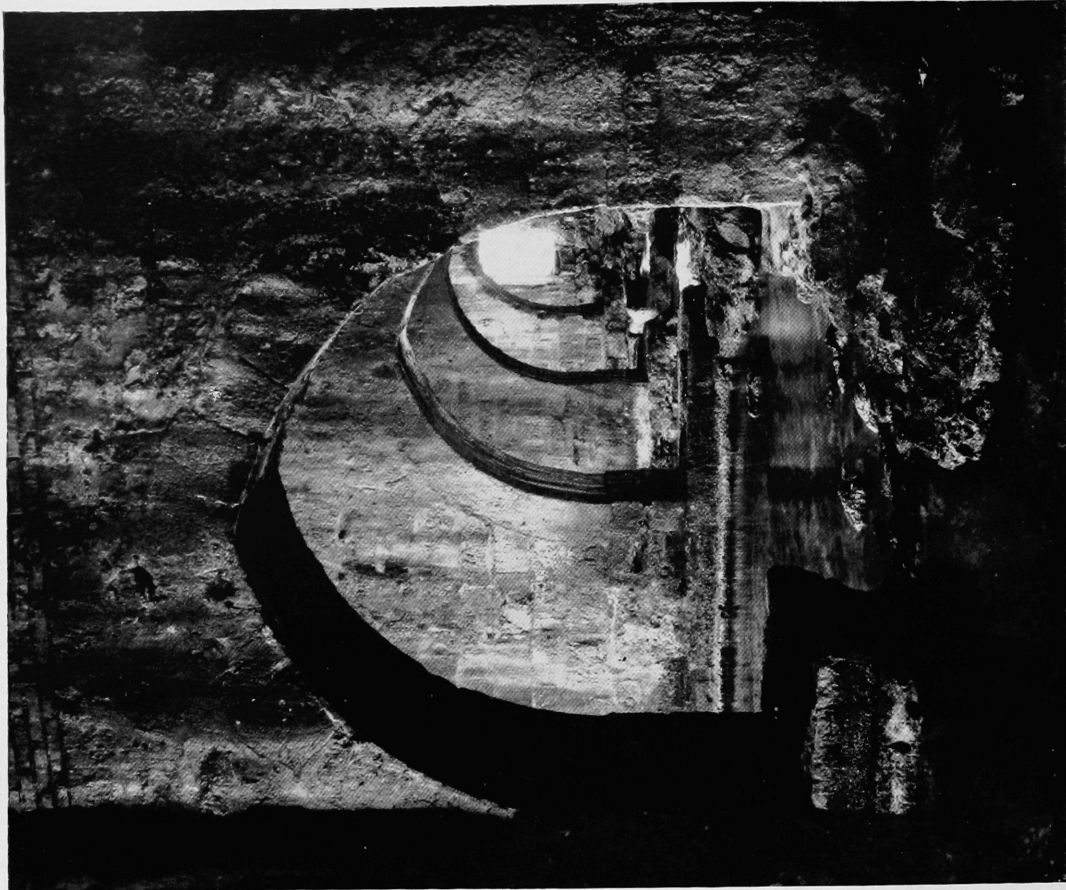
Lines 4-13. The quadrennial Θέμις, a contest for which a valuable prize was offered, was endowed in this instance by Obrimianus the elder, father of the ἀγωνοθέτης, for the victor in pancratium. δῖς in line 10 refers back to Pasicrates, as son of a father of the same name.



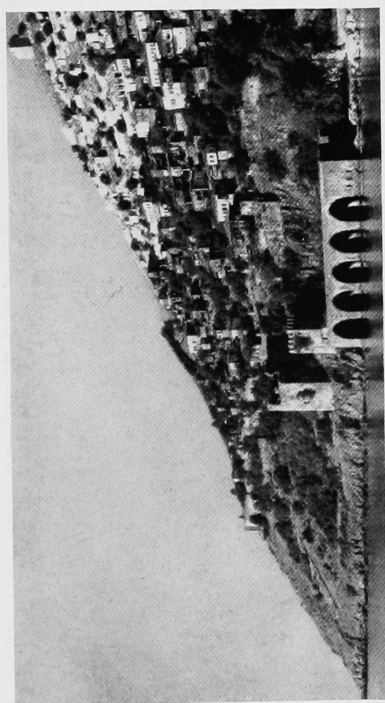
(b) The first and second sectors.



