

SELJUK CARAVANSERAIS IN THE VICINITY OF DENİZLİ:  
HAN-ABAD (ÇARDAKHAN) AND AKHAN

A Master's Thesis

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SELJUK CARAVANSERAIS IN THE VICINITY OF DENİZLİ:  
HAN-ABAD (ÇARDAKHAN) AND AKHAN

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BILKENT UNIVERSITY  
ANKARA

January 2009



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## ABSTRACT

### SELJUK CARAVANSERAIS IN THE VICINITY OF DENİZLİ: HAN-ABAD (ÇARDAKHAN) AND AKHAN

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This present work is a study of Seljuk caravanserais in the vicinity of Denizli with a special focus on local socio-economic and historical factors. A first objective is to examine the suggestions, based on formalistic features such as architectural plans, about the functions of the caravanserais. A new approach, *local contextualization*, is attempted in order to investigate further functional aspects of Han-abad and Akhan. The activities of a local family who took part in Seljuk high bureaucracy and the local economy give significant clues about the purpose and design of the caravanserais. A second objective is the analysis of the architectural features and ornamentation programs in order to evaluate the influences of local factors.

**Keywords:** Seljuk caravanserais, Denizli, Han-abad (Çardakhan), Akhan, *local contextualization*.

## ÖZET

### DENİZLİ YAKINLARINDA SELÇUKLU KERVANSARAYLARI: HAN-ABAD (ÇARDAKHAN) VE AKHAN

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Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü  
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Denizli yakınlarındaki Selçuklu kervansarayları üzerine olan bu çalışma, yerel tarihi ve sosyo-ekonomik faktörlere özel olarak odaklanmaktadır. Birinci amaç, kervansarayların işlevleri hakkında şekilsel özellikler ve mimari planları temel alan önerilerin sınanmasıdır. Han-abad ve Akhan'ın işlevsel yönlerini daha iyi incelemek için yeni bir yaklaşım, *yerel bağlamda değerlendirme*, denenmiştir. Selçuklu yüksek bürokrasisinde yeralan yerel bir ailenin faaliyetleri ve yerel ekonomi sözkonusu kervansarayların tasarım ve işlevleri hakkında önemli ipuçları vermektedir. İkinci amaç, yerel faktörlerin etkilerini değerlendirmek için mimari özellikler ve bezeme programlarının analizidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Selçuklu Kervansarayları, Denizli, Han-abad (Çardakhan), Akhan, Yerel Bağlamda Değerlendirme,

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iii
ÖZET .....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	v
LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER II: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DENİZLİ REGION (1070-1308) .....	8
2.1 Anatolia before 1071 .....	9
2.2 Anatolia after 1071 .....	11
2.3 The Battle of Myriokephalon .....	13
2.4 The Conquest of Laodicea (Denizli) in 1196 .....	14
2.5 The Mongol Invasion and afterwards .....	17
2.6 Conclusion .....	20
CHAPTER III : HAN-ABAD CARAVANSERAI (ÇARDAKHAN) .....	23
3.1 Location .....	24
3.2 History .....	25
3.2.1 Inscription .....	26
3.2.2 Patron .....	27
3.3 Architectural Features .....	29
3.3.1 The Courtyard .....	30
3.3.2 The Shelter .....	32
3.3.3 Construction Techniques and Material .....	35
3.4 Ornamentation .....	36
3.4.1 Geometric Ornamentation .....	36
3.4.2 Figural Ornamentation .....	37
CHAPTER IV: AKHAN CARAVANSERAI .....	40
4.1 Location .....	41
4.2 History .....	41
4.2.1 Inscriptions .....	43
4.3 Architectural Features .....	44
4.3.1 The Courtyard .....	45
4.3.2 The Shelter .....	48
4.3.3 Construction techniques and material .....	51
4.4 Ornamentation .....	52
4.4.1 Geometric Ornamentation .....	53
4.4.2 Floral Ornamentation .....	54
4.4.3 Figural Ornamentation .....	55
4.4.3.1 Figures on the right side of the main portal (from top to bottom) .....	57
4.4.3.2 Figures on the left side of the main portal (from top to bottom) .....	60

4.5 Conclusion .....	63
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION.....	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	68
FIGURES .....	76

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Fig. 1.</b> The Limits of Seljuk Province of Ladik (Denizli) [after Vryonis 1971, 14-15].....	76
<b>Fig. 2.</b> The Location of Akhan and Han-abad within the Network of the Seljuk Caravanserais in Western Anatolia (after Bektaş 1999, Map VI).....	77
<b>Fig. 3.</b> The Byzantine and Seljuk Borders during the 12 <sup>th</sup> century (after Kazhdan 1991: 355).....	77
<b>Fig. 4.</b> Western Anatolia after 1204 (after Kazhdan 1991: 357).....	78
<b>Fig. 5.</b> Anatolia Before the Mongols (after Cahen 1968: Map III).....	78
<b>Fig. 6.</b> Ancient Roman Roads and Çardak Castle (after Barnes and Whittow 1998 Fig. 27.1).....	79
<b>Fig. 7.</b> Çardak Castle and Maymundağı from Han-abad (from the South).....	79
<b>Fig. 8.</b> The Foundation Inscription of Han-abad and Two Lion Figures (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 11).....	80
<b>Fig. 9.</b> Architectural Plan of Han-abad (after Pektaş 2007: Illustration 1).....	80
<b>Fig. 10.</b> Han-abad's Location Sloping Down. View of the South Wall and the Triangular Buttress of the Courtyard (from the South).....	81
<b>Fig. 11.</b> The Spaces or Rooms around the Courtyard (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 3).....	81
<b>Fig. 12.</b> Outer Water Reservoir [F, in the plan] (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 6).....	82
<b>Fig. 13.</b> The Brick Squinch from Room C.....	82
<b>Fig. 14.</b> Room A from the Courtyard (from the West).....	83

<b>Fig. 15.</b> The Passage from Room A to Room B.....	83
<b>Fig. 16.</b> Room D from the Courtyard (from the South).....	84
<b>Fig. 17.</b> Room G and D from the Southwest (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 4).....	84
<b>Fig. 18.</b> Room H from the Courtyard (from the South).....	85
<b>Fig. 19.</b> Room I from the Courtyard (from the South).....	85
<b>Fig. 20.</b> Room J from the Courtyard (from the South).....	86
<b>Fig. 21.</b> The Southern Part of the Courtyard (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 8).....	86
<b>Fig. 22.</b> Room L from the Courtyard (from the North).....	87
<b>Fig. 23.</b> The Stone Footing in the Southern Part of the Courtyard.....	87
<b>Fig. 24.</b> The Portal of the Shelter and Two Cylindrical Buttresses (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 1).....	88
<b>Fig. 25.</b> The Octagonal Buttress on the Southern Outer Wall of the Shelter.....	88
<b>Fig. 26.</b> The Hexagonal Buttress on the Southern Outer Wall of the Shelter.....	89
<b>Fig. 27.</b> The Waterspout 1.....	89
<b>Fig. 28.</b> The Waterspout 2.....	89
<b>Fig. 29.</b> The Portal of the Shelter (Pamukkale 2002: 73).....	90
<b>Fig. 30.</b> Central Nave of the Shelter (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 13).....	90
<b>Fig. 31.</b> The Southern Side Nave of the Shelter and Its Platforms ( <a href="http://www.pamukkale.gov.tr">www.pamukkale.gov.tr</a> ).....	91
<b>Fig. 32.</b> Mortar with Pebbles and Cobbles (from the Northeastern Corner of the Courtyard).....	91
<b>Fig. 33.</b> The Variation in the Stone Block Sizes (from the Western Outer Wall of the Shelter).....	92
<b>Fig. 34.</b> Spolia Blocks from the Western Outer Wall of the Shelter.....	92
<b>Fig. 35.</b> Spolia Blocks from the Western Outer Wall of the Shelter.....	92

<b>Fig. 36.</b> Detail of Geometric Ornamentation (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 12).....	92
<b>Fig. 37.</b> The Bullhead Figure.....	93
<b>Fig. 38.</b> The Fish Figures and a Mason Mark (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 14).....	93
<b>Fig. 39.</b> The Fish Figure on the Enclosure Wall of Çınar Mosque, at Çardak.....	93
<b>Fig. 40.</b> The Figure of Human Head or Chimpanzee Head.....	94
<b>Fig. 41.</b> Architectural Plan of Akhan (after Bayhan 2006: 290, Illustration 1).....	94
<b>Fig. 42.</b> Akhan is on the Denizli-Dinar –Afyonkarahisar Highway (Bayhan 2007: Fig.1).....	95
<b>Fig. 43.</b> The Portal of Akhan’s Shelter and Its Inscription.....	95
<b>Fig. 44.</b> Akhan’s Main Portal and Its Inscription.....	96
<b>Fig. 45.</b> The Courtyard of Akhan.....	96
<b>Fig. 46.</b> Left Mihrabiya of the Main Portal.....	97
<b>Fig. 47.</b> Right Mihrabiya of the Main Portal.....	97
<b>Fig. 48.</b> The Cylindrical Buttresses of Akhan.....	97
<b>Fig. 49.</b> Space or Room A, B, and C.....	98
<b>Fig. 50.</b> Room A and B (Inner Bath Facilities).....	98
<b>Fig. 51.</b> The Portico of Akhan’s Courtyard (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 11).....	99
<b>Fig. 52.</b> The Windows of Room F (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 12).....	99
<b>Fig. 53.</b> Room F from Outside and Its Roof.....	100
<b>Fig. 54.</b> The Polygonal Buttresses on the Eastern Outer Wall of the Shelter.....	100
<b>Fig. 55.</b> The Polygonal Buttresses on the Western Outer Wall of the Shelter.....	101
<b>Fig. 56.</b> The Pointed Arches and Barrel Vaults in the Shelter (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 14).....	101
<b>Fig. 57.</b> The Well-cut Stone Blocks on the Outer Walls of the Courtyard.....	102
<b>Fig. 58.</b> The Re-used Stone Block with Medusa Head Depiction.....	102



<b>Fig. 59.</b> Detail of Geometric Ornamentation of Akhan's Main Portal (Erdmann 1976: Tafel [129]).....	103
<b>Fig. 60.</b> The Re-used Stone Block with Geometric Ornamentation Flanking the Portal of Akhan's Shelter (Erdem 2006: Fig. 2) .....	103
<b>Fig. 61.</b> The Floral Ornamentation Detail of the Main Portal (Erdem 2006: Fig. 1).....	104
<b>Fig. 62.</b> The Mihrabiya (a Niche on the Side Wall) of the Main Portal with Geometric Ornamentation (Gabriel Khan 1988: 41) .....	104
<b>Fig. 63.</b> Detail of Geometric Ornamentation on the Side Walls of the Main Portal (Erdmann 1976: Tafel [130]) .....	105
<b>Fig. 64.</b> A Bull Figure .....	105
<b>Fig. 65.</b> A Wheel of Fortune Design .....	106
<b>Fig. 66.</b> A Human Figure in Toga (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 8).....	106
<b>Fig. 67.</b> A Running Dog-like Animal Figure.....	106
<b>Fig. 68.</b> An Eagle Figure (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 5) .....	107
<b>Fig. 69.</b> A Griffon Figure (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 5) .....	107
<b>Fig. 70.</b> A Walking Winged Feline Figure .....	107
<b>Fig. 71.</b> A Bull Figure with a Crescent .....	107
<b>Fig. 72.</b> The Dragon Figure .....	107
<b>Fig. 73.</b> Palmette Design.....	107
<b>Fig. 74.</b> Rosette Design .....	108
<b>Fig. 75.</b> A Wheel of Fortune Design .....	108
<b>Fig. 76.</b> A Human Figure in Toga .....	108
<b>Fig. 77.</b> A Bird Figure.....	108

<b>Fig. 78.</b> A Walking Dog Figure.....	108
<b>Fig. 79.</b> A Bird Figure with a Branch .....	108
<b>Fig. 80.</b> A Winged, Mixed Creature Figure.....	109
<b>Fig. 81.</b> A Running Animal Figure.....	109
<b>Fig. 82.</b> A Mountain Goat Figure.....	109
<b>Fig. 83.</b> A Walking Lion Figure.....	109
<b>Fig. 84.</b> A Deer or Gazelle Figure (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 6).....	109
<b>Fig. 85:</b> A Rosette Design .....	109

# **CHAPTER I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Seljuks built many caravanserais all around Anatolia during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most of them are located densely in Central Anatolia around the Seljuk capital, Konya, but some of them are located in the border zones such as Hanabad and Akhan in the western frontier, near Denizli.

Studies on caravanserais have generally been focused on the formalistic features but there are also some studies on their functional aspects. Most studies on functional aspects are based on the architectural plans and space-function analyses but they do not pay enough attention to the local socio-economic and historical context. This study aims to investigate the functional aspects of the Hanabad and Akhan caravanserais with a special interest in evaluating the influence of socio-economic and historical factors on the architectural and decorative features of the two buildings.

In this study, the Denizli (Laodicea, Ladik) region is defined according to the socio-economic, cultural, and historical conditions of the area during the Seljuk period. The region comprises the Seljuk frontier province of Ladik. The name Ladik derives from Laodicea (Laodicea ad Lycum), the prominent local city of classical times. Ancient and Byzantine Laodicea became Seljuk Ladik, then Ottoman and today's Denizli. After the Seljuk conquest, a Turkish settlement was founded 7 km

southwest of Laodicea (Eskihisar); it was called Ladik during the Seljuk and early Ottoman periods because of the fame of Laodicea.<sup>1</sup> The name Denizli is derived from the name of a Turkmen tribe, Denizli, settled in the region. The Seljuk province of Ladik had its western border from Antiochia (near Nazilli) to Caria (Afrodisias, Geyre) and Dalaman. The southern border stretches from Dalaman to Fethiye (Makri) and Kaş. The eastern border is from Kaş to Burdur, and Sozopolis (Uluborlu). The Meander River defines the northern border from Tripolis (Denizli-Yenicekent) to Choma (Denizli-Gümüşsu) [Fig. 1].

Located in western Anatolia, the Denizli (Laodicea, Ladik) region has benefited from its position between the fertile Meander valley and the central Anatolian steppe and controls important roads. This region is mostly mountainous with some plains such as Baklan, Hambat (Hanbat)<sup>2</sup>, Tavas, Acıpayam, and Sarayköy between the mountains. Its important rivers are the Meander and the Lycus (Çürüksu).

The strategic importance of the area favored the development of prosperous towns throughout history. Laodicea (Eskihisar<sup>3</sup>), Hierapolis (Pamukkale), Tripolis (Yenicekent) and Colossae (later Chonae, Honaz) are the best-known ancient

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<sup>1</sup> After the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century earthquakes, people of Laodicea mostly moved and settled in their orchards about 6 km from Laodicea but the settlement pattern was not centralized. According to Khoniates (1995: 85) there were village-like separate small settlements on a few hills at Laodicea. After the Seljuk conquest, Turkish settlement was founded near the Castle (today Kaleiçi) and centralized around it. Laodicea became Ladik in Seljuk official documents but Turkmens who settled in the city and the region named it Denizli, which was centralized around the Castle (Kaleiçi). The contemporary Georgian and Syrian sources referred to the city as *Thongouzala* or *Tongazlu* (Baykara, 1969: 44). A 14<sup>th</sup> century traveler Ibn Battuta used Ladhik and Dun Ghuzluh, which means “town of swine” (Gibb, 1962: 425). In the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, Timurid records referred to it as *Tenguzluğ* (Baykara, 1969: 44). In early Ottoman sources such as Mehmed Neşri and Aşıkpaşazade the city was referred to as *Tonuzlu*. In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries Ottoman records used both Ladik and *Tonuzlu*. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman records used both Lazıkkıye and Denizli. After the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Ottoman records used only Denizli to refer to the city (Gökçe, 2000: 16-19). There is a controversy on the origin of the word, Denizli. First, the word derived from *Tonguzlu* “town of swine”. Second, the city was called Denizli because of abundant springs. Third, a Turkmen tribe, *Cemaat-ı Dengizlü*, which settled in the region, was recorded in Ottoman official documents from the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Türkay, 1979: 319). In addition, the local tales correlate *Cemaat-i Dengizlü* with the word Denizli (Gözyayın, 1977: 8071). It is highly probable that *Cemaat-i Dengizlü* named the region and the city.

<sup>2</sup> Hambat or Hanbatkırı plain derived its name from Han-abad caravanserai.

<sup>3</sup> It was a village but now it is a part of Denizli Bütünşehir Municipality’s urban area.

examples. These were mostly Hellenistic foundations and were active during the Roman imperial and early Byzantine periods. Turks appeared in the region after the Battle of Manzikert, 1071. Then the area witnessed the struggles between the Byzantines and the Seljuks for a long while. The region was very important for the Byzantines because of security in western Anatolia in general.

Between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Denizli region followed a different history from the central and eastern parts of Anatolia. From 1071 to 1206, the area was politically and socially unstable as compared to the central and eastern parts of Anatolia. During the first three Crusades, western and central Anatolia became a battlefield, which caused instability in these regions. In contrast, the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople helped to complete and make permanent the Seljuk conquest of Denizli (1196) in 1206<sup>4</sup>. Until the battle of Köseadağ (1243), in which the Mongols defeated the Seljuks, the entire Seljuk state prospered. Following the disruptions caused by the Mongol invasion, however, the region of Denizli became preferable for Turkmens to central and eastern Anatolia because of Denizli's distant location west of Konya far from Mongol pressure. Therefore, Turkmens and others not happy with the Mongol invasion and pressure migrated to Denizli. In these very different political contexts of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the two caravanserais examined here were built. Han-abad was built in 1230 before the Mongol invasion but Akhan was built in 1253 after the Mongol invasion.

Long distance trade and caravans have a long history in the Islamic world and beyond. Thus there were probably several types of institutions or stations on the trade routes to serve the caravans throughout history. In Islamic societies, caravanserais are related to *ribats*, which were initially built as guarding posts or

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<sup>4</sup> Laodicea (Ladik) was captured in 1196. When the castle of Ipsili Hisar was captured in 1206, the conquest of Laodicea and its immediate environs was completed by the Seljuks.

stations in the border zones. With the expansion of the borders their functions changed to social, religious, and commercial services (Yiğit, 2008: 76-78). After the conquest of Anatolia, the Seljuks built many caravanserais on the important roads. Their foundation inscriptions, written in Arabic, used one of two words, either *han* or *ribat*, but not caravanserai (meaning “house of caravan” in Persian) [Akalın, 2002: 299-302]. In contrast, the term “caravanserai” was used in Persian texts by such writers as Ibn Bibi, Eflaki, and Aksarayi.<sup>5</sup> The term probably became more popular in Anatolia during the Ottoman period. Caravanserais served caravans but they were also used for many other functions, such as military purposes, royal guesthouses for visiting sovereigns, government offices or statehouses, post stations, places of refuge, prisons, and dervish lodges (Yavuz, 1997: 80-81).

Studies on caravanserais have mostly focused on formal aspects of architecture and decoration. The first architectural descriptions of Anatolian caravanserais were done by Frederic Sarre, a 19<sup>th</sup> century traveler and scholar. He described Aksaray Sultan Han as having a closed section and a courtyard and Horozlu Han as entirely closed (Sarre, 1896: 71-89). Many scholars such as Edhem, Uğur, Koman, Kuban, and Karamağaralı have used his descriptions as a basis for typology (Yavuz, 1997: 81). The architectural studies were generally limited to documenting the plan and measurements of the structures and to the understanding or reconstructing of the complete plans. In a major study published in 1961, Kurt Erdmann undertook a comprehensive examination of Anatolian Seljuk caravanserais. He proposed a classification system for caravanserais based on the presence or absence of a courtyard. He suggested three types: hans with a closed section and a courtyard, hans with only a closed section, and court hans (Erdmann, 1961: 21-24).

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<sup>5</sup> The Seljuk Sultanate of Rum used Persian in official records but the foundation inscriptions were written in Arabic. Therefore, we see the word “han” in the foundation inscriptions and the word “caravanserai” in official texts.

