

Seleucia

Sayı XII - 2022



Olba Kazısı Serisi

Seleucia XII

Olba Kazısı Serisi

Seleucia, uluslararası hakemli dergidir ve her yıl Mayıs ayında bir sayı olarak basılır. Yollanan çalışmalar, belirtilen yazım kurallarına uygunsayınlanı, çalışması yayınlanan her yazar, çalışmanın baskı olarak yayınlanmasını kabul etmiş ve telif haklarını Seleucia yayınına devretmiş sayılır. Seleucia kopya edilemez ancak dipnot referans gösterilerek yayınlarda kullanılabilir.

Seleucia Dergisi, Sayı IV - 2014'den itibaren TR Dizin Ulakbim'de ve 2021'den itibaren Erih Plus'ta taranmaktadır.

<http://www.seleuciadergisi.com>

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Seleucia
Olba Kazısı Serisi
Sayı: 12

ISSN: 2148-4120
ISBN: 978-625-7799-51-5

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Yayın Adı: Seleucia (Dergi)

Yayın Türü: Yerel Süreli Yayın

Yayın Şekli: Yıllık - Türkçe

Yayın Sahibi: Bilgin Kültür Sanat Org. Yay. Bas.

Dağ. Paz. Gıd. İnş. San ve Tic. Ltd. Şti. adına
Engin Devrez

Sorumlu Yazı İşleri Müdürü: Engin Devrez

Yayının İdare Adresi: Bilgin Kültür Sanat Şti. Ltd.

Selanik 2 Cad. 68/4 Kızılay - Ankara.

Tel: 0312 419 85 67

Sertifika no: 20193

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Baskı

Parkur Form Ofset Matbaacılık
Merkez San. Sit. 1341. Cad. No: 45
İvedik OSB, Yenimahalle - Ankara.
Sertifika No: 42235

Teknik Düzenleme

Arş. Gör. Burak Erdem

Dağıtım

Bilgin Kültür Sanat Şti. Ltd.
Selanik 2 Cad. 68/4 Kızılay - Ankara.
Tel: 0312 419 85 67

Seleucia | Sayı 12 | Mayıs 2022

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PRAEFATIO

Seleucia dergimiz on ikinci sayısında yine değerli yazarların katkılarıyla ve zengin bir içerikle sizlerle buluşuyor. Bu sayımızda, Seleucia ad Calycadnum'daki Azize Thekla kutsal yerinden, Anemurium ve Flaviopolis'e; Olba'ya kadar uzanan bir coğrafyada ulaşılan arkeolojik veriler ışığında yapılan yorum ve yaklaşımların yer aldığı Cilicia çalışmalarını okuma fırsatını bulacaksınız. Hazır Cilicia'dan çok uzaklaşmadan, Isauria'da Eirenopolis kırsalına, oradaki şarap atölyeleri ile ilgili bilgi sahibi olacaksınız. Batı Anadolu'da Kadıkalesi - Anaia sikke buluntularını, Klazomenai kazısı amphora buluntuları içinde özel bir grubu, Stratonikeia'dan iyi çoban heykelciğini tanıyacaksınız. Bu sayımızda farklılık yaratan üç ayrı çalışma da yer almakta. Bunlardan biri, sizleri Endülüs diyarına götürecektir; diğeri Bizans kilise müziği konusunda bir değerlendirme niteliğinde sizlere ulaşacak. Sonuncusu ise 1740 yılında Paris'te basılan Michel Le Quien'in yapıtında Anemurium konusunda verilen bilgileri sunacak. Mimaride "anıtsallık" kavramını çok yönlü olarak incelediği değerli çalışma ise zengin yorumlarıyla mimarlık tarihi çalışmalarında önemli bir başvuru yapıtı olacak. Seleucia'nın editörleri olarak 2011 yılından bu yana her yıl aralıksız olarak yayınlanan dergimizin on ikinci yılında sizlerle buluşmanın mutluluk ve gururunu yaşamakta ve gelecekte de yayın geleneğimizi sürdürmeyi amaçlamaktayız.

Editörler:

Prof. Dr. Emel Erten

Prof. Dr. Diane Favro

Prof. Dr. Fikret Yegül

Dr. Murat Özyıldırım (Baş Editör)

PREFACE

As the commission of editors of Seleucia we are proud to present the twelfth issue of our journal. This issue is rich in content: Our followers will have the privilege of reading a selection of original works on Cilicia starting from the holy site of Hagia Thecla in Seleucia ad Calycadnum to Anemurium, Flaviopolis and Olba. They will be acquainted with the wine workshops in Isauria in Eirenopolis, not much far from Cilicia. This issue also contains a group of articles on the archaeology of western Anatolia such as coins from Kadıkalesi - Anaia, a specific group of amphorae from Clazomenai, a statuette from Stratonicea. We believe that three articles in this issue will particularly attract the attention of our readers, the one on the caliphal image in Medinat'al Zahra in Andalusia and the other on Byzantine music, and finally the article about the mention of Anemurium in the French scholar's Michel Le Quien's work which was published in 1740 in Paris. The valuable article on monumentality in architecture with its exceptional treatment of the subject will be a reference work of great importance for future studies of architectural history. As the editors of Seleucia, we are glad and proud of being able to publish continuously since 2011 and are hoping to maintain the tradition in the future.