(a) The Tersane from the roof of the Kızıl Kule.



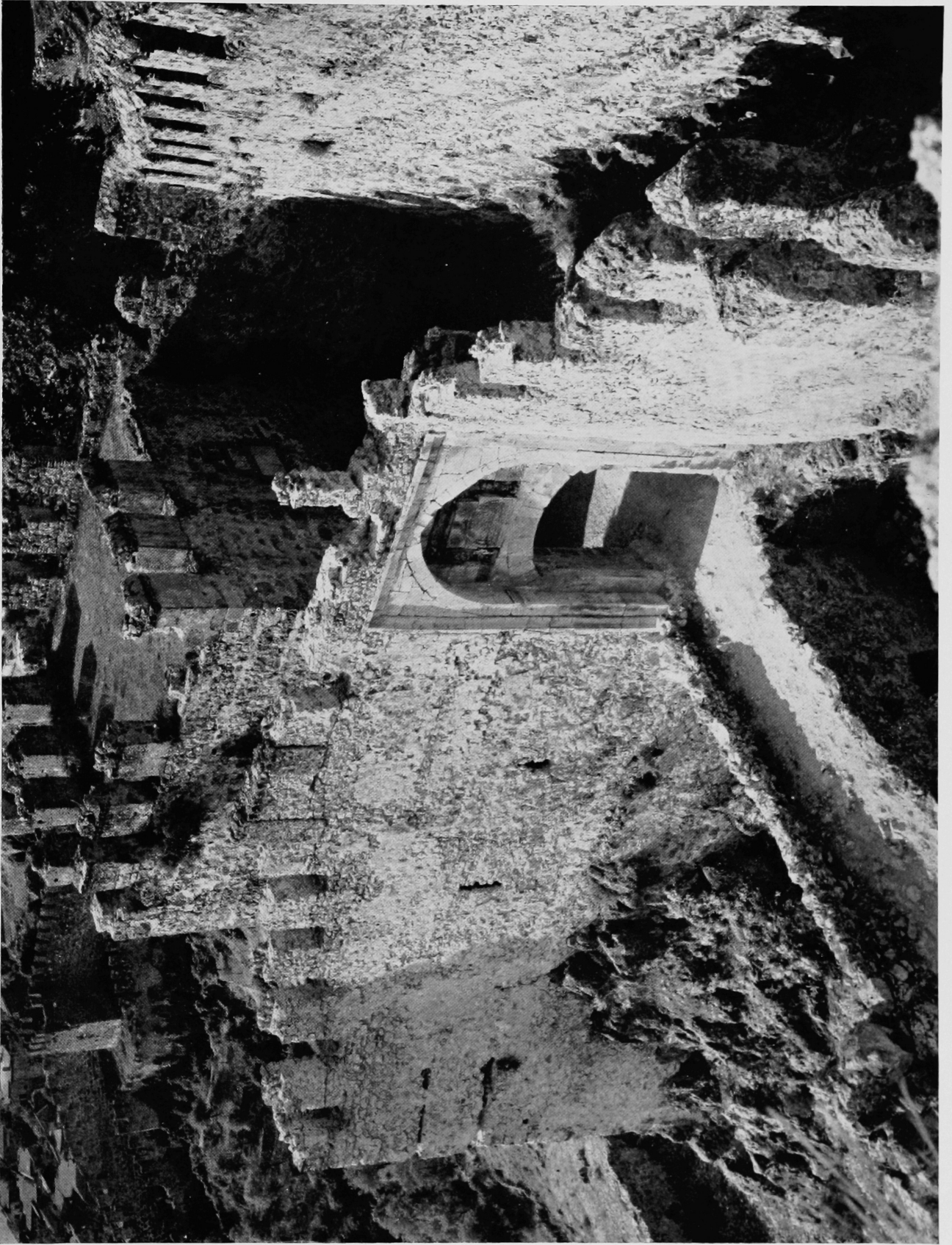
(c) interior.