In a different approach to the study of caravanserais, Ayşıl Tükel Yavuz investigated the use of space to understand or analyze the functions of these buildings (Yavuz, 1992: 253-284). Moreover, she challenged Erdmann in suggesting that using the courtyard as the principal criterion of classification is questionable because it is not the starting point of the caravanserai design. By establishing different criteria based on the functional analysis of shelter and the courtyard, she presented a dual classification: “shelter only hans” and “hans with shelter and services”. She also proposed another classification according to the organization of the spaces: hans in additive plan and hans in concentric plan (Yavuz, 1997: 88).

As a result of these studies, the formal aspects of the architecture of Seljuk caravanserais have been established. However, there is still a need to analyze individual caravanserais in their local context. Each region had different historical, socio-economic, and political conditions and experiences but these formalist studies ignore such aspects. For this reason, generalizing concepts and ideas about Anatolian Seljuk caravanserais should be supplemented by a new approach: regional contextualization and their individual history.

The Denizli region has two surviving Seljuk caravanserais: Han-abad and Akhan. A third example was the Hacı Eyüplü Han, built by Seyfeddin Karasungur in 1235, but no visible remains of it exist and its exact location is unknown. Its foundation inscription, found in 1931, is now kept in the Pamukkale Museum (Beyazıt, 2007: 152-153).

These caravanserais were located in the border zone; they mark the westernmost points in the network of Anatolian Seljuk caravanserais (Fig. 2). The Han-abad (Çardakhan) caravanserai, 55 km to the east of Denizli, is now located in the town of Çardak. It was built by Esedüddin Ayaz bin Abdullah eş-Şihabi in 1230

(627) during the reign of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I. Ayaz was a *mirahur* (a keeper of the Sultan's horses) of Alaeddin Keykubad I.

The later Akhan caravanserai is located 7 km east of the city center of Denizli on the Denizli-Dinar-Afyon road. It was commissioned by Seljuk governor Seyfeddin Karasungur bin Abdullah between the years 1252 (650) and 1254 (652) during the reign of Sultan Izzeddin Keykavus II.

Previous studies on Han-abad and Akhan, such as Erdmann's work, consist of general descriptions of architectural plans and ornamentation programs. Two master's theses, which documented the architectural plans with a view toward restoring the buildings, were written by İ. Ahsen Mocan, on Akhan (1972), and by Nur A. Fersan, on Han-abad (1974), for the Department of Architecture at METU. These theses emphasized the architectural plans and details but said little about the ornamentations and the socio-economic background. Mustafa Beyazıt's 2002 M.A. thesis for Pamukkale University examined the ornamentations and architectural details but did not include a functional analysis. In addition, the architectural plan of Han-abad is incomplete in his study because the courtyard part was not yet excavated. Thanks to excavations carried out between 2006 and 2008 by the Denizli Museum, the spaces of the courtyard were unearthed and their plans became clear. In 2006, Yavuz (2007) undertook a functional analysis of Akhan and suggested that Akhan had all the criteria to be a local administrative center. In 2007, the studies published in *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları* presented up-to-date summaries of the buildings. Kadir Pektaş writing on Han-abad published the new architectural plans that resulted from the excavations. Ahmet Ali Bayhan's study on Akhan covered general architectural features and ornamentations. The functional analysis was not emphasized.



These studies examined the architectural features and decoration of Han-abad and Akhan but they did not pay enough attention to the local context and factors, which help to explain some features and functions that cannot be reached by only examining the plan and formalistic aspects. But I aim to emphasize the local context as much as the architectural features, to better understand Han-abad and Akhan and their functions.

This study on the caravanserais in the vicinity of Denizli will consider the role of local factors within the general socio-economic and historical context of Seljuk Anatolia. The presence and activities of a local high ranking family deserve attention, the Maurozomes family whose members such as Manuel Maurozomes, Seyfeddin Karasungur (patron of Akhan), Celaledin Karatay, Kemaleddin Rumtaş, and Mehmed Bey of Denizli occupied high positions in the Seljuk state. In addition, the local industry and economy should be evaluated. Taking the local context into consideration will give new insight into the design and function of the two caravanserais. The designs and functions of Seljuk caravanserais are fairly uniform throughout Anatolia; to what extent local factors affected these standard features is an important question that this thesis will aim to answer.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DENİZLİ REGION (1070-1308)**

Before examining the functional, architectural, and decorative aspects of Han-abad and Akhan, the framework of the local contextualization is defined through an investigation of local history. In this chapter, in order to understand the social, economic, military and administrative roles of the caravanserais of Han-abad and Akhan, a general picture of the Denizli region in later medieval times is presented, within its larger Anatolian context.

From early times, the Denizli region has had significance because of its geographical location between western and central Anatolia. During classical times, cities such as Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossae, and Tripolis emerged here. Like the other western Anatolian classical sites, Laodicea and other centers of the region were negatively affected by the change of the road network after Constantinople became the capital of Roman Empire. Roads now targeted Constantinople. Urban centers in the region continued to decline until the Seljuk occupation in Anatolia following the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. After the First Crusade (1096), a frontier between the Seljuks and the Byzantines was established around the Denizli region. A century-long struggle between the Byzantines and the Seljuks continued until the Latin capture of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the resultant Seljuk

conquest of the region. After the Seljuk conquest, Byzantine Laodicea became Seljuk Ladik (Denizli), the center of the Seljuk west. Seljuk institutions were built in the region, such mosques as Denizli Ulu Camii and such caravanserais at Han-abad (1230), Hacı Eyüplü (1235) and Akhan (1253).

Studying the socio-economic and cultural aspects of Seljuk Anatolia has several difficulties: first of all the primary sources are scarce and have few references to socio-economic and cultural details. Secondly, the Seljuk period shows the characteristics of a transitional period from the Byzantine to the early Ottoman socio-economic and cultural structures. Therefore the Byzantine background should be considered in order to understand the picture of Seljuk Anatolia. The Byzantine lands, already multi-ethnic and multi-cultural, received new cultural and religious groups after the battle of Manzikert. Byzantine Anatolia was faced not only with Turks as a new ethnicity and their culture but also with Islam and its social, economic, and cultural patterns. If the Crusades are added to this picture, the unstable complexity of the period can be understood. When the Mongol invasion took place, the multi-ethnic and cultural atmosphere of Anatolia became even more complex and heterogeneous. To deal with these limitations and problems, both the Byzantine and the early Ottoman sources must be used together with the Seljuk sources.

## **2.1 Anatolia before 1071**

During the Middle Byzantine period, there was a provincial bureaucracy under the tutelage of the military aristocracy. The high military officials and the aristocrats had power and magnates with extensive lands emerged. In contrast, the peasants lost their lands and decreased in number (Vryonis, 1971: 2). To deal with

the decrease of the peasantry, Slavs and some Turkic tribes such as Kipchaqs (Kumans) and Pechenegs were resettled from the Balkans into Anatolia (Koç, 2006a: 241).

The formerly large and populous cities of Roman Asia Minor became smaller and depopulated. The Arab raids had had important effects on them so they had shifted their locations to more strategic and defensible positions on high places (Vryonis, 1971: 6-7). They became castle-cities and inhabited by a very limited number of people. With no agricultural production of their own, a town or a cluster of villages was needed to supply them (Baykara, 2000: 30-33). To integrate the cities and to have easier accessibility for their administrative, commercial, and military concerns, the road network was emphasized.

During that time, the Byzantine provincial economy was strongly dependent on the military apparatus. Salaries were paid out in gold to the soldiers and officials; their spending then sustained local industry, commerce and agriculture (Vryonis, 1971: 4-6). Local industry was well developed in Anatolia, for silk, cotton, linen, and wool brocades and textiles were produced as well as glassware, pottery, weaponry, nails, and ropes. Silver, lead, copper, iron, gold, marble, and alum were also produced from the mines and quarries (Vryonis, 1971: 23).

There were good trade contacts between the towns and villages. The towns had both local and foreign craftsmen and merchants. For instance, Ephesus was a very busy town during the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The presence of Saracens, Venetians, Jews, Rus', and Georgians indicates the international commercial activity. The other cities on the Aegean coasts such as Smyrna, Miletus, and Clazomenae were also active in trade. Furthermore, Attalia was a commercial station, a post station, and a base of the navy. Armenian, Italian, Saracen, and Jewish merchants were active there.

Nicomedia and Prusa were also active commercial centers (Vryonis, 1971: 9-14).

Chonae (Honaz) and Laodicea (Denizli) were urban centers on the traffic passing from the Meander valley to Iconium (Konya). The lands were productive and well watered. The agricultural products were liquorice, cardamom, myrtle, figs, and other fruits. There were lakes well stocked with fish and livestock raised in the valleys near Laodicea. Its textile products were famous. Chonae was a wealthy town and hosted the international fair and festival of Archangel Michael. Merchants came there from long distances for trade and many people visited it for pilgrimage (Vryonis, 1971: 20).

## **2.2 Anatolia after 1071**

The victory at Manzikert caused a vital change in Anatolia, for Turks conquered most of Anatolia (Baykara, 1969: 13). Theoretically, Manzikert was not a great military disaster for the Byzantines who had insignificant losses and signed an honorable peace, but it caused political uncertainty, which led to the rapid occupation of Anatolia by Turks. The Seljuk prince, Kutulmuşoğlu Süleyman (r. 1077-1086), marched across Anatolia (Cahen, 2000:9). Following some service to the Byzantines, he was allowed to be base at Nicaea where he founded the Anatolian Seljuk state in 1080 (Turan, 1965: 198-199). At this time, the Denizli region was also conquered (Baykara, 1969: 13).

After that population movements took place in the Denizli region and Anatolia in general. Especially Turks entered as a new ethnicity, migrating between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but their number is not clear. During the conquest, some of the local people migrated and the battles and massacres caused a loss of population for both sides. It was highly probable that the Turkish population was

lower than the total population of the locals who formed many ethnic and religious groups. Eventually, Turks spread all around Anatolia (Cahen, 2000: 99).

Information about the demography and population is limited in the Byzantine records. The probable population of Anatolia could have been about 6,000,000 at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The population was dense in the towns, which were on the trade routes and in the village clusters near the towns and cities. The probable population of a city varied between 5,000 and 35,000 (Vryonis, 1971: 25-29). There is no reference about the populations of the cities in the Denizli region.

Alexius Comnenus I (r. 1081- 1118) became emperor and then he called for help from the pope to stop the Turkish attacks. This effort resulted in the First Crusade in 1096 (Turan, 1965: 199-200). The Crusaders, marching into Central Anatolia in order to pass into Syria, encountered the Seljuk army. At a battle near Dorylaeon (near Eskişehir) the Seljuk army was defeated. The Crusaders then crossed Anatolia to Syria (Runciman, 1991, I: 180-193).

The First Crusade caused instability in Anatolia. Alexius I tried to benefit from this and aimed to recover lost lands. Thus the Byzantines retook Laodicea (Denizli), Chonae (Honaz), and Charax (Çardak) in 1097 (A. Komnena, 1996: 336-339). Seljuks had ruled Denizli for only 20 years (Ibn Bibi, 1941: 101). The area changed hands several times until 1119 and then was in Byzantine hands for 80 years (Baykara, 1969: 14-15) [Fig. 3].

In 1144, important events took place in Syria where Imadeddin Zengi (r. 1127-1146), Atabek of Mosul, captured the Crusader county of Edessa. As a result, the German emperor Conrad III (r. 1138-1150) and the French king Louis VII (r. 1131-1180) launched the Second Crusade (Turan, 1965: 206). The Crusaders reached Ephesus in 1147 (Runciman, 1991, II: 267-271), and followed the Meander valley

inland (N. Khoniates, 1995: 45-47), heading for Laodicea (Denizli). They then headed south to Antalya but when crossing the high Kazıkbeli pass, they suffered great losses because of Seljuk attack (Baykara, 1969: 15-19). Those who survived continued to Antalya and eventually Cilicia and Antioch (Runciman, 1991, II: 272-274).

In the Denizli region, Turkmens were looking for pastures for their sheep, both for the summer and winter. Consequently they raided into the Byzantine lands (Baykara, 2000: 35). These raids eventually led to a war between the Byzantines and the Seljuks (N. Khoniates, 1995: 121-123).

### **2.3 The Battle of Myriokephalon**

The victory of the Seljuks over the Byzantines at the Battle of Myriokephalon (Denizli-Çivril)<sup>6</sup> (1176) had decisive effects for the Denizli region. When, in late summer, 1176, Manuel Comnenus I (r. 1143-1180) marched from Laodicea to Konya seeking a decisive victory (Turan, 1971: 208), at the pass of Myriokephalon his army encountered the Seljuks (N. Khoniates, 1995: 123). Defeated, the Byzantines lost supremacy over the Seljuks and their frontier was weakened. Manuel I accepted to destroy the fortresses of Soublaion (near Denizli-Çivril) and Dorylaeon (Eskişehir) (N. Khoniates, 1995: 131). Although he destroyed Soublaion, he did not demolish the walls of Dorylaeon. Therefore, Kılıçarslan II (r. 1156-1192) sent an army to force him to obey the treaty (Turan, 1971: 214). In reaction, Manuel I marched around Denizli-Çal and attacked the Turkmens near Charax (Çardak), but had to retreat.

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<sup>6</sup> There is a controversy in order to locate Myriokephalon. Some scholars as M.A. Çay suggested Karamıkbeli near Afyon-Sultandağı. The other suggestions are Kumdanlı (Osman Turan), Konya-Düzbel (F. Dirimtekin), Denizli-Çivril (K. Ayiter), and Yalvaç (E. Eickhoff)[Çay, 1984: 76-83]. According to Khoniates (1995: 124) the battle took place very close to Choma (Denizli-Çivril-Gümüşsu) therefore one of the canyons of Akdağ near Çivril could be Myriokephalon.

Turkmens occupied permanently the eastern and the southern parts of the Denizli region (Baykara, 1969: 20-21).

Seljuk pressure increased over the Meander valley and Sozopolis (Uluborlu) was conquered in 1182 (Turan, 1971: 214). Uluborlu briefly served as the Seljuk provincial center of the southwestern Anatolia until the Seljuks captured Laodicea (Denizli) fourteen years later (Cahen, 2000: 44).

Meanwhile, the Denizli region was about to experience a new wave of Crusaders. The Third Crusade began in 1189, a reaction to Saladin's capture of Jerusalem two year earlier. By late April 1190, the Crusaders reached Philadelphia and Laodicea (Runciman, 1991, III: 14). They went east, passing near Chonae (Honaz) and Acıgöl (Baykara, 1969: 22) and reached Sozopolis (Uluborlu) and Philomelion [Akşehir] (Runciman, 1991, III: 14). Then they captured the Seljuk capital, Konya. After that their leader, Frederick Barbarossa I (r. 1152-1190), was drowned when he was crossing the Calycadnus (Göksu) (Turan, 1971: 222-224). Some of the Crusaders returned to Europe, whereas others continued to Antioch and Syria (Runciman, 1991, III: 15-17).

With the Third Crusade, the Western sources started to refer to parts of Anatolia as "*Turchia*". The Islamization and Turkification had important roles on this situation (Cahen, 2000: 99-104).

#### **2.4 The Conquest of Laodicea (Denizli) in 1196**

Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev I (r. 1192-1196 and 1205-1211) aimed to benefit from the weakness of the Byzantine frontier, especially in the Denizli region. He marched on Aphrodisias (Geyre) and Antiochia [near Nazilli] (Cahen, 2000: 59-60). Then his army retreated eastward (Baykara, 1997: 18) and attacked Laodicea (Baykara, 1969:



23-24). After this victory, the Seljuks resettled the locals of Laodicea (Denizli) in the region of Akşehir. By giving them new land, free grain, and agricultural equipment such as ploughs, the Seljuk aimed to establish stability in agricultural production (Koç, 2006a: 242-243).

In 1197, Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev I lost the throne to his brother, Rükneddin Süleymanşah (r. 1196-1204). While in exile in Byzantine lands, his brother Rukneddin Süleymanşah died and he arranged for Byzantine support to retake the Seljuk throne. After a move to Ladik (Denizli) to secure Turkmen support, he captured Konya in 1205. However, because his sons were held hostage in Constantinople, he agreed to give Laodicea back to the Byzantines (Ibn Bibi, 1941: 40). But when his sons escaped from Constantinople, he decided not to keep his promise and Ladik (Laodicea) was not returned to the Byzantines (Cahen, 2000: 57-60) but was given to Manuel Maurozomes, his father-in-law, a member of the family of Comnenus (Witteck, 1935: 508-513), as a buffer state between the Seljuks and the Byzantines (Turan, 1971: 281-282). In 1206, this buffer state of Ladik (Denizli) was annexed by the Seljuks without resistance (Baykara, 1997: 35) [Fig. 4]. Ladik (Denizli) became the provincial center of the Seljuk west (Baykara, 1969: 25). Although Esedüddin Ayaz became the governor of the region, Maurozomes did not lose his status but served the Seljuk court until his death in 1225.

After the Latin invasion of Constantinople in 1204, the Byzantine state survived at Nicaea with Theodore Lascaris I (r. 1205-1221) as emperor there (Baykara, 1969: 25). After some conflict with the Seljuks, during which Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev I was killed in 1212, a period of peaceful relations developed between the Byzantine state at Nicaea and the Seljuks. The period of peace in the region allowed for the establishment of Seljuk institutions such as caravanserais. For example,

Esedüddin Ayaz commissioned Han-abad in 1230 (Baykara, 1969: 25-27).

In the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Seljuks expanded to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, capturing important ports. The conquest of these ports stimulated the development of trade in Anatolia (Cahen, 2000: 68-69). First, Antalya was conquered in 1207 then Sinop was taken in 1214 (Ibn Bibi, 1941: 63) and Kalonoros (Alaiye, Alanya) in 1221 (Cahen, 2000: 73) [Fig. 5]. After that Sugdak, a Crimean port, where the Seljuk merchants had interests, was conquered in 1225 (Ibn Bibi, 1941: 120-127). East-West trade was flourishing in general, with treaties of trade and amity between Seljuks and other states. In 1204, the Seljuks signed a treaty with the Venetians and in 1208 with the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus. The merchants of Pisa, Provence, and other Latin states benefited from the treaties. The Seljuk merchants in Venetian territories also enjoyed the same conditions. Alum, wool, silk, silk fabric, cotton, and carpets were exported to Cyprus and wool fabric, linen, glue, and wine were imported. The other commercial commodities were leather, fur, spices, mohair, nutgall, saffron, and sesame. There was also a slave trade with Crimea and Egypt (Polat, 2006: 372-376).

Although the important commercial centers were usually on the coasts because of sea trade, the inland cities such as Denizli, Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, and Malatya were also active; a road network connected ports and inland cities. Markets were found near the cities or the castles and international fairs were held (Polat, 2006: 369-377). According to Baykara (2007: 278-279), the markets in the Denizli region were located mostly on the important fords of the rivers such as the markets of Ezine (Çarşamba), Kayı, Çıtak, and Kavak. Alameddin Pazarı, near Tripolis, was an international fair, which lasted one month. Grain, wax, dried vegetables, leatherworking, and horses were the main trade commodities (Erdem, 2006: 367).

Alum was traded in Kayı Pazarı, near Şapçılar village.

During this period, Denizli became a very important center of Ahis (Çiftcioğlu, 2007: 68). Ahis were mostly artisans and merchants. Ahi is an Arabic word and means *my brother* but there is another suggestion that it is a Turkish word (Akı) meaning “brave” and “generous” (Kazıcı, 1988: 540-542). Based on the Muslim ideals of brotherhood, social unity, and hospitality, the Ahi movement had originated in eastern Iran in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. After Izzeddin Keykavus I (r. 1211-1220) and Alaeddin Keykubad I (r. 1220-1237) were accepted as members, it spread in Anatolia. The leader of the movement in Anatolia was Ahi Evren (Şahin, 2006: 299-303). According to Bayram (2001: 33), he is actually Hacı Nasirüddin Mahmud el-Hoyi, better known as Nasreddin Hoca. When Ibn Battuta visited Denizli in the early 1330s, the Ahi movement was still influential (Gibb, 1962: 424-428).

