The Kubad Abad Palace is situated on the south-western shore of the Lake Beyşehir in central Turkey where the Ana- mas Mountains, a branch of the Taurus, extend to the north. The whole environment of the lake with its 20 islands looks like a huge natural park, with a great variety of bird species, small wild animals and aquatics, surrounded by pine-woods. The area forms a kind of buffer zone between the ancient Anatolian provinces of Pisidia and Lycaonia. During the Hittite, Phrygian, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods this region was very prosperous, but it enjoyed its greatest period of importance under the dominations of the Seljuk sultanate and Eşrefoğlu principality in the 13th and 14th centuries.

According to the Seljuk chronicler İbn Bibi, the Kubad Abad Palace was constructed upon the orders and after a plan of Sultan Alaadin Keykubad I (1219-1237) (figs 1-2), but a foundation inscription fails to state the Seljuk author. A re-used inscription panel on a mosque found in a neighbouring village informs us about the existence of a considerable settlement around the palace complex. According to this inscription the governor Bedreddin Sutaş, had ordered the construction of the mosque (where the panel once stood) during the reign of Alaaddin Keykubad I in the year 1236. So, on the basis of historical sources we deduce the year of 1236 as the construction date of the Kubad Abad complex too. In 1990, Professor Peter Kuniholm, a well-known dendrochronology expert from Cornell University, examined samples from the beams of the Great Palace of the Kubad Abad complex and established that most of these beams came from juniper trees cut down in 1231. This dating fits in with the building date of 1236 attributed to the construction of the palace. Stylistic and historic evaluation of the finds such as architectural remains, coins, ceramics and tiles have also corroborated this date.

1 İbn Bibi (Öztürk) 362-363.
2 Oral, Kubad Abad I 23.
3 Kuniholm, Kubad Abad (A report with graphics of three pages).

Fig. 1 Topographical plan of the Kubad Abad Palace complex. – (Draft R. Arık).
The first scholarly interest in the site came in the 20th century: Zeki Oral, the late director of Konya Museum, after a thorough study of the historical sources, investigated the site between 1949 and 1952\(^4\). During his work he found some tiles with under-glaze decorations and tried to identify the surviving architectural and decorative remains, some of which have been scattered in the surrounding villages. In 1965, Katharina Otto-Dorn initiated the first scholarly excavation in the Kubad Abad Palace complex\(^5\) (figs 3-4). She started the cleaning and unearthing procedures at the ruins of the largest building, which she called the »Great Palace«, and brought out almost all its remaining tile and stucco decorations, some of which were in situ. Her activities also included the cleaning of the interior of a second large building called »Small Palace«, where she discovered some tiles, fragmentary stone carvings, and some pieces of re-used classical or Byzantine stelae.

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\(^4\) Oral, Kubad Abad II 171-208.  
\(^5\) Otto-Dorn/Önder, Bericht 170-183. – Otto-Dorn, Bericht 438-506.
A large terrace on the lake side (north) and a front courtyard (south) flank the Great Palace. A ceremonial hall with the throne room in form of a monumental îwan is located at the centre of the building. On the west side of this spatial combination are organized the office rooms and on the east side the Harem section. The rooms of Harem section are arranged similar to the combination of main hall and îwan, but in a smaller size. The star-shape tiles which were found largely in situ in the Great Palace enjoy a great reputation for their stylized figural luster and under-glaze paintings which reflect a rich repertoire of various birds and other animals such as hunting dogs, bears, donkeys, lions, and fantastic creatures such as sirens, sphinxes, griffons and human figures. The double-headed eagles among them with inscriptions on their bodies such as »al Sultan« and »al mu’azzam« must have been composed as coats of arms.

An excavation conducted by Mehmet Önder in 1967, revealed only some further remains of tiles\textsuperscript{6}. After this activity Kubad Abad was left to its fate for 13 years, and was taken up again by my team in 1980 with the permission and contribution of Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Together with various soundings at the complex by the lake side, the first surface surveys were undertaken on an island called »Maiden Castle« (Kız Kalesi). The island owes its name to the existence of a castle, which must be evaluated within the main complex. The castle itself was first mentioned in a publication by Hans Hermann Graf von Schweinitz, a German engineer who visited the site in 1905 without knowing its identity\textsuperscript{7}.

