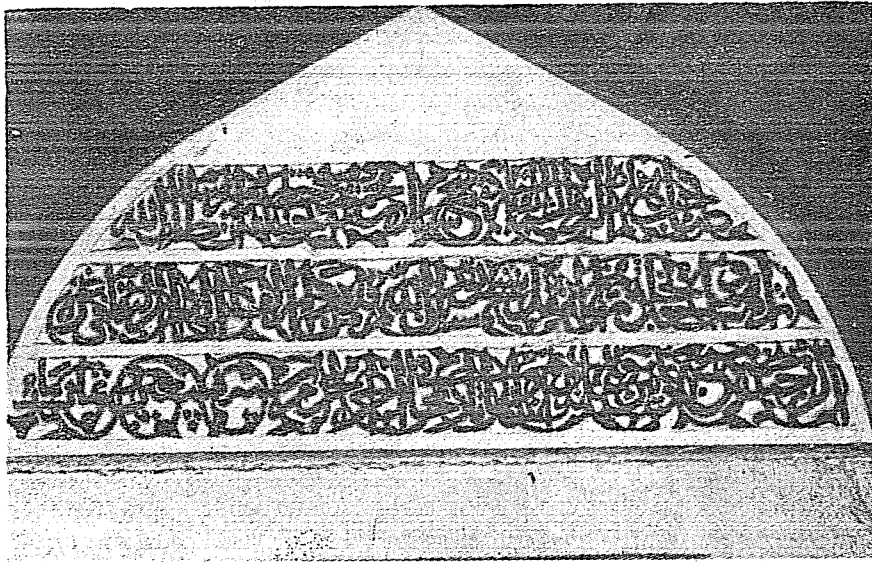




I. Kale-kapısı mescidi kitabesi (723/1323)



II. Şeyh Sinân türbesi kitâbesi (890/1485).

## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE ANATOLIAN TÜRBE AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS AS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

Ülkü Ülküsal BATES

This paper will examine the various types of inscriptions found on the mausoleums of the pre-Ottoman period in order to interpret the general social context of the mausoleum in Anatolia. Epigraphic expressions on the funerary buildings are the only surviving explanations for their existence that are provided by those who erected them. However, no more than an introduction to the study of these inscriptions is attempted in this paper.

Mausoleums (türbe) were built in great numbers in pre-Ottoman times between 1150 and 1400. By studying this particular class of buildings we may clarify somewhat our understanding of early Islamic architecture in Turkey. Furthermore, the examination of epigraphic evidence is an approach to the problem of patronage during these formative centuries of Turkish architecture. Few of the monumental buildings of this period were state-ordered public works. Most of them were «private donations» for reasons of religion, philanthropy or selfglorification, either by individuals or organized groups of people. Therefore, the reasons why certain people contributed entire buildings, why numbers of them joined together in such projects, and what the social/religious rewards were for such behavior are questions of some significance for Islamic art and architecture.

### Physical characteristics of the mausoleum :

The Anatolian mausoleum is a distinctive architectural entity dedicated solely to ideological or spiritual needs, and not for the habitation of the

\* Bu yazı 1970 Kasımında, Columbus, Ohio'da toplanan Middle East Studies Association Kongresine tebliğ olarak sunulmuştur.

living. It provides a resting place for the spiritual, though not always for the corporeal, remains of the deceased. The elements of construction on this building are defined with a clarity which, by their restricted use, express the commemorative functions of the mausoleum<sup>(1)</sup>. While the Anatolian Seljuq period building is a development out of the Iranian mausoleum form (gonbadh), it embodies constructional designs and techniques locally evolved by Anatolian cultures antecedent and contemporary to the **gonbadh**.

Briefly, a **türbe** contains a crypt which is enclosed in the base section that is partially underground, but which almost always has an entrance from outside. The main part of the building, however, is the shaft and the room it encloses above ground level. This section is the most prominent element of the building, both with regard to the space it occupies proportionate to the entire structure, and in its closely determining the exterior form of the building. The shaft is surmounted by a roof that ascends from the walls to a point, assuming a conical or pyramidal shape. The profile of the building is one of accentuated verticality. It is analogous to a tombstone, here expressed in a monumental and sculpted construction (Plate 1).

