In Pursuit of the Past: Artuqid Patronage of the Ancient Sciences

by

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Graduate School of Sciences and Engineering
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To my family

ABSTRACT

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This thesis is the first study to investigate the patronage activities of the Artuqid dynasty in the field of ancient sciences. The Artuqid dynasty ruled the Jazira region between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, with three branches active in Mardin, Hisn Kayfa, Amid, and Kharput. In addition to the lives of the scientists patronized by the Artuqid dynasty, this research analyzes the networks established by scientists with the elite, and the scientific manuscripts dedicated to the Artuqid rulers and other family members. The intellectual activities and educational backgrounds of the Artuqids, as well as their establishment of private and public libraries are investigated in detail to better understand the Artuqid stance on ancient sciences. The Artuqid courts were highly developed places where cultural and scientific pursuits were sponsored. Support for scientists, their research, and learning activities in the field of ancient sciences were consciously driven by the individual actions of Artuqid rulers and dynasty members. By bringing together diverse materials ranging from epigraphy to photography, poetry to chronicles, and coinage to architecture, this thesis offers a different interpretation and thereby sheds a new light on the Artuqids, whose history is sometimes portrayed with biases in scholarly and primary sources.

Keywords: Artuqid, al-Jazira, medieval, ancient sciences, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, astrology, alchemy, occult sciences, arithmetic, engineering, automata, manuscripts, coinage, architecture, bridge, hospital, fortification.

ÖZETÇE

Geçmişin Peşinde: Antik Bilimlerin Artuklu Himayesi
Fatma Elif Özsoy
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20 Mart 2023

Bu tez Artuklu hanedanının antik bilimler alanındaki himaye faaliyetlerini inceleyen ilk çalışmadır. On ikinci ve on beşinci yüzyıllar arasında Cezire bölgesinde hüküm süren Artuklu hanedanının Mardin, Hisn Kayfa, Amid ve Harput'ta faaliyet gösteren üç kolu bulunmaktadır. Bu araştırma Artuklu hanedanı tarafından himaye edilen bilim insanlarının hayatlarına ek olarak, bilim insanlarının seçkinlerle kurdukları ağları ve Artuklu hükümdarları ile diğer aile üyelerine ithaf edilen bilimsel el yazmalarını analiz etmektedir. Artukluların entelektüel faaliyetleri ve eğitim geçmişlerinin yanı sıra kurdukları özel ve kamusal kütüphaneler, Artukluların antik bilimler konusundaki duruşunu daha iyi anlamak için ayrıntılı olarak incelenmektedir. Artuklu sarayları kültürel ve bilimsel arayışların desteklendiği son derece gelişmiş yerlerdi. Bilim insanlarına, onların araştırmalarına ve kadim bilimler alanındaki öğrenim faaliyetlerine verilen destek Artuklu hükümdarlarının ve hanedan üyelerinin bireysel eylemleri tarafından bilinçli olarak yönlendirilmiştir. Bu tez epigrafiden fotoğrafa, şiirden kroniğe, sikkeden mimariye kadar çeşitli materyalleri bir araya getirerek farklı bir yorum sunmakta ve böylece bilimsel ve birincil kaynaklarda tarihi zaman zaman önyargılarla tasvir edilen Artuklular'a yeni bir ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Artuklu, el-Cezire, Orta Çağ, antik bilimler, felsefe, tıp, astronomi, astroloji, simya, gizli bilimler, aritmetik, mühendislik, otomat, el yazmaları, sikke, mimari, köprü, hastane, sur.

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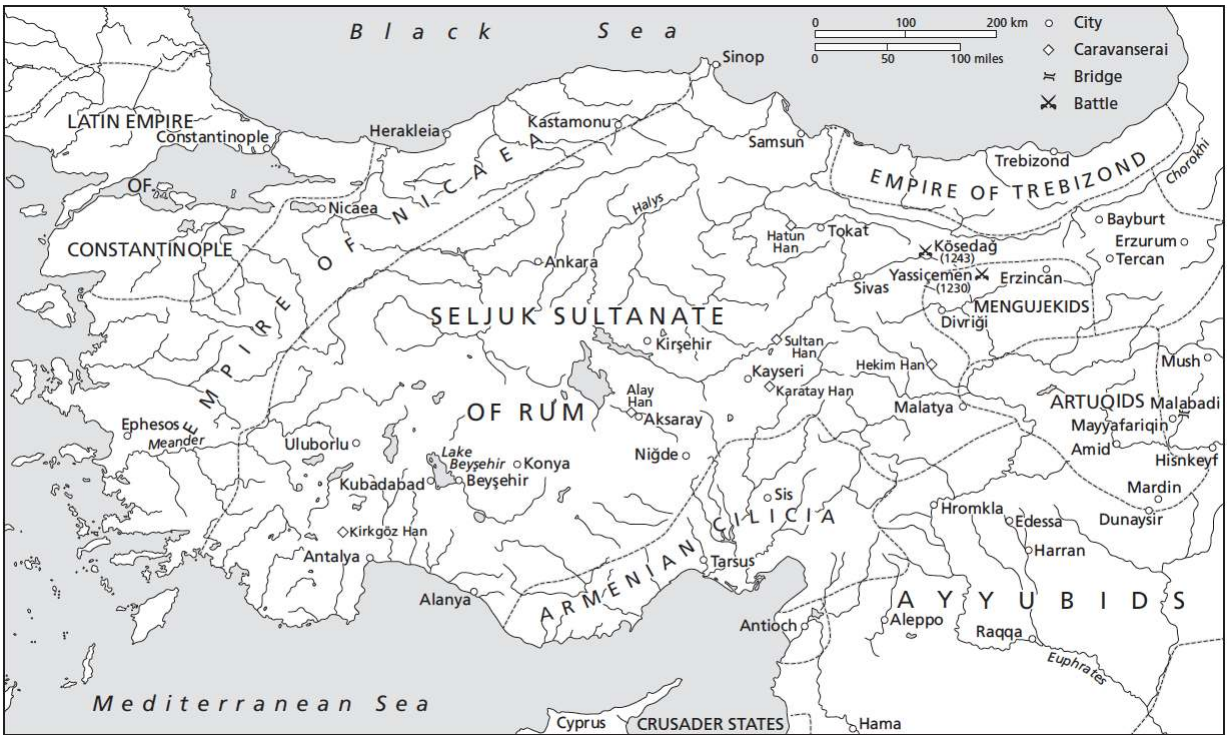
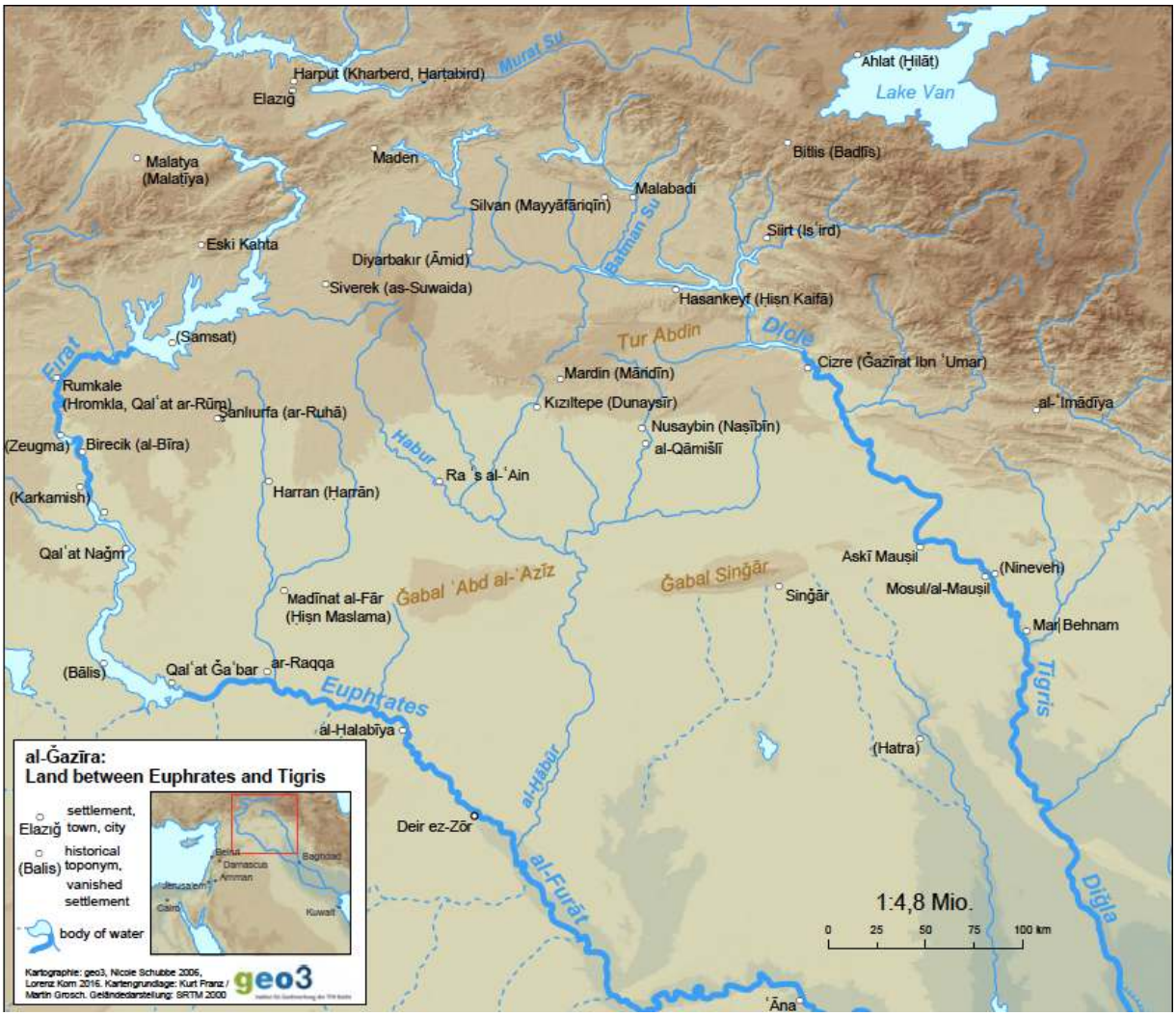
ABBREVIATIONS

BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
f.	Folio
H.	Hijri Calendar
Inv.	Inventory
r.	Recto
v.	Verso



Map 1. The early thirteenth-century Anatolia and the existing dynasties (Antony Eastmond, *Tamta's World: The Life and Encounters of a Medieval Noblewoman from the Middle East to Mongolia*, 2017, p. xxvii)



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Map 3. The Region of al-Jazira (Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: the Early Artuqid State*, 1990).