Maiden Castle covers an area of nearly 3000 m\textsuperscript{2}, and was in fact a single chateau building. The main edifice is rectangular in shape. It is erected on the highest point of the fortified area. Its west wall contains a central opening in form of a rectangular vaulted îwan, which leads to a corridor flanked by chambers in several sizes. It resembles some Seljuk kiosks in plan. The fortification walls descend directly down

\textsuperscript{6} Önder, Çini 15-18. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{7} Schweinitz, Reitausflug 29-33. – Ank, Türk Kültürü 71-98. – Ank, Excavations 104-109.
to the water level and follow the natural coast line of the rocks. The remains of a bastion are visible on the northeast end (figs 5-6). Along the inner face of the fortification – in southern and eastern part is a row of cells. The vaults of the rooms at the southwest and west edges are still intact. We have unearthed the western half of the ruin starting from the central section. We cleaned (or opened?) the various remains of the rooms between the midpoint and the western end: One of them revealed at a lower layer Byzantine fresco fragments with nicely painted human faces. On the basis of style one can suggest date for these pieces in the 11th or 12th century⁸ (fig. 7).

After removing this layer, we reached the ground paved with floor mosaic, probably belonged to a Byzantine building (chapel) from the 5th or 6th centuries. The mosaic displays a geometric composition which constitutes penetrating circles in a square panel. Similar compositions are known from Sardes, Pergamon and Hacı Musalar⁹ (fig. 8). A golden Byzantine coin, discovered on the surface, finds its closest counterpart in the collection of the British Museum in London, bears the name and portrait of the Byzantine Emperor Konstantios II (641-668)¹⁰.

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⁸ Türker, Kız Kalesi 69-75.
⁹ For Pergamon example cf.: Radt, Pergamon 521-536 fig. 10.
¹⁰ Arık, Excavation 107. – Türker, Kız Kalesi 70.
All these discoveries indicate the lake’s environment must have been a centre of Christian population from the 5th to 12th centuries.11

In a further chamber near the southwest corner of the isle we discovered a rather complicated water supply, where a small bath with cool, tepid and hot rooms in the classical sequence of the Turkish bath was revealed.12 The work in this section enabled the team also to find in situ a number of star and cross shaped tiles in under-glazed technique. They contain double-headed eagle figures (figs 9-10). Rather rich small artefacts consisting of Islamic coins, ceramic shards, metal and glass pieces and especially tiles and tile-mosaic fragments have been also retrieved during the excavations at Maiden Castle.13

From 1986 on we focussed our attention especially on the Great and Small Palaces and the adjacent mainland shore. During the excavation in 2001 our team discovered remnants of a bath adjacent to the south east wall of the Great Palace.14 In this section we uncovered the brick walls of the bath, the mouth of the furnace, a water tank, the caldarium and the tepidarium, the wardrobe area, some of the hot water pipes on the wall and chimneys. We also discovered the brick supports of the hypocaust system under the collapsed floor of the tepidarium (figs 11-12). In the tepidarium and caldarium, turquoise glazed tile panels serving as the baseboard of the wall covering were found in situ.15 Above one of these panels is a fragment of a turquoise glazed cross tile with decorations in black preserved. This piece indicates that the walls of the bath were once covered with the tiles in form of star and cross. We discovered also outside bath, on the terrace, numerous fragments of star and cross shaped tiles fallen from the walls of the bath, and turquoise glazed hexagonal tiles from its floor.

Thus, along with the Maiden Castle bath, and the bath of Huand in Kayseri,16 the bath of the Great Palace constitutes the third example with in situ tile wall coverings. During the excavation of the brick partition on the wall in a private chamber at the extremest corner of the section, which was identified as Harem by Otto-Dorn we reached the remains of a latrine. Here clean water flowed into a septic tank below through the pipes of the hydraulic system and carried the waste away to the sewer. Here also we brought to light a toilet facility, which was installed in a private room of a medieval palace.17 A few turquoise glazed tile fragments found here let us to think that the toilet also was covered with tiles.

