Copy-Paste. The Reuse of Material
and Visual Culture in Architecture

The Re-use of Byzantine *Spolia* in Rūm Saljūq Architecture

Richard Piran McClary

Abstract:

This paper addresses the re-use of Byzantine *spolia* in the west of the Rūm
Saljūq Sultanate during the early 7th/13th century. The focus is on two small
mosques in Akşehir, along with two tombs in Konya and a madrasa near
Isparta. The various symbolic, apotropaic and purely functional, structural
uses of *spolia* are investigated and placed into the wider regional context.

# The Re-use of Byzantine *Spolia* in Rūm Saljūq Architecture

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This paper investigates the various possible reasons for, and specific types of, Byzantine funerary and ecclesiastical *spolia*[1] employed in Rūm Saljūq architecture during the early 13th century. The main focus is on a selection of little-known buildings in Akşehir, a city in the frontier region of the Rūm Saljūq sultanate, close to the Christian Byzantine lands. Two structures in Konya, located 100km to the southeast, and described by the chronicler Ibn Bībī as the "home to the throne of the state" (*mustaqarr-i sarīr-i dawlat*),[2] are also examined. In addition, *spolia* usage at a complex near Isparta, which consists of a tomb, a madrasa and a mosque is addressed (Fig. 1). Although only a small selection will be discussed here, it is possible to show the diversity of functions and meanings, and introduce them to a wider audience.

The bulk of Anatolia came under Turko-Muslim control following the victory of the Great Saljūq Sultan Alp Arslān at Manzikert, near Ahlat in south-east Anatolia, in 463/1071.[3] It took nearly a century for the emergence of the requisite political and economic stability which allowed for a significant programme of architectural redevelopment to get underway. This process effloresced under the aegis of the Rūm Saljūq dynasty which was, by the late 12th century, the preeminent power in Anatolia.[4] Following the Latin conquest of Constantinople, in April 1204, the land to the west of the Rūm Saljūq Sultanate was ruled by the Greek Christian Laskarid Empire of Nicaea.[5] The close proximity to Christian territory, and the largely Christian population of Anatolia, go some way towards explaining the syncretic mix of Byzantine[6] and Muslim building techniques and aesthetics seen in the surviving Islamic architecture of the region.

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Fig. 1
Anatolia in c.1220 (R. McClary)
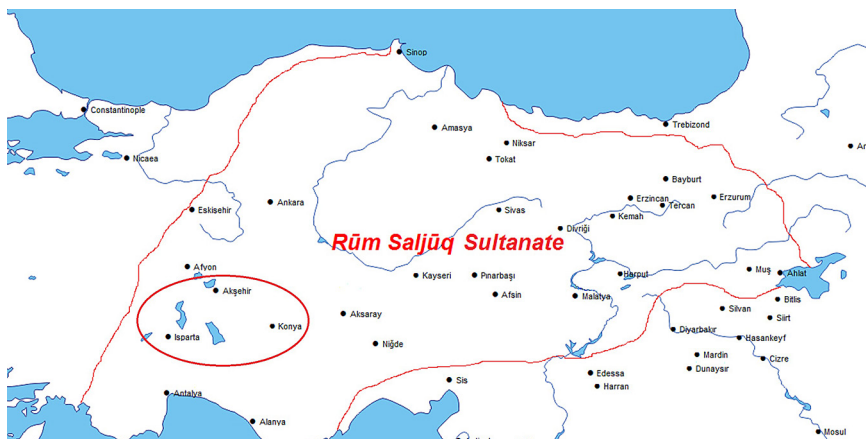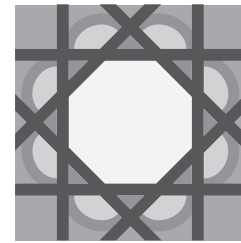
[1] It is possible that certain fragments originated from secular buildings such as palaces, but the vast majority of decorative material is clearly either ecclesiastical or funerary in origin.

[2] Andrew Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life in Saljūq Anatolia", in David Durand-Guédy, *Turco-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life,* Leiden & Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), p. 198.

[3] For a detailed study of the battle and its aftermath see Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol; The Battle of Manzikert,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), especially pp. 26–88.

