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Observations and Assessments of Some Epigraphic Graffiti Found on Entrances in Kaleiçi/Antalya

MAHMUT DEMİR – TERRANCE MICHAEL PATRICK DUGGAN – ERKAN KURUL*

Abstract

Antalya has a long memory, home to buildings dating from Antiquity and the Medieval periods. Many of these have been studied within the scope of various disciplines, especially over the course of the last century. However, there still remain surprising remains and traces that are unrecorded/unpublished, and doubtless much still remains to be discovered, recovered, reinterpreted and further understood. In this study some graffiti, previously undocumented on some buildings in Kaleiçi/Antalya, are introduced and analyzed. These are examples in Arabic from the portal of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa, one of the important buildings dating from the Seljuk Period. In addition, some Rumi and Osmanlıca examples of graffiti on the Alaeddin Camii (formerly the Panaya Church) and the Yeni Kapı hamam-bathhouse are introduced and analyzed. After providing some basic information on the buildings on which these graffiti are found, the graffiti on each is examined with their characteristic features-calligraphic style, morphological properties and measurements-then evaluated and commented upon.

Keywords: Antalya, Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa, Alaeddin Mosque, Yenikapı Bath, graffiti

Öz

Antalya, Antik Çağ ve Orta Çağ'dan günümüze ulaşmış ve birçoğu özellikle geride bıraktığımız yüzyıl boyunca çeşitli disiplinler kapsamında inceleme altına alınmış tarihsel yapılara ev sahipliği yapan kadim bir kent kimliğine sahiptir. Bu doğrultuda, kent ve çevresinde gerçekleştirilen araştırmalar sırasında hâlâ kayıt altına alınmamış/yayımlanmamış şaşırtıcı materyal kültür kalıntılarıyla karşılaşmak mümkündür. Söz konusu bu materyal kültür kalıntıları günümüzde halen keşfedilmeyi, kayıt altına alınmayı, korunmayı, yorumlanmayı veya daha fazla irdelenmeyi beklemektedir. Bu çalışmada da, Kaleiçi/Antalya'daki bazı tarihi yapılarda daha önce belgelenmemiş bazı grafitiler tanıtılmakta ve analiz edilmektedir. Bunların bir kısmı, Selçuklu Dönemi'nden kalma önemli yapılardan biri olan Atabey Armağanşah Medresesi portalındaki Arapça örneklerden mütevellittir. Çalışmanın diğer bir kısmıysa Alaeddin Camii (eski adıyla Panaya Kilisesi) ve Yeni Kapı Hamamı binaları bünyesindeki bazı Rumca ve Osmanlıca grafiti örneklerini içermektedir. İlgili çalışma dâhilinde genel olarak grafitilere ev sahipliği yapan tarihi binalar hakkında temel bilgiler sunulduktan sonra, bu binaların her biri üzerindeki grafitiler incelenmektedir. Akabinde bu grafitilerin kaligrafik stilleri, morfolojik özellikleri ve stilistik ölçümleri de değerlendirilmekte ve yorumlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Antalya, Atabey Armağanşah Medresesi, Alaeddin Camii, Yenikapı Hamamı, grafiti

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Graffiti

In addition to mason marks, graffiti are a noteworthy feature of ancient, medieval and more modern constructions.¹ These may be applied at the time of construction, or subsequently over the course of the centuries and, in some cases, millennia. They are frequently of a non-epigraphic character, sometimes painted, or in charcoal, pencil, and today spray-paint, but more often surviving from pre-modern times as incised into the stone employed in construction, or into its plaster or stucco surfacing and paintwork, or scratched or cut into woodwork. Devotional, votive, magical and other, they are found in places where prayers are offered such as temples, churches, stations on a pilgrimage, turbés, tekes, mosques and graveyards. Such graffiti often served as a marker and evidence of a visit - a visitor's card with a name - like some of the graffiti on Egyptian temples incised and carved over the centuries as evidence of visitation; with those dating from antiquity were written in Greek and Latin; graffiti dating into the 19th century were written in French, English and Italian, etc.² Both the epigraphic and the non-epigraphic types of graffiti may be of a standard form - a cross, a dove, a hand, a crescent, a geometric shape, triangle, square, cube, circle or zigzag. Or they may depict a hunting or fighting event; a church, mosque, ship; a chi-rho; the words Christos, Allah, Muhammad; a prayer, an exclamation, the profession of faith; or a personal name and date. The marker was usually done through the painting or incising of signs-letters-numbers, symbols and images that addressed through these marks a real or imagined public or the Almighty. They were not semi- or sub-conscious doodling. Often such graffiti provide the only known record left by a person. The words, expressions, signs, depictions and quality of expression may be limited, but nonetheless are strongly expressive of presence and the moment. Graffiti are also frequently found in places where people served in relative isolation or confinement for long periods. Extensive collections of graffiti have been found on prison and fortification walls. When Evliya Çelebi was on Rhodes in 1671, he recorded some of the Ottoman graffiti on the walls of the former dungeon of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem dating before 1522. It included "*I suffered and prayed here for forty years*",³ the expression "forty years" presumably meaning a long time. There is also graffiti on the entrance and interior walls of the eastern tower of the Yedikule fortress, "The Tower of the Ambassadors," where foreign envoys to the Ottoman Sultanate were at times imprisoned with some graffiti bearing their names. Graffiti in Latin, Arabic and Ottoman and in Greek characters, as well as depictions of ships, birds, flowers and people, are found on the walls of prison cells and in the prison courtyard of the Inquisitor's Palace in Birgu, Malta.⁴ The palace was employed for the confinement of heretics and various others from the 1570s to the end of the 18th century.