The tomb structure in Anatolia acquires in the Seljuq period unambiguous symbolism in its architectural form. Its function can never be in doubt to the beholder, nor can the same function be expected of buildings which fail to meet a number of well defined and predictable architectural requirements. The structural elements employed in tomb architecture are strikingly similar to one another and, indeed, most are but slight variations upon a common theme<sup>(2)</sup>.

#### Evolution of Anatolian türbe :

The general evolutionary stages of the Islamic Anatolian **türbe** on the basis of morphology prior to the rise of the classical Ottoman architecture are summarized as follows: 1. The «models» for funerary edifices were derived from Seljuq sources in Iran around 1150. The Anatolian **türbe** did

- 1) For a comprehensive study of buildings of commemorative nature see: O. Grabar, «The earliest Islamic commemorative structures, notes and documents,» *Ars Orientalis*, IV (1966).
- 2) Anatolian mausoleums can be grouped according to the exterior shape of their shafts: polygonal, round, square, and rectangular (the so-called «eyvan» **türbe** is basically rectangular).

not go through a rudimentary or faltering trial period. While architectural elements used on the building frequently display local Anatolian antecedents, the class of building known as **türbe** does not have a pre-Iranian prototype in Asia Minor. 2. In the second phase, the models or prototypes once introduced immediately underwent changes and alterations in order to conform with the needs and tastes of the people, and the resources of the new land. Stone as the medium of construction soon came to be employed widely in Anatolia, and almost exclusively replaced the brick favored in Iran. (Plate 2). 3. Around 1250 there occurred a sudden increase in the quantity of mausoleums erected, and an enrichment in the variations made on the existing types. Beginning around 1220, large groups of people moved to Anatolia as a result of the westward pressing Mongol invasions. Some came ahead of the Mongols seeking refuge. Individual scholars and spiritual leaders came from the East to southwestern Asia, and particularly to Anatolia which was then comparatively stable and unaffected by the Mongol invasions<sup>(3)</sup>. These people brought new dimensions to the political and social make-up of Anatolia, which eventually influenced and then imposed themselves upon funerary architecture.

Moreover, when Anatolia later became vassal to the vast Ilkhanid hegemony, it emerged once again a cross-roads in a more-or-less politically united Near East. Architectural influences from Islamic Iran, Egypt, and Syria seem to have suggested modifications in the constructional proportions and in the decorative systems of funerary building, even though there were no radical changes in the essence of structure. (Plate 3).

Those stylistic changes that came to Anatolia after 1250 from outside Asia Minor soon blended with the non-Islamic traditions of newly subjugated western Anatolia. Ultimately, after our period, the architecture of western Anatolia began to dominate in the stylistic formulation of the mausoleum, as well as in other classes of religious and secular building, as it became more directly and closely integrated in the Mediterranean world.

#### Epigraphy :

Calligraphy has always occupied a special place in Islamic art. It is

- 3) One of these celebrated individuals was the father of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī who was a mystic-scholar. He first halted in Damascus, then in Anatolia, where he proclaimed: «Our land is the capital, Konya.» (Ahmed Eflaki, *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri*, edited by T. Yazıcı. 2nd. ed. (Istanbul, 1964 and 1966), vol. I, pp. 21-2.)

not only because of its abstract quality, matchless for use in design that the Muslim artist delighted to exploit, but also because it can be utilized as a communications medium for the literate. Thus, when they are used both for ornamentation and instruction, the inscriptions on Islamic monuments acquire an iconographic quality similar to formalized representations in Christian buildings. The dedicatory texts in most cases give the names of donors, their titles and the date of construction, and occasionally of the occupants' death. These shed light on the types of patronage which instigated the construction of the monumental tombs, and thus are social documents. The dates given are, of course, instrumental for the chronological classification of the architectural elements.

However, inscriptions are more valuable to scholars as textual aids in establishing the social context of any individual mausoleum and, when taken together, help illuminate historical developments in Seljuq-Anatolian society. For purposes here, inscriptions which are purely decorative can be usefully distinguished from dedicatory or otherwise informative ones. We will briefly mention the former with respect to their general placement and occurrences. Then the paper will treat in more detail those inscriptions which record names, dates, social ranks and professions, or whose symbolic content adds to our historical knowledge.

One function of all types of inscriptions on mausoleums is decorative. The purely decorative inscription, however, is not specific to any *türbe*, but is repeated as often as is any other element of ornamentation. The most familiar location for a band of epigraphic frieze is immediately under the roof or along the top edge of the shaft (Plate 4). The text is usually Koranic, often the Throne Verse,<sup>(4)</sup> it conveys its message to both believers and «infidels» alike, but adds little to our understanding of a given building because of its general and indiscriminate distribution.

