VISUALIZING MOBILITY IN CAPPADOCIA

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ABSTRACT

Was Cappadocia the hinterland of the largest city in the region, Kayseri? Or did the confluence of roads and routes meeting here give it another status, what Jacopo Turchetto has called a central periphery? This essay argues that it was indeed more than a hinterland. It was a landscape that drew on this confluence, as well as its extraordinary geology. This quality of central periphery was certainly reinforced during a thirteenth-century Seljuk building campaign, although it likely was present during earlier Byzantine centuries. In this essay, I draw on the work of Byzantine art historians, two of them the editors of this volume, and my own work on caravanserais of Seljuk Anatolia in an attempt to assemble scenes of landscape, mobility, and convergence in thirteenth-century Cappadocia. The convergence, painted in broad strokes, comes at the end of the essay, preceded by sections examining the 1950s' attempts to recuperate and reanimate the Seljuk architectural heritage in Republican Turkey and the extraordinary building campaign of large caravanserais in Cappadocia in the 1220s–1240s.

KEYWORDS

Central Periphery, Byzantine Cappadocia, Seljuk Cappadocia, caravanserais, mobility

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INTRODUCTION

For several years, I gave a few classes in the Koç University ANAMED summer school course on Cappadocia organized and taught by Robert Ousterhout and Tolga Uyar. One morning session was devoted to a landscape exercise, in which students were taken to the corner of a valley full of rock-cut structures. There, divided into teams, they worked to understand, organize, and, later, to explain them to the assembled class. For my part, I taught a different kind of landscape exercise, giving the students translated sections of thirteenth-century foundation documents (vakfiyes) of Seljuk buildings near Cappadocia and asking them to use them to evoke landscape and townscape at the time.

This article takes as its base the questions underlying these exercises. Playing on the title of Ousterhout's book on Byzantine Cappadocia, *Visualizing Community*,[1] it looks at some of the ways Seljuk caravanserais worked in the landscape of medieval Cappadocia and in the scholarly imagination. It is divided into three unequal sections. The first takes as its subject the flurry of interest on the part of two 1950s Turkish archaeologists in Seljuk caravanserais between Kayseri and Aksaray. The second is a consideration of the extraordinarily large number of Seljuk buildings, mainly but not exclusively caravanserais, in that same region. And the final, third section aims to repopulate the area more completely, including the Greek Christians who continued to renovate and decorate churches in the thirteenth century when the area was under Seljuk rule.

The topic of transportation, road networks, and wayside inns is far too large for one paper. In this respect, we are fortunate for the articles and book of landscape archaeologist Jacopo Turchetto, whose work combines traditional approaches such as historical geography and archaeological survey with GIS in the study of classical and medieval Cappadocia. While much of Turchetto's work focuses on areas to the south of the fairy chimneys of the tourists' Cappadocia, and is more concerned with eras earlier than the twelfth–thirteenth century, he does incorporate caravanserais into his evaluations of routes, providing valuable insights into continuities in road systems. Many of the caravanserais and some of the cities and towns mentioned in this article are located in Figure 1, the reproduction of a map from one of his recent articles.[2]

RESTİTÜSYON

Tahsin Özgüç (1916–2005) was both educated and taught at Ankara University's Faculty of Language, History, and Geography. He is best known for his decades of excavation at the Bronze Age site of Kültepe, located northeast of Kayseri. Özgüç began excavations at Kültepe in July 1948 in the name of the Turkish Historical Society, publishing excavation reports in its journal, *Belleten*. Also prominent at both these institutions was Afet İnan. An adopted daughter of Atatürk's, she was a professor of Turkish history at Ankara University and vice-president of the Turkish

1 Robert Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2017). I thank both editors for their help with this essay and for years of inspiring teaching in the Cappadocia in Context summer school, as well as collaboration in other scholarly arenas. I am also grateful to Jacopo Turchetto for his generosity in sharing his research and allowing the use of one of his maps here. Unless otherwise indicated, all Seljuk inscriptions mentioned in this article were consulted on that invaluable scholarly resource, the *Thesaurus d'épigraphie islamique* (www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be). In this article, I use modern Turkish spellings of the names of Seljuk sultans and one Seljuk queen. The one exception is my use of Arabic transliteration in my reading of the surviving Sarıhan caravanserai inscription in footnote 17.

2 Jacopo Turchetto, *Per Cappadociae partem…iter feci. Graeco-Roman Routes between Taurus and Halys* (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2018); Jacopo Turchetto, "Dare forma a un paessagio. Romani, Bizantini, Arabi e Selguichidi in Cappadocia (Anatolia Centrale)," *Agri Centuriati* 16 (2019): 83–103. Turchetto's work draws on and supersedes work of, among others, Friedrich Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977).

FIG.1

Map of Cappadocia showing the location of many of the caravanserais discussed in this article. From Jacopo Turchetto, "Dare forma a un paessagio. Romani, Bizantini, Arabi e Selguichidi in Cappadocia (Anatolia Centrale)," Agri Centuriati *16 (2019), fig. 11. Used with permission*

Historical Society. Özgüç thanks her for her support in his first book about the Kültepe excavations, an account of that first season also published by the Turkish Historical Society in 1950.[3]

A former student of archaeology at Ankara University, Mahmut Akok (1901–1993), worked at Kültepe making drawings of both architectural remains as well as objects. In the introduction to his 1950 book, Özgüç calls Akok an architect and archaeologist, although on those occasions when Akok did add a title to his name on drawings, he only called himself "arkeolog." Throughout his long and prolific career, Akok became known for his dramatically rendered architectural reconstruction drawings, to the extent that in later years the style in which they were executed became known in Turkish academic circles as "Akokvari," or Akok-esque.[4]

All three of these people were in Ankara and worked at or for two of the central organs of the Turkish Republic at a time when Atatürk, İnan, and others were formulating and promulgating the Turkish Historical Thesis, in which a prominent position in many world civilizations is claimed for the Turkish people. (It's interesting to note that these same three, who all espoused the ruling ideology of Turkish nationalism, a nationalism centered on Anatolia, came, like Atatürk himself, from families not from Anatolia but rather the Balkans.) The search for Turkishness in the remains of the Anatolian past was common in archaeological circles in Turkey at the time, so Özgüç and Akok were far from alone. And yet despite their adherence to the ahistorical Republican national story, Turkish archaeologists like Özgüç had studied with German and other foreign scholars in Ankara, and in their works quoted works on Anatolian archaeology and art history in German, French, and English.

In the beginning of his 1950 book, Özgüç devotes several pages to the location of Kültepe, its relationship to Kayseri and the Kayseri valley, and road systems in and around Kayseri. Given the interest in geography and its relationship to history and language inherent to a faculty of that name, given the interest in investigating Turkishness and its origins in Anatolia, and given the prominence of Seljuk caravanserais in the central Anatolian landscape west of Kayseri, it is not surprising that both Özgüç and Akok came to focus on them.