[4] For an overview of the period see Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey, The Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), especially pp. 7–65 and Songül Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs; Evolution of a Dynasty* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), chapter 3, pp. 54–98.

[5] See Alexander P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 356–358 and p.1180 for an overview of the Byzantine Empire of Nicaea. For a detailed study see Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society Under the Laskarids of Nicaea 1204–1261* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[6] For an overview of the development of Byzantine architecture see Robert Ousterhout, "Churches and Monasteries", in Elizabeth Jeffreys (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 353–372.

There are two broad types of *spolia*[7] usage in the frontier architecture of the Rūm Saljūqs. Elements were re-appropriated in the context of Islamic architecture across an array of structural typologies: for symbolic, apotropaic or decorative purposes on the one hand, and practical or structural on the other.[8] To complicate matters somewhat, there are several examples where multivalent roles and meanings can be seen to be at play. The focus here is on the early phase of construction, during the first half of the 13th century, prior to the Mongol victory at Köse Dağ in 641/1243, and the resultant emasculation of the Rūm Saljūq Sultans. Although much *spolia* was used after this date,[9] the functions, meaning and architectural aesthetic of the Muslim-built architecture of Anatolia had been established by that time.

Turning to the scholarly study of the material, there has only been one attempt to catalogue the use of (largely) Byzantine *spolia* by the Rūm Saljūqs, by Öney in 1968.[10] The article is rather dated, far from comprehensive, and features limited analysis of either the possible reasons for the use, or the details, of the *spolia* fragments. The attempt here is not to provide a full catalogue, but to examine a few lesser-known examples, in order to determine the possible reasons for the phenomena. These in turn may be applicable to the wider corpus of *spolia* re-use in the Islamic architecture of medieval Anatolia. The reasons why Byzantine *spolia* elements were re-used, given the lack of relevant written sources, are very subjective and difficult questions to answer.[11] It may be assumed that at different times, and in different locations, the reasons varied from the wholly practical, such as the re-use of capitals, columns and other structural elements, to the more symbolic and talismanic. While somewhat arbitrary, the division of the usage into two broad categories, one purely functional and the other more multi-layered and enigmatic, provides a starting point for the analysis of a complex and at times seemingly intractable problem.

Functional usage of *spolia*

The more crude and haphazard use of damaged and random elements of *spolia* fragments in the mosques of Akşehir was primarily functional, but with the conscious use of some decorative elements on occasion. The marble columns and capitals used in the construction of the Ulu Camii in Akşehir[12] (607/1210) are examples of the purely practical use of *spolia* (Fig. 2). Their use would represent a significant saving in time, and therefore cost, when compared with the carving of new components. They are generally less overtly Christian in character than some other *spolia*, and when crosses had been carved into the capitals, they were often chipped away, presumably before re-use.[13] It is hard to attribute any significant degree of social, cultural or symbolic importance to this category of reuse. Unlike the exterior of buildings, which could be seen by people of all denominations and religions in the community, the interior of the mosque would only have been seen by members of the *umma*, and must be

[7] For a good overview of the reuse of *spolia* see Michael Greenhalgh, "*Spolia*: A Definition in Ruins", in Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (eds.), *Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine,* Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 75–95. For a wider analysis of the various interpretations of the term 'spolia' see Dale Kinney, *Introduction,* in Brilliant and Kinney, *Spolia and Appropriation*, pp. 1–11.

[8] The categories used in this paper builds on Carole Hillenbrand's identification of three key motivating factors in the reuse of *spolia* in post-Crusader Jerusalem, namely; practical, aesthetic and, primarily, as displays of the spoils of victory. See Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades, Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp. 384–385. In a similar, although not identical vein, see Greenhalgh, *Spolia: A Definition* (see note 7), p. 81, in his somewhat damning indictment of much of the recent scholarship on *spolia* studies, posits pragmatism, aesthetics and ideology as the three basic categories of reuse.

[9] An example can be seen in Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330* (Ashgate Publishing: Farnham, 2014), pp. 194–195, where she describes the use of *spolia* at the Arslanhane in Ankara, built in 688/1289–90.