INTRODUCTION

The Artuqids (r. 1102-1409) established their rule in the northern reaches of the Jazira region, located in present-day southeastern Turkey, as one of the successor states of the Great Seljuks.[1] Syrian chronicle, Shams al-Din al-Jazari (d. 1338) reports that the Artuqids are of the Döger, one of the nomadic tribes of the Oghuz (*al-Ghuzz* in Arabic).[2] The founder of the Artuqids, Artuq ibn Eksük (d. 1091) was an active Turkmen chief working for the Great Seljuk sultan Malikshah I (r. 1072-92). Artuq ibn Eksük further assisted Seljuk expeditions in Syria and participated in the Seljuk takeover of Amid (Diyarbakır).[3] His descendants established their independent states that followed Great Seljuk practice and tradition.[4]

The sons of Artuq ibn Eksük, Najm al-Din Ilghazi, Yaquti, and Sökmen, established branches of the Artuqid dynasty in the Jaziran towns of Mardin, Mayyafariqin (Silvan), and Hisn Kayfa (Hasankeyf). The three branches continued their rule for different lengths of time. The longest prevailing was Artuqids of Mardin (r. 1106-1409). It is followed by the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid (r. 1102-1231), and lastly, the Artuqids of Harput (r. 1185-1233).[5] Although they lived with Muslims (Turks, Arabs and Kurds), Jews, and Christians (Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians) in their territories, the Artuqids cared to preserve their traditions. They mainly relied on nomadic Turkmen troops.[6] The power of rule belonged to the Artuqid family and each branch controlled

[1] Al-Jazira means island in Arabic. The Jazira region is geographically located at the northern reach of the area bordered by the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. See Map 2 and Map 3.
[2] İbrahim Artuk and Cevriye Artuk, *Artukoğulları Sikkeleri* (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 1993), 13. First, I utilize "Turkish" to designate the medieval Muslim rulers, states and culture rather than modern Turkey and Turkish state throughout this thesis with two exceptions. I use "Turkish" for the modern Turkish language. Second, "Turkish" is also mentioned in the review of twentieth-century art historiography in Turkey. The medieval states are mentioned in this thesis are the Great Seljuks and post-Seljuk successor states established in the Jazira such as the Artuqids, the Zengids, and the Rum Seljuks, and other dynasties established in Anatolia starting in the eleventh century. The terms Turcoman, Turkmen and Turkman are reserved for the nomadic tribesmen. For the meaning of the term "Turk", Andrew Peacock argues that "*Turk* has a general meaning, referring to the Turkish peoples and tribes in general. In addition, the Turkish slave soldiery in Baghdad is usually called *turk"* in the Islamic sources." See Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljuq History: A New Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2013), 48.
[3] Andrew C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 61. Alexander Daniel Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040-1130* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2019), 249.
[4] Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire,* 61.
[5] Sheila R. Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 21.
[6] Osman Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi: Saltuklular, Mengücikler, Sökmenliler, Dilmaç Oğulları ve Artukluların Siyasî Tarih ve Medeniyetleri* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2004), 220, 221, 249.

different towns.[7] There were struggles between the members of the Artuqid branches for dominance in the Jazira region.[8]

The Artuqids were prolific builders, patrons of scientists, artists, and thinkers of their time. Through following the Great Seljuk practices, the Artuqids taxed their subjects, predominantly a Christian population. In return, they constructed and repaired religious buildings, bridges, fortifications, roads, and established educational centers such as madrasas and libraries. Hillenbrand argues that many rulers were joining military campaigns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These mobile rulers, including the Artuqids, first put their emphasis on "mending roads and bridges" or strengthening city walls thus they would not spare time for "cultural pursuits."[9] The author remarks that the "rudimentary palace" of the early Artuqid period (1100-50) would differ from a very sophisticated court circle.[10] Hillenbrand further argues that "the Artuqid Turcoman rulers changed from nomadic leaders to petty dynasts with an interest in fostering science and the arts" after the second half of the twelfth century.[11]

The limited number of surviving written documents and Artuqid objects provide evidence against Hillenbrand's assumption about the early Artuqid dynasty, their courts and the rulers who were not expected to pursue intellectual pursuits. The first part of Chapter 1 presents the literary and material evidence from the reign of Artuqid ruler of Mardin, "philosopher" Husam al-Din Timurtash (r. 1122-54) about his intellectual pursuits, the scholars he invited to his court, the library he established and wisely chosen design of his first dated coin. Another example comes from the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa. Timurtash's cousin Rukn al-Dawla Dawud (1114-44) received a high-quality enamel plate showing the ascension of Alexander the Great and honorific titles of the ruler, and scenes of courtly pleasures. The provenance of the Innsbruck Plate, as it is called today, is highly debated. However, scholars suggest that it was designed as a royal gift for Rukn al-Dawla Dawud, who was an "ambitious Artuqid ruler" at that time.[12]

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[7] Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs*, 23.
[8] Gerhard Väth, *Die Geschichte Der Artuqidischen fürstentümer in Syrien Und Der Ğazīra'l-Furātīya (496-812/1002-1409)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1987), 183.
[9] Carole Hillenbrand, "The History of the Jazira: A Short Introduction," in *The Art of Syria and the Jazira, 1100-1250,* ed. Julian Raby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 16.
[10] Hillenbrand, "The History of the Jazira: A Short Introduction," 16.
[11] Ibid, 17.
[12] Canby et al., 56-7. Different provenances are suggested by a number of scholars. Max van Berchem favors either Iranian or Central Asian origin meanwhile Thomas Steppan thinks that it is related to the Byzantine workshop. Scott Redford identifies the Georgian influence and designates Georgia as the production place. See Scott Redford, "How Islamic Is It? The Innsbruck Plate and Its Setting," *Muqarnas*

This thesis aims to reconstruct the intellectual world in the Artuqid courts by analyzing the patronage activities of Artuqid rulers in the fields of ancient sciences with the help of surviving written documents and other material evidence. I argue that the Artuqid courts were fairly developed and sophisticated spaces where the scientists working on the ancient sciences were supported and hosted, intellectual debates between the thinkers, scientists and some of the Artuqid rulers were taking place and scientific manuscripts were read, discussed and patronized by the rulers. I read these developments and the interests in the ancient sciences not as an institutionalized state policy, but rather conscious activities heavily dependent on the preferences and characteristics of individuals. Some rulers were more interested than others, for instance, Husam al-Din Timurtash gained the epithet of "philosopher and sage" due to his knowledge of the ancient sciences. More uninterrupted written evidence of the life and personal interests of Artuqid rulers and the policy of the Artuqid branches, as well as more manuscripts written on the ancient sciences at the time, are required to determine whether this tradition has evolved into state policy.

Some Artuqid rulers were depicted in the written tradition with various prejudices and criticisms based on their interests in the ancient sciences and due to the doctrines that they believed in. This situation is also related to geographical, and sectarian factors. These issues will be addressed in depth in the third section of the introduction. The patronage movements and learning activities of Artuqid lords in the field of ancient sciences should be analyzed in parallel with the activities of all other medieval rulers interested in ancient sciences, especially the Ayyubids in Syria, the Zengids in Iraq and Syria and the Rum Seljuks in Anatolia to which Artuqids was vassal states at different times as well as other contemporaries, for instance, the Byzantines and Normans of Sicily. The continuation of these activities is an important example of a shared medieval court culture and the rulers' personal interests, regardless of ethnicity or religious background. This topic will be analyzed in detail in the third section of the introduction and in the following chapters.

In the twelfth century, physician, poet, and philosopher Ibn al-Saʾigh al-ʿAntari (d. after 1186) described the Turkish state (*dawla al-Turk*) as a state of ignorance where

7 (1990): 119-135. Thomas Steppan, *Die Artuqiden-Schale Im Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum Innsbruck: Mittelalterliche Emailkunst Zwischen Orient Und Occident: Ausstellung Im Neubau Der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Fakultät Universität Innsbruck, 4.-13. Mai 1995* (München: Editio Maris, 1995). Max van Berchem, Josef Strzygowski, and Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amida*, trans. Fatih Aygün et al. (Ankara: Orient Yayınları, 2015), 108.

the sciences and men of merit were fought.[13] Al-ʿAntari also criticized Turks for being morally corrupt, intellectually incompetent, and closing the door of mercy. Besides, the nations were wiped out, and the government was dispersed under their rule.[14] Al-ʿAntari, who severely criticized the medieval Turks and their dynasties, established networks with the princes, ministers, poets, doctors, and other influential people living in the Jazira region. The Zengid and Artuqid lords were among them. In his *Diwan*, the third chapter consists of his odes and letters dedicated to the kings, princes, and ministers, including the Zengid ruler ʿImad al-Din Zengi (r. 1128-46), and four Artuqid lords, Husam al-Din Timurtash (r. 1122-54), Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan (r. 1148-67), and their sons Najm al-Din Alpi (r. 1154-76), Nur al-Din Muhammad (r. 1167-85) respectively.

Al-ʿAntari began working for the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa in 1166 as the supervisor of the hospital (*bīmāristān*) at Hisn Kayfa and remained in that position until 1186.[15] Can this change be seen as a contradiction based on the difference between what al-ʿAntari did and what he said? In light of what he said, al-ʿAntari might have considered Artuqid and Zengid rulers and their courts were distinct from the medieval rulers whom he criticized in his poems. It can be also a result of the nature and power dynamics of patronage relationships in the medieval world. Al-ʿAntari might have had to stay out of fights with the princes and ministers whose help and protection he needed, or he might have had to hide his true feelings due to his fears. Therefore, when examining the primary sources mentioning the Artuqid rulers, it is necessary to consider the authors' self-interests, possible biases, and other circumstances influencing them.

In the absence of literary sources of the medieval period, it is challenging to find out what the leaders and community thought about arts, sciences, and cultural pursuits. The available information on the Artuqid dynasty is limited. Reading the voices and observations of outsider writers like al-ʿAntari and combining them with the material evidence in diverse forms that have survived to the present day allow researchers to construct a more realistic and accurate picture of the ruling Artuqid lords, other royal family members, and state officials of the Hisn Kayfa and Amid, Mardin, and Kharput branches of the dynasty.

[13] His full name is Abū l-Muʾayyad Muḥammad b. al-Mujallī Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh al-Jazarī al-ʿAntarī. See, Geert Jan Van Gelder. "Ibn Al-Ṣāʾigh Al-ʿAntarī." in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition*, Online Version.
[14] Muḥammad ibn al-Mujallī Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh al-Jazarī al-'Antarī, *Al-Muḫtār as-Sā'iğ Min Dīwān Ibn Aṣ-Ṣa'iğ*, ed. Banāt Muḥammad Yūsuf Ibrāhīm (Beirut, Lebanon: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 2017), 77. This passage is located in the introduction of his *Diwan.*
[15] Muḥammad ibn Al-Mujallī 'Antarī, *Al-Muḫtār as-Sā'iğ Min Dīwān Ibn Aṣ-Ṣa'iğ*, 16-19, 40.

This thesis is built on a thematic subject where different types of artistic mediums and historical sources are used to enrich the analysis. I use a variety of written sources, including chronicles, a biographical encyclopedia of scientists and scholars, poetry, medieval Arabic geography books, advice literature (mirror for princes), traveler's accounts, endowment charter (*waqfiyya*), the illustrated and unillustrated manuscripts dedicated to the Artuqid lords. The histories of Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian chroniclers establish the historical context in the Jazira region. For discussing material evidence, especially coinage and architecture, I utilize coinage catalogues, photography, epigraphy, and auction catalogues of the Artuqid objects and manuscripts in private collections.

1.1 Literature Review

The first artistic attention on the Artuqids, whose names are mentioned in history books and universal dictionaries, started when Artuqid figural bronze coins were considered worth collecting by collectors and numismatists.[16] "Islamic coins" or coins minted by Muslim states were generally epigraphic and excluded the figurative designs.[17] For this reason, the figural copper coins minted by the Turkish dynasties in the Jazira and Anatolia during the twentieth and thirteenth centuries were deemed to be different. They were renowned for their "originality."[18] According to the French author and numismatist Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (d. 1795), the Artuqid copper coins even entered "the cabinet of the King of France."[19] The research on the Artuqid coinage has been going on for nearly 250 years, and there is a considerable amount of literature.[20] The pioneering study

[16] The earliest record that I could find is the universal dictionary of French orientalist Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625-1695). He included the title of "Artak or Ortok" which provides the historical information about the dynasty and some members of the Artuqids. See, Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale, Ou Dictionnaire Universel Contenant Généralement Tout Ce Qui Regarde La Connaissance Des Peuples De L'Orient... Par M. D'Herbelot. [Précédé D'un Discours-Préface D'A. Galland]* (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1697), 130-131.

