Anahit Galstyan

ARMENO-MUSLIM CULTURAL INTERACTIONS IN LATE TWELFTH- AND EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ANATOLIA: *KÜMBETS* AND THE CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSMISSION OF ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

November 2017

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by

Anahit Galstyan

(Armenia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

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of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary

Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Anahit Galstyan**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

The present thesis deals with the question of the Armeno-Muslim cultural interactions in the late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Turco-Muslim Anatolia through a comprehensive analysis of the cross-cultural transmission of the architectural knowledge articulated in the earliest surviving *kümbet*s in the region. The methodology is based on structural and stylistic analyses of a group of thirteen *kümbets* located in Central and Eastern Anatolia and dating back to the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The architectural analysis of these funerary edifices reveals the adaptation of structural and decorative features characteristic of the Transcaucasian tradition in the visual vocabulary of the newly emerging architecture in Central and Eastern Anatolia. Among the bearers of the Transcaucasian architectural tradition, the prevalence of the Armenian constituent in the local demographic picture allows for the suggestion that the transmission happened as a result of the cross-cultural interactions between the Armenian and Turco-Muslim groups. The contextualization of the discussed monuments in the larger picture of intercultural contacts in the region further supported this argument.

Acknowledgements

There have been many people who walked alongside me during the last two years and I would like to thank each and every one of them. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisors Prof. Béla Zsolt Szakács, Prof. Günhan Börekçi and Prof. István Perczel for their remarks and engagement through the writing process of this master thesis. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professors Zaruhi Hakobyan and Antony Eastmond, who willingly shared their precious time with me and whose insightful suggestions were of a great importance to my research. I wish to thank the faculty and staff of the Medieval Studies Department at CEU, for their academic as well as personal support throughout those two years. In particular, I owe thanks to Zsuzsa Reed, for her encouragement in the writing process, and to Csilla Dobos, who is an embodiment of motherly love and care. I am also thankful to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and Armenian General Benevolent Union for their generous financial support.

Many thanks to Idil, Murat and Hüseyin, for without their assistance I would be lost in the struggle with Turkish-language sources.

I am greatly indebted to my loved ones, without whom this thesis would have not been possible. Thank you, Gayane, for having motivated me to work in the hardest days. Thank you, Piruz and Marieta, for all the thoughtful discussions with intervals of careless laughs. Thank you, Csaba, for your unfailing faith in me, for the invaluable support and for the joy of having you in my life.

Finally, I am grateful to my family for their unconditional love and continuous support in these difficult times for all of us. I would like to dedicate this thesis to the loving memory of my father.

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Introduction

Up to the invasions of the Seljuk Turks in the mid-eleventh century, the local population was almost completely Christian in Asia Minor, predominantly Greek and Armenian as well as Georgian and Syrian to a lesser extent.[1] However, defeating the Byzantine army at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 the Seljuk Turks together with their Turcoman allies[2] captured the rest of the Byzantine Empire and among the other lands also a considerable part of the former Armenian kingdom.[3] The new Turco-Muslim[4] rule did not instantly bring an end to the centuries-lasting Christian tradition in the region. Moreover, although their conquest of Anatolia initiated the process of cultural and religious transformations, the history of Anatolia under Turco-Muslim domination is a rather interesting example of the Christian-Islamic coexistence that manifested itself on different levels.[5]

[1] A. C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatol ia* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 1.

[2] The Muslim rule in medieval Anatolia was never uniform. Besides the ruling Seljuks in western Anatolia (1077-1307) there were also such Muslim houses as the Mengujekids of Erzincan, the Artuqids of Diyarbekir, the Danishmendids of Sivas, the Saltukids centered in Erzurum, Shah-Armens or Shah-i Armans centered in Ahlat, Kurdish Shaddadids established in Dvin. See Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071-1330* (New York: Taplinger, 1968); A. C. S. Peacock, and Sara Nur Yıldız, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London; New York : I.B. Tauris, 2013).

[3] Still before the Seljuk invasions, in 1045 the last Armenian king of the Bagratid dynasty, Gagik II (1042-45, d. 1079/80), was forced to abdicate and the central lands of the Bagratid kingdom passed to the Byzantine Empire. See the [Matthew of Edessa], Մատթեոս Ուռհայեցի, *Ժամանակագրություն*, [Chronicle], ed. Bartikyan, Hrach (Yerevan: YSU Press. 1991).

[4] Here I adopt Cemal Kafadar's approach in relation to the naming of the period, as the term "Seljuk Anatolia" does not really cover the period from the Battle of Manzikert till the rise of the Ottoman house. The Seljuk house ruled over the somewhat united Turco-Muslim Anatolia only for several decades, while for the rest of the period the Turcoman houses enjoyed relative or complete sovereignty. Therefore, in the current thesis I will mostly use the term "Turco-Muslim Anatolia" instead of the largely adopted "Seljuk Anatolia." See Cemal Kafadar, "Introduction: A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 7. (2007), 7-25.

[5] While the term "coexistence" was coined by Americo Castro in *Espãna en su historia: cristianos, moros y judiós* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948), to refer to the interreligious tolerance between Christians, Muslims and Jews in al-Andalus, in the present study it does not bear any evaluative meaning. Here I apply it simply to refer to the interactions between Christian and Muslim groups in Anatolia.

In spite of the growing interest recently, the Christian-Islamic interactions in this transformative period have not been studied extensively. The main problem in studying the earliest phases of the Turkic advancement in Anatolia is the extreme paucity or even the absence of contemporary or close to contemporary narrative sources. The extant pieces of Seljuk dynastic historiography tell us the history of the Iranian and Iraqi branches of the ruling dynasty, hardly ever mentioning the Anatolian branch of the house. Historiography dedicated to the Rum Seljuks would only appear after the Mongol capture of Anatolia.[6] Overall, for the period up to the death of sultan Kilij Arslan II (d.1192), there are no Anatolian sources by Muslim authors. Even after that, most of the primary sources have a political focus, both the Muslim[7] and the Christian[8] ones. Summarizing the Christian authors, Alexander D. Beihammer recounts the Byzantine historians, who generally wrote about the Constantinopolitan court nobility, Armenian and Syrian accounts that predominantly covered the histories of their own societies, while the Latin Crusaders told their story as outsiders.[9] With regard to the primary sources, it is also important to look at the differences of the portrayals of the Turcoman fighters and the Seljuk elite. Both the Muslim and Christian chroniclers emphasize the contradictory natures of these groups. While the Muslim authors describe Seljuk Turks as bearers of Muslim-Iranian dynastic identity, the Turcomans usually

[6] For the Muslim-Anatolian sources, see Şevket Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung im Prozess kultureller Transformation: Anatolische Quellen über Muslime, Christen und Türken (13.-15. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011).

[7] Ibn Bibi, who completed his Persian chronicle dedicated to the history of Sultanate of Rum in the thirteenth century, noted that he had to start his work from the period of rule of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (1192-1196), as he didn't find the existing oral and written accounts from late eleventh-early twelfth centuries reliable enough. However, it is also probable that he started his account from the relatively stable period of Kaykhusraw I, avoiding describing the vicissitudes of the power between Seljuk and Turcoman rulers in the region, in order to present a somewhat cohesive history of the Seljuk house. See Pancaroğlu, Oya. "The House of Mengüjek in Divriği: Constructions of Dynastic Identity in the Twelfth Century" in The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and society in the medieval Middle East, edited by Peacock, A. C. S., and Sara Nur Yıldız, 25-26. London. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013.

[8] [Matthew of Edessa], *Ժամանակագրություն*; and [Aristakes of Lastiver] Արիստակես Լաստիվերցի, *Aristakes Lastivertc'i's History*, ed. and trans. Robert Bedrosian (New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 1985).

[9] Alexander D. Beihammer, "Christian Views of Islam in Early Seljuk Anatolia: Perceptions and Reactions" *in Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, Sara Nur Yıldız (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 54.

stand in the chronicles as cruel nomadic plunderers, being far inferior to the high culture of the Seljuk sultans.[10] The same picture is traceable in the Christian sources.[11]

Taking into account the deficiency of the narrative historical sources, I have decided to approach the cultural history of the period differently, namely by exploiting the non-narrative sources, in this particular case, the architecture. The "symbiotic" architecture developed in Anatolia under the Turco-Muslim rule in the late twelfth-early fourteenth centuries that is known today under the general term "Seljuk architecture" is one of the most striking manifestations of the Christian-Muslim coexistence. Using the vocabulary of modern scholarship, it can be described as the material outcome of the encounter of local Christian (Byzantine, Armenian and Georgian) and Great Seljuk Persianate[12] traditions; for the Seljuk Turks had initially got acquainted with -- and adopted -- Islamic architectural traditions in Persian lands, which subsequently underwent significant transformations in Anatolia.[13]

In the scope of the current research, I focus in particular on the Armeno-Muslim cultural interactions in the late twelfth-early thirteenth-century Turco-Muslim Anatolia through the comprehensive analysis of the cross-cultural transmission of the architectural knowledge that is clearly articulated in *kümbets*.[14] Like the other types of monuments, the Anatolian tombs differed essentially from the Great Seljuk models. I argue that the distinctive appearance of these tombs owes a great deal to the intercultural environment of the region. The comprehensive analysis of these structures supports my hypothesis that the late twelfth-

[10] Ibid., 55-56.
[11] For the Byzantine and other Christian written accounts on the emergence of the Seljuk Turks in the Middle East and Anatolia, see Alexander D. Beihammer, Die Ethnogenese der seldschukischen Türken im Urteil christlicher Geschichtsschreiber des 11. Und 12. Jahrhunderts", Byzantinische Zeitschrift 102 ,2 (2009), 589-614. Last accessed 27 Oct. 2017, from doi:10.1515/byzs.2009.012
[12] Persianate culture - a culture that is either based on or bears the strong impact of the Persian culture. On Persianate culture, see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).
[13] Richard Ettinghausen, and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650-1250* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 163-65.
[14] *Kümbet* is the name given to Seljuk and Turcoman mausoleums. The polygonal or cylindrical bodies mostly rest on cubic bases and are topped with conical or polyhedral shells.

early thirteenth-century funerary architecture of Turco-Muslim-ruled Anatolia represents the early stage of the encounter of Seljuk and Turcoman Islamic cultures with the Armenian and other (Georgian, Syrian) architectural traditions of the societies intersecting in Anatolia. The arrangement of these architectural forms in one single structure, in turn, points towards the complexities of the overall cultural environment in the region. Thus, as the outcome of complex historical developments, these tombs reflect the socio-cultural landscape of the time, and, as such, are crucial historical sources.

My selection of research objects was primarily determined by their dating and not by the geographical location, for the focus of this study is the Armeno-Muslim cultural interactions in the initial phase of the Christian-Islamic coexistence in Anatolia. That being said, I should point out that I acknowledge the possible drawbacks of this approach, as the historical developments of Anatolia under the Turco-Muslim rule have been tumultuous. By this I would like to re-emphasize the erroneous nature of the general term "Seljuk" applied to the culture of this period. While the Turcoman principalities of Central and Eastern Anatolia came to eventually accept the Seljuk sovereignty by the end of the twelfth century, it does not justify the employment of the term for the art created under the Turco-Muslim patronage in Anatolia in the so-called pre-Ottoman period. Besides, the process of cultural transformation had its own dynamics in different parts of Anatolia and could by no means have had the same trajectories of development. Needless to say, this non-uniformity also implies different dynamics of intercultural contacts and exchanges that, in their turn, entailed differences in the final products of the intercultural encounters.

Having acknowledged all of the above, I maintain that my chosen approach is conducive to arrive at informed conclusions. In light of the idiosyncrasies of the period under discussion, namely the extreme scarcity of primary narrative sources, and the hindrances

caused by the reconstruction of history through material culture, at this stage of my research I find it more expedient to look for general patterns rather than local characteristics. Nonetheless, in the final assessment of my observations, the geographical distribution of the tombs is certainly taken into consideration.

For the purpose of my research, I study the group of the earliest mausolea erected under the Turco-Muslim patronage in Central and Eastern Anatolia: Abdul Vehhab Gazi in Sivas (mid-twelfth century); Kulak tomb in Niksar (1182-1183); Hacib Cavli, Lala Muslihuddin (both late twelfth and early thirteenth century), Hasbek (1184-1185), Han mosque tomb (1188-1189) and two anonymous tombs in Kayseri (both date back to the late twelfth and early thirteen century); Sitte Melik (1196-97) and Kamereddin (1196) in Divrigi; Emir Saltuk in Erzurum (late twelfth century); Mama Khatun in Tercan (1203); Kilij Arslan II tomb in Konya (late twelfth century). I wish to emphasize that while I focus on tracing the use of the structural elements and decorative motifs characteristic of the Armenian medieval architecture in the construction of *kümbets,* this study should by no means be regarded as a mere attempt to reconstruct the cultural history of the Armenian ethno-religious group under the Turco-Muslim domination.

While the political history of the time has received somewhat more attention in the research literature, there has been little discussion on the social and cultural history of the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Anatolia, especially in the framework of the Christian-Islamic coexistence. The scholarship on Christian-Muslim interactions also adopts nationalistic approaches. Such is, for instance, the well-known narrative by Speros Vryonis about the devastation of the Byzantine Christian civilization by the nomadic Muslim Turks. He argues that the cultural transformation and religious conversion of the predominantly

Christian Anatolia to a Muslim one was implemented by force and destruction.[15] An alternative to Vryonis's nationalistic narrative is Frederick W. Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*.[16] While Hasluck certainly has weak points that have been thoroughly criticized by Tijana Krstic[17], I am nevertheless inclined to agree with his notion of "Anatolian" Islam (and, therefore, the culture) being formed under the influence of Christian traditions and practices.

The available modern scholarship, particularly the Turkish historiography on the art and architecture of the region until the Ottoman period covers the general aspects of its development, not paying enough attention to the question of cross-cultural exchanges. However, such works as *Turkish Art and Architecture* by Oktay Aslanapa[18] or *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri* by Hakkı Önkal[19],have since long become classical volumes. The recent decade has seen a growing interest in the socio-cultural history of the religiously and ethnically diverse medieval Anatolia and this interest has been articulated in a small body of scholarly literature. Two collections of essays, both published in 2015, provide an overview of the interactions between Christianity and Islam and the social transformations in medieval Anatolia. The first work, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* edited by Sara Nur Yildiz, Bruno De Nicola and Andrew Peacock, reconsiders the nationalistic perspective of Speros Vryonis regarding the above-mentioned transformative period. Apart from the narrative sources, such as formerly unpublished texts (Salam Rassi, Andrew C.S. Peacock),

[15] Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
[16] Frederick William Hasluck, and Margaret Masson Hardie, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929).
[17] Tijana Krstic, "The Ambiguous Politics of "Ambiguous Sanctuaries": F. Hasluck and Historiography on Syncretism and Conversion to Islam in 15th - and 16th-century Ottoman Rumeli," in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, vol. 3, ed. Davit Shankland (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2013), 247-262.
[18] Oktay Aslanapa,, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (New York: Praeger, 1971).
[19] Hakkı Önkal, Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri [Anatolian Seljuk Tombs] (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1996).

medieval Turkish literary works (Yildiz, Karamustafa), *waqfiyyas*[20] (Redford, Pfeifer), Christian narrative sources (Beihammer, Shukurov, Cowe), the contributors also make use of material culture in order to draw the picture of the Christian-Muslim interactions in Turco-Muslim Anatolia (Eastmond, Uyar).

The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East, edited by Yildiz and Peacock, explores the Seljuk dynastic identity and the process of the conversion of the Christian Anatolia to Islam, again making use of a large variety of sources. Oya Pancaroğlu draws upon numismatic and epigraphic sources in order to reconstruct the history of the Mengujekids of Divrigi, raising the question of the relationship between the architects and the patrons. Examining the roles of royal women at the Seljuk court, Rustam Shukurov stresses their principally Greek origins, noting that the lines between the Christian and Muslim identities had been normally unclear. Scott Redford also examines the role of royal women, employing epigraphical sources. Sara Nur Yildiz draws upon a poem, while Dimitri Korobeinikov studies dynastic titles in order to speak about the political and cultural atmosphere in Anatolia. Like Pancaroğlu and Shukurov, Rachel Goshgarian also raises the question of religious and linguistic identity in her study of the Armenian *futuwwa*-like urban brotherhoods in the thirteenth-century Erzincan. She conducts comparative analysis in order to show the extent to which the Armenian-language codes were influenced by the Muslim texts.

In the framework of the research on the cultural interactions in Anatolia, I must also mention Scott Redford's name, whose works on the architecture and ornament of Seljuks of Rum cover such issues as the transmission of artistic ideas and cultural confluence.[21] Another

[20] Endowment certificate, a legal document in Islamic law, in which the status of the *waqf* is set out. Accordingly, the *waqf* is the inalienable pious endowment.
[21] Scott Redford, "A Grammar of Rum Seljuq Ornament," *Mesogeios,* 25-26 (2005), 283-310.; "Portable Palaces: On the Circulation of Objects and Ideas about Architecture in Medieval Anatolia and Northern

scholar whose name I would like to highlight is Patricia Blessing who studies the links between architectural patronage and the politics in medieval Anatolia and the world around.[22] All in all, the current thesis aspires to contribute to this growing area of research.

In the first chapter, I conduct the architectural analysis of the selected tombs. For that purpose, I briefly discuss the appearance of the tombs in the Islamic culture, tracing their structural evolution up to the point of the development of the distinctive type of Anatolian *kümbets*. Then, providing the detailed structural description of the tombs recounted above, I subsequently enlist the elements and motifs, characteristic of Armenian church architecture adopted in the formal configuration of these funerary structures.

In the second chapter, I draw the overall historical picture of eleventh- and twelfth-century Anatolia, providing an insight into the political environment and the context in which the new architecture developed. In the third chapter, I put my deductive observations into the historical context: I approach the question of the cross-cultural transmission of the architectural knowledge from different perspectives, discussing the degree of involvement of its possible agents, namely the patrons and craftsmen, in the transmission of the architectural forms, to the extent that the extant manuscript and epigraphical sources allow for such a discussion.

Mesopotamia," *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), 382-412.; "City building in Seljuq Rum." in *The Seljuqs: politics, society and culture,* ed. Christian Lange and Songül Mecit, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).; "Constantinople, Konya, conical kiosks, cultural confluence." in *The Byzantine court: source of power and culture. Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. Ayla Ödekan, Nevra Necipoğlu and Engin Akyürek, (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2013).; "The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993).;

[22] Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).; "Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia and a Discussion of Māhbarī Khātūn's Mosque Complex in Kayseri," *Belleten* (Türk Tarih Kurumu),
282 (2014): 475-526.; "Buildings of Commemoration in Medieval Anatolia: The Funerary Complexes of Sahib Ata and Mahperi Khatun," *al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 27, no. 3 (2015): 225-252, doi: 10.1080/09503110.2015.1102494.; "Medieval Monuments from Empire to Nation-State: Beyond Armenian and Islamic Architecture in *the South Caucasus (1180-1300)," The South Caucasus, ed. Ivan Foletti and Erik Thunø, Supplementum 2016 of Convivium: Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean, Seminarium Kondakovianum Series Nova* 3.2 (August, 2016).

Given the complexity of the subject of my research, I find it necessary to state my own approach regarding another problematic issue in the modern scholarship, before turning to the main body of the current paper. That is the question of the existence of the distinctive identities of the ecclesiastical monuments in present-day Armenia and Georgia, which is still actively discussed in the light of the complex political and cultural history of medieval Transcaucasia. To understand the problem, it is important to bear in mind that in the early Christian period the churches of Transcaucasia were united, and neither the Council of Chalcedon of 451 nor the Third Council of Dvin of 608 would bring an end to this unity immediately.[23] Accordingly, the unity of the churches should have been manifested in their united architecture. It is principally shown in the seventh-century ecclesiastical monuments that represent an integrated tradition of the Transcaucasian architecture.[24] It was long after its separation from the Armenian Church and the adoption of the pro-Byzantine orientation, approximately in the eleventh century, that Georgian church architecture began to adopt Byzantine elements and motifs. From this time onwards the church architectures of medieval Armenia and Georgia embraced different trajectories of development, yet staying in the artistic framework of the Transcaucasian tradition. Hence, the recognition of the existing differences between these local schools of architecture is equally crucial as the acknowledgment of their similarities and common cultural past. Finding this balance becomes even more essential when examining their engagement in the creation of the symbiotic architecture of medieval Anatolia. It is this balance that I intend to keep in my own

[23] The Armenian Church rejected the Chalcedonian Christological position accepted at the council, which would become the cause for centuries-long confessional disputes. For more, see Stephen H. Rapp, Jr., "Georgian Christianity," in *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, ed. Kenneth Parry (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons: 2010), 137–55. At the Third Council of Dvin in 607/608, the Georgian church seceded from the Armenian church, adopting Chalcedonian, namely pro-Byzantine orientation. See Tamara Grdzelidze, "Georgia, Patriarchal Orthodox Church of," in *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity*, ed. John Anthony McGuckin (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 264–75.

