Edinburgh University Press

Chapter Title: The 'Dual Identity' of Mahperi Khatun: Piety, Patronage and Marriage across Frontiers in Seljuk Anatolia
Chapter Author(s): Suzan Yalman

Book Title: Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100–1500
Book Editor(s): Patricia Blessing, Rachel Goshgarian
Published by: Edinburgh University Press. (2017)
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1g051tq.17

CHAPTER TEN

The 'Dual Identity' of Mahperi Khatun: Piety, Patronage and Marriage across Frontiers in Seljuk Anatolia[1]

Suzan Yalman

In surveys of Islamic art, Turkic dynasties are often credited for the prominent role women enjoyed as patrons of architecture. This appears to be true for Seljuk Anatolia: the mothers, daughters and wives of the Seljuk sultans studded the urban and rural landscape with an array of buildings, leaving their names and legacies for posterity. Even though the Seljuks are known for their patrilineal genealogy that traces them back to Central Asia and Iran, their matrilineal genealogy – often characterised by local political alliances in the form of marriages – rooted the dynasty in Anatolia. Marriage alliances played key roles in establishing and cementing partnerships. Given the Anatolian *realpolitik* at the time, these could be with other Muslim polities as well as with Christian courts. While written sources circumscribe the narrative to men, this is in sharp contrast to the visible presence of women across Anatolia brought to life by their architectural patronage.

The knots tied across frontiers have lead scholars to question Seljuk ethnic, linguistic and religious affiliations through the lens of 'identity'. This term itself is one laden with its own body of literature that is beyond the scope of the present chapter. In order to narrow down the focus, this chapter argues that the pattern of 'dual identity', as articulated by Rustam Shukurov, can be extended to include women of the dynasty as well.[2] Perhaps the most prominent case is that of Mahperi Khatun, reported to be of Greek or Armenian origin, who was the first wife of Sultan Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220–37) and the daughter of the ruler of Kalonoros (today's Alanya) from whom the sultan had taken the city in 1221. The best-known examples of female patronage from the first half of the thirteenth century belong to this woman, who became 'Queen Mother' on her son's accession to the throne in 1237 and commissioned a monumental complex in Kayseri consisting of a mosque, madrasa, and bath as well as a tomb tower for herself (Figure 10.1).[3] Through a discussion of this renowned complex as well as other examples of her patronage, this chapter questions the nature of Mahperi Khatun's pious public façade.

Figure 10.1 *General view of Huand (Mahperi) Hatun Complex, Kayseri, 1237–8 (photograph: Suzan Yalman)*

As articulated in the Introduction to the present volume, identity politics were an important part of twentieth-century nationalist discourses that attempted to examine medieval Anatolia within preconceived taxonomic categories. Marriage, or rather, the issue of mixed marriages, was a particularly troubling phenomenon that defied categorisation suitable for nationalist ideology. The offspring from these marriages, known as *mixovarvaroi* (or *mixobarbaroi*) in Byzantine sources or *iğdiş* in Seljuk sources, were the focus of debate by prominent scholars.[4] In addition to ethnic and linguistic affiliation, the problem of what happens to religious identity, that is, whether or not the partners or offspring converted, was also a nagging one. While scholarship has returned to concerns regarding religion in medieval Anatolia, more recent scholarship attempts to demonstrate the variety and complexity of the frontier encounter.[5]

The issues outlined above relate to the present chapter due to the particular case of Mahperi Khatun and her religious identity, as her

mosque complex in Kayseri was the largest architectural commission by a female patron in thirteenth-century Anatolia. Despite this pious Muslim public image, questions as to whether or not she actually converted have persisted. Identity has been a matter of debate for decades.[6] In recent years, Antony Eastmond has discussed Mahperi Khatun's Kayseri complex in the context of gender and patronage between Christianity and Islam.[7] Shukurov also mentions her as an example in his 'Harem Christianity', where he describes the impact of Christian women at the Seljuk court through the Christian baptism of Muslim sultans. Shukurov proposes that sultans wore different hats according to the context and describes 'dual identity' as '[d]epending on the circumstances, one of the two parts of their dual self was activated while the other receded into deferred status'.[8] Although Shukurov focuses on the issue in relation to 'baptized sultans', nevertheless, I believe the model is a fruitful one for women such as Mahperi Khatun. One can speculate that initially the women joining the Seljuk harem were in a position to negotiate their 'dual identity' and then their children likely followed suit. Moreover, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, when we add architectural patronage into the equation and examine the epigraphic evidence as 'public text', Mahperi Khatun's pious foundations attest to her complex personality and highlight her 'dual identity'.[9]

The Pious Foundation in Kayseri

The public face of Mahperi Khatun was quintessentially Anatolian Seljuk, as is apparent from her pious foundation dated 635/1237–8 built outside the city walls of Kayseri that combines a mosque, madrasa, double bath and tomb tower for the founder, all sumptuously decorated (Figures 10.1 and 10.2). Although we have no information on the artists involved in the construction, based on stylistic grounds, the complex has the hallmark features of Seljuk buildings with projecting portals and conical domes that are usually associated with different architectural traditions, both Islamic (Iranian and Syrian) as well as local Christian (Greek, Armenian). This is probably related to various factors, including the multicultural context of Anatolia at the time, travelling or migrating craftsmen, and the preferences of the patron(s). The complex was constructed from a local volcanic stone that was in dialogue with the basalt of the Roman city walls. There are also masons' marks throughout the complex.

The only date in the foundation inscription on the western portal of the mosque gives the impression that the ensemble was commissioned together. As we shall see later, this was far from the case. Moreover, this inscription (quoted below) also appears to give primacy to the mosque and the Seljuk-style portal that projects from the mosque with a stalactite *muqarnas* hood framed by an intricate geometric band carved into stone that draws the gaze of the viewer
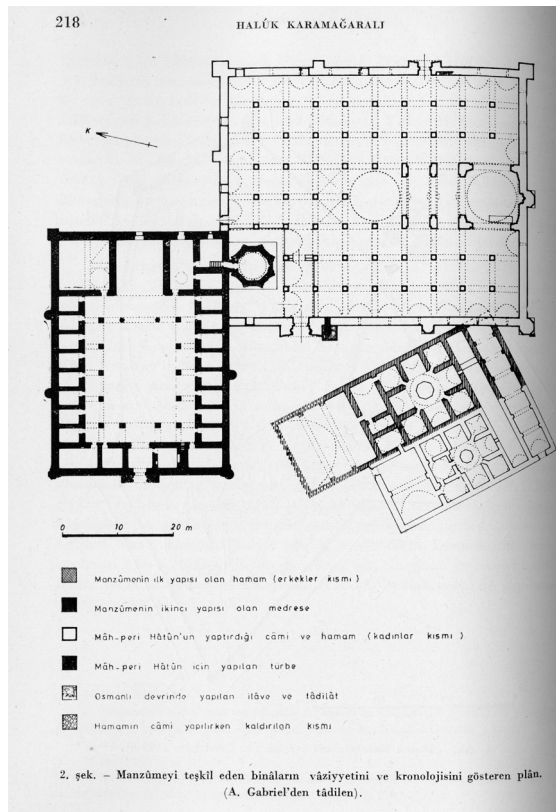
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2. şek. — Manzûmeyi teşkil eden binâların vâziyyetini ve kronolojisini gösteren plân.
(A. Gabriel'den tâdilen).

Figure 10.2 *Plan of Huand Hatun Complex, Kayseri (after Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu')*

and invites them to enter (Plate 15). Before doing so, to the left of the portal, one notes a wall with four narrow openings where supplicants can view the tomb of the founder and presumably pray for her soul. Further to the left is the southern wall of the madrasa that abuts the mosque. Meanwhile, to the right (south) of the mosque entrance is the separate double bath, projecting at a diagonal angle such that it creates an awkward triangle between the mosque and bath walls (Figure 10.2).

Upon stepping into the mosque, the visitor encounters the founder's tomb set in a mini courtyard that forms the juncture between the mosque and the madrasa. The intricate octagonal tomb tower (*kümbet*) sits on a remarkable marble *muqarnas* plinth, and its decorative programme deploys a stunning variety of geometrical designs demonstrating sophisticated technical and artistic proficiency (Plate 16). The conical dome that caps the tower – often associated with Armenian or Georgian architecture – signifies the presence of the founder in the skyline of the city. As there is no access to the tomb from here, the visitor proceeds to the prayer hall.