Inscriptions rarely appear inside a mausoleum (Plate 5). Of these, only a few are in bands and are panegyric in nature,<sup>(5)</sup> while the rest are in the form of separate panels which usually give the names of the prophet, the first Caliphs, and the sons of 'Ali: Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The inclusion of the names of 'Ali's sons testifies the marked tendency towards Shi 'ism in Ana-

4) Koran 2: 256.

5) The names of the donors appear in the inscriptions found inside the mausoleums of Amīr Yavtash at Reis, Akşehir, and of Amīr Nūr al-Dīn Jabra'il bin Jā'ā at Kırşehir.

tolia, especially at the «flok-level» of religion.<sup>(6)</sup> It is highly probable that inscriptions inside the buildings were originally a more familiar sight, but the periodic replastering of the walls conceals any such works.

Much more important are the inscriptions of a dedicatory nature. These are specific to the building on which they are put, and each identifies the *türbe* as commemorating the person (or persons) named in the text. The customary place for such inscriptions is above the arch of the opening for the doorway (Plate 6).

The terms used to designate a funerary structure as they appear in the dedicatory inscriptions mark the religious-commemorative and, paradoxically, the partially secular nature of such buildings. *Türbe* (turbah) is the word that is most often used on these as well as in everyday language to refer to a mausoleum. It is found on eleven out of 40 recorded inscriptions belonging to funerary structures in eastern and central Anatolia built between 1150 and 1400. It seems that the word had already lost its original meaning (earth) by the time the tomb became a monumental structure. *Kubbe* (qubbah) is relatively rare (3 out of 40). *Qubbah-i ḥaḍrah* (the «green dome») refers particularly to the mausoleum of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmi which still stands today, covered with green tiles. The word «qubbah» also meant a royal residence in the 13th century.<sup>(7)</sup>

*Meşhed* (mashhad) or «place of witnessing» is a word that sometimes appears in the dedicatory inscriptions as a synonym for mausoleum (5 out of 40 *türbes*). In none of the examples does the word actually mean a place where an event in the framework of organized religion occurred. The word was used more in the honorific than in the literal sense. *Makber* or *kabir* (maqbar, qabr) are words both derived from the Arabic root «to bury», hence, directly relevant to the inherent function of the edifice (in 2 *türbes* out of 40). However, the use of the term in the inscriptions to describe an architectural enterprise seems of some significance. Twice *imaret* ('imārah) is seen inscribed on the Anatolian mausoleums. In its later usage the word comes to signify a building consisting of several units. *Ravza* (rawḍah)

6) The role that shi'ism played in the formation of so-called heterodox religious sects in Anatolia is discussed by F. Köprülü *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: 1966), 92-96.

7) The term *qubbah* was also used for royal palaces at Damascus, Rusafah and Baghdad.

which literally means «garden» is found only once on the Anatolian **türbe**.<sup>8)</sup> However, the term is frequently found on contemporary tombstones, signifying, perhaps, an important conceptual distinction.

**Mescid** (masjid) is used to denote a mosque in almost every case where it appears in an inscription in Anatolia. We find only one **türbe** which has the term «masjid» in its dedicatory plaque.<sup>9)</sup> The combination of a masjid with a **türbe** is extremely rare, and it never became a general practice. It is also rare to find a funerary chamber attached to a mosque.

According to information supplied by the texts of inscriptions it seems that the early building of mausoleums was largely undertaken by the upper or elite class. These were directly affiliated with the palace or government of Konya and smaller principalities in Anatolia, as well as those associated with the Ilkhanid sultans. Members of this undoubtedly wealthy class with considerable power ostensibly promoted the building of funerary monuments in a desire to commemorate themselves and, it would seem, to advertise their political titles. They are strikingly secular in the manner in which they achieve this end, and take no pains to portray themselves as religious leaders.

Rather surprisingly, of the some 200 mausoleums known to date from this formative period, only four were actually built to house the remains of the Seljuq sultans. The inscriptions in those cases specifically refer to the ruler as «sultan» and give his full title.<sup>10)</sup> The earliest two mausoleums are situated on the citadel of Konya, an area which contained the royal palace, the largest mosque and perhaps other governmental establishments. One of the **türbes** contains the sarcophagi of nine rulers. Unfortunately, the second **türbe** has been partially destroyed, but it is likely that the remains

8) One 13th century example belongs to the so-called mausoleum of Hasan Padişah at Ahlat. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, (Cario: 1931-1955), no. 4696.