[10] Gönül Öney, "Anadolu Selçuk Mimarisinde Antik Devir Malzemesi", *Anadolu* XII (1968), pp. 17–38. See Scott Redford, "The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique", *Muqarnas* X (1993), pp. 148–156; pp.148–9 for a brief discussion of the article.

[11] Finbarr B. Flood, "Image against Nature: *Spolia* as Apotropaia in Byzantium and the dār al-Islām", *The Medieval History Journal,* Vol. 9/1, (2006), pp. 143–166 provided an excellent overview of the views expressed in the surviving medieval Arabic and Persian written accounts of the talismanic qualities associated with antique *spolia*. See Greenhalgh, *Spolia: A Definition* (see note 7), especially pp. 75–81 for a clarion call for caution regarding the attribution of meaning to re-used marble architectural components.

[12] Located at: Lat: 38° 21' 23'' N Lon: 031° 24' 41'' E.

[13] An exception to this practice can be seen on the largest of the four *spolia* capitals used in the (heavily restored) covered porch of the Kileci Mescidi in >

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assessed with that audience in mind. There are a number of other structures in Akşehir, dating from the 13th century, which also feature re-used capitals and carved *spolia* set into the walls. One example is the Kileci Camii, which has a triple arched portico, somewhat reminiscent of a Byzantine *tribelon,* on the front. With the exception of the Ulu Camii, the Akşehir mosques under discussion all have the same basic form, consisting of a square-plan room, covered by a single dome.

Symbolic usage of *spolia*

In contrast to the reuse of purely structural elements, with little or no decoration, the conscious and conspicuous use of ashlars with anthropomorphic and non-Arabic epigraphic decoration poses a far more challenging question as to why they were used. There was no need to display the decoration, so it has to be inferred that the choice of decoration was a conscious and deliberate act.

The façades of the Güdük Minare Camii[14] (624/1226), and the Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi[15] (621/1224), feature numerous fragments of Byzantine *spolia*, set amidst baked bricks, of the size developed in the Persianate tradition of brick-building,[16] and glazed tiles. This suggests that, although it is likely that local masons were also employed, the construction of mosques was primarily the work of migrant Muslim craftsmen, probably from north-western Iran.[17] The Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi features a large number of *spolia* ashlars, including torus moulded jambs and lintels, but only a few pieces feature any sort of decorative carving. There is a fragment of a panel with ecclesiastical origins,[18] as well as two sections of funerary *stelae*, both of which feature anthropomorphic sculpture in relief (Fig. 3). One has four standing figures in an architectural setting, beneath a pediment, flanked by outward facing palms, and surrounded by a Greek inscription.[19] Such unorthodox use of human figures on a mosque is very unusual,[20] but it may have been the presence of the palms, associated with the hand of Fāṭima in the Muslim tradition, that prompted the use of this particular piece of *spolia*. The other example of figural carving features two rows of outward facing soldiers, each holding a spear, with a horse and rider at the end, located at the top-right of the right-hand window of the entrance façade (Fig. 3). Again, such con-

Akşehir (*c.*13th century). The capital, which is similar in style to ones seen in the Ulu Camii, features a cross, facing outwards, which has not been chipped away.

[14] Located at: Lat: 38º 21' 25'' N Lon: 031º 24' 34'' E.

[15] Also known as the Ferruh Şah Mescidi, it is located at: Lat: 38º 21' 20'' N Lon: 031º 24' 28'' E.

[16] The average brick size employed in Iran was *c.*20cm x *c.*20cm x *c.*5cm. In contrast, Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 131 states that Byzantine bricks were much larger, measuring between 32cm and 36cm square, and thinner, with an average thickness closer to 3.5cm.

[17] In addition, Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet (eds.), *Répertoire Chronologique D'Épigraphie Arabe Vol. 10* (Cairo: l'Instiut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939), p. 218 mentions a nearby inscription, dated to 621/1224, which gives the name of a craftsman from Mosul (al-Mawṣil).