Figure 10.3 *Huand Hatun Madrasa, Kayseri, view of central* īwān *(photograph: Suzan Yalman)*

Inside the mosque, the hypostyle plan is disrupted by elements found in Iranian architecture, such as a dome in front of the *miḥrāb* that is separated from the mosque space. However, this Iranian repertoire is modified by the absence of *īwān*s and instead, the emphasis is on closed space reminiscent of Artuqid or Jaziran examples.[10] Originally there seems to have been a tiny open courtyard surrounded by square modules, which was covered by a dome in the Ottoman period, most likely for climactic reasons. Later additions included a typical Ottoman-style pencil minaret to the side of the west portal as well (see Plate 15).

Unlike the mosque, the madrasa is composed of an open courtyard with a large central *īwān*, which is surrounded by cells (Figure 10.3).[11] The worn surface of its façade is once again interrupted by a projecting Seljuk-style portal with a *muqarnas* hood and geometric frame, but lacks a foundation inscription. A similar geometric band accentuates the main *īwān* inside the courtyard, which is also flanked by geometric medallions. By means of an awkward staircase, the cell at the junction of the mosque and madrasa in the southeast corner allows entry into the tomb chamber of the founder. The funerary space includes a *miḥrāb*, again with geometric ornament, as well as three cenotaphs for the founder, her daughter, and an anonymous tomb (Plate 16; Figure 10.4).

Figure 10.4 *Huand Hatun* kümbet*, Kayseri, interior view with three cenotaphs (photograph: Suzan Yalman)*

The remaining structure of the complex, the bathhouse, was originally a single bath that was expanded to become a double bath for men and women and incorporated the Iranian four-*īwān* plan. In addition to this significant feature associated with the Seljuks of Iran, the bath was also decorated with Seljuk tilework similar to those from Kayqubad's palace of Kubadabad on the shores of Lake Beyşehir.[12]

A 'Complex' Problem

Although complexes combining a variety of functions had become popular elsewhere in the Middle East at this time, Anatolian examples were still rather new.[13] In addition to its female patron, the Kayseri complex also stands out for emulating the primary Friday mosque of the sultanate in Konya that combined a mosque with the Seljuk dynastic mausoleum. More importantly, it was also the largest royal commission before the devastating defeat of the Seljuk armies by the Mongols in 1243, after which the Seljuks became vassals of the Mongols. The battle of Kösedağ was a watershed moment; the structural changes in state hierarchy due to the political upheaval would also be reflected in changing patterns of patronage and decorum. Most notable was the end of direct sultanic patronage and the rise of commissions by the high-ranking state officials who became the de facto rulers of Anatolia.[14]

Mahperi Khatun's 'complex' is exceptional for its grand scale, which mimics and rivals the royal endowments of sultans constructed around the same time period. Whether it should be referred to as a 'funerary complex', as has been recently discussed, or as a 'mosque complex', as it is more commonly known, is a matter of debate.[15] Indeed, the presence of the founder's tomb adds a funerary component to this cluster of buildings, yet the emphasis on the mosque in the scale and epigraphic programme cannot be neglected. Perhaps even more significant is the problem of whether we can refer to this ensemble as a 'complex' if the buildings were neither conceived of together nor built at the same time. In an article outlining its complicated construction history and building phases, Haluk Karamağaralı challenged the idea that Mahperi Khatun's commission should constitute a 'complex'.[16] We will return to this debate after exploring other issues related to our patroness.

Further obscuring the 'complex' narrative is the paucity of sources that tell us anything about Mahperi Khatun or her patronage. For this reason, the epigraphic programme is of paramount importance. Her inscriptions that appear as 'public text' aid in her self-fashioning and emphasise her piety. The foundation text on the west portal of the mosque reads as follows:

> The construction of this blessed mosque (*masjid*) was ordered in the days of the greatest sultan, Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l-Din, father of conquest, Kaykhusraw, son of Kayqubad, by his mother, 'the great queen' (*al-malika al-kabīra*), 'the wise' (*al-ʿālima*), 'the ascetic' (*al-zāhida*), 'purity of the world and religion' (*ṣafwat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn*), 'conqueror of good deeds (*fātiḥa al-khayrāt*) – may God perpetuate the shadows of her splendour and multiply her power – in *shawwāl* of the year 635 [May–June 1238].[17]

The panel on the east portal reads similarly and includes her name: Mahperi Khatun.[18] This 'wise' and 'ascetic' 'great queen' also included Qur'anic verses in the epigraphic programme; the Throne Verse is inscribed on the tomb tower and her cenotaph.[19] As Nuha Khoury has remarked, many Anatolian Seljuk funerary buildings or cenotaphs use the 'Throne Verse'.[20] Not surprisingly, this was also the case with the epigraphic tiles on the sultanic cenotaphs in the Seljuk dynastic *kümbet* in Konya.[21]

The theme of piety and charity embodied in the person of Mahperi Khatun, 'conqueror of good deeds', is further emphasised and spelled out in her cenotaph inscription (Figure 10.4):

> This is the tomb of the lady, the veiled, the fortunate, the happy, 'the martyr' (*al-shahīda*), the ascetic, the obedient, the fighter, the promoter of faith, the chaste, the just, 'queen of the women in the world' (*al-malika al-nisāʾ fī'l-ʿālam*), the virtuous and

clean, 'the Mary of her age' (*Maryam awānihā*), 'the Khadija of her time' (*Khadīja zamānihā*), 'possessor of knowledge, almsgiver of wealth in thousands' (*ṣāḥibat al-marʿūfa al-mutaṣaddiqa bi'l-māl ulūf*), 'purity of the world and religion' (*ṣafwat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn*) Mahperi Khatun, mother of the deceased and martyred sultan, Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l-Din Kaykhusraw, the son of Kayqubad. May God have mercy on them, Amen.[22]

Besides informing us that she outlived her son, this remarkable inscription emphasises her virtuous and religious character, which 'bestowed thousands of property as donations' and even boasted to be the 'Mary of her age' as well as the 'Khadija of her time'. The reference to these two historical figures of religious significance is most unusual in medieval Anatolian 'public text'. Within the framework of Mahperi's Christian background, the mention of the Virgin Mary seems particularly suggestive. Although Mary does appear in the Qur'an and is part of Muslim culture, her incorporation into such a formal inscription is exceptional.[23] The presence of Khadija is perhaps more understandable in the context of Muslim burial.[24] Most significant perhaps, given the intimate nature of beliefs related to burial practices, is that the juxtaposition of these two female models of piety appear to signify the 'dual identity' of the patroness, indicating a rapprochement of her two different religious affiliations.

Mahperi Khatun

With this background on the Kayseri complex and some of its puzzling aspects, let us turn to this enigmatic woman to better understand some of the problems. Who was Mahperi Khatun? The Seljuk court historian Ibn Bibi, writing almost half a century after the complex was built, describes her as a concubine, whereas the Armenian chronicler Sempad (d. 1276) reports that Kayqubad's first wife and the mother of Kaykhusraw II was the daughter of the ruler of Kalonoros (today's Alanya), a city east of Antalya on the Mediterranean coast (1221).[25] When the sultan took the city from Kyr Vard (active *c.* 1198–1221?) through negotiations after a long siege, part of the arrangement included the hand of his daughter in exchange for a land grant in the form of the city of Akşehir.[26]

Kyr Vard was certainly of Christian origin, yet there remains a question mark over his ethnic identity; some scholars argue for an Armenian identity, while others suggest a Greek one.[27] The word 'Kyr' is a Byzantine word for 'Lord' and Vard is a common Armenian male name. The confusion stems from the fact that Kalonoros had been Byzantine previously, but had recently become part of the realm of Armenian Cilicia, a kingdom that had close relations with neighbouring Crusader states as well. To complicate matters further, some Armenians diverged from the Armenian Church in their beliefs,

accepting the tenets of Rome or the Chalcedonian Church instead.[28] What is most telling, however, is the fact that there is mention of a Kyr Vard as the baron of 'Calanonoos' (Kalanoros) at the coronation ceremony of the Armenian Cilician king Levon I (r. 1198–1219) on 6 January 1198.[29] This was a moment that 'marked the recognition of Armenia as an independent state' and attempted to bring the Armenian Church closer to Rome.[30] It seems a logical assumption to suggest that Kyr Vard's presence at Levon I's coronation ceremony is indicative of his loyalties to the nascent Armenian kingdom.[31]