11 Ramsey, Asia Minor 332-333. – Choniates (Iplari) 24, 50-51. – Kinnamos (Demirkent) 20, 22-41, 20, 47.
12 Uysal, Hamam 85-87.
13 After five years of struggling and suffering under difficult circumstances, upon an accident in a stormy weather, I had to stop working at Maiden Castle for a while without reaching the decisive results.
14 Uysal, Hamam.
15 Arık / Arık, Tiles 321-324.
17 Arık, 2001 Yılı 301.
The Small Palace was a two storied building. The plan of the existing basement displays a Central Asian tradition, as mentioned before: the rooms of secondary importance were ordered on both sides of an iwan and central hall combination. Its layout recalls those of the Great Palace (figs 13-14). During the excavation we discovered also the forecourt with uneven sides. The restitution plan of the Small Palace, developed by a group of experts from the Restoration Department of the Middle East Technical University Ankara, is based on our results (fig. 15).

Another important architectural find is the remnant of a narrow terrace between the Small and Great Palaces. It extends along the western wall of the recently found forecourt up to the southwest end. A structure belonging to the water system which contains a pair of terra-cotta pipes runs parallel to this corridor. This mass must have been the remains of a fountain or a water distributing system. It also reaches to the southwest corner of the forecourt where we also discovered the remnants of a monumental entrance of the palace.

In the rocky area, on the terrace between the Great and Small Palaces and along the surrounding wall which joins them, we found the first traces of a prehistoric settlement as we opened a grave at the deepest layer to the southwest side of the Small Palace. Here we came across a female skeleton laid in a semi hocker position. She was buried with her belongings and had a bronze hair pin on her skull. The pin was decorated with a small bull statue. Around her neck was a necklace made of 21 small gold and bronze rings as well as an ample amount of beads. Obviously, all of these date from the Early Bronze Age during approximately 3rd and 2nd millennia BC. It is evident that the Seljuk Palace complex was built directly upon this prehistoric settlement.

Another newly discovered find is the rest of a circular structure, which was divided and partly destroyed by the wall of the forecourt of the Small Palace (the wall runs in southeast-northwest direction). At the depth of 3 m, we found a ledge of 10-15 cm wide and the inner surface began to narrow from here up, in a curving manner like that of a dome. The mud brick circular wall had been burnt under high heat and turned into red brick. On the floor and the walls, traces of sintering were observed, and stones smeared with glaze as well as bricks and cinders have been found. It is apparent that this was a kiln. Around the remains, a thick layer of ash has been observed. These finds related to the production stages in establishing the stratification layers in the surrounding area and on the vertical cross section we made at the north of this kiln also confirm this fact. The material we discovered at this part of the site (such as a large quantity of glass pieces, cinders, and a large stock of gypsum) corroborates that this area was the works store for the palace complex.

The Small Palace has lost its original wall coverings. But tile fragments are visible in the rubble outside the structure, which probably scattered during the collapsing of the second floor. The majority of these star and cross shaped panels show the same technique, style and subjects as those of the Great Palace. However, the cruciform panels constitute an entirely new category of design. Besides the usual stylized floral patterns, they include depictions of birds, different floral silhouette motifs and scripts. But their most significant attribute are the double-headed eagles, depicted on the majority of
Fig. 13 The Small Palace seen from south west. – (Photo R. Arık).

Fig. 14 Plan of the Small Palace. – (Draft R. Arık).
A provisional restitution of the Small Palace. – (Draft M.E.T.U. group).

Fig. 15

Wall tiles found at the Small Palace (restitution). – (Photo R. Arık).

Fig. 16

A double-headed eagle with an inscription on his body which reads »al Mu‘azzam«. – (Photo R. Arık).

Fig. 17
these tiles. These eagles, although painted in black, and in silhouette, have a strong emblematic effect, as those on the star shaped panels (figs 16-17). Some other in situ tiles from the Great Palace and a group of luster tiles discovered in the Small Palace present the usual yellow brown luster painting technique over opaque glaze. The distinctive luster tiles found in the Small Palace on the other hand are made using the glaze painting technique.