[24] Armen Kazaryan, "The "Classical" Tradition of the 7th Century Architecture in Armenia and Georgia: Meaning for its Place in East-Christian Art," *Anadolu ve Cevresinde Ortaçağ* 3 (2009), 25-50.

analysis, aspiring to contribute to a new research literature that is devoid of cultural nationalism.

Chapter 1 – The earliest Central and Eastern Anatolian *kümbets*: history, morphology and comparative analysis

Turkic peoples traditionally venerated the dead in pre-Islamic times. Yet, we do not know much either about the funerary ceremonies or about the architecture of the ancestors of the Seljuk Turks. All we know is that they buried their dead in kurgans, which were made particularly for noble burials. The structure had a rectangular plan, facing the sunlight. In the southern part of the kurgan a small room housed the body, with the head towards the East.[25] The origins of the Anatolian Seljuk and Turcoman *kümbets* are not certain, although there are various hypotheses about these structures originating from Altaic tents **(Figure 1)**, Palmyran tower tombs **(Figure 2)** or Zoroastrian fire temples **(Figure 3)**.[26] The exploration of the origins of this architectural type lies outside the scope of the present research. Instead, in the pages that follow I will focus on the architectural analysis of the transformations that Great Seljuk funerary architecture underwent in Anatolia as a result of the adaptation to and the adoption of local practices.

1.1 Short overview of the Islamic funerary architecture prior to the creation of the Anatolian *kümbets*

It was no earlier than the ninth century when the first known Islamic mausoleum, Qubbat al-Sulaibiyya **(Figure 4)** was built in Samarra. However, the earliest sequential examples of

[25] Hakkı Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri* [Anatolian Seljuk Tombs] (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1996), 14-15.

[26] See Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650-1250* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 221; Oleg Grabar, "The Islamic Dome, Some Considerations," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22, No. 4 (California: University of California Press, 1963), 191-198; Oleg Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures, Notes and Documents," *Ars Orientalis* 6 (Michigan: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution and Department of the History of Art, University of Michigan, 1966), 7-46.

Islamic tombs were built in the tenth century in Persia.[27] The Islamic architecture developed in Persia was highly indebted to the Sassanid traditions, for Islamic Persia was the cultural successor of Sassanid Persia in general. One of the two types of presently known Islamic mausolea in Persia has a shape of a domed cube, open on all sides. A famous example is the Samanid mausoleum in Bukhara (892-943) **(Figure 5)**. Built out of baked brick, it has a large central dome that is supported by four internal arches, with four smaller domes on its corners. The transition from the cubic body to the dome is by squinches that are framed within a flat octagonal arcade on colonnettes, with the sixteen-sided zone above, providing the passage to the base of the cupola. The plan of the mausoleum does not recall any known Zoroastrian fire-temple, leaving the possibility that it may have derived from a secular edifice.[28] Another tenth-century example is Arab-Ata mausoleum **(Figure 6)**, located in the village of Tim, Samarqand Region, present-day Uzbekistan (977-8). This brick structure is square shaped inside, while on the outside it is more extended by a single façade. Inside the transition to the dome from the smooth walls is implemented through an octahedron that has slightly expressed arch niches on the main axes and elaborate two-storey pendentives in the angles. From the outside, the structure is capped with a pointed dome. The second known type is the tower tomb. The most famous example is Gunbad-I Qabus **(Figure 7)**, located 3 km north of the ancient city of Gorgan, Golestan Province, Iran (1006-7). The tomb, built from brick, is circular inside, shaped like a ten-pointed star on the outside with a conical shell on the top.[29]

With the influx of the Seljuk Turks to Persia and the establishment of the Great Seljuk Empire in the eleventh century, the local culture and architecture in particular underwent

[27] It is not surprising that the proliferation of tombs in Iran is also considered to be an outcome of heterodoxy, as well as an attempt to give a "Muslim meaning to the traditional holy sites": Ettinghausen and Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam,* 216-17.
[28] Ettinghausen and Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam*, 217.
[29] Ibid., 221.

certain transformations.[30] Three main types of Great Seljuk mausoleums are preserved today. Almost all the examples, regardless of the type, bear inscriptions as well as an ornate band. The tower tomb is represented by two brickwork examples with pointed domes, currently standing in Damghan, dating back to 1026-27 **(Figure 8)** and 1067 **(Figure 9)**. In the city of Rey, Iran stands the star-shaped Tughrul tower **(Figure 10)**, similar to Gunbad-I Qabus. It was previously capped with a conical dome which collapsed after an earthquake.[31] In fact, this two-storey type can be considered as the main architectural prototype of the Anatolian examples. The second type of the Great Seljuk mausolea is the square or polygonal canopy-like tomb. Famous representatives of this type are the Kharraqan tombs, erected in 1067 and 1093, **(Figure 11)** as well as Sultan Sanjar's mausoleum, built in 1157 **(Figure 12)**. All are brickwork structures, octagonal inside, with semicircular corner buttresses, with the dome resting on a zone of squinches. The second Kharraqan tomb is the earliest funerary structure in Iran with a double dome. The third tomb type has developed upon the achievements of the previous ones. Regardless whether it is square, polygonal or circular, it has a more elongated shape. One of the novelties of this type is the crypt. A number of examples of this type can be found in present-day Nakhichevan and Maragha **(Figure 13)**.[32] And while the models of funerary architecture in Persia developing under Great Seljuk patronage were unquestionably more ornate than the ascetic Anatolian ones, they can be nevertheless considered as the prototypes of the analogous Anatolian structures.

[30] For the history for the Great Seljuks, see A. C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire (*Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).
[31] Ettinghausen and Grabar, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 267-69.; Aptullah Kuran, "Anatolian-Seljuk Architecture," in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey,* ed. E. Akurgal (Oxford: Oxford University, 1980), 87.
[32] Mumine Khatun tomb (1186-1187) is one of the most remarkable works of Seljuk memorial architecture and brickwork. See Ettinghausen and Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam,* 269-71.

1.2 The architectural arrangement of the Anatolian *kümbets*

Moving on to the Anatolian *kümbets*, it should be noted that geographically most of them are located in the Central and Eastern Anatolia. Unlike the Great Seljuk examples that were predominantly single-chamber structures, the Anatolian tombs mainly consist of two storeys. The crypt occupies the lower level, with a prayer chamber above it. Partially buried in the ground, the crypt houses one or several mummified bodies and has a separate entrance below ground level. A staircase leads to the upper prayer room containing a *mihrab*[33] and the sarcophagus commemorating the person for whom the tomb was built.

Overall, Turco-Muslim Anatolia up to the Ottoman period had three main types of funerary structures.[34] Central Anatolia was home to the so-called *iwan*[35] tomb. The upper chamber of this rectangular tomb is *iwan*-shaped, and vaults cover both the crypt and the main chamber. The Gömeç Hatun tomb in Konya is a typical representative of this group **(Figure 14)**. Another, but not a very frequent example is the square tomb, such as the Melik Gazi tomb in Kayseri **(Figure 15)**, dating back to the twelfth century. The third and the most common type, *kümbet*, is the tomb where the polygonal or cylindrical drum is topped with conical or polyhedral roof and in some cases is resting on a cubic base.[36] Here I focus on the last group, because, from an architectural point of view, its morphological features are the finest indications of the cross-cultural transmission of architectural ideas in Anatolia.

It should be pointed out that while there is a big diversity of structural compositions as well as arrangements of domed structures throughout the history of Islamic architecture, Anatolian

[33] A niche in the wall pointing to the direction of Mecca, which a Muslim should face when praying.
[34] For a more detailed account on the varieties of the Anatolian tombs, see Aptullah Kuran, "Anatolian-Seljuk Architecture," in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, ed. E. Akurgal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
[35] A rectangular vaulted hall, open on one side.
[36] Although Robert Hillenbrand supposes that the Anatolian examples of this model might have preceded the Persian ones there has been no evidence for this claim to date. See Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture: The Ilkhanids and Timurid (*London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 196-202.

kümbets have a relatively simple architectural grammar. So, bearing in mind the limited architectural vocabulary inside this type, I trace the common patterns of transformations that the Great Seljuk general architectural language underwent in Eastern Anatolia, focusing on the ones that were due to the introduction to the Armenian ecclesiastical architectural forms.

1.2.1 The Danishmendid patronage

The earliest Anatolian *kümbets* date back to the last quarter of the twelfth and the early thirteenth century.[37] Predominantly octagonal, the representatives of this group have a rather unsophisticated architectural language, differing from the Great Seljuk tombs and later examples of Anatolian memorial architecture with the crudity of the overall structural composition and ascetic embellishment.[38] The group of the earliest mausolea that particularly fits this description is from the formerly Danishmendid-controlled territories of Kayseri, Sivas and Niksar, which by the approximate time of the construction of these tombs had been already annexed by the Seljuks.

The Abdul Vehab Gazi tomb **(Figure 16)**, located north of Sivas, is a small and modest octagonal structure that has recently been covered with a pointed metallic roof. According to Hakkı Önkal, the drum used to be originally topped by a conical roof that covered the inner semispherical dome.[39] The simple rectangular door was cut into the northern side of the drum. Inside, the tomb has an octagonal plan as well. In general, the building has a poor exterior appearance and is likely to have been modestly decorated if at all. Chronicles bear no mention of this structure. Önkal provides the Turkish translations of

[37] While the Byzantine Empire had lost a significant part of its territories to the Seljuks at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, it was only after the Battle of Myriokephalon in 1176 and the peace signed between Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos and Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan II in 1179 that the Turco-Muslim civilization—consequently art and architecture—began to thrive. See Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: A Political History* (London: Longman, 1992).

[38] The monuments of this earliest group, like the rest of the later examples, have undergone renovations and reconstructions, which will be taken into account as a matter of course.

[39] Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, 33.

the two inscriptions found on the site: "God is the guard. This is the grave of Abdul Vehab Gazi, may God bless him." The second inscription is on the door. It begins with a hadith, further stating that Mehmed Pasha, the vizier of the Ottoman Empire, was the commissioner of the door.[40] Hakkı Önkal dates the building to the mid-twelfth century, which is attested by the simple and modest appearance of the tomb. The next structure, the Kulak tomb **(Figure 18)** is located in the middle of Melik Gazi Cemetery, which lies between two hills rising south-west of Niksar, Turkey. The tomb has been renovated in recent years. The original roof, according to Hakkı Önkal, should have been a pyramidal cone and the renovation has been done according to the original.[41] The main chamber can be entered through a wide door on the northwestern side, bearing a lintel on which the geometric band articulated by intersecting octagons surmounts the Quranic verse. A pointed arch bound the plain tympanum of the entrance. As it can be assumed from the remaining traces, the passage from the octagonal body to the dome had been implemented through simple squinches in the eight corners.[42] Eight windows opened in the eight walls of the dark stone-covered structure illuminate the inner space, providing mobility to the somewhat modest facade. The windows used to be crowned with highlighted semi-circular arches. However, as a result of the renovations, the tomb has acquired a completely new appearance. And while today the windows still have arched openings, the arches are accentuated more moderately. The external surface of the drum, arches, doors and windows are made of cut stone, while the inner walls and dome were made with the use of rubble. The structure has an ascetic external appearance. Its scarce decoration consists of the lintel inscription—"Eseduddin Arslan-

[40] Ibid., 34.
[41] Ibid., 36.
[42] Ibid., 35.

Dogmush son of Abdullah. God bless him"—and the colored stone used in the arches of the windows and the door. Hakkı Önkal dates the tomb to 1182-1183.[43]

The majority, six out of eight tombs from these formerly Danishmendid-controlled lands were built in Kayseri. The Hasbek tomb **(Figure 20)**, completely devoid of any kind of ornamental decoration, has a simple rectangular door in the northern wall with a plain tympanum bounded by a semicircular arch, also seen in the Anonymous I and II tombs in Kayseri. The interior of the tomb is illuminated by four double windows divided by simple octahedral mullions, opened on four sides. The Hasbek tomb and the Anonymous I and II tombs in Kayseri share common features of external decoration, which first of all concerns the blind arcades. On the northern, north-eastern and eastern sides of the structure, under the blind arches one can find short carved inscriptions. Like the other architectural monuments in Kayseri of this period, the Hasbek tomb is also made of stone. The translation provided by Hakkı Önkal suggests that the tomb belonged to Masud Gulzar Ali who had been massacred in Aksaray in 580/1184-1185.[44] Another tomb from Kayseri dating to the last quarter of the twelfth century is the Han Mosque (Emir Cemaleddin) tomb **(Figure 22)**.[45] In this entirely cut-stone structure, the high octagonal body topped with an octahedral cone is resting on the square-planed base. The inner upper hall is illuminated by four windows opened at an elevation. The windows are different in size, two of which are double-eyed. According to Hakkı Önkal, the mullions of the other two have fallen.[46] These windows on four sides appear as features built to reduce the evenness of the façades. A window connects the top floor with the vaulted chamber adjacent to the north. The stone composition clearly shows

[43] Hakkı Önkal concludes from the inscription that the structure was commissioned by Arslan-Dogmush. There are no sources about him, the house is not known either. However, on the inscription on the tomb of Haci Kirisik in Niksar, Bedreddin Shahinshah's father is registered as Arslan-Dogmush. It is very possible that the father of Bedreddin Shahinshah is the same person as this Arslan-Dogmush. The great similarity of the sarcophagi in the tombs also confirms this. The dating is based on these conclusions. Ibid., 37.
[44] In the renovations done in 1945 there were no significant interventions undertaken in the building. Ibid., 39.
[45] The tomb was improved by the partial repair in the summer of 1976, when the cone was renovated with a clean cut-stone. Ibid., 42.
[46] Ibid., 41.

that the tomb was planned and built with this vaulted chamber. Right below the three-leveled cornice there is an inscribed belt around the body of the drum that bears the name of the commissioner: "This tomb belongs to emir of Islam, deceased, beneficent Cemaleddin son of Davud. May Allah illuminate his tomb with divine light. In year 584."[47] This inscription states that the construction date of Emir Cemaleddin's tomb is 1188-1189.

In the center of Kayseri, there are two similar tombs close to each other in Sahabiye district. Because of the complete absence of any sources on these structures, they are called Anonymous I and Anonymous II. The octagonal body of the Anonymous I tomb **(Figure 24)** is sitting on a thin square pedestal, covered with an octahedral cap.[48] The doors of both anonymous tombs are simple rectangular openings, bounded in the top with a large plain lintel stone, presumably prepared for inscriptions. The lintels in both cases are crowned by semi-circular arches. The façades of the eight-sided drums are decorated by blind arcades. One striking feature of external decoration in Anonymous I is the semi-circular niche. On all the sides except for the entrance, there are niches with semicircular sections surmounted by the blind arches. In Anatolia we come across half-circle niches used as means of internal decoration, as, for instance, in the tombs of Kilij Arslan II and Izzeddin Kaykaus in Konya, as well as in the Padishah Hatun tomb in Erzurum, designed to lend a more spacious appearance to the inner space.[49] However, there are no semicircular niches inside this tomb. The upper chamber of the Anonymous I is illuminated by five narrow rectangular windows opened in the upper parts of the niches on the five corners of the eastern and western directions. No inscriptions or sources survive to reveal anything about the belonging of the tomb or its construction date. While it can be assumed that the lintel above the entrance door used to bear an inscription, today evidence for this remains. So, the dating of the monument had to be

[47] Ibid., 42.
[48] According to Hakkı Önkal, a restoration was carried out in 1966. Ibid., 58.
[49] Ibid., 43.

made based on the analysis of its architectural style and comparison with close analogues. The use of blind arcades for the external decoration as a shared feature as well as the entrances of rectangular shape with plain tympana bounded by semicircular arches allow us to consider this structure contemporaneous to the Hasbek tomb and Anonymous II. And while this is the only example in Anatolia decorated with niches of semicircular section, the latter may be the product of the search for new decorative elements in this early stage of the development of the type. So, based on its affinity to the Hasbek tomb, it can be dated to the late twelfth and early thirteen century.

Anonymous II **(Figure 26)** is almost identical in terms of external appearance to the Hasbek tomb in Kayseri.[50] Here too, the four windows under the blind arches are divided into two sections by thin mullions. However, compared to the windows of the Hasbek tomb, these are more elaborate, which is especially manifest in their arched forms. In the middle of the southern façade, there is a deep arched niche placed in a rectangular frame with an uncertain function. Inside, the dome is supported by eight arched squinches. It is noteworthy that these arches are not pointed, but semicircular. The only inscription band under the cornice represents a Quranic verse.[51] Fortunately, in the case of Kayseri, the monuments are datable through the comparison with similar structures. The closest analogues of the Anonymous II are the Hasbek Tomb (580/1184-85), the Anonymous I (late twelfth-early thirteenth), and Han Mosque Tomb (584/1188-89). The plan, the external appearance, which includes for one thing the windows and the blind arcades, the measurements, the material, and finally the conical dome of the Hasbek tomb are exactly the same as in Anonymous II. Based on this close affinity, the tomb may be dated to the late twelfth and early thirteen century.

[50] As a result of a restoration carried out in the second half of the twentieth century, the octahedral cone was completely repaired. Previously, according to Hakkı Önkal, the mausoleum was used as a warehouse. Ibid., 60.
[51] Ibid., 59.

The Lala Muslihuddin tomb in Kayseri is another simple cut-stone structure consisting of an octagonal body covered with an octahedral cone, rising above the square-shaped base **(Figure 28)**. The entrance of the upper chamber is a narrow and simple opening on the northern façade. This is another example of inner space illuminated by double arched windows divided by mullions. The pediment of the entrance is similar to the other examples discussed above. The plain tympanum niche surmounted by the semicircular arch might have been prepared for an inscription. However, there are neither inscriptions nor historical chronicles bearing any information about the construction of this tomb. The only inscription from the crypt tells us about the repair implemented in 1238.[52] Lacking inscriptions and documents that would allow for a precise dating, the latter is conducted through the comparison with similar structures, for the mausoleum offers a great resemblance to the other tombs in Kayseri discussed above. Hence, it is supposed to have been built in late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

The last representative of this early group of stone-built funerary structures from Kayseri is the Hacib Cavli tomb **(Figure 30)**. Reconstructed in 2003-2004, this tomb consists of an octagonal body with a pyramidal cone rising on a square plan base. According to Hakkı Önkal, the reconstructed tomb reflects its original plan and forms.[53] The pediment of the entrance is similar to the other examples in this group, with the plain tympanum under a semicircular arch. Inside, the transition from the body to the drum is implemented through pointed arched squinches. Compared to other models from this group, the double windows opened on four sides are divided into arched openings by larger rectangular mullions. There are no ornamental features besides the frame of the inscription plate and the partially damaged inscription band. Based on the inscription Hakkı Önkal suggests that the tomb belonged to the son of Abd al-Melik Gazi, the late Hacib Cavli. It can be assumed that the

[52] Ibid., 63.
[53] Ibid., 63.

tomb had been built by one of the relatives of Hacib Cavli. Like in the cases of the previous examples, based on the comparisons with analogous structures, the tomb is dated to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.[54]

The rather austere outside appearance of the group of the structures described above distinguishes it from the other examples of the early memorial monuments commissioned by the Anatolian Turco-Muslim elite of the period. A major aspect of the transformation of Turco-Muslim funerary architecture in Anatolia, which later became its most remarkable and distinguishing feature, is the almost complete abandonment of the semi-circular domes widely used in the Great Seljuk architecture and the employment of the conical and polyhedral ones instead, which can be traced from this earliest models on. And while the extreme simplicity of the discussed examples from Sivas and Niksar can be interpreted as products of the very first stages of the development of this tradition, the models from Kayseri already have their distinguishing style and features typical primarily of this group. One noteworthy feature is the use of the double-eyed windows, something that can be found in several other Anatolian regions as well. Although the architectural practice of dividing the windows by mullions developed especially in the medieval European architecture starting from the Romanesque period, it is generally known that prior to this mullions had been a common feature of Armenian church architecture from the early Christian period onwards.[55] Another common feature for the rest of the Kayseri tombs is the employment of the blind arcade as a form of façade decoration, an innovation in the stylistic arrangement of the Turco-Muslim funerary architecture. The presence of these blind arcades is also an indicator of affinity to the Transcaucasian architectural tradition, for they have been extensively used in

[54] Ibid., 63.