What became of the baron's daughter? Having married Ala al-Din Kayqubad early in his career as sultan, Mahperi became the mother of his eldest son. Most significantly, all her architectural commissions were built not during the reign of her husband, but during the reign of her son, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237–46). In addition to her Kayseri 'complex' introduced above, her patronage also included a series of caravanserais (the numbers quoted vary from two to six) that connected central Anatolia to the north, along the routes stretching towards the coastal cities of the Black Sea.[32] Of the six caravanserais commonly attributed to her, only two are attested epigraphically.[33] Finally, she seems to have been the patroness of a saint's lodge, or *zāwiya*, for a certain figure known as Shaykh Turasan in a remote mountaintop in Cappadocia not too far from Kayseri (Figure 10.5).[34]

Figure 10.5 *General view of Shaykh Turasan* zāwiya, *Cappadocia, İncesu, 1242–3 (photograph: Suzan Yalman)*

Mahperi's active efforts during Kayhusraw's reign fit into a pattern of patronage in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods previously outlined by Ülkü Bates; the only women who commissioned architectural monuments were elite women, and the most powerful and prominent were queen mothers who built more than women of any other rank.[35] In terms of the kind of buildings they commissioned, these elite women founded religious institutions (mosques, schools, *zāwiya*s and mausoleums) more often than secular buildings (hans, bazaars, bridges, caravansarais). Bates considers the latter to have been erected to serve as a source of income for the maintenance of the charitable pious foundations (Arab. *waqf*s; Turk. *vakıf*s).[36] Mahperi Khatun is probably the best example of how pride of place belonged to queen mothers in the Seljuk context.

Yet, for such a prominent woman who was visible in the public sphere through her numerous monuments, it is curious that she is not mentioned by name even once by the court historian Ibn Bibi. We begin to understand why when we look at the broader historical context. Ala al-Din Kayqubad's three marriages all acted as alliances that helped to consolidate his power. As was common practice at the time, there was a pattern of marrying the daughters of vanquished rulers. Following Mahperi, Kayqubad's second marriage was to an Ayyubid princess, the daughter of al Adil I, sultan of Cairo and the Jazira, in 1227. This marriage followed Seljuk campaigns on the eastern frontier along the Euphrates and the return of prisoners. The third little-known wife of Kayqubad was his cousin, the daughter of the sultan's uncle Mughith al-Din Tughrulshah, governor of Erzurum. Following Tughrulshah's death in 1225, Erzurum's rule had passed onto his son, Jahanshah (r. 1225–30), whose unreliable behaviour and alliance with the Khwarazmshah led to a confrontation at Yassıçimen in 1230 that proved to be disastrous for Jahanshah and his partner. Osman Turan claimed that despite Jahanshah's protestations, Kayqubad married his cousin after taking Erzurum.[37] Even though Ibn Bibi says that Jahanshah's life had been spared, it seems that he lost his realm, his sister and his life. Scott Redford has recently demonstrated how Kayqubad not only married his cousin after taking Erzurum, but also killed Jahanshah despite his sister's pleas.[38] This would eventually come back to haunt Kayqubad, as we shall see below.

All three of Kayqubad's wives were associated with building projects in Seljuk Anatolia. In addition to the best-known structures belonging to Mahperi Khatun, Kayqubad's Ayyubid wife, Malika Adiliyya, had a tomb tower constructed outside Kayseri (Figure 10.6). In the rivalry that followed Kaykhusraw II's enthronement, Kayqubad's Ayyubid wife, Malika Adiliyya, and her sons were killed. Years after her death (and more significantly, after Kaykhusraw II's death), her daughters were able to build a tomb for her in Kayseri in 1247–8.[39] Kayqubad's cousin appears to have survived the crisis, perhaps because she had

Figure 10.6 *Tomb tower of Malika Adiliyya ('Çifte Kümbet'), Kayseri, 1247–8 (photograph: Suzan Yalman)*

no sons that could potentially challenge Kaykhusraw. She seems to have been the only one among the women to commission a building *during* the reign of her husband in 1231–2 (soon after their marriage); a mosque (*masjid*) now completely rebuilt and known after her husband as the Uluborlu Alaeddin Mosque. The foundation inscription refers to her as 'Virtue of the world and religion, purity of Islam and of Muslims' (*'iṣmat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn ṣafwat al-islām wa'l-muslimīn*), and interestingly underlines that she paid for its expenses from her personal property (*min māl*).[40] The fact that she could build during Kayqubad's reign was no doubt an indication of the status she enjoyed as a descendant of the Seljuk dynasty. She also built two caravanserais north of Antalya (Derebucak Han and Kırkgöz Han) during the reign of Kaykhusraw II, which demonstrates that she was active during the reign of her step-son as well. The patronage of these impressive royal commissions has been recently brought to light and studied by Redford.[41]

Epigraphy, Decorum and Agency

The piecemeal information and shortcomings of the sources from this time period can be filled out by an examination of architectural

patronage and inscriptional programmes in order to 'unveil' agency. As İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı has noted regarding inscriptions, the titles of Seljuk women depended on their lineage; while members of the dynasty were called 'virtue of the world and religion' (*'iṣmat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn*), women who married into the family and bore children were known as 'purity of the world and religion' (*ṣafwat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn*).[42] Thus, while Kayqubad's cousin's name appears as *'iṣmat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn* in the inscription programmes, it is also possible that this was only her title. This paralleled Syrian practices where the epithet or title would be followed by a name (*ism*).[43] For instance, at the hospital (*marīstān*) Kaykhusraw I built for his sister in Kayseri in 1205, in addition to her titles *'iṣmat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn*, the name of the princess (*al-malika*) is also given: Gawhar Nasiba (daughter of Qilij Arslan).[44] Halil Edhem, a scholar who recorded and published Anatolian inscriptions early on, also noted that in many cases princesses were simply called *'iṣmat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn* in their inscriptions (i.e., without their names).[45] Reviewing the inscriptions of Kayqubad's wives with this framework in mind, one notices that similar to Tughrulshah's daughter, the Ayyubid princess was also *'iṣmat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn ṣafwat al-islām* in her tomb tower (actually 'martyrium', or *mashhad*, in the inscription), while Mahperi was *ṣafwat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn* in her complex in Kayseri.[46] This reflects a slightly different situation than the one outlined by Uzunçarşılı; compared with Mahperi and Tughrulshah's daughter who both employed the titles appropriate to their status, the Ayyubid princess seemed to be implying descent from the Rum Seljuk dynasty. However, this 'transgression' can be explained by the fact that Ayyubid and Seljuk decorum relied on the same titles for women's titulature. Hence, the princesses employed titles appropriate to their status, while Mahperi was singled out as non-royal. All three women used the titles appropriate to their positions. Yet it is noteworthy that if we consider *'iṣmat al-dunyā wa'l-dīn* to be a title, the only *ism* we have for Kayqubad's *malika*s is Mahperi Khatun, as recorded in her complex in Kayseri.[47] Malika Adiliyya is 'known' only as her father's daughter, while Tughrulshah's daughter was not even recognised as a wife of the sultan until recently. The inclusion of the *name* of Mahperi Khatun signals a breach of accepted codes of conduct or decorum and highlights the unique space she occupies in the story of Seljuk patronage and power.