The Tersane, p. 16. (a) From the sea.



(b) the north entrance.



Kale Kapısı—the main gate of the castle, p. 21.



(a) West wall of the İç Kale.



(b) Kale Kapısı seen from the interior. In the foreground the sarnıç.



(a) Tophane from the roof of the Tersane, p. 18.



(b) Inscription on same (No. 4), p. 55.



(c) Inscription over entrance to Tersane (No. 5), p. 56.



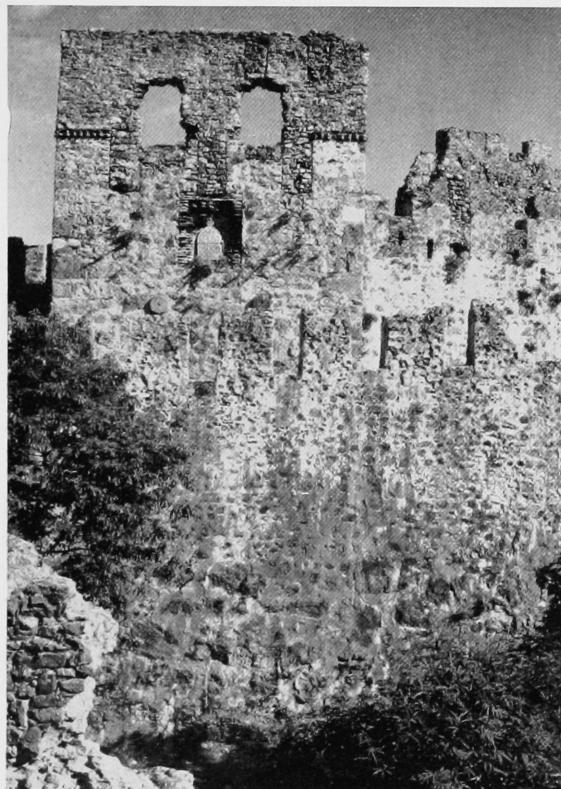
(d) Inscription on tower south of Tersane (No. 7), p. 56.



(a) The Meyyit Kapısı, p. 20.



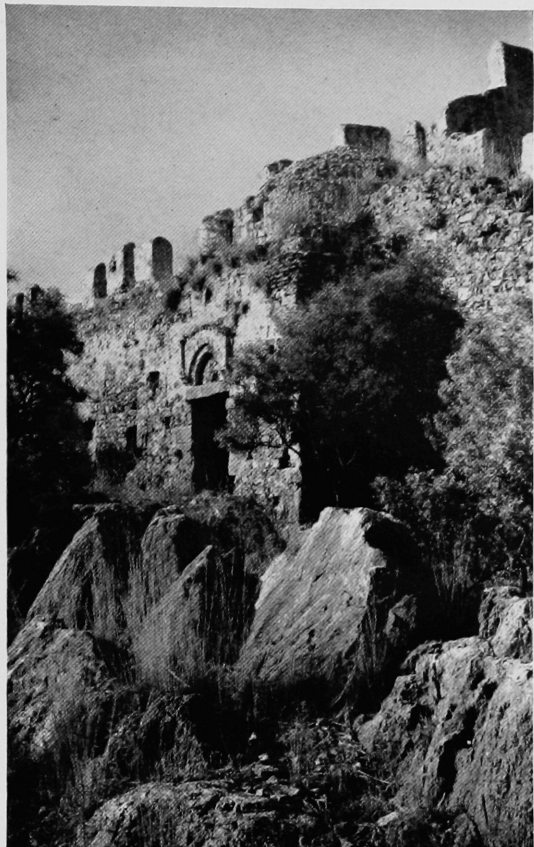
(b) Curtain wall east of Kızıl Kule.



(c) Main wall and curtain wall. Insc. No. 12.



(d) Tele-lens photograph of insc. No. 12, p. 58.