¹ Bailey 1730, "Scratch-work," s.v., provides this definition: "Graffito, pl. Graffiti from the Italian, graffio, a scratch, first used in English in 1851, meaning, "A drawing or writing scratched on a wall or other surface, as at Pompeii or Rome." Said to derive from the Greek word γράφειν [= graphein] meaning: to make a sign or to write, from the same etymological root as the word, epigraphy. In terms of 18th c. art it was a technical process termed Scratch-Work [/grafitti, Ital.] a Method of Painting Fresco, by preparing a black Ground, on which was laid a white plaster, which being taken off with an iron bodkin, the black appearing through the holes, and served for shadows." The distinction between painted and incised/scratched graffiti is at times recorded, such as painted dipinti or incised graffiti/*pintadas e incisions*, as in petroglyphs and pictographs, However, today both incised and painted-spray painted are generally termed graffiti. Both form additions to the surface and are not part of the original or planned decoration.

² On this see Mairs 2010.

³ Dankoff 2004, 139.

⁴ Wettinger 2002, fig. 54.

Graffiti can, in certain circumstances, provide important and otherwise unrecorded information.⁵ Examples include the Arabic graffiti recording religious texts dating from the 7th-8th century found at Mediterranean coastal sites, such as Iasos, Didyma, and Knidos, as well as also on Rhodes and Kos-Istanköy.⁶ Some were presumably inscribed by members of the forces of Muhammad and Abdallah b. Qays who overwintered at Smyrna, Cilicia and Lycia in 673-674⁷ for the siege of Constantinople. Likewise, dated graffiti from some chapels in Cappadocia show their continued use for Christian worship into the 12th century.⁸

There is also written record of graffiti, no longer surviving, such as that recorded on the inside of a toilet door of the main mosque in Yozgat in 1895. It read, "*Turks open your eyes! Be prepared for the beginning of next month!*" This was reported to the Vali of Ankara by the Mutasarrıf, and the Vali replied, such graffiti often appeared "on walls of inns, or carved on large trees, or in public toilets and this was a common practice in Anatolia".⁹ There is also record of the ca. 1070 boast in graffiti on the fortification walls of Samarkand made by the 'ayyyaran, the local bandits, that said: "*We are like an onion: the more we are cut, the more we grow*". This graffiti received the reply on the same fortification walls, also in graffiti, from Ibrahim Tamghach Bughra, the ruler of Samarkand. His audience was both the 'ayyyaran and the local population: "*I stand here like a gardener. However much you grow I will uproot you*".¹⁰ The maker of graffiti was usually addressing a specific public through the painting or incising of signs-letters, words and symbols.

To determine the date of graffiti of undated non-epigraphic character - for example, the hundreds of thousands of ship graffiti carved or incised into plaster and in stonework of fortifications and on building walls all around the Mediterranean - is often exceedingly difficult.¹¹ How accurate is it? Does the graffiti depict a specific ship type, or is it a generic depiction? When was it incised on the stone: in the quarry prior to construction, during construction, or subsequently? Was the block or slab carrying the graffiti itself reused? The attempt to date non-epigraphic graffiti with any degree of accuracy on the basis of style and content alone is unreliable. Often a *terminus post quem* can be suggested on the basis of a hair style, a specific weapon, or a ship type.¹² However, graffiti depicting 17th century ships have been found together with state-of-the-art dreadnoughts in an early 20th century context. Both date from the early 20th century, with the graffiti being made by someone with an interest in depicting maritime affairs. Likewise, votive graffiti can repeat a model ex-voto or are of an apotropaic type employed for centuries or millennia. A collection of undated ship graffiti that can reasonably be dated are those carved into the exterior walls of the unrestored Chapel of Our Lady of

⁵ E.g. Crone and Moreh 2000; Champion 2015; Pritchard 1967; and Safran 2014, particularly the section entitled "incising identity" in chapter 6, 140-75. See also for a survey of the range and intent of graffiti in Keegan 2017; Lovata and Olton 2016.

⁶ Love 1970, 153, pl. 40, fig. 20; Özgümüş 1992, 12, figs. 14-15; Ruggieri 1992; Imbert 2013. Higgins 1990, writes that "there are the partially excavated remains of a Byzantine basilica (probably of the sixth century A.D.) bearing Arabic graffiti on the floor".

⁷ On this see Jankowiak 2013.

⁸ Wharton 1988, 17. For some Arabic graffiti in Caria, see Serin 2004, 13.

⁹ Deringil 2012, 211.

¹⁰ Starr 2013, 330.

¹¹ See, for example, those termed "uncertain ship graffiti" in Demesticha et al. 2017, 351-52.