[55] A well-known example is the triple window with double mullions on the upper western side of one of the earliest examples of Armenian church architecture, the Yererouyk Basilica **(Figure 36)**, completed in the fourth-fifth centuries. For more on the history of Armenian architecture, see Christina Maranci, "Building Churches in Armenia: Art at the Borders of Empire and the Edge of the Canon", *The Art Bulletin,* 88, 4 (2006), 656-675.

the church architecture of Armenia and Georgia. Becoming a widespread form of façade decoration of Armenian ecclesiastical monuments from the seventh century onwards, with the formation of the Georgian type in the tenth century, they branched out into separate types specific of the local architectural schools. In the "Armenian" type, the rather narrow arches rest on bas-relief double half-columns projecting from the wall. Surmounting flat fragments of wall that may have window openings, this type served as means of decoration for polygonal forms.[56] Good examples for the employment of blind arcades in the Armenian architecture are the seventh-century Sisavan church **(Figure 31)** and seventh-twelfth-century Hnevank monastery **(Figure 32)**. In comparison to this, the "Georgian" type developed later in the tenth century has a closer affinity to the Byzantine architecture. Namely, instead of the flat pieces of wall, the archivolt generated by multiple stepped columns was surmounting niches in triangular section, like in the tenth-century monastery of Oshki **(Figure 33)** in the historical province of Tayk/Tao (present-day Turkey). This type was mostly used to decorate rectangular facades, while the convex structures in the Georgian churches were covered by blind arcades similar to the earlier "Armenian" type, like in the same Oshki **(Figure 34)**. It is also important, that simultaneously with the formation of the "Georgian" type in the second half of the tenth century, the blind arcade was duplicated in the rectangular forms in the architectural arrangement of the Armenian churches as well. A good example is the Cathedral of Ani **(Figure 35)**, (present-day Turkey). However, whereas the Armenian architecture kept the traditional system of arrangement, the Georgian school adopted the new trajectory of architectural development mentioned above. The Kayseri tombs have flat pieces of walls inside the blind arcades formed with flat one-layered pilasters bearing the simple arches. And as this arrangement of the blind arcade corresponds to that of the multifaceted forms of

[56] For the origins and development of the blind arcade in Transcaucasia, see Armen Kazaryan, "The Blind Arcade In Medieval Architecture of Armenia and Georgia: Springs of Ideas and Principal Stages of Development," *Anadolu Kültürlerinde Süreklilik ve Değişim, Dr. A. Mine Kadiroğlu' na Armeğan,* ed. A. Ceren Erel, B. İşler, N. Peker, G. Sağır (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2011), 341-74.

Transcaucasian churches in general, for my research it is more important to understand the possible ways in which these forms got transmitted to the Kayseri structures. All these characteristics, as well as the overall use of stone, the predominant construction material of the region, will be elaborated on and further contextualized in the last chapter of the present essay.

1.2.2 The Saltukid patronage

Moving on now to the next examples from this group, I should highlight two tombs commissioned by Saltukid rulers, that differ from the rest of the earliest mausolea by their truly idiosyncratic architectural language. One is the Mama Khatun tomb in Tercan, a town positioned on the way from Erzincan to Erzurum, 90 kilometers west of the latter.[57] Whereas there is no written account that would associate the tomb with Mama Khatun (d. 1201), the daughter of the Saltukid ruler of Erzurum, Izzeddin II (1132-1168), and the association with her name is based on oral tradition, the burial inside the tomb bearing the date 1203 seems to support it.[58] Being a part of a complex together with a caravanserai, it is attributed to a master from the city of Ahlat, Abul Mina bin Mufaddal al-Awhal al-Khilati (from Ahlat), whose name can be found inscribed on the façade of the enclosure of the mausoleum.[59]

The design of the tomb is extraordinary for this period **(Figure 37)**. A thick, short wall encircles the octagonal structure. Inside, the wall has eleven deep niches that might have been prepared for additional sarcophagi, which suggests that the structure might have been meant to serve as dynastic mausoleum. Like in the rest of the monuments from this period, its most ornate and highlighted part is the portal **(Figure 39)**: the two colonnettes placed on both

[57] S. K. Yetkin, "The Mausoleum of Mama Khatun," *Yillik Arastirmalar Dergisi 1* (1956): 79-91.
[58] U. U. Bates*, The Anatolian Mausoleum of the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 1970); cited in Antony Eastmond, *Tamta's World,* 291.
[59] P. Paboudjian, "Le mausolee de Mama Khatun a Terdjan et l'architecture Armenienne," in *The Second International Symposium on Armenian Art*, vol. 2, ed. R. Zarian (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences of Armenian SSR, 1978), 302.

sides of the entrance and supporting the arch are decorated by interlaced carving. The arch, in its turn, is adorned by Kufic inscriptions.[60] The deeply carved knotted bands on both sides of the portal surmount two elongated triangular niches of mostly decorative nature. Further examples of such placement of these niches will be seen in the Emir Saltuk tomb in Erzurum and Sitte Melik in Divrigi. Speaking about the niches with triangular sections, I should note that they also point in the direction of Georgian and Armenian architecture as the only parallels to funerary structures discussed in the present paper come from the Christian churches of Transcaucasia. The triangular niches were first introduced in the exterior of the seventh-century Saint Hripsime Church in Armenia **(Figure 40)**, consequently becoming a characteristic feature of Armenian as well as Georgian medieval architecture. Being justified innovations both in structural and decorative aspects, these niches were broadly used in the church architecture of the seventh as well as subsequent centuries. The deep triangular niches in the outside walls of the building serve to reduce of the mass and weight of the structure. At the same time, the rich play of light and shade—changing during the day depending on the amount and the direction of sunlight—significantly enlivens the facades.

Entering the courtyard through this porch, one faces the octagonal tomb topped with a conical dome. While this description corresponds to the traditional architectural morphology of Anatolian funerary structures, its execution is pretty unusual. The rounded faces of the octahedron divided by delicate moulding form a corrugated outward shape which is also accentuated in the interior.[61] All in all, the structural elements and decorative motives of the Mama Khatun tomb do not have equivalents in Turco-Muslim Anatolia. The parallels should be sought in the east, in the core Armenian territories. Like the rest of the Eastern Anatolian urban centers, Tercan also had a large Armenian community in this period. In the

[60] [A. A. Khachatrian] А. А. Хачатрян, *Корпус Арабских надписей Армении* [Corpus of Arabic inscriptions in Armenia] (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences of Armenian SSR, 1987), 114.
[61] Eastmond, *Tamta's World*, 292.

Armenian architecture of Ani, dating to the tenth century, there are structures comparable to the Mama Khatun tomb's extraordinary shape. An interesting example is the church of St Gregory the Illuminator of Abughamrents **(Figure 41)**. Hexagonal outside, the church has a deeply cusped interior, like the Mama Khatun tomb. One can also draw parallels with the Church of the Holy Redeemer (Surb Amenaprkich) Church in Ani **(Figure 43)**.

The second peculiar burial structure commissioned by the Saltukids is the Emir Saltuk tomb in Erzurum, dating back to the late twelfth century. The external appearance of the tomb is to be examined in three parts: the octagonal drum, which ends with triangular pediments, the cylindrical superstructure and the conical shell **(Figure 45)**. In the main octagonal body of the building, the tympanum above the door, like in the Kulak tomb, is bounded by a lintel and a semi-circular arch which rests on the band of the door frame. The decoration of the lintel represents a lattice of intersecting twelve-sided polygons. Eight squinches cut in the shape of oyster shells, filling in the upper angles of the octagonal drum, receive the conical dome. Eight double-eyed niches bounded by a series of arch curves are divided into two parts by short polygonal mullions, a widespread architectural feature seen in the Kayseri tombs that, as mentioned above, seem to be an adaptation from the Armenian architecture.

On the upper pulley above the zigzag-shaped cornice of the Emir Saltuk tomb eight triangular niches are opened right above the corners of the octagonal body. These niches, cut in the form of an oyster shell in the inner upper surface and terminated by semicircular arches adorned with animal figures or floral motifs, provide a rhythmic order. One niche contains a representation of entangled dragons threatening each other with open mouths **(Figure 47)**. There are also representations of a bird of prey **(Figure 48)**, a long-eared rabbit **(Figure 49)**, a bull's head with a small human head or mask between its horns **(Figure 50)**, griffons

(Figure 51), as well as vegetative motifs **(Figure 52)**. The use of figural motifs on an Islamic edifice signals towards the preservation of Central-Asian traditions, something not unusual in Seljuk art of this period.[62] In Great Seljuk art, zoomorphic images can be found in all kinds of media and in various frameworks, alone or in horoscopic cycles, in heraldic insignia and so on.[63] This joint depiction of the animal imagery allows me to conclude that here we have a representation of the Turkic astrological cycle.[64] Yet, what is particularly noteworthy is the local sculptural interpretation of that imagery in the decorative system of the Emir Saltuk tomb. Katharina Otto-Dorn points at the parallels between Turkic on one hand, and Armenian and Georgian animal imagery on the other, suggesting that the latter two may have been the precedents of the former, especially in light of the depiction of the very same animals. Particularly, she finds apparent links between the depictions of the dragons on the Erzurum tomb and on the Armenian Saint Gregory church in Ani **(Figure 53)**, placed in an analogous triangular niche.[65] This similarity raises the question as to who the authors of the animal reliefs of Emir Saltuk tomb were.

[62] With the conversion of the Seljuk Turks to Islam in the tenth century, the process of Islamization of the Turks reached its climax. However, we should take into account that their Islamization, started as early as the late seventh century, was not fully completed by that time. Although the Oghuz Turks entered the Persianate world both geographically and culturally, they did not completely abandon their pre-Islamic culture. For more on the Islamization of the Turks, see Peter Golden, *An Introduction To The History Of Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992); On the preservation of the Turkish heritage by the Seljuk Turks, see Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650-1250* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).

[63] For examples of Turkic zoomorphic imagery in Seljuk art, see Richard Ettinghausen, "Turkish Elements On Silver Objects Of The Seljuq Period Of Iran," in *Islamic Art And Archaeology: Collected Papers*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, (Berlin: G. Mana Verlag, 1984), 1034-46; Katharina Otto-Dorn, *L'art De L'islam* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1967); Tamara Talbot Rice, *Ancient Arts Of Central Asia* (London: Thames And Hudson, 1965).

[64]The twelve-year cycle can be depicted as the following: rat or a mouse; bull, ox or cow; lion, ox or tiger; rabbit; dragon, bird or fish; snake; horse; sheep; ape or man; cock or hen; dog; pig or boar. For more on the Turco-Chinese animal cycle, see Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Darstellungen Des Turcochinesischen Tierzyklus in Der Islamischen Kunst," in *Memoriam Ernst Diez: Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens,* ed. Oktay Aslanapa (Istanbul: Baden-Baden, 1963), 131-165.

[65] Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Figural Stone Relief on Seljuk Sacred Architecture in Anatolia," *Kunst des Orients* 12, vols 1-2 (1978-1979): 103-49.

1.2.3 The Mengujekid patronage

With regard to the funerary architecture of the Mengujekids, in the scope of this paper I find it expedient to focus my attention on two particular tombs from Divrigi, Kamereddin and Sitte Melik. In comparison to the brickwork tomb of Mengujek Gazi in Kemah **(Figure 54)**,[66] these tombs are covered extensively with low-relief geometric ornamentation and have perfectly developed portals, which signal towards a shift in artistic tastes. Being an elaborate example of brick architecture of the time, it is illustrative for the general picture of the architecture developed under Mengujekids of Erzincan in the late twelfth century.[67] However, with the construction of the Sitte Melik tomb in Divrigi (1196-97) **(Figure 55)**, stone became the sole building and decorative material in the area. This mausoleum with the standard structural arrangement of an octagonal body and a pyramidal roof is particularly remarkable for both the quality of the construction and embellishment as well as its ample inscriptions. The symmetrical ornamental decoration of the entrance is executed in a low-relief carving of intersecting octagons. The rectangular doorway is crowned by a *muqarnas* vault which is surmounted by a pointed arch. Here we have one of the earliest cases of the introduction of the *muqarnas* system in Anatolia. Made out of stone, it does not evoke the earlier stucco examples from Iraq.[68] Two niches, one triangular, the other semi-circular in section, stretching up the length of the building and placed on the both sides of the porch, are also surmounted by bands of low-relief carving. These elongated niches, already met in the Mama Khatun tomb of Tercan, and in a shorter version in the Emir Saltuk tomb of Erzurum, suggest links with Transcaucasian architecture.

[66] Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri,* 46-53.
[67] Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği: A History of Relations and Transitions," *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ* 3 (2003), 178-79.
[68] Yasseer Tabbaa, "The Muqarnas Dome: Its Origin And Meaning," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985), 61-74; cited in Eastmond, *Tamta's World*, 288.

The second example from Divrigi from the same period is the Kamereddin tomb **(Figure 57)**, located to the west of the Great Mosque.[69] Oral tradition attributes it to the same architect. The rectangular entryway of this octagonal tomb is taken under a highlighted corrugated arch with niches inside its vault **(Figure 59)**. The only decoration of the plain pediment is the two-line inscription plate. The second inscription is placed right above this arch. It is from these inscriptions that we learn that the tomb belonged to "the great noble landlord, the Rumi of Amir al-Khabib Kamereddin." There is no historical record that would clarify whether the year 592 (1196) from the inscription indicates the date of Kamereddin's death or the completion of the construction. However, Önkal is inclined to consider it as the construction date.[70] Three simple rectangular windows were opened on the main axes. Under the cornice, there are hemispherical niches of varying sizes, and from the remaining traces it is understood that those are "nests" for turquoise colored clay bowls.[71] Just as in the other Mengujekid structures in Divrigi, the tomb is entirely made out of stone.[72] The elegant execution of both Sitte Melik and Kamereddin tombs allow for the suggestion that the artisans involved in their construction and decoration had been especially qualified in stonework.

1.2.4 The royal patronage

Finally, I will conclude the present chapter with the dynastic burial chamber of the Seljuk Sultans of Rum founded by sultan Kilij Arslan II in Konya **(Figure 60)**, in the courtyard of the Alaeddin Mosque. While there are two funerary structures, erected between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the discussion of the second one, an octagonal

[69] According to Önkal, the shape of the cone has changed as a result of the reconstruction. See Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri,* 49.
[70] Ibid., 50.
[71] Examples of such placement of bowls can be seen in the tombs of Mengücek Gazi and Behmanşah in Kemah as well as in other structures. Ibid., 48.
[72] Ibid., 49.

marble structure founded by Izzeddin Kaykaus I and left incomplete because of his death (d. 1219), lies outside the scope of this thesis.[73]

Kilij Arslan II tomb is a relatively high decagonal structure covered with a cone.[74] The entrance opens inside a high niche with a hemispherical arch that is enclosed within a rectangular frame of delicate vegetative motifs. Inside the upper chamber, walls covered with fully cut stone are organized by niches with semi-circular cross-sections, similar to those in Kayseri Anonymous tomb with the exception that there these half-circle niches were on the outer facades. The windows are enclosed in rectangular frames and one of them contains an inscription bearing the architect's name. Above this window, there are five consoles of indefinite (most probably ornamental) function. Two lines of inscriptions under the cornice encircle the whole body of the drum. On the top, there is a construction inscription in navy blue color. The inscriptions record that this is the work of Yusuf son of Abdulgaffar from Hocen (Nishapur, Khorasan Province, Iran) and that the tomb was completed during the lifetime of Kilij Arslan II.[75] The overall architectural arrangement and ornamentation of the tomb, particularly the use of tiling together with elaborate stone workmanship suggest the involvement of craftsmen with different backgrounds, which in its turn implies the collaboration with local masters.

On the whole, the common employment of the double-eyed windows and blind arcades in the decorative systems of the *kümbets*, the incorporation of niches with triangular sections in the façades as well as the local sculptural interpretation of Turkic imagery, all

[73] The names of the individuals buried in this tomb are unidentified. The inscription on the northern wall of the mosque's courtyard tells us that the mosque had been commissioned by Izzeddin Kaykaus and built by Muhammed son of Havlan from Damascus. Although there is no record of this architect building the tomb, the close similarity between the portals allows for the conclusion that it is the work of the same master.

[74] Before the restoration was completed in 1975, it was determined that the cone was covered with tiles which certainly lent the structure a more attractive appearance. However, the tile covers spilled, and the two inscription belts encircling the drum under the cornice were damaged in places. The tiles of the sarcophagi were completely renovated after this restoration. Ibid., 167.

[75] Hakkı Önkal suggests that the tomb might have been built after the Seljuk annexation of the Danishmendid territories, namely after 1178. This means, the tomb was built sometime between 1178-1192. Ibid., 168.

point towards the existence of definite links between the developing funerary architecture with the Transcaucasian tradition. Therefore, in order to give some insight into the plausible causes of this cross-cultural transmission, in the coming chapter, I find it expedient to present the general political and socio-cultural situation of Eastern Anatolia of the time, thus providing the historical context in which the new architecture emerged.

Chapter 2 – The Overview of the Political and Socio-Cultural Situation of Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Anatolia and the World Around it

2.1. The Connection between the Crisis in the Byzantine Empire, the Fall of the Armenian Kingdom and the Seljuk Advances in Anatolia

The political history of early eleventh-century Byzantine Empire prior to the Seljuk invasions can be characterized as a period of crisis. Although the empire, throughout its existence, had seen numerous periods of crisis intermingled with periods of relative or complete recovery, it was the crisis of the eleventh century that initiated the gradual and irrecoverable process of decline. The main causes of the difficulties were the tensions on the administrative level after the death of Basil II. At the time of his death, the empire saw its utmost territorial extent since the first Arab-Byzantine wars in the seventh century, controlling the vast area from the southern parts of Italy in the West up to the Caucasus in the East. However, as the military leader and administrator died without an heir, the succession crisis instigated the transformation of his administration that was mostly in the hands of the military men. From then on, the empire was controlled by civil administration. This resulted in the weakening of the army by having its funding radically cut for it had been considered as a needless expense at the time of the westward incursions of the Seljuk Turks of the Great Seljuk Empire and their Turcoman allies.[76]

[76] Seljuk Turks, originating from Oghuz Turks of Central Asia, had established a Persianate Sunni Muslim empire in the mainland Persia in 1037, before eventually advancing westward to Anatolia. See A. C. S. Peacock, "Aḥmad of Niğde's al-Walad al-Shafīq and the Seljuk Past," *Anatolian Studies* 54, (2004): 95-107. For more on the history of the Great Seljuk Empire (1037-1194), please see A. C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

In these tumultuous days, the Byzantine annexation of the Armenian Bagratid Kingdom of Ani had a decisive role in easing the way for the Seljuk incursions. The final annexation of the Bagratid Kingdom was preceded by large population transfers from the Armenian lands to the inner parts of the empire **(Figure 62)**. Still, a ninth-tenth-century collection of chronicles named after Theophanes the Confessor tells us about the Byzantine eastward advancement achieved by obliging the local princes to surrender their domains in exchange for lands in the other parts of the empire.[77] Large scale relocations of Armenian population had been carried out by the Byzantine emperor Justinian in the sixth century and by his direct heirs as well. Peter Charanis mentions the transfers undertaken under the rule of emperor Tiberius, when 10,000 Armenians were resettled in Cyprus.[78] According to Sebeos, a transfer of a greater scale had been partly implemented by the emperor Maurice in the late sixth century.[79] Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) transferred thousands of Armenians from Marash, Melitene (Malatya) and Erzerum to Thrace.[80] In the ninth century, the emperor John Tzimiskes relocated a significant number of Paulicians from Asia Minor to Thrace as well, the majority of whom were Armenians. Population transfers are clearly traceable from the tenth century onwards, where we have instances of Armenians moving to cities such as Malatya and Tarsus in order to repopulate those places after the Byzantines had captured them from the Arabs.[81] Originally Basil I's policy to repopulate the territories with Christians in the ninth century was carried out during the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas in the mid-tenth century when the population of Cappadocia was already predominantly Armenian.[82]

[77] Peter Charanis, "Armenians in the Byzantine Empire," *Revue des études byzantines* (1964): 29-48.
[78] Peter Charanis, "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire," Comparative Studies in Society and History 3, no. 2 (1961): 141-42.
[79] Sebeos, Histoire d'Heraclius, tr. from Armenian by F. Macler (Paris, 1904), 30-31.
[80] Charanis, The Transfer of Population,": 144.
[81] [Stephanos Asoghik of Taron] Ստեփանոսի Տարօնեցւոց Ասողկան, *Պատմութիւն Տիեզերական, Երկրորդ տպագրություն* [Universal history, second edition] (Saint Petersburg: I.N.Skorokhodov publishing house, 1885), 253-86.
[82] Charanis, "The Transfer of Population,": 146-47.