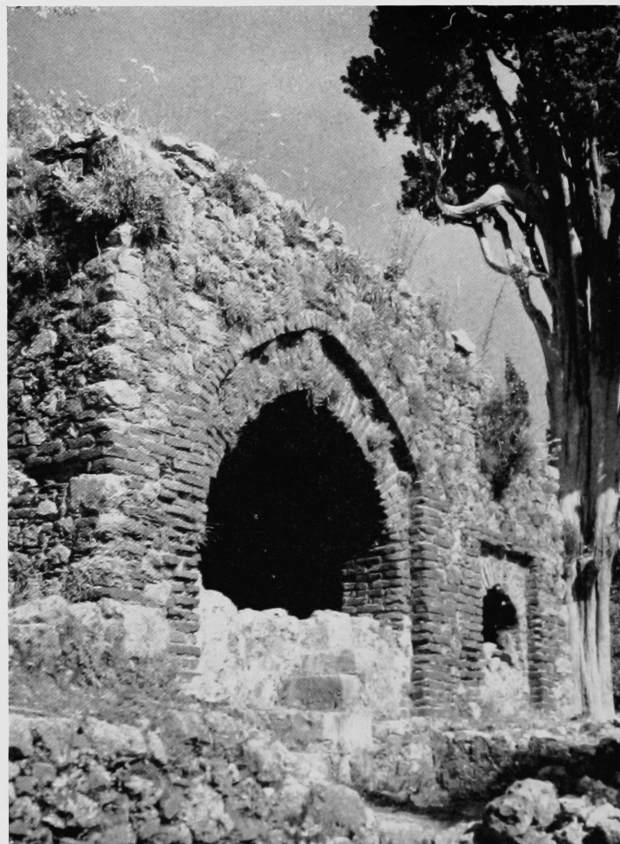
(a) Entrance to Arap Evliyasi, p. 36.



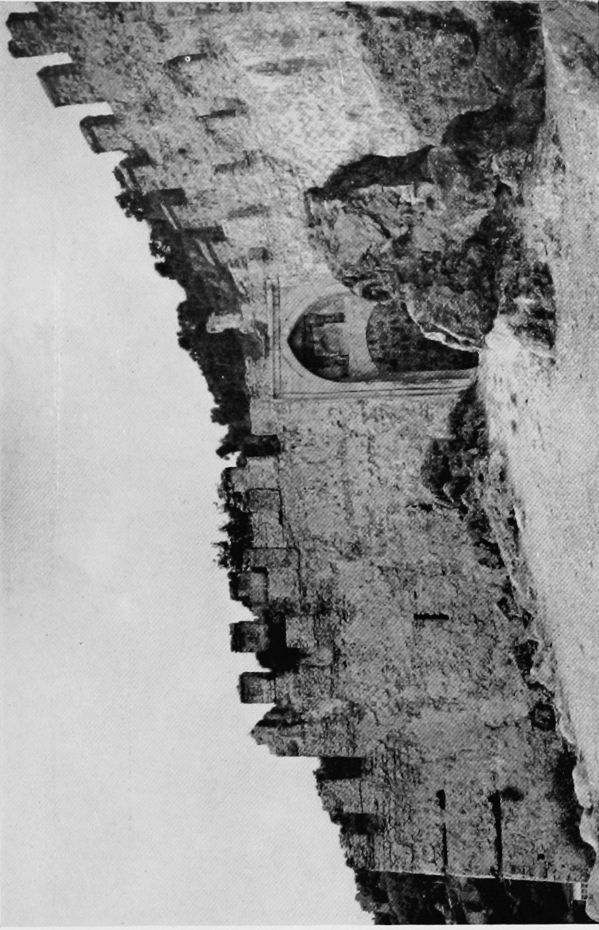
(b) Hellenistic masonry near same.



