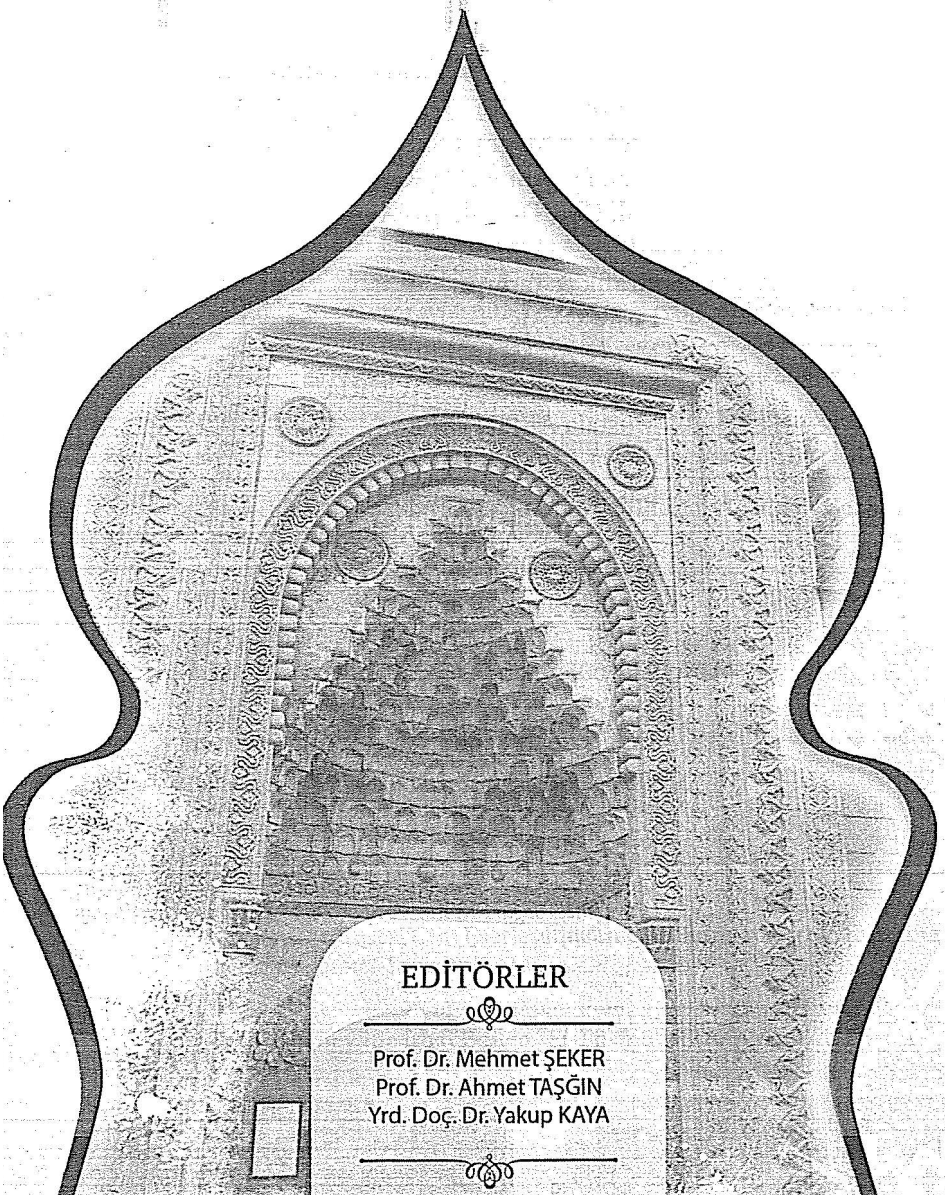
KONYA
NECMETTİN ERBAKAN
ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Uluslararası Orta Anadolu ve Akdeniz Beylikleri
Tarihi, Kültürü ve Medeniyeti Sempozyumu - I

Eşrefoğulları Beyliği



EDİTÖRLER

Prof. Dr. Mehmet ŞEKER
Prof. Dr. Ahmet TAŞĞIN
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Yakup KAYA

KONYA
NECMETTİN ERBAKAN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi
Kültür Yayınları: 30

Uluslararası Orta Anadolu ve Akdeniz Beylikleri Tarihi, Kültürü ve Medeniyeti Sempozyumu - I
11-13 Eylül 2014, Anamas Konukevi - BEYŞEHİR

Yayın Yönetmeni
Prof. Dr. Muzaffer ŞEKER

Editör
Prof. Dr. Mehmet ŞEKER
Prof. Dr. Ahmet TAŞĞIN
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Yakup KAYA

Grafik & Tasarım
Büşra UYAR
Merve ACAR BÜLBÜL
Muhammed Sami PAÇURLU
Mustafa ALTINTEPE

Baskı - Cilt
Güler Ofset Fevziçakmak Mah. 10447 Sk. No:12
Karatay/KONYA

ISBN
978-605-4988-32-7

Nisan, 2018

**Bu çalışmanın tasarım ve baskısı Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi Sağlık, Kültür ve Spor Daire Başkanlığı tarafından yaptırılmıştır.*

THE EŞREFOĞLU CAMI: FOUNDATION OF AN EMIRATE

Dr. Kenneth Hayes

Kanada, e posta: hayeskenneth@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines the role that the construction of a large congregational mosque, Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii, had in the founding of an emirate in Beysehir at the end of the thirteenth century. It proposes that Süleyman Bey built his mosque to declare his independence from both the Seljuks, who nominally held power in Anatolia but were politically debilitated, and the Mongols, who were the de facto rulers of the territory, but who gradually lost control following their defeat by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars in 1277. In pursuit of an autonomous polity, Süleyman Bey chose to imitate the mosque that the Sahip Ata had built in Konya in 1256. This wooden hypostyle mosque type had gained something like tacit approval by the Mongols, who were mostly indifferent to their subject's religious affiliations and aspirations, and it quickly spread through central Anatolia during the later phase of Mongol suzerainty, finding special favour in mid-size towns like Afyon and Sivrihisar, where the Seljuks had failed to build congregational mosques. Through a detailed analysis of its many unique architectural features, Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii will be shown to be a veritable treatise in the Medieval Anatolian architectural representation of sovereignty. The paper proposes that the mosque, which Aslanapa described as proof that "the strength and creative power of Seljuk mosque architecture in Anatolia continued right up to the end," was instead a powerful expression of the virtues and constructive potential of local self-determination.