## **2.5 The Mongol Invasion and afterwards**

The Mongol invasion of Anatolia in 1243 brought major change to the Seljuk state, with repercussions felt in the Denizli region (Ibn Bibi, 1941: 213-214). After the Mongol victory at Köseadağ (1243), the Seljuk sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev II (r. 1237-1246) fled westward to Tripolis near Denizli. Quickly the Seljuks made a settlement with the Mongols, accepting to pay tribute. During this new political climate, the Akhan caravanserai was built, commissioned by Seyfeddin Karasungur in 1253-4 (Baykara, 1969: 27). He was a son of Maurozomes and a brother-in-law of Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev I (Baykara, 1994: 157). Celaleddin Karatay, who was Karasungur's brother, became the highest official in the state (Ibn Bibi, 1941: 244-247). His other brother, Kemaleddin Rumtaş, also had important roles in the state (Cahen, 2000: 235-238).

In 1256, Hulagu (r. 1218-1265), the Mongol Ilkhan, sent an army to Anatolia. The Mongols defeated the Seljuks a second time and Izzeddin Keykavus II (r. 1246-1260) fled to Constantinople (Cahen, 2000: 239-242). Then his brother Rükneddin Kılıçarslan IV (r. 1248-1265) became the sultan in 1257 (Ibn Bibi, 1941: 259-260) but Izzeddin II returned to Konya again with the support of the Byzantines because he gave Laodicea (Ladik) to Laskaris (K.M.Aksarayi, 2000: 39). The Turkmens, angry with him, took back Ladik (Denizli) in 1258. (Cahen, 2000: 243). Their leader was Mehmed Bey who was a grandson of Manuel Maurozomes and nephew of Seyfeddin Karasungur. Mehmed Bey was in the Ahi movement and in 1260 he commissioned the copies of Ahi Evren's three books in Ladik (Denizli). One of his titles was *Serhazin*<sup>7</sup> and he was probably responsible for the treasury of Izzeddin Keykavus II (Bayram, 2002: 294-297). During the reign of Izzeddin II, the Mongols decided to divide the Seljuk territory between Izzeddin II and his brother Rukneddin. Izzeddin II, who was not on good relations with the Mongols, was given lands west of Konya to rule. If we recall that Ladik (Denizli) was the provincial center of the Seljuk west and its governor Seyfeddin Karasungur was a member of the family of Maurozomes (Witteck, 1937: 210-211) like Mehmed Bey, we might imagine that the Akhan caravanserai served as a local administrative center. In addition, as will be shown in Chapter 4 below, the services and features of Akhan were enough to be a local administrative center (Yavuz, 2007: 141).

Because relations worsened between Mehmed Bey and Izzeddin II, a battle took place in 1260 between the Turkmens and the army of Izzeddin II in the Taurus Mountains. The Turkmens defeated his army and by 1260 were able to control all the southwestern Anatolia (K.M.Aksarayi, 2000: 50). Mehmed Bey requested from

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<sup>7</sup> The word means "head of treasury" and it was one of the highest officials of the Seljuk bureaucracy, who was responsible for the Sultan's treasury or the state treasury.

Hulagu that Turkmen territory be freed from Seljuk control. When Hulagu accepted their request, the Turkmens of Denizli obtained independence from the Seljuks and established direct relations with the Mongols. This was the first Turkmen emirate in Anatolia. Then Hulagu wanted Mehmed Bey to come to visit him in Tabriz but he refused this order (Cahen, 2000: 249). In reaction, the Mongols attacked, defeating him in the plain of Dalaman and killing him in Uluborlu (K.M.Aksarayi, 2000: 53). His son-in-law, Ali Bey, accepted the Seljuk authority in 1262 (Cahen, 2000: 249).

Continuing unrest between 1277 and 1279 led to further Mongol attacks in western Anatolia. After invading Konya, they attacked Ladik (Denizli) and Uluborlu (Cahen, 2000: 270-272). The Turkmens of Denizli were defeated and their leader Ali Bey was hanged in Karahisar (K.M.Aksarayi, 2000: 89-103). Mongol dominance in the Seljuk state now became complete, with the Mongols taking most of the high offices in the government (Cahen, 2000: 273-286).

Disputes between Turkish tribes in western Anatolia continued throughout this period. The Pechenegs had been settled by the Byzantines in the regions of Uşak and Kütahya. To the south, the tribes of Salur and Kayı were settled in the Denizli region after the Seljuk conquest. The Pechenegs and the tribes of Salur and Kayı were in conflict even in Central Asia. Seeing an advantage in this old antagonism, the Germiyans, a powerful family based in Kütahya, tried to take control over the Denizli region. The Salur and Kayı resisted and for over a century tried to stop them (Baykara, 2007: 372-377).

There were differences in both tribal and social aspects among the Turks who migrated to Anatolia not only before and after Manzikert, but also before and after the Mongol invasion. (Cahen, 2000: 104-107). The organization of Turkish tribes is not easy to understand but they probably continued their old organizational system.

They could also adapt themselves to the conditions of Anatolia. They showed strong loyalty; so today many villages have the names of their tribes. For example, according to 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman records, at least fourteen Oghuz tribes were settled in the Denizli region and they were attested from the village names<sup>8</sup> (Baykara, 2007: 397-415).

By the 13<sup>th</sup> century before the Mongols arrived, the number of villages increased because of the better socio-political and economic conditions. Individual land holdings averaged between 25-30 acres. Agricultural productivity was small and the varieties of crops were limited. Generally, wheat, barley, oat, millet, and common vetch were produced (Koç, 2006b: 293-297). Fruits were apricots, peaches, almonds, pears, grapes, and plums (Erdem, 2006: 366). According to Baykara (2007: 240-243) barley, wheat, millet, vetch, cowpea, sesame, and rice were produced in Denizli. The significant fruits were pomegranates, figs and grapes. Vegetables were produced in the gardens, which were close to the rivers or streams (Koç, 2006b: 293-294).

After the Mongol invasion, efficiency in agricultural production decreased and the scarcity of grain caused high inflation so the prices went up (Erdem, 2006: 367). Grain demand increased and it was mostly supplied by the Byzantines from the Meander and Hermus river valleys. Therefore, the trade in Denizli developed (Baykara, 2007: 77), and it became the biggest city of western Anatolia during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when Ibn Battuta visited there (Gibb, 1962: 425).

## **2.6 Conclusion**

In short, between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the region of Denizli followed a different history from the central and eastern parts of Anatolia. In the years between

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<sup>8</sup> Such as, Kayı, Kayıyayla, Kayıhan, Kayı-abad (Tutluca) , Kınıklı, Kınıkyeri, Yüregil, Afşar, Yazır, Yazırlu, İğdir, Dodurga, Dodurgalar, Bayat, Bayındır, Yıva, Çavdur, Bügdüz, Salur, and Karkın.

1071 and 1206, the region of Denizli was insecure and unstable as compared to the central and eastern parts of Anatolia in both political and social terms. With the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople, the Seljuk conquest of the region became permanent<sup>9</sup>. After that all parts of the Seljuk territories developed and prospered until the Mongols invaded in 1243. A secure road network was established and the caravanserais were built. Both maritime and inland trade developed and good trade contacts were established with Latin states. In contrast, the Mongol invasion caused instability and big population movements. Then Seljuk authority lost its legitimacy among the Turkmens and Ahis. After 1243, the Denizli region became a more attractive place to live, in contrast with central and eastern Anatolia, because of its distance from Konya and from Mongol pressure. Therefore, Turkmens, Ahis and other people who were not happy with the Mongols migrated to the region and other border zones.

Important military movements happened before the construction of Han-abad and Akhan, which were built during the period of peace (1212-1261) between the Seljuks and the state of Nicaea (Vryonis, 1971: 132-133). Therefore, although the Han-abad and Akhan did serve to guard the road, their main functions were commercial. Akhan probably had the additional function of a local administrative center. Mehmed Bey and Seyfeddin Karasungur were Muslim members of the family of Maurozomes. Their close relationship as relatives and one of the titles of Mehmed Bey, *serhazin*, who is responsible for the state treasury, support the idea that Akhan served as a local administrative center.

The international fairs of Alameddin and Archangel Michael show the presence of international merchants in the region. Because of the Mongol invasion,

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<sup>9</sup> Except for a brief period in 1257-1258. See Cahen, 2000: 243.

the density of population increased in the frontier regions like Denizli and it caused increase in demand and trade. Especially, the demand of grain increased because of drought in central Anatolia. The Byzantines from the valleys of Meander and Hermus where irrigation was available supplied the demand. As a result of trade, Denizli became active in trade traffic during the 13<sup>th</sup> century when the caravanserais of Han-abad and Akhan were built. These details can illustrate the commercial activity in the caravanserais in the region.

Furthermore, the establishment of the buffer emirate (1204-1206) of Manuel Maurozomes in Ladik (Denizli) tied the destiny of the region with the members of his family. His sons took part in Seljuk high bureaucracy. His son Seyfeddin Karasungur became the governor of Ladik, the center of Seljuk west, and commissioned Akhan (1253-1254) caravanserai. Maurozomes's grandson Mehmed Bey founded the earliest Turkmen emirate (1260-1261) in Ladik. After the Seljuk state collapsed in the early years of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the members of Maurozomes family again had important roles and founded the emirate of Ladik (Denizli) or İnanoğulları. The activities of the Maurozomes family and the politics in region influenced the construction of Akhan and its functional use. In the following chapters, these regional factors and their influences are examined and questioned in the architectural and ornamentation programs of Han-abad and Akhan.



## CHAPTER III

### HAN-ABAD CARAVANSERAI (ÇARDAKHAN)

The Seljuk viceroy (*Sahib*) Esedüddin Ayaz bin Abdullah Eş-Şihabi (d. 1231) commissioned Han-abad in 1230 during the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad. It shows most of the characteristics of a typical 13<sup>th</sup> century Seljuk caravanserai. It was the westernmost caravanserai of the Seljuks until 1253 when Akhan was constructed (Fig. 3). Local people call it Hanbat<sup>10</sup>, the caravanserai (Uzunçarşılı, 1929: 210), but its foundation inscription calls it a *ribat* (see below, n. 14). Han-abad has two main units: a courtyard and a shelter. The courtyard is entered through a portal and a number of spaces are distributed around the courtyard. These spaces functioned as the service facilities, such as bath, masjid, and bakery. The shelter is a roofed structure that provided lodging. It has five naves created by four rows of five piers. Interestingly, Han-abad's figural ornamentations are found only in the shelter, on the capitals of the piers, with some floral and geometric ornamentation on the portal.

Han-abad has been examined in several studies. Firstly Erdmann (1961) studied the general architectural features and plan of Han-abad. Secondly, Fersan's (1974) M.Arch. thesis for METU documented the architectural plan and measurements with a view towards the restoration of the building. In 2002, Beyazıt's M.A. thesis for Pamukkale University examined ornamentations and

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<sup>10</sup> During the Ottoman period, Hanbat was a district center. Today, local people call it Hambat. This region covers about 600 km<sup>2</sup> of land in the environs around Çardak.

architectural details of Han-abad to compare and contrast them with those of Akhan. Recently, Pektaş (2007) published a complete architectural plan of Han-abad after the excavations of the Denizli Museum in the courtyard area. These studies did not focus on the functional aspects of Han-abad and they did not examine local factors that could have had effects on Han-abad.

In this chapter, Han-abad's location, history, inscription, patron, and architectural features are examined. Local factors and their influences in architecture and ornamentation of Han-abad are investigated. In contrast to the previous studies, which have mainly descriptions and measurements, in this chapter some questions are asked and examined: To what degree are the local features important to understand and interpret the architectural details and ornamentations of Han-abad? To what extent do the general concepts and trends of the Seljuk art and architecture explain the architectural and decorative features of Han-abad?

### **3.1 Location**

The Seljuk caravanserais were generally located strategically near the crucial passes and bridges on important roads. Han-abad's location agrees with the usual practice. It is located in Çardak c. 300 m to the north of the Denizli-Afyon highway. It is 55 km to the east of the city center of Denizli (Pektaş, 2007: 161). The ancient Roman road from Ephesus to Pamphylia (Ercenk, 1993: 16-21) and the Byzantine road from Konya, Beyşehir, and Eğirdir to Laodicea (Erdmann, 1961: 61) and Ayasuluk (Ephesus) met near Han-abad (Yavuz, 2007: 134-135) [Fig. 6]. Han-abad controlled an important pass between the western Anatolian coasts and the central Anatolian plain, a narrow pass between the mountains of Maymun and Söğüt, with Lake Acıgöl also lying between these mountains. Because of its importance, the

Byzantines built a castle, which was a simple promontory fortress and built as a look-out point against the Arabs between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries (Fig. 6, 7). It was reoccupied in the 12<sup>th</sup> century against the Turks (Barnes and Whittow, 1998: 355-358). According to the survey and the pottery assemblage, there was no occupation during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods on the castle hill. On the slopes of the castle hill, several occupations belonging to the Roman and Byzantine periods were found. One of them extended down to Çardak. The spolia that were used in the construction of Han-abad could have been taken from this site (Whittow, 1995: 23-25). Belke and Mersich (1990: 213-214), identified it with the castle of Bonita where the iconophile dissident, Theodore the Studite, was imprisoned by Leo V between 816 and 821. In my opinion, Bonita could be the earlier castle occupation. The later one should be Charax, which is located near the site of today's Çardak by Vryonis (1971: 14-15) [Fig. 1]. The name of Çardak could be derived from Charax.

### 3.2 History

The foundation inscription, which is set on the portal of the shelter (Fig. 9), is the starting point for the history for Han-abad. According to the inscription, Han-abad was built in 1230 during the reign of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I and was commissioned by Esedüddin Ayaz bin Abdullah Eş-Şihabi in Ramadan 627 [July-August 1230] (Pektaş, 2007: 162). Esedüddin Ayaz was the governor of the western frontier centered on Denizli and also *mir-ahur*<sup>11</sup> of Alaeddin Keykubad (Baykara, 1969: 50). There is no reference to the architects or masons (Beyazıt, 2002: 38) but the mason marks are visible on the stone blocks of the buildings.

After the Seljuk period, Han-abad continued to serve during the Beylik and

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<sup>11</sup> A high official who was responsible for the horses of the sultan. Devellioğlu, Osmanlıca-Türkçe Sözlük, 2001, p. 651.

Ottoman periods; a *derbent*<sup>12</sup> was located at Han-abad for the security of the pass. Hanbat was a sub-district of the district of Dinar. Han-abad was in use for cereal storage during World War I (1914-1918) and the Turkish War of Independence (1920-1922). Shortly after that the local people used it as a sheepfold (Uzunçarşılı, 1929: 210). In the 1920s it was repaired and restored. When Erdmann visited Han-abad in 1953 it was still in use for grain storage (Erdmann, 1961: 59). Then the caravanserai was freed from these kinds of functions in the 1950s. A program of cleaning and excavation was carried out by the Denizli Museum in the summers of 2006-2008 (Pektaş, 2007: 161).

### 3.2.1 Inscription

The inscription was set on the portal of the shelter. It is in Arabic and consists of seven lines. It was written in the Seljuk *sülüs* style of calligraphy on a marble block in the shape of a pointed arch measuring 1.46 m by 0.90 m (Beyazıt, 2002: 38) [Fig. 8].

السلطاني  
امر ببناء هذا الرباط في ايام دولة مولانا  
وسيدنا السلطان العادل علاءالدنيا والدين  
ابوالفتح كيقباد بن كيخسرو ناصر أمير المؤمنين  
اقل عبده الاجل الاشرف مولانا رشيد الملة  
والدولة والدين اياز بن عبدالله الشهابي  
في شهر المعظم رمضان سنة سبع وعشرين وستة مائه

“Sultanic (Royal)”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> A military station based near a pass. Devellioğlu, Osmanlıca-Türkçe Sözlük, 2001, p. 175.

<sup>13</sup> This word, which means belonging to the sultan in Arabic, was used on the inscriptions of the

This ribat<sup>14</sup> was ordered to be built during the reign of our master (mawlana) and our lord (sayyidna), the just sultan 'Ala al-Dunya wa al-Din Abu al-Fath Kayqubad b. Kaykhusraw, the victor [for] the Commander of the Faithful, by the least servant of our most exalted and noble master (mawlana) the rightly-guided [one] of the nation, the state and religion Ayaz b. 'Abdullah al-Shihabi in the great month of Ramadan of the year 627.”

Han-abad is described as a ribat in its foundation inscription and this could be related with the patron, Esedüddin Ayaz, who was from Syria. The masons and craftsmen of Han-abad were probably from Syria. There is no evidence and reference about Han-abad’s religious or social function, features usually related with the term *ribat*. The contemporary Seljuk sources like Aksarayi and Ibn Bibi, who wrote in Persian, mostly referred to this type of building as a caravanserai.

### 3.2.2 Patron

Esedüddin Ayaz bin Abdullah Eş-Şihabi was the Atabeg and Sahib (Viceroy) of the western frontier. He was also known as Atabek Ayaz. According to Arab historians such as Ibn al-Athir and Abu al-Fida, before he entered the Seljuk court, he served the Artukid Sultan Kutbeddin Sökmen (Sönmez, 1989: 125-127). He had a conspicuous career in the Artukid court, becoming one of the influential bureaucrats and marrying one of the sisters of the Sultan. The Sultan Kutbeddin even declared him as the heir to the Artukid throne. When the Sultan died in c. 1200, he became

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Seljuk sultans as a title.

<sup>14</sup> This term refers to guarding bases or stations on the borders of early Islamic states. By the expansion of the borders, the function of ribats gained social and religious character. Some of them served as dervish lodges and some for other social purposes such as serving caravans. The term is not commonly used in Seljuk caravanserais except for Han-abad (Çardakhan), Kuruçeşme Han, Hekim Han, Dokuzunderbent Han and Kırkgöz Han (Akalin, 2002: 299-300).

the Artukid Sultan. However, high officials dethroned him after a short period of time, replacing him with Salih Mahmud, the brother of Sultan Kutbeddin that put the life of Ayaz in danger. Fortunately he had an invitation from the Seljuk Sultan Rükneddin II, and came to Konya in c. 1202 to serve the Seljuks. He served the Seljuks for thirty years (Sönmez, 1998: 5-6).

The reason for the Seljuk Sultan's invitation was to supervise important building projects. While active in the Artukid court, Ayaz had taken an interest in major building projects, especially in the repair of the fortresses of Diyarbakır. He was particularly in close contact with the craftsmen, masons, and architects of Syria (Sönmez, 1998: 7).

The early years of his service to the Seljuks are undocumented. His name is first attested in the sources in 1215 for his participation in the military campaign with Izzeddin Keykavus I at Sinop (Turan, 1971: 290). He is mentioned as the Sahib (Viceroy) of the western frontier centered at Honaz and Laodicea (Baykara, 1969: 51). In addition, his earliest building project for the Seljuks was the repair of the fortress of Sinop in 1215 (H.612). His name is mentioned in the foundation inscriptions on the buttresses of Sinop Castle as the governor of Honaz and its environs (Sönmez, 1998: 7-8).

Ayaz's second building project was the repair and renovation of the main congregational mosque of Konya, known as the Alaeddin Camii. The project started in 1219 (H. 616) during the reign of Izzeddin Keykavus I and finished in 1220 (H. 617) during the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad I (Sönmez 1998: 8-9). His name is attested on the inscriptions as the *mütevelli* (supervisor) [Konyalı, 1964: 299-302].

In 1221, Ayaz was involved in the conquest of Alaiye (Kalonoros) with Mübarizüddin Ertokuş, the governor of Antalya (Turan, 1971: 335). This was

followed by his third building project, supervision in the construction of the walls of Konya. Hence, one of the gates of Konya was called *Ayaz Kapı* at the southeast of the city. The project was finished in 1222 (Sönmez, 1998: 9). He is named on the construction inscription as the patron *bani* (building patron) and *mütevelli* (supervisor, superintendent) [Konyalı, 1964: 151].