The Byzantine annexation of the Armenian domains in the mid-eleventh century intensified these patterns, turning the separate instances of population transfers into a mass migration.[83] The princes were moving to the inner parts of the empire along with their families, nobility and retinue. The numbers were so big, that the twelfth-century historian, Matthew of Edessa, describes Armenia to be almost abandoned: "the Greeks scattered the most audacious sons of Armenia"[84].While exact numbers are not certifiable, an unknown medieval Armenian historian, the continuator to Thomas Artsruni, puts the followers of Senekerim, the sixth and last king of Vaspurakan, at 40 000, without counting their families. In 1021-1022, he handed over his kingdom to the Byzantine Empire in exchange for the cities of Sebastia (Sivas), Larissa, Abara.[85]

The degree of mass migration to the inner parts of the empire further escalated as an outcome of the Seljuk westward advancement. The last Bagratid king of Ani, Gagik II, was coerced to hand over his kingdom to the empire in 1045. He was forced to abdicate and settle in Lykandos, receiving large domains in Cappadocia. The Armenian Catholicos Petros Getadardz (1019-1058) who arranged the annexation of Ani, resettled in Sebastia, the old metropolis of the Roman First Armenia. In 1064, when Ani was captured by Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan, one of the last independent Armenian princes, Gagik of Kars (1029-1064) was resettled in Tzamandos, Caesarea, with a number of his subjects who accompanied him fearing the Seljuk attacks. These territories, long inhabited by Armenians, had once belonged

[83] Ibid.

[84] [Matthew of Edessa]Մատթեոս Ուռհայեցի, *Ժամանակագրություն* [Chronicle], ed. H. Batikian (Yerevan, 1973), 56.

[85] [Thomas Artsruni] Թովմա Վարդապետէ Արծրունւոց, *Պատմութիւն Տանն Արծրունեաց Ի* [History of the House Artsruni] (Constantinople: Poghos Arabyan publishing house, 1852), 346. The Armenian migration to the region of Sebastia, the old metropolis of First Armenia, was a rather complicated process and had started long before. Being seized by the Arabs in the late seventh-early eight century, it was further restored by Basil II in the late ninth century, becoming a *kleisura* (sub-unit within a theme) under Leo V1 (886-912), rising to the status of a theme with the increase of the Armenian population. See Cowe Peter, "Armenian Immigration to the Sebastia Region, Tenth-Eleventh Centuries," in *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series, 5 (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Press, 2004), 111-35.

to the Armenian Melias, the founder of the theme Lykandos, who also had built the fortress of Tzamandos.

While the relocation of the Armenian population was originally aimed at the reorganization of the Byzantine armed forces and gaining better control over the newly acquired Armenian territories, in the case of the abovementioned transfers, this imperial policy had disastrous consequences. In order to foster the integration of this newly transferred Armenian population into the Byzantine orthodox community, the empire aimed at the disbandment of the Armenian Church, following the annexation of the Armenian Kingdom of Ani.[86] At the of Seljuk incursions this policy of population transfers weakened not only the Eastern imperial frontiers, but also the imperial positions in the domains where the Armenian princes and their retinue were resettled.

This was the historical situation that the Seljuks were faced with during their advancement to the West. While the Northern Armenian kings became their vassals, the ecclesiastical differences between the resettled Armenians and local Greek population brought such a high level of tension between these groups, that there were cases of Armenian soldiers deserting the Byzantine forces in order to join the Seljuks.[87] In 1064 Seljuk Turks captured Ani. A few years later, together with their allies, they raided Caesarea and Iconium. And while the Byzantine response followed in 1069 under the leadership of Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes, forcing the Seljuk and Turcoman troops to retreat, the military advances of the Byzantine army were temporary. Eventually, the gradual intensification of the tensions between the Byzantines and the Seljuk Turks reached its climax in 1071 at the battle of Manzikert, where the Byzantine Empire lost its Anatolian heartland.

[86] Ibid., 130-35
[87] Peter Cowe, "Patterns of Armeno-Muslim Interchange on the Armenian Plateau in the Interstice Between Byzantine and Ottoman Hegemony," in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 80.

2.2 The Aftermath of Manzikert: The Establishment of The Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and of Armenian and Turcoman Polities

The defeat of the Byzantines did not mean the immediate collapse of the empire but it signaled the commencement of the long period of cultural and religious transformations in the region. Following the battle of Manzikert, the cousin of Alp Arslan, Suleiman ibn Qutulmish (1077-1086), established the independent Seljuk state in Anatolia in 1077, becoming the first sultan of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, with the capital in Iznik.[88] In the following decades, the Seljuk Turks, under the commandment of Suleiman's son, Kilij Arslan I (1092–1107), consolidated their power in Anatolia by establishing their capital in Iconium (Konya). At the time of the death of Kilij Arslan's son, Mesud I (1116-1156), almost all of Central Anatolia came under their control.

The new geopolitical situation after the battle of Manzikert provided a fertile ground for the establishment of an Armenian autonomous polity by the former Byzantine general Philaretos Brachamios, stretching over Malatya, Tarsus, Lykandos and reaching Antioch in the south and Edessa in the east.[89] Brachamios had invited many Armenians lords to come and settle in his territory. Among those lords was Ruben, the founder of Rubenid dynasty and the Armenian principality of Cilicia (1080-1198) that would later become a kingdom (1199-1375) **(Figure 63)**.[90]

[88] Dmitri Korobeinikov, "The King of the East and the West: the Seljuk Dynastic Concept and Titles in the Muslim and Christian Sources" in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East,* ed. A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 71-72.
[89] Azat Bozoyan, "Armenian Political Revival in Cilicia," in *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. Richard G Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2008). 68.
[90] For more on the history of Armenian Cilicia, please see T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1978); Simon Payaslian, *The history of Armenia: From the Origins to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Alongside the establishment of the sultanate, eleventh-century Anatolia saw the birth of other Turco-Muslim polities as well **(Figure 64)**. Right after the battle of Manzikert, a military commander of Alp Arslan, Emir Saltuk, founded the Saltukid principality with its center in Erzurum. Another Turcoman dynasty, known officially on their coinage and in the medieval chronicles by the name of the Shah-i Arman ("King of Armenians"), Ahlatshahs or Shah-Armens, was founded on the Northwestern shore of lake Van, centering in Ahlat, where they ruled between 1100 and 1207.[91] Being located on the Eastern frontier of the Anatolian Muslim dominion, both the Ahlatshahs and Saltukids were in frequent wars against the Kingdom of Georgia, which by the end of the twelfth century had already incorporated the rest of the Northern Armenia. To the South, the Artuqids were centered in the cities of Amid and Mardin. Not much is known about the dynasty founded by another Turcoman military leader, eponymous Mengujek Gazi. Established initially in Kemah around the year 1080, the domain of Mengujekids stretched over the territories from Erzincan to Divrigi. In the mid-twelfth century, the dynasty eventually split into three branches, which would be centered in these three cities accordingly. In the course of the time, the Erzincan line of the House of Mengujekids rose in power, taking Kemah under its control. Compared to this dynastic branch, little information is preserved about the Divrigi Mengujekids. The Erzincan Mengujekids flourished particularly during the long rule of Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah, who is presented by the twelfth-century poet Nizami as "the king of Armenia and the emperor of Rum", "the conqueror of Rum and Georgia". These attributes confirm once again the complex geopolitical situation in the shared Eastern Anatolian geography.[92] Another Turcoman principality founded after Manzikert was that of the Danishmendid dynasty in North-central and Eastern Anatolia, originally centering around Sivas, Tokat and Amasya.

[91] Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği: A History of Relations and Transitions," Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ 3 (2003): 185. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the principality was already in the hands of the Ayyubids. See Antony Eastmond, *Tamta's Word: Life and Encounters of a Medieval Noblewoman from the Middle East to Mongolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1-20.
[92] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği", 172-75.

They controlled also Niksar and Kayseri, further stretching south to Malatya in the early twelfth century.[93] First allies, later on they turned into rivals and ultimately became the vassals of the Seljuk Turks. The year 1178 marks the disestablishment of the Danishmendid rule with the Seljuk occupation of Malatya. Kilij Arslan II (1156-1192), captured the remaining regions around Sivas and Malatya from the last representatives of the Danishmendid dynasty. Following the Seljuk annexation of the Danishmendid territories, the Mengujekid ruler of Erzincan, along with the Saltukid ruler of Erzurum, acknowledged the Seljuk suzerainty over their lands.[94] By the end of the twelfth-beginning of the thirteenth century the Seljuk control was already established over all the Turcoman dynasties and their domains.

2.3 An Overview of the Socio-Cultural Environment in the Central and Eastern Anatolian Urban Centers in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century with a Particular Focus on their Armenian Component

In the light of massive population migrations and the establishment of the new political order, by this time it is apparent that the urban centers of Central and Eastern Anatolia under the Turco-Muslim rule were points of intersections and consequently, of interactions of culturally diverse ethno-religious groups. The establishment of the Seljuk and Turcoman rule also makes us think about the nature and extent of the transformations that occurred in the social structure of the local urban centers. What forms of cooperation or coexistence emerged between Muslim and Christian groups?

Being the centers of the concentration of manufacturing and international trade, the cities exercised control over this region in this period. It is important to emphasize that despite the

[93] Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual (*Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 215.
[94] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği," 174.

deprived conditions in the urban centers of Central and Eastern Anatolia following its capture, the new Turco-Muslim rulers did not need to found new cities. While the tumultuous events of the eleventh century had led to the disturbance of both agricultural and urban life, not to mention the further continuous struggles between the Seljuks of Konya and Turcoman houses, from the late twelfth century, namely after the Seljuk takeover of the Danishmendid territories, the agriculture and urban life started to prosper again. The early thirteenth century was a period of highly centralized authority of the Sultan of Rum and of commercial growth in the sultanate in general. The periods of the reigns of Kaykhusraw I (1204-11) and Izzeddin Kaykaus (1211-19) were years of speedy development. However, the so-called Golden Age of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum is considered to be the reign of Alaeddin Keyqubad I (1219-37), not only because of the successful military operations, but also due to the general economic and cultural prosperity.[95] The capture of the seaports in Antalya on the Mediterranean in 1207 and Sinop on the Black Sea in 1214 revived the international trade, which, in turn, created favorable conditions for the prosperity of cultural life.[96] The restoration of the urban life in particular is believed to be related to the establishment of the Muslim rule, for the city life was—and is—an unalienable constituent of Islamic culture. While about this time there were such medieval Armenian and Georgian urban centers as Van, Ani or Tbilisi, those were basically alien elements in these cultures.[97] The rest of the Christian populace used to be centered around rural settlements, upper-class life was orbiting around castles and fortifications in the heart of their domains, and Christian intellectual life was mostly concentrated in secluded monasteries. Nonetheless, the development of the industry and trade, and consequently the bigger incomes in the urban centers were creating

[95] Kuran, "Anatolian-Seljuk Architecture," 81.
[96] Howard Crane, "Notes on Seljuk Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 36, 1 (Brill, 1993), 4-20.
[97] Nina G. Garsoïan, "The Early-Mediaeval Armenian City: An Alien Element?" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 16-17 (1984): 67-83.

more and more opportunities.[98] This way, by acknowledging the huge effect that the Islamic culture had on the transformation of the social structure of medieval Anatolia, we should also recognize the transformations that the introduction of urban lifestyle entailed. This concerns, for one thing, the development of the intellectual life, for instance, the city of Ani which, within the space of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, produced eminent Armenian chroniclers Hovhannes, Samvel and Mkhitar.[99] And while the boost of the urban life in Anatolia and the Caucasus was in essence due to the introduction of the Islamic culture, the cities themselves were to a great extent shaped by their residents and authorities. It was they who in fact formed the city's layout, determined the importance and, thus, the locations of the buildings. In this reciprocal relationship, the city could also influence the ways in which the city dwellers would interact amongst themselves and with the ones having the power over them.[100] This way, the multi-ethnic and multi-religious urban populations in this region were shaping the cultural identities of the cities.

In general, a classical Anatolian city of the period would involve three constituents, the citadel, the inner town and the environs. The only cities encircled inside walls, according to Aptullah Kuran, were Konya and Diyarbakir.[101] The lack of geometric order allows Kuran for the conclusion, that the Turco-Muslim rulers, but in particular the Seljuk suzerains, showed little interest in detailed urban planning. What they surely cared about was the planning at higher, regional and international level, that was implemented by boosting the infrastructures of communication between the urban centers, namely by repairing the trade routes and founding caravanserais. And as it may be expected, in the initial phase only limited funds

[98] Eastmond, *Tamta's World*, 126.
[99] R. W. Thomson, "Medieval Chroniclers of Ani: Hovhannes, Samvel and Mkhitar," in *Armenian Kars and Ani*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, UCLA Armenian history and culture series; Historic Armenian cities and provinces 10, (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2011), 65-80.
[100] Eastmond, *Tamta's World*, 123-27.
[101] Kuran, "Anatolian Seljuk Architecture", 82.

were available for massive architectural ventures. In comparison to this early period, from the late twelfth century on we can trace a sizable increase in the Seljuk architectural patronage.

2.3.1 Ahlat between the Shahi-I Armens and the Ayyubids

Moving on from general to specific, let us first look at the city of Ahlat. Becoming initially the center of the Shah-I Armen principality after the battle of Manzikert, and subsequently being seized by the Ayyubids, Ahlat is a shining example of an Eastern Anatolian city of this time. Its multiple identities were created by geographical position between Anatolia, the Caucasus and the Jazira; and the fact of being the point of intersection of different societies. According to the Flemish Franciscan missionary and explorer of the thirteenth century, William of Rubruck, the population of Ahlat was predominantly Armenian, with a considerable number of Greeks as well.[102] In the early thirteenth century, the ruler of Ahlat, a nephew of the Ayyubid Sultan Saladin, al-Awhad, commissioned the construction of a church for her Christian wife Tamta, the daugher of Ivane Zakarian/Mqargrdzeli, the commander of a united Christian-Armenian army.[103] Medieval chronicles tell us about the earthquake that shook Ahlat in 1275-76, leaving the rest of the city in ruins.[104] Thus, there are no surviving architectural examples from the pre-Mongol period. Yet, the vast number of monumental stelae, dating back to the timespan between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, is a solid proof for the presence of a rather dynamic artistic production **(Figure 65)**. The quality of the stone carving, the general silhouette and what is especially noteworthy, the distinguishing cornice at the top of these tombstones point towards possible links with the Armenian memorial stelae – the *khachkars* ("cross-stones") **(Figure 66)**. Appearing as early as the ninth century, these cross-stones generally feature an elaborately carved cross in the middle of the stele surmounted by a net of vegetal and

[102] Eastmond, *Tamta's World*, 128-30.
[103] Ibid., 133.
[104] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği," 185.

geometric motifs. The comparison with the remaining examples from areas near Ahlat and Erzincan allowed Oya Pancaroğlu for the suggestion that their overall forms might have inspired the creators of the Ahlat tomb stelae. [105]

2.3.2 Mengujekid-controlled urban centers

To the north-east from Ahlat lies the city of Erzincan, one of the largest urban centers of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Eastern Anatolia. According to Marco Polo's travelogue, the Mengujekid-ruled Erzincan, the first city when entering Lesser Armenia, [106] was noteworthy for its fabric manufacturing. [107] Yaqut al-Hamawi, an Arab geographer and biographer of Greek origin, depicts Erzincan in his works as "Armenia's most beautiful, active and populated cities, lying between Rum and Ahlat, near Erzurum." According to Yaqut al-Hamawi, the population of Erzincan was predominantly Armenian, while the local elite consisted of Muslims. [108] However, the analysis of the colophons of Armenian manuscripts compiled in Erzincan allows for the assumption that the Muslim authority in the city was in fact more restricted than that stated in Yaqut al-Hamawi's account. [109] The colophons of these manuscripts suggest that in the thirteenth century there were several active monasteries in Erzincan, such as the monasteries of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, Avag, Saint Kirakos, Saint Mina, Saint Saviour and Tirashen, determining its position as an active Armenian intellectual center of the time. [110] The multilingual milieu of Erzincan enabled the

[105] Ibid., 185-186.
[106] Lesser Armenia or Armenia Minor, the westernmost historical Armenian territory, was hardly ever incorporated into the kingdoms of Greater Armenia.
[107] *The Travels of Marco Polo The Venetian*, ed. Ernest Rhys, accessed on November 12, 2015, https://archive.org/stream/marcopolo00polouoft/marcopolo00polouoft_djvu.txt.
[108] Rachel Goshgarian, "Futuwwa in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Allegiances of the Seljuk Periphery," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East,* ed. A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 239-40.
[109] [A.S. Matevosyan] Ա.Ս. Մաթևոսյան , *Հայերեն Ձեռագրերի Հիշատակարաններ, ԺԳ դար* [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century] (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1984), 6–11.
[110] Goshgarian, "Futuwwa in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia," 240.

cross-cultural transmission of literary themes and ideas. A clear evidence for that is the literary heritage of the two most eminent Armenian poets of the time, Kostandin and Hovhannes of Erzincan. Their works, greatly indebted to the Islamicate literature, reflect high degrees of cultural interactions amongst diverse ethno-confessional groups in Eastern Anatolia. According to Seta Barsoumian-Dadoyan, Hovhannes of Erzincan translated a well-known Arabic text called "The Letters of the Brethren of Purity"[111], suggesting that the portrayal of the urban confraternity in the manuscript had a serious influence on the young priest, who latter compiled two futuwwa-like[112] Armenian-language codes of conduct.[113] On the other hand, Rachel Goshgarian argues that the proliferation of these brotherhood codes in Anatolia may be due to the promotion of the reformed futuwwa by a famous Islamic scholar and orator Shihab al-Din Umar al-Suhrawardi, whom the caliph sent to Anatolia in 1221.[114] Compared to Erzincan, what we know about the Mengujekid-ruled Divrigi is primarily based on the conclusions of the analyses of the surviving monuments and their inscriptions. Apart from the earliest tombs that have already been discussed in the previous chapter, Divrigi is practically famous for its early thirteenth-century architectural complex. Being one of the most remarkable medieval Anatolian examples of stone carving, the complex consists of two buildings: a mosque and a hospital founded in 1228-29 by members of the Mengujekid house

[111] Seta Barsoumian-Dadoyan, Հայ-Արաբական մշակութային հարաբերութեանց պատմությունը, 13-րդ դար: Հովհաննես Պլուզ Երզնկացիի «Տաճկաց իմաստասիրաց և իմաստասիրական արձակը իսլամական աղբյուրներում, ["From the History of Armenian–Arab Cultural Relations, Thirteenth Century: Hovhannes Pluz Erznkatsi's "From the Wisdom of the Muslims" and his Intellectual ProseUnder the Light of the Islamic Sources"] (Beirut: Self-published, 1991): 21–46.

[112] The Quranic term futuwwa, commonly translated as "chivalry", was a code of conduct for urban confraternities in the Muslim world, requiring its members to follow certain ethical and social rules. For more on the concept of futuwwa in Anatolia, see Rachel Goshgarian, "Opening and Closing: Coexistence and Competition in Associations Based on Futuwwa in Late Medieval Anatolian Cities", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* 40 (Taylor & Francis, 2013).