In 2002, we started to dig the visible remains and their surroundings to the south of the palace complex. During our cleaning activities at the site we retrieved the remains of a building, included three rooms (fig. 18), which may have been a workshop unit. Further investigations in the neighbouring area revealed a large bath with a water reservoir, a caldarium, bathing cells, a tepidarium and a passageway. We continue to unearth the wardrobe section and a room connected to it: it was a kiosk-like building. Thus, the Kubad Abad Palace presents the second establishment with a kiosk-bath after the discovery of the kiosk-bath of Alara Castle between Antalya and Alanya. The Floor of the tepidarium adjoining includes two layers of tile pavement in situ. The upper layer consists of rectangular panels with cobalt blue zigzag design on a white ground. The panels are manufactured in under-glazed technique. The second layer beneath has hexagonal tiles with turquoise glaze. This discovery indicates two building-phases.

Immediately we focused our attention on the structure with three adjacent rooms and western neighbouring space. In this section we unearthed water channels in the walls made with mud mortar along with glaze and glass cinders, a layer of ash covering the whole area, layers of lime in patches, various metal tools, a pile of mortar full of broken tile pieces and bricks that were obviously exposed to high temperature. Most interestingly, we found a tile warehouse with 16 layers of star and cross shaped tiles, stacked on top of each other, ready to be mounted on the walls (fig. 19).

These exciting finds lead us to suggest that this area was the works store of the Palace. Most of the small sized (13.5 cm in diameter and 1.5 cm thick), star and cross shaped tiles are intact. Compared to the classical Kubad Abad tiles, their pinkish cream clay is more porous and crumbles more easily. However, in terms of their pictorial quality and thematic repertoire these tiles are very unusual and fascinating. They were produced in under-glaze technique and the dominant colours are blue and black with some use of dark purple (figs 20-21). The designs of the examples with floral motifs are generally diverse and unusual. On the tiles with figurative decorations, the ground is left plain and the composition highlights the theme or the figure displayed. The abstract qualities of some designs, their clear and simple rendering, contribute to a modern appearance. On some of the eight pointed stars, the sides of the panel are outlined, on some others the design covers the entire surface without a frame.

The tiles are generally decorated with geometrical and floral designs, varieties of inscriptions, various birds, four legged animals, fantastic creatures. Some depictions of human-faced suns and human figures are also visible. We may compare the linear character of their designs and small size to the minai tiles of Küçüskan II Kiosk in Konya (1179), but archaeological data point to a later date. The existence of a coin minted for Alaaddin Keykubad I and found under the lime mortar ground on which the tiles were stacked, eight silver coins minted in the name of Ghazan Mahmud Han (1299-1300) and four silver coins of Alaaddin Keykubad II (1249-1257) in the same level with the tiles, led to the suggestion of a date in the end of the 13th and early 14th centuries for these tiles. Some silver coins from the late 13th and first quarter of the 14th centuries belonging to the Mongol, Eşrefoğlu and last Seljuk rulers show clearly the activity at Kubad Abad even in the early 14th century. The late Professor Tsugio Mikami has confirmed this view with his commentaries on the celadon.

21 Arık/Arık, Tiles 337.
22 Yetkin, Alara Kaleleri 69-88.
23 Arık/Arık, Tiles 345-390.
24 Arık, Kubad Abad 30-36. – Arık/Arık, Tiles 234-238.
25 Prof. Mikami, a well-known expert from Tokyo Idemitsu Museum on Far-eastern and early Islamic ceramics, has visited the Kubad Abad excavation and explained his ideas on our celadon finds.
fragments that must have belonged to some vessels which were typical products of the Lung Chuan ateliers of northwest China from the late 13th or early 14th centuries. Most of the coins found during the excavations belong to Seljuk, minted generally for Sultan Alaaddin Keykubad I. But two lead Seljuk post seals bearing Alaaddin’s portrait in Roman style are more remarkable finds. However, the Roman and Byzantine coins from the 7th and probably 11th centuries and re-used Roman and Byzantine stone fragments indicate that there must have been Antique and Christian settlements around the site, and on the islands, as stated above.