Their interest may also have been piqued by the active research program of German art historian Kurt Erdmann, who taught Islamic art at Istanbul University between 1951 and 1958 and spent his summers during those years traveling Anatolia documenting, categorizing, and analyzing Seljuk caravanserais. The first volume of Erdmann's monumental study of Seljuk caravanserais appeared in 1961, but before that he published articles about individual caravanserais which are cited by Özgüç and Akok. Erdmann's visits to the caravanserais of this region took place in the summers of 1953 and 1955. I do not know if he, Özgüç, and Akok ever met, but it's hard to imagine that they didn't.

This combination of training and circumstance resulted in a series of articles, short on text but long on documentation with photographs and Akok's drawings. Quite naturally, they appeared in the Turkish Historical Society's house organ, *Belleten*, where they shared space with articles by Afet İnan, Turkish and western European historians, archaeologists, linguists, and others. Twenty years earlier, the French architect Albert Gabriel had also taught at Istanbul University and published books mainly on medieval Turkish architecture. They naturally included

3 Tahsin Özgüç, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Kültepe Kazısı Raporu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1950), 2, for thanks to Prof. İnan.

4 I did not have access to the following book: Nevin Algül, *Mahmut Akok: Sanat Tarihi Restitusyon Piri* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2010). For an evocative account of Mahmut Akok's later life, see Sadi Bayram, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Çınarlarından: Mahmut Akok," sadibayram.com

caravanserais, and Akok's interest in drawings of reconstructed caravanserais, animated with figures of humans and animals, and placed in landscapes, likely originated with Gabriel. The Turkish name for these drawings, *restitüsyon*, derives from the French word restitution.[5]

Between 1953 and 1958, five articles authored by Özgüç and Akok appeared in quick succession in *Belleten*. The first two looked at the Seljuk remains at a town (Develi) and a castle (Melik Gazi) south of Kayseri. The beginning of the first article announced the reasons for these trips:

> "While the Kültepe-Kaneş Excavation team continued its work, when it found the means and the time, it organized exploratory trips, and especially examined previously unexplored sites, Turkish monuments, and studied documents relating to old roads."[6]

This first such trip was to the tomb and castle of Melik Gazi, where the inhabitants, the article reports, claimed to be the descendants of the Danişmendids, dynastic rivals of the early Seljuks. The first footnote in this article informs us that none other than Afet İnan and her students had visited the site in 1946; it was obvious, then, who was behind this excursion. Astounding for a trip that we are informed lasted only a day, in the article, the tomb and the castle are copiously documented with photographs, and among other architectural drawings, a reconstruction drawing of the tomb (complete with imagined surrounding outbuildings and trees).

In subsequent articles, Akok continued his practice of including drawings of buildings in a restored state, populated with imaginary medieval people and animals, and with elements of an Anatolian countryside remarkably similar to that of the time. In his reconstruction drawings of caravanserais, he follows Gabriel's depiction of camel caravans (although the necks and heads of Akok's camels sometimes stretch and stray into Brachiosaurus territory). Like Gabriel, his caravans had only one-humped Arabian camels, never two humped Bactrians.

Two examples of this practice from an article on the Sarıhan caravanserai will suffice.[7] Into the architectural sections of this caravanserai (Fig. 2), Akok inserts humans and animals in spaces he imagines they used: in addition to men wearing baggy trousers (presumably shalvars), there are women seemingly attired in shalvar kamiz and children. Women and men are represented in separate spaces, and an imam-like figure stands in the doorway of the caravanserai's mosque. The elevation and section drawing of the portal makes the resemblance between these figures and Anatolian villagers and shepherds clearer, because the male figures represented are larger (Fig. 3). The only noticeable historicizing element is the presence of two small but lumpy turbans on the heads of two of the figures.

How did the Republican Turkish archaeologists exploring and imagining central Anatolia in the mid-1950s think of themselves as they looked for Turkishness in the remains of the ancient built environment and in its inhabitants? For one thing, ancient, classical, Armenian, and Greek monuments are left out, although the authors do give the old (non-Turkish) names of the villages and towns alongside their new ones. And in the article on the Sarıhan caravanserai,

5 Albert Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* Volume 1 (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1931), 99, fig. 64 for Gabriel's reconstruction drawing of the Aksaray Sultan Han, complete with a string of camels entering the portal, but also trees, village houses, villagers, and people on horseback. Previously I have noted the bittersweet quality of these drawings: while demonstrating an imaginative sympathy for the Anatolian countryside, they also remind us that they constitute the kernel of what Gabriel wanted to accomplish not just on paper but in reality, which was the formation of a national corps of restoration architects, something that never came to pass: Scott Redford, "'What Have You Done for Anatolia Today? Islamic Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007), 246.

6 Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, "Melik-Gazi Türbesi ve Kalesi," *Belleten* 18 (1953), 331.

7 Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, "Sarıhan," *Belleten* 20 (1955), figs. 2, 4.

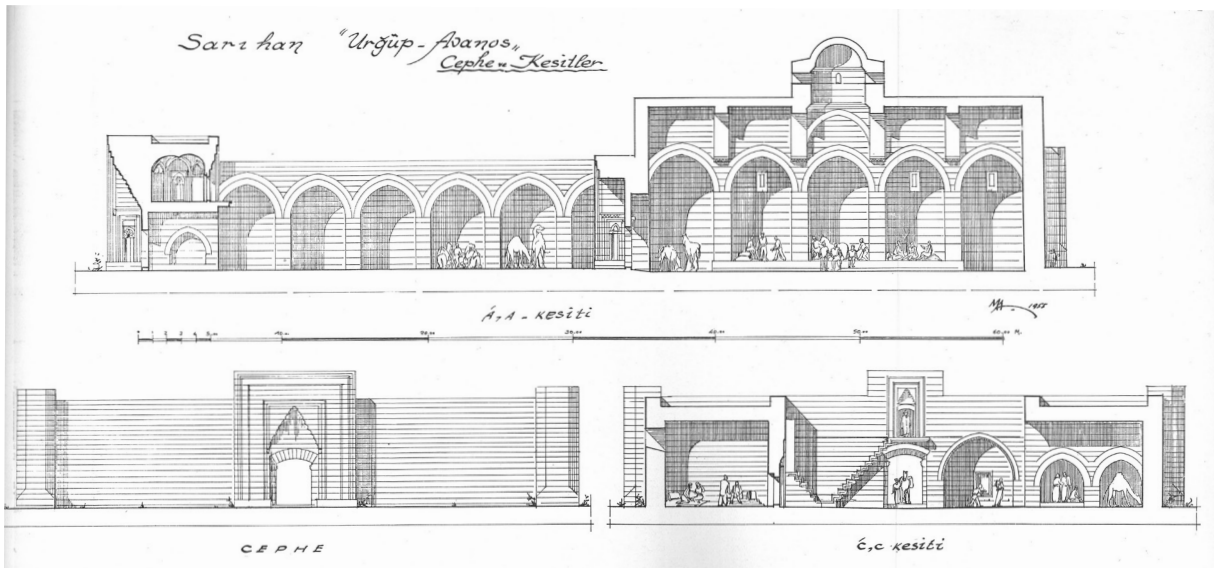

FIG.2

Sarıhan caravanserai, longitudinal section, cross-section of courtyard, and front elevation. Architectural renderings by Mahmut Akok. Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, "Sarıhan," Belleten *20 (1955), plan 2.*