As is evident from the epigraphic evidence and decorum, in terms of marriage alliances, Mahperi's position is clearly lower than that of her two fellow wives, the Ayyubid and Seljuk queens. Nevertheless, her status is significantly elevated by her transformation into a queen mother. Moreover, her architectural patronage is also on a grander scale. A key event that ushered in this rise to power is Kayqubad's death from food poisoning in 1237. The fact that this occurred soon after he designated his younger son by his Ayyubid

wife as heir apparent, and thus bypassing Mahperi's son Kaykhusraw raises suspicions. Although the Seljuk amir Sa'd al-Din Köpek plays a central role in Ibn Bibi's text as the villain, Ibn Bibi's choice to omit Mahperi's name altogether seems to be a kind of censoring (like *damnatio memoriae*).[48] Given Kaykhusraw's enthronement contrary to his father's wishes and Mahperi's subsequent rise in stature, their involvement in Kayqubad's death has often been suggested. Another wrinkle that has recently been added – by Redford – is a conspiracy between Kaykhusraw and Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din, the Seljuk queen who was likely seeking revenge for the death of her brother, Jahanshah.[49] For, with him also ended the imperial aspirations of the Erzurum branch of the family who had the exact same bloodline as the Konya Seljuks. This would mean that Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din's interests were likely aligned with those of Mahperi Khatun. Supporting this theory is the fact that Kaykhusraw was married to Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din's niece, the Georgian princess Tamar who became known as Gurji Khatun in the Rum Seljuk lands (yet another instance of marriage across frontiers that is beyond the scope of this chapter). It is not surprising then that Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din's memory was similarly chiselled out of Ibn Bibi's text.

The Double Life of Mahperi Khatun

Returning to Mahperi Khatun, interestingly, although she has been celebrated for her patronage of Islamic institutions such as her Kayseri complex that employed pious formulae in its epigraphic programme, in a letter Kaykhusraw II wrote to the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II (r. 1228–61) in which he sought another marriage alliance, he emphasised his mother's religious freedom, thus indicating that she had not converted.[50] Extant chapels in Seljuk palaces corroborate that many Christian women who entered the Seljuk harem kept their faith.[51] For instance, churches were allowed to remain in Konya and Alanya for queens who were free to practice their religion (such as Mahperi Khatun). However, unless Mahperi Khatun became Muslim *after* the letter was written, it is difficult to reconcile Kaykhusraw's Christian portrayal of her with her generous patronage of Islamic monuments. Perhaps this was part of a public image necessitated by her role as a Seljuk queen mother.

Shukurov's 'dual identity' gains new meaning within this context. Even if she adopted Islam upon becoming a queen mother, Mahperi Khatun's Christian identity was not completely erased, as noted earlier with the unusual features of her tomb. Placed curiously at the conjunction of her mosque and madrasa, her *kümbet* had the trappings necessary for Muslim monuments, including Qur'anic inscriptions (like the popular Throne Verse) that echoed those on the martyrium or *mashhad* of Malika Adiliyya.[52] Yet the epigraphic programme also included the remarkable references to Mary and

Khadija. Moreover, another exceptional feature of her carefully inscribed cenotaph with Qur'anic verses on one side and her titles and name on the other, was the fact that it was the lid of a reused late antique sarcophagus (Figure 10.4). Although such usage departed from both Seljuk and Armenian norms, it was in line with Roman practices continued by the Byzantines. Thus, we have a seemingly Islamic mausoleum on the outside, with traces of a Christian identity within the intimate setting inside the tomb tower. Hence, in addition to the epigraphic evidence, other important details such as the spoliated sarcophagus lid corroborate the dual nature of the patron's identity.

Mahperi Khatun's choices are enigmatic and need to be part of a more profound analysis of her patronage than is possible here. Besides practical and aesthetic concerns, the use of a sarcophagus lid may be reflective of her background since Seljuk stone cenotaphs were usually of a stepped variety.[53] As noted earlier, her father's Greek title 'Kyr' coupled with his Armenian name Vard, indicates that she may have belonged to a culturally Byzantine, Armenian family (this background constituted a 'dual identity' in itself, making her identity all the more complex). The porphyry sarcophagi of the Byzantine emperors that were once interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople that are now on display at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum are well known.[54] In addition, given the milieu she grew up in, as well as Cilician–Crusader relations, Mahperi Khatun may have been aware of similar antiquarian funerary monuments further west. For instance, the Norman and Hohenstaufen dynasties in Sicily also employed sarcophagi for burial.[55] Kayseri or Roman Caesarea no doubt had plenty of Roman *spolia* to borrow. Moreover, there is even an example of Muslim burial in a Roman mausoleum that still stands off the main street (İstasyon Caddesi) behind the Sahibiye Madrasa (1267) today. Still, the palimpsestous layers of meaning involved in this reuse of a single piece of marble reflect issues similar to those encountered in Kayqubad's building of the Konya walls with extensive *spolia*.[56] Like her late husband Kayqubad, Mahperi seemed to take advantage of all possible meanings that the syncretistic context of the 'land of the Romans' (*diyār al-Rūm*) allowed in her borrowings.

A Tomb of Her Own

In addition to the abovementioned subtleties, Mahperi's tomb appears to be the crux of the problem regarding her Kayseri complex (Plates 15 and 16). Studying each structure's masonry carefully, paying particular attention to the area around her tomb tower that points to rebuilding (Figure 10.7), Haluk Karamağaralı challenged the idea that this cluster of buildings constituted a 'complex'.[57] To sum up, he states that given its awkward positioning, as well as the

Figure 10.7 *Tomb tower of Mahperi Khatun, Kayseri, with detail of changes in masonry (photograph: Suzan Yalman)*

corner that remained under the foundation of the mosque, the bath must have been the first building constructed. He posits that the madrasa came second (with no inscriptions), followed by the mosque dated 635/1237–8 as a third phase since it had to accommodate the existing madrasa. The fourth and final addition was the undated tomb tower of Mahperi Khatun.[58]

If Mahperi did not convert until she became queen mother, then that does not allow enough time between her conversion and the date on the mosque for her to have commissioned the madrasa (Kayqubad died in 634/1237 and the date on the mosque is 635/1238). Karamağaralı suspects that she took over a project left incomplete by her late husband.[59] I agree that this is quite plausible, especially given the circumstances of his death. In support, I might add that except for a medical madrasa or hospital (*dār al-shifā*) in Konya that no longer exits, there are no extant madrasas from Kayqubad's reign commissioned by the sultan himself. Thus, the sizeable and striking structure across from the citadel in Kayseri would have been the kind of endowment that Kayqubad might have ordered. In fact, his *dār al-shifā* in Konya was positioned similarly across from the citadel.[60]

Karamağaralı also speculates that Mahperi Khatun likely employed the same workshop that had undertaken the madrasa project to build her mosque. He examines in great detail – and discusses at length – the area of the mosque with the small courtyard where the tomb tower is. In brief, he believes that this corner of the mosque was initially planned to be open, accommodating an earlier building, and therefore it was not intended for the tomb tower that currently occupies the site. Studying the changes in the masonry, he argues that the original structure was different to the one we see today (see Figure 10.7).[61] He suspects that the side of the mosque may have collapsed onto it, at which point the present tomb tower was built.[62] I believe a closer analysis of mason's marks on the buildings with special emphasis on this area might yield a more conclusive answer to questions regarding workshops and successive building phases.

We know that after the Mongol defeat of the Seljuk armies at the battle of Kösedağ in 1243, Mahperi fled to Cilicia (with her daughter and daughter-in-law).[63] I suspect this confirms her link with the Armenian court. Unfortunately, under pressure, the Cilician king Het'um (r. 1226–70) seems to have handed over the refugees to the Mongols.[64] We know she was eventually buried in her complex in Kayseri, but we do not know when (Karamağaralı hypothesizes in the 1260s or 1270s).[65] Of course, this raises the question of her involvement in the tomb – did she build it or was it built for her? For instance, we know that Malika Adiliyya's was commissioned by her daughters. (This is one of the reasons why Karamağaralı argues that the ensemble did not constitute a 'complex.') Yet I believe that even

though they were not originally conceptualised at the same time, with the exception of the bath perhaps, the buildings were placed in relation to each other. One important factor, for the mosque in particular, was the directionality of the *qibla*. Thus, with the final addition of Mahperi Khatun's *kümbet*, they were transformed into a 'complex'. This was the case with the Konya Friday Mosque that went through various stages of construction and eventually became a complex as well.