[18] The panel has the appearance of being of middle Byzantine vintage. For similar examples dated to the 11th century see Maria Kontogiannopoulou, *Ta Byzantina Glypta tes Koimes tes Theotokou kai tou Hagiou Athenasiou ste Makrinista Peliou* (Thessaloniki: n/p, 2000), pp. 84–85 and pp. 169–171, plates 69–71. The use of relatively contemporaneous material from churches should perhaps be viewed in a different light to the use of far older objects. Such older stones may be presumed to have been far less loaded with meaning for the indigenous Christian population than church components.

[19] The Persian writer Nāṣir-i Khusrau reported in the 11th century on the use of a piece of antique stone with non-Arabic writing in Syria as a talisman against spiders, cited in Flood, *Image Against Nature* (see note 11), p.1 48. It is possible that a similarly talismanic meaning was intended for the Anatolian examples as well.

[20] A limited number of zoomorphic exceptions are given in Flood, *Image Against Nature* (see note 11), p. 158. Finbarr B. Flood "An Ambiguous Aesthetic: Crusader *Spolia* in Ayyubid >

Fig. 2
Ulu Camii (607/1210), Akşehir: Interior (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

scious use of human figural images on a mosque is most unusual, and it is in the bellicose content, and the possible suggestion of Muslim victory, that a possible reason for its use may be found.

The main decorative elements of the Güdük Minare Camii, including the marble *spolia* and the glazed tiles, are clustered around the entrance. The (off-set) arch over the door, although largely brick-built with turquoise glazed intarsia, has a stone Corinthian capital deep-set into each spandrel (Fig. 4). They represent the only symmetrical use of *spolia* in the two structures, and appear to date from the 4th century.[21] This would make them somewhat earlier than most of the other examples of carved architectural *spolia* used in Akşehir.

The marble panels featuring Arabic epigraphy, giving the name of the patron, date and in the case of the Güdük Minare Camii, the builder,[22] are given prominence over all the marble *spolia* elements by the addition of a turquoise glazed tile border. This technique can be seen on the entrance façade of both the small mosques under discussion. Such a hierarchy of form suggests that whatever multi-layered meanings the *spolia* may have been imbued with, be they talismanic, apotropaic or as a sign of victory, the overtly Islamic elements clearly took precedence.

Although the use of *spolia* appears rather haphazard in many cases, the relief band of triangular decoration in brick that runs around the top of the Güdük Minare Camii is echoed in the form of the large marble *spolia* panel set in the wall below (Fig. 4). The apparent dissonance between

Jerusalem", in Robert Hillenbrand and Sylvie Auld (eds.) *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187–1220* (London: Altajit Trust, 2009), p. 209–211 discusses the zoomorphic capitals at the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, but gives no examples of the use of anthropomorphic sculpture on or in mosques in either publication.

[21] Based on similar examples in Jerusalem, shown in Ernst Kitzinger *Byzantine Art in the Making,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), plate 140. *Ibid.*, p. 79, which gives a date of before 400, while pp. 78–79 discusses the development process of the "pure impost capital" within the Byzantine architectural tradition from the 5th century onwards. It is such types of capital that are seen in the Ulu Camii and the Kileci Camii. See Sophia Kalopisi-Verti and Maria Panayotodi-Kesisoglu, *Multilingual Illustrated Dictionary of Byzantine Architectural and Sculptural Terminology*, (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2010), p.152, figs. 321–324 for an overview of the forms of Byzantine impost capitals. For a detailed study of Middle Byzantine capitals see Martin Dennert *Mittelbyzantinische kapitelle, Asia Minor Studien 25* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1997).

[22] Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1976), Vol. 2, p. 32 states that the inscription panel over the door names the builder as Aḥmad ibn Mas῾ūd.

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the two materials and traditions is bridged by the formal similarities. What appear to be either fragments of *templon* screen sections or panels from an *ambo* (raised pulpit) can be seen in façades of the Güdük Minare Camii and the Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi. Given the ubiquity of *templon* and *ambo* panels[23] there may well have been some significance in the use of broken, rather than intact, sections on the exterior of mosques. Such usage of elements taken from the *naos,* being the most sacred part of a church, on the exterior of a mosque, (Fig. 4) may be related to the idea of Christian subjugation and the victory of Islam.[24] However, caution is required in order to avoid trying to force fragmentary evidence to fit a hypothesis regarding the meaning and the intentions of patrons and builders in the absence of any clear evidence.