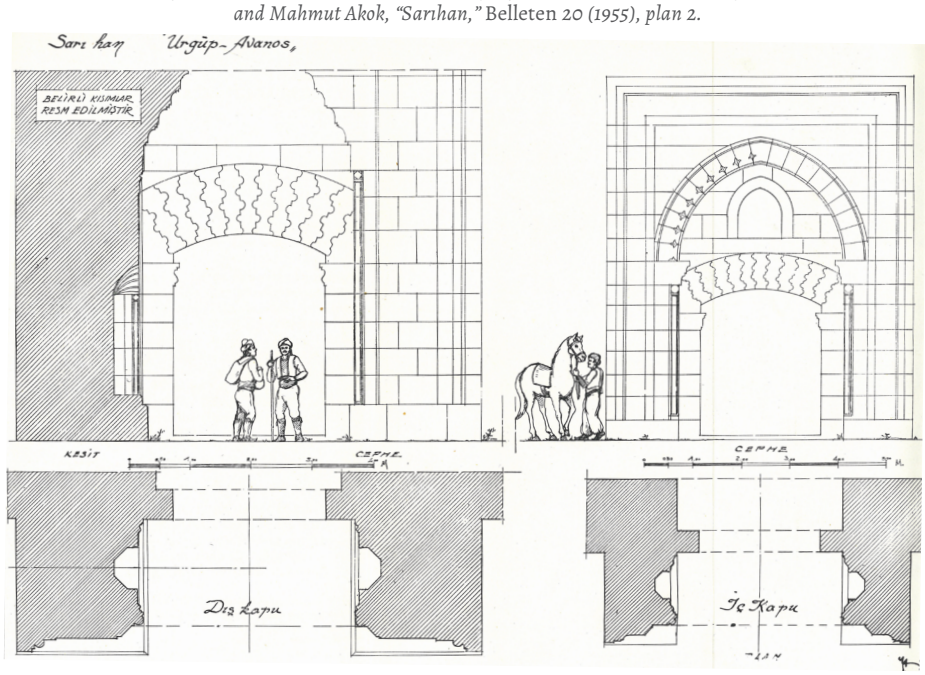

FIG.3

Sarıhan caravanserai, elevation and plan of entrance and courtyard portal. Architectural renderings by Mahmut Akok. Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, "Sarıhan," Belleten *20 (1955), plan 4.*

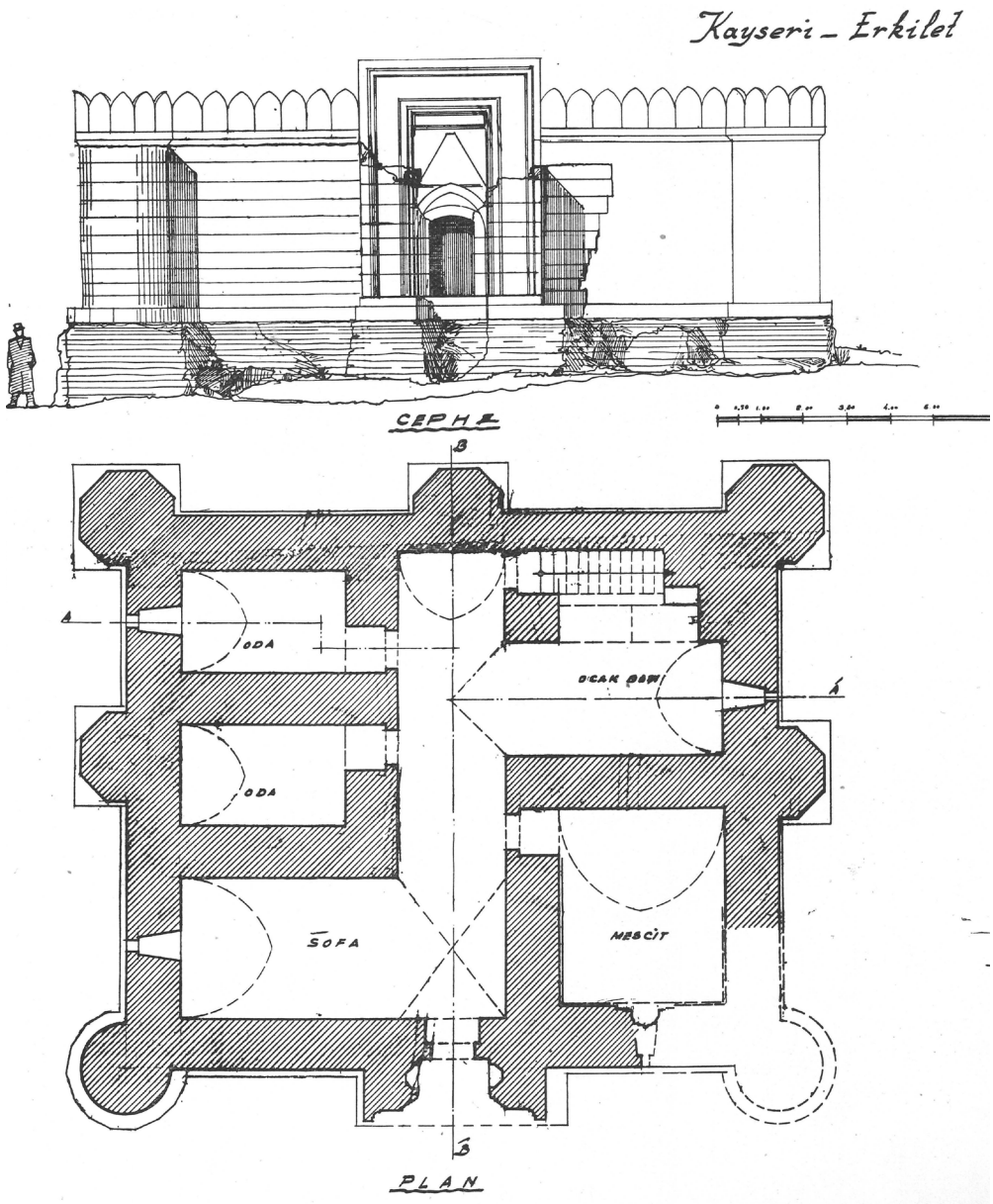

FIG.4

Hızır İlyas Köşkü, Erkilet, Kayseri, front elevation and plan. Architectural rendering by Mahmut Akok. Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, "Alayhan, Öresunhan ve Hızırilyas Köşkü—İki Selçuklu Kervansarayı ve bir Köşkü," Belleten *21 (1957), plan 3, detail.*