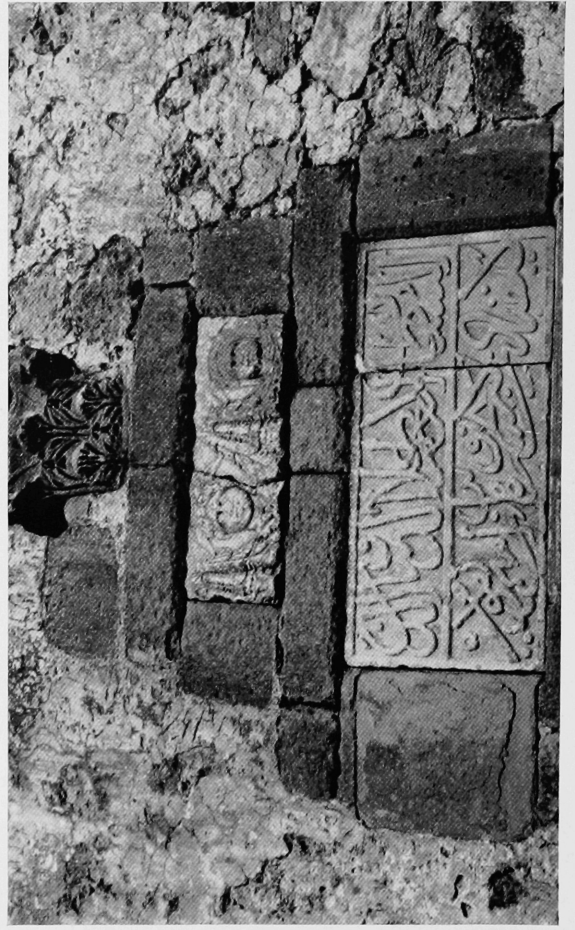
(c) Detail of door.



(d) Akşebe türbesi, p. 30.



(b) Kale Kapisi. Note checker decoration, p. 21.



(d) Insc. No. 15, p. 59.



(a) Inscription over Kale Kapisi No. 14, p. 59.



(c) Insc. No. 16, p. 60.



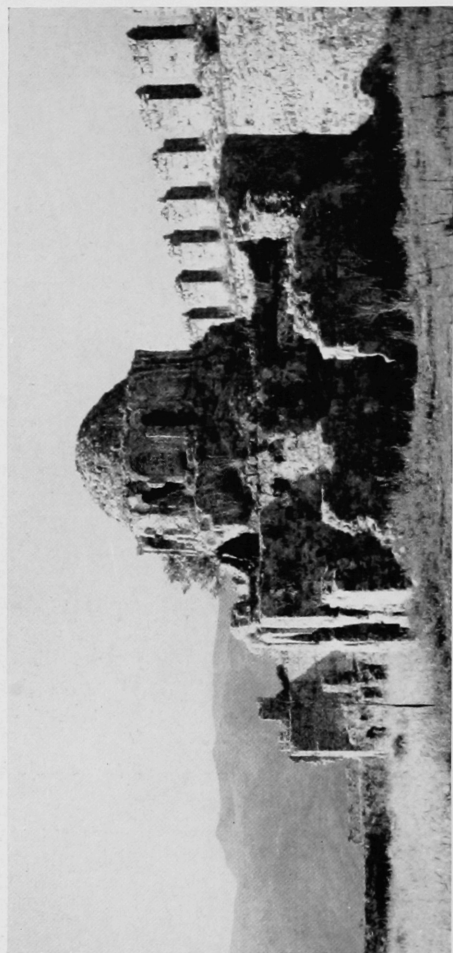
(a) The Cilvarda Burnu, p. 38.