In 1226, Ayaz commanded a military expedition against the Artukids in the region of the Upper Euphrates, conquering the castle of Çemişkezek (Turan, 1971: 348). Then he took charge of the repairs and renovations of the walls of Antalya. This project was completed in 1228 (Sönmez, 1998: 9-10). The construction inscription in Antalya names both him and the Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I (Önge, 1993: 70-79). He had power at the Seljuk capital but his last years are unknown (Vryonis, 2001: 101). He is thought to have died in 1231. Therefore Han-abad caravanserai may have been his last project.

In his building projects, Ayaz employed the architects from Syria such as Abu Ali bin Abu Raha al-Kettani el-Halebi and Muhammed bin Havlan el- Dımışki worked for the Seljuks. He employed not only Muslim but also non-Muslim craftsmen and architects such as, from Kayseri, Mubarizüddin Mesud bin Artug el-Kayserevi, a Muslim, and Sebastos Kayserevi, a Cristian (Sönmez, 1998: 11). His activities and connections can explain the Syrian influences in Anatolian architecture during the Seljuk age.

### **3.3 Architectural Features**

The architectural features of Han-abad show the typical characteristics of the Seljuk caravanserais. It has two parts: a courtyard and a shelter. The courtyard and surrounding spaces form the courtyard area (Fig. 9). The spaces around the courtyard

served as the services of the caravanserais such as bakery, kitchen, masjid, and bath facilities. The shelter is the roofed part of the caravanserais but it is much bigger in proportion to the courtyard than is usually the case. Shelters of similar large proportions are also found in some of the Seljuk caravanserais such as Mut Bel Hanı, Zazadin Han, Durak Hanı, and Kesik Köprü Hanı (Kunduracı, 2002: 541-544).

Han-abad is oriented east to west and built on ground sloping down from north to south (Fig. 10). The shelter is better preserved than the courtyard, with the side walls of the courtyard in a damaged condition (Pektaş, 2007: 164). The actual features of the courtyard were not clearly known until the excavation project of the Denizli Museum in 2006 and 2007. The southern sidewall of the courtyard is built of gray limestone blocks and has a triangular buttress on the exterior. The northern sidewall of the courtyard was built of low quality stone and has survived only in the foundation courses. There is no buttress on the exterior (Pektaş, 2007: 164) [Fig. 9].

### **3.3.1 The Courtyard**

The courtyard area<sup>15</sup> includes the entrance portal, an inner portal and surrounding spaces (Fig. 9, 11). The entrance portal is c. 6.50 m wide and projects 1.20 m. It has an iwan leading into the courtyard. The portal is not in the middle of the eastern wall of the courtyard (Fig. 9), but is placed somewhat to the north of center. Only its foundations and a few lower courses remain (Beyazıt, 2002: 40).

The spaces on the northern part of the courtyard functioned for services (Fig. 9). The terracotta water pipes were located here and a water reservoir (F) outside the northern wall is visible (Fig. 9, 12). The plan of the rooms also indicates the features

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<sup>15</sup> For the measurements, see Beyazıt, 2002: 40.



related with the bath (Pektaş, 2007: 164-165). The bath facilities were usually located on the right side of the main portal, as in such Seljuk caravanserais as Sultan Hanı, Karatay Han, Ağzıkara Han, Sarıhan, and Akhan (Yavuz, 1995: 186).

The Rooms A, B, C, and D were barrel vaulted and covered with a domed roof. The upper parts of their walls had squinches (Fig. 9, 13, 16). Room A (Fig. 14) is a tepidarium in a rectangular plan. It has a door leading from the courtyard. Moreover, another door at the eastern wall of the tepidarium (Room A) leads into a narrow space, which is Room B (Fig. 15). It has a square plan and leads into Room C having squinches and a dome (Fig. 13). It is a caldarium having a door, which leads into Room D where a furnace and its cauldron were located, on its southwestern corner (Fig. 16). The inner water reservoir (E) is located on the north of Room D. Furthermore another water reservoir (F) is outside the caravanserai (Fig. 9, 12). Terracotta pipes led to the caldarium and furnace from the water reservoirs (Pektaş, 2007: 165).

The Rooms G (Fig. 17), H (Fig. 18), I (Fig. 19), J (Fig. 20), and K are on the north side of the courtyard located between the shelter and the bath (Fig. 9). They opened into the inner courtyard by three doors. The Rooms I, J, and K are close to the shelter. They share a single door into the courtyard (Fig. 9). Similarly featured rooms are found at Tuz Hisarı Sultanhan, Zazadin Han, and Ağzıkara Han (Erdmann, 1961: 90-107). There are some traces of arches oriented north-south on the wall of the shelter. These traces show that these rooms were barrel-vaulted. During the excavation by the Denizli Museum, many potsherds and layers of burning and ash were revealed in these three rooms. They may have served as kitchen facilities. Moreover, layers of ash, burned wooden fragments, and burned wooden planks were found in Rooms G and H (Fig. 9, 17, 18). Their actual and earlier functions are

unknown but they may have served as a bakery (Pektaş, 2007: 165-166).

The southern wall of the courtyard is built of regular well-cut stone blocks<sup>16</sup>. On the exterior, it has a triangular buttress (Beyazıt, 2002: 41) [Fig. 9, 10]. The southern part of the courtyard has porticoed spaces, which often characterize caravanserais. Such a feature can be seen at Aksaray Sultanhan, Ağzıkara Han, Sarıhan, Karatay Han, Kargı Han, and Akhan (Yavuz, 1995: 189-191). In front of the porticos some stone blocks are set in a line. It is thought that these blocks indicate the typical colonnaded porticos of Seljuk caravanserais. The blocks are equidistant and regularly spaced at intervals. In addition, during the museum excavations, some stone bases were found on the southern part of the courtyard (Fig. 9, 21, 23). There are smaller and irregular stone blocks, remnants of the second line of the piers. The traces of arches on the walls indicate that arches connected these piers and barrel vaults roofed the porticos (Fig. 9, 21). After the collapse of the porticos and piers, some small stone blocks were used for repairs during the later periods (Pektaş, 2007: 166-168).

The Room L on the left side of the main portal is a masjid (Fig. 9, 22). This feature is common among other caravanserais, such as Altınapa Han, Kızılören Han, and Kuruçeşme Han (Erdmann, 1961: 29-31, 33-35, 45-48, 184-186). It is oriented north south and rectangular in plan. Moreover, some traces of a barrel-vaulted roof are evident. There is a *mihrab* niche in the middle of the southern wall (Pektaş, 2007: 167).

### 3.3.2 The Shelter

The shelter<sup>17</sup> is the roofed part of the caravanserai. It has five barrel vaulted

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<sup>16</sup> See Fersan, 1974: 7.

<sup>17</sup> For its measurements: see Pektaş, 2007: 168-169.

aisles. It is located at the west of the courtyard and built of well cut stone blocks with good craftsmanship (Fersan, 1974: 9-10) [Fig. 9, 24]. Six buttresses support its outer walls. Two of them are cylindrical buttresses flanking the portal leading into the shelter (Fig. 24). A second pair of the triangular buttresses is on the exterior of the northern wall (Pektaş, 2007: 168) [Fig. 9].

As noted, the buttresses of Han-abad are located asymmetrically (Fig. 9). Like Han-abad, asymmetrical buttresses can be seen at Zazadin Han (Yavuz, 1992: 256). Similar triangular buttresses are also evident at Alara Han, Ertokuş Han, Sarihan, and Şarafsā Han (Yavuz, 1969: 445). A third pair consists of two polygonal buttresses, one hexagonal and the other octagonal, on the exterior of the southern wall (Pektaş, 2007: 168) [Fig. 9]. The octagonal one projects 0.65 m from the wall and has a projecting rectangular base (Fersan, 1974:13) [Fig. 9, 25]. The hexagonal one has also a rectangular base (Beyazıt, 2002: 41) [Fig. 9, 26]. There are also three waterspouts at the upper parts of both the southern and northern walls (Pektaş, 2007: 168-169) [Fig. 27, 28].

Two cylindrical buttresses flank the portal, which has a flat arched opening (Beyazıt, 2002: 42) [Fig. 24]. The cylinder buttresses, flanking the door opening, are unusual in Seljuk architecture. These buttresses have been seen as one of the indicators of two different construction stages at Han-abad. Erdmann thought that the shelter was built earlier than the courtyard (Erdmann, 1961: 59-60). I agree with him. For one, the construction material of the shelter and the courtyard is quite dissimilar. In addition, the compensation joints on the walls can be interpreted as two stages of the construction.

The portal is located in the middle of the eastern wall of the shelter and on the same axis as the main portal (Beyazıt, 2002: 42) [Fig. 9, 24, 29]. The portal is

projected and designed as a niche with a pointed arch [Fig. 24, 29] (Ünal, 1982: 35, 47, 53). In addition, the foundation inscription of Han-abad is set on the portal, above the flat arched door opening. Unfortunately, the upper parts of the portal have collapsed. The portal also has geometric ornamentations and two lion consoles with muqarnas ornamentations flanking the inscription (Fersan, 1974:10) [Fig. 29].

The shelter was roofed with barrel vaults (Fersan, 1974: 5-6). The superstructure of the shelter is carried by twenty piers (Beyazıt, 2002: 42-43). They are four lines of five piers, which are connected by flat arches, oriented east west. Every pair of piers carried a stone rib (Fersan, 1974: 15-16) [Fig. 30, 31]. The ribs are oriented north south. (Fersan, 1974: 33) The barrel vaults are also in the same orientation.

The shelter has five aisles and the central nave is wider than the other aisles, 4.40 m in width in contrast to 3.50 m (Beyazıt, 2002: 42-43) [Fig. 30, 31]. The barrel vaults roofed them. Between the vaults there are nineteen square openings<sup>18</sup> to illuminate the inside of the shelter (Pektaş, 2007: 169-170). There are no slit windows at Han-abad, which does not have windows on its exterior walls like Sarıhan, Elikesik Han, İshaklı Han, and Evdir Han, etc. (Beyazıt, 2002: 75).

Platforms lie between the piers (Fig. 31). They are 0.35 m in height now but their actual height was 0.70 m, the original ground floor being located 0.30-0.35 m below the 20<sup>th</sup> century concrete floor. The piers that were set on the platform bands were connected with each other and the walls by pointed arches (Pektaş, 2007: 170). A staircase leads to the roof at the southeast corner of the shelter (Beyazıt, 2002: 43) [Fig. 9].

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<sup>18</sup> See Fersan, 1974: 36.

### 3.3.3 Construction Techniques and Material

The construction techniques and material have various features in different parts of Han-abad. The construction technique of the caravanserais features the use of both well-cut stone blocks and roughly shaped stones with a mortar that is made of brick dust and lime (Fig. 17). In addition, cobbles and rubble were used to fill between the facing stone blocks (Beyazıt, 2002: 43). The domed roofs and squinches of the bath facilities are built of brick (Pektaş, 2007: 165) [Fig. 13].

The construction material is not the same through the building. The eastern and the southern walls of the caravanserai are built of well-cut stone blocks. These walls are built of yellowish stone blocks (Beyazıt, 2002: 43) [Fig. 25, 26]. Because the caravan road passed on the south of the caravanserai, the southern and eastern walls were visible from the road. In contrast, the northern and western walls of the caravanserai, not easily visible from the road, are built of low quality sedimentary porous limestone (Fersan, 1974: 9).

In addition, the quality of material differs between the courtyard and the shelter. The shelter part is built of better quality stone blocks than the courtyard. Especially, the inner walls of the courtyard are built of roughly shaped stones that are in irregular courses and mortared (Fig. 32). This feature has been thought as one of the indications for two different stages of construction at Han-abad (Pektaş, 2007: 165). Besides the differences in the construction material, there are compensation joints on the walls (Fersan, 1974: 8). These compensation joints have been noted as another indication of two different construction stages. As noted above, the shelter must have been built first and then the courtyard was added to it (Pektaş, 2007: 163).

Moreover, the sizes of the blocks vary (Fig. 33). Bigger stone blocks were used in the lower courses than in the upper parts of the walls. The thickness of the

walls<sup>19</sup> also differs. In addition, some spolia were used in the walls of the caravanserai. Some of them are carved stone pipes and architectural blocks, probably from the Byzantine period (Fig. 33, 34, 35). The site from which the spolia came is probably nearby Charax (Çardak).

### **3.4 Ornamentation**

As at most Seljuk caravanserais, geometric and figural ornamentations are found at Han-abad. The portal of the shelter is the main source for the ornamentation at Han-abad. In addition, the capitals of the piers from the hall of the shelter have some figural representations. Unfortunately, the main portal of Han-abad is completely destroyed. Thus the actual ornamentation of Han-abad is not fully available.

#### **3.4.1 Geometric Ornamentation**

Geometric ornamentations are on the portal of the shelter (Fig. 29). Two borders were carved on each side of the portal. The first border, 0.26 m wide, has motifs of four-knots (Pektaş, 2007: 169). The second border, 0.34 m wide, has triangles. These borders are symmetrically designed (Beyazıt, 2002, 42, 44) [Fig. 37]. The four knot motifs of Han-abad's portal are also attested at Ribat-ı Mahi of the Gaznavids (Aslanapa, 1984: 157). Octagonal moldings of Han-abad's portal can be seen on the portal of Alay Han. Triangular moldings can be seen at Evdir Han and Alay Han (Beyazıt, 2002: 82) [Fig. 29, 36].

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<sup>19</sup> See Fersan, 1974: 31.

### 3.4.2 Figural Ornamentation

Figural representations are common on Seljuk buildings in several forms, such as sculpture, relief representation, consoles, representations on tile decoration, etc. However, Figural representation at Han-abad is not numerous. They consist of relief representations in a linear style. Uzunçarşılı (1929: 210) and Demir (1989: 21) have claimed that the figural representations of Han-abad are spolia. Considering the features and characteristics of the stone blocks, however, it may be noted that the carving styles are same. Therefore, these figural representations probably belong to the same date as the caravanserai.

Two lion relief sculptures are the most elaborate images. They flank the foundation inscription on the portal of the shelter (Fig. 8, 29). The lion on the left is in better condition than the other. They project 0.36 m and are depicted frontally. Therefore, their whole bodies were not represented. The lions are standing on two consoles having muqarnas ornamentation. Their mouths are open and their tongues are visible. They have full cheeks and almond eyes (Beyazıt, 2002: 44). Their heads are not depicted in detail. The name of Han-abad's patron, Esedüddin (Asad al-Din), means "the lion of religion" in Arabic. Is it a personal message or choice? It is not clear because the lion figures are very common in Seljuk art and architecture. The same type of lion heads is evident at Sarıhan, Çeşnigirhan, and Dokuzunderbent Han (Öney, 1969b: 1-3).

The other three figural representations are on the capitals of the piers in the central nave of the shelter. The first figure is a relief sculpture of a bullhead on the capital of the second pier (Fig. 30, 37). The bullhead is represented frontally and in high relief. The horns are pointed and its nostrils are emphasized (Beyazıt, 2002: 44-45). The facial features including almond eyes, full cheeks and long, flat nose

resemble a human face. It has pointed ears between the horns (Öney, 1970: 98). Bull figures are very common in Seljuk art and they generally are depicted with lion, eagle, dragon and human figures. However, bull figures with human figures are very few in Seljuk art (Öney, 1970: 83). Öney (1970: 98) relates the bull figure of Hanabad to the Zodiac sign of Taurus and the old Turkish calendar, which originated from the Chinese calendar and has twelve animals for each year of the twelve-year cycle. Actually there is no clue or evidence that supports Öney's interpretation.

A relief sculpture of two symmetrically placed fish decorates the capital of the third pier (Beyazıt, 2002: 45) [Fig. 38]. Between the figures there is a mason mark on the capital. The fish are placed with heads at the top. Two curving lines show their necklines. Circular eyes and open mouths were represented. Fish have three pointed fins on the sides (Pektaş, 2007: 171). There is another fish figure (Fig. 39) on a re-used block on the enclosure wall of a modern mosque, Çınar Camii, at Çardak. It is much bigger and elaborate than the fish figures on the capitals of the piers but it has the same stylistic features. It has a more detailed depiction. Unfortunately, it is whitewashed and spray painted. I think that it is contemporary with Hanabad and could belong to the ornamentation design of Hanabad's main portal. Its stylistic features and dimensions support this idea. The Seljuks carved many fish figures on their buildings (Öney, 1968: 142). Among Seljuk caravanserais, Aksaray Sultanhan has a fish figure on its inner portal (Beyazıt, 2002: 88).

A human head or an animal head is carved on the capital of the fourth pier (Fig. 40). It is bearded and has big ears. It is stylized and in high relief. Its left eye is big and has an almond shape. A mouth and nose are also visible. The left and right ears are not aligned; therefore the figure is not proportional (Beyazıt, 2002: 45). It has also been interpreted as a sheep's head (Fersan, 1974: 38). According to



Erdmann, the figure is a human head (Erdmann, 1961:61). Aslanapa and Beyazıt agree with him (Beyazıt, 2002: 87-89). It could perhaps be a monkey head because the shape of the head, the big ears and visual features recall a monkey. It is obviously not a sheep head but could be either a monkey head or a human head figure.

The figures of bullhead and fish may represent the fauna of the region around Han-abad. Vryonis mentioned that the lakes near Laodicea were well stocked with fish (Vryonis, 1971: 20). The climate of the region was different than today. Until the 1970s the lakes of Sazköy, Beylerli, and Çaltı had not dried up. Therefore, the region had had large meadows that were available for cattle and sheep. However, the destroyed condition of the main portal, which probably had the figural representations, limits the interpretation and understanding of the figural representations of Han-abad.

To what degree are the local features important to understand and interpret the architectural aspects and ornamentation of Han-abad? Han-abad's architectural features follow the general Seljuk architectural trend and conceptions for caravanserais. Therefore, the local features are not very important for the architecture. However, possible relationships between the figural representations and local fauna and the meaning of the patron's Arabic name "lion" indicate that the local features may have had some significance in Han-abad's ornamentation program. To conclude, the general trends and concepts of Seljuk art and architecture are very important to explain the architectural aspects and the ornamentation program of this caravanserai. In contrast, the local features are only moderately important to understand and interpret its architecture and ornamentation.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **AKHAN CARAVANSERAI**

Like Han-abad, Akhan is a typical Seljuk caravanserai of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The Seljuk governor Seyfeddin Karasungur commissioned it in 1253 as the westernmost caravanserai of the Seljuks (Fig. 2). Like most of the Seljuk caravanserais, Akhan has two principal parts: courtyard and shelter. The courtyard is surrounded by a number of spaces and leads into the shelter (Fig. 41), which is a roofed structure and has a number of naves and platforms to lodge caravans and their goods. Akhan's spectacular geometric, floral and especially figural ornamentations make it remarkable among the Seljuk caravanserais. In this chapter, Akhan's location, history, architectural features, and ornamentations are examined within their local context. The main objective is investigating the importance of the historical figures, geography, trade, and politics in order to understand and interpret the architectural, functional, and decorative features of Akhan. To what extent are the local factors important in architecture and ornamentation at Akhan? To what degree were the general concepts of Seljuk architecture and art followed at Akhan? How do the design and decoration at Akhan compare with those at Han-abad, the earlier caravanserai in the same region?

#### 4.1 Location

This caravanserai is located in the town of Akkale<sup>20</sup> by the Gökpinar or Emirsultan Çayı. It is near the Denizli-Dinar-Afyonkarahisar highway and 8 km northeast of the city center of Denizli (Fig. 42). In terms of the old road network, Akhan is located on the roads from Laodicea and Hierapolis to Chonae (Tuncer, 2006: 425) [Fig. 6]. A number of Western travelers visited and made references to it (Eyice, 1989: 236). Some of them referred to Akhan as Goncalı Hanı (Sarre, 1896: 10-11) and Bozhan (Arundell, 1975: 161-162).