[17] The first epigraphic gold coin (*dinar*) was minted by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik in 696 CE. Earlier, the first Islamic coins adapted imagery from the Byzantine and Sassanian coins and occasionally had figurative designs on them. The coin of 'Abd al-Malik marked a new shift in the Islamic coinage production. See, Stefan Heidemann, "Calligraphy on Islamic Coins," in *The Aura of Alif: The Art of Writing in Islam*, ed. Frembgen Jürgen Wasim (Munich: Prestel, 2010), 162-3. The Artuqids also minted silver coins with epigraphy for international transactions. See Ali Mınat, "Gümüş Sikkeler ve Çağdaş Yazılı Kaynaklar Işığında Bir Artuklu Şehri Düneysir (Koçhisar -Kızıltepe)'in Yükselişi (12.-13. Yüzyıllar)," *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD)*, no. XXXIII (2018): 45-65.

[18] İsmail Galib Edhem, *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin* (Constantinople: Mihran, 1894), VII.

[19] William Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata: The Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern, of His Collection, Described and Historically Illustrated, Vol. 1* (London: Longman, 1823), 123.

[20] Lutz Ilisch, "Continuity and Transformation of the Lion and Sun Device on Coins of the Jazira from the Artuqid to the Safavid State," in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th-15th Century Eastern Anatolia: Proceedings of the International Symposium Held in Istanbul, 4th-6th May 2007*, ed. Deniz Beyazit and Simon Retting (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2012), 105.

was first realized by the owners of coin collectors and numismatists in Europe. They were mainly orientalists and interested in archaeology.

William Marsden (d. 1836), an Irish orientalist numismatist, wrote the first study in numismatics addressing the quality of Artuqid coinage designs in 1823. In the first volume of his book *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, Marsden wrote a chapter titled "Turkoman Ortokites," where he provided historical information about each coin in his collection, their inscriptions, and comments on the possible sources of inspiration for figural imagery.[21] He argues that these Artuqid princes were "indiscriminately imitating the dies of whatever foreign medals presented themselves," so it was not essential to question why these Muslim rulers used classical and Christian figures on their coinage.[22]

William Marsden introduced the concept of imitation in the analysis of Artuqid coinage, which later found its way into Orientalist numismatic works. This argument about imitation appears in several publications, particularly those published in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For the defenders of this argument, the Artuqid rulers were imitators who heavily relied on antiquarian and Christian imagery and struck coinage without conscious choices. This argument needs to be questioned critically. Examining the Artuqid coins reveals that the Artuqids simply did not use the old coinage dies. On the contrary, Artuqid coins were subjected to a design and manipulation process. Arabic epigraphy was added alongside the figural depictions, contradicting the imitation claim of the European Orientalists. This limited view also disregarded the presence of dynastic markers, the names of Caliphs, Artuqid rulers, and other rulers to whom Artuqids paid homage, as well as other specific information inscribed on the Artuqid coins.

While European orientalists agreeing with William Marsden discussed imitation and unconscious choices of the Artuqids, Stanley Lane-Poole offered a different interpretation favoring the "commercial usage" of figural imagery over the "imitation argument. In 1875, British orientalist numismatist Stanley Lane-Poole (d. 1931) published his article "Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans" in the second part of the International Numismata Orientalia series.[23] Lane-Poole argues that Artuqid figurative

[21] Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata: The Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern, of His Collection, Described and Historically Illustrated*, *Vol. 1*, 108-55.
[22] Ibid, 145.
[23] In this work, the author analyzes the coins from the collection of the British Museum, the cabinet of Colonel C. Seton Guthrie, and foreign coin collections. See Stanley Lane-Poole, *The International Numismata Orientalia: Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans* (London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1876), IX.

coins have nothing to do with the self-glorification and the unorthodoxy of the rulers who struck these figurative coinages. Instead, he emphasizes the Artuqids' and other Turkish dynasties' commercial necessity to mint coins with figural imagery because of their trade with the Greeks and other Christians of Anatolia.[24] These Turkish rulers combined elements of "European and Byzantine" imagery with Arabic epigraphy to create a hybrid coinage that would be easily exchanged and easily recognized.[25]

Even though I have doubts about the argument involving the practical use of the figural design for economic reasons due to the difficulty of verification, it was a significant step for the scholarship in the nineteenth century. The advantages of using visuals familiar to the public that Artuqid ruled over may be more than just practical. However, these figural images could have been used as authenticity markers for Artuqid coins, increasing trust in local circulation. Apart from his new argument, Lane-Poole's most significant contribution to the academy in terms of Artuqid research is the historical information he provided on the Artuqid dynasty, its dynastic family tree, and the detailed stylistic and material analysis of each Artuqid coin from the different coinage collections.[26]

Ottoman numismatist İsmail Ghalib (d. 1895) is notable for correcting a long-standing error in Orientalist publications focusing on Artuqid coinage. Considered the second most significant numismatist in the Ottoman Empire, Ghalib closely followed the publications on coinage in Europe.[27] He introduced many Islamic and Turkish coins to foreign scholars through his publications.[28] In 1894, Ghalib published his study called *The Catalogue of Turcoman Coins* including those of the Artuqids, from the Istanbul Archaeology Museum collection.[29] His first contribution to scholarship is ending the confusion over the spelling of the name "Artuk" in this book. Ghalib criticizes incorrectly used words, such as Ortok, Artak, Urtuk, and Ortokides, Urtukites, by the European orientalists.[30] His book, first published in Ottoman Turkish, and later translated into

[24] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The International Numismata Orientalia: Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans*, 1.
[25] Ibid, 1.
[26] Ibid, 1-44.
[27] Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, "İSMÂİL GALİB," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi 23*, (Ankara: İSAM - İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2001), 100.
[28] Ibid, 100-1.
[29] For Ottoman Turkish version, See İsmail Ghalib Edhem, *Müze-i Hümâyûn Meskûkât-ı İslâmiyye Kısmından Meskûkât-ı Türkmâniyye Kataloğu* (Kostantiniyye: Mihran Matbaası, 1311). For French translation, See *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin* (Constantinople: Mihran, 1894).
[30] Edhem, *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin,* VII-IX.

French, shows that Ghalib wants to address this European orientalist audience. Ghalib followed the footsteps of Stanley Lane-Poole, and he acknowledged Lane-Poole's argument about the commercial necessity of minting coins with figural imagery by the Artuqids.[31] Ghalib further contributed to the Artuqid studies by providing detailed historical information on the dynasty where historical and geographical context was established.[32]

İsmail Ghalib offers a distinct approach to interpreting iconographic elements on Artuqid coins. He highlights that the Artuqid coin depictions are not mere imitations of Sassanid and Byzantine coins, as was the case for the first Caliphs in the early Islamic state. Ghalib instead proposes a variety of figurative designs borrowed from different cultures, such as Sassanid, Seleucid, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, mythological, and astrological figures in the Persian style.[33] His argument, particularly regarding the diversity of representations, is quite influential in studying Artuqid art, as he demonstrated that these rulers and their coin designers were not ignorant of other cultures and concepts. As a researcher from the East, İsmail Ghalib offers a different viewpoint, whereas William Marsden and Lane-Poole ignored the rulers' conscious involvement in the coinage production process. Like William Marsden and Stanley Lane-Poole, Ghalib's work focuses only on coinage, a single artistic medium, and does not allow researchers to understand Artuqid art from a broader perspective. More than one artistic medium must be investigated, and cross-cultural analysis is necessary.

At the turn of the twentieth century, three European orientalists Max van Berchem (d. 1921), Josef Strzygowski (d. 1941), and Gertrude Bell (d. 1926) published an influential academic study of the medieval architecture and epigraphic remains of Amida, and Tur Abdin regions, in present-day Diyarbakır and Mardin. This book is titled *Amida* and was published in 1910. The *Amida* consists of three chapters written in three different languages (French, German and English).[34] Berchem's and Strzygowski's analyses are based on the documents and photographs gathered by French General Léon de Beylié (d. 1910) during his visit to Diyarbakır in 1907. De Beylié shared his material with Berchem. German diplomat Max von Oppenheim (d. 1946) and German orientalist Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt (d. 1938) also provided photographs and documents to Max van

[31] Ibid, XV, 21.
[32] Ibid, VII-XVI.
[33] Ibid, XVI.
[34] Berchem, Strzygowski, and Bell, *Amida*, 17.

Berchem. Only Gertrude Bell visited the region and conducted field research. She documented her observations about the architecture and photographed them.[35]

The Swiss pioneer Arabic epigraphist Max van Berchem wrote a chapter focusing on the epigraphic evidence from the buildings found in Amid (today Diyarbakır).[36] The author provides a chronological analysis of these findings, and he aims to document these remains before they disappear. Berchem argues that it is not right to call the buildings constructed in the lands where Islam was dominant during the medieval period "Islamic buildings." He instead proposes the phrase "buildings in the Muslim countries" to highlight the differentiation between religious structures and other buildings.[37] Van Berchem openly opposes the nineteenth-century concept of "Islamic art," which undermines the involvement of non-Muslim artists, architects, and the existence of non-Muslim buildings with more Islamic decorations and vice versa.

Max van Berchem's most significant contribution to the study of Artuqid art is the catalogue of the city fortifications, the Great Mosque of Amid and their close reading in line with medieval and more contemporary historical sources to understand the historical context of the ruling dynasties' genealogical lineage and characteristics.[38] In the third section, Van Berchem discusses the decorative motifs, symbols, dimensions of the city gates, and towers. He also analyzes the Turkish dynastic titles used in the inscriptions.[39] The author also analyzes the iconography in line with other Artuqid objects, such as coins, the Innsbruck plate, and buildings from other regions such as Aleppo Gate and Talisman Gate in Baghdad.[40]

Van Berchem further identifies two city towers constructed by the Artuqid ruler Nasir al-Din Mahmud (r. 1200-22) and highlights "the traces of an influence foreign to the local traditions" in their construction techniques.[41] He also argues that it might result from Ayyubid-Artuqid relations and inspiration from the Franko-Syrian tradition developed by the Crusader states in Syria.[42] This argument needs to be carefully considered for analyzing the artistic milieu of the Artuqid dynasty. Due to the geographical location of the Artuqid dynasty, they interacted with people of various

[35] Berchem, Strzygowski, and Bell, *Amida*, 28, 171-2.
[36] Ibid, 27-110.
[37] Ibid, 27.
[38] Ibid, 27-70.
[39] Ibid, 73-8.
[40] Ibid, 73-4, 78-89.
[41] Ibid, 92.
[42] Ibid, 92.

cultures and religions. It will not be surprising to see the effects of this interaction in their artworks. In Van Berchem's analysis, one can trace the emphasis on the Turkish identity of the Artuqids, their position in the Jazira region as vassals of Zengids and Ayyubids, and their position as the Muslim patrons of art through a close reading of architecture in Diyarbakır. Van Berchem's most influential contribution to studies on the Artuqids may be that he draws attention to these intercultural interactions and relations.