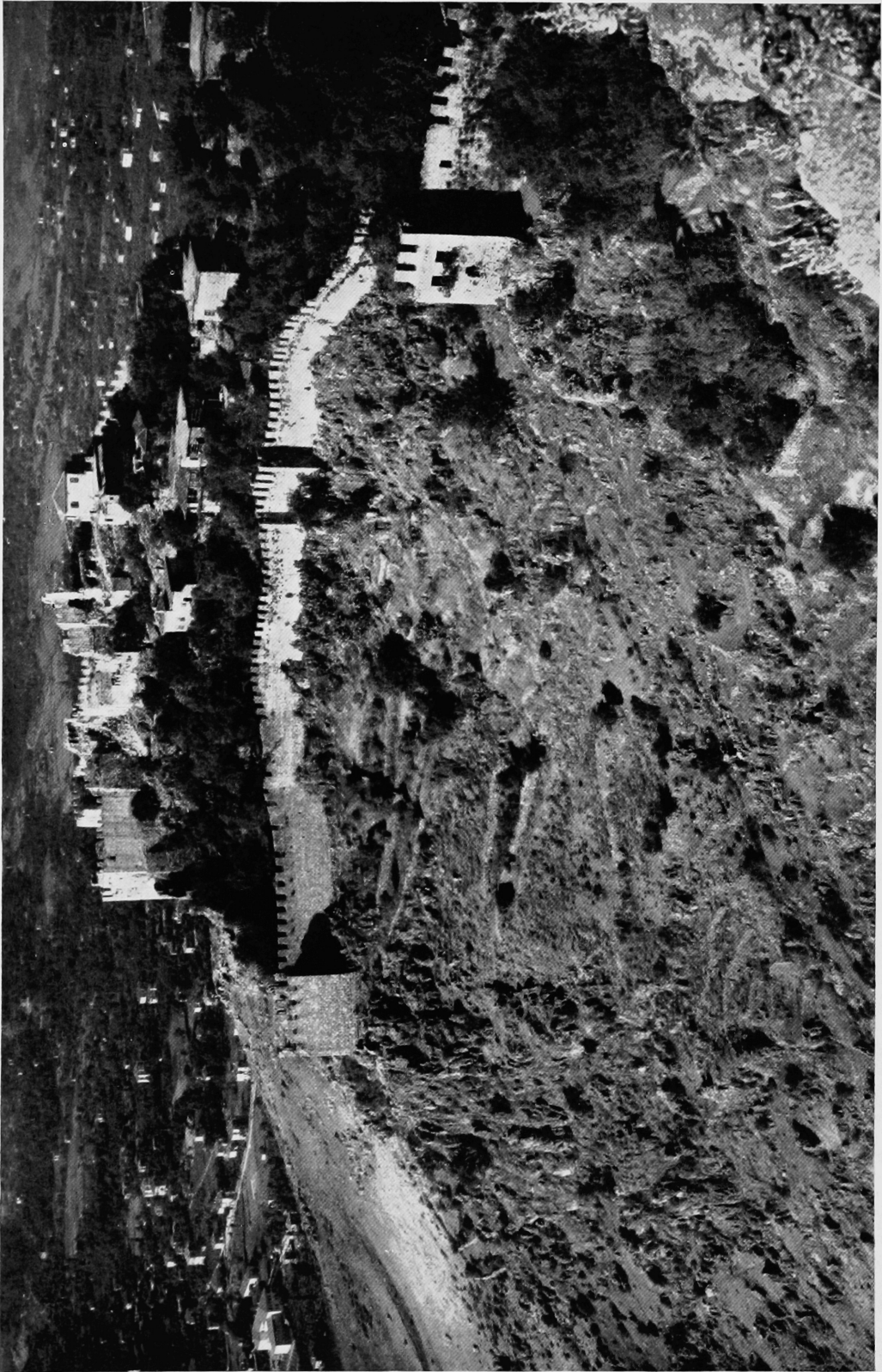
(c) Monastery on Burun, p. 38.



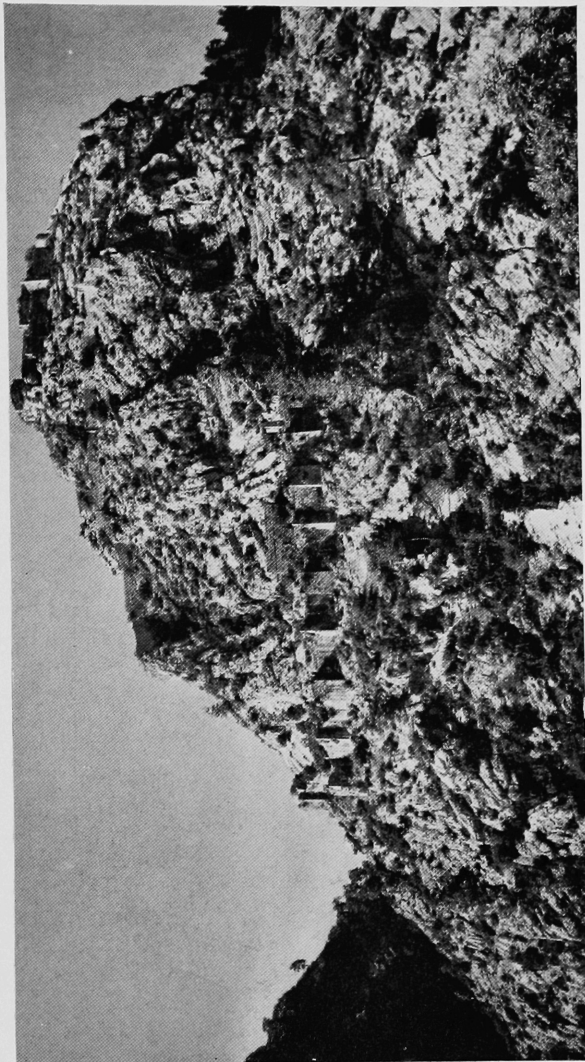
(b) Fresco on pendentive of dome in church of the İç Kale.