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Emel Erten

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Olba Kazısı Serisi

Seleucia

Makale Başvuru Kuralları

Seleucia, Olba Kazısı yayını olarak yılda bir sayı yayınlanır. Yayınlanması istenen makalelerin en geç Şubat ayında gönderilmiş olması gerekmektedir. Seleucia, arkeoloji, eski çağ dilleri ve kültürleri, eski çağ tarihi, sanat tarihi konularında yazılan, daha önce yayınlanmayan yalnızca Türkçe, İngilizce çalışmaları ve kitap tanıtımlarını yayımlar.

Yazım Kuralları

Makaleler, Times New Roman yazı karakterinde, word dosyasında, başlık 12 punto baş harfleri büyük harf, metin ve kaynakça 10 punto, dipnotlar 9 punto ile yazılmalıdır. Sayfa sayısı, kaynakça dâhil en çok on sayfa olmalıdır. Müze, kazı, yüzey araştırması malzemelerinin yayın izinleri, makale ile birlikte yollanmalıdır. Kitap tanıtımları, üç sayfayı geçmemelidir. Çalışmada ara başlık varsa bold ve küçük harflerle yazılmalıdır. Türkçe ve İngilizce özetler, makale adının altında, 9 punto, iki yüz sözcüğü geçmemelidir. Özetlerin altında İngilizce ve Türkçe beşer anahtar sözcük, 9 punto olarak “anahtar sözcükler” ve “keywords” başlığının yanında verilmelidir. Doktora ve yüksek lisans tezlerinden oluşturulan makaleler, yayına kabul edilmemektedir.

- Dipnotlar, her sayfanın altında verilmelidir. Dipnotta yazar soyadı, yayın yılı ve sayfa numarası sıralaması aşağıdaki gibi olmalıdır. Demiriş 2006, 59.
- Kaynakça, çalışmanın sonunda yer almalı ve dipnottaki kısaltmayı açıklamalıdır.

Kitap için:

Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı, Ege Yay., İstanbul.

Makale için:

Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., “Arius: Bir ‘Sapkın’ın Kısa Hikayesi”, Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, İstanbul.

- Makalede kullanılan fotoğraf, resim, harita, çizim, şekil vs. metin içinde yalnızca (Lev. 1), (Lev. 2) kısaltmaları biçiminde “Levha” olarak yazılmalı, makale sonunda “Levhalar” başlığı altında sıralı olarak yazılmalıdır. Bütün levhalar, jpeg ya da tift formatında 300 dpi olmalıdır. Alıntı yapılan levha varsa sorumluluğu yazara aittir ve mutlaka alıntı yeri belirtilmelidir.
- Levha sayısı her makalede 10 adet ile kısıtlıdır.
- Latince - Yunanca sözcüklerin yazımında özel isimlerde; varsa Türkçe ek virgülle ayrılmalı, örneğin; Augustus’un, cins isimler italik yazılmalı, varsa Türkçe ek, italik yapılmadan sözcüğe bitişik yazılmalıdır, örneğin; *caveanın*.
- Tarih belirtilirken MÖ ve MS nokta kullanılmadan, makale başlıkları ile yazar ad ve soyadlarında sadece baş harfler büyük harf olarak yazılmalıdır.

Olba Excavations Series

Seleucia

Scope

Seleucia is annually published by the Olba Excavations Series. Deadline for sending papers is February of each year. Seleucia features previously unpublished studies and book reviews on archaeology, ancient languages and cultures, ancient history and history of art written only in Turkish or English.

Publishing Principles

Articles should be submitted as word documents, with font type Times New Roman, font sizes 12 points for headings (first letters should be capitalized), 10 points for text, and 9 points for footnotes and references. The number of pages of each article should not be longer than ten pages, including the bibliography. If the study is on some material/materials from a museum or an excavation, the permission for publication should be submitted together with the article. The book reviews should not be longer than three pages. If there are sub-titles, the headings should be written bold with small letters. Abstracts written in both Turkish and English should appear below the heading of the article, should be size of 9 points and minimum count of words should be 200. Below the abstracts, a minimum of 5 keywords for both languages should be included (of size 9 points) below the headings “anahtar sözcükler” and “keywords”. The articles produced out of master’s theses or doctoral dissertations will not be accepted for publication.

- Footnotes should be given under each page. The ordering of author surname, year of publication and page number should be as follows: Demiriş 2006, 59.
- The reference list should appear at the end of the study and should explain the abbreviation given in the footnote.

Book format:

Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı, Ege Yay., İstanbul.

Article format:

Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., “Arius: Bir ‘Sapkın’ın Kısa Hikayesi”, Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, İstanbul.