Key Words: Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii, Sahip Ata, Mongols, Aslanapa

EŞREFOĞLU CAMİ: BİR BEYLİĞİN KURULUŞU

Özet

Bu bildiri geniş bir şekilde cemaatsel yönü ağır basan Eşrefoğlu

Süleyman Bey Camii'nin yapımının, 13. Yüzyılın sonunda bir beyliğin kuruluşundaki rolünü inceler. Bildiri, Anadolu'da sözde gücü elinde tutan, ancak politik kuvveti zayıflatılmış olan Selçuklulardan ve bu toprakların esas fiili kural koyucusu(yöneticisi) olan, fakat 1277'deki Baybars yenilgisinden sonra gitgide kontrolü yitiren Moğollardan bağımsız olmak için Süleyman Bey'in kendi camiini yaptırdığını ileri sürer. Özerk bir idare anlayışını sürdüren Süleyman Bey, 1256'da Konya'da yapılmış olan Sahip Ata Camii'ni örnek almayı tercih etti. Bu ahşap hipostil cami tarzı kendi dini unsurları ve istekleri konusunda çoğunlukla farklılık gösteren Moğollardan, örtülü bir tasvip elde etmişti ve bu tarz, daha sonraki Moğol hükümdarlığı döneminde Orta Anadolu'da Selçukluların cemaatsel bağı güçlendirici camiileri inşa etme hususunda başarısız olduğu Afyon ve Sivrihisar gibi orta büyüklükteki şehirlerde özel bir ilgi(temayül) bularak hızla yayıldı.

Caminin eşsiz bir çok mimari özelliğinin ayrıntılı bir tahlili vasıtasıyla, Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii ortaçağ Anadolu egemen mimari temsilinin(sunumunun) hakiki bir tezi(bilimsel eseri) olarak görülecektir.

Bildiri ayrıca Aslanapa Camii'nin, Anadolu'da Selçuklu camii mimarisinin yaratıcı gücünün ve büyüklüğünün bir ispatı olarak tanımlandığını, ancak buna karşın Eşrefoğlu Camii'nin erdemlerin güçlü bir ifadesi ve yerel özerkliğin(self-determinasyon) yapıcı bir potansiyeli olduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii, Sahip Ata, Moğollar, Aslanapa

Introduction

In a study of the Qara Khitai Empire, Michal Biran observed that "when advanced tribal unions were in the process of transforming themselves into a polity, a new religion could function as a unifying force, a means of ideological distanciation, and a sign of independence, all of which aided the process of state formation."[1] The mosque that Süleyman Eşrefoğlu built on the shore of Lake Beyşehir can be said to have had those same functions for the emergent Eşrefoğlu emirate: the mosque provided a Turkomen tribal group with a symbolic representation of its transformation into

[1] Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. p 198.

a state, it established the position of the Eşrefoğullari vis-à-vis both the Seljuks and the Mongols, and it made explicit the ambitions, capabilities, and terms of the new ruling family. The building fulfilled the expectation that a legitimate ruler would support religion, publicly declare the nature and orthodoxy of his faith, and promote his claim to authority. The new mosque was the central building of a broad programme that included new public facilities and spaces that both rhetorically and practically demonstrated the role of civil institutions in producing wealth and benefits for all. As the nucleus of a new state, it generated legitimacy, prestige, and stability. The building's features, from its imposing size and adroit urban situation to its elaborate interior arrangement and numerous unique details, were calculated to impress visitor and community alike with the potency of the new emirate.

The Eşrefoğlu recognized the new type of wooden hypostyle mosque introduced by Fakhr al-Din 'Ali in Konya circa 1256 as the best means for advancing their cultural and political agenda. A utilitarian building would not have satisfied the Eşrefoğlus' unique symbolic needs; their ambition to found a new state required the largest, most lavish mosque that they could build. Wooden hypostyle construction was a practical, and, perhaps, economical, way to build a monumental mosque at a moment when size mattered. Eşref, the emirate's progenitor, had lead one of the Turkmen groups that caused the Seljuks many difficulties in the course of their decline, and thus his son had to take particular care in sedentarizing, in negotiating a new civil identity and in claiming a new rank. The wooden hypostyle mosque was the ideal instrument to achieve this transition, since it had been tacitly approved within the new political and cultural condition of Mongol suzerainty. The Eşrefoğlu Cami is, in fact, the wooden hypostyle hall that hewed closest to the established model of the Sahip Ata Cami; it is even closer to the model than is the mosque Fakhr al-Din's son had built in Afyonkarahisar.

Foundation of the Emirate

The Eşrefoğlu emirate emerged, alongside the Karamanids, from the crisis that followed the Mamluk Sultan Baybar's victory over the Mongols in 675/1277. The early political history of the Eşrefoğullari, however, is obscure, as is generally the case when a new power makes its way into history. The anonymous historian of Konya refers to a group of "Gurgu rum Turkmen," and it is probable that the emirate's first seat was a small

village called Gurgurum (modern Gökçimen) just over ten kilometres downstream from the lake's outlet.[2] The Turkmen camped there likely controlled the river valley between Beyşehir and Seydişehir and moved up the hillsides in either direction in the summer. Uzunçarşili speculates that Eşref may have been a "Vazifeli Emir" with a particular assignment to protect Seljuk interests in the vicinity of Kubadabad.[3] At some point this obscure patriarch was succeeded by his son Süleyman, who likely continued as a frontier warlord through the reign of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw III. After that Sultan's death, Süleyman became involved in the intrigues in Konya surrounding the succession, but eventually established an understanding with Sultan Mas'ūd II.[4] In 1286 Fakhr al-Din 'Ali' fled unsettled conditions in Konya, and instead of turning to his iqta at Afyon (which may still have been plagued by the Germiyans) he sought refuge in Beyşehir. The city likely provided the most secure site, closest to Konya, where he could expect a good reception and find safety. This event may have provided the opportunity for Süleyman to negotiate a new relationship to the official administration of Konya. In any case, it probably the occasion on which it was agreed to build, or more probably, reinforce, the city walls.

A gate on the north side of the city and a fragment visible behind the modern primary school that is southeast of the mosque are all that remains now of Beyşehir's walls. The city's small, almost miniature scale was closer to that of a medieval kale than a city as such. The whole iç şehir, or inner city, is roughly circular and no more than four hundred metres in diameter, with an area of about one hundred and twenty-five thousand square metres. A marble inscription panel on the city gate is the earliest documentary evidence of Süleyman's ambitions.[5] The Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I rebuilt this entrance in 1031/1604, but the earlier inscription stone was preserved and replaced and a new one added to it. The stone, located at the left side of the panel, has four lines of text that state: This district named Süleymanşehir, in the time of that succorer of religion and the world, the great Padişah Ebulfeth Mes'ut Keykâvus (may he prosper

[2] Kate Fleet, *The Cambridge History of Turkey* vol. 1, 89.

[3] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1969: 58-61

[4] Mehmet Akif Erdoğru, *Turk Encyclopaedia, "Beyşehir"*

[5] Yusuf Akyurt, "Beyşehir Kitabeleri ve Eşrefoğulları Camii Türbesi." *Türk Tarih Arkeologya Etnografya Dergisi* IV, (1940): 91-129. The rough translation that follows was aided by Oncu Güney.

eternally), the great emir Eşrefoğlu Seyfetin Süleyman (may God sanctify those who aid him) in the year 690, (Hijra month) he ordered it built.

The dedication follows the conventional protocol of prioritizing the reigning sovereign, but Süleyman's official subservience is boldly undercut by the gesture of naming the city after himself. The name resonates with the name of the palace Kubadabad, as if it sought to put the two places - and by implication their two builders - on an equal footing. The name hints further at identification with the mythic figure of Solomon, who stood in medieval Islamic culture as the paradigm of the wise ruler and great builder.