In 2010, we discovered in the rocky area on the terrace between the Great and Small Palaces many architectural remains and diverse objects from different periods. At the top, in the first layer we found a medieval cemetery that postdates the Seljuk era, and the remains of medieval kilns and pillars of rubble masonry, below that, nine silos from Seljuk period. The silos are shaped like pears. At the bottom of this layer some other finds were made. They included water channels and the remains of a fountain. At the deepest level, we unearthed some architectural remnants and vessel fragments from the Chalkolithic period. Again on the west part of the site, near the bath with a kiosk, we unearthed a huge Seljuk building (measuring 22 m × 18 m) with nine rooms and a small bath.

In spite of the large number of objects and many architectural characteristics we discovered in the site, the tiles still remain the most popular artefacts from Kubad Abad Palace among the art historians: The eight pointed star and cross shaped panels are the most well-known forms of wall tiles of the Seljuk period (fig. 22). The striking and opulent samples of this tile art manufactured in minai, luster, under glaze and monochrome glaze techniques have been applied mainly in the palaces. But the use of monochrome tiles and tile mosaics on the wall surfaces is also essential in mosques, mausoleums and baths.

I should extend my gratitude to Assistant Prof. Dr. Derya Yalçıklı from the Archaeological Dept. of Çanakkale University, for his painstakingly working at this site.

Fig. 20 Prepositional recombinations of the depot tiles. – (Photo R. Arık).

Fig. 21 Prepositional recombinations of the depot tiles. – (Photo R. Arık).

Fig. 22 Our propositional restitution of the tile wall coverings. – (Restitution R. Bozer).
We encounter the earliest examples of such star and cross combination in Sasanian art, on Abbasid wall tiles of the 9th century and in the Central Asian Islamic arts. In brick-tile, alabaster, and stucco wall decorations, latticeworks of the windows of the Karakhanids, Ghaznavids, Great Seljuk and Anatolian Seljuk monuments the same decorative scheme can also be observed: The mausoleum of Arslan Jazib in Sangbast (997-1028), Ribat-i Malik on the road between Samarqand and Bukhara (1078), the Mausoleum in Damavend (11th century), the Aisha Bibi Mausoleum in Talas/Jambul (early 12th century) offer some important examples of this kind of decoration.

Furthermore, in the monuments of the later dates in various regions such combinations have an important place in the architectural decoration, for example in the mosque and mausoleum of a haneqah from 1250 in Azerbaijan, in the Masjid-i Juma of Veramin (1326), in the mausoleum of Bibi Jawindi (1494) at Uchch in Pakistan, in the Palace of Sheki Khans in Azerbaijan. Thus, the star and cross seems to become a sort of leitmotiv throughout the centuries in the Islamic decorative arts. To apply it on the wall tiles is the most prevalent practice of this scheme. Also on the decoration of some ceramic arts. To apply it on the wall tiles is the most prevalent practice of this scheme. Also on the decoration of some ceramic wares, now mostly lost, similar star and cross combinations have been encountered. But it's most elaborate applications can be observed on the 11th and 12th centuries Anatolian monuments such as the Kilicarslan II Kiosk in Konya (1156-1179), Kubad Abad, Kayseri, Akşehir, Alanya, Antalya Palaces as well as on the other palace, mosque, mausoleum and medrese buildings of the 13th to 15th centuries. Related compositions appear in a number of the 14th to 17th centuries Persian and Ottoman miniatures, especially on the depictions of the architectural monuments.

This combination is also to be found in textile art in eastern countries, some of the earliest example of which are two silk fabrics from the 8th or 9th century under the influence of old Sasanian art, one in New York Cooper-Hewitt Museum, the second in Sankt Petersburg Hermitage Museum. Edzslaw Zygulsji jun. has referred to a 12th-century stucco statue of a standing prince whose caftan is decorated with star and cross compositions, which also indicates the wide-spread using of this motive. Even on the 17th-century »Garden Carpets« of Iran and then on Mughal carpets of India of the 17th and 18th centuries has been applied this composition approximately.