It could be argued that the re-use of marble from Byzantine structures was a result of the absence of skilled craftsmen capable of carving new work. However, the superb quality of some of the epigraphy, especially in the case of the Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi panel[25] (Fig. 3), indicates the presence of highly skilled hardstone carvers. Yet there was still a large amount of decorated marble ashlars and *stelae spolia* integrated into structures built in the western part of the Rūm Saljūq Sultanate during the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The two small mosques under discussion are rare examples of *opus mixtum* in the corpus of Rūm Saljūq architecture. The brick component of the buildings, especially the Güdük Minare Camii, feature far wider mortar bed joints that most other brick-built structures in Anatolia. This feature, along with the presence of exposed timber tie-beams indicates the involvement of craftsmen trained in the Byzantine building tradition,[26] alongside those from Muslim-ruled lands to the east and south.

It is possible that in many cases the motivation for the re-use of marble was because of the inherent value of the material, rather than any perceived cultural associations with the form and decoration of the *spolia*.[27] The pre-eminent chronicler of the Rūm Saljūqs, Ibn Bībī, indicated the talismanic qualities that they attributed to marble. He gave an account of how Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Qubādh I (r. 616–634/1219–1237) delayed his attack on Alanya in order to transport marble projectiles to the site.[28] Such attitudes may shed some light on the, sometimes seemingly random, incorporation of marble *spolia* fragments into the fabric of structures during the 13th century in Anatolia.

The *spolia* used in the entrance to the Ertokuş Tomb[29] (621/1224)[30] at Atabey, near Isparta, may be considered an example of such re-use. The forms that are created with the *spolia* lintels and jambs, along with the use of brick, copy the recently completed tomb of ʿIzz al-Dīn kay Kāwūs I in Sivas, built in a wholly Persianate style (Fig. 5). The Sivas tomb is, in turn, very similar in form to a Khwārazmian tomb in Gurganj, built far to the east, in what is now northern Turkmenistan, in the early 13th century.[31] Although not executed in the latest glazed tile technique, the carved marble components at Atabey appear to have been perceived as prestige elements, and an attempt, albeit not entirely successfully, was

23 Nicholas Patricios, *The Sacred Architecture of Byzantium; Art, Liturgy and Symbolism in Early Christian Churches* (London / New York, NY: I.B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 83–84 states that the *ambo* was introduced in the second half of the 4th century, had become universal by the 9th century and fully developed by the 12th century. Located in the *naos*, they were usually made of white marble.

24 Referring to the Antalya city walls, Scott Redford and Gary Leiser, *Victory Inscribed: The Seljuk Fetihname on the Citadel Walls of Antalya, Turkey / Taşa Yazılan Zafer: Antalya İçkale Surlarındaki Selçuklu Fetihnamesi* (İstanbul: Suna-İnan Kiraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitütsü, 2007), p. 103 states that "the prominent employment of recognisably Christian architectural sculpture is obviously symbolising the victory of one religion over another".

25 See Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *Répertoire Chronologique* (see note 17), pp. 217–8 for a transcription and translation (into French) of the epigraphy.

26 See Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (see note 16), pp. 181–184 for more details.

27 Greenhalgh, *Spolia: A Definition* (see note 7), pp. 90–91 argues that it was the beauty of the marble itself which caused the medieval attraction to it.

28 Cited in Redford, *The Seljuks of Rum* (see note 10), p. 149.

29 Located at: Lat: 37º 57' 05" N Lon: 030º 38' 43" E. For more details of the building see Hakki Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1996), pp. 74–78 and p. 79, figs 23 and 24.

30 The complex, consisting of a mosque, tomb and madrasa, is dated by epigraphy over the entrance portal. For an image of the inscription see Aptullah Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri Vol. 1* (Ankara: ODTU Mimarlik Fakultesi, 1969), plate 82. For more details of the madrasa see *ibid.,* pp. 46–49 and plates 82–92.