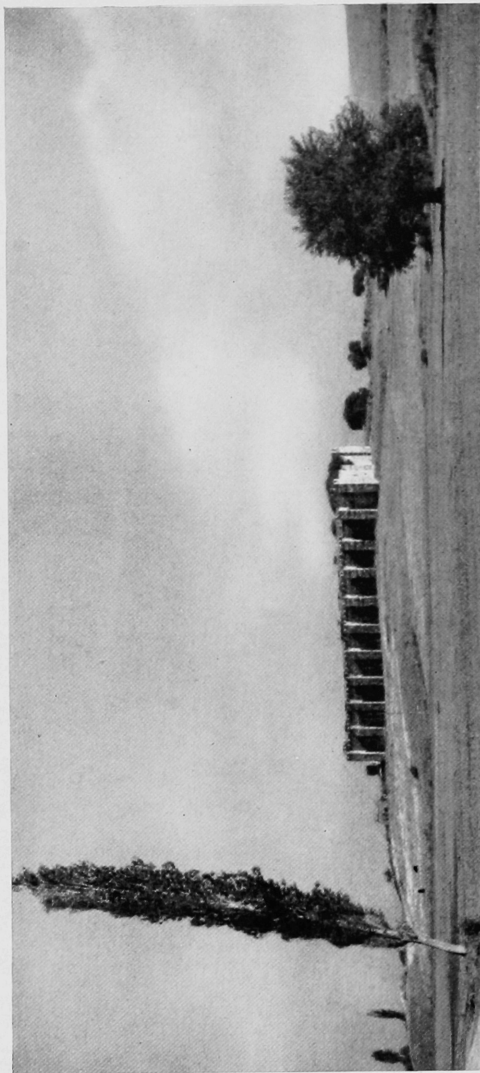
(d) Church in İç Kale, p. 34.



The Ehmmedek seen from the İç Kale.



(b) Alara castle, p. 48.



(d) Şarapsa Hân, p. 44.



(a) Staircase in Alara Hân, p. 46.



(c) Inscription over entrance to Alara Hân (No. 36).



(a) Hân (Bezetan), p. 30.



(b) Detail of vaulting in hân.



(c) Wall of Fourth Sector, p. 28.



(d) Detail of (c).

Kızıl Kule inscriptions.



(a) Insc. No. 1, p. 50.



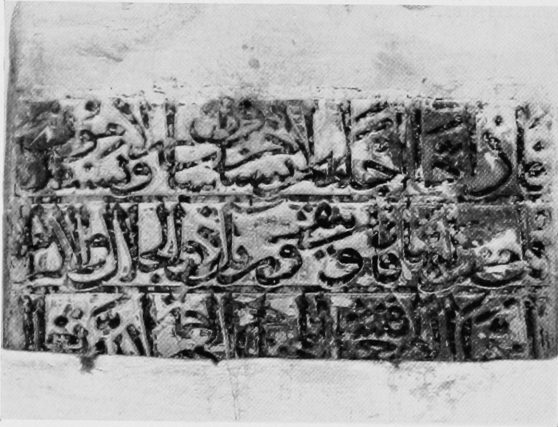
(b) Insc. No. 2 detail, p. 54.



(c) Insc. No. 2, p. 54.