The Memory of a Saint

Let us return to the mysterious structure described by Karamağaralı. What was it originally and why was it replaced? From the outline of the changes in the walls, Karamağaralı suggests that there might have been a small pre-Islamic chapel-like structure with a cross-gabled roofline such as a baptistery that was for some reason preserved.[66] He likens the spatial relationship to an Armenian church in Karaman, the Church of the Holy Mother of God (*Surb Astuatsazin*, known as 'the Church with a Fountain' in Turkish or *Çeşmeli Kilise*) from the seventeenth or eighteenth century that has a small chapel with a similar roofline attached to the larger church building.[67] He argues that the original building must have had a meaning in an Islamic context for it to be protected and that it may have been the shrine for a saint named 'Hoven', which would explain the variant names (Khwand, Huand, Hunat or Honat) for the Mahperi complex.[68] He posits that this was not a Persian honorific title for her as is usually thought, but signified the memory of the past saint.

I think there is more to this theory than meets the eye. This was certainly the case with the Church of Saint Amphilochius (d. after 394) in Konya, which became known after the ancient philosopher Plato or Aflatun in the Seljuk period.[69] Travellers mention that the site was venerated by both Christians and Muslims for several centuries before it was eventually converted into a *masjid*.[70] I would not be surprised if this were the case in Kayseri as well. The name Hoven might come from the Armenian version of John (Hovhannes), a common name for a Christian saint that is probable as the site may have been a baptistery and referred to John the Baptist.[71] The problem is in identifying the particular holy person or sacred site in Kayseri.[72] However, as the Plato example demonstrates, the name could reflect popular imagination rather than a real attribution. There were in fact many saints in Caesarea and the greater region of Cappadocia is still important for Christian pilgrims today. Could the site have been related to one of the early Church fathers, such as Saint Basil of Caesarea, who famously built a complex (Basiliad) outside the city walls?[73] In his well-known travel account, William of Rubruck (d. 1293) says: 'we reached Caesarea-of-Cappadocia, which contains the church of St. Basil the Great'.[74] Other saints were included in the

pilgrimage guidebook of al-Harawi (d. 1215), who mentions the site of a prison associated with Muhammad ibn Hanafiyya (the Mahdi); the congregational mosque of al-Battal, the famous frontier warlord and saint; the hippodrome that contained the bath of the ancient sage Apollonius; and 'Mt Asib' that had the tomb of the Arab poet, Imra al-Qays.[75] It is not easy to speculate if any of these figures or sites might have been related to the small sacred structure that Karamağaralı describes. Perhaps the Mahperi bathhouse might have been associated with the bath of Apollonius? However, it is evident that Kayseri and Cappadocia in general were popular areas for both saints and mystics from the Christian and Muslim periods.

The Curious Shrine of Shaykh Turasan

Another commission of Mahperi Khatun that I have not addressed provides further food for thought. As mentioned, she was the patroness of a shrine for a certain figure known as Shaykh Turasan on a remote mountaintop in Cappadocia, presently known as 'Mount Lodge' (*Tekke Dağı*) (see Figure 10.5). Upon entering this stone building, which is remarkable given its location, the visitor is confronted with an entrance hall on an east–west axis that ends with an *īwān* that is capped by a dome. To the south of this was a small prayer hall (*masjid*) and the tomb of the shaykh, while to the north there were hospice rooms and a kitchen. An analysis of the multifunctional building was published by Mehmet Çayırdağ, whose work seems to have escaped the notice of scholarship outside of Turkey and thus the shrine is not mentioned in Eastmond's or Blessing's recent overviews of Mahperi Khatun's patronage.[76] The foundation inscription, dated 640/1242–3, over the portal refers to the building as a *mashhad* and includes Mahperi Khatun's title (*safwat al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn*) (Figure 10.8):

> The construction of this martyrium (*mashhad*) was ordered in the days of the greatest sultan, Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l-Din, Sultan of sultans of the Arabs and Persians, Father of conquest, Kaykhusraw, son of Kayqubad, Commander of the faithful, by the great queen, Safwat al-Dunya w'al-Din [owner?] of the good deed, in the year 640 [1242–3].[77]

Although the very last section of the inscription after the title was missing and was not recorded by Çayırdağ, the name of the sultan and titles of the queen make it clear that this endowment belonged to Mahperi Khatun. Çayırdağ also examines the late Ottoman copy of the original Arabic *waqfiyya* – the only extant document relating to Mahperi Khatun's endowments – which describes the function of the building as a *zāwiya* and provides the name of the founder as Khuand Khatun, the wife of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad.[78] Since there is no

Figure 10.8 *Shaykh Turasan* zāwiya*, Cappadocia, İncesu, foundation inscription (photograph: Suzan Yalman)*

mention of the saintly figure in the inscription, we find out from the *waqfiyya* that the name of the shaykh was Turasan.[79]

Given the difficulty in accessing the site even today, it is curious why Mahperi Khatun patronised such a building. Who was this Shaykh Turasan? Although the information is meagre, there appear to be different theories about him. According to one hypothesis, he was an eponymous warrior-saint during the early eleventh-century Turkic incursions into Anatolia.[80] Turan suggested that this historical figure was the Hasan who appears as the companion of Danishmend Ghazi (d. 1104) in the Turkic epic romance known as the *Danishmendnama*, who was very active in the Anatolian defence during the First Crusade (1196–9) and who was killed in battle, passing his name on to Mount Hasan, the second largest volcanic mountain in central Anatolia after Mount Erciyes in Kayseri.[81]

As some scholars have noted, however, Mount Hasan also had a *zāwiya* dedicated to Turasan that is no longer extant.[82] For this reason, the identity of the Hasan of Mahperi Khatun's Tekke Dağı Turasan *zāwiya* is contentious. Was he the Danishmendid Hasan or was he a contemporary of the queen mother? The *waqfiyya* seems to indicate that there was a living shaykh.[83] One can reason then

that the present building was erected upon his death (hence the term *mashhad*), in which case this Hasan could not have been the abovementioned frontier warrior-saint. Turkish scholars discuss the later person as one of the important religious figures or shaykhs that fled from Central Asia and came west to Anatolia who are known as the 'Sages of Anatolia' (*Anadolu Erenleri*) and were thought to be instrumental in converting the largely Christian populace of Cappadocia.[84] While thought-provoking, the information about a possible contemporary Hasan relies on slim evidence as the Ottoman copy of the *waqfiyya* has important errors (most notably a date before Mahperi Khatun was even married to Kayqubad!). Perhaps this was an alternate site for the earlier Hasan instead? Multiple loci for the tombs (either *maqām* or *mashhad*) of popular saints were common in Anatolia. In either case, it is useful to exercise caution with regard to this idea of the 'coloniser dervish', a compelling yet controversial theory put forth by Ömer L. Barkan that can appear like a *topos* in Turkish scholarship.[85] This is particularly important as there were many figures at that time who defy modern notions of identity. Although the process of Islamisation is taken for granted in Anatolia, there were also persons who chose the opposite path and became Christian well. Such was the famous case of Gurji Khatun's father (Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din's brother).[86] Another was a well-known amir under Qilij Arslan II (r. 1155–92) named Hasan (Gabras) who served as ambassador at the court and who apostatised from Islam (*c.* 1179) according to the Byzantine chronicler Choniates.[87] As this example shows, there were various Hasans at the time.

Piety and Sainthood

The intricate issues surrounding Turasan are reminiscent of those related to the complex of Battal Gazi in Seyitgazi, a site on the western borders of the Seljuk realm that was 'discovered' by Mahperi Khatun's mother-in-law and dedicated to the famous frontier warlord.[88] The nucleus of what later transformed into a shrine complex was associated with a woman known as 'the sultan's mother' (*Umm-i khān*), often regarded as the mother of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad in the Ottoman period.[89] In fact, this tomb may have been built during the reign of his father Kaykhusraw I, which would change the identity of the patroness.[90] In both cases, the discovery of relics and the building of prominent tombs for saintly figures is a phenomenon that was cultivated by Seljuk sultans and members of the elite, including women of the royal household. Sites that were shared or contested, especially in frontier regions, as in the case of the Seven Sleepers, seem to have been particularly favoured.[91] Moreover, in some instances, the site could be imbued with distinct meanings by different religious communities. The Konya example of

St Amphilochious/Plato has been mentioned already. Saint George, whose Muslim equivalent was Khidr, was particularly popular for Christians and Muslims.[92] In addition to the 'dual identity' of the saint, the sheer number of sites associated with St George/Khidr in Anatolia reflects the importance attributed to military saints at the time. Given the conflicts between Byzantines, Seljuks, Cilician Armenians, Ayyubids, Crusaders and Mongols, the interest in military saints is not surprising. I suspect 'Shaykh Turasan' or Tur Hasan, who might have been the Danishmendid governor of Kayseri remembered for his bravery in battle, can be seen within this framework as well. As in the Seyitgazi example, the involvement of Mahperi Khatun in such a shrine would appear to be a notable case of a queen mother establishing a pious foundation for a warrior-saint. However, what did this shrine mean to her? This is not easy to assess. Given the date of 645/1242–3, perhaps her support had to do with the Mongols on the horizon and the suspense in the air on the eve of the battle of Kösedağ.