Despite the recently reinforced city walls, Güneri Beg of the Karamanids took Beyşehir in 690/1291 and imprisoned Süleyman. Süleyman's followers regrouped around his son and drove Güneri back, but it is not known how long Süleyman remained captive. Cahen says that the inscriptions prove Süleyman was released circa 1295.[6] By this date he seems to refer to the inscription on the mosque, but if Süleyman was detained for so long, it is hard to see how he could have built or otherwise come to possess numerous buildings and to expand his territories south as far as Seydişehir and Bozkır and north as far as Doğanhisar and Şarkikaraağaç by the end of the decade. The setback was probably only minor, since by 695/1296, Süleyman's position was sufficiently secure to build a great mosque.

The Eşrefoğlu Cami is the most important of a complex of buildings located more or less at the geographical centre of the inner city. It is located about one hundred and seventy-five metres south of the ruin of the gate in the city wall and about two hundred metres from the lakeshore. Visitors arriving from the direction of Konya would have come through the gate and, proceeding up a slight incline, would have seen the looming mass of a bedestan with shops surrounded its base and the mosque's minaret appearing to its left. Passing by the bedestan's northeast corner reveals an almost frontal view of the mosque's façade (Fig. 44). This façade is the formally composed and highly finished face of a large corner that has been chamfered at almost forty-five degrees off of the rectangular body of the mosque, which has the kibla orientation. The façade comprises, from left to right: a wall of finely cut white limestone thirteen and a half metres long with an elaborate window at its centre and two smaller ones above; a monumental stone portal with a muqarnas hood; a minaret with a sebil

[6] Cahen, *Formation, 219.*

adjacent to its base; and a five metre length of a finely cut white limestone wall with a window and a door opening. The angled façade is capped by a row of thirteen merlons, each about a metre tall. These have a profile matching those found on the city gate; merlons like these may have run all around the city wall. The mosque's other perimeter walls are built of exposed rubble standing on somewhat larger squared foundation blocks. Two continuous wooden stringcourses near the top of the wall frame the top and bottom of a row of windows. The Eşrefoğlu dynastic tomb, a slightly later addition, stands at the east end of the façade. To the south, beyond the mosque's kibla wall, there is a large open area that until the early twentieth century was probably a graveyard.[7]

The building has a rectangular plan roughly 29.25 metres east to west and 43.9 metres north to south with a gross interior area of 1187 square metres on the ground floor (Fig. 46). This makes it the largest of the remaining wooden hypostyle mosques, enclosing over twice the area of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami (517 square metres) and just surpassing Sivrihisar (1120 square metres). Significantly, the Eşrefoğlu mosque is only marginally smaller than the Sahip Ata Cami (1250 square metres, according to Karamağrali's reconstruction). The mosque's plan configuration, a rectangle considerably longer than it is wide, is also closer to that of the Sahip Ata Cami than any other iteration of the wooden hypostyle type.

The mosque's roof is supported by six rows of columns perpendicular to the kibla wall, with seven columns in each row. There is a total of thirty-nine columns, three less than expected; the piers of the maqsura dome replace two, and one is lost to the sheared corner. The columns form three aisles (averaging 3.6 metres wide) on each side of a central aisle that is 4.8 metres wide. The columns are around 7.5 metres tall and have elaborated wooden muqarnas capitals. Seventeen columns are circular in plan, while twenty-two are octagonal; there is no obvious rationale for the distribution of the circular versus octagonal columns. There are three additional rectangular pilasters in the face of the son cemaat yeri. The beams, which are oriented north-south, are the double-timber type with a central placket used in all the wooden hypostyle mosques. They end one bay before the north and south end walls of the building. The joists in these northern- and southern-most bays run perpendicular to the kibla wall, while all others run parallel to it. The ceiling slopes gently up from the east and west walls

[7] Konyalı mentions gravestones displaced by road building projects.

to the central aisle, which has a flat ceiling that is additionally raised by one course of brackets. The ceiling also slopes, less perceptibly though perhaps at no less an angle, up to the centre bay from the north and south walls.[8] The ceiling of the central aisle is presently open its full width for a length of three bays in the middle of the building. This opening reveals modern roof construction with a skylight the size of one bay in the centre. Beneath the ceiling opening there is a deep stone-walled pit generally referred to as the karlik, or snow pit. It occupies a single bay, but presents an obstacle that impedes the plan's implied axial movement from the inner entrance toward the mihrap. There is a modern imam mahfil to the left inside the entrance and a raised muezzin mahfil in the final full bay of the centre aisle, donated by the son of the vizier Mustafa Bey in 978/1571. [9] Finally, an elaborate emir mahfil (private prayer chamber of the emir) is prominently displayed in the mosque's upper southwest corner. It is two bays long and one bay wide, and protrudes through the mosque's roof to attain a ceiling height of almost five metres. There is a çilehane, a kind of Sufi retreat or anchorage concealed under the floor below the emir mahfil.

The mosque's chamfered corner has a powerful and unexpected spatial effect. It caused the monumental portal to be shifted northward and thus eliminated almost half the length of the son cemaat yeri; as a result, the point of entry almost intersects the mosque's central axis. This means that, upon entering, attention is immediately drawn to the left by the large open space of the central aisle, which is flooded with light from above. The elevated emir mahfil in the southwest corner, viewed diagonally, is in effect the first thing seen inside the mosque. Squaring to the general kibla orientation of the building reveals the broad and tall central aisle and, in ascending order, the karlik, the muezzin mahfil, and through the arch of the maqsura dome, the large ceramic-tiled mihrap with the tall walnut mimber on its right. This whole compelling tableau is framed by an arched opening in an unusual wall of small bricks inset with gazed tiles that sits just inside the entrance portal (Fig. 45) In effect a second, interior portal, the short wall aligns with the wooden screen and line of rectangular piers that defines the son cemaat yeri. It negotiates the transition from the angled façade of the mosque to the building's interior ordinance and structurally, it supports part of the kadinlar mahfil above, stairs to which

[8] Howard Crane notes that the same phenomenon occurs in the Bursa Ulu Cami, although there it is even less readily observed, "Art and architecture," 288.

[9] It is described at length by Erdemir, *Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii,* 51-55.

are wedged into the acute angle behind the portal. An inscription set in finely cut ceramic mosaic letters against a background of vine-like spirals directly above the arched opening reiterates the credit due to the emir who constructed the spectacle within and gives the date of the mosque's completion as 698/1299.