the authors note that the earliest photographs of the building were taken by Jerphanion while he was working on the churches of Göreme.[8] While the inclusion of a photo of a Seljuk building in a work on Byzantine churches may seem to be a rare meeting of two worlds, in many of his publications, Jerphanion displays an interest in Seljuk monuments.

In an article on further Seljuk caravanserais and a pavilion (about which more below) published in the next issue of *Belleten*, Akok published his elevation of the pavilion's portal (Fig. 4). In this drawing, instead of representations of Anatolian shepherds and villagers providing a link between a medieval past and a traditional present, Akok's human figure stands to one side, a dispassionate measurer and recorder of the past. He's wearing a *fötr* (from the French *feutre*), a fedora of the kind introduced by Atatürk, and an overcoat. His hands are in his overcoat pockets, and his head is slightly inclined, as if he's a gumshoe turned critically to regard the building beside which he stands.[9]

For Özgüç and Akok, Kayseri (or at least one of its predecessors on the Kayseri plain, Kültepe) was the center of their interest. Their investigation of road and route networks around Kayseri was undertaken to understand the local geography and geology and regional transport and communication, as well as to satisfy their own and their institutions' interest in the place of historical Turkish people in those networks, hence their increasing concentration on the documentation of caravanserais. And yet, as they documented, they lamented the ruined state of the structures, worried that they might disappear, and called for their restoration. The intersections and contradictions of the modernization of the young Republic of Turkey and its quest for roots in Anatolia must have been felt keenly by these two archaeologists. To give one example: in recounting the value of Jerphanion's photographic documentation of the Sarıhan caravanserai, they note that recently all of the stones on its exterior had been stripped to provide material to build a bridge in nearby Ürgüp.[10]

THE KAYSERİ-AKSARAY AXIS

While reusing many ancient and medieval routes, the Seljuks changed patterns of use in central Anatolia and, in building bridges, opened new ones. For reasons that are not yet understood, they did not build caravanserais in the north-central and northwestern regions of their realm. Perhaps the reason was that they simply ran out of time—this is the explanation I will propose later in this article for the route to Kırşehir. The Roman and Byzantine road system had had as its main artery the military highway from Constantinople, which cut diagonally across Anatolia via Ankara. Because the two major cities of the Seljuk realm were in central Anatolia, a trunk road running east-west across central Anatolia united the capital Konya with Kayseri. The importance of this axis to the Seljuks is underlined by the thirteenth century geographer Yaqut, who writes that there were Seljuk royal residences in both Konya and Aksaray.[11] There were also Seljuk palaces in Kayseri.

Turchetto argues that in Seljuk times only the last part of the old route from Ankara to Kayseri joined the road from Konya and Kayseri, with the Sarıhan caravanserai the only surviving caravanserai on this stretch of road, which hugged the southern bank of the Kızılırmak/Halys River in this region. One of his major concerns, not dealt with in this article, is the route leading south towards and through the Taurus mountains to Cilicia, which adds to the importance of this region historically, as it was where major (and minor) Anatolian routes came together. This leads

8 Özgüç and Akok, "Sarıhan," 379, n. 1.

9 Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, "Alayhan, Öresunhan ve Hızırilyas Köşkü—İki Selçuklu Kervansarayı ve bir Köşkü," *Belleten* 21 (1957), plan 3.

10 See n. 8 above.

11 He calls them "sukna mulukiha:" Yaqut al-Rumi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* Volume 4 (Beirut: Dar Sader, n.d.), 415.

Turchetto to call historical Cappadocia "a central periphery," a term that helps us understand the concentration of sultan hans (large caravanserais built by Seljuk sultans) here, the greatest number of any part of the Seljuk caravanserai network.[12] This term permits us to move away from a consideration of this region primarily as a hinterland of Kayseri and engage with the nexus of converging routes and the massive investment in the building of caravanserais in the 1220s, 1230s, and early 1240s.

The earliest Seljuk caravanserai dated by inscription is located on the trunk road east of Aksaray. Recent reconstruction of the once-ruined Öresun (Tepesi Delik) Han has uncovered an inscription dating it to 584/1188.[13] Likely, the next oldest caravanserai in the region is the Alay Han. Here, too, excavations have taken place, confirming the presence of a courtyard. Even though there is no surviving inscription, it is likely to have been a sultanic commission, due to its size and the use of muqarnas vaulting in the surviving hall portal.[14]

Both of the caravanserais known today as Sultan Hans were built by Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad (r. 1219–1237). One is located west of Aksaray on the same trunk road and the other, the Tuzhisar Sultan Han, on the Kayseri-Sivas road. The first is dated by inscription to Rajab 626/June 1229, while the second has no surviving foundation inscription but is generally accepted as dating to the same sultan's reign.[15] When, in 1277, the Mamluk sultan Baybars and his army camped outside of the Tuzhisar Sultan Han, Mamluk historian Ibn Abd al-Zahir noted not only its size but also the magnitude of its endowment, which included great flocks of sheep maintained by the foundation of the caravanserai in order, among other reasons, to provide meat for travelers staying there.[16]

This information provides insight into the ways these great caravanserais transformed the Anatolian landscape, tying the Seljuk realm together not only by rendering travel and transport easier and more secure, but also by linking the rural economies to them, be these economies pastoral or agriculturalist.

When he died, Alaeddin Keykubad was in the process of constructing two more sultanic caravanserais in the region. One was the Karatay Han, east of Kayseri on the way to Elbistan. Large courtyarded caravanserais were built from back to front, with the hall completed first, then the courtyard with its entrance portal. At the Karatay Han, the undated hall inscription belongs to Alaeddin Keykubad, while the portal inscription mentions his son and successor, Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II (r. 1237–1246), and is dated 638/1241–1242. The hall of the second caravanserai,

12 Turchetto, *Graeco-Roman Routes*, 103, uses the Turkish name Uzun Yol or "long road." See also Turchetto "Dare forma a un paessagio," 99, 100, fig. 11—reproduced in this article as Fig. 1 with permission of the author.