#### 4.2 History

The caravanserai has two inscriptions on its portals. The inscriptions are eroded and not easily readable. When Sarre visited the caravanserai in 1895, he described the inscriptions as illegible (Sarre, 1998: 14). However, Erdmann and Uzunçarşılı tried to read the inscriptions, and they estimated or guessed the dates on them. Today, Erdmann's dating is generally accepted (Bayhan, 2007: 288). According to the inscription on the inner portal, Seyfeddin Karasungur bin Abdullah commissioned the caravanserai on *30 Rajab 651* (25 September 1253) during the reign of Izzeddin Keykavus II (r. 1246-1262). The other inscription on the main portal gives another date, *1 Jumada II 652* (19 July 1254) (Uzunçarşılı, 1929:193-194). Scholars such as Eyice have interpreted the two dates as two construction stages: the beginning and end of the construction. Eyice also noted that the courtyard was built earlier than the shelter but many scholars thought that the shelter was built earlier than the courtyard (Eyice, 1989: 236). I disagree with Eyice on the basis of

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<sup>20</sup> The villages of Akhan and Kale unified to establish a town called Akkale in 1998. (Resmi Gazete, 22 August 1998, 23441:4.) It will join Denizli Bütünşehir Municipality in 2009.

the courtyard's foundation inscription, which is later in date than the foundation inscription located on the portal of the shelter.

Seyfeddin Karasungur bin Abdullah was one of six Seljuk governors who commissioned more than one building project. As noted in Chapter II, above, he was the son of Manuel Maurozomes, a Byzantine Greek courtier who served the Seljuk Sultanate. His name first appeared on the reconstruction inscription of the walls of Antalya, where he was provincial governor between the years 1225-1226 (Beyazıt, 2007:152). Then he became the Seljuk governor of Ladik (Denizli) during the reigns of Alaeddin Keykubad I and Izzeddin Keyhüsrev II. One of his brothers was the Seljuk vizier Celaledin Karatay (Uzunçarşılı, 1929: 195). Karasungur's titles in the waqfiya of Karatay are *Büyük Emir*, *Sipehsalar*<sup>21</sup> and *Büyük Sipehsalar, Adil, Emirlerin Meliki*<sup>22</sup>; they illustrate how high his status or rank in the Seljuk state hierarchy was. He is the builder of the earliest Seljuk monuments in Ladik (Denizli); in total he commissioned nine building projects there. The important ones are Denizli Kalesi (now Kaleiçi), Hacı Eyüplü caravanserai, and Denizli Ulu Camii (1247), a fountain, Yenihan (Vakıfhanı), and Akhan (Şahin, 2002: 679-694). After 1254 there is no evidence about his building activities. He was sent to the regions close to Damascus by the Seljuk vizier Pervane Süleyman in 1268 (Uzunçarşılı, 1929: 195-196). He was one of the Seljuk high officials captured and freed by the Mamluk ruler Baybars near Elbistan in 1276 (Yaltkaya, 2000, 86, 157). There is little certainty about his last years. He may have become the provincial governor again at Ladik (Denizli) during the reign of Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev III. He probably died soon after 1276.

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<sup>21</sup> In Karatay's Kervansaray waqfiya; See Turan, 1948: 119.

<sup>22</sup> In Karatay's Madrasa wakfiya; See Turan, 1948: 142.

#### 4.2.1 Inscriptions<sup>23</sup>

The inscription of the inner portal is 1.00 x 0.70 m in dimension and has five lines of text. The arched portal on which has the inscription was designed and decorated in a harmonious way with the inscription (Fig. 43). Its transcription and translation are below:

السلطاني  
عمارة هذا الخان المبارك في ايام السلطان  
الاعظم عز الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح كيكافوس  
بن كيخسرو قسيم امير المؤمنين في تاريخ اخر رجب سنة  
احدي و خمسين و ستمائة العبد الضعيف المحتاج الي رحمة الله  
تعالى قراسنقر بن عبدالله

“Sultanic

This blessed khan was built during the reign of the great sultan ‘Izz al-Dunya wa’l-Din Abu’l-Fath Kaykavus b. Kaykhusraw, the partner (or helper) of the Commander of the Faithful in the last days of Rajab of the year 651 by Qarasungur b. ‘Abdallah, the weak slave who is need of the mercy of the Almighty God.”

The inscription of the outer portal is four lines in a panel measuring 1.02 x 0.72 m. It was written in *sülüs*. Two columns that have floral rosette ornamentations on their capitals and spiral decoration on their body flank the inscription (Fig. 44). Its transcription and translation are below:

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<sup>23</sup> The Arabic texts are taken from Bayhan (2007: 289) and the translations were provided by Oya Pancaroğlu.

.....  
عمارة هذا الخان في ايام السلطان الاعظم ظل  
الله في العالم عز الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح كيكافوس بن كيخسرو  
قسيم امير المؤمنين في تاريخ غرة جمادي الاخرة سنة اثني خمسين  
وستمئة العبد الضعيف المحتاج الي رحمة الله تعالى قراسنقر بن عبدالله

“.....

This khan was built during the reign of the great sultan, the shadow of God on earth, ‘Izz al-Dunya wal-Din Abu’l-Fath Kaykavus b. Kaykhusraw, the partner (or helper) of the Commander of the Faithful in the beginning of Jumada II of the year 652 by Qarasungur b. ‘Abdallah, the weak slave who is in need of the mercy of the Almighty God.”

#### 4.3 Architectural Features

Both Akhan and Han-abad are the type of caravanserais described as “*Sultan Hani*” (Altun, 2002: 826). However, this type of caravanserai is typically bigger than Han-abad and much bigger than Akhan. Akhan has two principal architectural units: the courtyard and shelter (Fig. 41). The dimensions of the courtyard and the shelter are not proportional.<sup>24</sup> The shelter is modest in its services and facilities but the courtyard has extensive facilities, such as a bath and a masjid (Bayhan, 2007: 290).

There are compensation joints between the walls of the courtyard and the shelter. They indicate two construction stages at Akhan. According to the foundation

<sup>24</sup> The courtyard measures 28.60 x 28.30 m on the outside and 25.00 x 25.00 m on the inside. The shelter measures 19.10 x 18.31 m on the outside and 16.00 x 17.00 m on the inside.

inscriptions, which give two dates (1253 and 1254), the shelter was built earlier than the courtyard. In addition, the construction material differs on the walls of the shelter and courtyard. Whereas the shelter is built of many porous stone blocks, the courtyard has many whitish marble blocks. This must be one of the indicators of two construction stages.

#### **4.3.1 The Courtyard**

The courtyard part of Akhan consists of a courtyard surrounded by a number of spaces (Fig. 41). Entrance is through the main portal in the middle of the southeastern outer wall of the courtyard or the façade. It is a typical portal gate, projecting 1.50 m. It also has a niche with a pointed arch (Fig. 44). It is not in the same axis with the portal of the shelter. In contrast the portals of Han-abad are in same axis (Beyazıt, 2002: 77-78).

The elaborate decorations of Akhan, mostly coming from the main portal, have several geometric and floral ornamentations. Especially, the surrounding border of intersecting meander motives form swastikas and have small squares, 0.12 x 0.12 m, and several animal figures (Bayhan, 2007: 291). The ornamentation borders of the portal should be continued above the intrados (Durukan, 1993: 145). Two hobnails are on the upper part of the main portal. According to Ünal, they have had geometric ornamentations (Ünal, 1982: 81-82) [Fig. 44]. Unfortunately the insides of the hobnails are blank now. Similar hobnails are visible at Susuz Han (Beyazıt, 2002: 78). Most of the portals at Seljuk caravanserais have corner columns. However, they are visible on some of the Great Seljuk caravanserais (Beyazıt, 2002: 77). There are niches on the sidewalls and they are typically designed as the small model of the

portals but Akhan's niches do not confirm to this model (Fig. 46, 47). The columns of the niches at the sidewalls of Akhan's main portal have similarities at Hatun (Pazar) Han in Tokat (Beyazıt, 2002: 80).

At each end of the wall with the main portal, there is a cylindrical buttress (Fig. 48). They are built of well cut stone and each has a molded cornice (Mocan, 1972: 44-45). Moreover, the side walls of the courtyard are also supported by polygonal buttresses (Fig. 41).

The main portal opens to a rectangular courtyard. Its ground level is not flat because of sloping topography. The courtyard was paved with stones to allow the drainage of the rain. There are a number of spaces surrounding the courtyard and opening onto it (Fig. 41, 45). These spaces had many services and facilities. The ones to the left side are 1.00 m wider than the spaces on the right (Yavuz, 2007: 137-138). An iwan (Room C) [Fig. 41] lies at the center of the right side; it is flanked by four rooms. Akhan has one iwan in its plan. This feature is also found at Kırkgöz Han (Beyazıt, 2002: 70-71). The iwan is barrel-vaulted and has facing consoles (Fig. 49).

Rooms A and B located to the right of the main portal functioned as inner bath facilities (Figure: 41, 50). They are two storied structures but most of their walls and roofs were destroyed (Bayhan, 2007: 294). Room B is a water reservoir. It had a window and an arched opening to the iwan. There are also some traces of a water tank that was built of brick. Besides, the terracotta water pipes are still visible in the wall. They were used to supply water into the building, probably from the Emirsultan stream (Beyazıt, 2002: 58).

Room A has a domed roof that is supported by squinches. It has a passage leading to the water reservoir. The plan suggests that there is a space in front of the water reservoir that functioned as a dressing room and tepidarium. Furthermore, an



elongated space close to the tepidarium has been identified as a toilet. In addition, Room A served as a caldarium and tepidarium (Bayhan, 2007: 294-295). A similar type of bath is also evident at Han-abad and many Seljuk caravanserais. However, Akhan's bath complex has one more space than does Han-abad's (Yavuz, 2006: 442). Moreover, there is a terracotta water pipe on the wall of the iwan and the tepidarium and it was assumed to be an indication of a fountain on the wall facing the courtyard. A similar example is seen in the Karatay Han (Bayhan, 2007: 295).

On the second floor of the bath there are two rectangular spaces and each is barrel vaulted. There must have been a stair that led to the second floor but it is not visible because of destruction. Both have a window in the outer wall. The sloping nature of the land may be the reason for the two storied spaces (Yavuz, 2007: 138).

Rooms D and E are barrel-vaulted and each has a door that leads to the second floor (Fig. 41, 45). The consoles carry the staircase, which has muqarnas decoration. The same type of stairs is found at several caravanserais such as Ağzıkara Han, Kesikköprü Han, Zazadin Han, and Karatay Han (Beyazıt, 2002: 72).

Akhan's portico is a typical one and similar porticos are seen at Altınapa Han, Aksaray Sultanhan, Kayseri Sultanhan, Zazadin Han, Karatay Han, and Hatun Han etc (Beyazıt, 2002: 68).

In the pictures of Erdmann, the left side of the courtyard had collapsed. Only the outer walls and the beginning of the vaults remained (Erdmann, 1961: 68-69). During the 1970s, the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü made a restoration project, unfortunately inappropriately done (Bayhan, 2007: 296-297) [Fig. 51]. The structures of this part can be considered as an open-air shelter. Two vaults above three arches lie parallel to the outer wall (Erdmann, 1961: 68-69).

Room F, a two storied space, is on the left side of the courtyard. In addition, a

door, leading into a rectangular space, is at the lower floor. An L shaped staircase leads to a narrow platform opening to a small square space on the second floor (Fig. 41). The space has a rectangular door that is well profiled by re-used stone blocks. Two windows<sup>25</sup> in the shape of pointed arches on the inside and rectangular on the outside are for illumination (Bayhan, 2007: 297) [Fig. 52]. The space was roofed probably by a dome set on triangular squinches. There could be a pyramidal superstructure on the outside (Fig. 52, 53). The axis of the space differed from the axis of the courtyard by 5 degrees (Bayhan, 2007: 297). A similar space, which functioned as a masjid, is evident at Altınapa Han (Erdmann, 1961: 69). The slit windows of Akhan's masjid probably functioned for looking out.

Generally, the design and dimension of the caravanserais and the number and complexity of their services indicate some of their functions (Yavuz, 1996: 25-38). According to Yavuz (1999: 756-765), with its service facilities, Akhan could well have functioned as a statehouse (local administrative center, *devlethane* in Turkish). In her analysis of its functional aspects, Yavuz suggested that because of its facilities and services, such as water related services baths and fountain, and large rooms or spaces, Akhan qualified as a local administrative center. In any case, Denizli was at this time the provincial center of the western regions in the border with the Byzantines. Moreover, the lives of the patron, Seyfeddin Karasungur, and other members of his family suggest their active use of the complex (Yavuz, 2007: 141).

#### **4.3.2 The Shelter**

Shelters in Seljuk caravanserais appear in three forms. First, the width of the

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<sup>25</sup> For the measurements, see Mocan, 1972: 50.

shelter is narrower than the width of the courtyard, as seen here at Akhan and Hanabad, also at Karatay Han, Ağzıkara Han, and Hatun Han. Second, the width of the shelter is wider than the width of the courtyard, like Kargı Han and Kırkgöz Han. Third the widths of the shelter and the courtyard are the same, as at Kuruçeşme Han, Dokuzunderbent Han, and Altınapa Han (Ersoy, 1996: 18).

The earlier Seljuk caravanserais have three naves but later five naves became common (Özbek, 1970: 32). Hanabad has five naves, as do Karatay Han, Kayseri Sultanhan, Aksaray Sultanhan, and Ağzıkara Han. In these caravanserais the platforms are U-shaped (Yavuz, 1992: 263). However, the later caravanserais have three naves again. Akhan has three naves and does not have U-shaped platforms (Beyazıt, 2002: 73). Akhan has a stable-platform-stable plan (Yavuz, 1995: 185).

The shelter is the enclosed and roofed part of the caravanserai northwest of the courtyard. Its ground level is higher than the courtyard (Fig. 45). Its outer walls have two polygonal buttresses on the eastern (Fig. 54) and western walls (Fig. 55) but there is no buttress on the northern wall because of the sloping land (Bayhan, 2007: 298). All the polygonal buttresses have square footings and are built of low quality stone (Mocan, 1972: 45) [Fig. 55]. The façade of the shelter forms also the northwestern wall of the inner courtyard. The portal is projected and it leads into the shelter. The construction inscription was set above the opening of the portal. Two re-used blocks flank the portal and have ornamentations such as the motives of intersecting meanders and swastikas with rosettes (Bayhan, 2007: 299) [Fig. 43]. I think that these re-used blocks could have given inspiration in the ornamentation program with intersecting meander motifs of the main portal.

The shelter is divided into three naves by two lines of three piers. These six square piers support the three vaults in the hall. Each pier supports two arches, which

are oriented southeast northwest, and two ribs, oriented southwest northeast. The arches were set directly on the piers whereas the ribs were set on projected imposts. The arches are lower than the ribs (Mocan, 1972: 44) [Fig. 56].

The arches carry the vaults and they are perpendicular to the walls. The central nave is wider and a bit higher than the naves at the sides (Bayhan, 2007: 299). Erdmann also noted that the central nave is higher than the side naves (Erdmann, 1961: 68). In the hall, there are square bases carrying the pointed arches. The lighting of the shelter is provided by three windows, two of them in the eastern wall and the other in the northern wall (Bayhan, 2007: 299-300) [Fig. 56]. Like Ağzıkara Han, Alara Han and Karatay Han, big windows are not used on the superstructure of Akhan but unlike Han-abad, Akhan has six slit windows (Beyazıt, 2002: 75). Two of them are in the masjidi (F) and the others are on the walls of the shelter.

Furthermore Yavuz, agreeing with Erdmann, states that the side naves functioned as stables. She suggested a plan of stable-platform-stable for the shelter (Yavuz, 1995: 185). In contrast, Demir disagreeing with Erdmann, thinks that the central nave does not have a platform (Demir, 1989: 12). There is a cleaning hole at the southeastern corner of the shelter but there is no indication for air circulation holes at Akhan (Bayhan, 2007: 300).

Uzunçarşılı referred to an outer bath close to the shelter (Uzunçarşılı, 1929: 193) [Fig. 41]. In contrast, Erdmann mentioned that there was no remain of a bath structure around the caravanserai (Erdmann, 1961: 71). The outer bath was not mentioned by the travelers such as Arundell (1826), Hamilton (1842) and Sarre (1895). Therefore it has been thought to be a later additional structure (Beyazıt, 2002: 71). During the cleaning work of the Denizli Museum, the remains of an outer bath have been uncovered in recent years (Yavuz, 2007: 135). The bath is located to

the east of the courtyard (Bayhan, 2007: 300-301).

#### 4.3.3 Construction techniques and material

The construction techniques of Akhan are varied. They basically depend on the width of the walls. Indeed, the widths of the walls change in different parts of the caravanserai.<sup>26</sup> The technique of *opus caementium* was mostly applied in the construction of the walls, which were faced with well cut stones. Rubble and *horasan* mortar made of brick dust and lime was used between the stone blocks (Mocan, 1972: 42-44).

Three types of roof structure are evident at Akhan: barrel vault, flat roof, and dome. Barrel vaults were extensively used, especially on the superstructure of the shelter. There are three parallel vaults at the hall, in the orientation of southeast-northwest. The widest and the tallest is the central vault (Mocan, 1972: 47-48) [Fig. 56]. The barrel vaulted superstructure of Akhan has close parallels with Hekimhan, Kesikköprü Han, and Durakhan (Beyazıt, 2002: 74).

Domes were used for such spaces as the masjid and the bath. The masjid has the first course of the dome on the cornices. Well cut stone blocks were used here and the dome<sup>27</sup> has a semi-spherical profile. The second dome<sup>28</sup> is located on Room A and is built of stone rubble. It also has a semi-spherical profile (Mocan, 1972: 48) [Fig. 53, 55].

The flat roof technique was applied by the use of flat lintel stones, which were put in a tilted position according to the angle of the staircase. The lintels are monolithic and well cut. It was applied on the lower sections of the spaces where the

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<sup>26</sup> For details see Mocan, 1972: 43-44.

<sup>27</sup> For the measurements and details see Mocan, 1972: 48.

<sup>28</sup> For the details see Mocan, 1972: 48.

staircase leads to the masjid (Mocan, 1972: 48). The roof of Akhan is covered with earth but the earth has been removed in some sections, leaving visible the rubble stone structure of the roof. Whether it originally covered by earth is unknown. Some parts of the roof have collapsed. There is no evidence about the rain water draining facilities on the roof and for the top cornice on the walls (Mocan, 1972: 48).

The size and quality of the blocks vary in several parts of Akhan. Usually on the facing of the exterior, well cut blocks were used (Mocan, 1972: 42-43) [Fig. 57]. For instance, well cut whitish re-used marble blocks are on the facade of the caravanserai, the masjid, and the western side of the courtyard. The numerous re-used blocks were surely taken from Laodicea (Sarre, 1998: 12-14), only one km away. These blocks are visible in every part of Akhan. Some of them are ornamented and inscribed (Bayhan, 2007: 301) [Fig. 58]. At least half of the construction material is spolia at Akhan, whereas at Han-abad, spolia comprise about 25% of the construction material.

In addition, rough stones and rubble were used in the construction of the building (Fig. 49). Porous stone blocks were used extensively on the exterior walls of the shelter (Fig. 54, 55). Therefore, the shelter is brown in color, whereas the courtyard is whitish. In addition, limestone blocks were used on the arches and upper structures of the caravanserai. Furthermore, the use of brick is evident. Bricks were used on the inner face of the niche at the masjid and the spaces called the inner bath (Mocan, 1972: 42-44).

#### **4.4 Ornamentation**

Akhan has geometric, floral and figural ornamentations placed mostly on the portals. The ornamentations of the main portal are more elaborate than those on the

portal of the shelter. Especially the figural representations of the main portal make Akhan remarkable among the Seljuk caravanserais. These figures are mostly animal figures but also a few human figures are evident. The floral and geometric ornamentations of Akhan show the general characteristics of Seljuk era. In addition, some re-used ornamented blocks (less than 1% of spolia) were used on the caravanserai for a purpose of decoration, such as a medusa head, consoles on the iwan, etc (Fig. 49, 58, 60).