¹² See, for example, Muscat 1999; Thomov 2014. Likewise are examples from the Hagia Sophia where the Viking names *Halfdan* and *Are* were carved in Runic script as graffiti in the 9th century on a parapet in its southern gallery; see Piller 2016, 25.

the Visitation in Wied Qirda (Wied Milord), Zebbug, Malta. The upper sections of the exterior walls still retain areas of yellow paintwork over a layer of lime plaster which had protected the façade of this chapel into the 20th century. When the construction of the chapel was completed, these layers of surfacing had covered the ship graffiti carved into the north wall during the course of its construction. This is known because some of the ship graffiti cross the joints between the stone blocks employed in its construction. The levels of the graffiti on the façade correspond to the scaffolding levels employed in the construction of the church. The inscription records the completion of this chapel in 1675. Therefore the ship graffiti carved on this exterior wall date from 1674-1675, before the newly constructed bare stone wall was covered in layers of lime plaster and colored in a yellow ochre lime-wash. This lime-wash was renewed over the years, since yellow ochre was the color employed by the Catholic Church on the exterior of churches and chapels on Malta. Likewise, the medieval paintwork and graffiti on the interior walls of English medieval churches and chapels were ordered lime-washed over in the Reformation. This provides a 16th century *terminus ante quem* for the graffiti and the paintwork lying beneath this layer of lime-wash.¹³

In an effort to date graffiti on stone, it is also of note that spolia from a ruined structure, sometimes with graffiti, may have been reused in a later building or for a building repair.¹⁴ This makes the *terminus post quem* for a piece date sometimes much earlier than the piece or building itself in which this block bearing graffiti is today found. Or, for example, the graffiti has been applied only after the building was itself abandoned. Such examples are found at Kargı Han beside the Kargı Çayı, inland from Manavgat, Antalya, in part, constructed during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II.¹⁵ There are numerous graffiti on the *kible* wall of the masjid, as noted by S. Redford who writes, “Even though it is impossible exactly to date these graffiti, the body of evidence points to a Seljuk or Beylik date for them”.¹⁶ However, the “body of evidence” presented seems insufficient to indicate a Seljuk or Beylik date. For the graffiti scratched into the plaster covering the *kible* wall of Kargı Han, not least, because it has been reasonably suggested this mihrab niche formed a part of the Ottoman reconstruction work conducted in this han.¹⁷ Therefore the graffiti applied to the plaster on this *kible* wall is of Ottoman, and some rather of Republican date. Thus they are not of either Seljuk or Beylik date. There seems to be no possibility that there was graffiti of animals and human figures on this wall when the mihrab served its purpose of providing indication for Muslims of the direction for prayer. It seems reasonable to suggest that this graffiti was incised into the long dried plaster only after the official use of the building by personnel during the Seljuk, Beylik and Ottoman periods had terminated and when it stood abandoned. Numerous examples of mason marks are found on 12th and 13th century Seljuk stone blocks,¹⁸ presumably identifying the work of various teams of masons at work on a single construction site.¹⁹ Additionally, there are also the published examples of both Great Seljuk²⁰ and Rūm Seljuk graffiti, including incised

¹³ See, for example, Champion 2015.

¹⁴ Bakırer 1999, 45.

¹⁵ Bilici 2013, where from the *in situ* remains a total of three periods of construction - two in the 13th century and one an Ottoman period construction/restoration - are suggested.

¹⁶ Redford 2007.

¹⁷ See on this Bilici 2013, 75-77.

¹⁸ For some examples see Erdmann and Erdmann 1961; also Sönmez 1995, 15-20; Binan 2001; Binan and Binan 2009.

¹⁹ Atıl 1980, 76 writes: “However, the marks prove that masons were organized and that they often identified the stone blocks they carved”.

²⁰ For two examples of Seljuk figures in graffiti in the 12th century stucco, see Herrmann et al. 1999, 17, who write:

architectural designs - “working drawings” - like those employed by architects-master masons in Roman times.²¹ Two of these were found at the Great Mosque at Divriği, one at Ani,²² and the find in 1968 of a plaster slab of graffiti bearing the ca. 1270 working architectural design of the ground projection of a quarter muqarnas vault from the Ilkhanid Palace of Abaqa Khan at Takht-i Sulayman, Iran.²³

The tradition of writing graffiti consisting of prayers, poems and notes on door jambs/door frames, as in the examples from Antalya described below, was common practice. It was also written on voussoirs, particularly, although not exclusively, those of tombs, as also in the *son cemaat* area of mosques in the Ottoman period. Evliya Çelebi, for example, refers to the graffiti he left on the tombs he visited, including those of Abdal Musa and Seyyid Gazi.²⁴ Zeynep Yürekli writes: “Graffiti appears to have been an important component of the ritual of ziyâret for a certain stratum of literate visitors. Illiterate visitors could mark the experience of their visitation on door jambs and walls of vestibules with carved pictures of birds, dervish bowls, ships, the sword zülfikar, the hand of Fatima and the curious image of a big fish swallowing smaller fish”.²⁵ Likewise, John Curry writes concerning graffiti on the doorway to the 16th century Benli Sultan’s tomb complex at a remote mountain village south of Kastamonu: “Graffiti inscribed on the doorway to the complex, and the remnants of a cemetery indicate that the complex remained active into the thirteenth/nineteenth century”.²⁶ The prevalence of Ottoman graffiti is clearly addressed in the 1663 foundation deed of the Yeni Cami Mosque in Istanbul. It records the employment of a person whose sole occupation entailed cleaning graffiti (*nakış*) from the walls of this building complex, presumably graffiti that had been painted and incised, day after day.²⁷ But still, as Lucienne Thys-Şenocak notes, “In addition to the officially selected epigraphic program in the courtyard of the Yeni Valide Mosque, Ottoman graffiti can be found scratched into the soft lead bands that surround the bases of the columns in the *son cemaat*. Many are informal calligraphic renditions of Turhan Sultan’s name and must have been carved shortly after the completion of the mosque while she was still valide. Others date to later eras and are general requests from members of the congregation like the graffiti prayer which requests the reader to pray for Abdullah from the central Anatolian town of Bolu so that his spirit may rejoice”.²⁸