The work that laid the essential foundation for Artuqid architectural studies was published by the French architect and art historian Albert Gabriel (d. 1972) with French historian Jean Souvaget in 1940. The *Voyages Archéologiques Dans La Turquie Orientale* presents the results of two regional surveys conducted in 1932.[43] Gabriel documents several significant buildings that the Artuqids constructed in the regions of Mardin, Amid (Diyarbakır), and the cities of Dunaysir (Kızıltepe), Hisn Kayfa (Hasankeyf), Kharput (Harput), and Mayyafariqin (Silvan). This book also contains a separate chapter on the Arabic inscriptions, providing a more comprehensive study than Berchem's chapter in the *Amida*.[44]

Albert Gabriel's book focuses on previously overlooked and understudied material. The author further gives valuable information for the study of the Artuqid artistic production. First, this work presents new epigraphic evidence from the Diyar Bakr region that was not published before. Gabriel also records the undocumented Artuqid buildings.[45] This book is a milestone for researchers of the Artuqid dynasty. It is a comprehensive catalogue from the earlier period, and it successfully documents the buildings and dates them. It can be defined as an architectural survey rather than an art historical analysis. The emphasis is given to the buildings' formal qualities, and the research is conducted in a formalist way. However, Gabriel cites historical sources and attempts to establish the historical and geographical context of the Artuqid dynasty to a certain extent. One of the strengths of this work is that it does not ignore the context.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the studies of European orientalists and the Ottoman elite shed light on the perception of the Artuqid dynasty. The formalist tendencies were visible in their research methods. Yet, Stanley Lane-Poole and İsmail Ghalib, in numismatics, Max van Berchem, and Albert Gabriel in architecture, tried to

[43] Albert Gabriel and Jean Sauvaget, *Voyages Archéologiques Dans La Turquie Orientale* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1940), V-VIII.
[44] Gabriel and Jean Sauvaget, *Voyages Archéologiques Dans La Turquie Orientale.*
[45] Ibid, 287-356.

trace the geographical and historical context to a certain level. Especially, İsmail Ghalib, Max van Berchem, and Albert Gabriel tried to identify cross-cultural interactions and stylistic exchanges by reading the coinage designs and architectural structures. Thanks to these studies, the attention to Artuqid art in the academic community increased; however, these studies remained limited due to their focus on a single artistic medium and their lack of cross-examining diverse artistic productions. Furthermore, even though these authors mentioned how their Turkish heritage reflected upon the material evidence of the Artuqids, they do not emphasize their ethnic background in the artistic analysis. The emphasis on ethnicity prevails in modern Turkish art historiography of the twentieth century.

The researchers who played a crucial role in the academic conceptualization of the Turkish art were the Vienna School of Art History members, namely Josef Strzygowski and his students Heinrich Glück (d. 1930) and Ernst Diez (d. 1961).[46] Josef Strzygowski was known for his theories explaining the "racial characteristics and purity of Turkish art.[47] His student "Glück argued that the traditions that crystallized during nomadic times also transformed the architectural vocabulary of Islamic monuments."[48] Josef Strzygowski rigorously followed formalist art historical research in which "morphological continues and transformations assessed in a comparative framework."[49] Context and texts were not welcome in his comparative art historical research, but the artwork was the focal point of this research process.[50]

Strzygowski and his students' publications on Turkish art attracted Turkish thinkers and politicians in the Turkish Republic. Their articles were translated into modern Turkish, which was quite influential in the eyes of Turkish intellectuals. The students of Strzygowski were invited to Turkey to establish art history departments in state universities.[51] Ernst Diez was invited to Istanbul in 1943, and he founded the art history chair of Istanbul University. In 1954, another student of Strzygowski, Katharina Otto-Dorn (d. 1999), was invited to Ankara to open the new art history department at

[46] Oya Pancaroğlu, "Formalism and The Academic Foundation of Turkish Art In The Early Twentieth Century," *Muqarnas* 24, (2007): 68.
[47] Elif Kök, "Strzygowski in Turkey," in *Orient Oder Rom?: History and Reception of A Historiographical Myth (1901-1970),* ed. Ivan Foletti and Francesco Lovino (Rome: Viella, 2018), 108.
[48] Kök, "Strzygowski in Turkey," in *Orient Oder Rom?: History and Reception of A Historiographical Myth (1901-1970),* 108.
[49] Pancaroğlu, "Formalism and The Academic Foundation of Turkish Art In The Early Twentieth Century," 69.
[50] Ibid, 69.
[51] Kök, 112.

Ankara University. Ernst Diez worked with his assistant Oktay Aslanapa (d. 2013), his Ph.D. student from the University of Vienna at Istanbul University in 1943. Diez, Otto-Dorn, and Aslanapa were the first to introduce the formalist approach to Turkey. However, they did not fully apply the style of Strzygowski but their distinct interpretation of formalist methodology.[52]

In 1946, Diez published his book titled *Türk Sanatı* (*Turkish Art*). In this book, Diez argues that the Byzantine and Armenian artistic traditions influenced medieval Turkish-Islamic art. The nationalists heavily criticized Diez's ideas at that time since this argument was contradicting with "the idea of the purity and the continuity of Turkish art."[53] The followers of Turkish nationalist art historiography took a relatively restricted view of the development of medieval art history in Anatolia, ignoring that people of time interacted in various ways, and the result of interaction reflected in their artistic production. Researchers such as Ernst Diez ended up looking for new locations to work since the scholarship did not deem their perspectives.[54]

This formalist perspective introduced to the Turkish academia impacted the research and conceptualization of medieval Anatolian art in Turkey. Pancaroğlu argues that dynastic classifications, "Seljuk," "Beylik," and "Ottoman," used by the Turkish art historiography to discuss the period between 1070 and 1453, are confusing and problematic. For the researchers of the medieval era, the term "Seljuk" is an "umbrella term" to define the period starting with the Battle of Manzikert (1070) until the 1300s.[55] In reality, the term Seljuk was only used by the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum. Other dynasties of Turkish origin established themselves before the Seljuks in Anatolia and Jazira, namely the Danishmendids, the Mengüjekids, the Artuqids, the Saltukids, etc. Besides, Pancaroğlu underlines that this term "simply excludes non-Turkic or non-Muslim cultures and polities, both of the Byzantines – also based in Nicaea and Trebizond – and of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia."[56]

[52] Pancaroğlu, "Formalism and The Academic Foundation of Turkish Art In The Early Twentieth Century," 75.
[53] Kök, 112.
[54] For more information about Ernst Diez and his academic life, See Zehra Tonbul, "The Art Historiographical Odyssey of Ernst Diez," PhD diss., (Boğaziçi University, 2018). Zehra Tonbul, "Parallel Odysseys of Ernst Herzfeld and Ernst Diez," in *The Reshaping of Persian Art: Art Histories of Islamic Iran and Beyond*, ed. Szántó Iván and Yuka Kadoi (Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2019), 235-260.
[55] Pancaroğlu, "Formalism and The Academic Foundation of Turkish Art In The Early Twentieth Century," 67.
[56] Ibid, 67.

Pancaroğlu does not mention it, but the term "Seljuk" also excludes the Crusader states established in Anatolia, respectively the county of Edessa (1097-1150) and the principality of Antioch (1098-1287). One ends with an ethnically homogeneous history and art history writing about Anatolia. It also neglects the diverse populations living and interacting with each other in the region. It is possible to argue that the first Turkish dynasties, established after the Battle of Manzikert in 1070, were suppressed and undermined by this rigid and non-inclusive title. In the nationalist Turkish art historiography, the interactions of these medieval Turkish and non-Turkish states with their neighbors and the points where they differ from Seljuk art have been ignored while analyzing the artistic and architectural productions listed under the realm of the Rum Seljuk dynasty.

Celal Esad Arseven (d. 1971) wrote the first art history book on Turkish art, undermining principalities such as the Artuqids by using the term Seljuk in a rigorous and non-inclusive manner and introducing "hierarchical typology" of buildings to the field. His book *Türk San'atı* (*Turkish Art*) was published in 1928. Arseven adapted the research methods of Josef Strzygowski in his book, and this was his attempt to create a narrative of the "Turkish art distinct from Islamic art."[57] One can trace the effects of nationalist, formalist reading in the content of the book. Arseven separately analyzes "central Asia" and "Asia Minor," and he classifies the period as "before Seljuk art" and "Byzantine art and Seljuk art" in the Asia Minor section.[58] The book only mentions of an Artuqid building, the Malabadi Bridge. But Arseven argues that the Seljuks constructed this bridge. He simply uses the term "Seljuk" to define an Artuqid bridge.[59] The Artuqids and other states in medieval Anatolia are "invisible" and "ignored" in Arseven's book due to this "umbrella term," as expressed by Oya Pancaroğlu's argument mentioned above. This perspective highlights Seljuks as dominant and most influential figures in the artistic production of medieval Anatolia.

The first academic work recognizing the importance of Artuqid art in Turkey was completed on May 3, 1963. The student of Katharina Otto-Dorn, Fügen Tunçdağ [later Fügen İlter] (d. 2015), finished her doctoral dissertation titled "Artuk Oğulları Sanat Eserleri" ("Artworks of the Sons of Artuk") at the Ankara University.[60] I have not seen

[57] Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (İstanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1970), 53-4.
[58] Arseven, *Türk San'atı*, 57.
[59] Ibid, 81.
[60] Fügen Tunçdağ, "Artuk Oğulları Sanat Eserleri," PhD diss., (Ankara University, 1963).

this thesis used in most academic publications focusing on the Artuqids because it was not published as a book. Tunçdağ, on the other hand, has an article based on her dissertation that is frequently cited in various publications.[61] She emphasizes that while Artuqids were significant conveyers of Syrian architectural heritage to the medieval dynasties in Anatolia, their artistic productions have been neglected in the scholarship. Her doctoral thesis aims to fill this gap.[62] The author further argues that Artuqid architecture was influenced by early Islamic and, to a lesser extent, early Christian architectural works found in various geographies.[63] Tunçdağ examines twenty-three architectural works (mosques, madrasas, bridges, fortifications) in chronological order, followed by the Artuqid handicrafts, in her work prepared in a catalogue style. The author analyzes architectural plan types, ornamentation, and epigraphic evidence by using the Turkish-style formalist reading prevalent in Turkey. Tunçdağ, who also consults historical sources occasionally, emphasizes context and historical background.[64]

The book titled *The Development of Artuqid Era Turkish Architecture in Anatolia* by Ara Altun is the most comprehensive catalogue written on Artuqid architecture. His doctoral dissertation forms the basis of this investigation.[65] Altun wrote his thesis while studying under Oktay Aslanapa at Istanbul University.[66] The introductory chapter sets the dynastic and historical context, and is followed by a catalogue of the buildings, an evaluation section, a discussion of the architects of the Artuqid period, and a conclusion.[67] The catalogue follows the hierarchical typology that was standard in twentieth-century Turkish art history publications. In the assessment section, Ara Altun provides the history of each building, information about renovations and restorations, and other details explained with historical sources. The author also mentions the north Syrian influences on Artuqid art, as well as the Artuqids' relationships with the Rum Seljuks, Zengids, and Ayyubids, which are important concepts to highlight in the conceptualization of the Artuqid artistic milieu.[68]

Furthermore, Altun argues that the Artuqids ruled in a vibrant region regarding movements of ideas and people. This aspect might have influenced the synthesis of their

[61] Fügen İlter, "Erken Devir Anadolu Türk Mimarisinde 12. ve 13. Yüzyıl Artukoğulları Medreselerinin Yeri," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 8 (1969): 197-208.
[62] Tunçdağ, "Artuk Oğulları Sanat Eserleri," 1.
[63] Ibid, 2-3, 138.
[64] Ibid, 1-3.
[65] Ara Altun, *Anadolu'da Artuklu Devri Türk Mimarisi'nin Gelişmesi* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1978).
[66] Altun, *Anadolu'da Artuklu Devri Türk Mimarisi'nin Gelişmesi,* III.
[67] Ibid, 268-82.
[68] Ibid, 283-88.

architectural designs. The author does not consider this eclectic style as "imitation," which was the case for the orientalist numismatists in the nineteenth century. But Altun emphasizes that their style resulted from research and trial in the architectural constructions.[69] Based on his argument, one can discuss the consciously chosen architectural elements or decorations in the Artuqid artistic production. This opinion is significant, and it should be discussed more in the scholarship to enhance our understanding of this dynasty and its patronage activities. Altun further emphasizes that more research on the artistic milieu of Artuqid art in the current scholarship needs to be conducted in the future.[70]

