



PHASELIS

Disiplinlerarası Akdeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi
Journal of Interdisciplinary Mediterranean Studies

Volume II (2016)

On the Exercise of Coastal Control through Observation and Long Distance Communication Systems in Seljuk Territory in the XIIIth Century

XIII. Yüzyıl Selçuklu Topraklarında Gözetlemeye Dayalı Kıyı Kontrolü ve Uzun Mesafe İletişim Sistemleri Üzerine

T. M. P. DUGGAN – Mehmet Emin ŞEN



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Dergide yayımlanan eserlerin sorumluluğu yazarlarına aittir.

Makale Künyesi

T. M. P. Duggan – M. E. Şen, "On the Exercise of Coastal Control through Observation and Long Distance Communication Systems in Seljuk Territory in the XIIIth Century". *Phaselis* II (2016) 1-17. DOI: 10.18367/Pha.16002

Kabul Tarihi: 20.03.2016 | Online Yayın Tarihi: 1.04.2016

Editörya

Phaselis Research Project
www.phaselis.org

On the Exercise of Coastal Control through Observation and Long Distance Communication Systems in Seljuk Territory in the XIIIth Century

XIII. Yüzyıl Selçuklu Topraklarında Gözetlemeye Dayalı Kıyı Kontrolü ve Uzun Mesafe İletişim Sistemleri Üzerine

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Abstract: The exercise of coastal control in Rûm Seljuk territory in the XIIIth century, on both Mediterranean-White and Black Sea coastlines is almost entirely unaddressed in the modern literature, although the title of the responsible official, when not directly administered by the Sultân, is recorded, *emir-i sevahil*, Emir of the Coastlines, and after 1250, *malik al-sawahil*, Ruler of the Coastlines.

The mountainous, indented S.W. coastline of the Sultanate by 1226 extended for more than 600 km, Dalaman to near Silifke, yet rapid communications were essential to the exercise of effective state control. How did timely information reach the sultân in his peregrinations and campaigns – news of the passage of a Crusader or pirate fleet, an uprising, or the arrival of envoys?

This brief article outlines the communication systems that would have been employed, relates them to “*The Second Sulaymân*”, the *laqub* awarded to Rûm Seljuk Sultans from 1205 to 1247, and suggests the *manâr* tower immediately to the west of Şarâb-salâr han, 15 km west of Alanya was a station in this network, signals from this structure being clearly visible from the castle of ‘Ala’iyya-Alanya lying to its East.

Keywords: Rûm Seljuk Sultanate • Communications • Manar • Jinn

Öz: XIII. yüzyılda Rum Selçuklu karasularındaki hem Akdeniz hem de Karadeniz kıyı kontrolü uygulamasına, modern literatürde hemen hemen hiç değinilmemiştir; ancak doğrudan Sultan tarafından idare edilmediği zamanlar, bu işten sorumlu memurun unvanı, “*Emir al-Savahil*”, “Sahillerin Emiri” olarak ve 1250 yılından sonra ise bu unvan, “*Malik al-Savahil*”, “Kıyıların Maliki” olarak kayıtlarda geçiyordu.

1226 yılına kadar Sultanlığın dağlık ve girintili-çukuntılı Güney Batı sahili, 600 km’den daha fazla uzundu. Dalaman’dan Silifke yakınlarına kadar. Bununla birlikte etkili bir devlet kontrolü için hızlı haberleşme zaruruydu. Haçlıların veya korsan filolarının geçişi, bir ayaklanma veya bir elçinin gelişi nasıl oluyordu da anlık bir bilgi olarak gezide veya seferde olan Sultana ulaştırılıyordu?

Bu kısa makale, kullanılmış olan haberleşme sistemini özetlemektedir ve 1205 tarihinden 1247 tarihine kadarki Rum Selçuk Sultanlarına *İkinci Süleyman lakabı* verilmiştir; bu durum da Şarab-salar Han’ın hemen batısında, Alanya’nın 15 km batısındaki *manar* kulesinin bu ağın bir istasyonu olduğunu ön görmektedir. Bu yapıdan gönderilen işaretler, ‘Ala’iyya-Alanya’nın doğusunda uzanan kaleden net bir şekilde görülebiliyordu.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Rum Selçuklu Sultanlığı • Haberleşme • Manar • Cin

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An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1st International Mediterranean Studies Colloquium, H.E.P. University, Alanya, 4th - 5th April, 2015.

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The exercise of coastal control in Rûm Seljuk territory in the XIIIth century, along both the Mediterranean and Black Sea coastlines has remained a subject almost entirely unaddressed in the modern literature, although the title of the responsible official, when these coastlines were not directly administered by the Rûm Seljuk Sultan, is recorded, *emir al-sawahil*, Emir of the Coastlines, and usually after 1250, *malik al-sawahil*, Ruler of the Coastlines¹.

It is however evident that the Sultan needed to be informed, wherever he was, in respect to the *muhabereler*, the reports-news, from both the coastlines, not only because he had the title *sultân al-barr wal-bahr* and, following the re-conquest of Antalya in 1216, the title *sultân al-barr wal-bahrain* (Sultan of the land and the two seas - the Black and the White-Mediterranean), but because, in this period of Latin Catholic Crusade, he needed news of the passage of fleets and raiders, he needed to be informed if there was a maritime assault or a maritime invasion launched by Crusaders upon his territory from a passing Crusader fleet, news of the presence of pirates-corsairs, news of the arrival by sea of envoys from Muslim or Christian states, of any repeat of the 1212 uprising in Antalya etc., intelligence that required expeditious delivery, not least because of the proximity of the Latin Lusignan Crusader state of Cyprus, together with its Templar and Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem forces, lying less than 60 km off the nearest point of the Rûm Seljuk Mediterranean coast.

Given the length of the rugged, mountainous and indented coastline along the south-western border of the Sultanate, which by 1226 extended over a distance as the crow flies of more than 600 km, from Dalaman to near Silifke (for the eastern part after 1225, Fig. 15), and, of the Sultan's need to be informed, essential to the exercise of effective state control, this coastal terrain backed by the Taurus Mountains, presented serious problems in terms of the time taken in the conveying of information rapidly from place to place. For example, if only a mounted courier system were employed, with, for example, the courier carrying the news of a Crusader fleet passing Patara, by the time the mounted courier had reached Antalya, the Crusader fleet could have sailed along the coastline and reached and sacked the city before the messenger had arrived².

