shards excavated at the Alhambra itself suggest that many more were made. They are all shaped like amphoras with narrow bases, swelling bodies, sloping shoulders, ribbed necks, and broad flat handles shaped like wings. They are the largest lustreware pots ever produced and average 15 centimeters high. The surviving examples fall into two stylistic groups. The first, characterized by a bulbous shape, short neck, bold angular inscriptions, and monochrome luster, can be dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The second group, more elongated and elegant in shape, with less conspicuous inscriptions, a narrow band of cursive script instead of a central wide register, and additional decoration in cobalt blue or gilding, can be dated to the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth. Several of the earlier examples have depictions of a stylized hand on the handles, an apotropaic device. Two of the later examples include the depiction of confronted gazelles on the body.

These large jars, which are unstable and would have been supported on tripods or set into holes in the floor, might have been put in front of small niches in the jamb between the rooms of the palace. One pair of such eccesses, flanking the entrance to the Sala de la Burea at the Alhambra, is inscribed with a poem:

I am a bride in her nuptial attire, endowed with beauty and perfection.
Contemplate [this] ewer to understand the full truth of my statement:
Look as well at my crown and you will find it similar to the crown of the new moon.

Ibn Nasr [Muhammad V] is the sun of this heaven in splendour and in beauty;
May he remain forever in [this] high position without fearing the time of sunset.

The poem continues on the left side with the statement that the niche held a jar of water; when in use, the jar was like a man in prayer. It ends with the standard praise of the prince. It is not known whether these luxury objects were actually used for storing and serving water in the palace. In shape they represent the culmination of a long tradition of large jars for the storage and serving of water; they were normally made of unglazed earthenware, sometimes decorated in the barbotine technique, to allow evaporation to naturally cool the contents. The Alhambra vases, by sheer dint of their size and glittering glazed decoration, are removed from this mundane function: their imposing bulk, which approaches human proportions, suggests that they functioned very much like sculpture, a metaphor underscored by the poem which compares the ewer to a bride or a man in prayer.

All of these vessels were probably made in Málaga, to the south-west of Granada on the Mediterranean coast, where cuerdas ceramics had been produced from the tenth century and lustreware from the early thirteenth. It was once believed that the appearance of the lustre technique in Spain owed something to Iranian craftsmen fleeing the Mongol invasions, but the Andalusian tin-glazed earthenwares are quite unlike Iranian ceramics, which have a fritted paste and colored alkaline glazes and use different shapes and designs. It is much more likely that the development of lustreware in Spain was due to the emigration of craftsmen...
from Egypt after the fall of the Fatimids in 1171. Málaga became a major center of ceramic production, and its products were exported throughout Europe. Nasrid lustrewares are characterized by a yellowish amber luster with a pronounced iridescence and a limited repertory of designs. The Málaga technique of using fluxed pigments has a tendency to overfiring, in which the clay medium adheres to the glaze and dulls the metallic film. Compared to the finest Kashan lustrewares, the painting is coarse and loose, although the finest specimens are more elegant and their great size shows conscious skill in firing. The Port你会发现 example, is a single slab measuring 90 by 44 centimeters. Its carpet-like design consists of a rectangular border with cartouches inscribed with the name of Yusuf III (r. 1408-17) and a central field with arabesques and the heads of swans, peacocks, and dragons. Production at Málaga ceased abruptly sometime before the mid-fifteenth century, but continued elsewhere under Christian patronage. The memory of Málaga persisted, however, in the common European term majolica, the original Italian name for lustreware.