Classicizing architectural details used in Syria and Jazira, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sparked scholarly debate especially about the Zengid and Artuqid dynasties and their architectural projects. The pre-Artuqid example of Great Mosque of Amid (Diyarbakır) and the Great Mosque of Harran are frequently discussed in these publications next to the Syrian examples. Ernst Herzfeld (d. 1948) opposes the term "renaissance of the antique" but instead he proposes "an uninterrupted antique tradition" namely 'classical survival' for the first time.[71] On the other hand, Michael Rogers (d. 2022) argues that since the localized use of classicizing decorations lasted around "little more than fifty years," this was a result of a "classical revival."[72] Julian Raby underlines Rogers' use of the highly controversial term "renaissance" in the title of his article.[73] The discussion of survival versus revival was enlarged by Terry Allen and Yasser Tabbaa later. Allen advocates the "classical revival" due to the "deliberate use of antique forms" and their disappearance after 1175 (570 H) in Syria.[74] In contrast, Tabbaa proposes "classical survival" since he identifies the continuity of classicizing decoration.[75] These two terms, which appear as restrictive concepts, have been re-

[69] Ibid, 295.
[70] Ibid, 301.
[71] Ernst Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture: II." *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943): 32.
[72] John Michael Rogers, "A Renaissance of Classical Antiquity in North Syria (11th 12th Centuries)," *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* XXI (1971): 354.
[73] Julian Raby, "Nur Al-Din, the Qastal al-Shuʿaybiyya, and the 'Classical Revival.'" *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 280.
[74] Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: Reichart, 1986), IX-X.
[75] Yasser Tabbaa, "Survivals and Archaisms in the Architecture of Northern Syria, ca. 1080-ca. 1150," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 29–41. Tabbaa is also known for his work on the Sunni Revival which stresses the rise of Sunni sectarian and political between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and its reflection on the architecture and art in the forms of new styles. During this period, there was a rise in use of geometrical ornaments such as muqarnas, and geometric interlacing compositions (especially star-and-polygon designs defined as "girih mode" by Gülru Necipoğlu). Court engineer of the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid, al-Jazari designed a bronze door design for the Artuqid palace in Diyarbakır (Amid) in late twelfth century.

evaluated in a number of scholarly publications, and new suggestions have been made.[76]

The classical iconography of the Artuqid and Zengid copper coins minted in the Jazira region between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries is also examined in scholarly publications in the context of the survival-revival debate. Spengler and Sayles first question whether the choice of classicizing imagery was a part of "the twelfth-century renaissance" in 1992.[77] Four years later, the authors change their expression into "classical revival."[78] In a recent article, Sayles highlights the "exceptional" coinage designs inspired from the "classical past" and were introduced by the Artuqids and Zengids in the mid-twelfth century. The author re-emphasizes the "the twelfth-century classical revival."[79] On the other hand, Helen Mitchell Brown sees it as an indication of "an antiquarian interest."[80] I also prefer to interpret this classical style imagery as a part of an antiquarian interest rather than relying on highly restrictive, controversial and debated definitions of "revival," "survival," and "renaissance."

Al-Jazari's design utilizes the intersection of two linear systems and star-and-polygons in his cast metalwork door. Jazari's door is thought to be an extension of Sunni revival, which highlights the rise of the geometric techniques in the art production in the Jazira region. Both Necipoğlu and Tabbaa includes al-Jazari's design in their analyses. See, Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). Gülru Necipoğlu and Mohammad Al-Asad, *The Topkapı Scroll Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995).

[76] Keser-Kayaalp and Wheatley-Irving argues: "Classicizing elements, whether they were interpreted as belonging to classical, late antique or later buildings (revival or survival), and whether they were viewed in a confessional frame or not, similarly underwent a new synthesis in late eleventh and twelfth century Islamic architecture, as is particularly visible in the Jazira." Elif Keser-Kayaalp and Linda Wheatley-Irving, "Late Antique Architectural Sculpture at the Mayyāfāriqīn Mosque," in *Central Periphery ?: Art, Culture and History of the Medieval Jazira (Northern Mesopotamia, 8th-15th Centuries)*, ed. Lorenz Korn and Müller-Wiener Martina (Wiesbaden: Reichert verlag, 2017), 135. Heidemann argues that "the classical style – as we have concluded – was not coded as a memory of classical antiquity or a remote past as Terry Allen supposed. If we look at the cityscapes on the portable arts and on coins, then a regional classicizing eastern Mediterranean style seemed to be current and well represented. After centuries, this Mediterranean style and taste materialized in Syria, because the Syrian elite had previously lacked the financial resources of a blossoming economy and thus the sponsorship of architecture and art." See Stefan Heidemann, "Memories of the Past? The "Classical" or "Sunni" Revival in Architecture and Art in *Syria between the Mediterranean and Iran in the 12th and 13th Centuries," in Proceedings of the international conference on Islamic civilisation in the Mediterranean, Nicosia, 1–4 December 2010 / Akdeniz'de İslam Medeniyeti, Milletlerarası Konferans Tebliğleri: Lefkoşa, 1–4 Aralık 2010* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2013), 20.

[77] William F. Spengler, and Wayne G. Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids* (Lodi, Wisconsin: Clio's Cabinet, 1992), 20.

[78] William F. Spengler and Wayne G. Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol II: The Zengids* (Lodi, Wisconsin: Clio's Cabinet, 1996), 11.

[79] Wayne G. Sayles, "Classical Revival in Twelfth-Century Jazira: Religion–Humanism on Contemporary Coins," in *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*, ed. Susan Solway (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015), 155, 157.

[80] Helen Mitchell Brown, "Some Reflections on the Figured Coinage of the Artuqids and Zengids," In *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, ed. D. Kouymjian (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974), 356.

Heidemann argues that Allen's "classical revival" argument about the recall of the Greek and Roman past never occurred in the vibrant writing production in Syria and northern Jazira during the twelfth century. He adds that "knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages was lost in the twelfth century in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, including the Christians, mostly Aramaic speaking population."[81] In the Artuqid context, two instances of "spolia" usage are recorded in the written accounts. Syriac chronicler and patriarch Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) reports that after the Artuqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa and Amid, Nur al-Din Muhammad (r. 1167-85) "took away marble columns from the church and placed them in his house, he suffered a mortal blow and died."[82]

While Ayyubid scholar ʿIzz al-Din ibn Shaddad (d. 1285) recounts that "a pre-conquest church in Amid near the garden of al-Manazi" was destroyed during the reign of Artuqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa and Amid, Nasir al-Din Mahmud (r. 1201-22) ibn Muhammad. "With some of its stones they built a *qaysariyya* [market hall] for textiles, and part of it remained as a testimony to its grandeur."[83] Michael the Syrian, as a Christian, criticizes Nur al-Din's act of taking columns from the church. Ibn Shaddad seems to be more neutral about Nasir al-Din's project. In Amid, the Artuqids were interested in using pieces from religious context and incorporating them into their new structures. It is difficult to determine whether their motivation was "propaganda" or they were selected as "spolia" due to an interest in antiquity. It is intriguing that only a portion of the church mentioned by Ibn Shaddad was used, and the remainder was preserved and praised by the author for its "ancient aesthetics."[84]

Kenner questions if the "so-called classical revival" could be enlarged to the manuscript production in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Jazira region. The author mentions of al-Jazari's book on automata, and two new Arabic translations of *De Materia Medica* of Dioscorides which were deeply connected to the Greek and classical tradition and patronized by Artuqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan and

[81] Heidemann, "Memories of the Past? The "Classical" or "Sunni" Revival in Architecture and Art in *Syria between the Mediterranean and Iran in the 12th and 13th Centuries,"*19.
[82] Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195,* ed. Amir Harrak. trans. Amir Harrak (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2019), 436.
[83] Elif Keser-Kayaalp, "The Great Mosque of Diyarbakır in Light of Discussions on Spolia and Classicism," in *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives of Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era* (İstanbul: ANAMED, Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, 2018), 141.
[84] Ibid, 141.

Artuqid ruler of Mardin Najm al-Din Alpi.[85] Chapter 2 of this thesis will discuss the translation projects initiated by Najm al-Din Alpi and Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan. Additionally, I include another book project patronized by Najm al-Din Alpi, the translation of Aristotle's *De Caelo* from Syriac to Arabic. Chapter 3 will focus on the book of al-Jazari's automata and its relationship with the ancient sciences and past knowledge. As mentioned above, Heidemann underlines the lack of knowledge of Latin and Greek in the twelfth century even in the Christian population, and the re-translation projects undertaken by the Artuqid dynasty were materialized through the usage of Syriac versions rather than the original works in the Greek language. In the Artuqid context, his argument can be demonstrated.

The term "renaissance" also appears in the writings of Turkish archaeologist and politician Remzi Oğuz Arık (d. 1954), who was a supporter of *Anatolianism* (*Anadoluculuk*) school considering Anatolia as Turkish homeland and advocating the "Anatolian roots of Turkish art."[86] In his magazine article titled "Mardin" focusing on its history and artistic heritage, Arık discusses his ideas on the "first renaissance of the Orient" first time and introduces its initiators as the "Turkmens" who migrated to Anatolia in the eleventh century.[87] Ten months later, Arık published another magazine article titled "What Our History Has Taught" expresses his perspective as:

[85] Jaclynne J. Kenner, "Restricted Access Art in the Name of Science: The Kitāb al-Diryāq in Text and Image," in *Arab Painting: Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts*, ed. Anna Contadini (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 36.

[86] Suzan Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ʿAla Al-Din Kaykubad (r. 1220–1237)," Ph.D. diss., (Harvard University, 2011), 18. For more details about Remzi Oğuz Arık, See Scott Redford, "'What Have You Done for Anatolia Today?': Islamic Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007), 246-7.

[87] Full quote reads: "The eleventh century is, in a way, a fusion and a turning century for Anatolia, for the whole of Asia Minor. The expulsion of the Byzantine Empire from Anatolia, the place it used as a colony, becomes sharpened in this century, and the fact that Anatolia has ceased to be a colony and has reached a unity of culture and politics for the first time since the Bronze Age, begins to become real in this century. The same Turkmen influx, which began to give Anatolia its great unity, caused the first "renaissance" to be born in the Muslim orient. Today is the first time that we call its name. That renaissance made a new attempt to bring the classical world of the Mediterranean and the great resources of the orient (who taught western classicism) closer together and fuse them. In a way, the traditions of the oriental and extinct nations, the Greek and Roman world, which seemed to be understood in the mirror of the cultural remains and with the help of those remains, were reintroduced to the oriental world with this renaissance and the hand, intelligence and taste of the Turkmens." See Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Mardin," in *Coğrafyadan Vatana* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 185-6. Translation by the thesis author. Text is originally written in Turkish. First published in the Ülkü Magazine on February 10, 1942. Ülkü Magazine was a publication of the People's House in Ankara. The author mentions of the Artuqid dynasty and provides details about some rulers and the nature of the Artuqid art and architecture. Arık also uses a nationalist ideological discourse in this text and ignores Mardin's non-Turkish, Christian and pre-Artuqid past by saying: "When you use the real archeology method, Mardin emerges as the property of the Turkmen only and only. Look right: Turkish, look left: Turkish, look down: Turkish, look above: it is Turkish." See Ibid, 184. I would like to thank my advisor, Suzan Yalman, for drawing my attention to this article.

> "It was at this time that the Turkmens took their place in Asia Minor and in the Islamic world. Whether they work on behalf of the Abbasids or as independent states; the translation of ancient texts into Arabic, the superiority of the mind over the transmission, the favor of freedom of conscience constituted their characteristics. This is how the Orient's first Renaissance was born. This Turkmen intervention that saved the Near East from a real suicide, this first oriental Renaissance was about to drown at the hands of the later Arab caliphs and Ashʿari and Ghazali, who were empowered by them, when the Seljuk Turkmens who settled in Anatolia, the Near East, opened their homeland like a garden to the legacy of this Renaissance. A Shams Tabrizi, a Mawlana, a Sultan Walad, a Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi, who could not live in other provinces, found freedom of conscience and thought in our provinces, and settled down."[88]

Arık openly advocates the Orientalist arguments claiming that both al-Ghazali and supporters of Ashʿarite theology were responsible for the so-called "decline of Islamic science" and "decline of the Golden Age of Islam" due to their criticisms of the ancient sciences in the medieval world.[89] Arık accuses them of attempting to destroy the "first Renaissance in the Orient." His references to the translation projects of ancient texts into Arabic as well as the relatively tolerant environment offered for the scientific activities and intellectuals by the medieval dynasties and their ruling elites in Anatolia gathers all the themes that will be discussed in the following section.