Architecturally, the interior arrangement that results from the chamfered corner is most fortuitous, but it begs the question of what occasioned this gesture. The encroachment of existing buildings on a site is the usual explanation for plan features of this sort in medieval buildings, but urban conditions in medieval Anatolia rarely constrained monumental buildings so obviously. The corpus of Anatolian mosques presents numerous examples of irregularity in construction, but they are usually systemic rather than accidental – the pervasive distortion of the plan, not a conspicuous feature. Of course, it is possible that some obstacle existed at the time the mosque was built, but there is no evidence of it now and it seems improbable that a major project sponsored by a powerful ruler in the centre of the city would have been compelled to defer to another property. On the contrary, the diagonal corner sheared off the Eşrefoğlu mosque appears to have been designed to reconcile the position and form of the mosque with the public square in front of it. The sheared surface was rendered as a monumental façade addressing the open space. The slice, which runs more or less perpendicular to the long side of the bedestan, makes the mosque work together with that building to define a public space that remains formally powerful even now that the surrounding urban fabric is badly eroded. Had it not been for the slice, the mosque would have been viewed awkwardly from a corner, especially from the route passing by the bedestan's long face. The arrangement of buildings, with the bedestan occupying the more prominent site and planned so as to be viewed axially from the city's main entrance, almost certainly indicates that the bedestan was built before the mosque. The mosque must have been a subsequent undertaking and considerable ingenuity had to be applied to integrate it with the urban plan. The careful placement of the dynastic tomb with one of its eight facets parallel to and aligned with the slice, reinforces the idea that these urban considerations were the ultimately determining ones for the plan. In fact, the chain of forms appears to gesture as far back as the city gate, to which the mosque's façade is almost square, though not axial. The mosque is further associated with the city wall by its material, white limestone, and

even more directly by the merlons, which have a militant and emblematic power. As a whole, the mosque demonstrates a degree of coordination with public space that is rare in medieval Anatolian architecture and that was not consistently attained by the Ottomans until well after they had occupied Constantinople.

By focusing attention on what is ultimately a very small part of the building's exterior, the façade condenses and intensifies the mosque's urban presence and at the same time literally masks its imposing size. This in turn causes the already voluminous interior to seem even larger when first entered. The combination of a large floor area and a high ceiling gracefully accommodates the mosque's many parts and elements. The building's plan has none of the casual, haphazard qualities of the Ulu Camis in Afyon or Sivrihisar, where columns never exactly align and beams create visual confusion by running parallel to the kibla wall. The Eşrefoğlu Cami plan is closer to that of Ankara's Ahi Şerefettin Cami in the sense that it is fully symmetrical about its longitudinal axis, but where the informality of the ground floor's lateral entrances in Ankara undercuts the basilical effect, in Beyşehir, the unexpectedly direct arrival on the central axis heightens the sense of formal order and significant procession through space.

The ceiling configuration, along with the light coming from above, contributes a great deal to the building's overall spatial effect. The gentle upwelling toward the centre gives the building buoyancy that is immediately noticeable upon entering, though its source is not at all obvious. In practical terms, the slopes were necessary to drain water from the earthen roof, but a simple two-way shed would have sufficed. The slope in the ceiling is not achieved through a deliberate, tectonic and rationalized stepping of bays, as in Ankara, nor could simple steps have produced its complex, two-way curve. The construction's sophistication and deft execution suggests the builders had at least some prior experience with building large wooden roofs.

The Eşrefoğlu Cami has the highest ceiling and tallest columns of all the wooden mosques; at nearly eight metres, the ceiling is higher even than that of the Ahi Şerefettin Cami and it is almost a third higher than the one in Afyon. The Eşrefoğlu mosque perfectly illustrates the capacity of wooden construction to produce a ceiling height commensurate with a large plan. Wooden construction also facilitated the planning of generous places for women and latecomers to the mosque; the mosque's section

made it possible to have a spacious son cemaat yeri without pressing the kadinlar mahfil against the ceiling, as happened in Afyon. The Ottoman-era insertion of a muezzin mahfil also responds to the possibilities of height liberated by wooden architecture. Only for the emir mahfil was the ceiling height deemed inadequate. The mahfil was rendered suitable for its privileged occupant by giving it a ceiling height of over five metres and its own double rank of windows. This was achieved by breaking through the roof line; the height may, however, have had less to do with any real deficiency in headroom and more with the desire to signify the mahfil's presence on the building's exterior. Wooden columns liberated the building's section, producing volumetric results impossible with masonry construction. Even the Alaeddin Cami in Konya did not achieve a similar effect, despite its use of marble columns that have a smaller section for their height than could be obtained with any other form of masonry construction (Fig. 12). In addition, the wooden beams of the Eşrefoğlu Cami have only a minimal directional effect; their orientation does not define the building's space the way that arcades do in masonry construction.

Management of light is crucial to the mosque's spatial qualities. The mosque has only four windows at the ground level, but there are twenty-five windows just below the ceiling level and six slightly smaller ones in the emir mahfil. The upper level window openings are probably original, since wooden lintels and sills remain embedded in the perimeter walls all around the building at the appropriate levels. The tall windows on the kibla wall to either side of the maqsura dome are the only ones to retain their original shutters; the plaster screens in the windows and the coloured glass in the other south-facing windows are obviously later changes.[10] The windows in the emir mahfil - at least those on the kibla wall - must also have had shutters to protect against the southern light, but they too are lost.

The number and regular placement of the high windows demonstrates a real effort to provide even day lighting, but given a plan so expansive, the perimeter windows were not adequate as the only source of natural light. Unfortunately, the mutilation of the building's centre aisle makes it

[10] However, Konyalı notes that the inscriptions are not continuous, which means that the shutters have been relocated or reordered. See *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 230. See also Muzaffer Batur, "Beyşehiri'nde Eşrefoğloğullarina Ait Ağaç Oyma Pencere Kapakları Hakkinda.» *Arkitekt* vol. 7, (1949): 199-201.

impossible to determine the original light condition. There was probably a central daylight source of some sort, but evidence for its form is scant. Friedrich Sarre saw the building shortly before major repairs in 1900, and described it then as having a dim and dreamy atmosphere.[11] His description does not agree with the amount of light that is now admitted by a skylight the size of a full bay, so it is doubtful that he saw a completely open oculus over the karlik. The ceiling of the bay in the middle probably had a type of wooden lantern consisting internally of a flat roof surrounded by clerestory windows. This feature is familiar from various madrasas and caravanserais. Structures of this sort were probably found in the Divriği Ulu Cami and the Alaeddin Cami in Niğde, though predictably, no medieval wooden example has survived intact.

Declarations of Sovereignty

The integration of the mosque with the surrounding buildings was not just a matter of their formal, physical configuration. The mosque's dedication inscription makes it clear that the building was conceived as the fiscal beneficiary of a network of buildings. The inscription, located unusually high on the entrance portal, is one of the Eşrefoğlu Cami most revealing features. It says:

The builder of this blessed mosque, the just and good emir, Saif-al Dīn Sulaimān ibn Eşref – may Allah be pleased with him (this work) - has constituted as wakf: the cloth maker's khān; the shops that are nearby and those around the great mosque; the large hamam; - twenty xxxx (?) of a total of xxxx (?); - and the following mills, which are the mill of xxx (?) the mill of xxx (?) the mill of xxx (?). The total revenue of these properties is 12 thousand dihrems. The founder has stipulated that one fifth of all these revenues shall be reserved for the support of his children, who are the very glorious and prosperous Muhammad, and Ashraf Bak, and every generation, each after the other. This is a true and legally binding Wakf. xxx at the date of the year 696 (1297).[12]

Howard Crane says that Anatolian foundation texts "are generally characterized by a formal and stereotyped language and a standardized

[11] Freidrich Sarre, "Beyşehir." *Reise in Klienasien.* Berlin: Geographische Verlagschandlung Deitrich Reimer, 1896: 156.