The carved stucco walls on the interior of the Alhambra have often been likened to textiles, for their square fields and endless repeats are characteristic of textile designs, a resemblance that could only have been heightened by the bright colors with which they were originally painted. Surviving contemporary wall hangings indicate that the resemblance is not fortuitous. The most splendid textiles of the period are three more or less complete silk curtains, of which the finest [166] measures some 4.38 by 2.72 meters. It consists of two loom-width panels joined by a narrow central strip; each panel has a main field decorated with three compositions of squares and elaborate borders at either end. Executed in lampas weave on a drawloom, the curtain has a deep rose-red ground and pattern worked predominantly in yellow, with details in dark blue, green, and white. In size and complexity this stunning piece has few if any rivals in medieval textiles. Its splendid condition gives an unusually vivid sense of the luxury and richness of Nasrid palace interiors. The design is sure and sophisticated, juxtaposing the rich but plain red ground with intricate geometric patterns in one, two, three, or four colors.

The place and date of production of these pieces have been widely disputed, but a Nasrid attribution is certain, as many of the patterns have exact parallels in the mural decoration of the Alhambra. Cartouches on the Cleveland curtain are inscribed with lā ḥālib ilā ilāhi (“There is no victor save God”), the motto of the Nasrid dynasty, inscribed on many of their commissions. The use of yellow silk instead of gold thread confirms a fifteenth-century date, for a letter to Fernando I, King of Aragon, dated 4 June 1414 mentions that Muslim weavers had ceased using gold. There was a long tradition of fine silk-weaving in Spain, and monumental curtains are known there from the thirteenth century. A dispensed tapestry-woven textile from the tomb of Bishop Gurb (d. 1284) in Barcelona Cathedral can be reconstructed as pictorial roundels spaced in rows against a dark red ground set between borders, an arrangement prefiguring that of the Cleveland curtain. The technique of producing hangings in tapestry-weave was exported from Spain to North Africa, for two military banners in Toledo Cathedral of tapestry inwoven in a tabby ground are inscribed with the names of the Marinid sultans of Fez, Abu Sa‘id and Abūl-Hasan. Like the ceramics of Málaga, Nasrid textiles were appreciated in the Christian courts of Europe, and similar types continued to be produced under Christian patronage after the fall of the Nasrid kingdom in 1492.
CHAPTER 10

Architecture and the Arts in Anatolia under the Beyliks and Early Ottomans

In 1243 the Saljuqs of Rum were defeated by the Ilkhanids at the battle of Köş Eğitim and forced to pay a huge tribute. During the next decades the Saljuqs were weakened by internal squabbling, and after an abortive attempt to overthrow the Mongol protoviceroyate in 1277, eastern Anatolia came under direct Mongol rule, although a powerless Saljuq dynasty reigned in name until the early fourteenth century. Eastern Anatolia continued to be linked closely to Iran after the fall of the Ilkhanids and came under the control of two Turkoman confederations, the Qaraqoyunu (1330–1468) and the Qapuyunu (1258–1508; see Chapters 4–5). In western Anatolia, dozens of independent regional principalities, usually known collectively as the Beyliks, replaced the relative unity of Saljuq rule and became particularly important after the fall of the Ilkhanids in 1335. Some of them, such as the Eşrefoğlu of Beyşehir in central Anatolia (late thirteenth century to 1328), had brief periods of glory, while others, such as the Karamanids of Karaman and Konya (ca. 1256–1453), the Menteşids of Milas, Muğla, and Pınar (ca. 1270–1429), and the Aydınids of Savaş and Bırga (1397–1426), lasted longer. In the end the most successful was the Osmanli or Ottoman dynasty (1288–1924): they rose to power as warriors on the Byzantine frontier in northwest Anatolia and expanded their realm to include much of Anatolia and all of Thrace before they eventually defeated the Byzantines at Constantinople in 1453.