It was necessary to exercise effective coastal control through observation and secure communication in practice, and this was also articulated in the correspondence concerning mutual obligations to be entered into by both the Rûm Seljuk state and that of Lusignan Cyprus in their treaty negotiations in the second decade of the XIIIth century. An obligation by the Seljuk Sultanate to maintain a coastal watch to combat piracy is implicit in the exchange of letters concerning a treaty between Sultan 'Izz al-Dîn Kaykavas I (1211-20) and Hugh I of Cyprus (1205-18) with a letter dated Sept. 1216, from Sultan 'Izz al-Dîn to King Hugh of Cyprus containing the following passage:

¹ For example, see: Turan 1988, 152; Özcan 2005, 83. It is unclear as to if these posts were duplicated, one Emir for the White-Mediterranean, another for the Black Sea, or were combined in the person of a single Emir and if the title Emir was inflated into Malik or if both posts were occupied at the same time in the second half of the XIIIth century as, although an inscription dated A.H. 676 - from June 1277 onwards, records Badr ud-Dîn was *emir al-sawahil*, by 1281 he is recorded in another inscription as *malik al-sawahil*, Lloyd – Storm Rice 1958, 63. The relative status of the emir of the coastlines at Antalya and that at Sinope, ie. if there were two emir who carried this title at the same time, one responsible for the Black Sea, the other the White or Mediterranean, and that between the *emir* and the *malik* of the coastlines over the course of the XIIIth century remains today unclear.

² Duggan 2014; *forth. a.*

*"If by chance it happens that corsair vessels or ships of any kind inflict damage on any of the lands of his royal highness either by land or sea, and they happen to be passing by my territories loaded with the booty they have acquired, my people shall at once seize and confiscate all of them and they shall arrange for them (ship and booty) as well as for their captured owners to be returned to his eminence the King of Cyprus; the aforementioned King is expected to act likewise in similar cases"*³.

The passage reading, *"passing by my territories... my people shall at once seize and confiscate all of them"*, clearly implies, firstly, that a coastal watch was maintained along the coastline and at all the ports along the Mediterranean coastline of the Sultanate in 1216, the ports of Lycia, Patara, Meğri, Myra-Stamira, Finike, Olympos etc., an area recognized as Seljuk territory in the Seljuk-East Roman treaty of 1211, as well as at the main port of Antalya re-conquered in 1216, were under Seljuk state control. Secondly, that the Seljuk forces stationed in these ports were sufficient to seize corsair craft passing along the coastline, meaning that there were numbers of Seljuk troops and war-craft stationed in these ports by the second decade of the XIIIth century, not just in the port of Antalya, and, that they were linked by an observation and communications system that enabled them to co-ordinate and act *"at once"*.

It is known that the main Seljuk Mediterranean naval base was at Antalya, another, after 1221 at 'Ala'iyya-Alanya, that there was a Rūm Seljuk *reis ul'bahr*⁴ and the *emir-i sevahil*, Emir of the Coastlines, and after 1250, the *malik al-sawahil*, Ruler of the Coastlines, but the question is, how did timely information reach these bases and emirs, and most importantly reach the sultan in the course of his peregrinations and campaigns – conveying the news of the passage of a Crusader, or a pirate fleet, of a potential landing of hostile forces, news of a revolt against Seljuk rule, as in Antalya in 1212, or relating the arrival in Rūm Seljuk territory of a *ulak*-intelligencer/envoy at a port distant from these centres and the sultan? And through what method(s) did the sultan communicate the necessary order-instructions-reply?

Sulaymān b. Dāwūd/Süleyman/Solomon son of David and the Second Sulāyman

The First Sulaymān, that is the Prophet Sulaymān b. Dāwūd/Solomon son of David, in the Book of the Word, in the Holy Koran, the primary source, is remarked upon for the wisdom that the Almighty bestowed upon him, for his control over the winds⁵, over armies of men, animals, birds and jinn⁶, and with the ability to understand the languages of the temporal world, from ants⁷, birds⁸ and people⁹ to the jinn¹⁰. The Prophet Sulaymān was informed of what was happening in the worlds of people, creatures and jinn, and stood at the centre of, and was the recipient of communications, including the Divine and the secret, and he sent letters through

³ Savvides 1981, 144; see also Turan 1988, 109-119.

⁴ Bibi II. 127.

⁵ Surat Šād 38. 36 *"So We subjected to him the wind blowing by his command, gently, wherever he directed"*.

⁶ Surat An-Naml 27. 17.

⁷ Surat An-Naml 27. 18-19 *"So [Solomon] smiled, amused at her [the ant's] speech"*.

⁸ Surat An-Naml 27. 16 *"And Solomon inherited David. He said, 'O people, we have been taught the language of birds, and we have been given from all things. Indeed, this is evident bounty'; 27. 20-27 'And he took attendance of the birds and said, 'Why do I not see the hoopoe - or is he among the absent?'"*.

⁹ Surat An-Naml 27. 17.

¹⁰ Surat An-Naml 27. 17; 27. 38 *"[Solomon] said, 'O assembly [of jinn], which of you will bring me her throne before they come to me in submission?'"*.

the air¹¹, and was able to exercise the execution of his instructions over vast distances within the blink of an eye¹².

The Prophet Sulaymān, “*endowed with all good things*”¹³, “*and rightly guided*”¹⁴, provided the authoritative model of the wise and informed temporal ruler at the centre of a superb hyper speed communication-intelligence system, from al-Quds-Jerusalem to Yemen and back, in the blink of an eye, the work, like other marvels, of the Believing Jinn and it seems the Prophet Sulaymān b. Dāwūd was regarded as the model figure for Abbāsīd period communications and, within this context the Prophet Sulaymān was not only associated with control over the Jinn of the Land, Sea and of the Air, of the communication by the Jinn that travelled at or faster than the speed of light, for example from Jerusalem to Yemen and back, within the blink of an eye as related in the Holy Koran Surah Al-Naml 27: 39-40:

“*A stalwart of the Jinn said: I will bring it (the throne of the Queen of Sheba-Belkis) to thee before thou canst rise from thy place. Lo! I verily am strong and trusty for such work. 40. One with whom was knowledge of the scriptures (a Believing Jinn) said: I will bring it thee before thy gaze returneth unto thee. And when he saw it set in his presence (Solomon) said: This is of the bounty of my Lord...*” that is a distance in a straight line one way of 1267 miles / 2039.04 km, a return journey of 2534 miles / 4076 km in less than the blink of an eye; as also being associated with the creature that is termed a ‘griffon’ which is also depicted on Seljuk ceramic vessels, as elsewhere¹⁵ and freestanding in bronze¹⁶, which is a creature that is described by the contemporary Muhyiddīn Ibn ‘Arabī (1165-1240 A.D.) as being, “*potentially in existence, but not existing, and which is a secret known only to the Prophet Sulaymān*”¹⁷, hence associating the depictions of the ‘griffon’, like those of the Jinn of the Land and Air and Sea, re: Surat Al-Anbiyā’ 21:82, with the Prophet Sulaymān; as also with the famous seal-*shamsa* of 6 or 8 points associated with this Prophet (the finest example of which is perhaps in cut-tile mosaic in the apex of the dome of the Great Mosque of Malatya with the word ‘*Muhammad*’ repeated 6 times in Kufi script one on each of the 6 arms of the seal. Thus thereby repeating in visual form the lines from Hakim Sana’i’s (d. 1131) Diwan:

“*I asked the wind: “Why do you serve Solomon?” It said: “Because Ahmad’s name is engraved on his seal*”¹⁸; but also because the Prophet Sulaymān is also recorded in the Islamic tradition related by ‘Umar b. Shabbah al-Numayī as possessing a most important mirror - *mir’āh*, said to have originally been given by the Almighty to Adam, enabling him see whatever he wished on earth:

“‘*Isā b. ‘Abd-Allah told me: My uncle ‘Abd-Allah b. ‘Umar told me that ‘Alī - peace be upon him - said, ‘When Adam was brought down from Paradise, Allah raised him*

¹¹ Surat An-Naml 27. 28 “*Take this letter of mine and deliver it to them. Then leave them and see what [answer] they will return*”.