- Photographs, pictures, maps, drawings, figures etc. used in the article should be referred to in the text as (Fig. 1), (Fig. 2) as abbreviations, and an ordered list of these items should appear at the end of the article under the heading “Figures”. All figures should be in JPEG or TIFF format with 300 dpi. If there are figures cited, the responsibility lies with the author and citation should be explicitly given. The number of figures for each article is limited to 10.

International Relations and Creating Caliphal Image in the Palace of Medinat'al Zahra in Andalusia

Meltem Özkan Altınöz*

Abstract

International diplomacy was an important phenomenon in the history of Islam with the states they established in both the eastern and western territories. The archaeological records of the Andalusian Umayyad State, which was established in the Iberian Peninsula as a continuation of the Umayyad dynasty who could not survive in Syria not only sheds light on the flamboyant Islamic history in this region, but also reveals the effective role of the diplomacy channel and the caliphate position in this diplomacy of its period. Abd al-Rahman III, the first caliph of the Iberian Peninsula (891-961), after years of Islamic domination in Andalusia, stabilized his power politically and militarily in the Iberian Peninsula. He was recognized for his strong management and successful initiatives in international relations. Abd al-Rahman III transformed the emirate of Andalusia into a caliphate, he became the first administrative to receive the title of the caliph in Andalusia. With its half-century domination, he left very important cultural and political footprints in the Iberian Peninsula. As a Caliphal construction of Abd al-Rahman III, the city of Medina'al Zahra in Córdoba was included on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2018. In this study, how caliphal image was created will be investigated through archeological evidences in Andalusia.

Keywords: Andalusian archeology, Islamic iconography, Abd al-Rahman III, Medina'al Zahra.

Endülüs Sarayı Medinetü'z-Zehra'da Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Halifelik İmajının İnşası

Öz

Doğuda ve batıda kurulan İslam devletlerinin, uluslararası diplomasi kanalını etkin bir biçimde kullanması belirgin siyasi özellikleri arasındadır. Suriye ve çevresinde barınamayan Emevi hanedanının devamı olarak İber Yarımadası'nda kurulan Endülüs Emevi Devleti'nin arkeolojik kayıtları, bu bölgedeki gösterişli İslam tarihine ışık tutmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda tarihin Avrupa'da Ortaçağ'ın en önemli dönemlerinden birini de gözler önüne serer. Siyasi yapılanmanın bir yansıması olarak diplomasi kanalının ve bu diplomaside hilafetin etkin konumunu açığa

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çıkarr. İber Yarımadası'nın ilk halifesi olan III. Abdurrahman (891-961) uluslararası ilişkilerdeki güçlü yönetimi ve başarılı girişimleriyle tanınır. Endülüs emirliğini halifelğe dönüştüren III. Abdurrahman, Endülüs'te halife unvanını alan ilk yönetici olarak asırlık hâkimiyeti ile İber Yarımadası'nda çok önemli kültürel ve siyasi izler bırakmıştır. III. Abdurrahman'ın bir halifelik yapısı olan Córdoba'daki, Medinetü'z Zehra şehri 2018 yılında UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesi'ne alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada Endülüs'teki arkeolojik kanıtlar aracılığıyla bölgede halifelik imajının nasıl oluşturulduğu ve halifelik imajına yüklenen anlamlar araştırılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Endülüs arkeolojisi, İslam ikonografisi, III. Abdurrahman, Medinetü'z Zehra.

1. Introduction

The Islamic domination, which started in Iberia in 711, turned into an emirate and a caliphate, respectively. The proclamation of Abdurrahman I as an emir was the last stage of a forced migration story to western lands. The strong political and military motivations of Abdurrahman I helped him to survive from the Abbasid massacre. Umayyad family return itself in the construction of the Córdoba Mosque (785), built under the patronage of Abdurrahman I and the construction of a strong emirate this time in the west. Passage of the Andalusian Umayyads from emirate to caliphate was occurred at the period of Abd al-Rahman III who was crown as Andalusian emirate when he was very young after the death of his grandfather Abdullah¹. Abdurrahman III was born on January 7, 891 from mother Muzne (Moznah), a concubine of Basque origin, who belonged to one of the Frankish kingdoms. As a result of the fight for the throne, his father Mohammed is murdered by his uncle. Abdurrahman, who was orphaned at a young age, is shown as the heir to the throne after his uncle is eliminated by his grandfather. Abdurrahman grew up under the supervision of his grandfather from an early age. Grandfather Abdullah taught the important features of statesmanship to his grandson Abdurrahman. He received competent training in war technique, literature, and religious sciences, which meant that he was equipped to strengthen his ruling qualifications for future administrations. Due to his superior personality and military abilities, Abdurrahman was appointed heir apparent by his grandfather². The elimination of his uncle by his grandfather in the fight for the throne paved the way for Abdurrahman's political carrier. He took the throne without any opposition. Abdurrahman III ascension ceremony took place in Córdoba on October 16, 912, when he was too young³. He was the first ruler became the caliph in the Iberian Peninsula. He became the first leader who customed to use the title amir al-mu'minin (Commander of the Faithful) on coins⁴ with the caliphal title al-Nasir li-din Allah (the Defender of the Religion of God). At his time Islamic Spain was its zenith⁵.