[113] The treatises are titled "Regulations and Canons of the Union of Brothers" and "Again Rules and Advice for Worldly Pubescent Youths", see Levon Khachikyan, Երզնկա քաղաքի եղբարք միութեան կանոնադրությունը (1280 թ.), [The Statutes of the "Union of Brothers" of the city of Erzincan (1280)], Banber Matenadarani, vol. 6, (Yerevan, 1962): 365-377;

[114] Goshgarian, "Futuwwa in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia", 230-231.

and erected by architects from Ahlat and Tbilisi.[115] A bathhouse, now in ruins, was perhaps once a part of this complex.[116]

2.3.3 Saltukid-controlled urban centers

The urban center of the Northeastern polity of the Saltukids, Erzurum, is another example of an Anatolian city of the time. The complexity of its constantly changing cultural identities has been determined by its geographical position.[117] Being located in the historical province of Tayk/Tao,[118] this major strategic and commercial center of Northeastern Anatolia was housing Armenian, Georgian, Greek and Turco-Muslim communities throughout the Middle Ages.[119] In the mid-eleventh century the Seljuk capture of the neighboring Armenian-populated Artze made its inhabitants flee to Erzurum, which further increased the proportion of Armenians in the city.[120] It should be also pointed out that the Tayk of this period stands out among the other Eastern Anatolian regions with shared demographies with its large Armenian Chalcedonian community, which was the result of the rise of the Georgian kingdom and their authority in the region.[121] And, given the anachronistic inclination of

[115] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği", 184.
[116] Ibid., 169.
[117] Being one of the key strongholds between the Arab and Byzantine empires, Theodosiopolis (former Byzantine name of Erzurum) has been intermittently captured and recaptured by the two sides in the course of the seventh-tenth centuries. See Robert H. Hewsen, "Summit of the Earth: The Historical Geography of Bardzr Hayk," in *Armenian Karin/Erzerum, e*d. Richard G Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2003).
[118] The historical province of the Greater Armenia, Tayk was given to David of Tayk/Tao by Basil II. In 1022, Upper Tao was incorporated into the theme of Iberia. Following the battle of Manzikert, it was incorporated into the Saltukid polity. However, in the early twelfth century, David II/IV the Restorer took Tao back under Georgian control. For more information, please see Robert W. Edwards, "The Vale of Kola: A Final Preliminary Report on the Marchlands of Northeast Turkey," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42. (1988): 119-41.
[119] Christina Maranci "The Art and Architecture of the Erzerum Region," in *Armenian Erzerum/Garin*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series, 4 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Press, 2004), 89-90.
[120] Nina G. Garsoïan, "Theodosioupolis," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2054.
[121] Armenian Chalcedonians are Christians of ethnic Armenian origins who accepted the Chalcedonian Christology, while the major Armenian Apostolic Church is non-Chalcedonian, adhering to miaphysitism. Although they had preserved the Armenian language, the Armenian Apostolic Church did not consider them Armenian. In the Middle Ages, Chalcedonian Armenians were also referred to simply as Georgians, because of adhering to the same denomination as the Orthodox (Chalcedonian) Georgians. For more literature on the general history of Chalcedonian Armenians, please see Viada Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "The Ethno-Confessional Self-Awareness of Armenian Chalcedonists," *Revue des Etudes Armeniennes* 21 (1988-89): 345-63.

modern-day scholarship to posit material culture of the past within certain national frameworks of today, this idiosyncrasy of the ethno-confessional constituent of the lands surrounding Erzurum should be treated with special consideration. The surviving architectural heritage of the period also points towards its highly heterogeneous cultural environment, at the same time providing keys to its understanding. Compared to the regions to the West, the Armenian architectural heritage of the region of Erzurum is relatively better preserved. In the light of the open questions on the peculiarities of its confessional elements, the ecclesiastical monuments of Erzurum cannot be assuredly claimed to be solely belonging to a separate school of the Transcaucasian architectural tradition, for these churches have belonged to the Chalcedonian Armenians. To this group of monuments belong the currently standing churches of Bana/Banak (seventh-tenth centuries) **(Figure 67)**, Ishkhan/Ishkhani (seventh century) **(Figure 68)**, Khakhu (ninth century?), Oshkvank/Oshki (tenth century) **(Figure 33)**. Concerning the physical characteristics of the churches and particularly the architectural and decorative configurations of the domes, the ecclesiastical disputes do not have much to do here. The surfaces of all the drums of the above listed churches are adorned with similar series of blind arches.

2.3.4 Danishmendid-controlled urban centers

Becoming a part of the Danishmendid polity after the battle of Manzikert, the city of Caearea (Ḳayṣariyya, then Kayseri) is seldom described in the contemporaneous sources. The important Byzantine military base of the tenth-eleventh centuries, Caesarea was in ruins at the time of the First Crusade. According to Michael the Syrian, the son of its conqueror Gazi Danishmend restored the city.[122] The earliest known architectural example is the Great Mosque of Kayseri, founded in the mid-twelfth century. Being planned in the form of a series

[122] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Siwas," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam,* Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman, and others, accessed on October 5, 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7078>

of aisles, the structure has two domes, and while the mihrab dome is said to be old, the second one was constructed in the nineteenth century. [123] After its annexation by the Seljuks, Kayseri/Ḳayṣariyya again became a leading commercial and cultural center, having a large Armenian community living along with the local Greek Orthodox population.[124] In his book about the Armenian Primacy of Caesarea, Arshak Alboyajian extracts textual evidence from colophons about the existence of several Armenian churches between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. He mentions St. Cross (Surb Khach) church in village of Pizou, founded in the eleventh century by Gagik II of Kars who was resettled in Tzamandos with his retinue. Alboyajian also makes mention of the Church of Holy Mother of God, founded in the thirteenth century in the region of Caesarea. According to the colophon of a manuscript gospel compiled in 1191, inside the city itself, there was a church named St. Gregory (Surb Grigor). It is unlikely that the Armenians had only one church, taking into account the existence of a big Armenian community inside the city as well as in the surrounding areas. According to Alboyajyan, Armenians also had monasteries in Caesarea, such as the monastery of St. Karapet and that of St. Gregory of Nyssa. The colophon of a manuscript gospel compiled in 1206 tells us about the existence of the third monastery and perhaps other churches and chapels named after St. Stephanos, Theodore (Theodoros) and Merkerios, but we don't have any evidence whether those were churches or chapels. However, we know about the existence of a sizable Armenian community with an Armenian archbishop, whose name was Agharia and that Catholicos Anania Sebastatsi (Anania of Sebastia) visited them in 1204. Ajboyajyan assumes that apart from the St. Gregory church that existed in 1191, they had built another one after a certain period of time, because there is evidence in the list of manuscripts in Venice about the production of a manuscript in 1275 "in the city of Caesarea

[123][123] Kuran, "Anatolian Seljuk Architecture", 83.
[124] Clive F. W. Foss, "Caesarea," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* vol. 3, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed on October 5, 2017, http://www.oxfordreference.com.

under the patronage of St. Stephanos".[125] However, from these churches nothing has survived to our days.

At the time of its capture by the Danishmendids, another city in the region, Sivas, was completely Armenianized[126] and became an important intellectual center, which is attested by the existence of a scriptorium.[127] One of the early examples of architecture founded by its new rulers is the Great Mosque of Sivas, erected sometime between 1196-97. Following the final establishment of the Seljuk suzerainty over Cappadocia, the Armenian bishop of Sebastia received the full authority over the Armenian Christians in the Seljuk State, becoming an anti-catholicos.[128] Concerning the examples of Armenian architecture in Sivas, Christina Maranci mentions the following churches: Surb Nshan (Saint Cross), Surb Anapat, Saint Sargis, Church of Archangels, Monastery of Derdzak.[129] The Great Mosque of Niksar, next in the line Danishmendid-controlled cities, was erected in the mid-twelfth century.[130]

2.3.5 The Seljuk capital

Finally, it was the Seljuk rule that marked the heyday of the history of its capital, Konya. The former Byzantine military base during the Arab incursions, Iconium, is hardly ever mentioned in the historical accounts. The extensive use of *spolia* in the constructions of the Seljuk period suggests that the town might have been in ruins after its capture. The actual growth of Konya dates from the reign of Masud (/1118-1155), who, deciding to make it the capital of the Sultanate, erected the Old Mosque in 1155 with a vast use of spolia, where the

[125] [Arshak Alboyajyan] Արշակ Ալպոյաճյան, *Պատմութիւն Հայ Կեսարիոյ* [The history of Armenian Caesarea] (Antelias: The Publishing House of the Holy See of Cilicia: 2016), 892-905.
[126] Sebastia (now Sivas) has emerged into history as the center of Lesser Armenia under Diocletian. See Cowe, "Armenian Immigration to the Sebastia Region," 111-35.
[127] Christina Maranci, "The Art And Architecture Of Sebastia," in *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series, 5 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Press, 2004), 155.
[128] Haig Berberian, "Le Patriarcat Armenien du sultanat de Roum L'anti-catholicos Anania" in Revue des etudes armeniennes 3 (1966): 233-43.
[129] Maranci, "The Art And Architecture Of Sebastia", 155-56.
[130] Kuran, "Anatolian Seljuk Architecture", 83.

Byzantine and Hellenistic columns are creating arcades being linked together via pointed arches.[131] It was already a developed city when in 1190 the army under the commandment of Frederick Barbarossa passed through it. According to crusader chronicles, at that time Konya had city walls and a citadel.[132] Nonetheless, the walls were considerably reconstructed with clear cut stone under the rule of Keykubad in 1221, and adorned with spolia, namely by antique columns bearing depictions of animal imagery **(Figure 69)**. The fortified city housed the palace of the sultan and the Great Mosque, which is still standing today. The population of the Seljuk capital consisted of Greeks, Armenians and some Jews, while the records make few mentions of Turco-Muslims.[133]

The process of transformation had commenced in Anatolia even before the impact of the conquests of the Seljuk Turks and their allies on the local socio-cultural structure. The massive transfers of native Armenian population to the West from the Armenian plateau, to the new domains in Cappadocia, unquestionably boosted the Armenian component in the territories that had once been parts of the Lesser Armenia. The Seljuk westward incursions, in their turn, intensified as well as changed the trajectory of these transformations. In the lands that the Armenian lords had received in exchange for their domains, there were no representatives of the Armenian royal houses by the end of the eleventh century there.[134] However, regardless of this fact, as well as of the migrations to Cilicia, there remained a solid Armenian presence in the Seljuk controlled lands which unquestionably contributed to the development of the Sultanate. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries Armenian episcopates existed in Kayseri, Sivas, Niksar, Tokat, Amasya, Kemah, Marash, Basen and

[131] Kuran, "Anatolian Seljuk Architecture", 82-83.
[132] Saleh Ahmad El-Ali, "The Foundation of Baghdad" *in The Islamic City*, ed. A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 89.
[133] Claude Cahen, and G Goodwin, "Konya," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman, and others, accessed October 8, 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0529>
[134] Nina G. Garsoïan, "The Byzantine Annexation of The Armenian Kingdoms," in *Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* vol. 1, *The Dynastic Periods from Antiquity to The Fourteenth Century,* ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 197.

Malatya.[135] Being concentrated in the Eastern part of the Seljuk state, Armenian population mainly coexisted with the Islamized Turcomans and was introduced to the more refined Persianate urban elite starting from the 1220s, when the latter had to flee to the West from the Khwarazmian and Mongol incursions.[136] In the light of their significant presence within the Seljuk urban sphere, the Armenian artisans were likely to have played important roles in the Seljuk economy as well.

As this brief overview has demonstrated, the Seljuk takeover of Anatolia instigated a multilayered process of Christian-Muslim interactions in the region. As the product of the encounter of the Turkic and Persianate artistic traditions with the local Christian elements, Eastern Anatolian architecture, developed under Turco-Muslim patronage in this period, is one of the most interesting manifestations of the Christian-Muslim cultural interactions. In what follows, I will contextualize the results of the architectural analysis of the *kümbets* described in the previous chapter.

[135] Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey, The Seljuqid Sultanate of Rum: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century,* trans. P. M. Holt (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 130-31.
[136] Cowe, "Patterns of Armeno-Muslim Interchange," 83.

Chapter 3 – The transmission of architectural knowledge as evidence for the cross-cultural interactions

In this chapter, I will approach the cross-cultural transmission of architectural knowledge in the late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Eastern Anatolian *kümbets* from different perspectives. I will simultaneously address the questions of the means of the transmission and that of its vehicles, namely the commissioners and makers.

Unlike other forms of material culture, architecture generally cannot transfer ideas by being itself conveyed. In this vein, Renata Holod distinguishes transmission via verbal methods and via visual notation, stating that both these means were available in the Islamic culture, primarily because of the use of paper in the Islamic civilization. While she provides instances for these means of transmission, it is hitherto not known when the visual techniques of communicating designs, such as plans, sketches or models, were first introduced.[137] Plans and sketches of Islamic architecture and unambiguous textual references to them point to their use as early as the thirteenth century. Since there is no surviving data about the visual means of architectural transmission in Islamic architecture prior to the Mongol conquests, it is more expedient to look for other means of transmission.[138]

In the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Anatolia, different types of architectural memory enhanced the transmission of diverse architectural traditions among cultures. Alongside the practical mechanisms for transmitting artistic ideas, such as the visual

[137] Renata Holod, "Text, Plan and Building: On the Oral Transmission of the Architectural Knowledge," in *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies,* ed. Margaret Bentley Sevcenko (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 1-12.
[138] Jonathan M. Bloom, "On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas,* 10, Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar (1993): 21. For the earliest plans available today, please see [N. B. Baklanov] Н. Б. Бакланов*, Архитектурные чертежи бухарского мастера*, XVI века [Architectural drawings of the Bukhara master in the sixteenth century], in Reports from the Institute for the Theory and History of Architecture at the Academy of Architecture SSR 4 (Moscow: Academy of Architecture, 1944).

depiction, memory also played a pivotal role in the dissemination of architectural forms and styles, leaning largely toward verbal representation.

Taking into account the extreme scarcity of historical data, I adopt Heather Grossman's method, who discusses the memory that the agents of the transmission bore. She suggests approaching the structural and decorative elements as evidence of the transmission that must have taken place amongst the different actors engaged in the erection and use of the architectural edifices.[139] In doing so, I will discuss the roles that the commissioners and makers of the buildings might have played in that transmission. Grossman differentiates between the "cultural memory" of the patrons that made them recall particular earlier sites that used to bear ideological or other significance for them, and the "pragmatic memory" of the makers—skills that would be conveyed among stonemasons and architects. In "pragmatic memory," the maker would hardly ever simply intend to copy an existing form, but would rather use his expertise in order to produce something new. On the other hand, the "cultural memory" of both commissioner and maker processes the past experience for various socio-political and aesthetic reasons, and from these it may generate a number of meanings from visual forms.[140]

Due to the already evident poor situation with the historical records from the discussed period, the builders' agency in the cross-cultural architectural interchange is mainly neglected. The commissioners are usually better known than the makers of the buildings, although the historical sources do not contain much information about the former group either. With regard to the contribution of the makers of monuments to cross-cultural interchanges, it is also essential to bear in mind the difference between stonemasons and

[139] Heather E. Grossman, "On Memory, Transmission and the Practice of Building in the Crusader Mediterranean" in *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000-1500*, eds. Heather E. Grossman and Alicia Walker (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013): 483.
[140] Ibid., 481-499.

architects. While architects were likely to be concerned with technical matters, thus being liable for the transmission and further dissemination of significant architectural features, the workmen may be held accountable for the introduction of their own stylistic interpretations of those forms. Grossman's approach tends to emphasize the role of the makers in the cross-cultural creative process, demonstrating that they were highly important in the practices of conveying and interpreting forms.[141]

In the formal configuration of the earliest examples of the funerary architecture of Eastern Anatolia commissioned by Muslim patrons, the structural arrangement and decorative system are those characteristics which create the edifice's "identity." However, in this kind of cases when the identities are, say, unstable, the culture of the commissioners is commonly imposed onto the structures, while the masons' and architects' contribution to the creation of the identity is often disregarded. The "Seljuk *kümbets*" and the notion of "Seljuk architecture" in general are perfect examples for this process of "levelling" the composite identities of the architecture developed in post-Manzikert Anatolia. So far, in heterogeneous cultures such as that of the Turco-Muslim-controlled Anatolia of this period, architecture commonly juxtaposed features of what researchers today regard as belonging to diverse architectural styles. At present the Eastern Anatolian architecture of the discussed period, in particular the *kümbets,* are commonly considered as products of the encounter of Persianate and local – Armenian and Georgian – architectural schools. Yet, as might be expected, the patrons and builders, as well as the viewers of the monuments**,** did not employ modern scholarly classifications to describe their architecture, nor would they have describe their societies by using such a vocabulary, for their fluid and compound identities involved manifold factors, whether religious, ethnic or linguistic. In general, cross-cultural exchanges through trade, diplomatic relations, warfare and other ways were common and used to entail

[141] Ibid., 481.

artistic and architectural interactions that resulted in some provokingly "chaotic" constructions.[142] As we have already seen, this architectural "mix" is especially notable in the post-Manzikert Eastern Anatolia. The key to understanding this mix lies in "the 'cultural' memory of architectural meaning and 'pragmatic' memory of architectural knowledge" that informed both commissioners and masters at the construction site.[143]

It would be logical to suggest that the commissioners of the earliest *kümbets* may have had the image of the Great Seljuk funerary structures on their minds as a part of the cultural memory they carried. Still, we should not forget that the Persianate culture was a relatively new phenomenon for the Turcomans and was not likely to have been strongly rooted in their cultural memory. The introduction of their own perceptions of the architectural space and form of funerary edifices to the builders brought about something significant, albeit not fundamentally novel. The resulting external resemblance of these structures to the upper sections of Transcaucasian churches is evident and, in its turn, does not seem to have anything to do with the cultural memory of the patrons. On the contrary, this outward similarity can be considered as the manifestation of the practical or pragmatic memory of the builders. This is especially so given the evidence of transmission of structural elements and decorative motifs from the Transcaucasian tradition to this newly evolving complex architecture, which points to at least the initial involvement of builders adhering to the former architectural tradition. The predominance of the Armenian component in the local population allows me to suggest that it was they who carried the Transcaucasian tradition both in their cultural and pragmatic memories. Being given the task by the commissioners, most probably by the means of verbal depiction, the builders evidently could not emulate the forms of Persianate funerary architecture, for they did not have an example in front of them. The unsophisticated architectural arrangement of the prototypes could have easily been

[142] Ibid., 485.
[143] Ibid., 485.

described verbally. Apart from the absence of models, as it has been already proposed above, the masters would hardly ever simply wish to duplicate older forms without introducing any innovations. The extensive use of the conical and polyhedral domes that came to substitute the hemispherical ones more common in the Great Seljuk architecture, and the transformation of the circular plan to polygonal, predominantly octagonal, one seems to be the reflection of both cultural and pragmatic memories of the builders. The unpretentiousness of the exteriors and the primitiveness of the forms of the earliest surviving examples from the discussed group, that are the Abdul Vehab Gazi tomb in Sivas and Kulak tomb in Niksar, allow for the assumption that the builders of these structures had no previous experience in building *kümbets*, which further supports my argument about the involvement of local masters.