Likewise, graffiti was left by Christians on the door jambs of Orthodox churches, like the graffiti incised on the door frames as elsewhere on and in the Hagia Sophia, Constantinople-Istanbul.²⁹ Other examples include the Greek, Latin, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian and Syriac graffiti on the columns of the medieval porch of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem.³⁰ Similarly,

“Two graffiti figures were also found scratched into the stucco on the southern wall. These seemed to depict robed skirted figures”.

²¹ See Demirer and Baytak 2019 for an example from Kibyra and references therein.

²² Bakırer 1999.

²³ Dold-Samplonius and Hamsen 2005, 88-89.

²⁴ Yürekli 2016, 148.

²⁵ Yürekli 2016, 148.

²⁶ Curry 2010, 148 n. 8.

²⁷ Aygen 2013, 15.

²⁸ Thys-Senocak 2016, 268.

²⁹ Mango 1951, 59.

³⁰ For twenty-two Syriac examples, see Brock et al. 2007, largely of the formula, “Remember, O Lord, your servant...”.

medieval coats of arms are carved both outside and inside the door frame and the inner and outer frames of the window of the Old Refectory of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai. Also, there are the graffiti dated 1446 and 1450 on the frames of the northern and southern doors of the Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa in Cyprus.³¹ In this context it has been recently noted that textual graffiti in Greek on Cyprus became more popular during the 18th and 19th centuries. These inscriptions are found on the sacred surfaces in the churches, close to or on wall paintings of saints and in the sanctuary and suggested as an attempt to establish an intimate relationship with the sacred. They are mainly commemorative and quite explicit, stating not only the author's name, but also the date, title or provenance. Latin epigraphic graffiti indicated the intention to affirm presence at the monument³² by expressing a different kind of relationship, a visitor's mark. However, it seems possible that this distinction drawn from the 18th and 19th century graffiti on Cyprus, between Greek intimacy and Latin visiting, from the locations of the respective graffiti, may perhaps rather reflect a change in the Orthodox attitude towards sacred images. The Orthodox art of the icon declined from the 18th into the early 20th centuries due to the powerful influence of the Italian Renaissance influencing examples of religious art produced on Cyprus.³³

Some Graffiti in Kaleiçi, Antalya

Many buildings within the walled city of Antalya constructed in different periods have been studied within the scope of a variety of disciplines including history, architecture and art history. However, there are unsurprisingly some details that have not been considered in previous studies and which have remained to date unpublished. In this article we focus on some examples of Arabic, Greek and Ottoman epigraphic graffiti of both letters and numbers, that were kindly brought to our attention by Professor Burhan Varkıvaç. These graffiti are today all visible on the exterior of stone door jambs/door frames/portals or proximate to them, on historic buildings in Kaleiçi/Antalya, on the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa, the Alaeddin Mosque, and on the Yenikapı Hamam/Bathhouse. Some incised in these doorway locations to mark a visit or ziyâret.

The Graffiti on the Portal of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa

The Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa is one of the important historical structures of Antalya. It was constructed by Mübarizeddin Armağanşah, a high official under both the Seljuk Sultan 'Ala al-din Kayqubad I (1220-1237) and his successor, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (1237-1246).³⁴

To date, various projects and studies on the remains of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa have been carried out, and various comments have been made about its formal features and construction style. According to one of these,³⁵ after the construction of the madrasa began, its patron Atabey Armağanşah was killed in the course of the Babaî rebellion against Seljuk rule and so its construction was not completed.³⁶ This was not necessarily the case, given that the registering of the Vakıf for the madrasa was itself preceded by its construction. Its inscription

³¹ Carr and Nicolaïdés 2012, 29.

³² Demesticha et al. 2017, 374.

³³ On this see Kotkavaara 1999.

³⁴ For the life and political activities of Atabey Armağanşah, see Turan 2014.

³⁵ See also Ibn Bîbî II. 51 for Atabey Armağanşah's struggle for the Babaî rebels.

³⁶ Contra Yılmaz and Tuzcu 2010, 179.

records the foundation of a “blessed Madrasa” and the date of 637 h. (1239-1240) that this work began. Arguably, this was from the point the title of the land was established and the foundation inscription raised when the construction work would have been completed, and the vakıf independent of its patron.³⁷ Only the portal of this building has survived to the present day. Considering the total space behind the portal, it is thought that it was a small madrasa, certainly not a very large one, given the site’s space limitations.³⁸ There remains some Islamic epigraphic graffiti which has not been recorded or published to date on the surviving portal of the madrasa. These Islamic graffiti are all incised on the back of the portal and only on its left block. On other parts of the portal, no significant epigraphic graffiti were found, but some figures were detected.