1 Makkari 1964, 133.

2 Küçüksipahioğlu 1996, 12.

3 İbnü'l-Abbâr, Ebu Abdullah Muhammed b. Abdullah 1985, 1, 197.

4 Makkari 1964, 133.

5 Makkari 1964, 133; Olivia 1997, 62.

The city of Medinat al-Zahra was a project of Abdurrahman III and it was built at the western part of the city of Córdoba and was the capital city of the Umayyads starting from 940 to 1016⁶. Southern foothills of the Cebelulerûs (Sierra Morena) mountain witnessed to this huge construction activity. The complex housed to a throne room, a mosque, reception rooms, pools, houses, gardens, and several others. In 1010 it was destroyed during the riots which brought about the end of this Caliphate. The only things that have survived from the once flamboyant city are the ruins of the buildings and some details unearthed during the excavations. In addition to the riots experienced, the reason for this ruined image can be understood more clearly when it is considered that this great architectural area was used as a construction site in the subsequent construction activities and the materials were mostly taken from the buildings here. Though this ruined condition it is the hub of the medieval Islamic city and architecture example in the West. After, the city was abandoned and forgotten, and for this reason, the city has been conserved naturally. The sloping terrain was not preferred by locals, preferring the flatter lands along the river below for farming. Medinat al-Zahra was discovered in 1910 by a Spanish architect named Ricardo Velazquez Bosca, Rafael Castejon and Felix Hernandez who continued the excavations, and unearthed some city walls, courtyards, columns and walls. Recent excavations put forward that there are four major phases of construction could be described for the city.⁷

This study draws attention to the international diplomacy of the period and aims to reveal how these diplomatic channels were used in Madinat al Zahra in the light of archaeological findings. Since patronage is important for cultural constructs, the personality of Abdurrahman the III will be important because the palace was his order and it was built under his patronage. I think design language exposes preferences of caliphal image and mapping its cultural and politic features in Andalusia. The archaeological language of Medinat'al Zahra states that the city was a center for claiming the power-politic relations, while showing the image of the caliphate in the Christian surrounding, it also exposed caliphal legitimacy among Islamic world who declared their caliphates, such as the Abbasids and Fatimids.

2. From the Emirate to the Caliphate

The struggle between the cross and the crescent in Spain begins with the conquest movement of Tarık bin Ziyad in 711, taking advantage of the Visigoths inner turmoil. Until 756, the Andalusia region is connected to the Umayyads and Abbasids through governorships. Various Islamic governments and kingdoms were established in the Andalusia region, and different ethnic groups of Arab Berber origin ruled the geography under different names. The Tawaifi Mulk States follow the Emirate period, and after these states, the Almoravids and the Almohads dominated the political and cultural environment in the region. Finally, the existence of Islam continued on the peninsula until the elimination of the Nasirids/Ben-i

6 Litration on Medinat al-Zahra see Gómez-Moreno 1951; Balbás 1952.; Brisch 1963; Castejón 1976; Pavón Maldonado 2004, 28–156; Vallejo Triano 2004; Almagro Vidal 2008, 171–197; Vallejo Triano 2010, Arnold 2019, Arnold 2016.

7 Arnold 2019, 310.

Ahmer in 1492. In the struggle between the cross and the crescent, at the final set the cross prevailed in the Iberian lands.

After the death of Abdurrahman II (822-852), the fourth Umayyad Emir of Córdoba, the three rulers Muhammad (852-886), Münzir (886-888), and Abdullah (881-912) remained in power for 60 next years. During this process, Andalusia is dragged into great social and political chaos. Riots break out all over the country. Different religious and ethnic groups fall to each other⁸. The famines and wars experienced during this period, which corresponds to the First sedition period (el-Fitnetü'l Kübrâ) that negatively affect the country's economy. Revolts against the central authority, doing compromises with the Christian kingdoms are mostly seen in this period⁹.

As a result of all these social, economic and political problems, it was seen that Abdurrahman III appeared on the stage of history as a leader born out of these crises¹⁰. It is written in the sources Abdullah trusts his grandchildren was more than his sons. Emir Abdullah gave the Sultanate seal to Abdurrahman III during his last illness. Seems like his grandfather saw in his grandson all characteristics; valor, honesty, perseverance, will, courage, foresight, and intelligence, which he considered to be the qualities that a manager should have. The revival of political integrity became the most important issue of the reign of Abdurrahman III¹¹. When Abdurrahman came to the throne, Andalusia was divided into many parts within itself, and it was geography where rebellion and internal turmoil were intense. In addition to the ongoing conflicts between Arabs and Berbers, the bad course of agriculture and economy harmed trade. Famine and droughts make the situation worse. Abdurrahman, who came to power in such an environment where conditions were difficult, undoubtedly had a lot of work to do. It was necessary to stop the turmoil in the internal affairs, to impose his power on the rebellious lords and groups, and he did so. His first attempt was to fix the central government. He brought competent people to administrative positions. Secondly, he suppressed the rebellions, which pose a great threat to the central government according to him¹². Guidance teams (irşad) were firstly sent to these rebellious sites to convey subordination to the central authority. This group consisting of clergy and administrators, which advised the rebels, also had the mission of influencing the public. The knowledge that those who did not comply with this peaceful call would be persuaded by military force became a useful method in persuading the majority¹³. In order to cope with these rebellions, Abdurrahman III painted an authoritarian image instead of indecisive state behavior. The emir entered into a great struggle with those who did not pledge allegiance to Abdurrahman III. He organized many expeditions against the rebels. The first expedition

8 Özdemir 1994, 79.