¹² Surat Al-Naml 27. 40 “*Said one who had knowledge from the Scripture, “I will bring it to you before your glance returns to you”*”.

¹³ Surat Al-Naml 27. 16.

¹⁴ Surat al-An’an 6. 84.

¹⁵ Examples include those produced under the Fatimids in the Xth - XIth century, e.g. in lustre Ettinghausen – Graber 1994, fig. 157.

¹⁶ Ettinghausen – Graber 1994, fig. 188.

¹⁷ Elmore 1999, 80 n. 68.

¹⁸ Cited, Schimmel 2001, 191.

to the top of (Mount) Abū Qubays and (gradually) lifted the whole of the earth for him so he could see it. Then he said (to him), 'All this belongs to you and your children.' Adam said, 'O Lord, how may I know what is in it?' So he created the stars for him and said, 'If you see such and such a star, it means so and so.'" My uncle, ('Abd-Allah b. 'Umar) said, "Thus Adam used to know such things by means of the stars. Then that became too difficult for him; accordingly he complained about al-Mada'in to his Lord. So he sent him a mirror (mir'āh) from heaven through which he could see whatever he wished on earth"¹⁹. When Adam died, a devil called Faqtash sought out the mirror, broke it, and built over it a city in the east called Jāburq (Jablaqa; Maybe from hence the association of the broken mirror with misfortune, 7 years bad luck etc.). When Sulaymān b. Dāwūd - peace be upon them - became (ruler), he already knew of the mirror, and he inquired about it. He was told that Faqtash had taken it. So he summoned him and asked him about it. (Faqtash) said, 'It is beneath the foundations of Jāburq.' (Sulaymān) said, 'Bring it to me.' (Faqtash) said, 'But who will destroy these foundations?' Sulaymān was told to say to him, 'You yourself shall destroy them.' Sulaymān told him this, and Faqtash said, 'Very well.' He (then) departed, destroyed the foundations and brought the mirror to Sulaymān. Sulaymān restored it piece by piece and strengthened it on all sides with a leather band. Then he looked into it and saw whatever he wanted. When Sulaymān died, the devils pounced on it and bore it away, and (only) one fragment was left, which was inherited by the Israelites, until it (finally) reached the exilarch of the Jews, who gave it as a gift to Marwān b. Muhammad b. Marwān (A.H.127-132/744-750 A.D.) during his wars with the Abbasids. Marwān would then rub it, place it on top of another mirror, and see things that displeased him. When this had gone on for a while, he threw it away and beheaded the exilarch of the Jews. One of (Marwān's) slave girls then took it and kept it with her. When (the Abbasid) Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr became caliph (A.H.136-158/754-757 A.D.), he already knew of it, and so he inquired about it. He was informed that it was in the possession of a slave girl of Marwān. He searched for it until he found it. Then it remained with him where he would look into it. It remained in the caliph's treasury for a long time; then it was lost"²⁰.

This famous mirror, rediscovered and repaired by the Prophet Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, and of which only a single piece, a fragment of the whole mirror, reportedly reached the Abbāsīd caliphs' treasury, could have been understood as providing the model for the subsequent use of

¹⁹ An apparent source-model for the historically subsequent mirror on the Pharos at Alexandria, mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela who in 1168 records in his *Sefer ha-Masa'ot*, (Tudela 2005, 104) the *speculum* on the Pharos was constructed by Alexander the Great; as likewise the mirror mentioned in the c. 1165 Letter of Prester John, as both of these mirrors enabled events in far distant lands to be observed, but both of these mirrors were however kept in towers. It seems from the Islamic sources that there probably was an East Roman mirror(s) which was destroyed on the Pharos in the late VII-VIII century A.D. which was possibly employed for signalling, rather than only relating to the intensification and projection of the flames' light into a beam, although this is uncertain. Johann Schiltberger relates the mirror on the Pharos at Alexandria was deliberately broken to enable the sack of the city by the Lusignan Crusaders in 1365, (Schiltberger 1879, 62-4) when in fact the Pharos tower was no longer standing in 1365, and the mirror, if there was one, seems to have been lost some five to six centuries earlier.

²⁰ al Qaddūmī 175.

mirrors for the signalling-communication of the news, *muhaberele* news-intelligence in secure code to the ruler who saw his position as being that of *the Second Sulaymān*, and it may be that this account provides an indication of the date for the initial use of mirrors for Abbāsīd signalling, post-dating the loss of the fragment of the original mirror from the Caliph's treasury, at some point in the period from the late VIIIth to the middle of the IXth century A.D. as 'Umar b. Shabbah al-Numayī is recorded as living A.H. 172-262/789-875 A.D.²¹ by which date the mirror fragment had been lost from the Abbāsīd Caliph's treasury. After this mirror was lost the Abbāsīd Caliph al-Ma'mun (813-33) offered the East Roman Emperor Theophilus 2,000 pounds of gold and peace between the Caliphate and East Rome, peace between Islam and Christendom, if Leo the Engineer would reside for a while in Baghdad²²; clearly indicating the enormous value placed upon code-maker engineers, by both the Caliph and the Emperor. The Caliph's offer of gold and peace in exchange for the loan of Leo the Engineer was rejected by the Emperor. It seems possible that Leo the engineer (790-869)²³, who had developed a coded visual signaling system linking Constantinople to the Eastern border²⁴, was wanted by the Caliph for the development of a coded signaling system, perhaps an invitation to be associated with the development at this time of the Abbāsīd "*heliograph*" system. If this account of Sulaymān's mirror marked the Abbāsīd development of a form of plane mirror glass backed with a silver-mercury amalgam, the technology possibly brought to Baghdad from China²⁵, or, possibly a form of plane mirror glass backed by a tin-mercury amalgam, a technology that finally reached Venice from the east in the 16th century, is unclear²⁶, but it seems evident from this description of the 'original mirror' that it was of some form of glass, that shattered into fragments, not therefore a metal mirror.