The Yivli Minaret, the Yivli Minaret Mosque, and the Imaret Madrasa, which all stand very close to this portal, have no visible traces of graffiti. In our opinion, this indicates this portal may have been deliberately chosen as a place for incising graffiti.³⁹ The first Arabic graffiti of this group found on the madrasa portal is the graffiti recording the Name **الله** (= *Allab*). When the whole of the remaining structure is examined, the name *Allab* is incised only once, and the characters are 3 cm in size. The other graffiti carry the Islamic sentence, termed *Kelime-i Tevbid*, and can be read as **لا اله الا الله** (= *Lâ ilabe illallah*) (fig. 1). This graffiti was incised on the portal in very small letters, measuring in total 2 cm in length. This graffiti, which is lightly drawn on this stone block of the portal, can hardly be seen with the unaided eye. Another Islamic sentence, a fuller version of the *Kelime-i Tevbid*, **لا اله الا الله مُحَمَّدُ الرَّسُولُ اللهُ** (= *Lâ ilabe illallah Muhammeden Rasullullah*), can also be seen incised on this stone block of the portal in tiny letters. These are approximately 1 cm in size (fig. 2). The calligraphic style employed for this graffiti is almost perfect. From the hand employed and its style of writing in Arabic, it seems this Muslim profession of belief was incised by a master of Islamic calligraphy.

Another epigraphic graffiti is the incised name Muhammed (“محمد”), the Prophet of Islam. Muhammed’s name, as far as could be identified, was incised twelve times on the portal of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa. These graffiti are of different sizes in different hands. The largest of the graffiti recording Muhammed’s name is in letters about 10 cm in height; the smallest is 2 cm. Some have been deeply incised while others have been only superficially incised. Both the size and the style of lettering employed in these graffiti of the Prophet’s name differ. It is clear that these were incised with a variety of metal instruments by different persons at different times. Two examples of the graffiti of the name Muhammed are enclosed within a semi-circle.⁴⁰ Other epigraphic Arabic graffiti are incised in an unorganized fashion orientated in different directions on the portal stone. Two **لا** (= Lamelif/La) characters are also found on the portal, in sections with other graffiti. These two letters together were probably engraved for the sentence of the *Kelime-i Tevbid*, but they were not completed. Or, more probably, the combination of these two letters were considered sufficient to remind of the whole.


³⁷ On this see, for example, Rogers 1976, 72-73, where the inscription is raised on the completion of the building, but the date records the start of construction.


³⁸ See Riefstahl 1941, 36; Turfan 1997, card no. 36; Kuran 1969, 107; Kırmızı 1986, 39; Durukan 1988, 28; Yılmaz 2002, 53-55; Sönmez 2009, 187-89; Yılmaz and Tuzcu 2010, 178-79.

³⁹ For a reference to the practice of leaving graffiti on door frames that “mark the experience of their visitation on door jambs”, see Yürekli 2016, 148.

⁴⁰ For this graffiti see also Varkıvanç 2015, 80-81.

It is noteworthy that none of the graffiti in Arabic recorded above was mentioned in the several publications concerning the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa. Travelers who visited the city and experts who examined the building do not mention them. It seems probable that, because these graffiti were incised on the inside of the portal, they would not been noticed by travelers experts as Riefstahl's photograph in 1929 shows this portal at that time had an eave and a closed wooden door. It seems certain that these graffiti were incised on this portal before the wooden door was installed, when there was easy access to the rear of the portal after the destruction of the madrasa's walls. This suggests these graffiti were incised on the portal of the madrasa in the Ottoman period, most probably during the course of the 19th century to mark the individual's visit, possibly evidence of a hajji's (pilgrim's)-ziyāret.

In addition to the epigraphic graffiti in Arabic given above, there is a further graffiti of a figural type which resembles a zigzag design () . This can also be read as the combination of the Arabic numerals 7 and 8 which, added together, give 15 and summed gives 6 - the numerical equivalent of the Arabic letter *waw*, meaning "and" as in "and Allah".⁴¹ This readable design, the "zigzag", is also to be found carved on the portal of the madrasa (fig. 3).