If Mahperi Khatun's *zāwiya* of Shaykh Turasan was developed as a site of commemoration and pilgrimage, what about her own tomb tower within her Kayseri 'complex'? Was it intended to be visited? Some of these issues, including the legal ones related to visitation (*ziyāra*) have been recently discussed by Patricia Blessing, who compares the Mahperi complex with that of the renowned Seljuk amir known as Sahib Ata in Konya (built between 1258–85).[93] It is evident from the queen mother's patronage of Turasan that shrines and pilgrimage were important to her. Moreover, given that Tur Hasan was likely a historical figure and not a religious one, perhaps she hoped that she might come to be similarly venerated. Within the confines of decorum, the primacy of the sanctity of the mosque was kept since access to her tomb was given through the madrasa and not the mosque. This was unlike Konya, where access was through the mosque (now removed after modern renovations).[94] Moreover, in Konya, the thirteenth-century expansion transformed the site into a complex with a mosque and tomb, which was referred to as a 'House of God' (*bayt allāh*) in the inscriptions.[95] This term, usually reserved for the Ka'ba in Mecca, signified the interest in creating a destination for pilgrimage. In Kayseri, Karamağaralı's suggestion that Mahperi's tomb replaced an earlier pre-Islamic structure that had spiritual meaning strengthens the interest in creating a site for commemoration and pilgrimage. The lack of written sources is problematic and the mosque (*masjid*) is the only building mentioned by name in the epigraphic programme, however, the purposeful positioning of the buildings and the language of ornament seems to highlight the tomb as the jewel of the complex.[96]

Who built Mahperi Khatun's tomb and when? Given what little we know of the final years of her life, we do not know. In the sources, she is last mentioned at Karatay's funeral in 1254. Unlike the

mosque and the madrasa that were likely built closer in time, it is not clear if the same workshop could have been involved in her tomb tower, but it was certainly in dialogue with the earlier structures in the 'complex' and most likely with other buildings in Kayseri, such as the Malika 'Adiliyya tomb in particular (1247–8) with which it might have been competing. Her rivalry with Kayqubad's other wives would naturally have extended to other aspects of her patronage as well. Redford mentions how Ismat al-Dunya wa'l Din paid for her own mosque in Uluborlu and Mahperi emphasises her own wealth and charity in her tomb inscription.[97] The same might also be said about her caravanserai commissions. While Ismat al-Dunya wa'l Din ordered two caravanserais in the south, in the region north of Antalya, Mahperi Khatun built hers in the north, outside Tokat and Yozgat. Usually regarded as significant for trade and mercantile interests, caravanserais no doubt provided income towards the upkeep of the pious foundations and would have also served those on spiritual journeys. Given that her two rivals came from Muslim royal families and shared a common sense of decorum, as is notable from epigraphic evidence, it is no wonder that as queen mother Mahperi Khatun publicly asserted her authority and challenged them through her architectural patronage and 'public text'.

Conclusion

At first glance, Mahperi Khatun's patronage of the Kayseri 'complex', the Turasan *zāwiya* and the two (or perhaps more) caravanserais in the north, does indeed appear to be a grand statement about her piety and commitment to charity as the 'conqueror of good deeds' and highlight her powerful role during the reign of her son, Kaykhusraw II. The Arabic inscriptions and the only surviving charter for the *zāwiya*, a pious foundation, all appear to be 'Muslim' foundations. Establishing a mosque, an Islamic higher institution of learning and a shrine dedicated to a shaykh all seem to point to a Muslim identity for Mahperi Khatun while she was a queen mother. Coupled with the epigraphic band of the Throne Verse and *muqarnas* plinth, her tomb tower in Kayseri had the most elaborate geometric ornament possible that was usually associated with Sunni piety and the so-called 'Sunni Revival'.[98] The designs on her *kümbet* display remarkable technical prowess and are among the most complicated pentagonal geometric 'knot' (*girih*) designs in medieval Anatolia because they include patterns that wrap three-dimensional curved surfaces (Plate 16).[99] Thus, all these features seemed to emphasise her pious Muslim self-fashioning.

Behind this façade, however, Mahperi Khatun appears to have retained a Christian identity as well. Kaykhusraw wrote the letter concerning the marriage alliance where he mentions his mother's Christian faith during his reign (i.e., when she was queen mother and

patronising 'Islamic' architecture). Thinking in binary terms, these two portraits of her seem difficult to reconcile. Yet, in the Anatolian context of cultural complexity during a time of political turmoil and flux, they could co-exist. As Shukurov eloquently articulates in relation to 'dual identity':

> Such a paradigm has little to do with religious and cultural tolerance in the proper sense because tolerance means an ability to tolerate others, while the sultans bore both religions and both cultures in their selves. Of course, such a paradigm is completely different from religious or cultural syncretism, which means the combining of the elements of differing worlds. Differing beliefs, languages and modes of life seemingly were present unmixed in the mentality of such persons.[100]

In this way, the two sides of Mahperi Khatun's piety seemed to come together in the intimate setting inside her tomb tower where she is described as 'Mary of her age' as well as the 'Khadija of her time'. The interior and exterior of her tomb in Kayseri speak volumes about her private and public personae. She was a woman endowed with all the possible attributions of female piety, both Christian and Muslim.

It is unfortunate that we do not have accounts that mention Mahperi Khatun's patronly activities. Her daughter-in-law Gurji Khatun, on the other hand, is prominently featured in the hagiography of Aflaki where she is portrayed as an active follower and patron of Mevlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273). She even contributed to the commissioning of his tomb, which has been a major pilgrimage destination for centuries and has become one of the most important tourist attractions in modern Turkey.[101] Despite Gurji Khatun's great devotion to Mevlana, a Muslim mystic, she had no reservations about ordering portraits of him to take with her when she planned on being away from Konya.[102] This is reminiscent of Christians carrying icons for private devotion.[103] Moreover, she may have been involved in the commissioning of a church in Cappadocia (Kırkdamaltı Kilise in the Ihlara Valley) towards the end of her life, and some scholars have suggested that she is the woman prominently depicted presenting a donation to St George.[104] Evidently, Mahperi Khatun was not the only Seljuk wife with an actively expressed 'dual identity'.

For the sultans of Rum, marriages were a way to solidify political alliances. When tied across cultural zones, the different parties and their offspring had to negotiate their identities. In this chapter I have argued that when we examine the architectural patronage of Mahperi Khatun, her pious foundations attest to her complex personality and signify her 'dual identity'. In this way, although women of the royal household came from a variety of cultural

backgrounds – Arab, Armenian, Georgian, Greek or Turkic – they could establish buildings that ultimately shared a common 'Seljuk' architectural idiom.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this chapter was originally presented at the Society of Architectural Historians Annual Symposium, Austin, Texas, 11 April 2014. I thank Rachel Goshgarian and Patricia Blessing for their kind remarks and their patience throughout the editorial process. I am also grateful to Peter Lu for many conversations and a mutual fascination with the Kayseri 'complex', as well as to Hilal Uğurlu and Sara Nur Yıldız for other technical matters.

2. Shukurov, 'Harem Christianity'.

3. For a recent comprehensive overview of her patronage, see Blessing 'Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia'. See also, Blessing, 'Buildings of Commemoration'; Çayırdağ, 'Hunat (Huvand Huand) Külliyesi'. As for earlier scholarship see Gabriel, *Monuments turcs*; Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu'; Kuran, 'Anatolian-Seljuk Architecture'.