1.2 Ancient Sciences in the Medieval Islamicate World

The Arabic word *ʿilm* (pl. *ʿulūm*) means "knowledge"; however, it can indicate different meanings in various contexts. The other concepts referred to by *ʿilm* include

[88] First published in the Millet Magazine, issue 8 (December), 1942. Remzi Oğuz Arık was the editor-in-chief of the Millet Magazine. Translation by the thesis author. Text is originally written in Turkish. Arık capitalizes the word "Renaissance" in this text. I preserved his use. See Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Tarihimizin Öğrettikleri," in *Coğrafyadan Vatana* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 24.

[89] Al-Ghazali (d. 1111) is famous for attacking the arguments of philosophers following the Neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophical doctrines in his book *Tahāfut al-Falāsif*a (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*). The ideas of al-Ghazali, who adhered to Ashʿarite in theology and Shafiʿi in law, profoundly influenced later thinkers' opposing views on the ancient sciences and the followers of the Aristotelian philosophers in their period. See, Al-Ghazālī, The Incoherence of the Philosophers: A Parallel English-Arabic Text = Tahāfut Al-Falāsifah, trans. Michael E. Marmura (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2000). See Frank Griffel, *The Philosophical Theology of Al-Ghazali: A Study of His Life and His Cosmology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 97-8. In the Orientalist scholarship, Ghazali and his attack on the philosophers have been considered the most significant reason behind the decline of sciences in the Islamic world. He was further labeled as the initiator of an "Islamic Orthodoxy." The scholars of history of science have been debating on this matter in detail recently and challenging this Orientalist argument. See George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of European Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2007), 234. For a critical analysis of the history of the "decline of Islamic science" thesis in the scholarship, See Sonja Brentjes, "The Prison of Categories—'Decline' and Its Company," in Islamic Philosophy, Science, Culture, and Religion: Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas, ed. David Reisman, and Opwis Felicitas Meta Maria (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 131-56. Orientalist Ignác Goldziher (d. 1921) was the first researcher to suggest that ancient sciences were rejected by the Islamic orthodoxy. See, Ignác Goldziher, *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken* (Berlin: Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Kommission bei G. Reimer, 1916).

"science," "learning," and especially in Qur'an, "divine knowledge."[90] All branches of sciences started to be classified according to their origins. In the period of early Islam, Muslims began to study the Qur'an, the *hadith* (sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad), and the traditional (*al-ʿulūm al-naqliyya*) or religious sciences emerged. These include speculative theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*), jurisprudence (*ʿilm al-fiqh*), Arabic grammar (*ʿilm al-lugha*), and interpretation of Qur'an (*ʿilm al-tafsīr*).[91] The traditional sciences are transmitted through divine revelation or Prophet Muhammad. According to al-Ghazali (d. 1111), the religious sciences are superior to the philosophical sciences.[92]

All scholarly disciplines associated with foreign origin are called ancient sciences (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*) or philosophical (*al-ʿulūm al-hikmiyya al-falsafiyya*), or rational sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya*).[93] Arab historian Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406) coins the term "intellectual sciences" or "sciences of philosophy and wisdom."[94] He divides them into four groups respectively logic, physics (subdivision: medicine), metaphysics, and mathematical sciences (geometry, arithmetic (subdivisions: calculation, inheritance law, and business arithmetic), music, and astronomy (subdivision: astrology). He adds talismans, sorcery, and alchemy to the list.[95] However, Ibn Khaldun refutes philosophy, astrology, and alchemy and criticizes them by listing their weaknesses, damage to the religion, and impossibility (especially in the case of alchemy).[96]

The Greek philosopher Aristotle (d. 322 BCE), who made significant contributions to the categorization and development of ancient sciences, was called "the First Teacher" (*al-muʿallim al-awwal*) by medieval Muslim scientists.[97] The scholars began to develop their original and creative research outputs after meticulously studying the works of ancient sciences, particularly the Greek sciences. They often disagreed with "the First Teacher." Muslim scientists considered Aristotle as "the ultimate authority" while deciding whether an idea should be accepted or rejected.[98]

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[90] Christopher A Furlow, "'ilm is Islam: The Islamic Concept of Knowledge from Classical Traditions to Modern Interpretations." *Deconstructing Islamic Studies* 2020: 147.
[91] Furlow, 148.
[92] Ibid, 150.
[93] Stephen Blake, *Astronomy and Astrology in the Islamic World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 28. Also, see Furlow, 150.
[94] Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History - Abridged Edition*, ed. N. J. Dawood, trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 508.
[95] Ibn Khaldun, 546-7.
[96] Ibn Khaldun, 582-599.
[97] Fuat Sezgin, *Wissenschaft und Technik im Islam* (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 2003), 170.
[98] Ibn Khaldun, 550.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Orientalists and historians analyzed the hostile arguments of the Muslim thinkers, for instance al-Ghazali and al-Taymiyya, to show that the "Islamic Orthodoxy" was in opposition to the ancient sciences and it led to the so-called "decline of sciences" in the Islamicate world.[99] A similar view was also projected for the Byzantine Empire. Its association with the "Christian Orthodoxy" and the existence of similar opposing statements by some Byzantine scholars about the ancient sciences were considered as a part of "science versus Christianity" conflict. Nicolaidis defines the bias in historiography as "science and Byzantium were considered incompatible notions."[100]

Certain groups have always opposed to ancient sciences in the Eastern and Western contexts, but their ideas did not reflect the views of whole communities in real life. Various scientific texts were circulated among different groups. They included the frequently criticized occult sciences, particularly those dealing with astrology, alchemy, magic and divination.[101] Additionally, the research on libraries and reading habits supports this reality. In Damascus, the thirteenth-century al-Ashrafiyya Library catalogue shows that it consisted of a wide variety of texts in ancient sciences including medicine, oneiromancy, geomancy, astronomy, mathematics, pharmacology and more. This public library was a part of a Sunni mausoleum-madrasa context, yet it stored texts on religious and scientific topics and Shiite and Muʿtazilite texts, which contrast with the Sunni "Orthodox" revival thesis and the Orientalist portrayal of Islamic Orthodoxy with a hostile approach to the ancient sciences.[102] Today, new research projects are questioning

[99] Brentjes, "The Prison of Categories—'Decline' and Its Company," 138.

[100] Nicolaidis explains the reason as "ecclesiastical conflicts" rather than "science versus Christianity" conflict. In the book, he discusses the perspective of Orthodox Church toward the sciences in the Byzantine period, in the Ottoman Empire and the modern Greek nation-state. See Efthymios Nicolaidis, *Science and Eastern Orthodoxy: From the Greek Fathers to the Age of Globalization*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), x.

[101] Jack Tannous mentions different Christian religious leaders and learned personalities who had deep interest in astrology, and diverse forms of divination among the Eastern Christian communities in the seventh century. See Jack Boulos Victor Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East: Religion, Society, and Simple Believers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020), 228-9, 231-2. For more details about the occult sciences in Byzantium, See Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi, eds., *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva: La Pomme d'Or, 2007). Maria Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). Paul Magdalino and Andrei Timotin, eds., *Savoirs prédictifs Et Techniques Divinatoires De L'antiquité Tardive à Byzance* (Seyssel: La Pomme d'or, 2019). Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology," in *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Catherine Holmes and Judith Waring (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 33-58. Also, See Emilie Savage-Smith, ed., *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2017). Liana Saif et al., eds., *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

[102] Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 74, 117, 119-123.

the existing biases, addressing the problems in the scholarship and offering new conceptual perspectives for studying the science in both Islamicate and Christian societies.[103]

Furthermore, Brentjes argues that the argument that ancient sciences were completely excluded from the curriculum of Sunni madrasas, as claimed by George Makdisi in 1981, is misleading. The historical evidence shows that the teaching and learning of ancient sciences have entered into the mosques, madrasas and *khānqāh*s (Sufi lodges) located in Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus, Artuqid and Zengid cities in the Jazira, and Rum Seljuk cities in Anatolia at least by the end of the twelfth century. Scientific texts were copied for the libraries and students were studying with the madrasa professors on both religious and ancient sciences at the same time. A number of subfields of the ancient sciences, most notably medicine, were also supported by the endowed professorship chairs existed in the madrasas and hospitals.[104]

In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Islamic state expanded and created a fertile ground for cultural exchange and scientific developments. After 750, when the Abbasid Caliphs initiated a large-scale translation project, several scientific texts written in Greek, Syriac, Sanskrit, and Pahlavi (Middle Persian) were translated into Arabic and introduced to the Arabic-speaking communities.[105] Syriac scholars played a crucial role in these Arabic translations, either directly from Greek or via the Syriac language as an intermediary.[106] This act of translation was not a passive process that simply transferred the classical and late antique legacy into a new context without any interventions. But it was rather an active process where these translators sometimes introduced changes in the

[103] For the context in Byzantium, See Stavros Lazaris, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Science* (Leiden: Brill, 2020). For the Islamicate contexts, See Sonja Brentjes, Peter Barker, and Rana Brentjes, eds., *Routledge Handbook on Science in the Islamicate World Practices from the 2nd/8th to the 13th/19th Centuries* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2023).

[104] George A. Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981). Brentjes, "The Prison of Categories—'Decline' and Its Company," 139-141.

[105] Sezgin, *Wissenschaft und Technik im Islam*, 8-10. For an analysis of political, social and religious behind the translation movement, See Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th Centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[106] In the late antiquity, the Syriac-speaking Christians were already involved in the translation and transmission of the Greek scientific and philosophical texts, especially in the monastic contexts. The knowledge of Greek as a "medium of study" continued among the Syriac-speaking communities at least until the ninth century. They also translated literary and religious texts from Greek to Syriac as well. See Daniel King, "Why the Syrians Translated Greek Philosophy and Science," in *Why Translate Science?: Documents from Antiquity to the 16th Century in the Historical West (Bactria to the Atlantic)*, ed. Dimitri Gutas, Charles Burnett, and Uwe Vagelpohl (Leiden etc.: Brill, 2022), 170-173. Also, See George Saliba, "Revisiting The Syriac Role in the Transmission of Greek Sciences into Arabic," *Journal Of The Canadian Society For Syriac Studies* 4, No. 1 (2009): 27-32.

texts by inserting their own ideas and commentaries or removing contents for enhancing texts' legibility or fitting into the demands of political, religious and cultural environment they were in.[107]

Sabra argues that the perception about the Islamic science as a transmitter of the classical and Hellenic science to the medieval Latin context in Europe is reducing its role in a process of "reception, preservation and transmission" where the legacy of "superior" culture is being received by the "inferior" repository culture.[108] The same point was also valid for the Byzantium, since it was seen as a "warehouse from which to retrieve information on ancient texts."[109] Later, the Europeans recovered the ancient knowledge from the manuscripts copied by the Byzantines and further developed it.[110] By studying the ancient knowledge, these medieval actors first preserved it, but also creatively contributed to it by correcting the mistakes in the ancient texts or writing commentaries on them to reflect their new and developed ideas.[111]

Various medieval Muslim religious groups' ideas regarding ancient sciences were influenced by how beneficial these sciences were for Muslims and how they did not contradict the Islamic faith. Mathematical sciences, especially geometry and arithmetic, were praised and supported as long as they did not engage in theological debates outside their sphere of influence.[112] Astronomy was another field of ancient sciences that religious men tolerated. Religious figures even studied theoretical astronomy and planetary theories.[113] Al-Biruni (d. 1048) reflects on the practical reasons for astronomy and defines astronomy as a servant of religion, helping to determine the *qibla* (the direction of the prayer), the times of the prayers, and the date of feasts. He adds that