It is evident that such kind of decoration was also not unknown in Byzantium: Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger, based upon a report of Byzantine author Nicolaos Mesarites from 1200, has studied a building called »Muchrutas« within the Great-Palace Complex in Constantinople. After Mesarites the walls of this pavilion were covered with tiles produced by Seljuk masters. They were probably in star and cross shapes. Asutay-Effenberger suggests a Middle Byzantine date for the Muchrutas, especially in the reign of Manuel Komnenos I (1143-1180). According to her the building must have been constructed in the time when the Seljuk Sultan Kilicašlan II ruled in Konya. It appears that this typical and beloved ornament was not only used almost every decorative production in Islamic Orient, particularly in Central Asia, Iran, Anatolia, and Maghrib, but also was transported to the capitol of Byzantine Empire.

Probably this motive reached to the northern coasts of Mediterranean both through the international trade and through the campaign of the Fourth Crusade, especially after 1204 via Constantinople. Thereafter we observe the use of this motive even in the works of great medieval Italian masters such as Duccio and Giotto. The conquest of Sicily by Normans and their co-existence with the native Muslim inhabitants of the island can be seen as another historical fact for transporting this decorative scheme to the Europe. The wall and ceiling decoration of Capella Palatina from mid-12th century is an excellent artistic proof for the developing a common taste in Sicily. Later, we also observe the use of this combination among the illuminations of some manuscripts, such as the Trapezunt Bible from 1400 in Venice. Furthermore, on the frescoes of a late 15th-century church in Rhodes, this combination appears in profusion.

It is clear that the tile coverings, especially the star and cross combinations, embellished the walls constructed of various materials in Islamic countries, Anatolia being the first, between the 11th and mid-14th centuries. It must have attracted the interest of Mediterranean and other western circles. Likewise, some sources note that in Europe, especially in the French and English palaces, similar motifs were applied, but today almost all of them have disappeared.

Nevertheless we still have the famous and oldest Retable in England from the mid-13th century at the Westminster Abbey (fig. 23). It is nearly 3.5m in length, 1 m in height made of oak tree and embellished with over 1000 pieces of artificial jewellery. Throughout the centuries it suffered much damage. Following the long lasting archeometric studies it has been restored and conserved in the Abbey. Its surface is divided with architectural forms. On the central part, there are panels with eight pointed star shaped framings, each laid in a larger square panel, so that the areas between them formed as cross arms, which recalls immediately the Seljuk tile combinations.

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27 Ettinghausen, Originality and Conformity 93.
28 Ibidem pl. 42.
29 Ibidem pl. 39.
30 Ibidem pl. 37.
31 Zyguški, Sztuka pl. 15.
32 Ettinghausen, Originality and Conformity 94 pls 40-41.
33 Asutay-Effenberger, Muchrutas 313-329. – Hunt 141-142.
34 Ettinghausen, Originality and Conformity 93 fig. A.
35 I received this information via e-mail which was sent to me with the pictures of the church by Dr. Sharon Gerstel, Prof. of Byzantine Art at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).
36 I am obliged to extend my gratitude to the Dean and the Chapter of the Westminster Abbey for kindly providing the images of Westminster Retable and allowing me to use them. Lethaby, Altar-Piece 351-357. – Read, Gothic Art 150-151. – Binski, Retable 128-132. – Binski/Massing Retable.
Fig. 23 The Westminster Retable. — (Courtesy of the Dean and the Chapter of the Westminster Abbey).

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Zusammenfassung / Abstract / Résumé

New Information and Perspectives on Seljuk Art Obtained throughout the Kubad Abad Palace Excavations

When the Kubad Abad excavations commenced almost half a century ago, our knowledge of Seljuk art was rather scant. During the past decades we have enlarged our knowledge of the Seljuk way of life and their artistic ability, especially in tile art, which must be taken as an indicator for the technological and aesthetic level of past cultures. The precious tile works, that were assumed to have been Persian products, have turned out to have come from Anatolia after our discovery of Seljuk kilns, workshops and depots. In the meantime, we have been able to ascertain original categories of painting styles, principles of composition that had been previously unknown. It is assumed that the tile coverings of this epoch even influenced some European areas.