#### **4.4.1 Geometric Ornamentation**

The geometric ornamentation in Seljuk architecture is a synthesis of Central Asian, Anatolian, and Middle Eastern features and techniques (Mülayim, 1982: 18-20). Like Akhan, geometric ornamentations are visible on most Seljuk buildings. These ornamentations were mostly applied on the portals. Geometric ornamentation of Seljuk caravanserais, especially on the portals could illustrate an evolution. The portals of the earlier caravanserais have only simple geometric ornamentation borders but later ornamentation is more complex (Ünal, 1982: 94). Akhan also has geometric ornamentations on its portals, especially on the main portal. The geometric ornamentation of Akhan is more complex than that of Han-abad.

The first border of the main portal has the motif of eight pointed stars intersecting each other; they define the ornamented frame (Fig. 44, 59). The second border was formed by meander designs that are intersecting and forming some swastika designs. Between the meander motives there are small squares, 0.12 x 0.12 m. The squares have figural representations (Eyice, 1989: 236) [Fig. 59]. The third border of the main portal has the motive of six pointed stars that were shaped by the

combinations of bigger and smaller triangles. In the fourth border, the motives of intersecting octagons and rosette designs are used (Beyazıt, 2002: 58) [Fig. 44, 59]. The octagonal border has some similarity to that of Evdir Han and Aksaray Sultanhan (Beyazıt, 2002: 83) and parallels with Karatay Han and Sırçalı Madrasah (Aslanapa, 1984: 105).

According to Durukan, the geometric ornamentations as a whole on the portals represent eternity and universe. The four knots motives of Han-abad's portal and the star motives in the geometric ornamentations of Akhan's main portal have been interpreted in the same way (Beyazıt, 2002: 79) but there is no evidence to prove the idea.

The niches on the sidewalls of the portals are typical of the Seljuk caravanserais. Furthermore, the geometric ornamented borders of the portals at Seljuk caravanserais are narrower than the other caravanserais (Beyazıt, 2002: 77).

The portal of the shelter has plainer ornamentation than the main portal. Two spolia blocks symmetrically flank the portal of the shelter (Fig. 43, 60). They have the motives of meander and squares between the meander designs. The intersecting meander designs form swastikas. The squares were decorated with floral and geometric ornamentations. The spolia block on the left of the portal has three rosette and a Seal of Solomon designs (Fig. 60). The spolia block on the right has similar types of ornamentations but here, a Seal of Solomon, a wheel of fortune design and rectangular spaces were carved on the block. The squares have rosette designs. Both ends of these blocks are unfinished (Beyazıt, 2002: 58-59) [Fig. 43, 60].

#### **4.4.2 Floral Ornamentation**

Floral ornamentations were applied abundantly on all Seljuk buildings. The



earlier floral ornamentations were simple but the later ones are more complex (Ünal, 1982: 94). Thus, as expected, Akhan also has floral ornamentations, especially on the main portal. Viewed from the outside, the fourth border, intricate with geometric intersections, has asymmetrically located rosette designs. Furthermore, the floral ornamentations such as palmette and rumi motives with floral branches were applied in the squares located between the meander designs (Beyazıt, 2002: 59) [Fig. 61].

Symmetrical floral decoration is also visible on ornamented niche on the side wall of the main portal. Stylized floral ornamentations are evident in the high relief, which has distinctive drop designs. Especially, a rosette is in the middle and surrounded by floral ornamentations of branches, palmette and rumi motives (Beyazıt, 2002: 59) [Fig. 62, 63]. The drop motives are on the niche of the portal's sidewall. They are high relief sculpted and stylized ornamentations. Mainly they have the floral branch ornamentations with palmette and rumi motives (Beyazıt, 2002: 85) [Fig. 63].

#### **4.4.3 Figural Ornamentation**

The figural ornamentations have an important place in Seljuk art. They were applied not only on the buildings but also on the tiles and ceramics. Therefore to find figural representations at Akhan is not unusual. However, the number and features of the figural representations of the main portal put Akhan in a special place in Seljuk art. These figures are small in size and not easy to identify (Durukan, 1993: 144-145). Roux (1972: 395-396) suggested that Akhan has sixteen animal and two human figures. Most of the figures come from the main portal. There are few re-used ornamented blocks.

Ögel suggests that the figural ornamentations of Ghaznavid art had influenced Seljuk art. She interpreted the figural representations in Seljuk art in cosmologic and symbolic ways (Ögel, 1964: 197-198, 204-205). According to Mülâyim (1984: 326), the animal figures are generally related with Persian-Sassanid culture, the Central Asian animal style, and Anatolian cultures. Furthermore, Öney noted that the figural representations of Akhan are related with the Chinese calendar, used by Turks in Central Asia. However, she stated that all the animals of the calendar are not depicted at Akhan (Öney, 1988: 58). According to Öney, in order to interpret and understand the figural representations of Akhan, the Chinese calendar is by itself not enough. Especially two human portrait-like figures make this statement clear. She thinks that direct connection with Central Asia is not enough to explain the figural and geometric ornamentations of Akhan (Öney, 1993: 148-149).

Similar figural ornamentations are evident only at Karatay Han (1240) among other Seljuk caravanserais. The interest in this comparison is heightened because the patrons are brothers. The figural representations at Karatay Han are not on the portal but above the fountain iwan's arch. Like Akhan, Karatay Han has the running lion, dragon, rabbit, bird, and antelope figures (Erdmann, 1961: 122). However, the figures have been defined differently by the scholars (Akalin, 1989: 54). Moreover, the stylistic features and craftsmanship at Akhan and Karatay Han are not similar. Especially Akhan's figures are depicted in motion and with floral ornamentations such as leaves and branches around the figures. In contrast, the figures at Karatay Han are depicted mostly motionless. In addition, Akalin (1989: 60) thought that Celaledin Karatay could have made some personal suggestions about the figural representations at Karatay Han. Although Celaledin Karatay was the brother of Seyfeddin Karasungur, the patron of Akhan, there is no parallelism between the

ornamentation programs of the two caravanserais.

Firstly, let us examine the figures on the main portal, which has several geometric ornamentation borders. The second border contains figural representations in the squares between the swastika motives, formed by intersecting meander designs. Squares, 0.12 x 0.12 m, have several figural representations in various compositions (Beyazıt, 2002: 59-60) [Fig. 59]. The squares between the intersecting meanders have not only figural but also floral ornamentations, fortune wheels, and rosette motives. This is very unusual in Seljuk art (Durukan, 1993: 146). The intersecting meander motives and the figural representations between them have been interpreted as several species having their place in the order of harmony (Durukan, 1993: 151-152). Generally, the heads of the figures are turned backwards. This feature is seen the influence and continuation of the Central Asian *animal style* (Beyazıt, 2002: 100).

These figures, listed on the right side from top to bottom, are: a bull, a wheel of fortune, a human figure in *toga*, a running animal, an eagle, a griffon, a winged lion, a bull, a dog. The figures on the left side from top to bottom are: a human in *toga* figure, a bird figure with floral ornamentation, an eagle-like, a winged animal, a running rabbit, a goat, a lion, and a deer.

#### **4.4.3.1 Figures on the right side of the main portal (from top to bottom)**

Let us examine these figures more closely. The first figure on the right side is a bull (Fig. 64). The bull's head and horns are depicted in profile and its whole body is emphasized in detail. A leaf-like floral decoration appears above the back of the bull. The depictions of the bull's legs are quite realistic. The bull is found in Turkish

mythology (Ögel, 1995: 536-538). It is thought to be the symbol of darkness and the moon. The horoscope sign and the symbol of power are other interpretations for it (Öney, 1970: 83).

The square below the bull figure is blank. The third square, below the blank square, has a design of the wheel of fortune turning to the right (Fig. 65). The fortune wheel motives, complex floral ornamentations and star motives have been interpreted as a representation of eternity (Beyazıt, 2002: 83). The fortune wheel figures are also related with the sun (Esin, 1972: 314-327). These claims are speculation; there is no proof.

The square below the wheel of fortune has a human figure in a toga (Fig. 66). The human figure illustrates portrait-like features: a frontal head with a round face and big eyes, defined eyebrows, and a mouth. The human figures represent classical characters and images rather than Central Asian character (Durukan, 1993: 150-151). This feature can be one of the indicators of the non-Muslim or Anatolian craftsmen employed at the construction and ornamentation projects of Akhan (Beyazıt, 2002: 91). The figures are depicted frontally and unusual for Seljuk art (Durukan, 1993: 144-145).

The square below the human figure has a running dog-like animal with a short, thick tail and pointed ears (Fig. 67). There is a leaf like floral decoration above the body of the figure (Beyazıt, 2002: 60). According to Turkish tradition and mythology, the dog represents the west (Arseven, 1975: 506); however, there is no evidence to confirm this.

The next square below has an eagle (Fig. 68). Its body and legs are represented frontally but its head is depicted in profile while opening its wings (Durukan, 1993: 146). Above its wings there are two volutes elements (Öney, 1993:

157). The wide opened wings of the eagle figure are described as “heraldic pose” (Kuban, 1999: 73). The eagle figure is very common in Seljuk architecture. Double-headed eagle figures are also common. The castles of Konya and Diyarbakir, and the tiles of Kubad-abad have such eagle figures (Öney, 1993: 139-172). The eagle figure is interpreted as a symbol of power and protector of souls (Durukan, 1993: 150). Beyazıt mentions Central Asian links with the eagle figure (Beyazıt, 2002: 92), but the eagle has been used by several societies and dynasties as their symbols. For instance, the Byzantines also used the eagle as their symbol.

The square below the eagle figure has a griffon with wide wings and pointed ears (Fig. 69). It is depicted in profile while raising its forefeet. Its mouth is open. The square below is heavily damaged so it is impossible to say anything about the figure in it or if indeed there was a figure. The next square contains a running winged feline (Fig. 70). It looks like a tiger rather than a lion. It is illustrated in profile and had small pointed ears. Its thick tail is curling above the body. Floral decorations are placed between the legs and around its tail. It is depicted in motion (Beyazıt, 2002: 61).

The tenth square illustrates a bull or a deer with big horns (Fig. 71). In my opinion, it resembles a deer. Aslanapa identified the figure as deer. Öney and Beyazıt disagree with him (Beyazıt, 2002: 99). It is represented in profile with its eyes and nostrils emphasized. Some ornamentation, especially floral ornamentations, is placed above its body and between its legs (Beyazıt, 2002: 61). In the upper right, a design like a crescent is seen (Gündoğdu, 1979: 231). The deer has a very special place in Turkish mythology and Central Asian art. It was considered a sacred or religious creature by Central Asian tribes. They believed that the deer carries the souls of the dead people to heaven (Ögel, 1995: 101-109). Mülâyim (1984: 334-336) relates the

deer with mysticism. However, these claims and interpretations do not have solid evidence and proofs.

The square below the bull contains a dragon figure (Fig. 72). It is depicted in motion with its head turned backwards. It has a long neck and nose with slim body. Its mouth is open. There are floral ornamentations around the figure. Dragon figures are common in Seljuk art. They are seen mostly on the stone and plaster reliefs. These figures are seen at the walls of Konya, Alaeddin Palace or Kiosk, Kubad-abad, Kayseri Sultan Hanı, Kayseri Karatay Han, and Burdur Susuz Han (Öney, 1969a: 172-178). Like Akhan, Karatay Han has dragon, antelope, and elephant figures. Durukan disagrees with this interpretation (Durukan, 1993: 148). The dragon figures are interpreted in several ways, such as harmony and motion in Universe, symbol of darkness and underworld, struggle with darkness and evil, and symbol of a planet or the sign of Chinese calendar (Öney, 1969a: 189-192).

The square below the dragon figure is blank. The following square below the blank square has a floral palmette design (Fig. 73). It has nine leaves. The lowest square below the palmette design has a rosette design. It is a flower with six leaves (Beyazıt, 2002: 61) [Fig. 74].

#### **4.4.3.2 Figures on the left side of the main portal (from top to bottom)**

The first square has a design of circle. The next square has a wheel of fortune turning to the left (Fig. 75). The third square shows another wheel of fortune turning to the right. In the fourth square a human figure is shown in a toga (Fig. 76). He is frontally depicted and has portrait-like features. The figure has a rounded face, big eyes, and wavy hair. It is depicted in low relief but has damage on the right part of its

head. There is a rectangle rather than a square below the human figure, depicts a bird with an upright tail (Fig. 77). Some stylized floral designs are placed around it (Beyazıt, 2002: 62).

The sixth square, below the bird, depicts a dog with pointed ears and short tail (Fig. 78). Its head is turned backward. It is shown in profile and there is a branch-like floral ornamentation above it. The following square, illustrates also a bird (Fig. 79). Regarding its legs and the features of wings and tail, it looks like an eagle, but its short bill, head and neck are similar to a pigeon (Beyazıt, 2002: 62-63). A branch-like floral design was applied around the bird, perhaps the symbol of a horoscope sign or a planet (Öney, 1993: 157). There is a blank rectangle below it.

The square below the blank rectangle has a winged animal, a mixed creature, shown in profile (Fig. 80). It is depicted in motion. It seems having a lion-head, an eagle head on its chest and an elephant head on its back. The upper parts of the figure have been damaged. The next square has a running animal, shown in profile (Fig. 81). Erdmann suggested it may be a rabbit (Erdmann, 1961: 70), but it could be a gazelle without horns. Its head is turned backwards. Floral ornamentations surround the figure (Beyazıt, 2002: 63). Like Akhan, Karatay Han has a rabbit figure on its fountain iwan (Akalin, 1989: 55) but there are stylistic differences.

The tenth square, below the running animal, illustrates a chamois or mountain goat figure with its pointed horns and short tail (Fig. 82). It is depicted in low relief. There is a floral branch design ending with a palmette design around it. Its right foreleg is raised and body is emphasized. Its mouth is damaged (Beyazıt, 2002: 63). The goat figure was common in Central Asian art from the times of Huns. Beyazıt tried to relate the figure with Central Asian tradition. I disagree with him. I think the mountain goat figure could represent fauna of the region. Until the 1970s mountain

goats were living in the region, especially at Maymun Mountain and Honaz Mountain. They are still not extinct in Çivril Akdağ.

The following square has a lion in a proud manner, with pointed ears and upright head (Fig. 83). Its mouth and eyes are not emphasized, but it has pointed ears (Öney, 1969b: 30). Its tail is curved above the body and ends with a palmette design. The lower part of the depiction is unknown because of damage and the junction of the stone blocks. The lion figures are also evident at Karatay Han and Erzurum Yakutiye madrasah (Beyazıt, 2002: 93).

The next square shows a deer or gazelle (Fig. 84). It is depicted on the floral ornamented background. The figure is heavily damaged and shown in profile. It has long horns and is depicted in motion. The lowest square, below the deer or gazelle, has a circle (Fig. 85). It is divided into nine parts; with a rosette in each part (Beyazıt, 2002: 63).

The column capitals of the pointed arch on the main portal have two pigeon figures, looking at each other (Durukan, 1993: 146) [Fig. 61]. Their features of wings, tail and chest resemble a falcon (Öney, 1993: 142), but the features of a short pointed bill, round eyes and the shape of head suggest a pigeon (Gündoğdu, 1979: 235). The wings and tails of the birds are shown like a fan (Beyazıt, 2002: 63-64). Öney has suggested that these birds might represent the emblem of Karasungur, an eagle or white falcon (Öney, 1993: 142). Different kinds of birds have different meanings in Turkish mythology (Ögel, 1995: 556-560). It has even been claimed that the figures of the birds could represent horoscope signs or the symbol of the planets (Öney, 1993: 157). I think it is an exaggeration to relate everything with celestial bodies or horoscope signs because there is no evidence that proves the claim.



## **4.5 Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter aimed to investigate the questions: to what extent are the local factors crucial to understand and interpret the architectural, functional and decorative aspects of Akhan? To what degree are the general concepts of Seljuk art and architecture important to explain the architectural and decorative aspects at Akhan and Han-abad?

First, the local features are very important in the functional aspects of Akhan. Regional history and geography and the historical figures played significant roles in determining the administrative and commercial functions of Akhan. At Han-abad, in contrast, the local factors are only moderately important in its functional roles.

Second, the architectural features of Akhan and Han-abad mostly followed the general concepts of Seljuk caravanserai architecture. The local factors that had limited effects in architecture are not important.

Third, the decorative aspects of Akhan and Han-abad were influenced by local factors and their effects are moderately important in ornamentation. For example, the design of geometric ornamentation on the main portal of Akhan took inspiration for the intersecting meanders from the ornamented re-used blocks flanking the portal of the shelter. In decorative aspects, Akhan is more elaborate than Han-abad. When Han-abad had simpler geometric and figural ornamentations, Akhan had more complex geometric ornamentation and figural representations, and both in greater numbers.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

This study has investigated Han-abad and Akhan, two Seljuk caravanserais in the vicinity of Denizli. Han-abad and Akhan were built twenty-three years apart. Han-abad (1230) belongs to the golden era of the Seljuks during the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad I, but Akhan was built after the Mongol invasion in 1253. There are important differences between Han-abad and Akhan in architecture, function, and ornamentation. After the description of the architecture of the caravanserais, the functional analyses of the buildings have been presented. These analyses are generally based on the formalistic features or the architectural plans. This study offers a new approach to functional analysis by considering local context in detail. One of the main objectives of this study has been to provide a survey of the socio-economic and historical background of the Denizli region in order to analyze these two caravanserais in their local contexts. Local contextualization is needed as a new approach to analyze the functions of the caravanserais alongside the formalistic features and plans. The second main objective has been to investigate the influences of local factors on the architectural and decorative aspects of Han-abad and Akhan. In contrast with the architectural techniques, the ornamentation programs of Han-abad and Akhan were inspired or affected to some degree by local features.

Han-abad and Akhan were the westernmost caravanserais of the Seljuks. Both

were built after the conquest of the Denizli region (in 1196) and during the period of peace, between 1212 and 1261, with the Byzantine state of Nicaea. Consequently, Han-abad and Akhan were not used for significant military purposes: Han-abad did serve to control and guard the caravans, especially the pass which is between Maymundağı and Acıgöl. Akhan had the same function, to guard the nearby bridge.

The most significant function of Han-abad and Akhan was commercial, to serve caravans. They not only sheltered and protected the caravans but also acted as the local markets. Agricultural products, textiles, alum, leatherwork, and livestock were traded in the Denizli region. The increase in demand for grain after the Mongol invasion resulted in an especially active trade traffic. There was drought in central Anatolia and the demand was supplied by the Byzantines, so Ladik (Denizli) benefitted from the grain trade. International fairs, such as Alameddin Pazarı, indicated the international character of trade in the region. Kayı Pazarı had also an international character because of the alum trade.

The destiny of Ladik (Denizli) in the 13<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the important roles played by Manuel Maurozomes, a Byzantine courtier, and his family. Manuel Maurozomes (d. 1226) ruled a buffer state centered in Laodicea (Ladik, Denizli) between 1204 and 1206 until the Seljuk annexation of the buffer state. After that, Esedüddin Ayaz became the Seljuk governor of Honaz (Chonae) and Ladik (Denizli) but Maurozomes did not lose his status as Melik in the Seljuk state. Ayaz commissioned Han-abad in 1230 and died in 1231. After him, Maurozomes's son Seyfeddin Karasungur became the Seljuk governor of Ladik and later commissioned many building projects in Ladik (Denizli). One of them was Akhan, in 1253. Maurozomes's other sons were the Seljuk vizier Celaledin Karatay, and the Seljuk governor Kemaleddin Rumtaş. His daughter was the wife of Sultan Gıyaseddin

Keyhusrev I. Contemporary with Karasungur was Mehmed Bey, the leader of the Turkmens of Denizli and founder of the earliest Turkmen emirate in (Ladik) Denizli in 1260. He too, was a member of same family (grandson of M. Maurozomes).