[12] This is my translation from the French edition in the RCEA, item 5037 (with the assistance of Janine Debanné.) Konyalı discusses the missing names of the mill towns at some length in *Beyşehir Tarihi,* 222-223.

sequence of ideas. Typically they begin with a statement of construction and designation of the type of foundation... followed by the name and an abridged protocol of the sultan ruling at the time of the foundation's completion and the name of the actual founder, sometimes accompanied by an abridged list of his or her ranks and titles...most inscriptions conclude with a date, expressed in words."[13] Exceptions are mostly royal foundations and tombs, where the inscription often takes the form of an epitaph. The Eşrefoğlu Cami's inscription clearly does not follow this formula; it is, instead, an excerpt from a wakf. Michael Rogers declares that, "In 13th century Anatolia, unlike contemporary Syria and Egypt, it was exceptional to inscribe extracts of waqfiyyas on buildings." 14

This, then, is one of a very few surviving seventh/thirteenth century Anatolian inscriptions to incorporate elements of the wakf documents. This exotic feature could be interpreted as evidence that the legal arrangements for the mosque's foundation were prepared by a religious authority from Syria or Egypt, but it more probably indicates the impossibility of continuing the old formula under Mongol suzerainty. After the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw III in 681/1282, the Mongols willfully and strategically alternated designated rule between 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay Qubād III and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ma'sūd II. It was the latter who nominally ruled in the year of the mosque's dedication, but he was in his third reign and must have appeared anything but a legitimate sovereign. Still, it would have taken considerable temerity to abandon the conventional forms of legitimation, since doing so was tantamount to declaring independence. Yet, given the political circumstances, the inscription was probably only realistic. Even if the Mongols were politically anathema, they were the de jure rulers of Anatolia. The conversion of Ghazan two years earlier must have gone some way to alleviating the situation, but it did not change the trajectory toward autonomy. Saif-al Dīn Sulaimān ibn Eşref's inscription identifies him as emir and justifies his foundation through his personal qualities, not by titles, and it eschews any gesture of subservience. The inscription is frank in its declaration of self-interest. Almost boastful in tone, it declares the munificence of the patron, and implicitly, his concern for bringing about all the good things that could be expected of a new state. The list of foundations in the wakf excerpt reads like an inventory of the benefits of civilization and industry, and contributes to the atmosphere

[13] Crane, "Notes," 3.

[14] Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage," 70.

of a charmed, ideal city that lingers about Beyşehir.

The wakf inscription is remarkably frank about the sources, size, and disposition of the family's income. Textile production –and presumably, trade – was clearly the basis of the state's wealth. [15] There is relatively little economic data like this from medieval Anatolia, and it should be evaluated by experts in historical economic matters. Given that the original wakf document has not been preserved, it is unfortunate that the inscription does not include more details of the financial support for the mosque and its staff. [16] The inscription emphasizes instead the income and resources needed to support an amirial family of some pretensions. It also demonstrates the measures taken to securing wealth by converting commercial enterprises into inalienable wakfs.[17] The choice to excerpt and inscribe this particular passage from the wakf reveals the priorities at the origins of the foundation.

The dynastic türbe adjacent to the mosque was a further measure to entrench the family's place in history.[18] Completed in 700/1301, the tomb and its tall and perfectly conical roof were constructed in the same soft yellow stone as the portal, and they have been heavily restored. While the octagonal plan of the tomb is quite typical, the hemispherical dome inside has one the most elaborate faience mosaics in Turkey.[19] Its radial arabesque pattern, which was executed on an ingenious sequence of interlocking plates, is far more splendid than the decoration of the mosque's maqsura dome.[20] The tomb is situated at the precise point on the mosque's east side to make one of its eight facets align with the chamfered stone façade. At the same time, the türbe communicates directly with the mosque through an opening in the face where it is attached. This link was clearly intended

[15] For a general introduction to Mongol era economics, see Zeki Validi Togan, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period." *Annales Islamologiques, 25 (1991): 203-240.*

[16] For the later *wakf documents, see* M. Akif Erdoğru, "Eşrefoğloğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey Camii'nin Vakıfları", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* VI (1991): 91-109.

[17] This is the type of foundation known as a 'wakf ahli,' designed and permitted under Hanefi law to provide support for a family. See Michael Rogers, "Royal Caravanserays," 405.

[18] Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, *Anadolu Kümbetleri 2 ve 3: Beylikler ve Osmanlı Dönemi.* vol. 3. Ankara: Adalet Matbaacilik Tic. Ltd, 1992: 82-86.

[19] Micheal Meinecke. *Fayencedecoration Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* 2 Vol. Tubingen: Wasmuth Verlag, 1976. pp 91-94.

[20] Meinecke made a diagram of this intriguing system. It is also published by Erdemir, *Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Camii, 85.*

to solicit blessings from worshipers and thus to foster a cult of the local dynasty. Even today, newly arriving worshippers (though not the regular congregants) commonly make their way directly to the türbe window where they perform a fātiha (prayer for the dead) before proceeding to salat. Direct communication between mosque and tomb via an internal window was first established at the Divriği Ulu Cami and appeared again in the Sahip Ata complex, where the dynastic tomb was inserted between he mosque and the hanikah on its south side, and a window opened between the mosque and the tomb through the existing kibla wall. This arrangement means that worship oriented to the kibla is also implicitly directed to the deceased patron. The Eşrefoğlu tomb is not quite as bold in its placement, but it could be said to advance the cult of the leader in medieval Turkey in another way. Where the Sahip Ata türbe (like the Divriği example) was hidden between buildings, the Eşrefoğlu türbe is prominently displayed along the mosque's façade. The tomb thus achieves a monumental representation directed outward to the public space at the same time as it forges an intimate, symbolic link to the mosque's interior. This dual connection makes the presence of the dynastic tomb pervade the space, and reinforces its claim that credit and even reverence is due to the mosque's founding family.

The emir mahfil in the mosque's upper southwest corner renders the presence of the ruler in the mosque even more legible and immediate (Fig. 48). The mahfil occupies two bays with a net area of about forty-four square metres, divided almost in half by a step forty-five centimetres tall. The ceiling is just over five metres high and rises about two metres above the surrounding ceiling. The joists in the mahfil run perpendicular to the others in the southernmost bay. The ceiling of the bay between the emir mahfil and the maqsura dome has been raised by a single course of brackets all around, apparently in order to improve the sight line toward the mihrap, which remains largely obscured by the interposed mimber. In any case, the mahfil has its own mihrap that, like the main one, is flanked by two windows and surmounted by another. The west wall has one more window near the floor and two near the ceiling. These windows have exposed heads consisting of roughly hewn logs, but must originally have had finer finishes in accord with the general quality of the space. The mahfil is defined on its inner faces by monumental arches with a negative keystone - a profile that is often called a Bursa arch, but which must actually derive from the form of wooden brackets. This shape is

foreshadowed in the frame of the window on the building's facade, and in the row of miniature versions that decorates the inside face of the beams in central aisle, just below the painted consoles. The mahfil's large arched openings are filled with low handrails and taller wooden screens that are slightly finer than those found elsewhere in the mosque. Konyalı mentions decorations on the walls in these areas, but none have survived, unless he is referring to the painted decoration, which is particularly copious and fine. There is a 7.6 metre long shelf or raff, mounted high on the west wall of the bay below the emir mahfil. It was presumably used to store a library of religious texts, and possibly also liturgical instruments or small furnishings, such as lamps, incense burners, and candle holders.