13 Ali Baş, "Öresun (Tepesi Delik) Han'ında Temizlik ve Restorasyon Çalışmaları," in *XIII. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu 14–16 Ekim 2009*, ed. Kadir Pektaş (İstanbul: Pamukkale Üniversitesi, 2010), 69–84.

14 Bekir Deniz, "Alay Han," in *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, ed. Hakkı Acun (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007), 51–75; Oya Pancaroğlu, "The House of Mengücek in Divriği: Constructions of Dynastic Identity in the Late Twelfth Century," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, eds. Andrew C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London: IB Tauris, 2013), 41, attributes it to the 1190s.

15 Kurt Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray* (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1961), 96–97, posits that this caravanserai was built after the completion of the Sultan Han near Aksaray, which he estimates at 1236. This seems too late to me, because the sultan died the following year, and we do not see here the different styles introduced by his sons in the caravanserais he either built or completed. On page 102, he proposes that the three sultan hans (Ağzıkara being the third) were constructed concurrently.

16 Osman Turan, "Selçuklu Kervansarayları," *Belleten* 10 (1946): 480; Faruk Sümer, *Yabanlu Pazarı, Selçuklular Devrinde Milletlerarası Büyük bir Fuar* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1985), 129; Franz Taeschner, ed., *Al-'Umari's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1929), 16.

the Ağzıkarahan, located just east of Aksaray, has a hall inscription of Alaeddin's dated to Sha'ban 628/June 1231. The portal inscription notes a completion date early in the reign of Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II, in the year 637/1239–1240.

It is likely that the building teams working on the Ağzıkarahan moved on to construct another caravanserai in the vicinity, the Sarıhan, mentioned in the previous section. In this caravanserai, the stone ornament of some sections resembles that of the Ağzıkarahan. Only one of the two foundation inscriptions usually found on caravanserais has survived, although it, the hall inscription, is only partially preserved. This inscription, while using some of the same language of Gıyasedin Keyhüsrev II's Ağzıkarahan inscription, is far inferior to it in several ways that bear enumeration and explanation. It is carved not out of white marble, the standard stone used for inscriptions, but of a softer, pockmarked sandstone, something very unusual in Seljuk epigraphic practice, above all for a sultanic inscription. The letters of the inscription are not raised; rather, they are surrounded by chiseled outlines, with the remaining inscriptional background left at the same level. In other words, this inscription looks as if it was a rush job. Although the date is not legible, the sorry execution of this inscription, in such contrast to that of the Ağzıkarahan, leaves no doubt that it must belong to the latter years of this sultan's reign, when, subsequent to his defeat by the Mongols at the battle of Kösedağ in 1243, the Seljuk state's caravanserai building teams seem to have continued to build, albeit much more slowly, and with less (or no) ornamentation and inferior inscriptions, and may even have abandoned some caravanserais before their completion.[17]

Turchetto and others have used the Sarıhan caravanserai as one piece of evidence for the Seljuk road between Aksaray and Kayseri following the old road from Ankara (and before it, Constantinople) here. But there are other ways to look at it, as both a provider of connection to the southern route through this territory as well as part of a move to expand in a northerly direction, crossing the barrier of the Kızılırmak/Halys river.

The Sarıhan lies, like most Sultan Hans do, at the intersection of two routes, the Ankara road and a secondary road that followed the Damsa valley. The Damsa valley could easily have provided access to two other large and undated Seljuk caravanserais,

17 Scott Redford, "Rum Seljuk Caravanserais: Urbs in Rure," in *The Saljuqs and their Successors: Art, Culture, and History*, eds. Sheila Canby, Martina Rugiadi, and Deniz Beyazit (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 47; Scott Redford, "The Inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı and the Problem of Textual Transmission in Seljuk Anatolia," *Adalya* 12 (2009): 350. Abdullah Karaçağ, "Avanos Sarıhan," in *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, ed. Hakkı Acun (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007), 212, publishes the latest reading I know of the Sarıhan foundation inscription. The words in italics below are my proposed expanded reading of this inscription:

1) *….zill Allah fi*
2) al-alam, Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l-Din
3) Abu'l-Fath Kaykhusraw bin Kayqubad
4) *Qasim amir* al-mu'minin fi awa'il *jumada al-awwal…*

Commentary:

Line 1: an old photograph reproduced by Karaçağ on page 212 shows the inscription with the very bottom of the first line preserved. This, the inscription at the Ağzıkarahan, and the first word of the second line allow me to propose this reading, a common title of this sultan at the time.
Line 4: A close examination of the compressed letters at the beginning of the line leads to this reading of the Caliphal title of this sultan, also found on the Ağzıkarahan inscription, and while the year is not legible (the stone is eroded along the left side), I am able to offer a reading of the month (which also could have been spelled "al-ula").
A further expanded reading, again based on resemblance to the inscription of the entrance portal of the Ağzıkarahan, might run like this: "The great sultan, God's shadow on earth, Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l-Din, Father of Victory, son of Kayqubad, partner of the Commander of the Faithful, ordered the building of this blessed khan at the beginning of Jumada al-Awwal in the year…."

the Doğala Han and Dolay Han.[18] These two caravanserais, both in ruins, never excavated, and without inscriptions, delineate a second, southerly route between Aksaray and Kayseri via Yeşilhisar. The ruined remains of both caravanserais could belong to the earlier phase of caravanserai building in the region or themselves be of a piece with the extraordinary building activity that took place in the 1220s and 1230s. Whichever the case, the fact that Turchetto's map postulates a secondary route branching off the main trunk towards these caravanserais at the Ağzıkarahan indicates that they continued in active use even as the Sarıhan caravanserai marked a pivot towards the more northerly route along the Kızılırmak.

To my mind, the building of the Sarıhan immediately after the Ağzıkarahan displays an intent not only to integrate the northerly and southerly routes via the Damsa valley but also to initiate a new northerly trajectory.[19] The ambitiousness of the trajectory is represented by one very long bridge: the stretch of thirteen arches of the Kesikköprü bridge that once spanned the Kızılırmak, opening a new route from Aksaray to Kırşehir. This bridge, one of the longest Seljuk bridges not based on reconstructed Roman bridge piers, is dated by inscription to 646/1248, during the reign of Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev's son, İzzeddin Keykavus II. This was a period of uncertainty, with the Mongols exercising intermittent control and diminished Seljuk power largely in the hands of vizier Celaleddin Karatay. The weakness of the now-vassal Seljuk sultanate in this period can be demonstrated architecturally by Karatay's arrogation of the sultanic caravanserai that even today bears his name. Another sign, if not of weakness, of disorder, is the inscription of the Kesikköprü, in which the builder, someone who seems to have been a Seljuk judge named İzzeddin Muhammad, gives himself almost as much inscriptional space as the reigning sultan.[20]