31 See Mukhammed Mamedov and Ruslan Muradov, *Gurganj: Architectural and Historical Guide,* Padua: Il Punto, 2001), p. 45 for more details of the Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī Tomb in Gurganj, and the case for it actually being the tomb of the Khwārazm Shāh Īl-Arslān (r. 551–567/1156–1172).

made to match the different elements into a unified composition, in a form that also echoes the *tribelon* of Byzantine architecture. An appreciation of the quality of the carving, the suitability of both the (non-figural) decoration, and the tensile strength of marble lintels, in the context of a partially brick-built structure, are all likely to have played a part in the decision to use such *spolia*.

The Ertokuş Madrasa, to which the tomb is attached, also features examples of re-used architectural components, and some of them perform a similar role to that which they performed in their original church context, namely to separate the divine from the profane.[32] Four *templon* panels, one of which features extensive zoomorphic decoration, including winged quadrupeds,[33] are used to separate the mosque from the larger central domed area of the madrasa (Fig. 6). Given the largely Christian population in Anatolia, and the likelihood that a number of the stonemasons were Christian, it is unlikely that such direct repurposing was accidental. Rather, it is more likely to be an example of the slow process of cultural integration and architectural synthesis that was occurring across Anatolia in the 13th century. There was a shifting and imprecise sliding scale of overlapping motivations, with clearly symbolic re-use in some cases, and in others more overly prosaic, practical reasons for the re-use of elements from a different, earlier and largely subjugated tradition of lithic architectural expression. There is a long tradition, in both Christianity

[32] Patricios, *The Sacred Architecture* (see note 23), p. 399 notes that the importance of the recognition of a threshold was not limited to Byzantine architecture.

[33] For details of similar Byzantine carved animals, dated to the 11th century, see Kontogiannopoulou, *Ta Byzantina Glypta* (see note 18), pp. 13–14 and pp. 100–101, plates 5 and 6.

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Fig. 5
Ertokuş Tomb (621/1224), Atabey (L)
ʿIzz al-Dīn Tomb (617/1220), Sivas (R)
(R. McClary)

Fig. 6
Ertokuş Madrasa (621/1224), Atabey:
Interior (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

and Islam, of imbuing figural and zoomorphic carvings with apotropaic and talismanic qualities,[34] and the examples in Isparta are likely to fit into this process of trans-cultural continuity.

Moving north to Konya, the capital of the sultanate, the discussion turns to two examples of sultanic funerary architecture. The extensive use of Byzantine *spolia* throughout the citadel mosque in Konya has been noted by several scholars,[35] and there are a number of examples of figural *spolia*, both zoomorphic and anthromorphic, known to have been used in the citadel walls.

The entrance[36] of the imperial tomb of the dynasty was built during the rule of Kılıç Arslān II (r. 551–588/1156–92)[37] in the courtyard of the citadel mosque[38] and must have been seen, by any metric, as being the very heart of the sultanate. It was here that a fine decorative panel of ecclesiastical Byzantine *spolia* was inserted[39] (Fig. 7). It is hard to believe that its use was not imbued with some significance, beyond the mere appreciation of the superbly carved pattern. The fact that it is located over the entrance to the building adds to the significance of the panel.[40]

Next to the tomb of Kılıç Arslān II is the only surviving marble tomb built by the Rūm Saljūqs. It remains unfinished, and although previous scholars have suggested that it was commissioned by Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs I, prior to 617/1220,[41] stylistic analysis, and a reassessment of the chronology of the planning of the tomb of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs I in Sivas, suggests a later date. It is more likely to be the work of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw II (d. 644/1246), with construction having

[34] Flood, *Image Against Nature* (see note 11), p. 150 notes the use of figural apotropaia on the threshold of mosques. *Ibid.*, pp. 151–152 discusses the earlier use of such symbols in churches. The article makes a strong case for the continuity of meaning, the connection between zoology and demonology, as well as the talismanic quality of figural stone carving.

[35] Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered", *Artibus Asiae,* Vol. 51 (1991), pp. 54–74; p. 57. *Ibid.,* discusses the details and locations of the *spolia* throughout. Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia* (see note 9), p. 36 suggests that the use of *spolia* in the Konya mosque is more practical than ideological.