The Second Sulaymān, the Rūm Seljuk Sultan consequently had in his *dīwān* officials who were fluent not only in Arabic and Persian, but also in: Greek, Armenian, Turkish, Georgian and Latin, and under the Pagan Mongol over-lordship, Mongolian²⁷, as also in the writing of *şifre*-ciphers-codes and their decipherment²⁸; as he also employed the skilled jinn-like *muhandis-nakkash*, craftsmen-engineers²⁹; craftsmen-engineers who unsurprisingly, frequently marked

²¹ al Qaddūmī 346, where there is a typo, A.D. 976 is given, rather than 875, as the date of death of 'Umar b. Shabbah al-Numayī.

²² Setton 1956, 30.

²³ Symeon Magister describes the method devised by Leo the Engineer in the IXth century employing two synchronous clocks to send 12 different messages defined by the hour they were sent. For the excavation of East Roman beacons, see: Foss 1985, 86-94; 1991 273-4. For more on Leo the engineer-philosopher see, Wilson 1996, 79-84.

²⁴ Browning 1980, 73; For Leo the mathematician and engineer, see: ODB 235, 1217.

²⁵ Although "*Glass has been used to make mirrors since at least the 1st century B.C., when mirrors were made of silvered glass in Egypt*". Ward 2008, 249; contra, DeJean 2005, 178, "*The earliest surviving bits of mirrored glass date from the third century A.D. and are so small (one to three inches in diameter) that they were probably used as ornaments rather than for grooming*".

²⁶ For the XIIIth century trade in glass mirrors, see, Krueger 1993, 319-332. For the transfer of glass cullet and raw materials to Venice from the Islamic World, see for example, Verita 2007, 276-9.

²⁷ Köprülü 1992, 23.

²⁸ Cahen 2001, 180.

²⁹ Surat Saba' 34. 12 - 34. 13 "*And among the jinn were those who worked for him by the permission of his Lord. And whoever deviated among them from Our command - We will make him taste of the punishment of the Blaze. They made for him what he willed of elevated chambers, statues, bowls like reservoirs, and stationary kettles*". Surat Al-'Anbyā' 21. 82 "*And of the devils [jinn] were those who dived for him and did work other than that. And We were of them a guardian*"; Surat Şād 38. 37-38 "*And [also] the devils [of jinn]*



Fig. 1. Kashan, Iran, late XIIth -XIIIth century mina'i-fritware bowl, B. M. London (Inv. 1930,0719.63). The scene in this bowl can be understood as depicting the enthroned Second Sulaymān with messengers to either side, crowned human headed winged lion figures-jinn; with the decoration between these figures representing the signalling mirrors, likewise centred on the enthroned Second Sulaymān signalling at the speed of light. The inscription band below the rim represents a repeated coded message. The British Museum catalogue entry for this depiction reads: "Enthroned royal figure seated between two other figures, possibly attendants (sic) or visitors. Four sphinxes, two above and two below the seated figures. Stylised floral ornamentation between the sphinxes. Pseudo-Arabic inscription painted along the rim against blue background"

their works with the Seal of Sulaymān device, a 6 or an 8 pointed *shamsa*-Sun-Star, indicating not only that they were working for *The Second Sulaymān*, but also indicating the work's excellence with this mark, and a sign indicating those Muslim rulers who were perceived, wished themselves to be perceived as, and who saw themselves as, the embodiment of "*The Sulaymān of the Age*" - "*The Second Sulaymān*"³⁰, ruling from the centre of a sophisticated communications network that went to wherever the ruler was (depicted in Figs. 1, 3, 4, 5).

The British Museum catalogue entry for Fig. 1, describes these depictions of jinn of the land as '*sphinxes*', a 19th century orientalist misnomer as likewise in Fig. 2 below, the Christies 2012 sale catalogue describes the depictions of jinn of the air as '*harpies*', (as likewise Watson 2004, Cat. P.6 '*heraldic harpies*') words derived from the cults of the Jahiliyyah-of antiquity, and, apart from the passing formal resemblance, have no meaning in an Islamic context, both words almost entirely unknown in the contemporary XIIth -XIIIth century Arabic and Persian literature, although the Mushaf contains 146 direct and indirect references in Ayet to the jinn and, within

- every builder and diver and others bound together in shackles".

³⁰ For remarks qualifying the positive view of the rightly guided temporal ruler, see for example Attar 42-3, where he relates of King Solomon and his ring-seal that due to the exercise of temporal power, even wearing the ring-seal of Sulaymān, blocking progress on the Spiritual Path, Sulaymān experienced a delay of 500 years before he could join the other Prophets in Paradise.



Fig. 2. *Christies, London, Sale 6945 - Lot 7415, 5/10/2012. Kashan mina'i bowl c. 1200. The scene on this bowl can be understood as representing jinn-like rapid communications, represented by the depiction of three of the jinn of the land, and four of the jinn of the air either side of the pair of signal mirrors (above and below) and the whole surrounded by a band below the rim, repeated a coded message, as in Fig. 1 (above) and Fig. 3 (beside). The Christies 2012 sale catalogue describes the depictions of jinn of the air as 'harpies' and it describes the stylised representations of the signalling mirrors as, 'palmette': "the central decoration with flanked by harpies at either side of a opposite palmette, the rim with a band of pseudo-calligraphic decoration on blue ground. 7¼in. (19.5cm) diam"*



Fig. 3. *British Museum, Kashan mina'i bowl c. 1200, depicting the enthroned ruler-The Second Sulaymān, messengers to left and right, paired messenger pigeons below the throne, above, paired Jinn of the Land separated by the representation of a signalling mirror, matching that opposite with paired griffons. The whole scene surrounded by a band below the rim, repeating what can be understood as a coded message, as in Figs. 1, 2*

the Surat Al-Fātiḥah 1. 2 is the expression 'Lord of the 'Alamin' (the 'Alamin consisting of: mankind, of jinns and of all that exists). Unlike the contextually meaningless 'sphinxes' and 'harpies' Jinn were carriers of significant meaning and were depicted, like the Seal of Sulaymān-Solomon.

This title of "*The Second Sulaymān*" was given to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna 998-1030 (by Badi uz Zaman al-Hamadhani (d. 1009)³¹. And it was given to the subsequent Ghaznavid Sultans: Ma'sud III³² 1099-1115 and to Sultan Malik Arslan Ma'sud b. Ma'sud III (r. 1116) Mas'ud-i Sa'd-i Salman³³; as also to the Great Seljuk Sultan Sanjar 1118-1157 by Khaqani³⁴ (1106/7-1185), and to the Salghurid ruler of Fars, Abu Bakr Muzaffarud-Dīn, Qutlugh Khān b. Sad I b. Zangi (1226-1260)³⁵.

³¹ Browne 1997, 113.