In my opinion, there is no way to imagine that a bridge of this length was built by a young sultan in such a period of Seljuk vassalage, political turmoil, and diminished finances. It may have been completed in this period but must have been begun under Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II before 1243. This bridge is not close to the Sarıhan caravanserai—it lies further to the north and west—but I think it initiates the expansion of the caravanserai system to the north and is very much of a piece with the ambitious development of this area, including the city of Kayseri, in the 1230s and 1240s. As it was, only several decades later, a caravanserai, dated by inscription to Muharram 667/September–October 1268, was built a few hundred meters away from the north end of the bridge by the governor of Kırşehir. While this caravanserai retains the courtyard and hall structure of earlier caravanserais, it has decoration substantially different from that of the 1220s to early 1240s.[21]

In addition to using caravanserais (and, if I am right, a bridge) to put a stamp on the Cappadocian countryside, in the few short years he was in power, Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II also began giving it an Islamic sanctification. In the hills above the

18 Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, "Üç Selçuklu Abidesi Dolayhan, Kesik Köprü Kervansarayı ve Han Camii," *Belleten* 22 (1958): 252–53; Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 45, avoids proposing a date for the Dolay Han. The Doğala Han is a large caravanserai with a courtyard; see Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem*, 68.

19 The expansion of the Seljuk caravanserai network in a northerly direction at this time can also be remarked in the building of another large sultanic caravanserai lying at the intersection of the Konya-Kayseri and Konya-Ankara roads. This caravanserai, the Zazadin Hanı, was also begun by Alaeddin Keykubad and completed during the reign of his son.

20 Cevdet Çulpan, *Türk Taş Köprüleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975), 63–64. Franz Taeschner, "Die rumseldschukische Inschrift bei der Kesik Köprü über den Kızıl Irmak südlich von Kırşehir," in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 29.10.1957*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1959), 292, and Özgüç and Akok, "Üç Selçuklu Abidesi," 256 both relied on Turkish scholar Zeki Oral's reading and interpretation of this inscription. Oral used the similarity of names and titles to identify the builder as a judge of this name in Konya.

21 Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 74–77; Özgüç and Akok "Üç Selçuklu Abidesi," 253–56.

southern route into Kayseri and just above the Başdere valley lies the isolated dervish lodge and tomb of a holy man known today as Şeyh Turesan. It was built by Mahperi Hatun, also known as Huand Hatun, mother of Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II.[22] Later, perhaps as early as the late thirteenth century, another rural Sufi shrine complex sprung up around the tomb of Hacı Bektaş, between the Kızılırmak and Kırşehir, although there is no evidence of sultanic sponsorship.[23]

In addition to building in the countryside, extensive building took place in Aksaray and Kayseri. While little remains from this period in Aksaray, the two caravanserai teams of the 1950s, Erdmann and Özgüç and Akok, both document a large but courtyard-less caravanserai in an anomalous location—in a city, or in the case of thirteenth century Kayseri, just outside the city walls. We know that there were urban caravanserais, but textual mentions make us think that they were different from their country cousins, perhaps smaller, often built not by members of the ruling elite but by merchants and others, and two-storied.[24] In contrast, this one was built on a scale, form, and plan and using materials consistent with a rural caravanserai of the time. Its difference seems to have been in the lack of a dome and the building of an arcade instead of a courtyard in front of the hall. Because it is located not far from the massive mosque, tomb, bathhouse, and madrasa complex of Mahperi Hatun, built in the late 1230s and beyond,[25] it was likely built the same period, although its subsequent transformation into a mosque in the Ottoman period has robbed it of those characteristics, like architectural decoration and an inscription, necessary to date it more securely.[26] Gıyaseddin also added his own private caravanserai, a substantial stone pavilion just off the road and overlooking the Kayseri plain, where the Seljuk palace of Keykubadiye was located. The façade and plan of this pavilion are reproduced in Fig. 4. Its partially preserved inscription yielded a date of 639/1241.[27]

Only the region north of Antalya has a concentration of sultanic caravanserais approaching that of the Aksaray-Kayseri area, but there are many more sultanic caravanserais, and earlier ones, too, in the Aksaray-Kayseri corridor. Why was this "central periphery" (to borrow Turchetto's phrase again) constructed in this way? We can propose many reasons: military, economic, and the like, but none is adequate to the task. Kayseri served as the place where the Seljuk army mustered before going on campaign, as it mainly did, to the east and south. The Konya-Kayseri road constituted the Seljuk backbone of the caravanserai system, but curiously, more and more spectacular caravanserais were built here and not around Konya. Kayseri was the place where the road from the Black Sea, via Sivas, met the Konya road, as well as the route from Cilicia. And, as the building of the Karatay Han shows, there were plans to extend the caravanserai network to the east and south, as well as north. The central Anatolian plateau was a place with large Türkmen tribes, who not only raised livestock and other animals needed as pack animals for caravans, but they also constituted a major support

22 Mehmet Çayırdağ, "Kayseri'nin İncesu İlçesinde Şeyh Turesan Zaviyesi," *Belleten* 44 (1980): 271–78.

23 Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire. The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 101, writes that the earliest part of this shrine complex "…may go back to the late thirteenth century…."

24 Scott Redford, "Caravanserais and Commerce," in *Trade in Byzantium. Papers from the 3rd International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, eds. Paul Magdalino and Nevra Necipoğlu (Istanbul: ANAMED, 2016), 302.

25 Gabriel, *Monuments turcs*, 39–51. The author notes that only the mosque is dated (to 635/1237–1238) and that the madrasa and tomb were built later.

26 Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 164–67; Özgüç and Akok, "Üç Selçuklu Abidesi," 257–59. Erdmann dates it to the 1240s due to a textual reference, but it should be earlier. The Seljuks did build caravanserais close to their cities, using these for ceremonies of greeting and dispatch, but these were small and still several kilometers outside the city. Özgüç and Akok posit that this caravanserai would have been used to house travelers who arrived after the gates of the city were closed, but I think it much more likely that it was used in connection with the massive complex likely coeval to it.

27 Scott Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia. Seljuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2000), 67–69, for Keykubadiye; Özgüç and Akok, "Alayhan, Öresunhan," 143–48, esp. 147 for the date of the pavilion.

for and part of the Seljuk army. It may have been that with so many activities—commercial, military, royal, and others—there really was the need for large, capacious caravanserais with quarters and bathhouses for special visitors, royal and other.