9) The mausoleum of Amīr ʿAlī Bishrau at Kayseri, dated 1350, contains a dedicatory inscription that starts with the words, «This masjid...». (A. Gabriel, *Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie*, vol. I (Paris: 1931) p. 82). In this building the sarcophagi are in the crypt while the main room is empty but for a *mihrab* on the south wall.

10) For example, the full title of Sultan Izz al-Dīn Qilij Arslān II as it appears on the dedicatory inscription is given by Löytved: «Der Sultan der Grosse, Iseddunja waddin, Säule des Islams, und der Musulmanen, Ruhm der Könige und Sultane, Töter der Ungläubigen, der Siegreiche Kylydsch Arslan — Helfer des Fürsten der Gläubigen.» (J.H. Löytved, *Konia, Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten*, (Berlin: 1907), no. 9).

of most of the other Seljuq rulers lie in this structure. It is important from a historical perspective that individually the sultans did not feel the necessity their own commemorative monuments.

The third and fourth imperial funerary rooms are each contained within a **medrese**; dedicated respectively by Giyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw in Kayseri and by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāʿūs in Sivas. All four of these mausoleums date before the coming of the Mongols in Anatolia.

The word «amīr» as a title appears on numerous dedicatory inscriptions. It is a secular rank that is linked with a man of high status in the ruling class. On one of the inscriptions the personage who has this appellation is also given the titles «bek» and «pīr».<sup>11)</sup> Twice, the word «amīr» is used alongside with another title in the government, «safah-salar». Several local governors under the Mongols are referred as «amirs». One of these is Amīr Jamāl Dawlah waʿl-Dīn Khwaja Yaqūt, whose name is in the dedicatory inscription alongside with that of the ruling Ilkhanid Sultan's, Oljaytū.

Other titles that refer to official status in the governmental system of Anatolia in this period are **tāj al-vizier**, **vizier**, **tash-bāz**, **shāhnāh**, **hajīb pāshā**. The title «bek», most probably of Turkish-Mongolian origin, is seen on four mausoleums, all built after 1250.

A surprising number of mausoleums are dedicated to women, most of whom are known historically to have belonged to the Seljuq royalty. These women had secular titles and they are recorded in the inscriptions: **khātūn**, **malīkah** and **pāshā**.

It is also significant that mausoleums which deviate architecturally from usual types often belong to women. They sometimes have unusual decoration such as animal and human figures on their walls (Plate 7) or, as in two instances, the **türbe** proper is enclosed within a high wall (Plate 8). Also, the complete dedicatory texts almost always supply the name of the father of the lady, who was frequently a member of the Seljuq dynasty or a local tribal leader. Similarly the name of her son is also included in the cases where he is a sultan.

When compared to the position of women in contemporary Islamic society the relatively high number of mausoleums built for or by women is particularly striking. A militantly religious «sisterhood» or «Bajiyān-i Rūm»

11) This inscription belongs to the mausoleum of «Pir Husayin Bek», also known as Turgutoğlu. (C. Huart, *Konia*, (Paris: 1997), 166).

is known to have existed in the 14th century in Anatolia. They not only fought in wars, but were organized among themselves under a **Baji-bek**.<sup>(12)</sup> Unfortunately not much is known about these corporations of women or of the nature of these sisterhoods. Neither can we link any of the mausoleums with these warrior women.

A point of interest with respect to the secular nature of mausoleum inscriptions of all periods is the rather frequent presence of architects' signatures on such buildings. The words used to indicate the work of an architect are '**amal** and **bāni**', with the latter term appearing on the mausoleums in eastern Turkey.

Two funerary buildings in Kayseri are built by the same architect, Le (on) bin Qārā. Another signature that occurs on two separate buildings, one in Nīksar the other in Sivas, belongs to Aḥmad bin Abū Bakr al-Marandi. Both structures are in brick, and date from the first quarter of the 13th century. However, while the octagonal mausoleum in Nīksar is modest in its architectural lines and decoration, the **türbe** of Sultan Kay Kā'ūs, the work of the same architect, is distinguished for its splendour in decoration which utilizes color.