4. See Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 145, 176, 228–9; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 144; Turan, 'L'islamisation dans la Turquie du Moyen Age', p. 152; Sümer, 'Selçuklu Tarihinde İğdişler', pp. 9–23. For a more recent discussion, see Redford, 'The Rape of Anatolia', pp. 107–16.

5. Peacock, de Nicola and Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*.

6. Among other examples, see Turan, 'Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans', p. 82.

7. Eastmond, 'Gender and Patronage', pp. 78–88.

8. Shukurov, 'Harem Christianity', p. 134.

9. For 'public text', see Bierman, *Writing Signs*.

10. The west portal *muqarnas* semi-dome is itself a reminder of Syrian examples, such as the hospital of Nur al-Din Zangi (r. 541–69/1146–74) in Damascus (549/1154). For other Syrian comparanda, see, e.g., Korn, *Ayyubidische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*.

11. See Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu'. See also, Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*; Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri.*

12. For publications on bath and tilework, see Bozer, 'Kayseri Hunad Hamamı Çinileri', pp. 1–27; Önge, 'Kayseri Huand (Mahperi Hatun)', pp. 10–12, 17; Yurdakul, 'Son Buluntulara Göre Kayseri'deki Hunat Hamamı'.

13. See Çobanoğlu, 'Külliye'; Katoğlu, 'XIII. Yüzyıl Anadolu Türk Mimarisinde "Külliye"', pp. 335–44.

14. For further discussion of the Mongol context, see Crane, 'Notes on Saljūq Architectural Patronage in 13th century Anatolia', pp. 1–57; Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia*.

15. Blessing, 'Buildings of Commemoration', pp. 225–52.

16. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', pp. 199–245.

17. For the inscriptions from the two portals, see Erkiletlioğlu, *Kayseri Kitabeleri*, pp. 52–5; Halil Edhem (Eldem), *Kayseri Şehrî*, pp. 64–5,

reproduced as Eldem, *Kayseri şehri*, pp. 89–90; *RCEA*, No. 4146 (west) and No. 4147 (east); Blessing 'Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia', pp. 489–90, nn. 56–7; Eastmond, 'Gender and Patronage', pp. 79–80, n. 15 (only English translation based on *RCEA*). Unfortunately, an important distinction was lost in the older sources (Eldem and *RCEA*) and has been reproduced more recently (Blessing and Eastmond); both inscriptions actually refer to a *masjid*. There is no mention of a Friday mosque (*jāmiʿ*). Erkiletlioğlu, *Kayseri Kitabeleri*, pp. 52–3. Hanafi tradition at the time still favoured a single *jāmiʿ* in a city presiding over multiple *masjid*s. See Johansen, 'The All- Embracing Town and its Mosques', pp. 99–100.

18. See note 17, above.
19. Erkiletlioğlu, *Kayseri Kitabeleri*, pp. 56–8. Curiously, Erkiletlioğlu omits the inscriptions for Mahperi Khatun's cenotaph.
20. See Khoury, 'The *Mihrāb* Image', pp. 11–28.
21. Türkmen, 'Konya Sultanlar Türbesi İçerisindeki Sandukalar Üzerinde Yer Alan Kitabeler', pp. 665–72.
22. See Halil Edhem (Eldem), *Qayṣarîye şehrî*, p. 67, reproduced as Eldem, *Kayseri şehri*, pp. 92–3; *RCEA*, No. 4259; Blessing 'Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia', pp. 491–2, n. 66; Eastmond, 'Gender and Patronage', pp. 83–4, n. 37 (English translation only). The expression 'the martyr' (*al-shahīd*) describing Kaykhusraw is missing. See also, Redford, 'Paper, Stone, Scissors', p. 169, n. 20.
23. See Stowasser, 'Mary', *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*; Stowasser, *Women in the Qurʾan, Traditions, and Interpretations*.
24. For further information on the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, see 'Khadīdja', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, available at: http://refer-enceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2.
25. Ibn Bibi, *Avāmir al-ʿalāʾīyah fī al-umūr al-ʿalāʾīyah (El-Evāmirūʾl-ʿalāʾiyye fīʾl-umūrʾl-ʿalāʾiyye)*, facs. edn, fol. 247. Sempad, *Documents armeniens*, vol. I, p. 645, as cited in Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, p. 358. Also see Turan, 'Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans', p. 82.
26. Ibn Bibi, facs. edn, fols 247–248. See also Hacıgökmen, 'I. Alaeddin Keykubat'ın (1220–1237)' Kayınpederi, pp. 121–30.
27. Rustam Shukurov sees this as a corruption of the Greek name Bardas: Shukurov, 'Harem Christianity', p. 134.
28. Korobeinikov, 'A Greek Orthodox Armenian in the Seljukid Service', pp. 709–24.
29. The baron was 'Le Seigneur de Calanonoos, Aijoudabe, Sainte-Sophie et Naghlon, Kyr Varte'. L. M. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, pp. 174–7, as cited in Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, p. 147.
30. Boase, 'The History of the Kingdom', in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, p. 19, n. 108. For an overview on Armenian Cilicia, see Der Nersessian, 'The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia', pp. 630–59.
31. Perhaps like the notary discussed by Korobeinikov (see note 28 above), Kyr Vard may have been a Chalcedonian Armenian who had been part of the former Byzantine context as his Greek title 'Kyr' implies, but had later assumed a role in the Cilician Armenian realm. His name seems to indicate another kind of 'dual identity'. What happened when he moved to Akşehir is another mystery. Such issues add to the already complex layers of identity in medieval Anatolia.
32. For her two caravanserais with inscriptions, see Erdmann, *Das ana-*

tolische Karavansaray, vol. 1, pp. 135–9, No. 36 (Pazar Hatun Han), and vol. 1, pp. 140–3, No. 37 (Çınçınlı Han). Due to space constraints, I cannot discuss her caravanserais at length here. For recent discussions, see Blessing, 'Women Patrons in Medieval Anatolia', pp. 496–8; Eastmond, 'Gender and Patronage', pp. 80–1.

33. *RCEA*, Nos 4157 and 4158.
34. Çayırdağ, 'Kayseri'nin İncesu İlçesinde Şeyh Turesan Zaviyesi', pp. 271–8.
35. See Bates, 'The Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Women', pp. 51–65; Bates, 'Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey', pp. 245–60.
36. Bates, 'Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey', pp. 247–8.
37. See Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, p. 394, n. 78.
38. See Redford, 'Paper, Stone, Scissors', pp. 158–65.
39. Akşit, 'Melike-i Adiliye Kümbetinde', pp. 239–45. For the context following Kayqubad's death, see Yıldız, 'The Rise and Fall of a Tyrant in Seljuk Anatolia', pp. 92–101.
40. See Rogers, 'Waqf and Patronage', p. 74; Uzunçarşılıoğlu, *Kitabeler*, pp. 234–6.
41. Redford posits that the dowager queen's caravanserais were built early on in Kaykhusraw II's reign (r. 1237–46). See Redford, 'The Inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı', 347–58: Redford, 'Paper, Stone, Scissors', p. 157.
42. See Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatına Medhal*, p. 61.
43. Eddé, *La principauté Ayyoubide d'Alep*, p. 203.
44. See Edhem, *Kayseri Şeri*, p. 58; Erkiletlioğlu, *Kayseri Kitâbeleri*, pp. 24–7.
45. Edhem, *Qayṣarîye şehrî*, p. 59.
46. Erkiletlioğlu, *Kayseri Kitâbeleri*, pp. 66 and 52–3 (Mahperi).
47. For Mahperi Complex, see Edhem, *Kayseri Şeri*, pp. 88–93.
48. For Köpek, see Yıldız, 'The Rise and Fall of a Tyrant in Seljuk Anatolia', pp. 92–101.
49. For what follows, see Redford, 'Paper, Stone, Scissors', pp. 151–70.
50. See Eastmond, 'Gender and Patronage', p. 84; Turan, 'Les souverains seldjoukides et leur sujets non-musulmans', pp. 81–2; Tekinalp, 'Palace Churches of the Anatolian Seljuks', pp. 163–4.
51. See Tekinalp, 'Palace Churches of the Anatolian Seljuks', pp. 148–67.
52. Erkiletlioğlu, *Kayseri Kitâbeleri*, pp. 56–8; Edhem, *Kayseri Şeri*, pp. 91–3.
53. Seljuk tombstones are on display at the Museum of Stonework housed in the İnce Minareli Medrese in Konya. Another tomb with a spoliated cenotaph was for the Halifet Gazi in Amasya (d. 1232). I thank Zarifa Alikperova for mentioning this tomb.
54. See Downey, 'Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles'.
55. See Deér, *Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*.
56. For a discussion of Kayqubad's Konya walls, see Yalman, 'Building the Sultanate of Rum', pp. 34–141.
57. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', pp. 199–245.
58. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', pp. 199–245.
59. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', pp. 212–13.