The activities and connections of a local family ranking high in the Seljuk government and the architectural plan of Akhan, which is in the Sultanhan type, suggest that it functioned as a local administrative center. According to Yavuz, Akhan had sufficient features, such as water related services, baths and fountain, and large rooms or spaces, to be a local administrative center. The obvious differences in the design of the inner and outer baths could mean that the inner bath served for the high bureaucrats or statesmen. In addition, the historical background when Akhan was built gives some clues about its function: When the Seljuk lands were shared between Izzeddin Keykavus II, Alaeddin Keykubad II and Rükneddin Kılıçarslan IV, Izzeddin II ruled in the western lands until 1260. Akhan could have been used by him as his local administrative center or palace because it was near Ladik (Denizli), the center of the Seljuk west. No other 13<sup>th</sup> century buildings from Denizli or its immediate environs have been identified as serving these functions.

When the architectural features of Han-abad and Akhan are examined, local influences are not clearly attested. In contrast, the ornamentation programs of the two caravanserais may show some local elements. For instance, the figural ornamentations of Han-abad such as fish figures may represent the fauna of the region at that time. The lakes, which were close to Han-abad, were well stocked with fish until the 1970s.

The figural representations at Akhan of such animals as rabbit, deer, and mountain goats also could represent the fauna of Denizli in that time. Rabbits are still alive in most of the Denizli region. Mountain goats lived in the mountains of

Maymun and Honaz until the 1970s but they have now become extinct there. Fortunately, both the mountain goats and deers still survive in Tokalı Canyon at Çivril-Akdağ of Denizli.

Although representations of animals are frequent in Seljuk art, the local fauna cannot have been completely ignored when the ornamentation programs were designed. For instance, some animal figures such as bird, dragon, and antelope or gazelle are depicted at both Karatay Han and Akhan but there is no parallelism and relationship between the two. The stylistic features and craftsmanship at Akhan are very different than those of Karatay Han. Although the patrons of the two caravanserais were brothers, Celaledin Karatay and Seyfeddin Karasungur, there is no resemblance in the architecture and ornamentation of the two buildings.

In conclusion, local factors played significant roles on function of Han-abad and Akhan. First of all, the geography or geostrategic importance of the Denizli region defined the character of the area's commercial and political activities, which generally go together. Secondly, the activities of a local family ranking high in the Seljuk government were crucial in determining Akhan's function as a local administrative center. Seyfeddin Karasungur, a member of that family, commissioned almost all the Seljuk building projects in Ladik (Denizli). It indicates the defining effects of the personal action and choice of Karasungur and his family on the destiny of the region. The final result from this study is that the design and function of Han-abad and Akhan are dependent not only on the regional history and geography but also on the personalities and actions of the contemporary historical figures. These caravanserais were not just architectural building complexes but also the lives, memories, homes, and history of individuals whose actions and choices were decisive.

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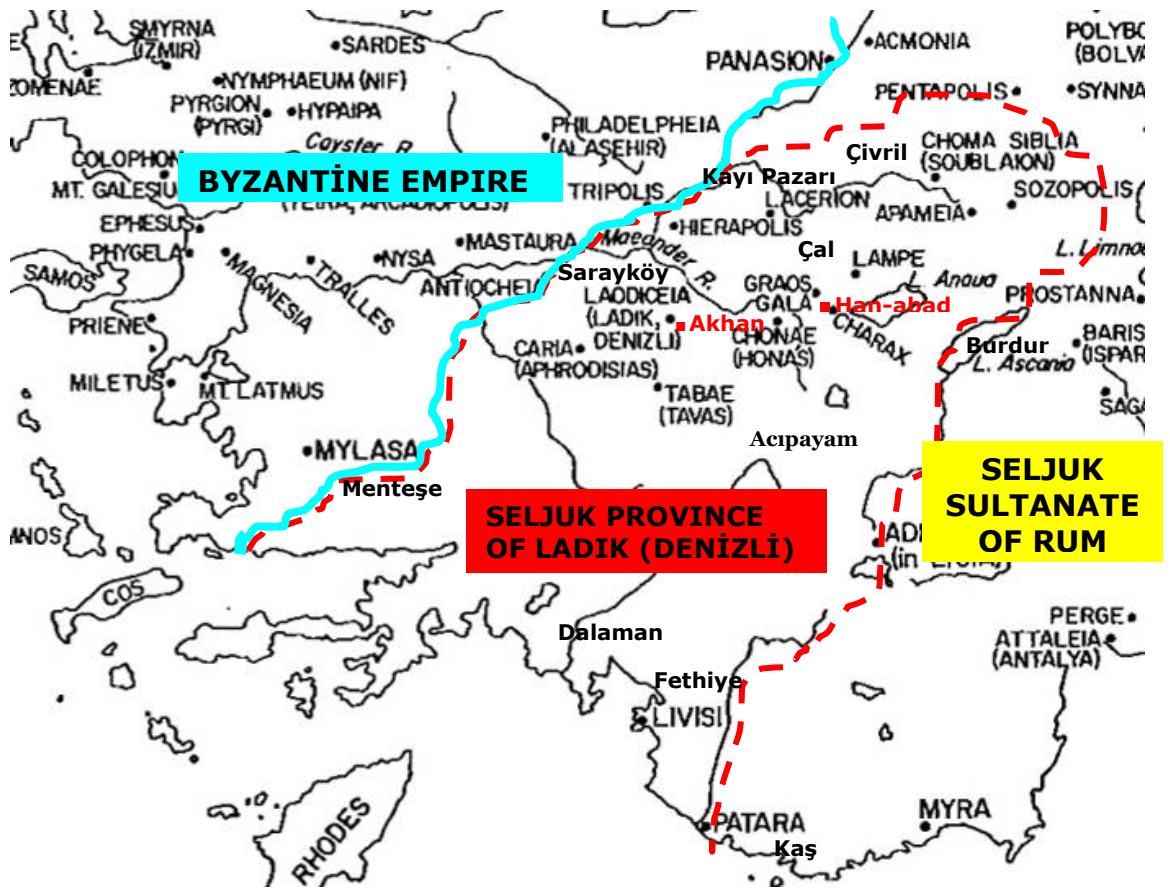
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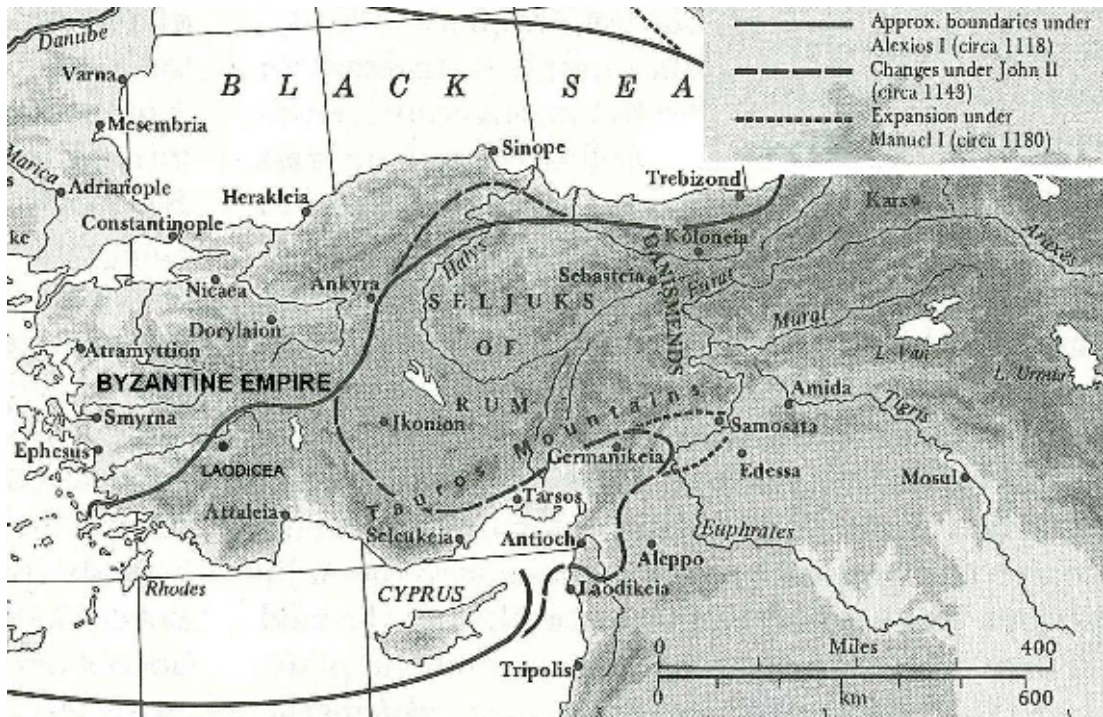
## FIGURES



**Fig. 1:** The Limits of Seljuk Province of Ladik (Denizli) [after Vryonis 1971, 14-15]



**Fig. 2:** The Location of Akhan and Han-abad within the Network of the Seljuk Caravanserais in Western Anatolia (after Bektaş 1999, Map VI)



**Fig. 3:** The Byzantine and Seljuk Borders during the 12<sup>th</sup> century (after Kazhdan 1991: 355)





Fig. 4: Western Anatolia after 1204 (after Kazhdan 1991: 357)



Fig. 5: Anatolia Before the Mongols (after Cahen 1968: Map III)





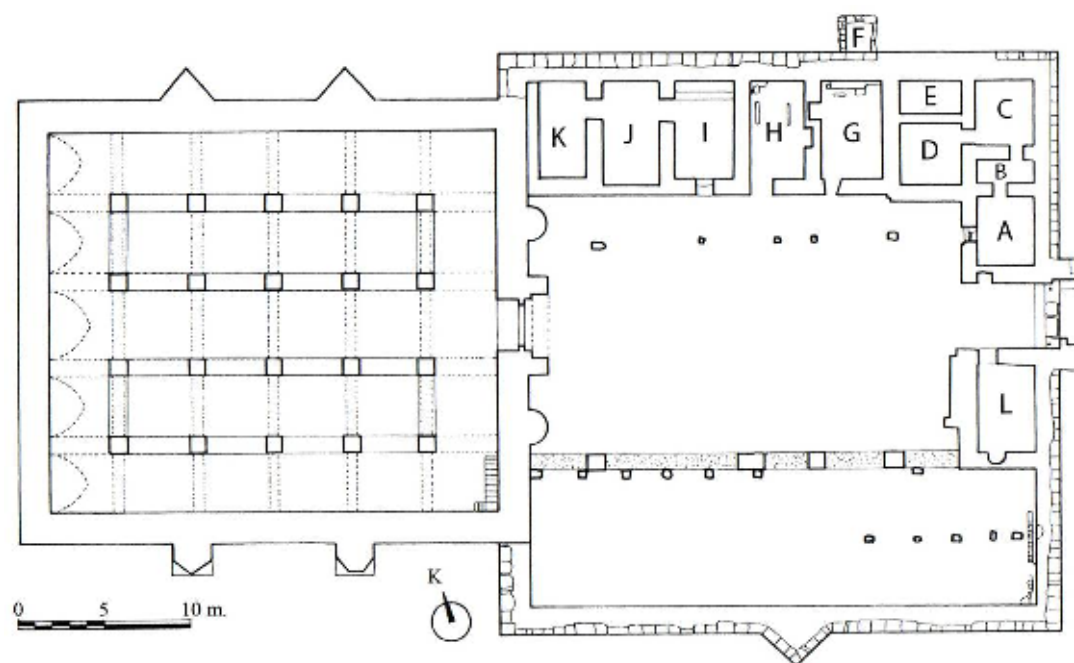
**Fig. 6:** Ancient Roman Roads and Çardak Castle (after Barnes and Whittow 1998 Fig. 27.1)



**Fig. 7:** Çardak Castle and Maymundağı from Han-abad (from the South)



**Fig. 8:** The Foundation Inscription of Han-abad and Two Lion Figures (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 11)



**Fig. 9:** Architectural Plan of Han-abad (after Pektaş 2007: Illustration 1)





**Fig. 10:** Han-abad's Location Sloping Down. View of the South Wall and the Triangular Buttress of the Courtyard (from the South)



**Fig. 11:** The Spaces or Rooms around the Courtyard (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 3)



**Fig. 12:** Outer Water Reservoir [F, in the plan] (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 6)



**Fig. 13:** The Brick Squinch from Room C





**Fig. 14:** Room A from the Courtyard (from the West)



**Fig. 15:** The Passage from Room A to Room B of Han-abad





**Fig. 16:** Room D from the Courtyard (from the South)



**Fig. 17:** Rooms G, D and C from the Southwest (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 4)





**Fig. 18:** Room H from the Courtyard (from the South)



**Fig. 19:** Room I from the Courtyard (from the South)





**Fig. 20:** Room J from the Courtyard (from the South)



**Fig. 21:** The Southern Part of the Courtyard (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 8)





**Fig. 22:** Room L from the Courtyard (from the North)



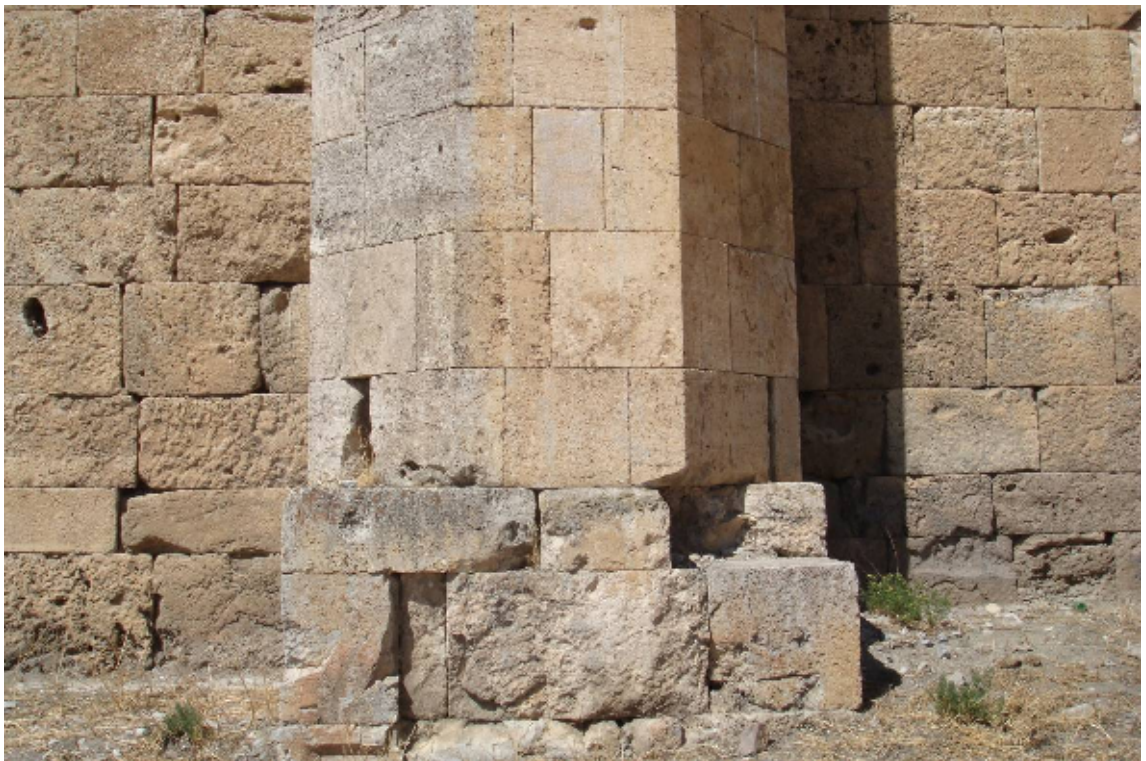
**Fig. 23:** The Stone Footing in the Southern Part of the Courtyard



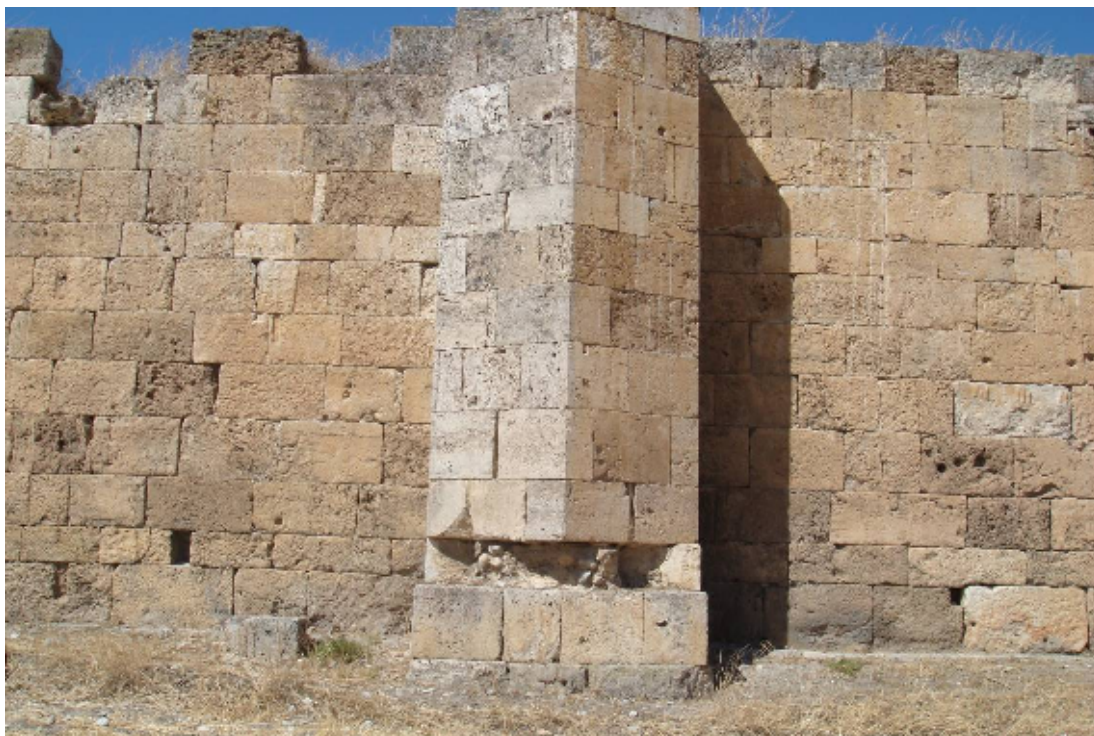


**Fig 24:** The Portal of the Shelter and Two Cylindrical Buttresses (Pektaş 2007: Fig.

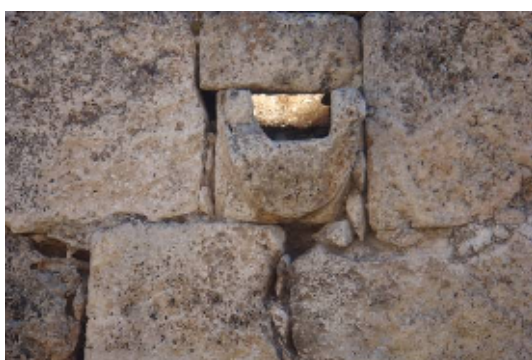
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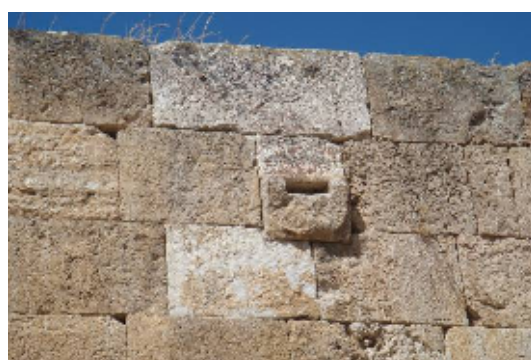
**Fig. 25:** The Octagonal Buttress on the Southern Outer Wall of the Shelter



**Fig. 26:** The Hexagonal Buttress on the Southern Outer Wall of the Shelter



**Fig. 27:** The Waterspout 1



**Fig. 28:** The Waterspout 2





**Fig. 29:** The Portal of the Shelter (Pamukkale 2002: 73)



**Fig. 30:** Central Nave of the Shelter (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 13)





**Fig. 31:** The Southern Side Nave of the Shelter and Its Platforms  
([www.pamukkale.gov.tr](http://www.pamukkale.gov.tr))