In the late 13th century and in the 14th century tombs of holy men multiply and soon surpass those of secular notables. A great number of mausoleums either inscribed or without any surviving inscriptions are dedicated to religious men. **Shaykh** is the word most frequently encountered title modifying personal names. Among personages bearing this religious title, some also hold secular ranks such as **pāshā**.<sup>(13)</sup> The **shaykhs** exercised significant power over the populations especially after the Mongol invasion, even over the sultans of Seljuqs. For example, the downfall of the Seljuqs was popularly attributed to Sultan Rukn al-Dīn's lack of respect towards Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmi.<sup>(14)</sup> The **shaykhs** were believed to have supernatural powers which continued after their death, with power being transmitted to the tomb in which they were buried.<sup>(15)</sup>

12) F. Köprülü, *Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşu*, 2nd. ed. (Ankara: 1959) pp. 93-94.

13) The inscription on the mausoleum of «Fakih Dede» in Konya, dated 1281-82, reads: «Shaykh al-ālām ...pāshā bin «ayas.» (I.H. Konyalı, *Konya* (Istanbul: 1964), pp. 592-4).

14) A. Eflaki, *Ariflerin Menkibeleri*, I (1964), pp. 141-2.

15) *Ibid.*, p. 37.

**Sayyid**, as it appears on the mausoleum, denotes a spiritual profession in Anatolia. The title **imām** occurs only once in the mausoleums, associated with the name of Sadr al-Konewi who, as far as is historically known, was not a Shi'i but a follower of the Sunni order of the Mawlawis. The term **akhi** is common both on mausoleums and tombstones in this period, which is not astonishing when one considers the military-religious role they played in Anatolia.<sup>(16)</sup>

Although today the majority of **türbes** are locally attributed to holy men of one sort or another, this is usually done without any documentation. While an inscription may give the name of a man from the ruling class, the **türbe** often becomes known as that of a **shaykh** or **baba** among the people who await miracles from the alleged owner. There is no way of knowing when this transformation of names and function in the popular mind took place, whether immediately after the dedication of the building or in later centuries. An example is the so-called «Seyyid Battal Türbe» at Sinop, whose still legible inscription gives the name of «Amīr Taybugha».<sup>(17)</sup>

#### Conclusion :

The small but unified structure of the Anatolian mausoleum is, in the eyes of the people who believe in it, not only a material commemorative landmark, but a living symbol of the dead. The inscriptions placed on such edifices enhance this aspect of the funerary buildings. The types of patronage that undertook the building of **türbes** can be categorized, in a nonexclusive manner, as secular-governmental, religious governmental, religious-scholar, and finally popular (folk) -religious. The evolution of funerary monuments mirrors transformations in the political and religious make-up of Anatolia in the 13th and 14th centuries. The inscriptions are the most reliable documents for this phenomenon. Until the invasion of the Mongols around 1245, the inscriptions primarily belong to the members of the Seljuq dynasty, including prominent women. To a lesser extent, tribal leaders or heads of the rival but less powerful Turcoman dynasties left their funerary monuments and are featured in **türbe** inscriptions. These are essentially secular leaders

16) For a recent discussion of «Ahis and Architecture», see: J.M. Rogers, «Recent Work on Seljuq Anatolia», *Kunst des Orients*, VI, 2 (1969).

17) A study of the türbe is by F. Taeschner, «Die Türbe der Isfendiyağlı in Sinop», in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens*, (Istanbul : 1961), pp. 31-2.



who did not feel constrained to validate their positions of power by reference to religious office or publically advertised religiosity.

During the years of Mongol rule and final collapse of the Seljuqs, concurrent with the movement and displacement of hordes of people, it seems a new organizing impetus was sought, and found in newly arriving religious leaders and in the ideological conceptions they offered. The elaborations in funerary architecture are correlated with the religious development in this period. What is particularly interesting for the historian of this crucial era in the development of Anatolian Turkish society is the newly evidenced desire on the part of political leaders to assume legitimacy of office through the use of religious title. Concomitant to this is the increase in social status, and presumably in actual power, of titled religious leaders.

After the middle of the 13th century, there is a definite increase in the number of the people who could and did build **türbes**. In addition to the dynastic leaders of principalities, local governors appointed by the Seljuqs of Konya or by the Ilkhanids, even their wives, government officials erected mausoleums. The number of mausoleums dedicated to holy men between 1250 and 1400 seems to indicate the power of religion, and of those who were directly related to it.