Moving on from the general alignment to specific features, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the masters used stone for almost all the tombs from the discussed period, which further suggests the involvement of the local populace in the production of these early stone edifices. Up to this point, the Great Seljuks used brick as the main building material but finding masters with good expertise among the locals probably resulted in employing craftsmen with their centuries-long tradition of stone architecture. The highly elaborate geometric ornaments carved in stone support this assumption. The decoration of the rectangular frame of the porch of the Sitte Melik tomb in Divrigi executed in low-relief carving, the interlaced ornaments on the entrance of Mama Khatun in Tercan, the deep carvings of intertwined bands surmounting the triangular niches on both sides of the same entrance, and the elegant figural bas-reliefs on the facades of Emir Saltuk tomb in Erzurum are all vivid illustrations of high quality stone craftsmanship. In the Kilij Arslan II tomb in Konya, the juxtaposition of tiling with elegant stone craftsmanship, as well as the insertion of turquoise ceramics under the cornice of Kamereddin tomb in Divrigi, imply the collaboration of people coming from different traditions. While the inclusion of ceramics is evidently the

input of Iranian masters, the high-quality stone construction, in its turn, is evidence for the engagement of the locals. The translation of decorative elements typical of Islamic architecture into stone, such as the intricate *muqarnas* vault above the door openings of Sitte Melik tomb, provides further evidence to claim that the masters who were responsible for the construction and decoration of the early Anatolian *kümbets* had been particularly well trained in working with stone.[144]

It is important to highlight that both the workmen and architects moved from place to place, and the forms travelled with them accordingly. Nonetheless, it is a common error to assume that the features of the building must necessarily be linked with the architect's place of origin. On the one hand, the fact that at least two tombs from this period, namely Mama Khatun in Tercan and Sitte Melik in Divrigi, were constructed by Ahlati builders, emphasizes the role of the Ahlati architects in Anatolia in general.[145] The architectural analysis of these tombs, in its turn, has shown visible adaptations of separate elements from the Transcaucasian architectural tradition. And as the predominant constituent of the complex social structure of the city of Ahlat was Armenian, I can suggest that these tombs are the epitomes of regional cross-cultural exchanges, which include—but are by no means limited to—Armenian-Muslim cultural interactions. At the same time, these examples do not imply a general rule, and we should bear in mind that no matter where the architects or stonemasons came from, they had to respond to the wishes and requirements of the local commissioners.

The elaborate adornment and general quality of the work explain the reputation the Ahlati masons enjoyed in their time, further making it clear why the commissioners from Turcoman princely houses would invite them all the way from Ahlat to Divrigi and Tercan. And whereas Saltukid and Mengujekid patrons could afford inviting renowned architects

[144] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex in Divriği," 181.
[145] Eastmond, *Tamta's World*, 282-83.

from other cities, I would assert that local architect/architects operated in Kayseri, as is confirmed by the existence of a considerable number of recognizable local variants within more widely spread patterns of similarity. The generalized style and the chronological proximity of the Kayseri *kümbets* discussed, in their turn, point to the plausible employment of one single architect for the construction of the entire group of these early edifices.

In this period, the cities that hosted the earliest *kümbets,* as noted in the second chapter, had a predominantly Christian indigenous population, consisting of Byzantines (Greeks), Armenians, as well as Georgians in north-eastern Anatolia that naturally implied considerable architectural representation in those areas. Unfortunately, due to various natural factors and historical events almost nothing survives from the Armenian architectural heritage of the Central and Eastern Anatolian cities that would have allowed for a more adequate comparative analysis. Therefore, we shall trust**,** and rely on, the narrative sources which tell us about the existence of a vast number of Armenian churches in Eastern Anatolia, which subsequently entails the existence of local workshops.

Discussing the makers of the *kümbets*, it is my intention to address the question of how the transmission took place. And while it also partially answers *why* it took place, the answer to this question also requires the examination of the issue of patronage, which is crucial for associating the architecture to broader socio-cultural processes. Since presently little is known about the commissioners of the earliest Eastern Anatolian *kümbets*, one is compelled to discuss them based on the quality of the *kümbets* they commissioned instead. So far, the key source for studying patronage is epigraphy, which in this case is not a sufficient informant about the patrons. Overall, the fixed standard character of most of the inscriptions from the thirteenth century attributes them a semi-official status, making this source

especially applicable for research.[146] Yet, here the same problem with the deficiency of surviving material arises, for prior to the end of the twelfth century very limited number of inscriptions survive.[147] In general, with regard to the socio-economic background of the commissioners of architectural edifices, almost all of them were either from the house of sultan or high-ranking military or bureaucratic officials.[148] With regard to the patronage of the funerary structures examined in the current study, there are particular issues coming to the surface. The epigraphical texts on the *kümbets* are not always complete construction texts. In some cases it is questionable whether the person mentioned in the inscription is the commissioner of the tomb or the one for whom the tombs is commissioned. Certainly, there were cases when the commemorative edifices were commissioned for their own use. Still, in other cases, funerary edifices were commissioned by the descendants of the deceased. Overall, apart from the Kilij Arslan II tomb in Konya, the members of Turcoman elite must have founded the *kümbets* in question, as it is also partially attested in the inscriptions. Compared to the Mengujekid and Saltukid tombs, the ones built under Danishmendid patronage are visibly more modest and scarcely decorated. However, what is particularly noteworthy in the case of Mengujekid tombs of Sitte Melik and Kamereddin on one hand and Sultan Melik tomb in Kemah on the other, is the obvious discrepancy in styles. While the Kemah brickwork structure remains faithful to the Iranian architectural traditions, the drastic change in the vocabulary of the two other Mengujekid tombs can be interpreted as a step forward in the search for new ways of visual representation. The sultans residing in Konya, being still inclined towards the artistic traditions of their Great Seljuk cousins, were also

[146] J. M. Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia: The Epigraphic Evidence," *Anatolian Studies* 26 (1976): 69-72.
[147] Howard Crane, "Notes on Seljuk Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36, 1 (1993), 4-5.
[148] Crane mentions the relative rarity of sultanic foundations, as compared with those of the military and bureaucratic officials. Crane, "Notes on Saljuq Architectural Patronage," 5-6.

receptive of the local Christian culture.[149] A conclusion, then, follows that not only the Mengujekid, but also the other patrons, including the members of the royal house, were favoring the incorporation of "Christian" elements into the visual language representing their identity. In the particular framework of the current research, what we can draw from the discussion of patronage is that cross-cultural interactions were present in all the discussed Central and Eastern Anatolian territories under Turco-Muslim rule.

Overall, my intention was to propose a hypothesis that the adoption of general structural arrangement and separate elements characteristic of local traditions in the formation of new architecture, particularly in the assemblage of the *kümbets* discussed in this thesis is a manifestation of cross-cultural transmission of architectural knowledge. The latter, in its turn, is a paragon of the Armeno-Muslim cultural interactions in this period of cultural and religious transformations in Anatolia, for it is common for newly emerging architecture to be relying on already existing local traditions in its earliest phase of development.

[149] Rustam Shukurov talks about not composite, but dual identities of at least three Seljuk Sultans of Rum, taking into account the presence of Greek women, the mothers and wives of sultans at the court. This notion is rather different from my proposed idea of cultural syncretism. Here I should necessarily reemphasize that whereas I acknowledge the difference of the patterns of that syncretism, it still cannot be completely absent from the royal court either. For Shukurov's discussion on the identity of Seljuk sultans, see Rustam Shukurov, "Harem and Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes", in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock, Sara Nur Yildiz (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 115-150.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis is to study the Armeno-Muslim cultural interactions in the late twelfth-early thirteenth-century Turco-Muslim Anatolia through the comprehensive analysis of the cross-cultural transmission of the architectural knowledge articulated in the earliest surviving *kümbets* in the region.

In the first chapter, I conducted a detailed architectural analysis of the chosen group of thirteen mausolea founded under the Turco-Muslim patronage in Central and Eastern Anatolia, which revealed the adaptation of structural and decorative features characteristic of the Transcaucasian tradition in the visual language of the newly developing architecture in the region. Particularly, the placement of double-eyed window openings and blind arcades surmounting flat surfaces on the faceted bodies of these tombs as well as the integration of niches with triangular sections in their decorative systems are evident examples of the transmission of elements from the Transcaucasian architecture.

In the second chapter, I provided the overview of the historical situation in Anatolia in order to give a better insight into the context where this kind of architecture emerged. For the latter purpose, I showed that the political events of the time in fact gave an impetus to the cultural and religious transformations in the peninsula. In this framework, I discussed the demographical changes in Central and Eastern Anatolia prior to the Seljuk conquests, by tracing the forced population transfers from the Armenian lands to the inner parts of the Byzantine Empire, as well as the further resettlement of Armenians in Anatolia as a result of the Seljuk advancement in the Caucasus. Subsequently, based on the available primary and secondary sources, I drew the picture of the intercultural environments of the Central and Eastern Anatolian urban centers that housed the *kümbets* under discussion. I demonstrated that the Christian-Muslim cross-cultural exchanges instigated by the Turco-Muslim

annexation of Anatolia was a rather manifold process and was by no means limited to the architecture only.

Finally, in the third chapter, I contextualized the results of the architectural analysis, by approaching the structural and decorative elements adopted in the architectural vocabulary of the *kümbets* as physical evidences of Armeno-Muslim cultural exchanges. Further intending to address the question of the ways of the transmission of these elements, I discussed its possible agents, namely the architects and builders, as well as the patrons to a certain extent. Based on the adopted elements recounted above as well as on the outward resemblance of the tombs with the upper sections of the Transcaucasian churches and the high quality of the stone craftsmanship, I established that the transmission of architectural ideas in this initial phase of intercultural contacts was, for one thing, carried out by the local masters. In order to do so, I applied Heather Grossman's method, by suggesting that the resulting structural and decorative arrangements of the *kümbets* are the products of the encounter of the cultural memory of the patrons on one hand and cultural and pragmatic memories of the masters, on the other. Having said that, I can conclude that the transmission of architectural knowledge shaped not only the *kümbets* discussed in this thesis, but also had a significant impact on the cultural memories of the future patrons of analogous structures, and the further proliferation of *kümbets* in the coming centuries throughout Anatolia is a proof of that.

The present thesis is the first step in the long run of research on the Christian-Muslim intercultural coexistence and cross-cultural exchange between medieval Anatolia and the Caucasus that I intend to conduct. And while the picture painted by these funerary edifices from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is a striking manifestation of Armeno-Muslim cultural interactions in the larger framework of Christian-Muslim coexistence in this

period, I would like to highlight that the transmission of ideas was by no means a one-way process. The proximity of the Christian and Islamic societies in Anatolia and the Caucasus made the confluence of these cultures inevitable, and the investigation of the Seljuk/Islamic cultural adoptions in the Armenian art is not less intriguing. It is my intention to draw the more detailed picture of Christian-Islamic cultural interactions in my future research, by approaching the cross-cultural exchanges from the both sides.

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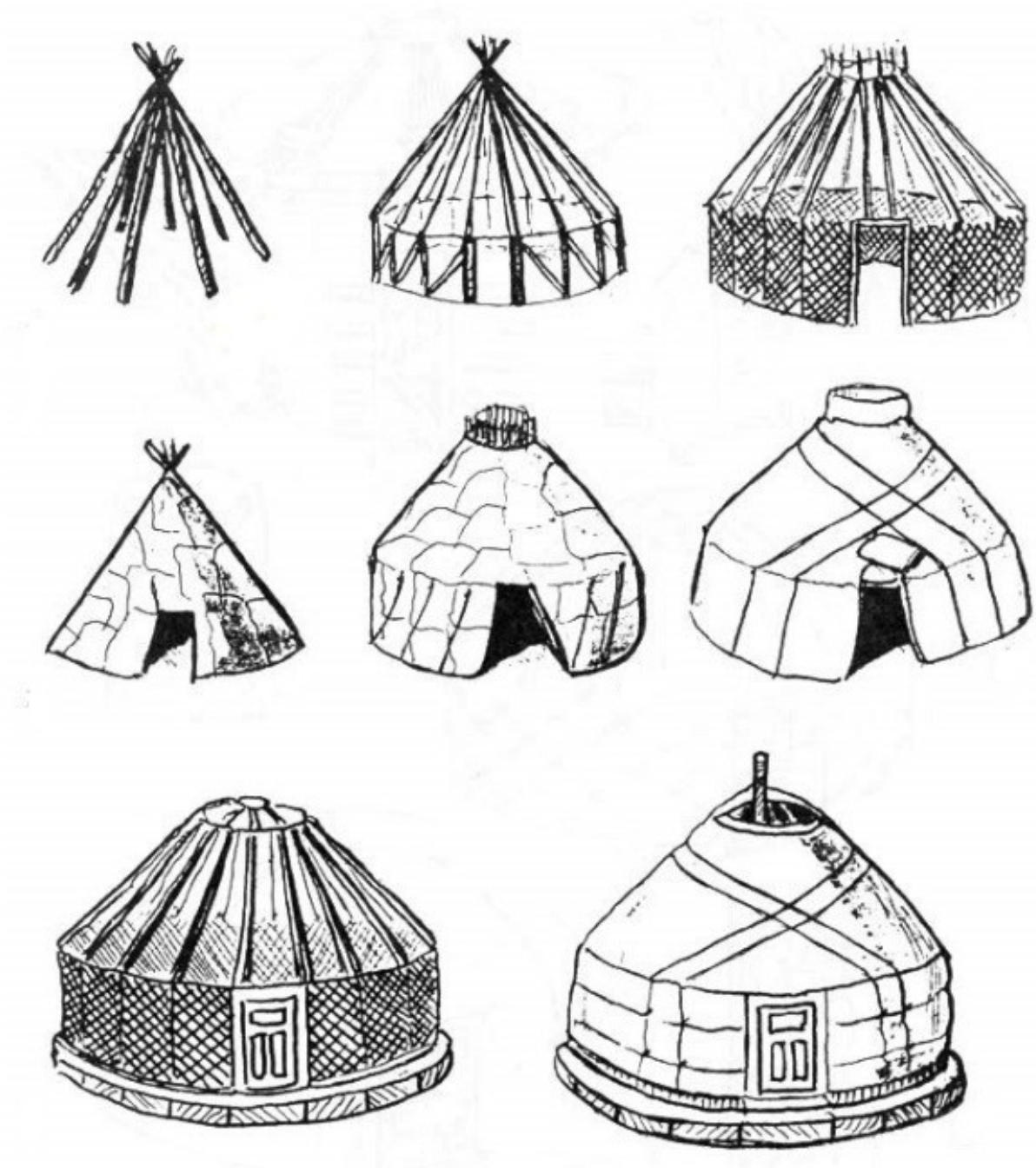
Illustrations



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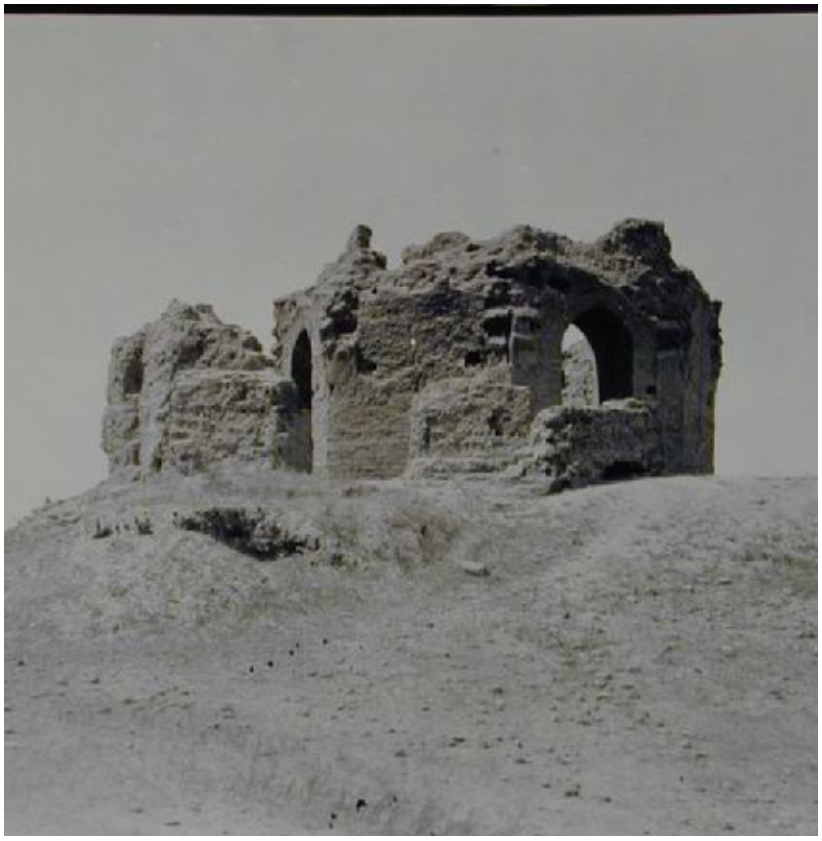

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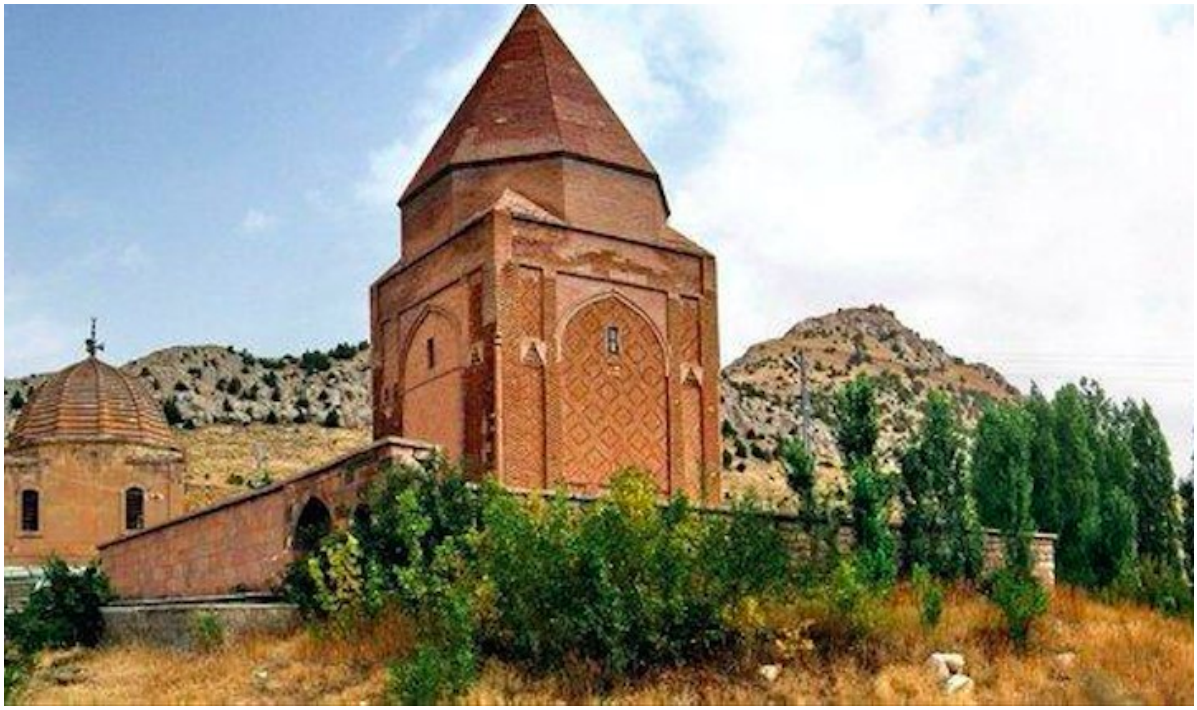

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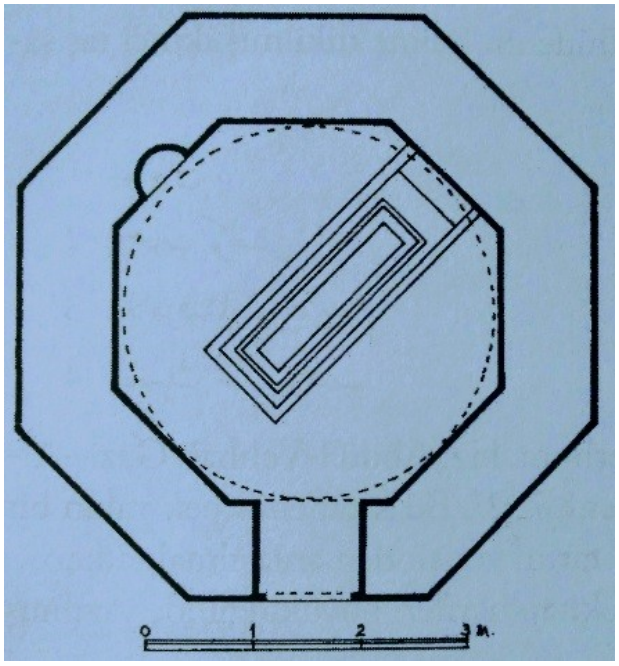