**Fig. 32:** Mortar with Pebbles and Cobbles (the Northeastern Corner of the Courtyard)



**Fig. 33:** The Variation in the Stone Block Sizes (the Western Outer Wall of the Shelter)



**Fig. 34 and 35:** Spolia Blocks from the Western Outer Wall of the Shelter



**Fig. 36:** Detail of Geometric Ornamentation (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 12)





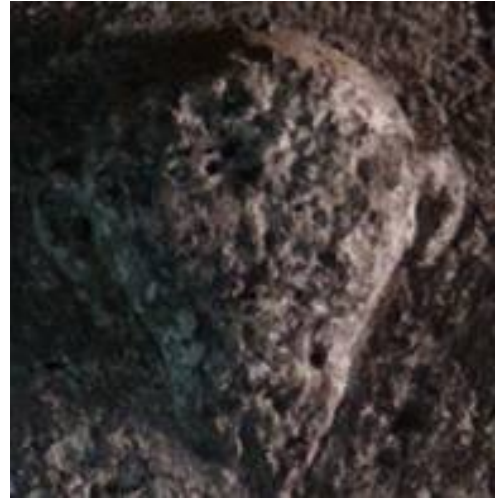
**Fig. 37:** The Bullhead Figure



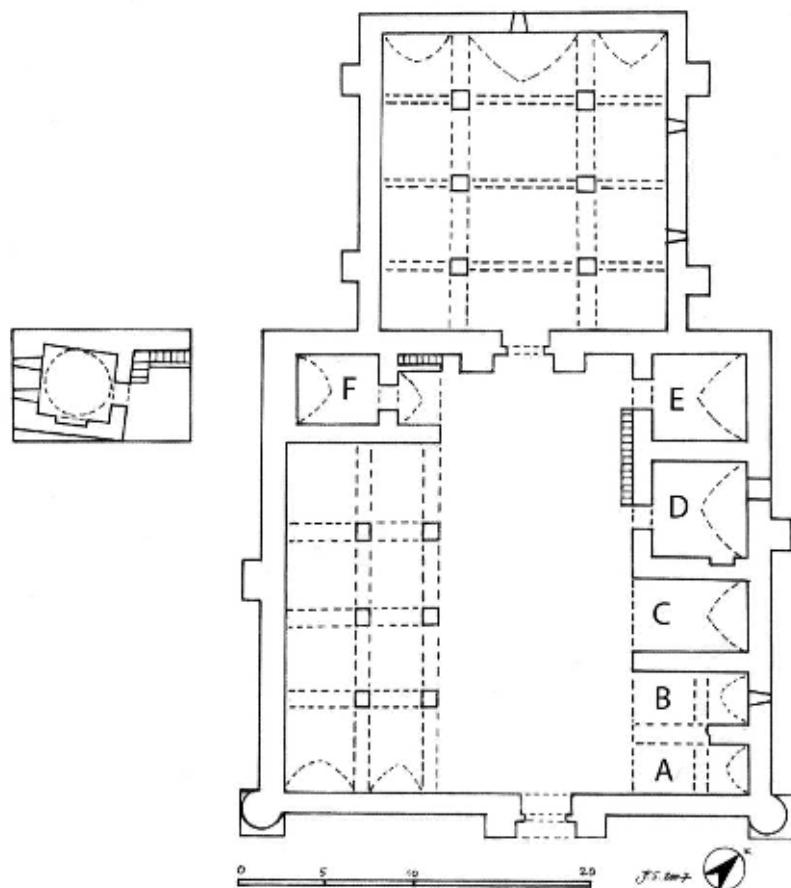
**Fig. 38:** The Fish Figures and a Mason Mark (Pektaş 2007: Fig. 14)



**Fig. 39:** The Fish Figure on the Enclosure Wall of Çınar Camii, at Çardak



**Fig. 40:** The Figure of Human Head or Chimpanzee Head



**Fig. 41:**  
Architectural Plan  
of Akhan (after  
Bayhan 2006: 290  
Illustration 1)





**Fig. 42:** Akhan is on the Denizli-Dinar –Afyonkarahisar Highway (Bayhan 2007: Fig.1)



**Fig. 43:** The Portal of Akhan's Shelter and Its Inscription





**Fig. 44:** Akhan's Main Portal and Its Inscription



**Fig. 45:** The Courtyard of Akhan



**Fig. 46:** Left Mihrabiya



**Fig. 47:** Right Mihrabiya

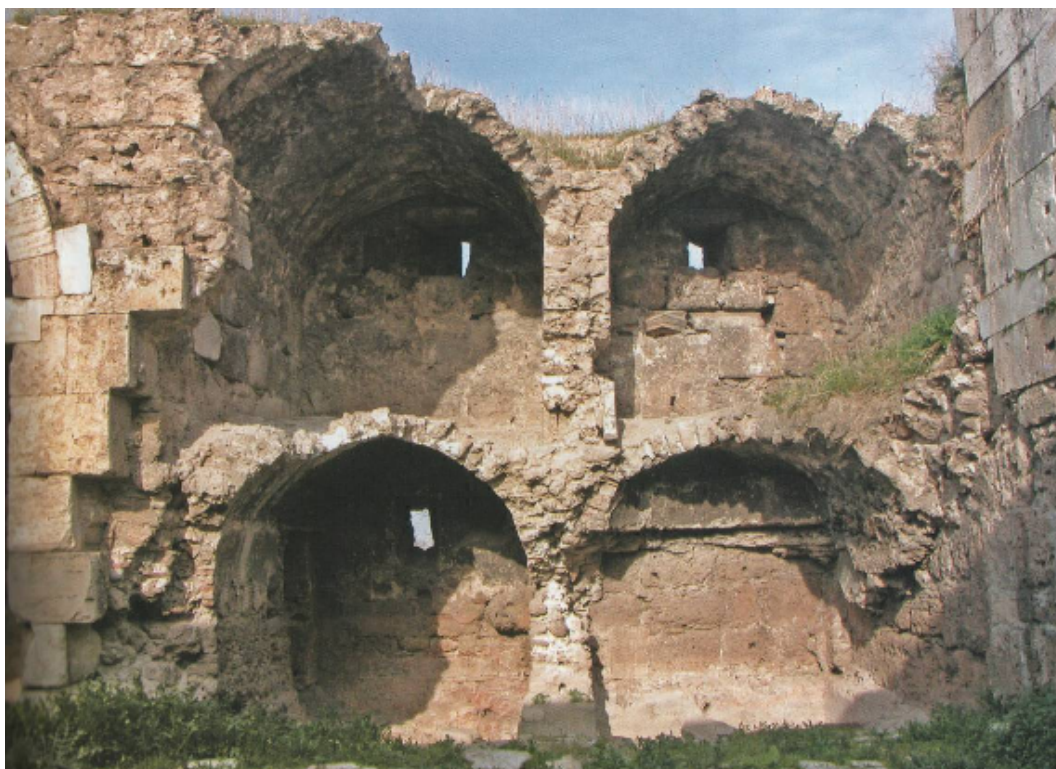


**Fig. 48:** The Cylindrical Buttresses of Akhan



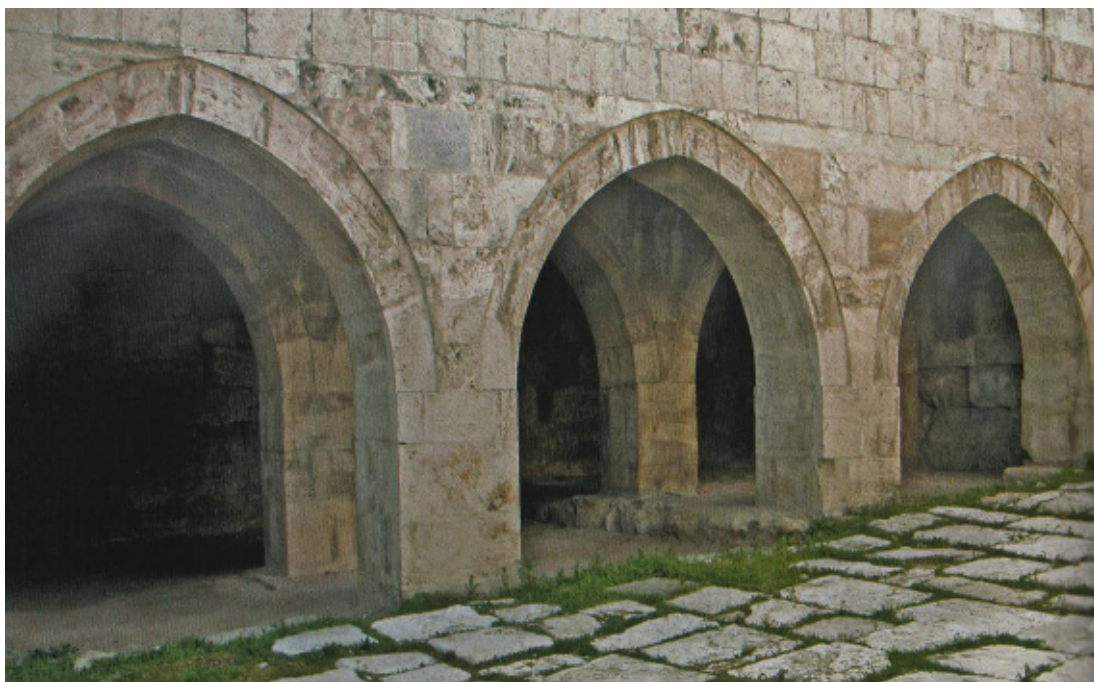


**Fig. 49:** Space or Room A, B, and C



**Fig. 50:** Room A and B (Inner Bath Facilities)





**Fig. 51:** The Portico of Akhan's Courtyard (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 11)



**Fig. 52:** The Windows of Room F (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 12)



**Fig. 53:** Room F from Outside and Its Roof



**Fig. 54:** The Polygonal Buttresses on the Eastern Outer Wall of the Shelter





**Fig. 55:** The Polygonal Buttresses on the Western Outer Wall of the Shelter



**Fig. 56:** The Pointed Arches and Barrel Vaults in the Shelter (Bayhan 2007: Fig. 14)

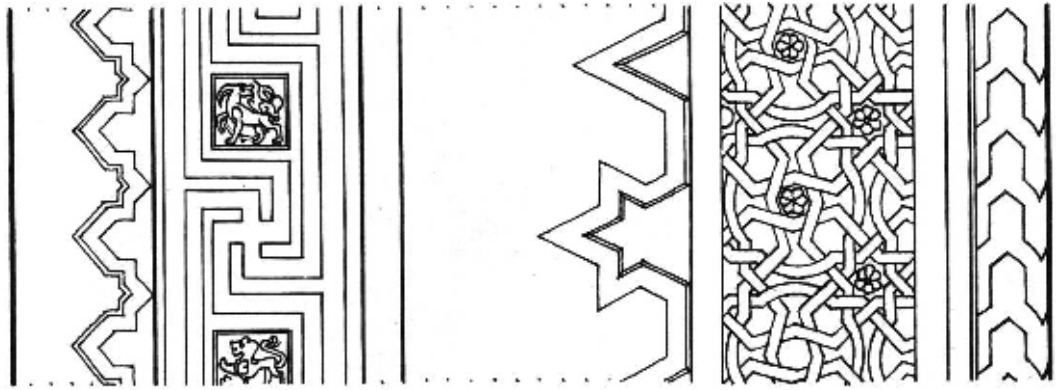


**Fig. 57:** The Well-cut Stone Blocks on the Outer Walls of the Courtyard



**Fig. 58:** The Re-used Stone Block with Medusa Head Depiction

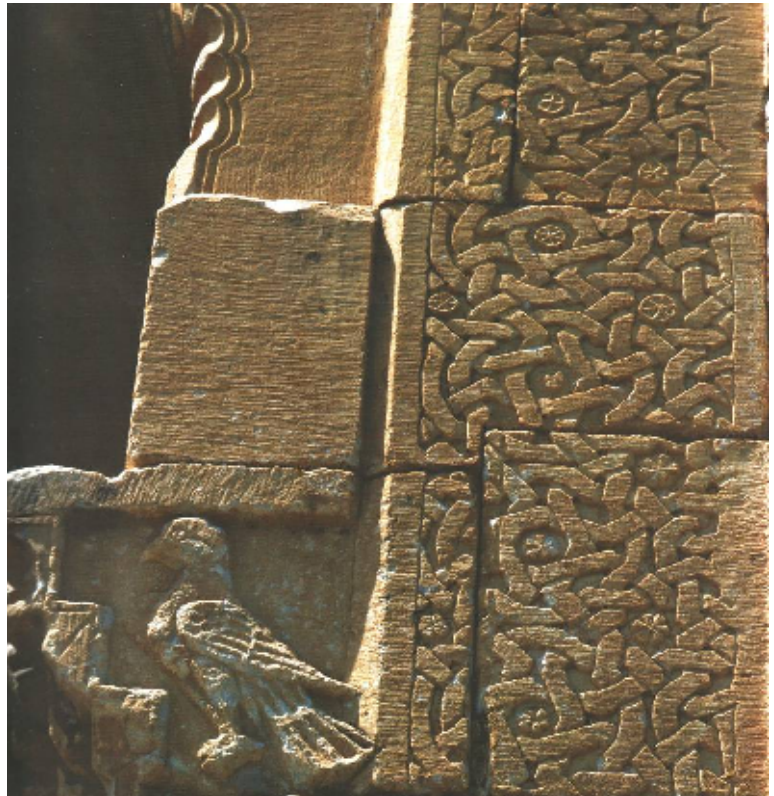




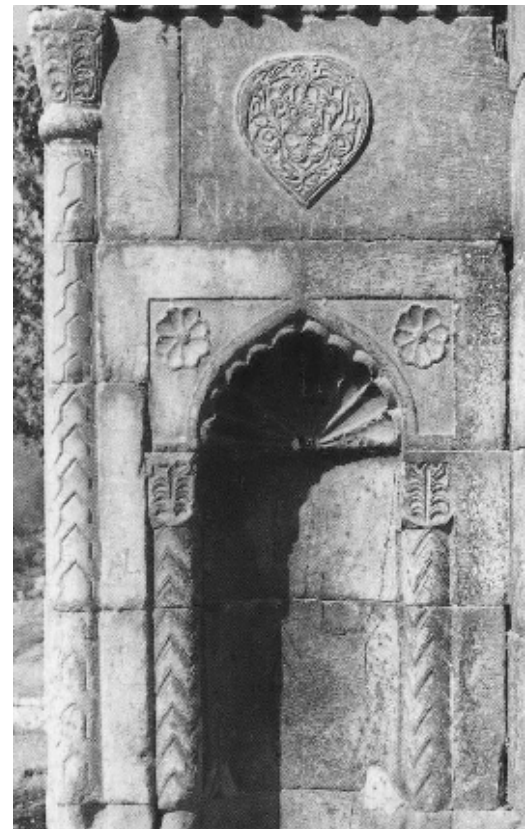
**Fig. 59:** Detail of Geometric Ornamentation of Akhan's Main Portal (Erdmann 1976: [Tafel. 129])



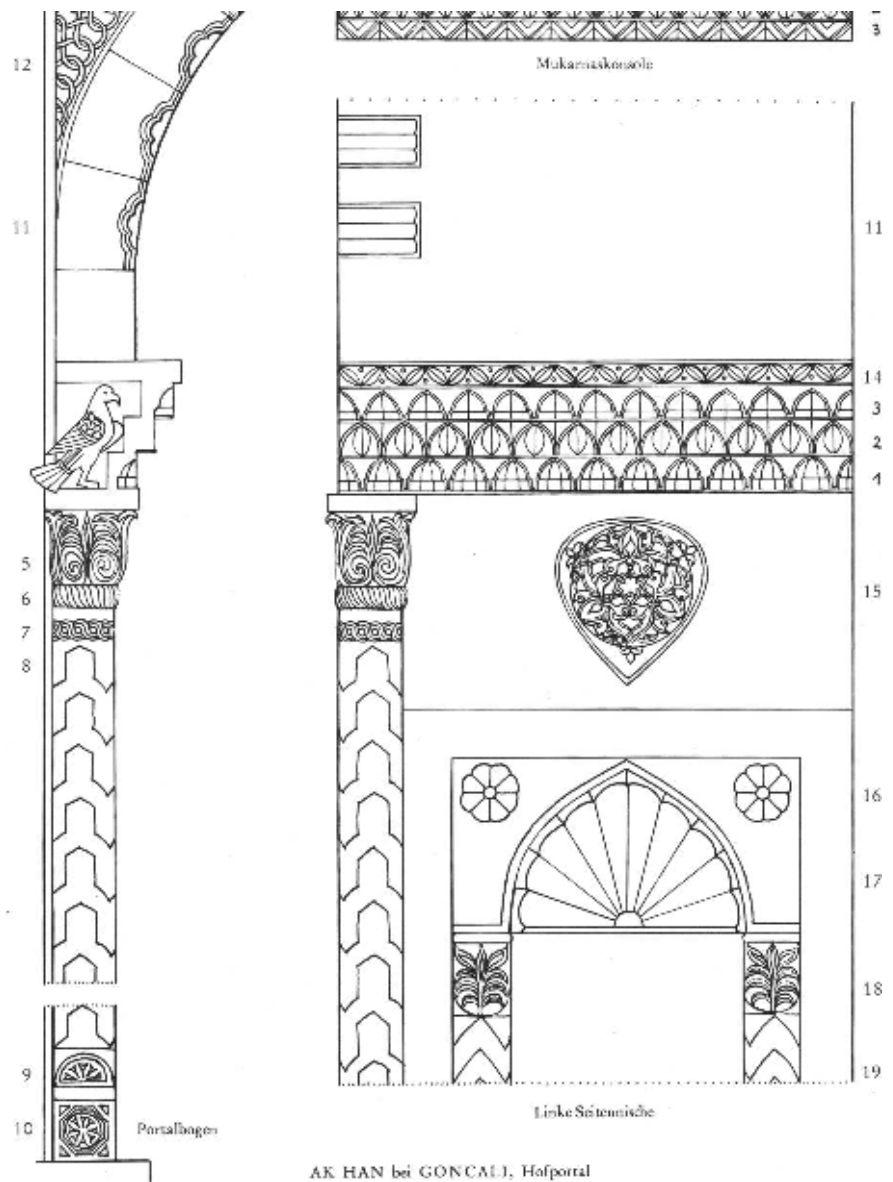
**Fig. 60:** The Re-used Stone Block with Geometric Ornamentation Flanking the Portal of Akhan's Shelter (Erdem 2006: Fig. 2)



**Fig. 61:** The Floral Ornamentation Detail of the Main Portal (Erdem 2006: Fig. 1)



**Fig. 62:** The Mihrabiya (a Niche on the Side Wall) of the Main Portal with Geometric Ornamentation (Gabriel Khan 1988: 41)



**Fig. 63:** Detail of Geometric Ornamentation on the Side Walls of the Main Portal (Erdmann 1976: Tafel 130)



**Fig. 64:** A Bull Figure



**Fig. 65:** A Wheel of Fortune Design



**Fig. 66:** A Human Figure in Toga  
(Bayhan 2007: Fig. 8)



**Fig. 67:** A Running Dog-like Animal  
Figure





**Fig. 68:** An Eagle Figure  
(Bayhan 2007: Fig. 5)



**Fig. 69:** A Griffon Figure  
(Bayhan 2007: Fig. 5)



**Fig. 70:** A Walking Winged Feline



**Fig. 71:** A Bull Figure with a Crescent



**Fig. 72:** A Dragon Figure



**Fig. 73:** Palmette Design





**Fig. 74:** Rosette Design



**Fig. 75:** A Wheel of Fortune Design



**Fig. 76:** A Human Figure in Toga



**Fig. 77:** A Bird Figure



**Fig. 78:** A Walking Dog Figure



**Fig. 79:** A Bird Figure with a Branch



**Fig. 80:** A Winged, Mixed Creature Figure **Fig. 81:** A Running Animal Figure



**Fig. 82:** A Mountain Goat Figure

**Fig. 83:** A Walking Lion Figure



**Fig. 84:** A Deer or Gazelle Figure  
(Bayhan 2007: Fig. 6)

**Fig. 85:** A Rosette Design