MASS MOBILITY

In recent times, historians and art historians alike have examined nationalist paradigms of the Rum Seljuk state critically, looking at modes of cultural synthesis between rulers and ruled in medieval Anatolia, a land which was, after all, possessed of deep-rooted Christian cultures and a large, if not majority, Christian population. Running counter to this trend, a recent study drawing on manuscript evidence argues against religious and cultural syncretism. It points especially to the latter half of the thirteenth century, that of Mongol domination, as a time not of tolerance, but of increasing anti-Christian polemics on the part of Muslim scholars and of the use of mainstream Sunni Islamic religious texts found in other parts of the medieval Islamic world.[28]

How can we reconcile such contradictory views? It's possible to look at Seljuk caravanserais in the same way: while open to travelers of all creeds, travelers who mixed and interacted there, all but the smallest of caravanserais had mosques. Caravanserais were entered and exited through a portal bearing an inscription in Arabic. Except for some astral, solar, and lunar figural imagery on portals, caravanserai decoration bore geometric and vegetal patterns like those found in other parts of the Islamic world. And when other figural reliefs are found on caravanserais, they are often of imagery, like felines, associated with royal power.

Aside from their portals, the most prominent architectural features of these large caravanserais were the domes rising from the middle of the halls. They served a practical purpose, letting light and air into spaces, that, while grand, must have been dark and malodorous when inhabited by a press of pack animals, people, and goods. The inscription around the interior of the drum of one of these domes makes us look beyond functional explanations. The interior of the dome of the Tuzhisar Sultan Han, visible, then, from the hall, and illuminated by apertures above it, bears part of sura 48 of the Qur'an, the Sura of Victory. This inscription provides evidence that it was also thought of in Islamic terms. The symbolism underlines its prominence in the landscape as the tallest, most prominent vertical architectural element of the caravanserai, thereby adding it to the portal as an architectural element associated with the power of the dynasty and its religion.

And yet, the form of these domes, with their raised drums and peaked caps, is like those not only on Anatolian Islamic buildings like tomb towers, mosques, and madrasas, but also the domes of Armenian and Georgian churches. We do not know the ethnic origins of the masons and builders who constructed caravanserais and other Seljuk buildings, but it stands to reason that one of the mechanisms of cultural borrowings must have been the most straightforward: the employment of masons schooled in Anatolian and Christian building traditions, along with others. There are masons' marks galore on these buildings, but few definitive signs—like the use of Greek or Armenian letters—of ethnicity.

The caravanserai, if read solely textually, presents the viewer/user with an alphabet, a language, titulature, and names still foreign to many of the rural inhabitants of medieval Anatolia. The elite ruling culture is also represented in these large caravanserais by

28 Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

mosques, and separate living (and bathing) areas for elite travelers. And yet the interaction they promoted made for syncretism, as the local and regional economies were tied to them through the endowment of village revenues, and, as Ibn ʻAbd al-Zahir informs for the Karatay Han, villages sprung up around the caravanserais, providing services of all kinds to the staff and travelers alike. Indeed, it must have been as Gabriel portrayed it—although the settlements were perhaps more closely packed and rag-tag, not separated from the caravanserai itself.

The churches and church decoration of the Christian communities of the region present a paradox like the one outlined above: resolute in their use of the Greek language and the religious figural programs that continued to be painted on the walls of restored or expanded rock cut churches. In searching for connections between the new political, economic, and military structures of Seljuk Anatolia and the decoration of Cappadocian churches, Tolga Uyar has focused on one aspect of these complex iconographic programs: a shared visual culture of representing equestrian figures. In the context of church programs, these are Byzantine military saints. In a Seljuk context, they represent royal authority and privilege.[29]

The architecture of the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia also betrays little to no borrowings from Islamic traditions: the use of a feature found in zones of transition in Seljuk architecture in a handful of Cappadocian churches, so-called "Turkish triangles," predates the coming of the Seljuks.[30] And yet, in the thirteenth century, after no evidence of construction in the previous century, rebuilding and renovation of extant churches took place, with several bearing inscriptional evidence pointing to contact with the Laskarid Empire of Nicaea. Church renovation and decoration continued until the end of the thirteenth century.

Tolga Uyar has devoted most of his scholarly career to documenting and analyzing the phenomenon of Seljuk-era Cappadocian churches, especially their painted programs. While noting connections between this region and Laskarid territories further west, he argues for painting styles that are on one hand more conservative and provincial, drawing on artistic models from previous centuries, and on the other hand open to new developments due to contact with the Laskarids. With Seljuks largely living in cities, he maintains that the most sustained contact between the Greek farmers and herders of Cappadocia must have been with the Türkmen nomads who had long since set up shop on the central Anatolian plateau.[31] But the interconnectedness brought by the multitude of caravanserais in the region, and the general economic boom of the first half of the thirteenth century, brought rural communities in central Anatolia into larger circles. It is likely that the Türkmen tribes supplied the equids and camels needed for caravans, and towns around the Anatolian plateau are recorded as having Türkmen bazaars. The presence of urban caravanserais for Armenians in central Anatolian cities implies that Armenian

29 See, for instance, Tolga Uyar, "Thirteenth Century 'Byzantine' Art in Cappadocia and the Question of Greek Painters at the Seljuq Court," in *Islam and Christianity in Mediaeval Anatolia*, eds. Andrew C. S. Peacock, Bruno de Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 215–32. See also Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 151–64.

30 Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 115, 150–57 for a brief overview of thirteenth century church building in Cappadocia.

31 Tolga Uyar, "Thirteenth Century Byzantine Painting in Cappadocia: New Evidence," in *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Proceedings of the First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, eds. Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek, and Nevra Necipoğlu (Istanbul: ANAMED, 2010), 623; Tolga Uyar, "Thirteenth Century 'Byzantine' Art in Cappadocia," 216: "It is likely that the Greek enclaves in the area of rock-cut monuments were relatively isolated." On the same page, he calls Seljuk civilization "essentially urban" and adds, "Similarly, the Greek Orthodox settlements of Cappadocia seem to have been in close contact with the nomadic communities of the rural pastoral grazing land of the Anatolian plateau, homeland of Turks and Greek-speaking Christians."

merchants were involved in the caravan trade.[32] In our mind's eye, then, we can populate the spaces of caravanserais not only with Turkish Muslims, as Akok did, but a wide variety of peoples.