In examining the portal of Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa, there are numerous mason marks similar to many Seljuk buildings in Antalya and elsewhere. There is a -shaped mason's mark carved on the inner face of the middle stone block of the portal, where the graffiti are concentrated (fig. 4). This mason's mark is also found on the Seljuk-carved stonework of Hatun Han,⁴² Evdir Han⁴³ and Alara Han.⁴⁴ Evdir Han is dated to the reign of Sultan Izz al-din Kayka'us I (1212-1220); Alara Han to the reign of Sultan 'Ala al-din Kayqubad I (1220-1237), and Hatun Han to the reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (1237-1246). Apart from these buildings, the same mason's mark is also found on other Seljuk-period buildings such as the Kayseri Giyasiye Madrasa, Çardak Han, Hekim Han and Horozlu Han.⁴⁵ It has frequently been assumed that a mason's mark carries the same meaning as a signature and, therefore, the same stonemasons or groups of stonemasons employing the same mark participated in the construction of all these Seljuk buildings that carry the same mason's mark dating from the first half of the 13th century. But such is, of course, not necessarily the case. There is simply no proof that the marks employed by a particular mason or group of masons were not site/construction specific. When a mason moved to a different site, he may have used a different mark. Certainly two teams of masons working on the same site could not use the same mark. It is doubtless the case that if all the Seljuk-period carved blocks from all of the building constructed in the first half of the 13th century in Anatolia were found and those that remain *in situ* disassembled and the various mason marks recorded, the sheer number of carved blocks that carry the same form of mason's mark would indicate that different masons used the same mason's mark at different construction sites. The use of a mason's mark was simply to show, for quality control and payment purposes at a particular site, which team was responsible for carving a particular block. At times it indicated how a carved block was to be positioned in the course of the construction of a building.⁴⁶ On completion of a building any visible mason

⁴¹ For further on the meanings carried by this design within the cultural-religious context of Islam, see Duggan 2019.

⁴² Erdmann and Erdmann 1961, 138; Sönmez 1995, 17.

⁴³ Erdmann and Erdmann 1961, 177; Sönmez 1995, 15.

⁴⁴ Erdmann and Erdmann 1961, 186; Sönmez 1995, 16.

⁴⁵ Çayırdağ 1982, 86.

⁴⁶ For further on this, see Duggan 2008, 327-28 and nn. 38-40.

marks would have been concealed beneath the surfacing applied to the interior and exterior facades.⁴⁷ The mason's marks formed no part of the carefully designed appearance of these buildings in the 13th century.

Alaeddin Mosque, formerly the Panaya Church, and its Graffiti

A group of the graffiti in Rumi are incised on a massive stone block of the door jamb of the garden gate of the Alaeddin Mosque, formerly the Panaya Church. There is little information concerning the foundation of this building, more from the start of the 20th century onwards. There is no information on when the building was built, but until 1922 this building was known to be the most important church of the Rum inhabitants of Antalya. After the battle of the Büyük Taarruz (26-31 August 1922) and the defeat of the invading Greek army, a new era began for the church. After this defeat, as in many Anatolian cities, the Rum population of Antalya began to leave the city, and as a result the Panaya Church became deserted.⁴⁸

Kemal Turfan, who examined the historical buildings in Antalya in 1955, stated the construction of the building was in 1864 and that the building was formerly an Orthodox church.⁴⁹ According to the *Antalya Cultural Inventory*, this building on Zafer Sokak in Kılıçarslan Mahallesi dates from the Byzantine period. From its plan, the building was of the three-nave basilica type.⁵⁰

The old Panaya Church is today the Alaeddin Mosque and open to worship. There are some Rum graffiti that have survived to the present day on the door frame of the rear garden gate next to the mosque's minaret constructed in 1958. These examples of epigraphic graffiti were apparently made by the Rum of Antalya and incised to the right and left sides of the exterior face in the massive stone blocks of the door frame of the rear entrance to the church.

On the block on the left side of the rear door of the mosque, there is a graffiti of Greek letters which could be read as *νκετος* (= nketos) together with Arabic numerals indicating the date 1910. This graffiti does not record any phrase or sentence. The first two incised characters, *N* (= *v*: nü) and *K* (= *k*: kappa), of this graffiti are thought to be the abbreviation of the name or names of a person who visited the church with the Arabic numerals recording the year 1910, when this visit took place. Through combining the word *ΕΤΟΣ* (= *étos* [etos]: year) with the abbreviation of a person name(s) and the Arabic numerals 1910 attached to this word, this graffiti was created. As result, suggestions for the analysis and translation of this graffiti are as follows (fig. 5):

⁴⁷ Duggan 2008.

⁴⁸ For the historical background of the building and its reuse for various purposes during different periods, see Riefstahl 1941, 42; Sarihan 2007; Güçlü 2015.

⁴⁹ Turfan 1997, card no. 55.

⁵⁰ Antalya Valiliği 2004, 38.

Findspot	: Alaeddin Mosque (Old Panaya Church) Kaleiçi, Antalya
Description	: Graffiti on a block of the left side of the backyard door frame consisting of Greek letters and Arabic numerals
Sizes of the characters	: 1,7 - 2,3 cm
Language of the graffiti	: Greek
Characters of the graffiti	: NKETOΣ 1910
Transcription	: N. K. έτοç? 1910
Translation	: N. K. year? 1910
Fig. graph	: Erkan Kurul

In addition to this incised graffiti, there are different examples of graffiti on the left block of the backyard door of the Alaeddin Mosque. However, these Greek graffiti do not indicate any meaningful words, nor do they have a numerical content. In the context of one of these graffiti, only the combination of letters in the form of *NAA* (νδδ [= ndd]) written in graphite could be read. Other examples about 20-35 cm below this graphite are further graffiti that combine different letters in the form *ET* (ετ [= et]) and *NT* (ντ [= nt]). The upper letter T is likened to the Christian cross. Between these graffiti are found some Arabic numerals, which most probably indicate the date 1909 (fig. 6).