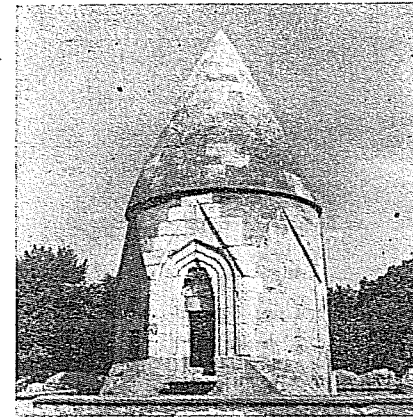


Plate 1. Kırşehir, Türbe of Melik Gazi,  
13th century.

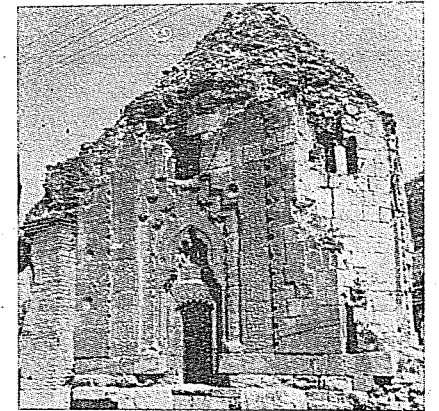


Plate 2. Amasya, Türbe of Halifet Gazi,  
late 12th century.

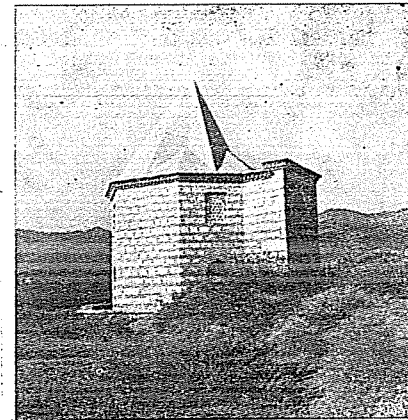


Plate 3. Selçuk, Anonymous mausoleum,  
14th century.

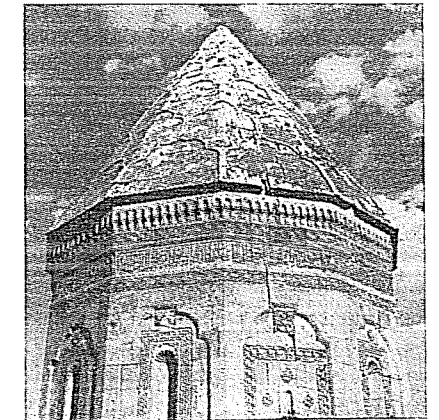


Plate 4. Gevaş, Türbe of Halime Hatun,  
760 H. (1358).

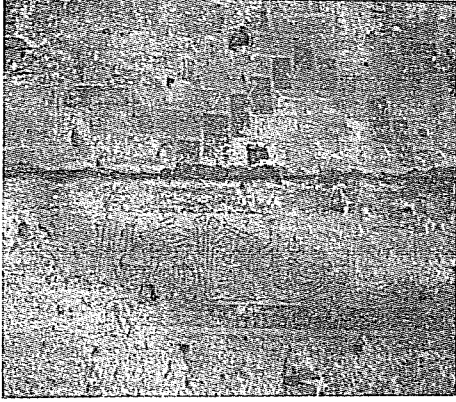


Plate 5. Reis, Akşehir, Tübbe of Emir Yavtaş, 13th century.



Plate 6. Kırşehir, Tübbe of Melik Gazi, detail of plate 1; dedicatory inscription.

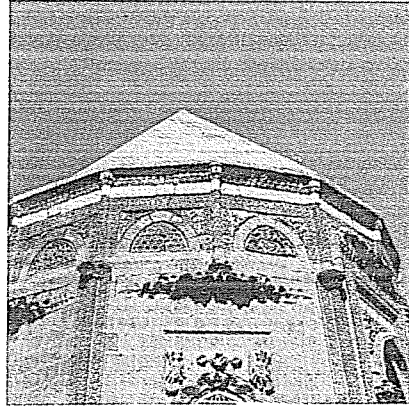


Plate 7. Niğde, Tübbe of Hüdebende Hatun, 712 H. (1312).