60. Kayqubad's Konya *dār al-shifā* was on the north side of the citadel, west of the Karatay Madrasa that would built later (649/1251–2). For this hospital, see Küçükdağ, *Konya Alaeddin Darüşşifası*.
61. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', pp. 207–9, figs 4, 11-2.
62. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', p. 210.
63. Ibn Bibi, facs. edn, fol. 536. Also see *Extrait de la chronique de Sempad*, p. 106.
64. Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj*, p. 477.
65. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', p. 216.
66. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', pp. 208–10, n. 22, figs 4, 11-2.
67. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', p. 208, n. 21.
68. Karamağaralı, 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', p. 209, n. 22.
69. See Yalman, 'Building the Sultanate of Rum', pp. 126–8.
70. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, p. 256, as cited in Yalman, 'Building the Sultanate of Rum', p. 126.
71. I am grateful to Rachel Goshgarian for this suggestion.
72. Karamağaralı cites literature that refers to a friend of Hacı Bayram (1352–1429) who was named Hoven. This is not possible chronologically; however, he suggests it might retain the memory of the former site. See 'Kayseri'deki Hunad Câmiinin Restitüsyonu', p. 209, n. 22.
73. Cooper and Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia*, p. 30.
74. Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 273.
75. 'The city of Kayseri is where Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya ibn 'Alī ibn Abī ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, was imprisoned. It contains the congregational mosque of al-Baṭṭāl. It contains the hippodrome, which has ancient ruins. The hippodrome also contains the Cupola of the Horsemen and the bath of which it is mentioned that the sage Apollonius made it for the emperor Caesar: it is heated by a lamp. God knows best. Near the hippodrome is Mt. 'Asīb, which contains the tomb of Imru' al-Qays, the poet of the Arabs . . .' Harawi, *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*, pp. 152–5.
76. See Çayırdağ, 'Kayseri'nin İncesu İlçesinde Şeyh Turesan Zaviyesi', pp. 274–5.
77. A broken section at the end of the inscription was missing when Çayırdağ published it, therefore it is worth including the text here:

    1. amara bi-'imārat hadhā 'l-mashhad fī ayyām dawlat al-sulṭān
    2. al-ā'ẓam Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn sulṭān al-salāṭin 'l 'arab
    3. wa'l ajam abī 'l-fatḥ Kaykhusraw b. Kayqubād amīr al-mu'minīn al-malika
    4. al-kabīra Ṣafwat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn al-ṣahibī al-khayra fī sana 640 [1242–3]

    The last section of the inscription, especially the way *al-ṣahibī* was written, is problematic (Figure 10.8). This might be partly because of the fragment; however, I think it is more likely to be from a poor restoration attempt and the painting of the letters. The letters in Çayırdağ's photograph were not painted. Ibid., fig. 4. I thank Sara Nur Yıldız for discussing the problems of this inscription.

78. Çayırdağ, 'Kayseri'nin İncesu İlçesinde Şeyh Turesan Zaviyesi', pp. 275–7.

79. Çayırdağ, 'Kayseri'nin İncesu İlçesinde Şeyh Turesan Zaviyesi', pp. 275–7.

80. Çayırdağ, 'Kayseri'nin İncesu İlçesinde Şeyh Turesan Zaviyesi', pp. 277–8.

81. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, p. 130, nn. 54–7, as cited in Çayırdağ, 'Kayseri'nin İncesu İlçesinde Şeyh Turesan Zaviyesi', p. 278.

82. The Turasan *zāwiya* in the Niğde region was described by Hasluck: 'The Hasan Dagh, near Caesarea, has on its summit (1) a ruined Christian chapel and (2) a *turbe* associated with the sheikh Tur Hasan Veli, who can boast a respectable cycle of tradition. He represents, in all probability, a tribal eponymous hero, and may even be historical.' Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, vol. 1, p. 100. For the rest of Hasluck's account, see ibid., p. 339. See also Topal, '509/1115 Tarihli Sultan İbrahim Vakfı, Şeyh Torasan Zaviyesi ve Türbesi', pp. 339–60; Önge, 'Niğde Aksaray'da Şeyh Turasan veya Hasan Dede Zaviyesi', pp. 145–54.

83. Çayırdağ, Kayseri'nin İncesu İlçesinde Şeyh Turesan Zaviyesi, pp. 275–7.

84. See Kozan, 'Yazılı ve Sözlü Kaynaklara Göre Türkiye', pp. 137–66; Kozan, 'Sözlü ve Yazılı Tarihe', pp. 313–36; Tek, 'Anadolu Dervişlerinin', pp. 157–72.

85. See Barkan, 'Osmanlı imparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak vakıflar ve temlikler I'.

86. The Syrian chronicler Ibn al-Athir reported this as a 'strange turn of events without parallel'. *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from 'al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh'*, vol. 3, p. 244.

87. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. Van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin, 1975), p. 213 ann., as cited in Brand, 'The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries', pp. 1–25.

88. For this shrine, see Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography*.

89. Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography*, pp. 55–6.

90. This woman is usually associated with the Byzantine aristocratic Mavrozomes family; however, Mavrozomes gave his daughter in marriage to Kaykhusraw during his years in exile and Ibn Bibi records that when their father was exiled, his two sons, Kayka'us and Kayqubad, were initially held hostage by their uncle and cried after their father. Ibn Bibi, facs. edn, fol. 38. Kaykhusraw's Turkish biographer also noted this problem. See Baykara, *I. Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev (1164–1211) Gazi-Şehit*, pp. 46–7. Baykara believes it was the mother of Kaykhusraw instead. Ibid., p. 70. For further information on Mavrozomes, see Yıldız, 'Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes and his Descendants at the Seljuk Court'.

91. See Pancaroğlu, 'Caves, Borderlands and Configurations of Sacred Topography', pp. 249–81.

92. See Ocak, 'XIII.–XV. yüzyıllarda Anadolu'da Türk-Hristiyan', pp. 661–73; Ocak, *İslām-Türk İnançlarında Hızır Yahut Hızır-İlyas Kültü*; Wolper, 'Khiḍr and the Changing Frontiers of the Medieval World', pp. 120–46.

93. Blessing, 'Buildings of Commemoration', pp. 225–52.

94. Redford, 'The Alaeddin Mosque', p. 72.

95. Duran, *Selçuklu Devri Konya Yapı Kitâbeleri*, pp. 41–2.

96. See note 17, above.
97. Redford, 'Paper, Stone, Scissors', p. 165, n. 20.
98. The 'Sunni Revival' is a debated topic and is beyond the scope of this chapter. For a discussion related medieval Islamic architecture, see Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art.*
99. For a technical explanation of how these patterns might have been translated into stone using *girih* tiles, see Lu, 'Decagonal and Quasi-crystalline Tilings in Medieval Islamic Architecture', pp. 1106–10. For a more comprehensive discussion of *girih*, see Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll.*
100. Shukurov, 'Harem Christianity', p. 134.
101. Aflaki, *Manaqib al-'Arifin*, vol. 2, p. 792.
102. Aflaki, *Feats of the Knowers of God*, pp. 292–3.
103. There is a body of scholarship on private devotion that is not possible to discuss here. For images, see, e.g., Belting, *Likeness and Presence.*
104. See Vryonis, 'Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George of Beliserama', pp. 11–22. See also Aldrich, 'The Connectedness of the Rum Seljuks and the Kingdom of Georgia'.