ARCHITECTURE

In central and eastern Anatolia, which had been the heart of the Saljuq realm, Saljuq traditions ran deeper and the Saljuq style continued under the emirates. The type of wooden columnar mosque typical of the Saljuq period continued to be built. For example, no major structures were erected from 1243 to 1271, when three buildings were endowed in the same year: the Çifte Minare madrasa ordered by the Ilkhan vizier Shams al-Din Muhammad Jusayn, the Gök madrasa ordered by the Saljuq vizier Fakhr al-Din 'Ali Sabih Ata, and the madrasa ordered by the otherwise unidentified Muazzar Barjuji. The revival of architectural patronage then proceeded unabated in Amasya, Tokat, Ahlat, and Erzurum. In Amasya a hospital (1328–14) was ordered by Anbar b. "Abdallah, a freedman of the Ilkhanid sultan Uluju; it follows the plan of a traditional Saljuq madrasa with an arcaded court and two iwans. In Erzurum a madrasa (1310) was commissioned by Khwaja Yaqut, a freedman of the Ilkhanid Sultan Gha'azan and amir of the region of Erzurum and Baybur. The Yakutiye (Yaquutiye) madrasa includes the amir's tomb, and to ensure its upkeep, he endowed it with the revenues from several villages in the district, their immovable property, and buildings in them, including khans, shops, a windmill, and baths. The building is similar to Saljuq domed madrasas but the court has a central muqarnas vault with an oculus flanked by transverse vaults and supported on four piers. Three iwans and fourteen cells open onto the court. The disposition of the two minarets flanking the portal and the domed mausoleum behind the main iwan are features modeled on the Çifte Minare madrasa built in 1243 in the same city, but the slightly projecting portal is a new feature. The rich stone carving on the façade was also inspired by that on the earlier building, but the motif of a double-headed eagle atop a palm tree issuing from a double-headed dragon has been transposed into a single-headed eagle facing left or right atop a palm tree set over confronted lions, and the motif, whose significance has yet to be determined, has been moved from the facade directly below the minarets to the jambs flanking the doorway.

A final example showing how the Saljuq style continued into the early fourteenth century is the mausoleum of the Saljuq princess Hudavend Hatun (Khudavand Khanum), daughter of Qilij Arslan IV (r. 1259–63), at Niydhe (1312). The entrance portal on the east side of the octagonal tomb is richly carved with geometric interlace, and the seven sides are capped by muqarnas corbels supporting an elaborately carved, sixteen-sided zone of transition; and the whole is crowned by a pyramidal roof. The tomb's rich decoration is the last flowering of the Saljuq style of stone carving, but the traditional repertory is enriched by profuse figural carving of double-headed eagles, harpies, panthers or lions, and heads concealed in the lush vegetation.

167. Beyşehir, Esrefoğlu Mosque, 1299, interior
168. Erzurum, Yaquutiye Madrasa, 1310, interior
its center, was converted into the congregational mosque, but Haci Özbek built his small private foundation several blocks away on the main east–west artery. The building [170] consists of a room 7.92 meters square, covered by a hemispheric dome resting on an octagonal zone of transition. Originally it had an entrance portal on the west side with a barrel vault covering two bays and a cross-vault covering the third bay in front of the door. The portal was destroyed during road-widening operations in 1959 and replaced with a glassed-in porch on the north. There was no minaret. The building has courses of stone ashlar separated by two to four courses of bricks laid in common bond. Within the ashlar course, each stone is separated by a soldier brick. The dome is covered with terracotta tiles molded to face a spherical surface. They are typical of early Ottoman buildings, although in most cases the roof tiles have been replaced by lead sheets. The interior is rather plain, with eight windows and three simple niches in the south wall, the central one serving as the mihrab. The dome sits on a band of Turkish triangles, a structural belt of broken prismatic surfaces. Features such as its modest scale, size, and zone of transition with Turkish triangles are typical of the Saltuk monuments of thirteenth-century Konya, such as the Karatay and Ince Minareli madrasas. The technique of construction, using alternating courses of brick and stone, however, is distinctly Byzantine. 