³² Bosworth 1977, 89.

³³ Bosworth 1977, 91.

³⁴ Browne 1997, 396.

³⁵ Sādi 6, 15; Blair – Bloom 1995, 23.



Fig. 4. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, mina'i dish, c. 1180-1219, (Obj. No.: C.135-1935). As with Fig. 1 above, the scene in this bowl can be understood as depicting the enthroned Second Sulaymān-the ruler, with human messengers to either side, while crowned human headed winged lion figures-jinn are paired either side of decoration representing the signalling mirrors, above and below the ruler, the signals reflected on these mirrors, likewise centred on the enthroned Second Sulaymān, signalling at the speed of light- that is, of the jinn. This scene represents The Second Sulaymān-the ruler, being at the centre of the Seljuk communications, messaging system and thereby having the information at his disposal to act with wisdom. The Fitzwilliam catalogue entry reads: "This design comprises an enthroned figure, flanked by attendants to the right and left, as well as by griffins and arabesques above and below. The attendant figures have one arm raised toward the enthroned figure, all of them wearing gold leaf arm bands. Both humans and griffins wear red or grey hats and their robes, or coats, are painted in grey or red and are lightly incised with a variety of patterns from circles to swirling tendrils. The pointed leaves of the arabesques are painted with grey and are adorned with red dots"

Ibn Bibi describes the arrival of the Seljuks in the lands of Rūm³⁶ as being brought into this territory by the wind-breath of the Prophet Sulaymān³⁷, a reference to both the Prophet Sulaymān (Al-Anbiya 21:81; Sad 38:36) and linked to the name and actions of the founder of the Rūm Seljuk Sultanate, *Melik* Sulaymān b. Qutlumush (1081-6). The name Sulaymān was also given to one of the sons of Sultan Kılıç Arslan II (r. 1156-92), Sultan Sulaymān-Shāh Rukn al-Dīn (r. 1197-1204), while ibn Bibi also described Sultan Kılıç Arslan II, as "*The Second Sulaymān*"³⁸.

From the Sunni Muslim perspective, legitimacy for Rūm Seljuk rule in former East Roman territory over Muslims, and other populations, Christian Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish inhabitants - these non-Muslims forming the vast majority of the populations in XIIIth century

³⁶ Rūm as is recorded in the Surat Ar-Rūm (The Romans) - روملار قوس - hence, Malik ar-Rūm - Ruler of the Romans = the East Roman Emperor, eg. Usama 2008, 11 fn. 6, distinct from the Sultan ar-Rūm. While C. E. Wilson in 1924 relates of the word Rūm, "*It is now applied by the Persians to the Ottoman Empire*", Nizami II. 151, commentary on line, 546; I. 473.

³⁷ Bibi I. 20; 79.

³⁸ Bibi I. 79.

Rûm Seljuk territory, together with a small number of Latin-Frank Catholics³⁹ - came from the recognition providing legitimacy for rule given to these Rûm Seljuk rulers by the reigning Abbāsīd Caliph in Bagdad, through their investiture by the Caliph's envoy with the *'ahd*, or investiture diploma, *manshur*, diploma of recognition awarding the title, *Sultān*, and the legitimizing symbols, the attributes and insignia of rule, including: the seal⁴⁰, the robes of honor, *tashrif*, sword with gold scabbard, horse with gold saddle⁴¹, *chatr*-parasol, standard crowned with a crescent moon which formed the finial, the *alem* of the standard sent by the Caliphs to Abbāsīd recognized rulers upon their accession⁴². In exchange the Sultan was to mention the Abbāsīd Caliph's name in the *khutba*, the Friday sermon given at congregational mosques throughout the realm, on the coinage⁴³, and on the *tiraz*, the inscription bands on the garments worn by state officials as also by the Sultan⁴⁴.

During the period from 1205 to 1246, that is, from the second reign of Sultan Giyath al-Dīn Keyhusrev I (r. 1205-11)⁴⁵, through the reigns of: Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Keykavus I (r. 1211-20)⁴⁶, Sultan 'Ala' al-Dīn Keykubat I (r. 1220-37)⁴⁷, Sultan Giyath al-Dīn Keyhusrev II (r. 1237-46), with his first wife from Georgia described as, like "*Belkis*" the wife of the Prophet Sulaymān-Solomon⁴⁸, in the surviving literary record, each of these Rûm Seljuk Sultans were described by the laqub "*The Second Sulaymān*".

Clearly, following the execution by the Pagan Mongols of the last Abbāsīd Caliph, al-'Imām al-Musta'sim in 1258 in Bagdad, there was the matter of the absence of legitimacy, there being no longer the possibility of the dispatch of title and insignia from the Caliph to the Rûm Seljuk ruler, thereby legitimising the ruler as being the representative of the Abbāsīd Caliph, nor the expression of this recognition in the *khutba*, nor on the *tiraz* or the coinage of the Sultanate naming the Caliph; this was combined with the increasing Pagan Mongol control over Rûm Seljuk territory, consequently the title, "*The Second Sulaymān*" seems not to have been given to subsequent Rûm Seljuk rulers, and the title of sultān adopted by post 1258 Rûm Seljuk rulers, was "*de facto*" and, in legal terms, usurped, in the absence of the legitimate investiture by the Caliph or his representative, upon the accession of each sultan. The circumstances of the post 1258 period were quite unprecedented, and these circumstances were not aided by the very young age of the co-holders of the title '*sultān*' in Rûm Seljuk territory in the post 1259 period, following the death of the last legitimate Rûm Seljuk Sultan Kiliç Arslan IV.

Consequently with the Rûm Seljuk Sultans from 1205 to 1243/6 described through the laqub as "*the Second Sulaymān*", one may think these sultans so described, may, reflecting a recorded attribute of the Prophet Sulaymān, have possessed an effective communications system, employing

³⁹ As recorded in an inscription of 1231, "*the sultan of the land and sea, of Greeks (sic. Rûm=Romans-East Romans), Syria, the Armenians and the Franks*", Lloyd – Storm Rice 1958, cat. no. 36.

⁴⁰ Bibi I. 241.

⁴¹ Serjeant 1972, 24.

⁴² Bosworth 1977, 99. For the *hilal-i rayat* sent to the Ghaznavid Bahram Shah together with a black banner with a lion device and the black *chatr* or parasol. In respect to the black, the official colour of the Abbāsīds, see Mas'udi 408; "*Abbāsian means black*," Nizami II. comm. line I. 182.

⁴³ Bosworth 1977, 79.

⁴⁴ For examples: Serjeant 1972, 24, also 18, 19, 23; Bosworth 1973, 52-4; Khaldun 219-221.

⁴⁵ Bibi 89 - 90.

⁴⁶ Bibi 181.

⁴⁷ Bibi 1996, 232, 238, n. 596.

⁴⁸ Bibi 1996 II. 37.