Findspot: Alaeddin Mosque (Old Panaya Church) Kaleiçi, Antalya	Findspot: Alaeddin Mosque (Old Panaya Church) Kaleiçi, Antalya
Description: Graffiti in Greek letters on the left block of the backyard door	Description: Graffiti on the left block of the backyard door consisting of Greek letters and Arabic numerals
Sizes of the characters: about 2 cm	Sizes of the characters: about 1,5 cm
Language of the graffiti: Greek	Language of the graffiti: Greek and Arabic numerals
Characters of the graffiti: <i>N</i> (= ν: nü) and two examples of Δ (= δ: delta) letter	Characters of the graffiti: <i>E</i> (= ε: epsilon); <i>N</i> (= ν: nü) and <i>T</i> (= τ: tau) letters. 1, 9, 0 and 9 Arabic numerals
Transcription: <i>NAA</i> (νδδ [= ndd]) as a combination of Greek letters	Transcription: <i>ET</i> (= ετ) and <i>NT</i> (= ντ) as combination of Greek letters and Arabic numerals which record the date 1909
Fig. graph: Erkan Kurul	Fig. graph: Erkan Kurul

On the right side on the exterior of the backyard doorframe of the Alaeddin Mosque on a stone block are further examples of graffiti in Greek characters. However, these examples do not have a meaningful word structure, unlike those on the block on the left of this rear entrance, and have the status of individual letters and Arabic numerals.

The Greek characters identified from a top-down ordered examination of the above group of graffiti are as follows: *N* (= ν: nü), *N* (= ν: nü), *Σ* (= σ: sigma), *M* (= μ: mü), *K* (= κ: kappa), *K* (= κ: kappa), *Π* (= π: pi), *N* (= ν: nü), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *T* (= τ: tau), *X* (= χ: khi), *A* (= α: alpha), *A* (= α: alpha), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *T* (= τ: tau), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *X* (= χ: khi), *E* (= ε: epsilon), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *Γ* (= γ: gamma) and *K* (= κ: kappa). Following this group of letters, there are Arabic numerals incised in the lower right part of this group of graffiti, probably recording the year 1901. Above this, incised in a different hand are the numerals 19 and then a larger size 0, perhaps indicating another date, but a clear numerical content cannot be understood. It can be concluded that the date refers to the 20th century with reference only

to the combination of the first two digits 1 and 9. Lastly, one further numerical graffiti, recording the year 1867, can be seen on the right block of the courtyard doorframe of the mosque (fig. 7).

Ottoman Counting Records on the Stone Door Frame of the Yenikapı Bathhouse

On the stone door frame of the entrance to the Yenikapı Hamamı/Bathhouse, No. 29 on Yeni Kapı Sokak, Kılıçaslan Mahallesi, an Ottoman-period building, there are several graffiti containing Arabic numerals as Ottoman counting records. These counting records, which were written on the right side of the stone door frame in graphite pencil, are scattered randomly over the surface of the stone. Beginning at a height of 166 cm above ground level, with the highest at 191 cm, it seems most probable these calculations were written by an adult. Those of the Ottoman Turkish account records on the left door jamb are between 178 cm and 186 cm above ground level. Those on the inner face of the right door jamb are 191 cm high. Three of the records on the front of the right door jamb are 166 cm high, while others are at a height of 181 cm (fig. 8). Among the surviving records, the following could be read and, in some part, understood:

$$١٢+١=١٣ \text{ (12 + 1 = 13)}$$

$$١٥ ? ٨ = ١٤٦ \text{ (15 ? 8 = 146)}$$

$$٤+١٨=٢٢ \dots ١٤ = ١٢٢ \text{ (4 + 18 = 22 ? 14 = 122)}$$

$$١٦ ? ١٢ = ٤٨ \text{ (16 ? 12 = 48)}$$

$$٢١ ? ٢٤ ? ٢ ? ٧ = ٢٠٠ \text{ (21 ? 24 ? 2 ? 7 = 200)}$$

In addition to these counting records, there are also several different numeral/figures that cannot deciphered or understood completely (fig. 9). These are:

“١ (1)”, “٦ (6)”, “٧ (7)”, “١٢ (12)”, “١٧ (17)”, “١٨ (18)”, “٢٥ (25)”

These separated numeral figures can be seen in scattered positions on the stone door-frame block of the bath entrance. The sum provided in these records of calculations, which include additions, appear sometimes correct and sometimes incorrect, or the actual calculation undertaken is not determined. For it is unclear if all these calculations involved addition or multiplication, or some other practice of calculus. These graffiti date from the Late Ottoman or Early Republican periods.