Özbek himself ordered yet another kind of mosque 400 meters outside Iznik's Yenişehir (south) gate in 1334–5. Excavation of the site revealed a porch preceding a long rectangular space (ca. 8 by 18 meters) divided in half by two steps and flanked by two rectangular rooms. The rectangular space probably comprised a covered court and a mosque; the side rooms were probably used as hoshis (Arab. şaşır, Turk. şarşi) for traveling dervishes. The plan seems to have been a logical development of the enclosed type of madrasa that had four iwans opening onto a closed court (e.g., the Yatsıte in Erezun [1350]), but the iwans and the court have become virtually the same size. The building differs, however, in the emphasis accorded the exterior, particularly the massing of domes it must have had in its original state. It is the earliest example of a type that would remain characteristic of Ottoman architecture for at least another century. It is known variously as the zaviye (zaviye-i, evyan-iwan-i), T-plan, Bursa-type or multi-function mosque, for many of the finest and earliest examples were royal foundations in and around Bursa, the Ottoman capital from 1326 to 1453. 

After Timur's army burned and plundered Bursa (ancient Presa), a splendid site on the northern slopes of Ulù Dag, the capital was moved to Edirne (Adrianople) in Thrace and then in 1453 to Istanbul (Constantinople). Bursa nevertheless retained much of its prestige, for Osman (d. 1324), the founder of the dynasty, and five of his successors were buried there, and it was an important center for the silk industry. Özbek built a palace in the citadel, a public soup kitchen (Turk. kuyu), a bath, a caravanarai, and several mosques, including one near the main market. Although repeatedly restored, the essential features of the 1339 plan can still be determined [171]. It continues the type seen earlier at Iznik: a five-bay porch precedes a domed vestibule and the central hall, which is covered with a dome 8.45 meters in diameter, which is on the qibla axis and up two steps, is the main iwan, covered with an elliptical vault; two other iwans, also raised and vaulted, stand to either side of the central hall. The iwans may well have been hostels for traveling dervishes and the religious brotherhoods (Turk. ahi) who provided much of the support for Ottoman expansion. The pyramidal massing of domes around the central court when seen from the exterior is a feature that would become a hallmark of later Ottoman architecture. While the early Ottomans typically built zaviye-type mosques, congregational mosques in the other principalities had different kinds of spatial organization whose innovative features were then incorporated into the Ottoman repertoire. In Selçuk (formerly Ayasoluk and ancient Ephesus) a congregational mosque was built in 1373. According to an inscription over the main portal, it was the work of 'Ali b. al-Dimisheq for Isa b. Muhammad b. Aydin (r. 1366–90), the Aydinid sultan whose domain extended from western Anatolia to the Greek islands. Measuring some 53 by 57 meters, it has high walls constructed of rough-cut ashlar enclosing a spacious courtyard (27 by 35 meters) which is bordered on three sides by two-storied porticoes [172]. On the south side, a triple-arched gateway in the center of the façade opens into the prayer hall, which consists of two parallel aisles, now covered with gabled roofs but originally flat, intersected by a transept of two domes resting on triangular pendentives and monolithic stone columns. The pendentives are faced with glazed tiles in geometric patterns. Monumental entrances and minarets with cylindrical brick shafts flank the façade. Much of the building material was undoubtedly salvaged from the ruins of Ephesus to judge today from the many spolia used, but other pieces were made specifically for the mosque. Of particular note is the monumental western façade [173], constructed of stone and brick faced with marble. It is enlivened with windows whose frames are delicately carved with muqarnas, joggled voussoirs, and inscriptions. Two flights of steps lead to a portal which projects from the wall surface and is crowned with a muqarnas hood. The surface above is inlaid with black and white marble in an intricate knot pattern, a technique admired on themakes the structure appear more important than the mihrab (restored). Many features of the mosque, from its plan and elevation to the decoration with marble inlay, relate to earlier Syrian buildings, most notably the Umayyad mosque of Damascus. This Syrian connection is no surprise, given the origins of 'Ali b. al-Dimisheq ("All the son of the Damascene"). An unusual feature of the building is the giant circular column, near the south corner, in contemporary Anatolian architecture only in a smaller version at the congregational mosque in Manisa built in 1367 for the Saruhanid Işak Beg [174]. But it would be picked up some sixty years later by Ottoman architects and incorporated into the standard repertoire. The Ottoman sultan Murad I (r. 1366–89), later known by the epithet Hızadekâr ("Lord," "Master"), captured Edirne and extended the Ottoman empire into Europe, adding Thrace, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. His major preoccupa-