9 Watt and Cachia 2001, 82.

10 Safran 2001, 21.

11 Özdemir 1994, 87, 89.

12 Küçüksipahioğlu 1996, 16, 17, 18.

13 Forman 1961.

carried out in 913 to Calatrava¹⁴. After military operations, the ruler had ribat built in these regions to ensure permanent success. These fortifications, which were constructed for military purposes, were important steps taken to ensure the continuity of military success. In addition to these strategies, the monarch mandated that the families of the rebel group are resided in Córdoba. Thus, he placed the troublesome groups in the capital, where the central authority was the strongest, and prevented the same groups from revolting¹⁵. It was the first campaign against the rebels towards the southeast of Andalusia. He conquered about 70 castles in this expedition, which lasted three months, and made the rebels in the region accept their existence. The intimidation operation he carried out against the Haccac Family was again successful. The struggle against Umar ibn Hafsun and her sons is one of the important expeditions he carried out in order to restore the internal order¹⁶.

In addition to the threats experienced inside, the tensions with the Frankish kings abroad and the existence and progress of another Islamic state, the Fatimids, in North Africa, and even the proclamation of the Fatimids' caliphate, necessitated taking some external political steps. The existence of Fatimids is seen as a great danger in itself. The Fatimids represent the Shiite wing of Islam, in this sense, they are generally seen as a threat by the dominant Islamic ideologies. Some steps are taken by Abdurrahman III in order to eliminate this danger. The proclamation of the caliphate can be considered as the most important of these steps¹⁷. The Fatimids had established a strong navy in North Africa. Abdurrahman III thought that Andalusia should establish its own navy in the face of this powerful navy and strengthened the navy. When the navy got stronger, the help of the rebels in Andalusia from the seas from North Africa via the Fatimids was cut off. Another policy implemented, to weaken the Fatimids within, he supported the internal revolts¹⁸. Abdurrahman III, increased the activities of the Sunni ulama. His policy, created a social and political force against Shiite propaganda¹⁹. Last but not least, in order to combat with the Fatimids and against their political rivals the Abbasids Abdurrahman III declared his caliphate in Córdoba in 929²⁰. The proclamation of the caliphate can be accepted as a show of power of the Umayyad dynasty at the first stage. Because this dynasty was able to exist again in the western lands with a prince left from the family after the majority of them were massacred in Syria by the Abbasids. When the Abbasids gained power in 750, they also seized the caliphate. In this state, the caliphate claim of the Andalusian Umayyads means that the lost power is being scraped again. Secondly, the claim of the caliphate by the Shiite presence in the nearby region of North Africa was seen as a challenge by the Andalusian Umayyads. The claim of

14 Fierro 2005, Küçükspahioğlu 1996.

15 Özdemir 1994, 93.

16 Yıldız 1988, 152.

17 Safran 2001, 183.

18 İmamüddin 1990, 174-176.

19 Özdemir 1994, 110.

20 Safran 1998, 183.

caliphate is important in the context of the internal balance of the Islamic world. Holding the caliphate, it gains a prestigious position in the Islamic world.

3. International Relations and Creating Caliphal Image in Medinat'al Zahra

Diplomatic relations were important for the Umayyad family since the earlier times of the dynasty. It is possible to see how important diplomacy is in the 8th century desert palace belonging to the Umayyad Dynasty that made in the capital Damascus, Syria. Qusayr Amra, the small palace, is discovered by Alois Musil in 1898 which is a complex consisting of a reception hall, caliph living units and a bath. The walls of this building complex present a surprisingly rich figurative composition. Among these compositions, especially the kings panel is remarkable. In this picture, six people are standing, and from the Arabic and Greek inscriptions on their heads, it is understood that four of them were the Byzantine, Persian and Abyssinian emperors and the Visigoth (Spain) kings²¹. The superpowers of the period, including Turkish and Iranian kings and khans, gave a message of political amity. Giving the kings together as a subject reveals how much the Umayyad dynasty cared about international relations and used the bureaucracy channel. Another example of Syrian Umayyads reveals that those diplomatic relations used for artistic constructs. Request of mosaic masters from the Byzantine king for the construction of the Damascus Umayyad Mosque (706-714) sheds light on this kind of international relations. These relations still could be read today in the Kuseyr Amra and Damascus Umayyad Mosque examples through technical and stylistic details (fig.1).