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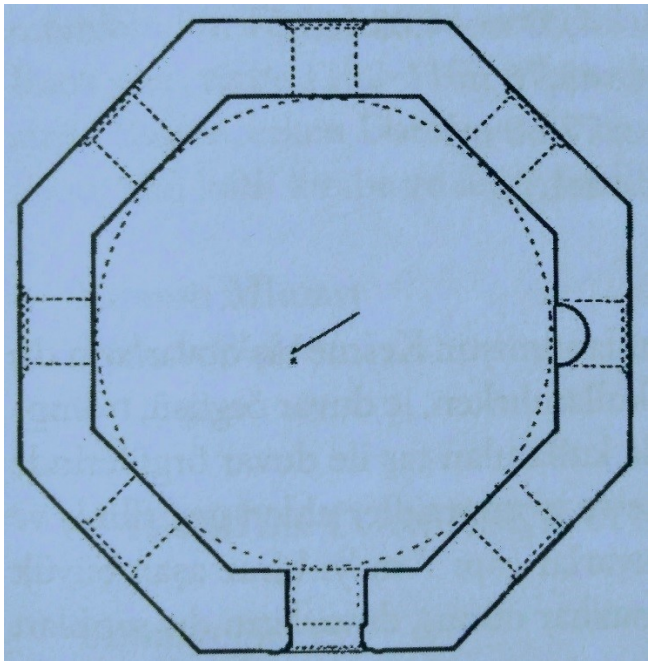

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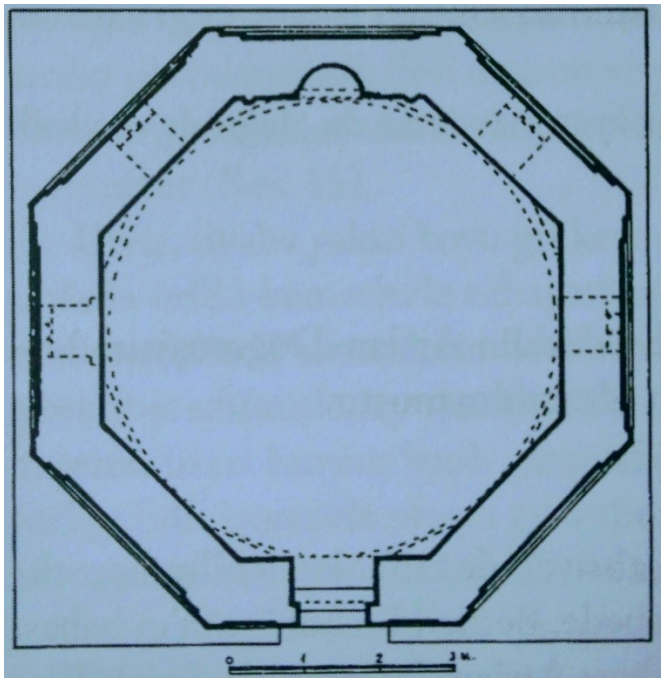

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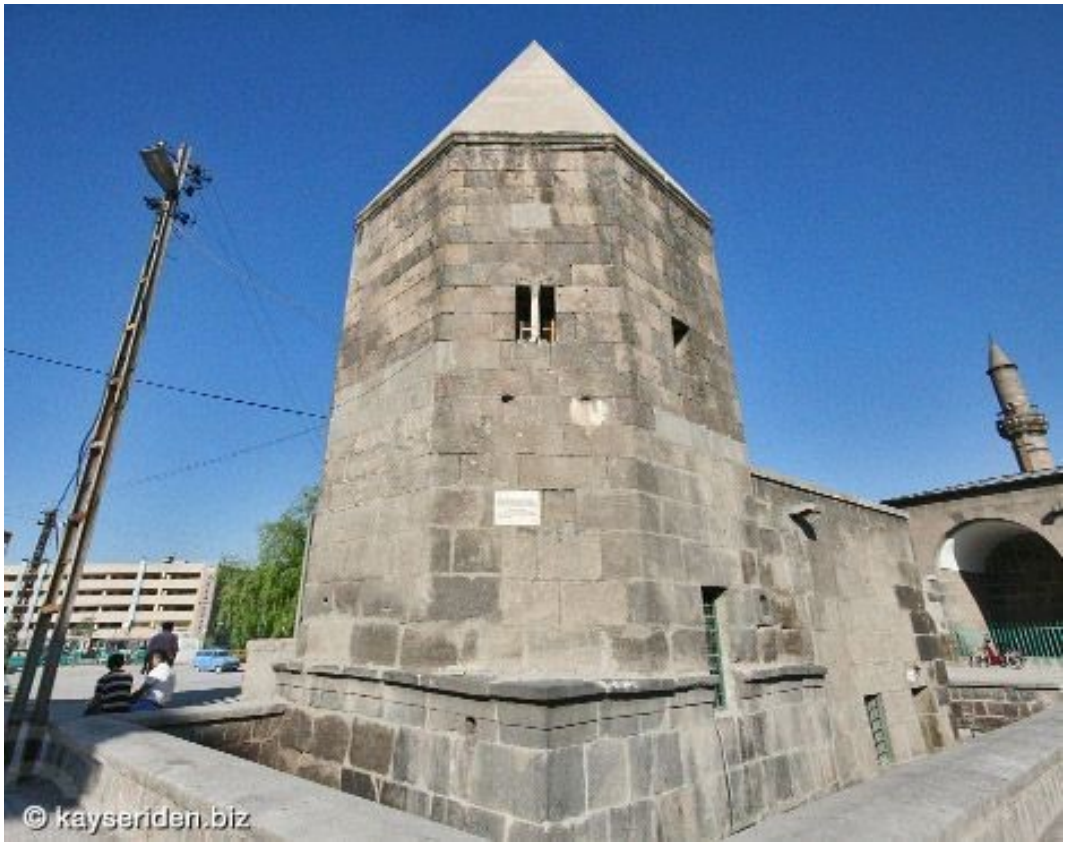

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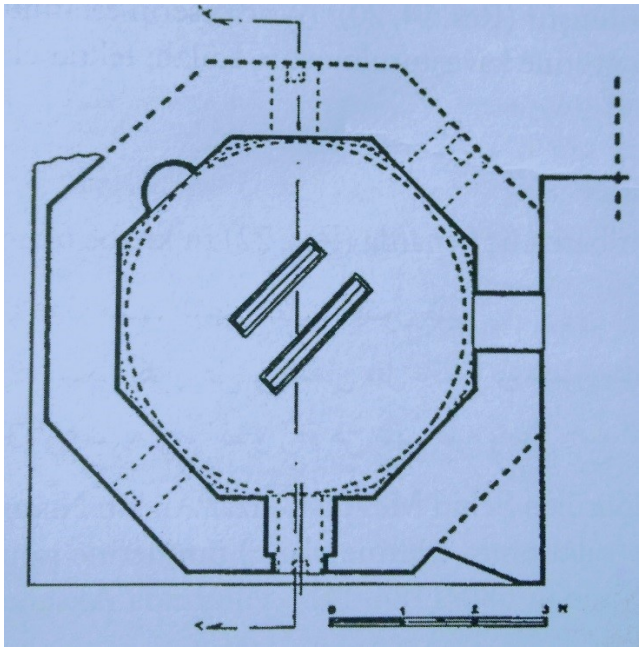

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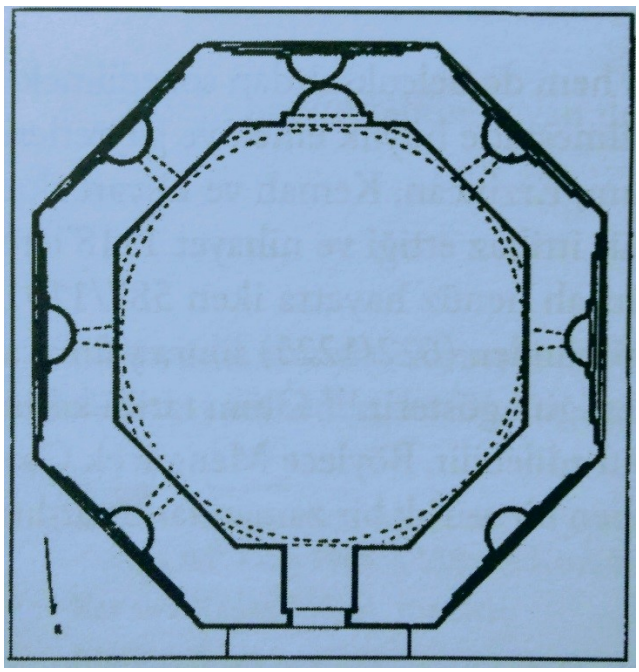

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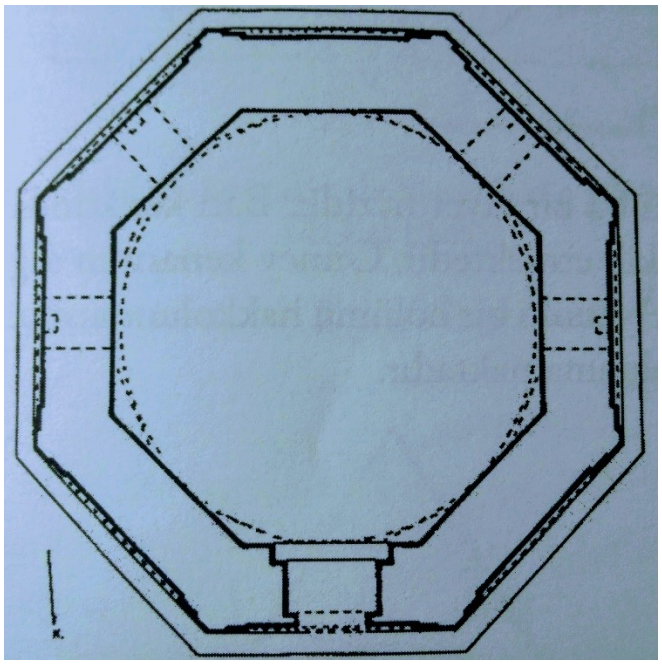

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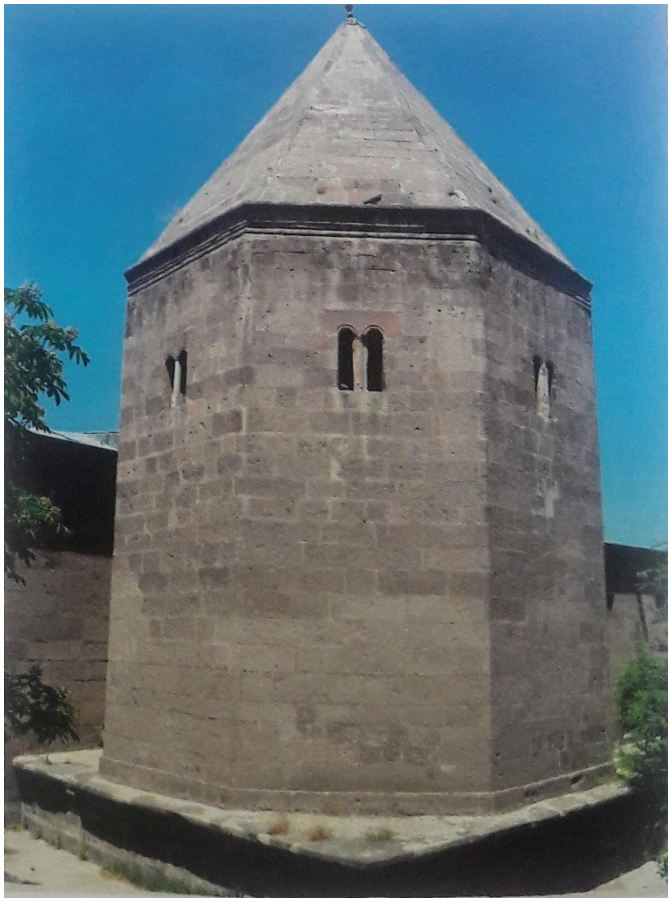

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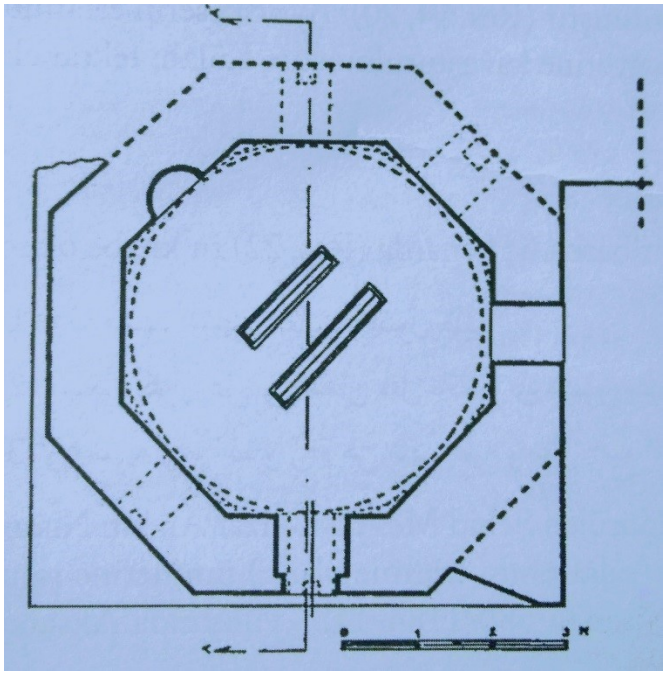

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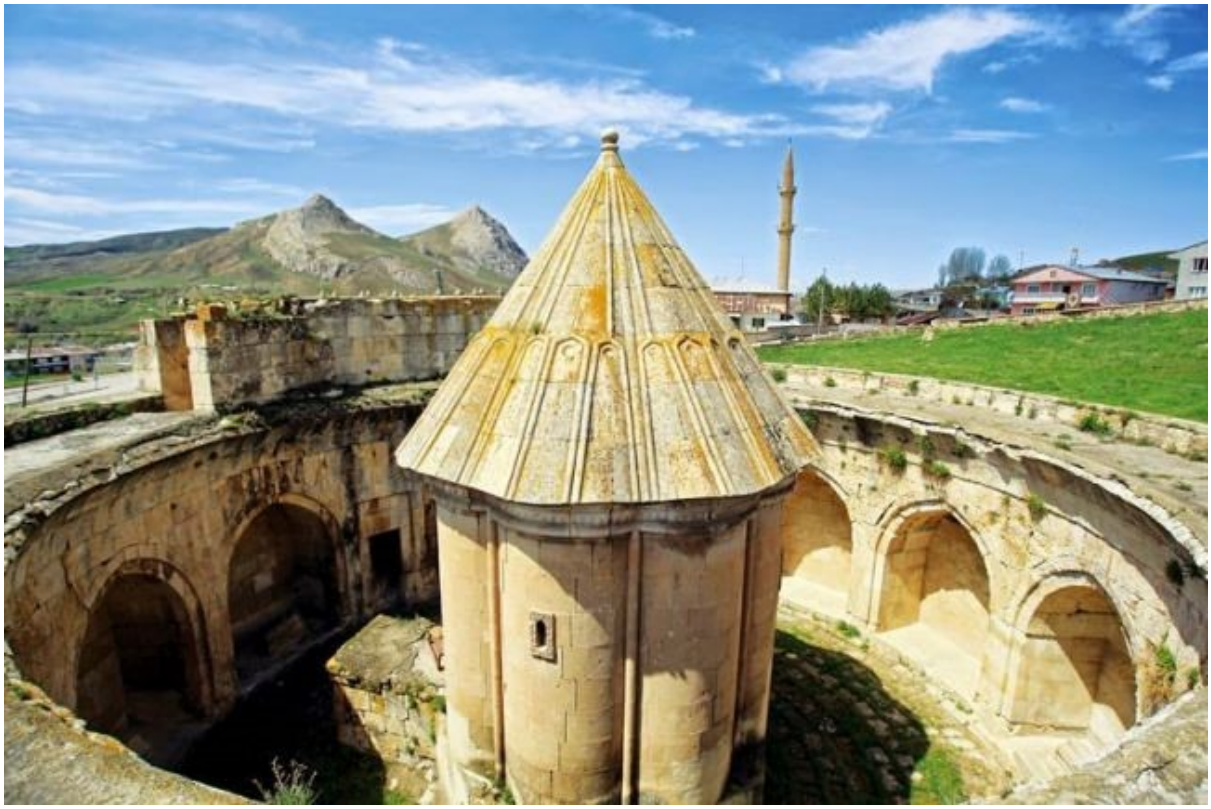

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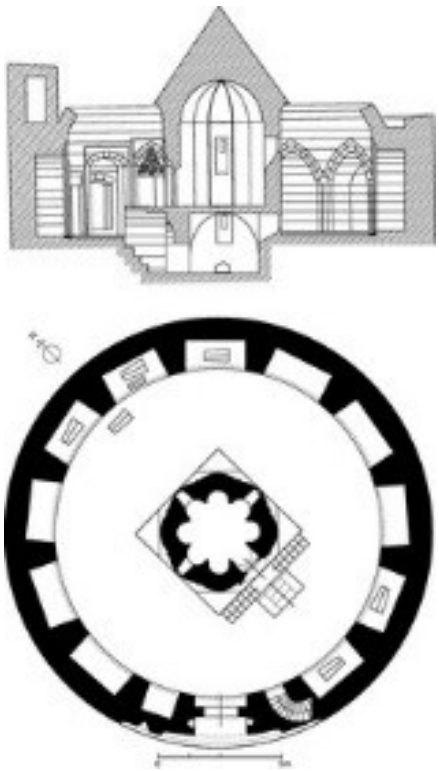

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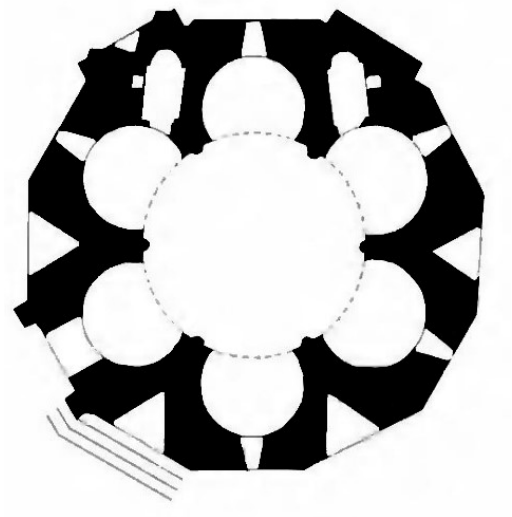

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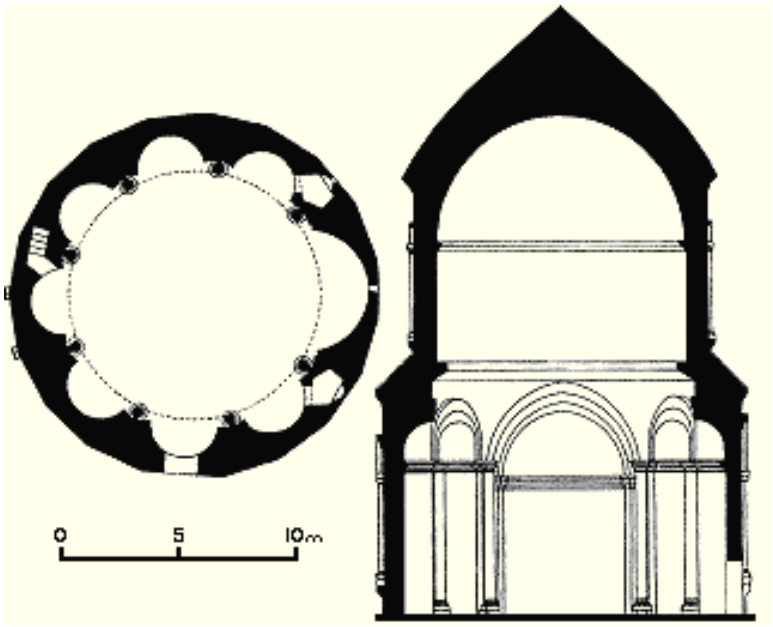