Fig. 5. Mina'i-ware bowl, Iran c. 1200. Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, (Forkl 1993 abb.72). The enthroned ruler sits in the centre and it seems possible the figure to the left is bringing the news-reports-intelligence. While the inner border of the bowl carries depictions of the couriers and the messenger pigeons. The circular objects with a blue and white zig-zag pattern on the face, which are facing each other across the enthroned ruler, the centre of the state, each with two pairs of wings, can be understood as representing signalling mirrors flashing messages. It is noteworthy that the same design appears on the kiswah of the kaaba, as on the flags borne by Muslim forces depicted in contemporary miniatures, in tile-work, carved on stone columns, painted on the exterior walls of Rūm Seljuk state structures and elsewhere (as subsequently recorded on the flags of the coastal emirates in XIVth century in Anatolia, in the case of the Teke Beylik of Antalya, together with the six pointed Seal of Sulaymān device, presumably the design on the flag of the XIIIth century Rūm Seljuk Sultan's Emirs), and it seem this pattern can be associated with, *The Light, with the flash of the Sun-that is, with illumination from the Almighty*

rapid communications, not just the *barīd* courier-intelligencer service, but communications at all three degrees of speed, the messengers of the *barīd*, the relays of messenger pigeons, and the messages that travelled at the speed of sight and light.

In respect to the *barīd*, there is of course no reason to assume that the *barīd* system was not employed in Rūm Seljuk territory, just because the Great Seljuks refused to employ it, to Nizām al-Mulk's recorded frustration:

*"From ancient times onwards kings have preserved this system, except for the house of Saljuk who have shown no interest in the matter"*⁴⁹.

The absence of the *barīd* and its intelligence officials *nā'ib-i barīd* employed by the Ghaznavids in the XIth century, within Great Seljuk territory was said to have facilitated the

⁴⁹ Darke 1978, 71. See also, Silverstein 2007, 136-7.

activities of the Fatimids and Isma'īlīs. In Rūm Seljuk territory a *barīd* type system based upon the XIIIth century non-urban state hān network (the word caravanserai tends to mislead as to the function of these buildings, placing a subsequent Ottoman-Safavid model for their function upon a XIIIth century Seljuk building, which was termed in the XIIIth century a *hān*, not a caravanserai) would have expedited communications with its exchange of post horses, kept in the courtyard, for the Sultan's *kāsīd*-messenger and *ulak*-intelligencer/envoy, a vital task, as was reportedly the case earlier for hāns in Ayyūbid territory⁵⁰, as Carole Hillenbrand relates:

*“and their function as stations for official couriers (in the barīd service), weighed at least as much with their patrons – themselves servants of the state – as did their narrowly mercantile raison d'être”*⁵¹.

This tripartite system of communications was employed by the Ayyūbids in the territory adjacent to Rūm Seljuk territory⁵² and, given the close connections between the Ayyūbid and Rūm Seljuk Sultanates in the first half of the XIIIth century, it seems most probable that a similar tripartite communication system to that employed by the Ayyūbids would have been employed in the first half of the XIIIth century by Rūm Seljuk rulers. These connections included: not only the Damascus based Andalusian, the Murcia born Muhyal-Dīn Ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240), who was familiar with Ayyūbid *nūr* based designs which had developed under the patronage of Sultan Nūr ad-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn 'Imād ad-Dīn Zengī (r. 1146-1174) and further developed and employed under the Ayyūbids - designs he may have helped to spread in his extended visits to the Seljuk palace cities of Konya in 1204-5, Sivas in 1216 and Malatya in 1216-1218 and in 1221, as it is recorded he taught at least one painter in Konya, not the method, but the aim in making by means of art, the aim being the expression of a metaphysic⁵³; the use of Ayyūbid style calligraphy for a distinct group of Rūm Seljuk *naskhī* building inscriptions⁵⁴; and there were also Ayyūbid trained architects in Rūm Seljuk territory, working at Sinope, at Konya, at Alanya, who designed Sultan-hāns, such as that on the Aksaray-Konya road at Sultanhānı. These Ayyūbid trained architects included: Abū 'Alī Abu 'r-Raqqā' al-Kattānī al-Halabī (of Aleppo), known to have been active in Rūm Seljuk territory from dated inscriptions in the period from 1216 to 1228, and the Damascene, Muhammad bin Hawlan al-Dimashqi, active in Rūm Seljuk territory from before 1219 to 1229. And there was the consolidation of this Ayyūbid-Rūm Seljuk relationship in the dynastic intermarriage of 1237⁵⁵; together, at times, with a shared interest in the Jihad.

This tripartite system consisted of firstly the *barīd*, the courier service, *kussâd*-messengers on horseback, employing as appropriate the extensive network of non-urban state hān-derbent stations for re-mounts. Secondly, the *hamān*, the messengers of the pigeon post⁵⁶. Thirdly, line of sight observation, marker and signalling stations – *manār-manāwir* employing light, reflected light, and smoke⁵⁷. This communication system is recorded pictorially on the Iranian c. 1200 fritware vessels painted in the mina'i technique (Figs. 1, 3, 4), human bearers of messengers, mirrors

⁵⁰ For XIIth and XIIIth century Ayyūbid non-urban state *hāns*, see for examples, photographs and plans, Sauvaget 1994, 308-319.

⁵¹ Hillenbrand 1999, 351.

⁵² Duggan 2014; *forth. b.*

⁵³ Arabi 40-41.

⁵⁴ As was noted by Max van Berchem who described it as, Ayyūbid *naskhī*.

⁵⁵ Eg. Younis 2014.

⁵⁶ Addressed in detail in: Ragheb 2002, see also Silverstein 2007.

⁵⁷ For further on this tripartite system see Duggan 2014; *forth. b.*

and depictions of the jinn; and of mounted couriers, messenger pigeons and winged signalling mirrors (Fig. 5).

It was through employing rapid communications, not just the *barīd*, but messenger pigeons, and 'flash' messages passed at the speed of sight and light and reflected light (like the smoke-less fire of which the jinn are made, Surat Ar-Raḥmān 55:15 – of scorching fire, Surat Al-Ĥijr 15:27), that these Rūm Seljuk Sultans, informed through these means, could rightly be characterised as being "*the Second Sulaymān*".