[36] Redford, *The Alaeddin Mosque* (see note 35), p. 57 notes that the entrance, originally in the east facet of the tomb, was subsequently moved to the north face during the rule of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Qubādh I.

[37] Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 213.

[38] Located at: Lat: 37° 52' 25" N Lon: 032° 29' 34" E.

[39] The panels either side of the central section feature unusual split palmettes, similar to an example in St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople (524–527). See Kalopisi-Verti and Panayotodi-Kesisoglu, *Multilingual Illustrated Dictionary* (see note 21), p. 166, fig.17.3.1.

[40] Flood, *Image Against Nature* (see note 11), p. 149 states that Arabic and Persian sources indicate that apotropaic *spolia* devices were consistently placed over doorways.

[41] Redford, *The Alaeddin Mosque* (see note 35), p. 69. Redford adopts the arguments put forward by M.K. Oral in *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi I* (1956). Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri* (see note 29), p. 68 also attributes the tomb to ʿIzz al-Dīn, based on an epigraphic panel on the exterior of the north wall of the mosque enclosure.

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Fig. 7
Kılıç Arslān Tomb (c.593/1197), Konya: North facet (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

Fig. 8
Unfinished Tomb (c. before 641/1243), Konya: North facet (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

ceased following the Mongol victory in 641/1243.[42] The entrance to the crypt is flanked by two side panels from sarcophagi, one of which is broken into two pieces (Fig. 8). Such re-use of funerary *spolia* in the context of a tomb appears to be deliberate, and suggest a conscious sense of both functional and regional stylistic continuity on the part of the patron and the builders.[43]

By investigating the wide range of uses, some hypotheses in regard to what the multiplicity of meanings and reasons for the use of *spolia* have emerged. In order to better understand the intentions of the patrons, some sort of sense of the socio-cultural context of the court, from where most of the architectural patronage emanated, must be considered. Many of the royal women at the Saljūq court were Greek princesses,[44] and their presence would inevitably have affected the cultural experience of the whole court, and by extension the patronage, of both emirs and royalty.[45] The poly-cultural character of the court included the Sultans, many of which had Greek mothers and wives. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw (r. 588–93/1192–97; 1st reign, r. 601–08/1205–11; 2nd reign)[46] was simultaneously a Greek-speaking Christian as well as a Persian-speaking Muslim.[47] These seemingly contradictory characteristics encapsulate the syncretism and hyphenation that were so typical of the elites of the region from the 12th century onwards. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that it was on the frontiers with the Christian Byzantine Laskarid Empire, in the west of Anatolia, that the phenomenon of *spolia* use was most prevalent.

Appropriation of form

Within the discussion of appropriation of physical stones, the use of forms and motifs associated with, and developed in, different regions and religious traditions may also be considered as part of the same phenomenon. The north portal (*c.* 616/1219–1220)[48] of the citadel mosque in Konya, also referred to as the Aladdin Camii, features non-structural elbow brackets projecting from the impost blocks at the springing of the arch. This is an architectural motif which was developed in the Crusader architecture of Outremer,[49] prior to being adopted into the Islamic vocabulary of ornament. The north façade of the masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem was rebuilt in 614/1217–18 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephew al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿIsa.[50] The brackets, referred to as angle shafts by Hamilton, are cut from single blocks of medium-hard limestone, and are incorporated into the eight piers of the three central bays of the north porch.[51] The conspicuous appropriation of an identifiable aesthetic of the defeated Christians, on the most prestigious mosque in Jerusalem, suggests that it may have been intended as a sign of the victory of Islam and the subjugation of Christianity.[52] It may be the case that the use of newly carved examples of the motif in Konya was an attempt by the builders, on behalf of the patron ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs I, to make a similar political statement. The prominent use of a decorative element, otherwise unknown in Anatolia, but associated with the Ayyūbids and the defeat of Christendom, on the portal of the

[42] For more details see Richard P. McClary, *The Rūm Saljūq Architecture of Anatolia, 1170–1220* (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2015), pp. 452–455.

[43] Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia* (see note 9), p. 36–38, in reference to the two sarcophagi incorporated into the façade of the contemporaneous Sahib Ata complex in Konya (656/1258), argues that they refer to the past of the city and suggest notions of memory and historical awareness on the part of the Rūm Saljūqs.