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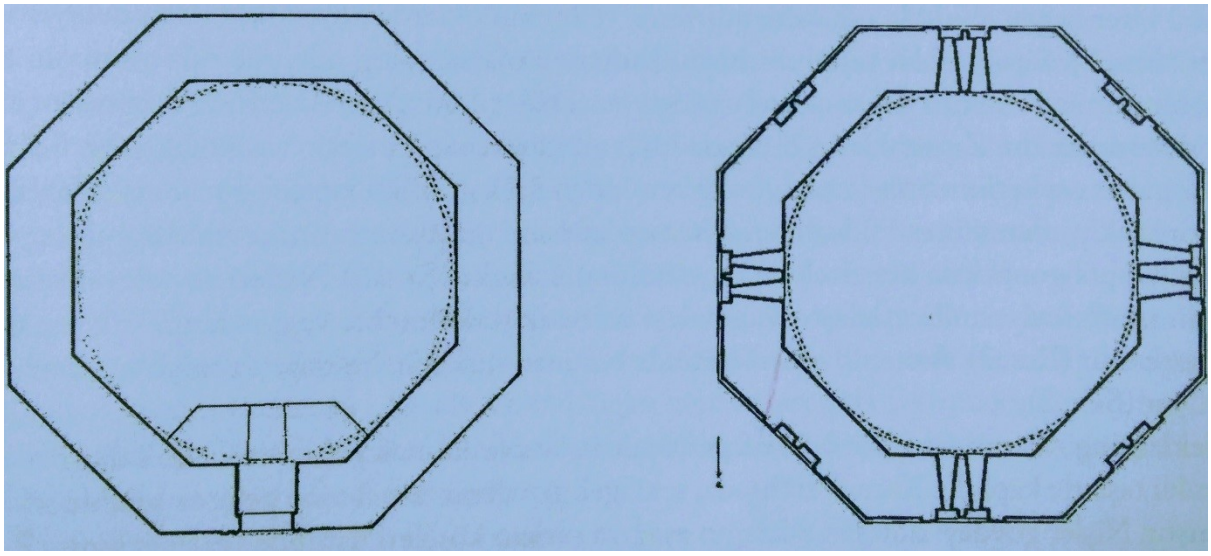

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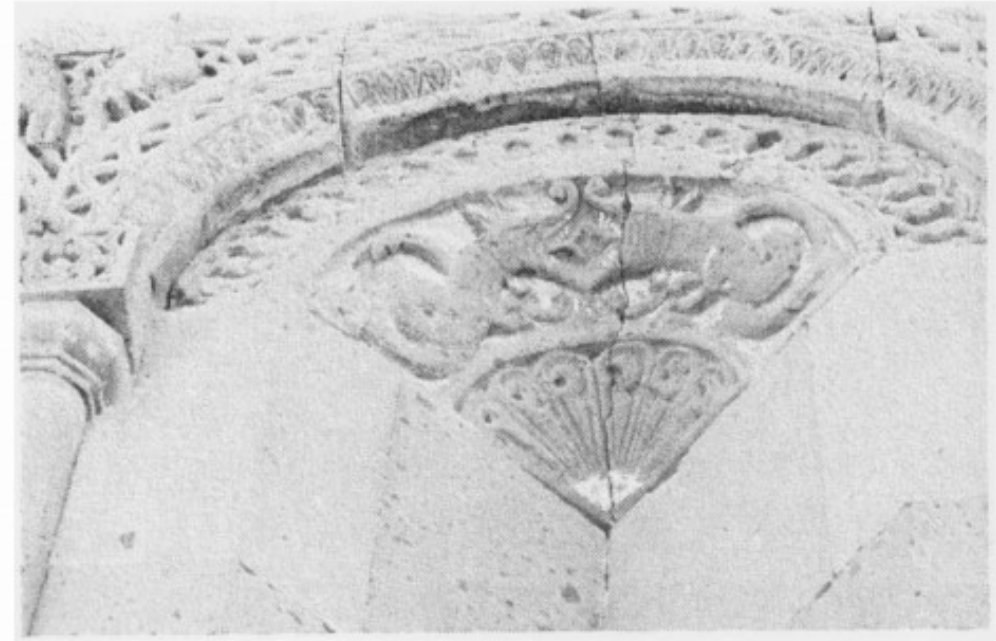

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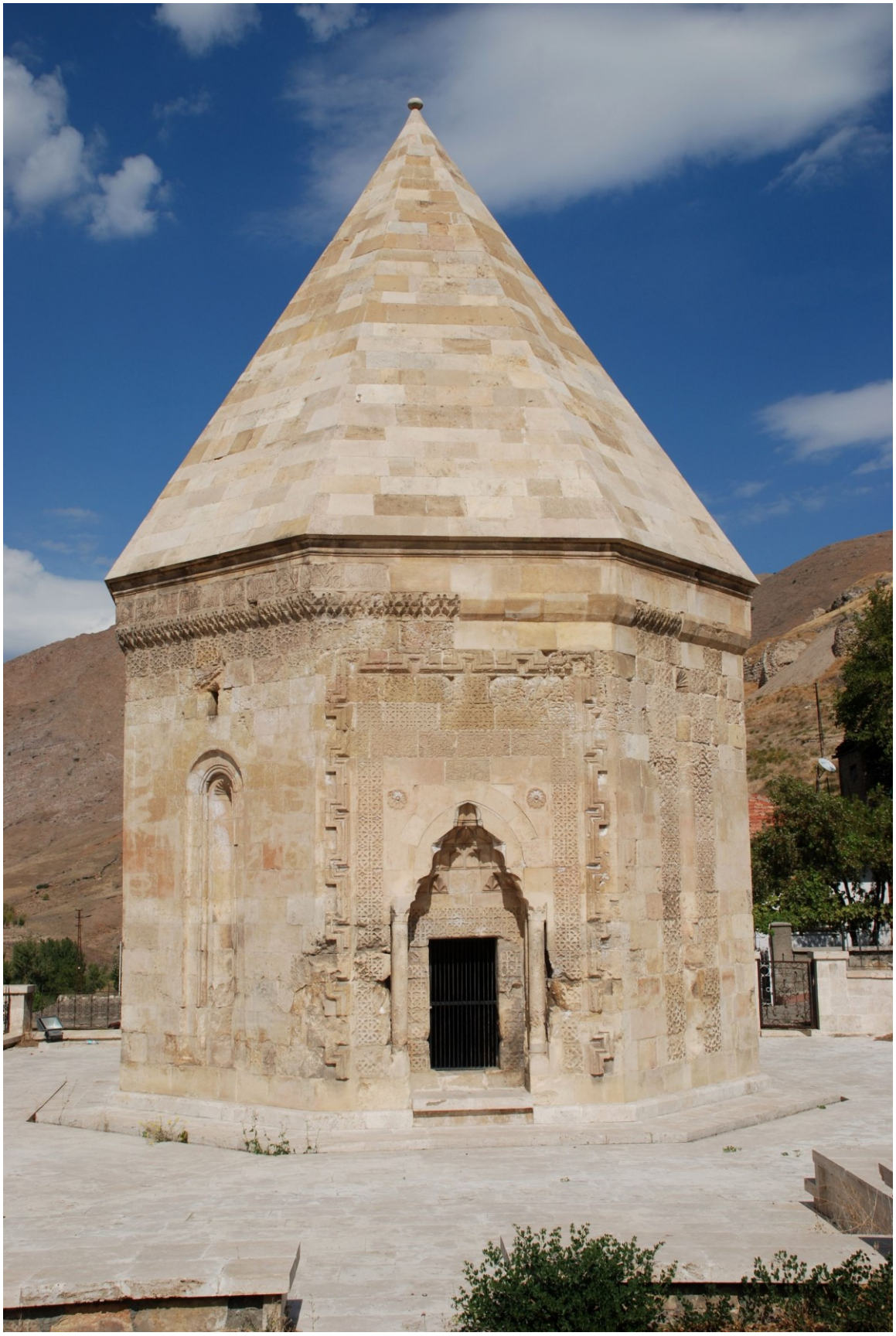

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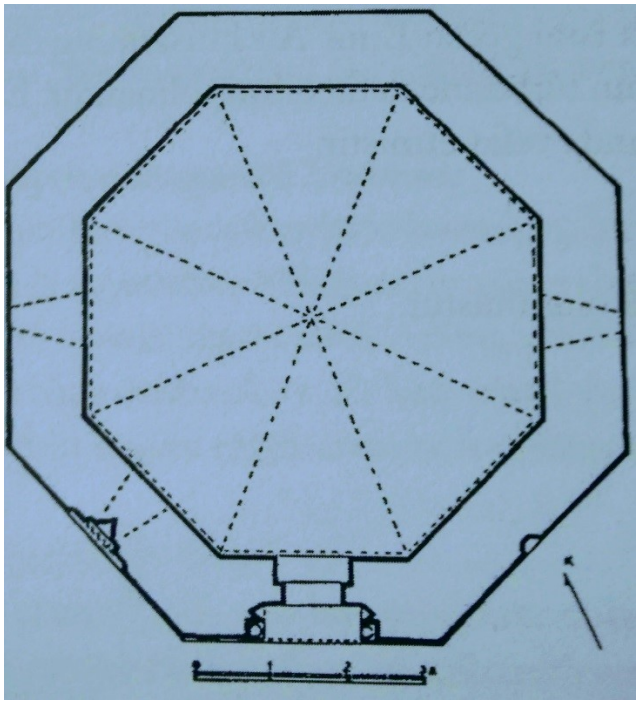

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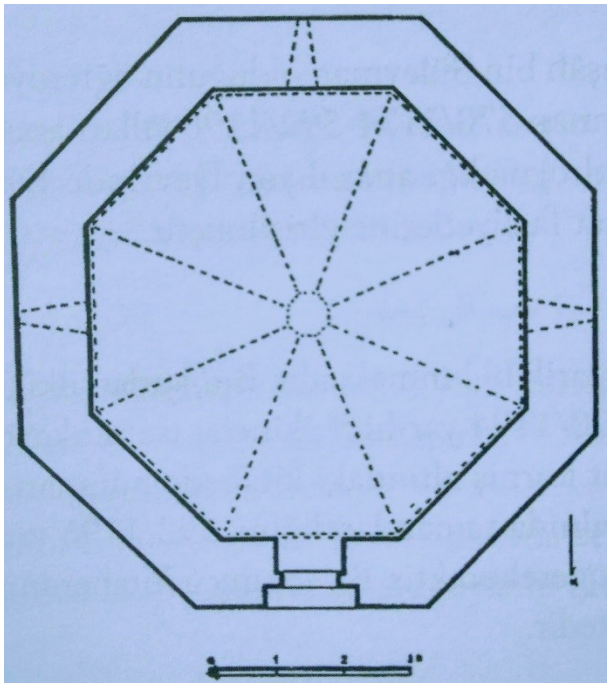

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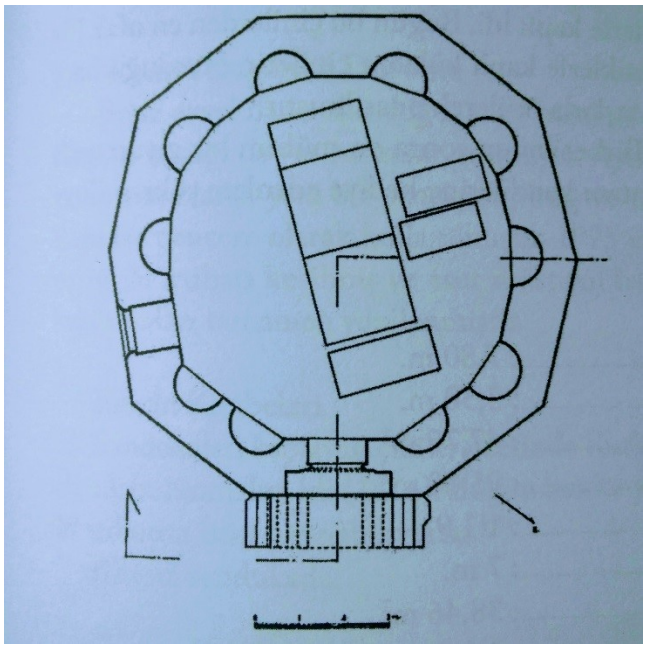

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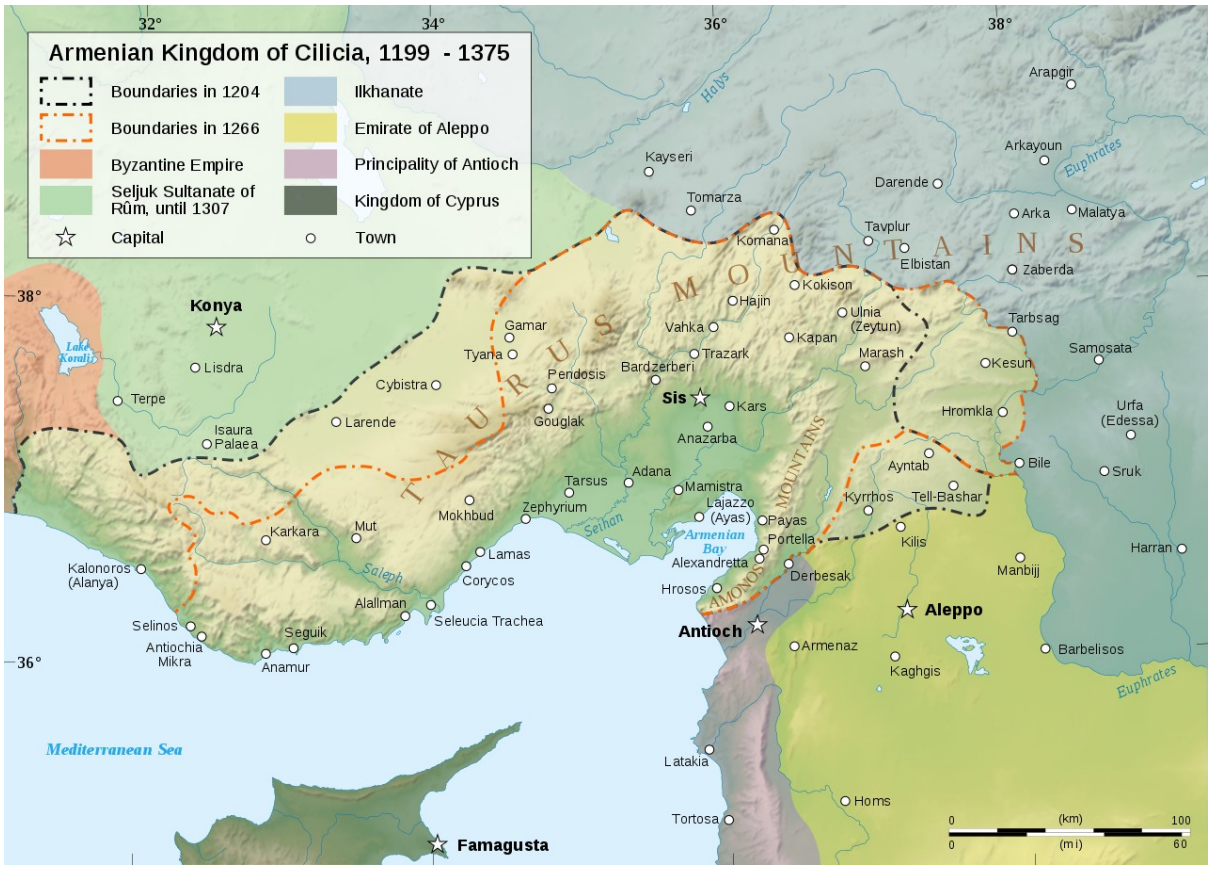

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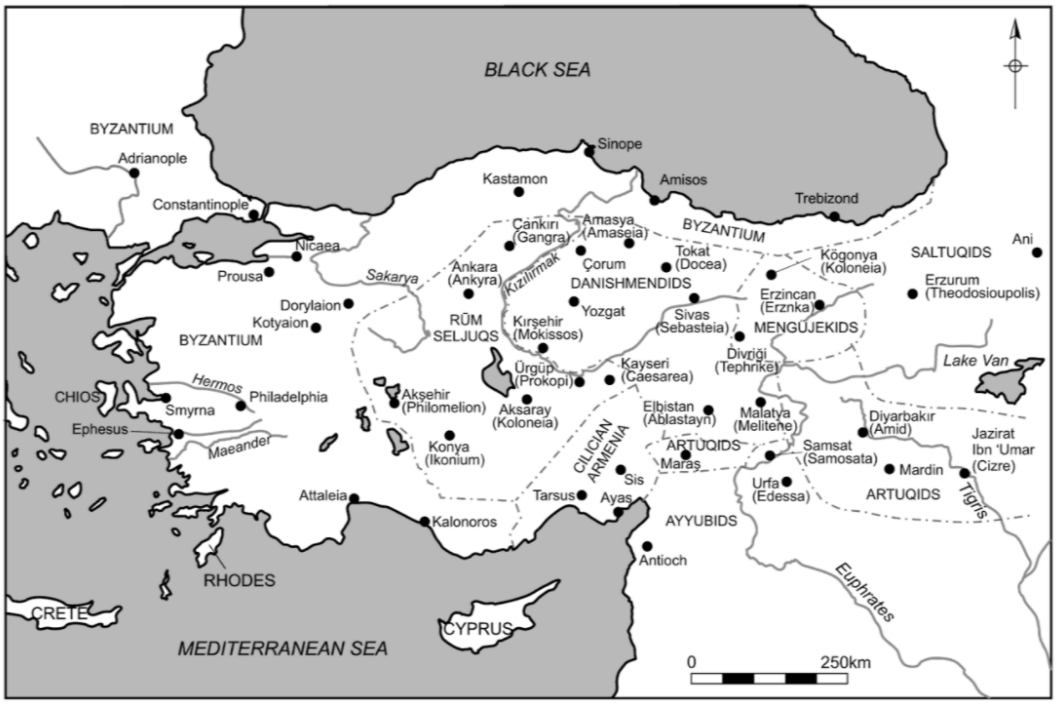

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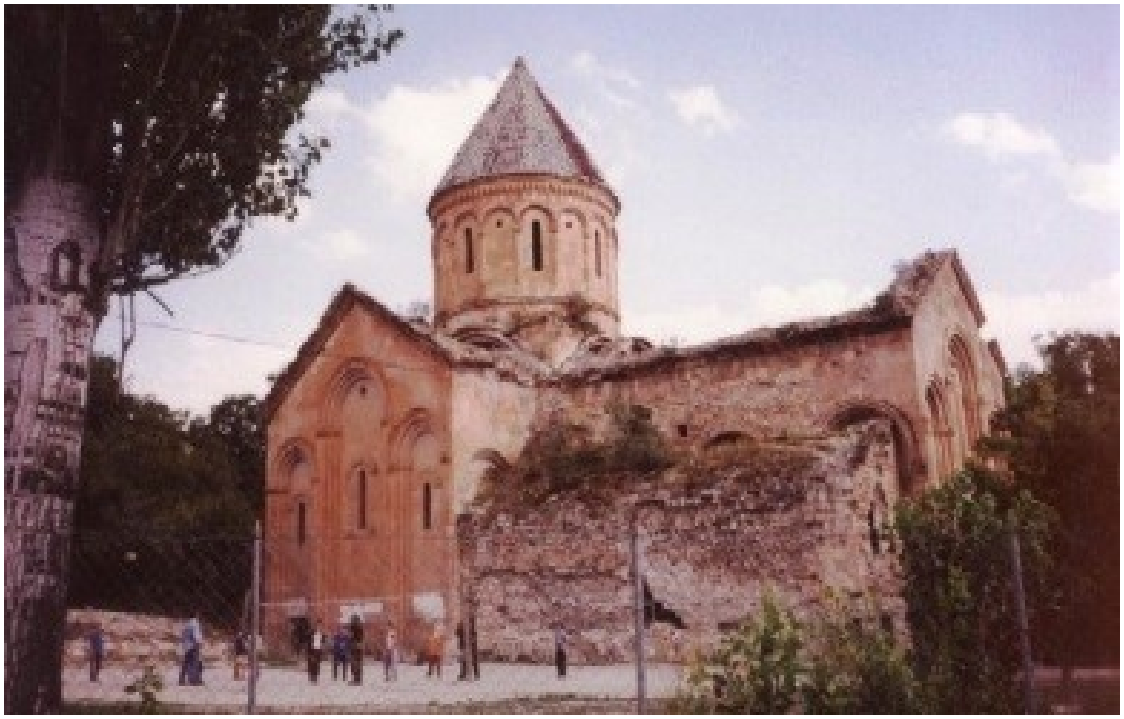

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