The importance given to diplomacy by the Umayyad Dynasty continues in Andalusia. The victories won against the Spanish kingdoms and the Fatimids abroad, and the right decisions taken economically and politically made Andalusia the strong state of the region. Capital Córdoba became an important diplomatic center of Europe during this period in the 10th century. As far as can be followed from the records, many official visitor groups from different European countries such as Byzantine Emperors, German Empires, Franks, Italy, Sardinia, many Spanish kingdoms such as Navarra, Leon, Barcelona, and North African countries, were making diplomatic visits to Medinat'al Zahra the Abdurrahman's prestigious palace which was built in the first half of the 10th century²².

Ibn Izari mentions that a Byzantine delegation visited Córdoba in 945. Some gifts were sent accompanied by a letter from Constantine the 7th. In the letter sent by Constantine which was brought by the diplomatic group, it is written; "From Constantine, the king of the Greeks who believed in Jesus, to Abdurrahman the 3rd, the ruler of the Andalusian Arabs, who had great merit, noble descent" The manuscripts brought to the Caliph by the Byzantine delegations were translated into Arabic with great interest. Among these books were copies of Dioscordies' Botany and Paulo Orasio's History could be counted²³. The Spanish kings

21 Beksaç 2002.

22 Makari 1964; Özdemir 1994, 134, 111.

23 İbn İzari 1951.

were also using the diplomatic channel with Córdoba to ask for help in power conflicts among themselves or to make a deal with Andalusia. For example, in 955, King of Leon II. Ordone had sent his ambassadors to Córdoba for an amity agreement with Andalusia²⁴ (fig. 2).

The archeological city of Madinat al-Zahra which means 'city of Zahra' or city of the flower' is located in Córdoba (Spain) 8 km to the city, at the southern part. It was assumed that the city tributed to his wife Zahra²⁵. This city was built by Abdurrahman III in 936-940. The chief architect of the construction was Mesleme beh Abdullah. The construction of the Medinat'al Zahra was established on the southern foothills of the Cebelulerûs (Sierra Morena) mountain. The complex included plenty of architectural units however today ruins of city walls and narrow streets are could be seen at the site (figs. 3,4).

Archaeological finds that have survived from the historical city present a terraced settlement plan intertwined with gardens. This layout separates the political, military and civil areas. There natural terraces, the higher and medium were dedicated to the Alcazar (castle) and the lower for residences. The palace was divided: the western side which was residential and the eastern side which was administrative and public dedicated to government buildings. Archaeological finds contain many types of structures, from workshops to mosques, including reception halls used for ceremonies²⁶.

The Royal House, or Dar al-Mulk is housed to private rooms. Its location on the highest terrace of the setting supplies Caliph Abd al-Rahman III wide panoramic view over the city. From the excavation stone decoration with ataurique/vegetal and terracotta floor is found. Caliph's bedroom contained twelve golden sculptures from Syria, decorated with pearls. Another building, House of the Vizier Ja'jar one of the well-preserved architectures. Triple horse shoe arches identical for the façade arrangement which supported by slender columns. Limestone and marble are the main construction materials. Ataurique decoration visible on the façade in addition to geometric forms²⁷.

The Reception Hall of Abdurrahman III known as the Salón Rico, one of the identical reception rooms at the site. Caliph welcomed his official visitors in this building. Since it is at the middle terrace, the view of the from this terrace it is possible to see the entire geography²⁸. The hall is divided into three aisles separated by two rows of arches. The arches are ornamented in where stone and marble decoration are remarkable (fig. 5). The rich room has a lavish decoration. Rich carving details depict the tree of life probably as a cultural memory comes from the East. This strong all visual iconographic architectural and urban depiction embodies caliphal and religious pure existence in the Iberian Peninsula.

24 Janyusi 1992; Özdemir 1994, 113-116.

25 Ali 1999, 110.

26 Ruggles 2008.

27 Barrucand, Bednorz 1992, 62,63.

28 Balbás 1952.

The technical precision and formal quality of its horseshoe arches are rises over elegant columns. The existence of a high number of capitals which are signed by the artisans who made them contributes caliphs' majesty accordingly it shows the feature of the leader who protects the art and the artist. Thus, the protecting caliphal image is accompanied by rich artisan representations by these cited columns. In the letter at the capital it says that "In the name of God, for the servant of God and Prince of the Believers Abd al-Rahman, God make him last, for what was done under the direction of Sunayf, his freedman, in the year 342 (953 -4 AD), the work of Sa'ad, his servant"(fig. 6). Cufic character epigraphs mention the dates of 953 to 956-957, it is possible to read from friezes, pilasters, bases and capitals these dates²⁹. This perfectly carved epigraphy strengthens the Caliphal iconography which is also constructed not only building materials and techniques but also with epigraphy challenging to all rivals in the east and west.