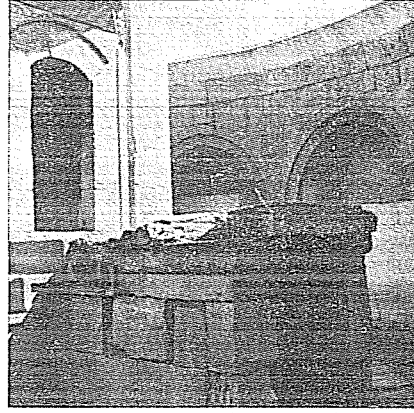


Plate 8. Tercan, Tübbe of Mama Hatun, probably 12th century; entrances to the tübbe proper and crypt, and part of of the enclosing wall.

## TÜRBE KİTABELERİ

### Ülkü-Ülküsal BATES

Osmanlı Devri öncesi Anadolu türbelerinde bulunan kitabelerin incelenmesi, metinlerinin özelliklerinin ve niteliklerinin yorumlanması bu devrin birçok yönlerini öğrenmeğe yardım edebilir. Türbelerde görülen kitabeler ilk elden bize, türbelerin nitelikleriyle ilgili bilgi vermektedir. Bunlar, ait oldukları binaları yaptıranların kişiliklerini, dinî eğilimlerini, gösterdiklerinden her biri o devre ışık tutan orijinal kaynaklardır.

Türbe kitabelerini iki gruba ayırabiliriz : 1) Belli bir yapıya munhasır olmayıp daima tekrarlanan metinler. Bunlar çoğunlukla Kuran'dan alınmıştır. Süre veya âyet (türbelerde hemen saçağın altında Ayet ül Kürsî bulunur; Ku'ran 2:256). Bu dinî konulu yazıda kendine öz, sembolik bir açıklama vardır. Bunların okunmaları, türbedeki yerlerinin belirtilmeleri, metnin neden seçilmiş olabileceği üzerinde yorum yapılması gereklidir. Türbeden türbeye tekrarlanan kutsal yazılar süsleme örnekleriyle benzer karakter taşırlar. Türbe mimarîsinin düzeni, kitabeler ve süslemenin dağılışı, birliği ve yapı üzerinde belli yer alışları sanat tarihi içinde gelişmiş ve gelenek halini almış sayılır. Gerçekten bu düzen türbenin bütün devirlerinde az fark gösterir. Osmanlı devri öncesi türbe mimarîsinde süsleme ve kitabelerde de devamlılık olması, bu tip binaların diğer mimarî eserlerle kolay kolay karıştırılmamasını sağlar.

2) Türbenin sanat tarihi içindeki yerini belirtmemiz için ikinci çeşit kitabeler, üzerine konuldukları yapıya ait olan, başka yerde aynen tekrarlanamayan «ithaf kitabeleri» daha önemlidir. Bu tip kitabeler türbeyi yaptıranın adını, sanını, ölüm veya yapı tarihini, yapının sahibi için niteliğini verirler. Yapıya verilen nitelik -türbe, mescit, meşhed kubbe hanekâh, ravza, v.b.- mezar yapılarının o devirde kapsadığı kavramları açıklar.

Kitabelerin çoğu tarihli olduklarından mimarî unsurların kronolojik sınıflandırılmalarında öncelikle yararlıdırlar. Bu belgelere göre yapının mimarî ve süsleme özellikleri tarihî açıdan incelenebilir.

İthaf kitabelerinin önemi şüphesiz yaptıranın kimliğini gösteren isimler ve terimlerdir. 1190-1400 arasındaki türbe kitabeleri gözden geçirildiğinde Anadolu'da 1240 yılları sırasında belirli bir değişme olduğu görülür. Onüçüncü yüzyılın ilk yarısında Moğolların önderinden kaçan veya göçlerine sebep oldukları boylar ve topluluklar Anadolu'ya İslâmiyet çevresinde kalan yeni inançlar, değişmeler getirmişlerdir. Yeni gelenler ve getirdikleri çeşitli gelenekler, fikirler Anadolu'yu etkilemiştir. 1243 Köseadağ savaşından sonra da Anadolu siyasî gelişmelere, yön değiştirmelere uğramış, nihayet Selçuklu devleti ortadan kalkmış, yeni bir devre, Beylikler Devri başlamıştır.