[107] Hayrettin Yücesoy, "Translation as Self-Consciousness: Ancient Sciences, Antediluvian Wisdom, and the 'Abbāsid Translation Movement," *Journal of World History* 20, no. 4 (2009): 531.
[108] Ibid, 531. Abdelhamid Ibrahim Sabra, "Situating Arabic Science: Locality versus Essence," *Isis* 87, no. 4 (1996): 225.
[109] Maria Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages: Searching for the Classical Tradition," *Speculum* 90, no. 1 (2015): 28.
[110] Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages: Searching for the Classical Tradition," 34, 57.
[111] In modern perception of science, the medieval people did not have proper science since their activities were not based on observation. Their role was limited to the transmission of ancient legacy into the modern era. For further discussion on this topic, See Stavros Lazaris, "Introduction," In *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, ed. Stavros Lazaris (Leiden: Brill, 2020),1–26.
[112] George Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories during the Golden Age of Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 55. Even while some loud detractors of the ancient sciences in the tenth and eleventh centuries (particularly during this period) existed, the more common attitude was skepticism and doubt rather than outright rejection. See, Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam and Its Palace in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 9.
[113] Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories during the Golden Age of Islam,* 54.

knowledge of spherical astronomy and mathematics is required for making these measurements precisely.[114]

On the other hand, strong condemnation of astrology existed. Some religious circles attacked astrology, and were not alone in their criticisms. Translations from Greek and Syriac into Arabic included anti-astrological texts, too.[115] Astrologers were also rejected by some scientists working in various fields of the ancient sciences. The affinity of astrologers with the Greek philosophical tradition influenced scientists in all areas related to philosophy. The first attack on astrology came from the philosophers and astronomers.[116] Another group that deliberately distanced itself from astrology was mathematicians. The mathematicians and astronomers tried to prove that their fields distinct from astrology to protect themselves from potential criticisms.[117] Physicians had to distance themselves from astrology as well.[118]

In the beginning, astronomy and astrology were expressed by the same term *'ilm al-nujūm* (the science of the stars). Later, two new classifications were used for astronomy *'ilm al-hay'a* (the science of the heavenly configurations) and astrology *'ilm aḥkam al-nujūm* (the science of the decrees of the stars).[119] By the thirteenth century, the distinction between astronomy and astrology became clear. After this date, astronomy was classified as a mathematical science, and astrology as applied science including alchemy, medicine, and agriculture.[120] During this time, astronomers transitioned from political to religious patronage. They began working as *muwaqqit* (timekeeper) and regulating the prayer times in mosques. Astronomers emphasized religious themes in their work and were no longer required to write astrological texts at the request of rulers and their family members.[121] Sabra argues that the positions of *muwaqqit* could also be occupied by "distinguished mathematicians" with knowledge of astronomy.[122]

An example of astronomers working as *muwaqqit*s is also seen in the Artuqid context. The endowment charter (*waqfiyya*) of the Great Mosque in Mardin was prepared during the reign of Qutb al-Din Ilghazi II ibn Alpi (r. 1176-84) on March 19, 1178 (27

[114] Ibid, 60.
[115] Ibid, 56.
[116] Ibid, 55-6, 69.
[117] Ibid, 57.
[118] Ibid, 68.
[119] Ibid, 57.
[120] Ibid, 66.
[121] Ibid, 79.
[122] Abdelhamid Ibrahim Sabra, "The Appropriation and Subsequent Naturalization of Greek Science in Medieval Islam: A Preliminary Statement," *History of Science* 25, no. 3 (1987): 236.

Ramadan 573 H). In the charter, there was a *muwaqqit*, an assistant *muwaqqit* for regulating of praying hours, and an architect and a carpenter (*al-najjar*) appointed to repair and maintain the buildings among the officials assigned to the mosque and its madrasa to the west of the mosque. Two professors from the two most common sects in the region, a Shafiʿi and a Hanafi, were also appointed to the Great Mosque's madrasa in Mardin.[123]

Attacks and criticisms of certain medieval circles could not prevent astrologers from being active in the society. Astrologers were seen "in the streets, shops, in the company of the armies, on ships, on deathbeds, and in official positions at the court."[124] The astrologer (*al-munajjim*) was a significant part of the court. Persian vizier of the Great Seljuks, Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092) mentions the astrologer and physician among the boon-companions of the kings.[125] The rulers' primary reason for patronizing physicians, astrologers, astronomers, and experts in applied mathematics was the "practical benefits promised by them" to their patrons.[126] Mathematical sciences provided practical benefits and were actively sponsored by the different segments of the society. Iranian theologian Abu al-Hassan al-ʿAmiri (d. 991) argues that there was no contradiction between the mathematical and the religious sciences. He counted mechanics or engineering as a part of the mathematical sciences such as arithmetic, music, astronomy, and geometry. Another branch of mathematical sciences was architecture.[127]

1.3 The Reception of the Ancient Sciences in Anatolia, Jazira and Syria

Medieval rulers in Anatolia and Jazira in the twelfth century were interested in and protected ancient sciences. Among these individuals, one could include the Artuqid rulers, Danishmend Ghazi and his sons, the Mengüjekids of Erzincan, and the Rum Seljuk

[123] Sadi Bayram, "Arşivlerde Kayıtlı Mardin'de Yapılmış En Eski Vakıflar: İmam Zeynel Abidin'in 1158 M. Tarihli ve Artukoğulları'ndan Kutbuddini İlgazi İbni Melik Necmeddin İbni Emir Timurtaş 1178 M. Tarihli Vakfiyeleri," in *Makalelerle Mardin I, Tarih-Coğrafya*, ed. by İbrahim Özcoşar (İstanbul: Mardin Valiliği İl Özel İdaresi, 2007), 294-8. Also See Zekai Erdal, "Mardin Ulu Cami Üzerine Yeni Görüşler = New Opinions on the Great Mosque of Mardin." *Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi = Journal of Social Sciences* (2017): 338-9.

[124] Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories during the Golden Age of Islam,*70. For the detailed analysis of the astrologer's position in the medieval society, See George Saliba, "The Role of the Astrologer in Medieval Islamic Society," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 44 (1992): 45-67

[125] Niẓām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or, Rules for Kings: The Siyar Al-Muluk, or, Siyasat-Nama of Nizam Al-Mulk*, trans. Hubert Darke (London: Routledge, 2002), 90.

[126] Sabra, "Situating Arabic Science: Locality versus Essence," 662.

[127] Ahmad Yusuf Al-Hassan and Donald Routledge Hill, *Islamic Technology: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge; Paris: Cambridge University Press; UNESCO, 1986), 263.

sultans who were the descendants of Qutalmish ibn Arslan (d. 1063).[128] The head of these dynasties patronized book production, several scholars and also read about the sciences. They loved to discuss intellectual pursuits. Some of these rulers were knowledgeable enough to put their theoretical knowledge in ancient sciences into practice.

As explained in the previous section, the ancient sciences in the medieval period were both supported and criticized by the different segments of society. Regarding the social context of ancient sciences, there was no single viewpoint but rather a variety of perspectives. This was also true for the context in the Anatolia. After visiting the Lands of Rum (*bilād al-Rūm*) or Anatolia, a religious scholar named ʿUmar ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli was very surprised by the environment he witnessed. After seeing that the people were not dealing with religious sciences, but with *ʿilm al-nujūm* (the science of the stars), he wrote his work entitled *ʿAqāid Ahl al-Sunna* (*The Beliefs of the People of Sunna*) for instructing people on the fundamentals of the religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*). His travel date is unknown, but this work was copied in the fourteenth century.[129]

A Persian cosmological treatise written in Anatolia can be interpreted as a reflection of the region's interest in the ancient sciences. This work titled *Kashf al-ʿAqaba* was composed by Ibn Kamal Ilyas ibn Ahmad al-Qaysari who defined himself as the administrator of Kayseri. The treatise is undated. It was copied in 1327 (727 H) and located in the same collection with *ʿAqāid Ahl al-Sunna* in the Süleymaniye Library.[130] This treatise was dedicated to a ruler with the title *ṣaḥib-qirān-i ʿālam* (Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction of the World) which reflects an astrological reference. However his name is not written. Bayram claims that Ahmad al-Qaysari wrote this work to the Danishmendid ruler Malik Gazi Gümüshtigin ibn Danishmend (r. 1084-1104) dating the treatise to the early twelfth-century.[131] On the other hand, Peacock argues that there is no definite information to associate the treatise with the Danishmendid ruler. Bayram's

[128] Ramazan Şeşen, "Selçuklular Dönemi'nde İlme Genel Bir Bakış," *III. Uluslararası Mevlana Kongresi: Bildiriler, 5-6 Mayıs 2003 = 3rd International Mevlana Congress: Papers, 5-6 May 2003* (TC. Selçuk Üniversitesi: Konya, 2004), 239.
[129] Ahmet Ateş, "Hicri VI-VIII. (XII.-XIV.) Asırlarda Anadolu'da Farsça Eserler," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7-8, no. 2 (1945): 123. It is registered at the Süleymaniye Library as MS. Fatih 5426/17, f.182v-192v. Its introduction is in Arabic and the rest is written in Persian, See "Work 17: Risala-yi 'aqā'id-i ahl al-sunna ('Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī)" *The Islamisation of Anatolia Project*. https://arts.standrews.ac.uk/anatolia /data/documents/TK_Sul_Fatih_5426?hlu=&hl=Fatih%7 C5426%7C.
[130] Registered as MS. Fatih 5426/24, 244v-261r at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. Ibn al-Kemal İlyas Ibn Ahmed, *Anadolu'da Te'lif Edilen İlk Eser Keşfu'l Akabe*, ed. Mikail Bayram (Konya: Hayra Hizmet Vakfı, 1981), 8-9, 16.
[131] Ibid, 10.

argument has not been proven so far.[132]

Although it is not clear when and for whom it was written, Ahmad al-Qaysari explains the nature of patronage relationship between the ruler and the scholars in this work. It reads: "Those who favor that "supreme being" are mostly the virtuous and philosophers. Scholars all over the world turned to him. Each of them was respected as much as they spread their knowledge and happiness, and were satisfied with his sea of generosity."[133] The more scholars give the more they receive from this unknown ruler. It's possible to characterize him as a philosophy-lover monarch.

Another point raised by Bayram is that the fondness for ancient sciences, particularly philosophy, in both the Great Seljuks, Rum Seljuks and the Danishmendids was motivated by sectarian reasons. During the reign of first Great Seljuk sultan, Tugrul Bey (r. 1040-63), his vizier al-Kunduri (d. 1064) made the official sect of the state as rationalist Muʿtazilism and acted against the Shafiʿi and Ashʿarite religious groups. Some Ashʿarite were persecuted and jailed similar to the *miḥna* (test/inquisition) movement initiated by the Abbasid Calip Al-Maʾmun in the ninth century. Bayram argues that Tugrul Bey was following the Hanafi and rationalist Muʿtazilite sect and supported these acts.[134] When Nizam al-Mulk became the vizier, sultan Alp Arslan (r. 1063-72) had al-Kunduri arrested and Nizam al-Mulk made efforts to make Shafiʿi and Ashʿarite the official sect of the state. The vizier established the Nizamiyya Madrasas where Shafiʿi and Ashʿarite professors were employed.[135] However, Alp Arslan was disturbed by the fact that Nizam al-Mulk belonged to the Shafiʿi sect. The Seljuk sultan further described the situation as a pity. Nizam al-Mulk also mentions that Alp Arslan's religious beliefs (most likely Hanafism) as "imperious and fanatical" and this situation made the vizier afraid.[136] Lastly, there were people who followed both the Muʿtazilite theology and Hanafi law at the time. The case of Tugrul Bey can be an example of this fact.