The building complex is the only one with its size in the Islamic West. This city was built as symbol of power of the Caliph to receive international ambassadors and kings. Flourishing architectural and political language in the palace is apparent. Madinat al Zahra is the reflection of power, courage, and caliphal claim. Particularly, it was the proclamation of power to its arch enemies the Abbasids³⁰. It creates caliphal iconography by its sole existence. There was a power already established in Córdoba but this setting was stretching the power embodiment of the caliphal period. 10.000 workers are said to have been employed on the site. 6000 stone blocks are said to have been cut every day. 4324 marble columns are imported from Tunisia, Byzantium, and Syria. The palace reflexes, not only the architectural material existence but an urbanistic attitude of the caliphal image. The language of the central government is reflected in the architectural planning and the construction of the city while having a progressively elevated platform reflects the language of hierarchical arrangement in the context of urban planning. The city was built on three natural terraces, the higher and medium was dedicated to the Alcazar (castle) and the lower for residences³¹. The palace was divided: the western side which was residential and the eastern side which was administrative and public dedicated to government buildings. This hillside setting is separated by walls on each terrace. Caliphal spot dominated the setting reflecting certain hierarchy which is known as mirador system. In Abbasid, the mosque and palace next to each other could be seen in Baghdad example but here the separation is seen. Friday mosque is located at the lowest level this spatial composition as well charges a caliph special value; it attributes an important feature to the caliphate position. In other words, the caliphate is reinforced with the language of space.

The reuse of classical antiquity in the palace of Madinat al-Zahra during the al-Hakam period also supplies how caliphal ideology continued to work in the city. The Roman statues and sarcophagi found in the palace creates various questions regarding the construction of the

29 Balbás 1965, 27.

30 Ewert 1996, 213.

31 López-Cuervo 1985, 35, 36.

caliphal image. From different excavation periods the Roman sculptures and reliefs are found (figs. 7,8,9). Being one of them, Gate of Hades or the Tabernacle were uncovered in the Court of the Clocks. Among the discovered sarcophagus, one of the examples comes from the 3rd century A.D., in size of 1 meter by 2.2. to 2.3. meters. Depiction of philosophers with two Muses depicts caliphal imagery in Iberia. Greek and Roman philosophers' depiction in the palace is another proof how classical antiquity with its intellectual heritage is acknowledged by the caliph. For the elites of the period Greek literature was very influential in addition to Sassanid one³². The intense presence of Roman sarcophagi in this Islamic city also reflects the fact that mighty caliphate power-politics, tolerance competence, patronage of historical heritages of powerful states under the auspices of the caliphate. It is once more can be understand that early Islamic art was the last representative of the Classical heritage which is used to legitimize the caliphal power and this concept passed from Abdurrahman III to his son al-Hakam II, most influential elite of his time, known as man of wisdom "ahkem". Before al Hakam, in the reign of Abdurrahman the III, Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived in harmony. Non-Muslims were treated fairly and employed in some of the highest positions in the Umayyad administration like Hasdai ibn Shaprut, a Jew from Jaén. This success of cultural existence has often been attributed to its tolerant and pluralistic character — known as *La Convivencia* or the Coexistence of the era. Islamic pluralism of Andalusian society nourished high cultural diversity and richness in the Iberian Peninsula whose effects extend the timelines and pierced into society.

Another point to be mentioned is the questioning of Abdurrahman III's intention to build a city. This intention has a contradictory situation with the forced exile history of the dynasty. The tradition of building a city comes from the east, from the lands where all kinds of cultural and artistic movements are followed with care by the Andalusian Umayyads. In this context, the Abbasids killed the Umayyads family, destroyed the Umayyad state. Even this bloody history did not prevent the Abbasids from being seen as the dominant cultural source by the Andalusian Umayyads. The tradition of building cities in the Abbasids reveals the visible presence and administrative power of the caliph in the urban area, also sheds light on the religious affairs left to the ulama³³. Andalusian Umayyads, especially Abdurrahman III takes his strong city-building tradition from the Abbasids. For example, Abbasid city Baghdad is round, and takes the authority to the center as a result of certain hierarchy. Similarly, Abdurrahman III, turns the space into a visible setting which arranged through a hierarchical structuring, although this time it is not round but makes visible the authority through the management of the space.

4. Conclusion

In the field of art history and archeology, Medinat al Zahra provides important data on medieval archeology. In this context, the most striking feature spatially is the mirador

32 Calvo Capilla 2014, 29.

33 Blair, Bloom 2007, 90-99.

system, through which caliph engages the surrounding landscape and it creates hierarchy in space showing caliphal power. Emphasizing the presence of the authoritarian figure in the space is also reminiscent of an Abbasid tradition, which was followed with interest by the Andalusian Umayyads. It is possible to see similar interaction and cultural extension not only at the spatial scale, but also in the material samples used. In this context, the use of stucco constitutes an important example. The usage has strong correlations with the Iranian and Abbasid traditions. Therefore, it can be said in Madinat al Zahra, the use of space and some architectural materials offer eastern character. Notably, existence of mosaics, marble sculpture, and carved stone reflects learned and attuned Hellenistic and Byzantine traditions. These all-cultural assets continued to be used in following Islamic dynasties in Andalusia seeing that the technical precision and formal quality of its horseshoe arches set on slender columns, usage of arches, alternating stones of poly-lobed arches and high number of capitals which are signed by the artisans who made them created momentous appearances.