Şüphesiz bu gelişmeler mimariyi etkilemiş, kökten olmasa da yüzeyde önemli değişmelere sebep olmuştur. Türbe mimarisinde 1240'dan sonra yalnız yapı sayısı çoğalmakla kalmamış özellikle gövde şekillerinde, süslemede zenginleşme olmuştur. Beylikler Devrinde türbeler Batı Anadolu'ya yayılmış, bu bölgenin geleneksel özelliklerini de içinde eriterek bir daha zenginleşmiştir.

Kitabelerde izlediğimiz paralel gelişme ve değişmeler de önemlidir. Moğolların Anadolu'ya gelmelerinden önce ithaf kitabelerinde çoğunlukla Selçuklularla ve diğer Anadolu Türk Beylikleriyle ilişkili kişilerin adlarını okumaktayız. 1240 yılından sonra devlet ve hanedan kuruluşlarına mensup şahısların yanında din adamlarının isimleri görülmeğe başlamakta, bunlar sonra çoğunluğu meydana getirmektedir.

1240 ile 1400 yılları arasında Anadolu'da dinî eğilimlerin önem kazandığını kitabelerde takip edebiliyoruz. Ünvanlar arasında dinî olanlar artmaktadır. Hattâ askerî, siyasî veya asalet payelerinin yanına dinî olanların da katıldıklarını görmekteyiz. Bu devirde dinî inançlara sarılmağı, çeşitli tarikatların kurulmasını ve güçlenmesini, tarikatlara mensup olanlara ithaf edilen türbelerin çoğalmasını kitabelerde izlemekteyiz.

## ATABEY'DEKİ ERTOKUŞ MEDRESESİNDE BİZANS DEVRİNE AİT DEVŞİRME MALZEME

Yıldız DEMİRİZ

Isparta yakınında Atabey (Eski Ağras, antik Agrai veya Agrae) (1) da Selçuklu devlet adamlarından Mübarizeddin Ertokuş tarafından Sultan Alâeddin Keykubad zamanında H. 621/M. 1124 de yaptırılan medrese, mimarisi ve vakfiyeleri bakımından çeşitli yazarlar tarafından oldukça etraflı şekilde incelenmesine karşılık,(2) burada kullanılan çok sayıda ve ilgi çekici devşirme malzeme sadece kısa notlar halinde zikredilmiştir. (3).

Medrese, kapalı avlulu tipte tek eyvanlı bir yapı olup, geç antik ve bilhassa Bizans devri malzemesi bakımından adeta bir müze zenginliğindedir. Buradaki spolie'lerin çoğu orta Bizans devrine ait mimarî plastik örnekleridir. Yalnız güney duvarın dış yüzünde, saçak hattı hizasında geç antik devre ait bir büst bu grubun dışında kalır. (Resim 1) Mahallî üslûpta, kaba iş-

- 1) Agrai'nin yeri ve Bizans devrindeki durumu için bk. W.M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, Londra 1890 (tıpkı basım Amsterdam 1962), s. 406; Türkçesi: (çev. M. Pektaş) *Anadolunun tarihî coğrafyası*, İstanbul 1960, s. 454.
- 2) Mimarisi hakkında, O. Aslanapa, «Selçuk devlet adamı Mübarüziddin Ertokuş tarafından yaptırılan abideler», *İslâm Tetkikleri Dergisi* II/1, 1957, s. 102-106; K. Erdmann, «Vorosmanische Medresen und Imarets vom Medresentyp in Anatolien», *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Prof. K.A. Creswell*, Kahire 1965, s. 62; A. Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, C.I, Ankara 1969, s. 46-49, Şekil 20 (plân); Vakfiye ve kitabe için bk. İ.H. Uzunçarşılıoğlu, *Kitabeler*, İstanbul 1929, s. 221-224; O. Turan, «Selçuk devri vakfiyeleri, II. Mübarizeddin Ertokuş ve Vakfiyesi», *Belleten* 43, 1947, s. 423 vd.
- 3) En geniş bilgiyi H. Rott, *Kleinasiathe Denkmäler*, Leipzig 1908, s. 12 ve res. 14 de vermektedir. Ayrıca bk. K. Erdmann ve A. Kuran Not 2 deki yerlere ve G. Öney, «Anadolu Selçuk mimarisinde antik devir malzemesi», *Anadolu (Anatolia)*, 12, 1970, s. 22, res. 18 a, b.