Conclusions

These graffiti were inscribed by members of the literate population of the city and by visitors and hajji/pilgrims on stone-carved portals and door frames. Although they are not official or commissioned epigraphic documents, they are personal expressions and are nonetheless important in terms of providing us with indications of the local history and cultural fabric of the city. In particular, the Rum graffiti in Greek letters on the garden gate of the old Panaya Church, today's Alaeddin Mosque, are noteworthy. They are traces that remain from a century ago of inhabitants who then left Antalya through the agreed exchange of populations between the states of Greece and Turkey. Further, some of the Arabic graffiti on the portal of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa is characteristic of the type of graffiti left by Muslim hajji, reminding us

that today's yacht harbor was into the early 20th century thronged at certain times of the year with Muslim hajji. These pilgrims were coming to the port city from places as distant as the Balkans and Taşkent to await passage on boats sailing to Egypt for onward travel to the Holy Cities. They left incised on this portal not the record of their own names, which were not of any consequence in this respect, but recorded evidence of their presence through inscribed indications of belief. These surviving graffiti, and there are doubtless further examples within the walled city, provide us today with traces, fragments, expressions and some record from the past of the literate cosmopolitan/multicultural city of Antalya, worthy of attention, study and record.

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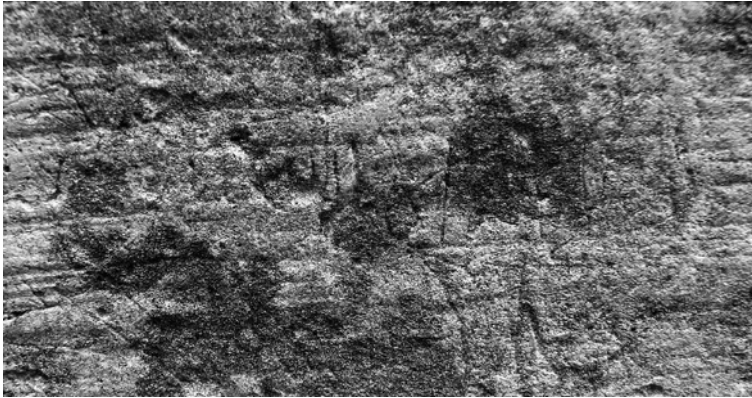


FIG. 1
Islamic phrase in Arabic
letters on the left side
front of the portal -
La ilahe illallah.



FIG. 2
In the middle face of the left
side front of the portal -
The Islamic phrase in Arabic
letters - *La ilahe illallah*
Muhammeden Rasulallah.

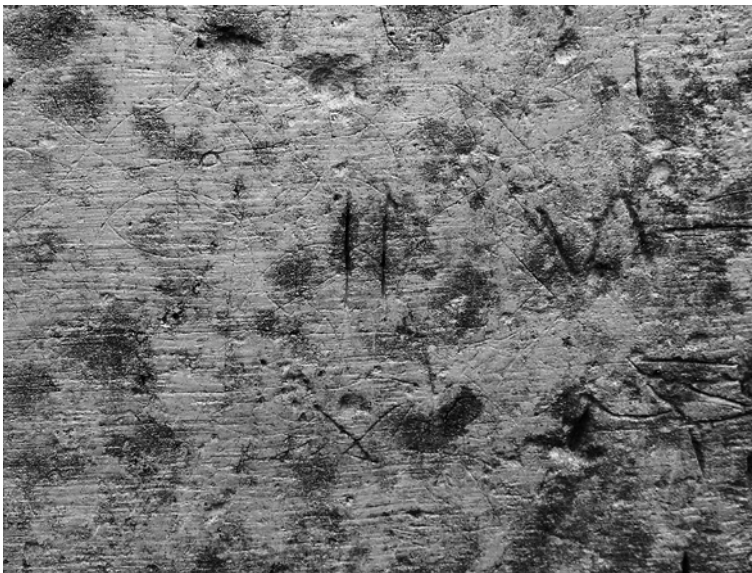


FIG. 3
Ascending phrases and
figures Incised on the left
inner side of the portal -
The word, *Muhammad*, the
letters *La* in Arabic letters
and the legible zigzag design.



FIG. 4 Inscriptions and figures in the middle of the left inner side of the portal - A stone mason's mark and the words, *Allah* and *Muhammad* in Arabic letters.



FIG. 6 Graffiti on the Alaeddin Mosque - NΔΔ & ET & NT as Greek Letter Combinations and Arabic Numerals Indicating the Year 1909.

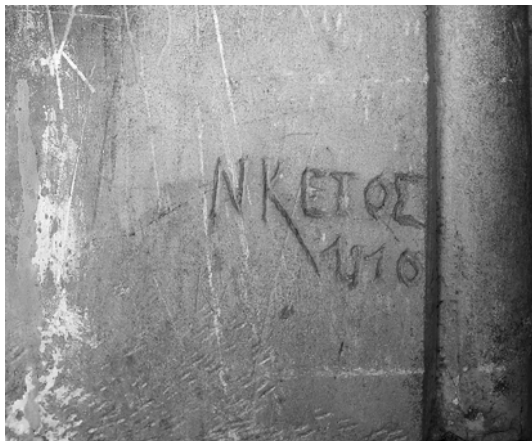


FIG. 5 Graffiti on the exterior of the Alaeddin Mosque - NKETOS | 1910.



FIG. 7 Graffiti on the Alaeddin Mosque - miscellaneous Greek letters and Arabic numerals.



FIG. 8 Records written in Ottoman Turkish on the front face of the right side of the door frame of the entrance to the Yenikapı Hamamı (Bathhouse).



FIG. 9 Records written in Ottoman Turkish on the front face of the left side of the door frame of the entrance to the Yenikapı Hamamı (Bathhouse).