Abdurrahman III's reign witnessed to Muslims, Christians and Jews lived in harmony as it mostly stated historically. Pluralistic approach of Islam in Andalusia nourished cultural diversity and richness, today it is named as La Convivencia/Coexistence whose footprints could be followed from the artistic materials. Madinat al-Zahra was built as a symbol of the power of the caliph where he received international ambassadors and kings. While Medinat'al Zahra helped to create caliphal iconography, at the same time the palace existence was the way how caliph was imposing his caliphal and sultanate image over his rivals both internal and external. Abdurrahman the III and his followers benefited caliphal iconography which created through the architectural setting and ornamentation program to which calligraphy design principles and using antique artistic artifacts were added to increase the dosage of this iconography. The caliphal message in everywhere from the spatial setting to richness of columns to the usage of sarcophaguses/reliefs. The epigraphy, construction materials, and richness of ornaments that all served to the declaration of caliphal sovereignty. Even though, all these archaeological records emphasize the existence of the caliph another important issue to be emphasized in this context is sustaining character of Umayyad tradition in this place. Methods of using diplomacy channels show similarity between Syria and Córdoba are remarkable points which is an important indicator of cultural continuity.

Finally, during the reign of Abdurrahman III, Andalusian Islamic culture reached its apex. The caliphal power was acknowledged by both European and Eastern rivals. Therefore, this building complex, Madinat al Zahra was embodiment of courage and caliphal power. Construction of the palace in a close distance to Córdoba, the layout of the palace, the placement of the caliph's residence at the top of the natural terraces, the lower level of the mosque in the general layout plan than the caliph residences, the flamboyant presence of the reception hall that integrates with the garden design coming from eastern traditions, and the usage of the artistic representations of the pagan period all turns into caliphal images which are majestic and mercy.



Figure 1: Panel of Six Kings, Reception Hall, Qusayr-1 Amra, Jordan, 8th century (photo by Edward Zychowicz-Coghill) (Source. <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/oxford-researcher-explores-social-changes-early-islamic-era>)



Figure 2: Abd al-Rahman III Receiving the Ambassador at the Court of Córdoba by Dionís Baixeras, 1885 (Source. https://www.ub.edu/web/ub/en/menu_eines/noticies/2018/07/032.html).

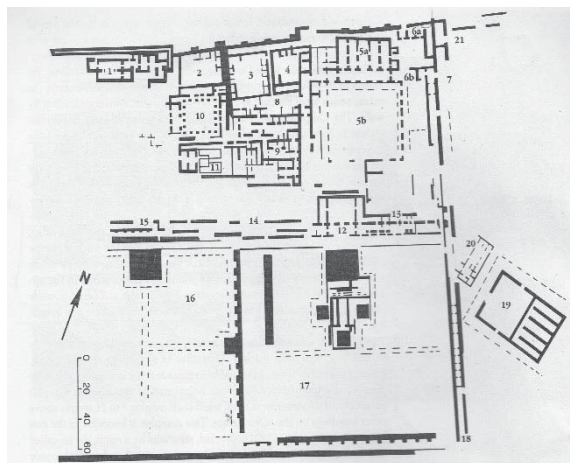


Figure 3: Madinat Al-Zahra, Site Plan (Barrucand, Bednorz 1992).



Figure 4: Aerial view of the excavated area of the palace of Madinat al-Zahra' (Calvo Capilla 2014, 18).

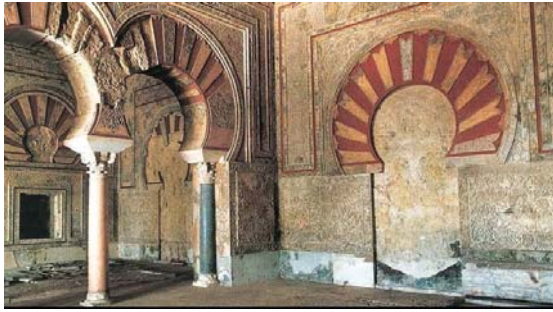


Figure 5: The Solon Rico/ The Salón of Abd-el-Rahman III (Source. <http://projects.mcah.columbia.edu>).



Figure 6: Base with epigraph. White marble carved, Abd al-Rahman III salon, 5 x 45 x 19,5 cm. 953-4. (Source. <https://www.museosdeandalucia.es/web/conjuntoarqueologicomadinatalzahra/elementos-muebles>).



Figure 7: Sarcophagus of Meleager. Marble, third century A.D., Court of the pillars, Madinat al-Zahra (Calvo Capilla 2014,6).



Figure 8: Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades: reconstruction drawing by E. Candon and J. Beltrán, 1999 (Calvo Capilla 2014,6).



Figure 9: Sarcophagus found on the Camino de Ronda Bajo. Bacchic thiasos (Calvo Capilla 2014,8).

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ISSN 2148-4124



ISBN 978-625-7799-51-5



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