[44] Alexander Beihammer, "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations", *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies,* Vol. 86, No. 3 (2011), pp. 597–651; p. 600 notes that many of the sultans were born of Greek women. The translation of Niketas Choniatēs in Harry J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Chionatēs* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984), p. 343 gives details of the marriage of Ghiyāth al-Dīn to the daughter of the Byzantine courtier Manuel Mavrozomēs. In addition, there were also Armenian and Georgian women at the court.

[45] Rustam Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes", in Andrew C. S. Peacock, and Sara N. Yıldız (eds.), *The Seljuks of Anatolia, Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013, pp. 115–150), p. 126.

[46] Bosworth, *New Islamic Dynasties* (see note 37), p. 213.

[47] Shukurov, *Harem Christianity* (see note 45), p. 128 adds that Ghiyāth al-Dīn was baptized and adopted by the Byzantine Emperor Alexius III Angelos at some point between 1195 and 1203.

[48] Redford, *The Alaeddin Mosque* (see note 35), pp. 56 and 73 cites an epigraphic panel, set in the same north wall of the citadel mosque, which indicates the portal was the work of a Syrian, Muḥammad ibn Khawlān al-Dimashqī.

[49] Harry W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades Vol. 4, The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States,* Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), p. 80 describes the elbow bracket as a characteristic invention of the Crusaders. Surviving examples in a Christian context can be found on the western wall of the cloister of >

most prestigious mosque in the Rūm Saljūq Sultanate is unlikely to have been for purely aesthetic reasons.

Conclusion

On the western frontier of the *dār al-Islām*, during the first half of the 13th century, the re-use and appropriation of marble Byzantine architectural components and funerary *stelae* was a common phenomenon. The builders made a conscious decision to include anthropomorphic figural decoration on mosques, rather than turn the stone around or re-cut the face. It can be assumed that, in many cases, the re-used elements had multiple layers of meaning.[53] There may well never be any definitive answers, but conscious choices to use this material were clearly made on the part of a large number of patrons, architects and craftsmen on a wide range of building typologies.

The small selection of *spolia* discussed here, and the tentative conclusions show the wide variety of uses in western Anatolia. These range from the purely functional, such as the capitals and columns in the Akşehir Ulu Camii, to the wholly decorative and symbolic use of a formerly ecclesiastical panel over the entrance of the dynastic tomb in Konya. The use of *spolia* on the Güdük Minare Camii and Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi appear to represent aspects of both symbolism and practicality. The decorative jambs and lintels, used in the façade of the Ertokuş Tomb, in Atabey, represent the practical repurposing of elements from the Byzantine tradition to echo a form associated with the brick-built architectural tradition of Iran and Central Asia. The use of sarcophagi *spolia* in a funerary setting suggests a continuity of meaning, across religious and temporal changes, over the *longue durée*. These limited examples of the syncretic and multivalent use of *spolia* provide an insight into the complex process of adoption and absorption of decorative forms that was underway in the early 13th century in Anatolia.

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the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

[50] Oleg Grabar, *Constructing the Study of Islamic Art, Vol. IV* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2005), p. 142.

[51] Robert William Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque; A record of archaeological gleanings from the repairs of 1938–1942* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 39–40. He goes on to suggest that the blocks may be 12th century *spolia*. See *ibid.,* p. 40, fig. 21 for a plan showing the location of the blocks, along with plates XXII.3, XXIII.1–6 and XXIV.1–4 for images of all the surviving blocks on the porch in 1949. Flood, *An Ambiguous Aesthetic* (see note 20), pp. 202–206 discuss the use of *spolia* on the interior and façade of the mosque, and notes that it houses the most impressive array of *spolia* in the Haram, but makes no mention of the elbow brackets.

[52] A point made in the general context of the Ḥaram in Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, (see note 8), p. 383.

[53] See Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia", *Gesta,* Vol. 43, No. 2 (2004), pp. 151–164, p.152 and p. 159 for a discussion regarding the possibility of multiple layers of meaning, in a single image, in the decorative vocabulary of Rūm Saljūq architectural decoration.