(d) Insc. No. 3, p. 55.



(a) Andızlı Camı, Insc. No. 19, p. 61.



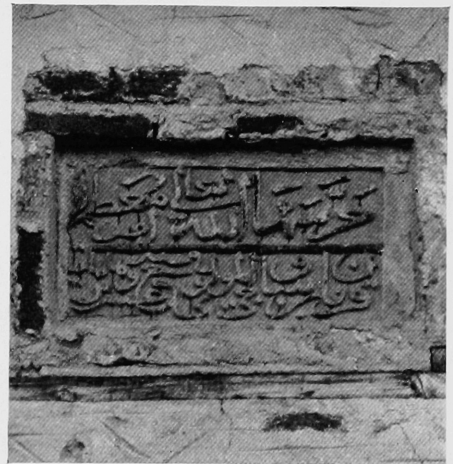
(b) Girene Çesme, Insc. No. 8, p. 57.



(d) Andızlı Camı, Insc. No. 21, p. 62.



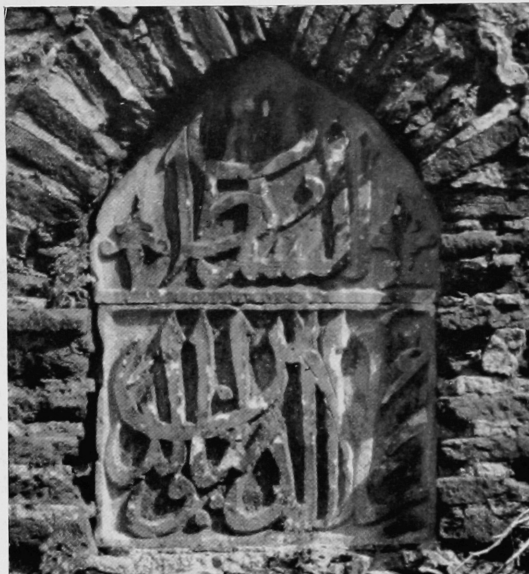
(c) Mecdüddin Sarnıç, Insc. No. 20, p. 62.



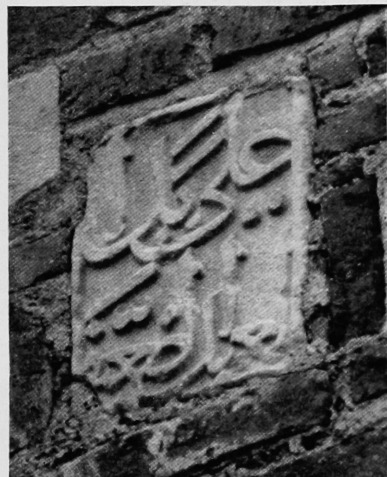
(e) Insc. No. 28, p. 65.



(a) Tower of Ehmedek, Insc. No. 17, p. 60.



(b) Meyyit Kapisi, Insc. No. 9, p. 57.



(c)

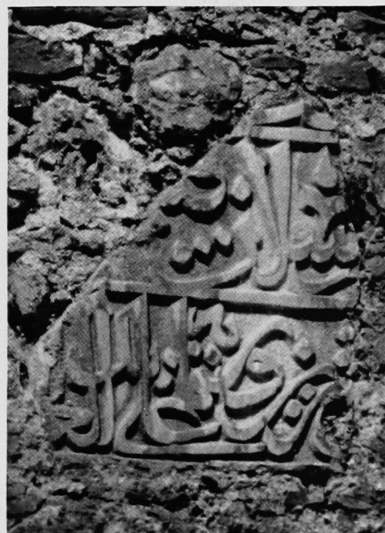


(d)



(e)

(c)-(f) Fragments in minaret and wall of Süleymaniya, Insc. Nos. 22, 26.



(f)



(g) Greek inscription from medresch at Oba, p. 69.



(a) Akşebe türbesi, Insc. No. 18, p. 61.



(b) Oba, Insc. of Güleşan mosque, No. 31, p. 66.



(c) Alanya, Fragment of Insc. No. 22, p. 63.



(d) Oba, Güleşan mosque, Insc. No. 32, p. 67.

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