A door in the mosque's west wall not far from the foot of the stairs that lead up to the emir mahfil was obviously used as the emir's private or ceremonial entrance. No evidence remains of palatial architecture in Beyşehir, but the location of the door in the west wall may point to its former location. It is important, however, not to read too much into this, since it seems to have been quite conventional to have the emir's entrance to the right when facing the mihrap. This door would have spared Süleyman and his successors the indignity and hazard of passing through a throng of assembled worshipers to claim a place at the front near the Imam. Oleg Grabar has explained features like these in Islamic palatial architecture as manifestations of, "a ceremonial order of progressive remoteness."[21] Aloofness is a standard feature of Islamic political culture; the great Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk, for example, advised the sultan against being too accessible, lest it diminish his aura of power.[22] The lofty emir mahfil is the architectural manifestation of this political sensibility where it intersects religious affairs. Its presence recalls the social tensions and grievances that could make the ruler a target of deadly resentment. It is a dialectical structure, designed to render the ruler present and aloof all at once – his arrival is the cynosure of all eyes, yet he remains theoretically invisible as he privately worships.[23] Awareness of this separate presence hovers over

[21] Oleg Grabar, "Palaces, Citadels and Fortresses" in *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning.* George Michell, ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978: 72.

[22] Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk.* Darke, Hubert, trans. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edition, 1978.

[23] The effect is like that of the *mashrabiy'ya* brilliantly analyzed by Bechir Kenzari and Yassar Elsheshtawy in "The Ambiguous Veil: On Transparency, the Mashrabiy'ya, and Architecture." *Journal of Architectural Education* (2003): 17-25.

the entire structure, belying the congregation's ideal equality.

In fact, the Eşrefoğlu Cami abounds with screens, gates, pens, barricades and barriers, which I have described elsewhere. These structures not only provide distinct stylistic features, as an art-historian might have it, they also indicate a high concern for managing and delimiting space. The screens raise numerous questions. Who was allowed beyond the southern screen, and who was excluded? How were such distinctions practiced? Was a sense of caste or rank internalized or somehow enforced? Was it fluid or rigid, and how did it function over time, for example daily, weekly, and annually? Were these divisions a normal attribute of late seventh / thirteenth century mosques, seen here in a better state of preservation, or was this a specific spatial manifestation of this emirate, indicative of a unique religious and social practice? At this point, it is no more possible to answer these questions than it is to know which screens are original. The one thing that can be said is that the heightened interior spatial articulation is consistent with the carefully developed exterior space, and that Anatolia has no more fully preserved set of mosque fitments.

The invisible presence of a çilehane below the mosque's floor reveals at least one aspect of religious practice in the mosque. The çilehane, like a Christian anchorage, is a retreat in which to endure the physical and spiritual trials of inclaustration. If it is indeed original, it indicates that Süleyman supported some of the more extreme manifestations of Sufi spirituality and incorporated them directly into the mosque. The çilehane's position beneath the emir mahfil associates the spiritual trials of adepts with the emir's presence and patronage. The arrangement could even be understood as forming a corollary in which the emir and sufi have reciprocal and complementary positions – two tarikats, or spiritual paths, equally difficult and virtuous in due respect. The space of the ulama, as indicated by the raff, mediates them.[24] The mosque's pervasive horizontal compartition is matched here with a vertical spatial striation. The most radical interpretation could see this as a veritable ascension narrative in which an axis links the çilehane through the liturgical instruments and texts to the pinnacle of rule. It is a powerful affirmation of the religious foundation of rule and the state.

A lavishly painted interior contributed a great deal to the Eşrefoğlu

[24] The wall shelf in the Sirçali Mescid in Konya, built in 1203-1210, is another example of this rare feature.

Cami's general aesthetic appeal. In the course of centuries the paint naturally faded, but until restorations carried out a few years ago, it was still possible to faintly discern the glorious effect of the painted patterns, which were focused primarily on the consoles between the brackets in the central bay. It is worth noting that one motif may have specific imperial associations. All of the mosque's octagonal columns and a couple of the round ones display traces of alternating courses of red and white zigzags over their full height. A slightly finer version of the pattern appears inside the emir mahfil, and a carved version is seen on the corner colonettes of the window on the façade. This motif is found in several Seljuk palatial foundations, for example in the Alanya Kale and at Aspendos, among other places. It is invariably rendered in red and white, and often accompanied by checkerboard grids in the same colours. The heavily painted Kasaba Köy Cami features a slightly more elaborate version that includes an inverted teardrop shaped pendant. The same motif is often depicted in Ilkhanid paintings of rugs and tents (Fig. 11). Scott Redford has argued that the zigzag pattern has specifically imperial associations,[25] and if so, its presence in the Eşrefoğlu Cami is another instance of appropriation of imperial motifs by the ambitious emir.

In addition to the painting, the mosque was richly furnished. The elegant walnut mimber is of the very best kundekari woodwork inlaid with ivory, and there must have been matching rahles (Koran stands), and kursis (lecturns). An inscription over the emir's door alludes to the act of patronage and makes specific reference to lanterns and carpets; interestingly, these are among the artifacts that were found in the mosque in the early twentieth century and removed to museums. In 1929, Rudolph M. Reifstahl found fragments of several very old carpets.[26] These large carpets, now in the Konya Ethnographic Museum, consist mostly of fields of repeated patterns with broad pseudo-kufic borders. They are consistent with what is known of other presumably Seljuk carpets found in Konya's Alaaddin Cami and turbe, and despite Reifstahl's reservations (which are based on spurious notions of quality), there is no real reason to doubt that they date from the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century. Indeed, the painted patterns on the consoles and elsewhere must have been closely

[25] Scott Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia: Sejuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey.* Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000: 49.

[26] Rudolph M. Reifstahl, "Primitive Rugs of the 'Konya' Type in the Mosque of Beysehir." *The Art Bulletin, vol. 13. , No. 2, (Jun., 1931): 177-220.*

related to the sorts of patterns found on the carpets, and vice versa. In effect, the carpets and the paintings would have made the floor and ceiling reciprocal, at least in terms of colour and pattern.