That both Sultans 'Alā' al-Dīn Keykubat I and Gī-yāth al-Dīn Keyhusrev II saw themselves, and wished themselves to be seen as, being identified as "*The Second Sulaymān*", is clearly recorded, not only by ibn Bibi, as noted above, but this is also recorded through some of the figures depicted on the 8-pointed star-sun tiles employed on the cut-tile revetments on the walls of their palaces, pavilions and baths, as also on the Gūdük Minare in Akşehir of 1227 where the square tiles carry these same 8-pointed star-sun designs⁵⁸. Many of these tiles depict individual members of the 4 armies of the Prophet Sulaymān of: men, animals, birds and jinn⁵⁹, with these armies analogous to those of the Second Sulaymān's: human messengers-watchmen, the couriers' mounts, the messenger pigeons and the flashing lights-smoke of signals, the jinn⁶⁰. For examples of the depiction of these Jinn figures, see below Figs. 1 - 4, 6 - 10. Presumably the paired dragon figures that are depicted on these Seljuk palace tiles are to be understood as representing the jinn, although the creature that is called a 'griffon' depicted on these tiles (Fig. 3)⁶¹, as elsewhere freestanding in bronze⁶², is a creature that is described by Ibn 'Arabi as being, potentially in existence, but not existing, and is a secret known only to the Prophet Sulaymān⁶³, thereby associating this depiction on tile-work, as its depiction in other materials, like these representations of the jinn, with the Prophet Solomon- Sulaymān and so, with "*The Second Sulaymān*". These remarks would also seem to apply to the tile-work painted in mina'i technique, probably originally from the Kılıç Arslan II pavilion in Konya (eg. Fig. 8), but given the few surviving examples this is uncertain, although Ibn Bibi likewise describes Sultan Kılıç Arslan II as "*The Second Sulaymān*", as is noted above.



Fig. 6. Detail from f. 121 of the "*Schefer Hariri*" of 1236, painted in Baghdad by al-Wasiti, Bib. Nat. Paris, MS Arabe 5847 (from Müller 1979) illustrating the Isle of Wak-Wak, depicting examples of both the Jinn of the Air and the Jinn of the Land

⁵⁸ Arık – Arık 2008, figs. 256, 257.

⁵⁹ Surat An-Naml 27. 17: "*And gathered for Solomon were his soldiers of the jinn and men and birds, and they were [marching] in rows*"; Surat Al-'A'rāf 7. 27; Duggan 2006, 206-7; 2009, 235ff; Mardrus – Mathers 1996, vol. II. 293. For the two kinds of jinn, Surat Al-Jinn 72. 11.

⁶⁰ For the work of the jinn: Surat Saba' 34. 12; Surat Šād 38. 37; Duggan 2009, 235ff.

⁶¹ Examples include those produced under the Fatimids in the Xth - XIth century, e.g. in lustre, Ettinghausen – Graber 1994, fig. 157.

⁶² Ettinghausen – Graber 1994, fig. 188.

⁶³ Elmore 1999, 80 n. 68.



Fig. 7. Examples of the Jinn of the Air, crowned human-headed birds depicted on Seljuk XIIIth century tile-work from Kubad Abad. From Arık 2000. Usually entirely misleadingly termed “sirens”



Fig. 8. Depiction of a Jinn of the Land, a crowned human headed winged lion, painted in mina'i technique, probably from the Kılıç Arslan II pavilion, Konya, today in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, from Arık – Arık 2008



Fig. 9. Example of a Jinn of the Land, crowned human headed winged lion, depicted on Seljuk XIIIth century tile-work from Kubad Abad Palace, Beyşehir, from Arık 2000. It is therefore unsurprising that Seljuk bronze mirrors frequently have on the reverse the depiction of a pair of crowned, human headed, winged, lions, (fig. 10) these figures representing the Jinn of the Land travelling at the speed of light, in the blink of an eye, Surat An-Naml 27:38-9, in the flash of a reflected message



Fig. 10. Reverse of a characteristic Great Seljuk bronze mirror carrying relief depiction of paired *Jinn of the Land* (In the Christies Sale Catalogue Sale 4914 —Lot. 709, 27-04-2012), the *Jinn of the Land* are, as is regrettably typical, misleadingly described as “sphinxes”: “Cast with two addorsed sphynxes among sprays of foliage within a benedictory inscription band in kufic script reading: *al-'izz wa al-baqa' wa al-dawla wa al-baha (?) wa al-rafiya (?) ... wa al-ghibta wa al-'ala wa al-mulk ... li-sahibihi*, the centre with a raised attachment ring , 4.1./8in. (10.6 cm) diam”

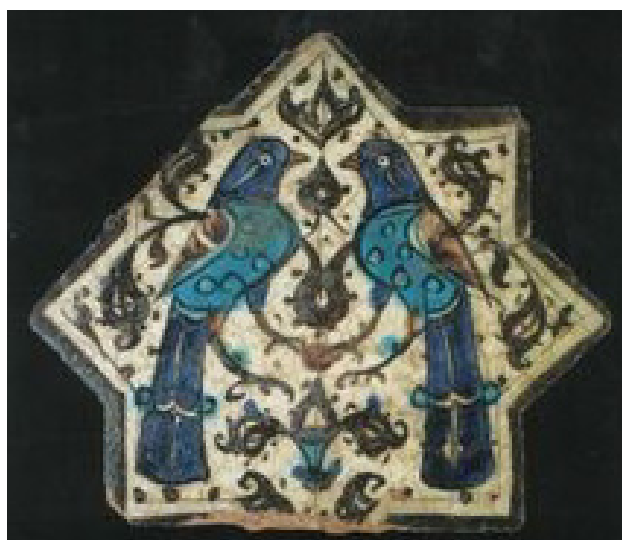


Fig. 11. Depiction of a pair of birds, most probably messenger pigeons, if the design on the tail feathers represents the attachment for a message is uncertain, but seems not improbable. As to if this pair together represent the message sent and the reply received, via the *hamān*, an image of the pigeon post repeatedly depicted on 8 pointed sun-star tiles from Kubad Abad and other Rūm Seljuk palaces and pavilions’ tiled revetments, it seems possible

The Manār by Şarâb-sa Hân

The *manār* (fig. 12) immediately to the west of Şarâb-sa hân⁶⁴, was a rectangular tower that stood to the height of the adjacent hân in the 1920's, located 8 m to the west of the west end of Şarâb-sa hân⁶⁵.

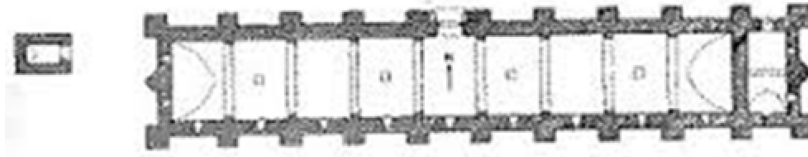


Fig. 12. Plan (from Erdmann 1961) of the *manār* and adjacent the Şarâb-sa hân

Only the base and ground floor of this *manār* remains *in situ* today (Fig. 13, Fig. 14). It was probably constructed prior to the construction of the adjacent hân, which was built during the reign of Sultan Gīyâth al-Dīn Keyhusrev II⁶⁶. The *manār*, from the style of masonry and mortar employed and from the apparent form of the merlons⁶⁷, and with its exterior measurements of 5 by 6.5 m on its longer sides facing North and South, measuring one half of the width of the hân if measured from outer wall to outer wall, ignoring the exterior buttresses, suggests the employment of the same system of measurement and methods of construction for both buildings, with the *manār* originally standing at least as high as the hân. The above suggested subsequent construction of the hân in this place was doubtless likewise related to the Sultan's communication systems, this hân adding a station to the overland *barīd* system at time when secure accurate *muhabereleler* news-intelligence was invaluable (Fig. 15), with the public posture



Fig. 13. Side of the *manār* by Şarâb-sa hân from the south

of the Rûm Seljuk Sultanate as a great power, rich, dynamic, dynastically well connected, with a powerful mercenary army elite, contrasting so markedly with the threats presented to it by the Pagan Mongols, the rebellious Turkmen and the Shī'a Imāmī Nizārī Ismā'īlī assassins looking for their annual protection money payments⁶⁸.