9. 134. نیجک، هدفردوئن هام مومنن. 134
a hilltop site a bit west of Bursa. The mosque, built in the traditional Byzantine technique of alternating courses of brick and stone, was begun in 1366 but not completed until 1385. It is unusual in combining a cave-type mosque on the ground floor with a madrasa on the second [175]. The ground floor has a five-bay porch on the north leading to a vestibule; the main interior space consists of a domed court (diameter 11 meters; height 23 meters) surrounded by four iwans; six other rooms fill the corner spaces. Staircases flanking the vestibule lead to the second floor, which has a five-bay gallery over the portico and a large room over the vestibule. Small cells (2.5 by 3.5 meters) open onto a barrel-vaulted corridor which runs around three sides of the central domed hall; a narrow passage in the thickness of the wall around the main iwan leads to a small domed room (perhaps an oratory) over the mihrab below. The plan is a more complex variant of the early cave type and combines two functions which are logically reflected in the two-storied façade [176]. It has slightly pointed arches enclosing pairs of smaller arches carried on re-used Byzantine columns and capitals. The openness and airiness are reminiscent of the façade of a Venetian palazzo and have led to the unsupported speculation that the architect was an Italian in Ottoman service.

Bayezid I (r. 1389–1403), known as Yildirim ("Thunderbolt"), expanded the empire with impetuous military exploits. In the winter of 1389–90 he annexed several of the emirates in western Anatolia, including that of the Menteşis, and the mosque at Milas (ancient Mylasa), built in 1394 by Firuz Beg, the Menteşid he appointed governor of the region, is
transitional between the local Menteşî and the emerging Ottoman styles [177]. It is one of the few non-Ottoman mosques to use the zaviye-type plan, and, like Orhan's mosque at Bursa [178], it has a five-bay portico with pointed arches resting on piers. Some of the decorative motifs, such as the zig-zag lobes on the three central arches of the portico, were also used at Bursa, but the decoration at Milas is much richer. The side bays of the portico, for example, have muşarrazas brackets on the piers and pierced marble balustrades decorated with stars and interlaced motifs. The building is faced with blocks of colored marble, and the windows have muşarrazas hoods and bi-colored joggled vousoirs. The decoration of the mihrab is equally rich, including embossed arabesques and palmettes in the spandrels, porphyry columns, a muşarrazas hood, an inscription band, and a representation of a mosque lamp hanging in a niche. Perpendicular to the corner of the mihrab are the signatures of the builder Musa b. 'Abdallah and the decorator Musa b. 'Adil. Beside the mosque is a simple madrasa with twelve rooms in a row covered with domes and transverse and barrel vaults.

Bayezid I was a prodigious builder. He began his own complex in Bursa a few years after his accession, and it was completed by 1396. Like the complex built by his father at Çekîrge, it was located on a hilltop outside the city walls, this time to its east. It consisted of seven separate buildings: a zaviye-type mosque, a madrasa, a tomb, a bath, a soup kitchen, a hospital, and a palace. The mosque, which was the center of the complex and placed at the top of the hill, is similar to that of Murat I. More unusual is the new congregational mosque (Turk. ulus camî) that Bayezid I ordered for Bursa's central business district [178]. Funds for the mosque came from the considerable booty he seized when he defeated Sigismund of Hungary on 25 September 1396 at Nicopolis on the lower Danube. The mosque was completed by 1399–1400, remarkably quickly considering