The Eşrefoğlu mosque was also the repository of the only fully inscribed and dated Seljuk-era metal lamp, which is now in the Ankara Ethnographic Museum (item no. 7591).[27] D.S. Rice, who discussed the lamp at length, translated the inscription as, "Work of 'Alī ibn Muhammad an-Nisībīnī, in the city of Konya, in the year 679 (1280-81)" and declared that the Konya lamp, "presents the first example of large bronze surfaces decorated with intricate arabesques in repousse."[28] The work was locally manufactured, but the artist's nisba indicates he came from the North Mesopotamian city of Nisībīn, which had been devastated by Hülegü's troops in 675/1259.[29] M. Zeki Oral has pointed out that the unpointed date can also be read as AH 699, and it makes more sense to suppose that the luxurious lamp was commissioned to furnish the mosque than to imagine that it was randomly produced twenty years earlier and made its way there haphazardly. [30]

Other aspects of the Eşrefoğlu's cultural patronage show that they sought to assume the conventional role of Islamic leaders as patrons of learning. Mehmed was the subject of the dedication in 709/1310 of an Arabic philosophical treatise titled Fusulu'l-Eşrefoğluiyye by a certain Şemsüddin Mehmed Tushtari, whose nisba indicates that he originated in Tushtar, in Khuzistan.[31] A book on civil engineering titled Tekarirü'l-menasib by Kemaleddin of Konya was also dedicated to him in 720/1320.[32] The raff under the emir mahfil suggest the presence of other books; certainly it would have held copies of the Koran, and probably also the typical hadith and legal works, etc. It is sometimes claimed locally that the wall with a door and window adjacent to the minaret is the remains of a library. Konyalı made a valiant but fruitless effort to track down a cache of ancient books reported to have originated in either the mosque or medrese.[33]

[27] D.S. Rice, "Studies in Early Islamic Metalwork V" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. 17, No. 2 (1955): 206-231.*

[28] Rice, "Studies in Early Islamic Metalwork V," 209.

[29] Rice notes that only eight other metal artefacts (other than astrolabes) made before AD 1350 are inscribed with the place of their manufacture, see "Studies in Early Islamic Metalwork V," 206.

[30] M. Zeki Oral. "Eşrefoğlu Camii'ne Ait Bir Kandil", *Belleten*, C:XXIII, Sayı:89 (1959): 116.

[31] Cultural Atlas, 236; Cahen, *Formation*, 263.

[32] Cultural Atlas, 236.

[33] İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Beyşehir Tarihi*. Erzurum: Ata-

Nevertheless, it is clear enough that the emirs recognized learning and literacy as part of the full complement of activities and accomplishments of a wise ruler.

There are a few points at which a religious creed becomes somewhat apparent in the mosque. One of these is at the top of the maqsura dome, which has a circular ceramic mosaic medallion inscribed with a five-pointed star and the names of Muhammed and the first four 'rightly-directed' caliphs. This type of emblem, of which there are perhaps a dozen examples in Anatolia, presents an explicit statement of religious conviction in the form of an esoteric, decorative pattern.[34] The feature is called a çinili göbek when in a dome, or more generally, a Seal of Solomon. It comes in either five- or six-pointed versions, the number usually depending whether or not it includes the name of Ali. The first example of the emblem in Anatolia is carved on either side of the entrance to the Mama Hatun turbe in Tercan (588-598/1192-1202); it is found, carved again in stone, in the same place on the Çifte Minare Medrese in Erzurum (uncertain date, possibly between 637-676/1240-1277). Its first use as a ceramic medallion is in the dome of the Ulu Cami of Malatya (621 and/or 645/1224 and/or 1247). The motif was quite popular in Konya, where it is found at the Bey Hekim Cami (7th/13th c.) and in the Şey Alman Türbe (7th/13th c.). The emblem is also present in several of the Sahip Ata's foundations: the Gök Medrese in Sivas (669/1271), the Tahir-ile Zühre mesjid (undated), and his türbe (684/1285).35 Although the maqsura dome of the Sahip Ata's mosque is lost, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was inscribed there, too.[36]

The presence of the seal proclaimed the Eşrefoğlu's Sunni orthodox faith, but there is a slight discrepancy between what it declares and the unique square Kufic emblem that appears above the mimber door. This second emblem prominently includes the name of Ali, which is omitted above. Measuring almost eighty centimetres square and crafted in the jointed,

türk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Facultesi Yayını, 1991.

[34] The origins of this motif are unknown but an early example is found on the older of the two tomb towers at Kharraqān, dated AH 460. See D. Stronach and T. Cuyler Young Jnr. "Three Octagonal Seljuk tomb towers from Iran," Iran IV (1966) Pl. 1X-a

[35] For the Gök Medrese, see Michael Rogers, "The Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum and the Gök Medrese at Sivas: A Contribution to the History of Style in the Seljuk Architecture of 13th Century Turkey" *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 15. (1965): 67-68.

[36] A painted version of the motif also appears in Oljeitu's tomb at Sultaniya, ca. AD 1307-13.

kundekare technique, it is one of the most visually striking emblems in all of Turkish woodworking art. It is particularly notable for breaking the stylistic unity of the mimber; the square is presented like a trophy or a prized piece of spolia, or perhaps more to the point, like the sign of a creed. It would be foolhardy to deduce a doctrinal conflict on the evidence of these two minor points, but the discrepancy is worth noting.

The physical proximity of the mosque to the bedestan reveals the important role of commerce and industry in the foundation of the emirate. The presence of a bedestan in a city not only indicated a considerable volume of trade, but also generally raised the status of the city to one with international connections.[37] It was not a common building type; Harold Crane says that," Although bedestans are mentioned in a number of thirteenth-century vakfiyes in such a way as to suggest that they were independent buildings, only one example, dating from the very end of the thirteenth century, the much repaired bedestan of Beyşehir built by Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey as a vakif for his mosque, has survived to the present day."[38]

To legitimize the role he claimed, Süleyman had to demonstrate the virtues of a ruler, which included magnimanity, as displayed through undertaking grand projects of which others were incapable. Building was a way of showing that one had God's sanction to rule; this was particularly important for a new ruler who had only his personal virtues to offer in lieu of titles. The capacity to produce wealth by just means was one demonstration of the legitimacy of rule and the opportunity to secure one's family in perpetuity was one of its rewards. The wakf inscription proclaims and celebrates the perspicuity that undergirds the dynastic impulse, as ensconced in Hanefi law.

Mongol suzerainty appears to have let new states flourish through permitting gestures that the Seljuks would have prohibited. It is impossible to discern anything more than the main political features of the Eşrefoğullari 's interaction with the Mongols and Seljuks, but it is clear that they built their nascent state under the cover of Mongol suzerainty. Shortly after Süleyman's death, his son, Mubariz al-Din Mehmed, briefly extended his dominion to the towns of Gelendost and Yalvaç, but the

[37] Halil İnalcık, "The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul," in *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1/1 (1979-80): 2.

[38] Crane, "Notes," 313.

stronger Hamidoğlus who reigned to the north soon reclaimed them. After the Karamanids captured Konya, Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Beg seized Akşehir and Ilgin. Continuing to expand, he added Sultandağı, Çay, and Bolvadin to his territory before his death in 720/1320. A builder like his father, he provided mosques for Seydişehir, Bolvadin, and Akşehir.

In 714/1314 Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Beg began to pay homage to the Mongol governor Temur-Taş. This legitimized his power within the Mongol suzerainty, but it was not sufficient to prevent Temur-Taş, who revolted against his Ilkhanid masters in 726/1326, from taking Beyşehir from Mehmed's son and successor, Süleyman II.[39] The rebellious governor put Süleyman II to death and the dynasty expired with him. Its territory was divided between its old rivals the Karamanids and the Hamidoğullari, but neither claimed Beyşehir as a capital.[40]

Cahen says the Eşrefoğullari never equaled the Karamanids in power, and attributes to them a greater desire for isolation and autonomy.[41] The mosque they built is certainly a sign of this, for it was precocious and thorough in appropriating imperial prerogatives and symbols. The Eşrefoğlu apparently recognized that sovereignty was a matter of symbolic representation as much as military force. Their extensive building practices make it clear that they were acutely aware of the power of architecture in securing prestige, position, and legitimacy. They proved remarkably adept at manipulating symbols and spaces into a coherent statement of their aims. As fortune had it, the emirate survived for just three generations, but the trust it placed in monumental architectural representation secured it an important place in the material legacy of the era.