It seems possible, given its suggested function, that this *manār* tower was first constructed during the reign of Sultan 'Alā' ad-Dīn Keykubat I after the 1221 conquest of Kolonoros (Alanya), forming a part of the communications system linking the new pos-

⁶⁴ Yılmaz – Tuzcu 2010, 27-30, fn. 35; for the title *Şarâb-salâr* see Kaymaz 2011, 122.

⁶⁵ Erdmann 1961, I. cat. no. 53, 173; II, abb. 319, from a photograph in the R. M. Riefstahl archive taken in 1929; in the 1950's, idem, abb. 320; Lloyd – Storm Rice 1958, pl. XI (d) where the single storey remaining at that date is clearly visible beside the hân, but which is unremarked upon in the text and not included in the plan; likewise not recorded or remarked upon in Vakıf 1983, 607-10.

⁶⁶ Inscription on the hall portal names this sultan, Lloyd – Storm Rice 1958, no. 34; Erdmann 1961, I, 173; Vakıf 1983, 610.

⁶⁷ Erdmann 1961, II, abb. 319.

⁶⁸ Daftary 2007, 390, citing, Abu'l Fada'il Muhammad b. Ali, Al-Hamawi, al-Ta'rikh al-Mansuri. Ed. P. A. Gryaznevich, Moscow (1963) 335-6.

sessions and territory with both Antalya and Konya.

It was probably in part rebuilt after, almost inevitably, being damaged in the major earthquake and tsunami of the 11th of May 1222, which totally destroyed the western Cypriot coastal city of old Paphos, recorded in the Byzantine Short Chronicles⁶⁹, destroying its harbour, and also its castle which had been built only 30 years earlier and it damaged parts of Limassol and Nicosia, and this earthquake was associated with a major tsunami⁷⁰. There can be little doubt that this earthquake and tsunami must have caused significant damage along this coastline, in addition to the destruction caused at newly taken, restored and renamed 'Alā'iyya-Aliyya-Alanya, and the destruction this seismic event caused seems a reasonable explanation for the strange absence of Seljuk inscriptions dated to the years 1221-1222 from the 'Alā'iyya fortifications, yet we know the fortification walls would have been repaired immediately following the considerable damage they experienced from the mangonel projectiles fired during the course of the Seljuk siege, these shattered Seljuk building inscriptions from 1221-1222 presumably being reused in the subsequent Seljuk rebuilding work.



Fig. 14. Side of the manār by Şarâb-sa hân from the east



Fig. 15. Map from Google.earth.com, Şarâb-sa hân being on the coast between 'Alā'iyya-Alanya and - 'Alā'ra-Alara, indicting both the rugged terrain and the coastal castles-harbours and settlements taken in the Seljuk naval part of the 1225 Jihad campaign, when communications extended along the coast from Dalaman to by Silifke

⁶⁹ Schreiner 1977, II. 191.

⁷⁰ Al-Magrizi 146; Arik 1994, 22; Edbury 1994, 14; Altan 2002, 46.

This rectangular two storied *manār* tower constructed on a minor elevation of 8 m ASL, 500 m from the sea and with a then entirely unimpeded sea vista, seems to have been constructed to serve as a Seljuk coastal watch and signalling relay tower, its signals would have been clearly visible from 15 km away, night and day, weather permitting, from the citadel of Ala'iyya-Alanya and vice versa. This Rûm Seljuk *manār*, like the Yivli *mubārak manār* of Seljuk Antalya, the Taşdibi *manār* by the Medieval port of Myra⁷¹, the Yılan başlık *manār* on Cape Gelidonya (destroyed by seismic activity in 1741) and the Seljuk re-use of the Roman Pharos at Patara as a *manār*, were not constructed or restored and reused to function solely as harbour markers, there is no harbour by Şarâb-sa hân, nor on Cape Gelidonya, but rather these formed part of an integrated Rûm Seljuk XIIIth century coastal surveillance, marker and communications system. Constructed to provide for secure and rapid communications – at the blink of the eye – this being an attribute of the Prophet Sulaymân, and, to a lesser degree, an attribute of those Caliph's and Sultans who were described as being the embodiment of “*The Sulaymân of the Age*”, who were in their time understood as being, “*The Second Sulaymân*”, with the jinn at their command⁷², the *muhandis-nakkash* producing works of superlative quality, designing and refining communication systems, codes and instruments⁷³, enabling the passing of coded messages flashed at the speed of light-reflected light, from *manār* to *manār*.

Figure Sources

Fig. 1. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=229466001&objectId=217543&partId=1

Fig. 2. <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-minai-pottery-bowl-kashan-central-iran-5604672-details.aspx>.

Fig. 3. <https://www.studyblue.com/notes/note/n/islamic-art-slide-quiz-3/deck/8465339>.

Fig. 4. <http://webapps.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explorer/index.php?oid=71856>.

Fig. 5. Forkl-Kalter – Leisten-Pavaloi 1993, Abb. 72.

Fig. 6. Müller 1979.

Fig. 7. Arik 2000.

Fig. 8. Arik – Arik 2008.

Fig. 9. Arik 2000.

Fig. 10. <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-seljuk-cast-bronze-circular-mirror-iran-5552900-details.aspx>

Fig. 11. Arik 2000.

Fig. 12. Erdmann 1961.

Fig. 13. Photo Mahmut Demir.

Fig. 14. Photo Mahmut Demir.

Fig. 15. [Google.earth.com](http://www.google.earth.com).

⁷¹ Duggan – Aygün 2015.

⁷² It seems possible that the relief that gave its name to the Talisman Gate of Bagdad of 1221, depicted the Abbāsid Caliph Abū Nasr al-Zāhir (1226-42) as the Second Sulaymân, holding the tongues of the Unbelieving Jinn, represented as winged dragon-like creatures. With, it can be proposed, a similar meaning to the carvings of this subject either side of the portal of Sinjar's al-Khân.

⁷³ Duggan forth. b.

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