Uyar's generalizations about the provincialism and conservatism of most iconographic programs in thirteenth century Cappadocian rock-cut churches may have to do with the patrons of these churches; no longer, it seems, wealthy elite Orthodox families in the region but rather communities that might have sought their models in the painting of churches already in the neighborhood. That said, there were also some elite military patrons of churches even in the thirteenth century. Any binaries like Muslim/Christian, Seljuk/Byzantine, or Turkish/Greek are blurred when we think of the Christians in Seljuk service, whether as officials or as mercenaries in the army, the existence of families with members of both faiths, and the multiple cultural borrowings between Christian and Islamic traditions that had been taking place in Anatolia and the Caucasus since at least the Abbasid period. The late thirteenth century church of St. George (Belisırma) at Kırkdamaltı represents an example of this, with the male donor seemingly a Christian in Seljuk service.[33] More recently, both Uyar and his *Doktormutter* Catherine Jolivet-Lévy have republished the church of Bezirana, with its striking use of decoration (specifically red and white zigzags) common to the Seljuk elite, as well as apotropaic angular Islamic pseudo-epigraphy on shields, a feature no doubt also found in Seljuk arms and armor.[34]

There is one other, different, piece of artistic evidence for the mixing of elite worlds or patronage and art in thirteenth century Cappadocia. Uyar and others have studied an illustrated compendium of Persian language texts now in the Bibliotheque nationale in Paris and known by its accession number, Persan 174. Persan 174 contains paintings in many styles, including some that can be connected with Christian painting traditions and subjects. One of them is an equestrian dragon slayer, found in both Islamic and Christian arenas at the time.[35] Important for this article is the fact that this manuscript was made for the Seljuk Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev III in both Kayseri and Aksaray. Travel between these two cities must have resulted in the royal court's stopping at one or more caravanserais along the way, as many sultanic, emirial, and other elite retinues must have done. The mechanics of cultural transfer edge closer when we consider the opportunities for interaction brought on by these waystations.

One of the rock-cut churches that was repainted in the thirteenth century is at Yüksekli, just north of the Kızılırmak and downstream from the bridge of Kesikköprü.[36] Jolivet-Lévy dates its latest repainting to the thirteenth century and suggests that the painting of a boat and the representation of a Palestinian saint could mean a connection between the patron and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Pilgrimage might be another reason for these paint-

32 Redford "Caravanserais and Commerce," 302–03. Space considerations do not allow me to discuss the Armenian communities of Kayseri, evidence for syncretism in Armenian communities there, and the architectural patronage in and north of Kayseri of Seljuk queen Mahperi Hatun, herself an Armenian.

33 Speros Vryonis, "Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George at Belisırma," *Byzantina* 9 (1977): 11–22.

34 Tolga Uyar, "Carving, Painting, and Inscribing Sacred Space in Late Byzantium: Bezirana Kilisesi Rediscovered (Peristrema-Cappadocia)," in *Architecture and Visual Culture in the Late Antique and Medieval Mediterranean. Studies in Honor of Robert G. Ousterhout*, eds. Vasileios Marinis, Amy Papaalexandrou, and Jordan Pickett (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 211, for a consideration of this motif and its presence in other Cappadocian churches; Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, "Bezirana kilisesi (Cappadoce). Un exceptionnel décor paléologue en terres de Rum. Nouveau témoignage sur les relations entre Byzance et le sultanat," *Zograf* 41 (2017): 107–42.

35 Uyar, "Thirteenth Century 'Byzantine' Art," 222.

36 Catherine Jolivet-Levy, "Nouvelle découverte en Cappadoce: les églises de Yüksekli," *Cahiers archéologiques* 35 (1987): 113–41

ings, with the donor able to cross the Kızılırmak by bridge, join a caravan heading south to the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia from Aksaray, followed by a boat trip to Acre from Ayas/Lajazzo. These images visualize mobility in medieval Cappadocia, giving a personal alternative to grander narratives of Eurasian economic and military connectivity usually associated with caravanserais.

In this essay, I have tried to examine ways that mobility impacted settlement, economy, society, and artistic production in Cappadocia in the thirteenth century and to suggest ways in which academic disciplines and nationalist narratives can be understood as simplifying the complex stories of the time. Much of this discussion has centered on the building of a spectacular number of spectacular caravanserais in this region, so it is perhaps apt to end with the sultanic caravanserai that has been mentioned the most: the Sarıhan. When last we viewed the caravanserai, it was in the 1950s, when it was in ruins, and used as a quarry for new construction. In the brave new world of twenty-first-century tourism, the Sarıhan has been completely reconstructed, and then leased by the Turkish state to a private events company, with, as far as I can tell from the website, the only regular events being tourist evenings with whirling dervishes. The company now running the show has images of tourists mounted on camels (dromedaries this time), yes, entering the caravanserai, as Gabriel and Akok had imagined. But at the end of the day, the most important thing we learn about this caravanserai from the company's website is its ease of access. The caravanserai, now called Saruhan (sic) 1249 after an invented construction date, informs us that "[i]t is three minutes away from Avanos, five minutes away from Urgup (sic), ten minutes away from Goreme (sic) and on the main road of Kayseri (SILK ROAD) (sic)."[37] Turkish tourism has adjusted to the influx of Chinese visitors in another iteration of the refashioning of the landscape and history, this time, though, in search not of nationalist narratives, but by extending the road network of the Seljuks all the way to China. In a sense, then, the modern world connects Cappadocia with eastern Asia in a way not seen since the days of Mongol vassalage.

37 "About Us," Saruhan 1249, https://saruhan1249.com/about-us.

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ÖZET

Kapadokya, bölgenin en büyük şehri olan Kayseri'nin hinterlandı mıydı? Yoksa yolların ve güzergâhların buluştuğu bir kavşak noktası olması ona Jacopo Turchetto'nun periferik merkez olarak adlandırdığı başka bir statü mü kazandırmıştı? Bu makale Kapadokya'nın bir hinterlanttan fazlası olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Kapadokya'nın oluşturduğu coğrafi manzara hem olağanüstü jeolojisinden hem de bu kesişimden yararlanmaktaydı. Bölge muhtemelen daha önceki Bizans döneminde de merkezi bir perifer niteliği taşımaktaydı ancak bu durum on üçüncü yüzyıldaki Selçuklu inşa faaliyeti sırasında daha da pekişti. Bu makalede, Bizans sanat tarihçilerinin—ki bunlardan ikisi bu cildin editörüdür—çalışmalarından ve on üçüncü yüzyıl Kapadokyası'ndaki coğrafi manzara, hareketlilik ve kesişim noktasının bir arada olduğu bir tablo oluşturmaya çalıştığım Selçuklu Anadolusu'ndaki kervansaraylar üzerine olan çalışmamdan faydalandım. Söz konusu kesişme, 1950'lerin Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiyesi'ndeki Selçuklu mimari mirasını onarma ve yeniden ayağa kaldırma girişimleri ile 1220'ler ve 1240'lı yıllarda Kapadokya'daki büyük kervansarayları içeren olağanüstü inşa faaliyetini inceleyen bölümlerle birlikte makalenin son kısmında genel hatlarıyla ele alınmıştır.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER

Periferik Merkez, Bizans Kapadokyası, Selçuklu Kapadokyası,
kervansaraylar, hareketlilik