What kind of architectural values might the Eşrefoğullari have propagated if they had not been defeated? The mosque they left behind suggests a picture of acute awareness of public representation; devotion to grandeur and munificence; cognizance of historic and symbolic representation; punctiliousness with respect to station and caste; and generous support for artists, philosophers and poets. The novel building inscription is remarkably perspicuous – it is free of superfluous titles, frank in its expression of materialism, and explicit about the sources of wealth

[39] Melville, citing the anonymous Seljuk historian, gives the precise date 9 October 1326. "Anatolia under the Mongols," 91.

[40] Cahen, *Formation, 229.*

[41] Cahen, *Formation*, 229.

in trade and industry. In the absence of any higher temporal authority, it asserts the rule of sharia. There is a faint but unmistakable iconography of Solomon in the name once given to the town, in its unique position adjacent to a beautiful lake, in the seal of Solomon found in the maqsura dome, and in the dedication to architecture as a kind of thaumaturgy. It is tempting to attribute this architectural and symbolic sophistication to the presence nearby of Kubadabad. The lake palace must have set an example of lavish imperial building, and accustomed the local population to monumental construction as an imperial proclivity.

Taken as a whole, the Eşrefoğlu Cami constitutes a veritable treatise in the Medieval Anatolian architectural representation of sovereignty. This makes it quite impossible to agree with Aslanapa's claim that, "The strength and creative power of Seljuk mosque architecture in Anatolia continued right up to the end in wooden mosques as vigorously as in stone or brick mosques or mesjids, and may be said to have produced its finest masterpiece in the Eşrefoğlu Mosque at the very end of the century."[42] While there is no questioning the building's vigour, it is wrong to think of it as Seljuk architecture's swan song. The building was built in defiance of the Seljuks and there is nothing elegiac about it. On the contrary, the building has an architectural exuberance that seems to celebrate the new cultural possibilities of liberation from the Seljuks and the joys of autonomy.

The Eşrefoğlu mosque deserves to be seen in its own right as a bold departure in a time of suzerainty, and as the first manifestation of a new era of political diversity in which local initiatives, hopes, and aspirations proliferated. These new forces had a particular aspiration to architectural representation and produced numerous new foundations before being curtailed by the reality of political fragmentation and anarchy. The privileged place of the Eşrefoğlu mosque on the cusp of this new era meant that it was neither equalled in architectural quality nor surpassed in size until the Ottomans consolidated power and built the Bursa Ulu Cami almost precisely a century later.[43] Politically, the Eşrefoğullari emerged as a quasi-independent power while under Mongol suzerainty; the

[42] Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture,* 123.

[43] The Isa Bey Cami in Seljuk could be considered a rival in terms of quality of design and construction but it has an interior area of only 864 square metres. The Bursa Ulu Cami, by comparison, covers an area of 3150 square metres, making it more than two and a half times the size of the Eşrefoğlu Cami.

Mongols must have exacted at least some tribute from them, but this had no apparent detrimental effects on the mosque, nor does it seem to have hindered the Eşrefoğlu's extensive building activities. On the contrary, Mongol overlordship seems to have spurred the family into action.

The Eşrefoğlu Cami presents the clearest example of the important role that bold architectural constructions played in the formation of new states after the Mongol Conquest. The Mongol's belated understanding of the civilizational programme of Islam permitted several ambitious figures to anticipate the end of Mongol suzerainty and lay claim to an independent future. When Süleyman Eşrefoğlu set out to express his nascent imperial will it was the Sahip Ata that he chose to emulate, not the Seljuk Sultans. This only made sense; the Sultans had been incapacitated for a half century, in which time the Sahip Ata had negotiated a very successful modus operandi with the Mongols. The wooden mosque that he had introduced in Konya became the model for the position of quasi-autonomy Süleyman Eşrefoğlu sought for himself and his Turkomen followers. Its novel architecture functioned, in Biran's words, as a unifying force, a means of ideological distanciation, and a sign of independence.

Bibliography

Akyurt, Yusuf, "Beyşehir Kitabeleri ve Eşrefoğulları Camii Türbesi." Türk Tarih Arkeologya Etnografya Dergisi IV, (1940).

Batur, Muzaffer, "Beyşehiri'nde Eşrefoğloğullarina Ait Ağaç Oyma Pencere Kapakları Hakkinda." Arkitekt, Vol. 7, (1949).

Biran, Michal, The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Erdoğru, Mehmet Akif, Turk Encyclopaedia, "Beyşehir".

Erdoğru, M. Akif, "Eşrefoğloğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey Camii'nin Vakıfları", Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi VI (1991).

Fleet, Kate, The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 1, 89.

Grabar, Oleg, "Palaces, Citadels and Fortresses" in Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning. George Michell, ed. London: Thames and Hudson 1978.

İnalcık, Halil, "The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul," in International Journal of Turkish Studies 1/1 (1979-80).

Kenzari, Bechir and Yassar Elsheshtawy, "The Ambiguous Veil: On Transparency, the Mashrabiy'ya, and Architecture." Journal of Architectural Education (2003).

Konyalı, İbrahim Hakkı, Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Beyşehir Tarihi, Atatürk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Facultesi Yayını, Erzurum 1991.

M. Reifstahl, Rudolph, "Primitive Rugs of the 'Konya' Type in the Mosque of Bey sehir." The Art Bulletin, vol. 13. , No. 2, (Jun., 1931).

Meinecke, Micheal, Fayencedecoration Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien 2 Vol. Tubingen: Wasmuth Verlag, 1976.

Nizam al-Mulk, The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk. Darke, Hubert, trans. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edition, 1978.

Oral, M. Zeki, "Eşrefoğlu Camii'ne Ait Bir Kandil", Belleten, C: XXIII, Sayı: 89 (1959).

Redford, Scott, Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia: Sejuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000.

Rice, D.S., "Studies in Early Islamic Metalwork V" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. 17, No. 2 (1955):

Rogers, Michael, "The Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum and the Gök Medrese at Sivas: A Contribution to the History of Style in the Seljuk Architecture of 13th Century Turkey" Anatolian Studies, Vol. 15. (1965)

Sarre, Freidrich, "Beyşehir." Reise in Klienasien. Berlin: Geographische Verlagschandlung Deitrich Reimer, 1896.

Stronach, D. and T. Cuyler Young Jnr., "Three Octagonal Seljuk tomb towers from Iran," Iran IV (1966) Pl. 1X-a.

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1969.

Togan, Zeki Validi, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period." Annales Islamologiques, 25 (1991): 203-240.

Tuncer, Orhan Cezmi, Anadolu Kümbetleri 2 ve 3: Beylikler ve Osmanlı Dönemi. vol. 3, Adalet Matbaacilik Tic. Ltd, Ankara 1992.