The records of Tugrul Bey's period provide some details about him, but this does not apply to every medieval ruler. Other researchers, unlike Bayram, are hesitant to make definitive judgments about the sectarian tendencies of the rulers of states in medieval

[132] Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 34.
[133] Ibn Ahmed, *Anadolu'da Te'lif Edilen İlk Eser Keşfu'l Akabe*, 14-5.
[134] Mikail Bayram, *Danişmend Oğulları Devleti'nin Bilimsel ve Kültürel Mirası* (Konya: Nüve Kültür Merkezi, 2009), 20, 23.
[135] Ibid, 21-2.
[136] Niẓām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or, Rules for Kings: The Siyar Al-Muluk, or, Siyasat-Nama of Nizam Al-Mulk*, 96.

Anatolia.[137] A record by Ibn al-Athir can shed light on the Artuqid leaning toward sectarianism, specifically of Najm al-Din Ilghazi and his brother Muʿin al-Din Sökmen who founded the Artuqid branches in Mardin and Hisn Kayfa. Ibn al-Athir records that Ilghazi and Sökmen both visited the shrine of Imam Abu Hanifa in Baghdad where they swore to be loyal to the Seljuk sultan Muhammad I in (1102/1103) 496 H. Their visit might indicate that some of the Artuqid family members were following the Hanafi branch of Sunni jurisprudence.[138]

Hanafi and Shafiʿi people had access to their own distinct places of worship and educational opportunities in the Artuqid mosques and madrasas. The first madrasa of Aleppo, al-Zajjajiya was completed by the Artuqid governor Badr al-Dawla Sulayman ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbar in 1123 (517 H).[139] The Madrasa al-Zajjajiya was a Shafiʿi institution following the tradition of Nizamiyya madrasa in Baghdad.[140] Although another Artuqid ruler, Salman ibn Balak ibn Artuq, began its construction in 1116, Badr al-Dawla completed it. The Shiʿite inhabitants of Aleppo are said to repeatedly have destroyed the building at night, preventing it from being finished.[141] Another example comes from the city of Amid. When Qutb al-Din Sökmen II from the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid constructed the Mesudiye Madrasa in 1193 (570 H), the jurists from the four Sunni sects (Hanafi, Shafiʿi, Hanbali, and Maliki) were all present and able to teach at the madrasa.[142]

Few details are known about the possible sectarian tendencies of the Artuqid rulers. The sectarian background of two Artuqid rulers, Husam al-Din Timurtash and Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, will be discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2. The only point to say with certainty is that Artuqid dynasty officially followed the Sunni doctrine. Their coinage paid homage to the Sunni Abbasid Caliphs. The Artuqid mosques and madrasas were reserved for the Sunni population. Nevertheless, whether the Artuqids were affiliated with the Ashʿarite or Muʿtazilite theological movements is unknown. It should

[137] Suzan Yalman, "'Ala Al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seljuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," *Muqarnas Online* 29, no. 1 (January 2012): 172.
[138] 'Izz al-Dīn Abu al-Hassan Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, trans. Donald Sidney Richards (New York: Routledge, 2016), 353.
[139] Ramazan Şeşen, *Selahaddin Devrinde Eyyübiler Devleti (Hicri 569-589 / Miladi 1174-1193)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1983), 258.
[140] Hatim Mahamid, "Waqf and Madrasas in Late Medieval Syria," *Educational Research and Reviews* 8, no. 10 (2013): 605.
[141] Yasser Tabbaa, "Monuments with a Message: Propagation of Jihad under Nur Al-Din (1146-1174)," in *The Production of Meaning in Islamic Architecture and Ornament* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 5, 23.
[142] Hüseyin Karaçam, "Artuklu Kitabeleri (1102-1409)," MA Thesis., (Marmara University, 2012), 66.

be noted that the sectarian orientations were quite fluid and dependent on the person. The political environment was also shaping these choices. Still, it can be possible that the Artuqid and other medieval Muslim rulers supported scientists and were interested in ancient sciences because of a similar sectarian orientation in Anatolia and Jazira. However, more evidence is needed to draw any firm conclusions.

Regarding ancient sciences and scientific practices in medieval Anatolia and Jazira, thinkers particularly in Syria expressed their opposite perspectives. Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athir (d. 1233)'s discourses are significant written evidence for analyzing the criticisms of the rulers in Anatolia and Jazira from Syria. Yalman draws attention to Ibn al-Athir's criticism of the Rum Seljuk sultans and its relation to the sectarian attitudes about the learning of sciences existed in Syrian circles.[143] Ibn al-Athir reveals his thoughts on the "negative" situation arising from the family's close connection with astrology while discussing the Seljuk prince Qutalmish ibn Arslan (d. 1063), the ancestor of the Rum Seljuk sultans. Ibn al-Athir reports:

> It is remarkable that this Qutalmish understood astrology and had mastered it, notwithstanding that he was a Turk. Besides this he knew other Turkish lore. His sons after him continued to seek this learning of the ancients and to attract its practitioners. This was a blot that stained their reputation for religion.[144]

Ibn al-Athir is critical of astrology and other forms of ancient science, much like the previously mentioned religious scholar ʿUmar ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli at the beginning of this section. The author boldly criticizes Qutalmish's and his descendants' involvement in the ancient sciences and their support for scientists as a blot on damaging their religious reputation. Peacock argues that Ibn al-Athir's discourse also contradicts "the stereotypical image of the Seljuks as the pious defenders of Sunni Islam" in the scholarship.[145]

The opinion of the rulers in Syria concerning the Rum Seljuk sultans' interests for the ancient sciences was also documented. Ibn al-Athir's pro-Zengid work titled *Al-*

[143] Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ʿAla Al-Din Kaykubad (r. 1220–1237)," 381-2.
[144] His epithet was Shihab al-Dawla (Star of the State). Ibn al-Athīr, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks: Selections from al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rīkh of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr*, trans. D. S. Richards (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 152. Andrew Peacock translates the part "Besides this he knew other Turkish lore" as "(he) knew other sciences of scholars." See Andrew C. S. Peacock, "A Seljuq Occult Manuscript and its World: MS Paris persan 174," *The Seljuqs and their Successors: Art, Culture and History (*Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 163.
[145] Peacock, "A Seljuq Occult Manuscript and its World: MS Paris persan 174," 163.

Taʾrīkh al-Bāhir fi'l-Dawlat al-Atābakiyya (*The Dazzling History of the Atabeg State*), reports Zengid ruler Nur al-Din Mahmud (r. 1146-74)'s views on the Rum Seljuk sultan ʿIzz al-Din Qilij Arslan II (r. 1155-92). In his letter outlining the terms of peace written in 1173 (568 H), Mahmud accused Qilij Arslan II of heresy, embracing philosophical ideas and abandoning the holy war. Qilij Arslan II was also obligated to make a public profession of faith before Mahmud's envoy, provide military support if needed, and wage the holy war against the Byzantine Empire.[146] Nur al-Din Mahmud acted as the promoter of Sunni Islam during his rule, and is widely regarded as one of the Sunni Revival's greatest figures.[147] Nur al-Din's assessment of Qilij Arslan as "heretic," who had a quiet conservative character, may have referred to the sect or philosophical beliefs of Qilij Arslan II followed.

Qilij Arslan II seems to have continued his curiosity in the ancient sciences and maintained contact with scientists and thinkers even after signing the peace deal with Nur al-Din Mahmud. During his reign, Illuminationist philosopher Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi al-Maqtul (d. 1191) was active in Anatolia. He is believed to have visited Qilij Arslan's court in Konya, and established networks with the house of Rum Seljuks.[148] Moreover, Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) reports that the court astrologers convinced Qilij Arslan II that the apocalypse was about to come in 1186. For preparations, the sultan wasted a lot of money and excavated the ground where he constructed sturdy dwellings at the depths. But this prediction did not happen.[149] Qilij Arslan II also employed physician and astrologer Hubaysh ibn Ibrahim al-Tiflisi (d. ca. 1203) at his court. Al-Tiflisi wrote treatises on dream interpretation and astrological topics such as prognostics for the Rum Seljuk sultan.[150] It is clear that astrology was a part of court culture of the Rum Seljuk palace in Konya.

Qilij Arslan II's contemporary Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-80) also supported astrology and medicine at his court. The emperor even engaged in

[146] Abdülkerim Özaydın, "KILICARSLAN II," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 25* (Ankara: İSAM - İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2022), 399.
[147] Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival*, 23.
[148] For detailed information, See Chapter 2, Pages 106-7.
[149] Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 218.
[150] His full name is Kamal al-Din Abu'l-Fadl Hubaysh al-Tiflisi. Peacock, "A Seljuq Occult Manuscript and its World: MS Paris persan 174," 164.

medical practices himself.[151] Manuel I was also shaping his state affairs based on astrological predictions and wrote a treatise titled *Defense of Astrology*.[152] The Ayyubid sultan Salah al-Din (r. 1174-93) was also Qilij Arslan II's contemporary and another important figure who is depicted to support the so-called Sunni Revival and protect Sunnism after Nur al-Din Mahmud in the medieval period and modern historiography. A Christian physician named Abu Sulayman Dawud ibn Abu'l-Munan (d. ca. 1187/583 H) voluntarily offered Salah al-Din astrological advice and persuaded the sultan for Jerusalem's conquest. After successful takeover, Salah al-Din offered Abu'l-Munan his help.[153]

Salah al-Din's biographer Bahaʾ al-Din ibn Shaddad (d. 1234) portrays him as a very conservative and devoted religious person who attached importance to both the Quran and hadith.[154] The Ayyubid ruler also believed in the bodily resurrection and hated philosophers, materialists and the deniers of God's attributes [the Muʿtazilites].[155] If Ibn Shaddad's report is true, Salah al-Din seems to agree with al-Ghazali's critique of the philosophers, particularly Ibn Sina and their denial of bodily resurrection. Salah al-Din was depicted to have a negative view of philosophy. The first anecdote, if it is true as well, shows that Salah al-Din was pragmatist enough to take advantage of astrology when it came to warfare.

In Syria, it is evident that the views of Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Shaddad, Nur al-Din Mahmud, and Salah al-Din regarding some of ancient sciences are in contrast to those of the Rum Seljuks, Artuqids, and the rulers of other states in medieval Anatolia. However, Sonja Brentjes' recent research challenges the scholarship's long-standing misconception about the Ayyubid dynasty's alleged persecution of ancient sciences in Syria based on

[151] Glen M. Cooper, "Chapter 3 Byzantium between East and West: Competing Hellenisms in the Alexiad of Anna Komnene and her Contemporaries," In *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 263.
[152] Paul Magdalino, "Astrology," in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 198.
[153] Sonja Brentjes, "Ayyubid Princes and Their Scholarly Clients from the Ancient Sciences," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter Hartung (Routledge, 2014), 337.
[154] Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Rāfiʿ Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin, or, Al-Nawādir Al-sulṭāniyya Wa'l-maḥāsin Al-Yūsufiyya*, trans. Donald Sidney Richards (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington: Asghgate, 2002), 20.
[155] Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin, or, Al-Nawādir Al-sulṭāniyya Wa'l-maḥāsin Al-Yūsufiyya*, 20.

two notable events.[156] Brentjes argues that the descendants of Salah al-Din had a strong interest in employing scientists working in the field of ancient sciences, especially medicine.[157] The Ayyubid rulers were interested in arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, engineering and construction of mechanical devices.[158]

Most of the physicians employed by the Ayyubid princes were also trained in philosophy, and some of them wrote philosophical and medical treatises to their patrons. The Ayyubid viziers with physician backgrounds were also well-versed in philosophical sciences.[159] The fact that the Ayyubid rulers were interested in philosophy and other ancient sciences and supported thinkers who worked in these fields at the Ayyubid courts shows that the prejudice against philosophy and other ancient sciences in Syria was not effective in all segments of the society. Keeping in mind Salah al-Din's stance, different members of the dynasties could have diverse perspectives about the ancient sciences and their patronage at the courts. Individual activities play a significant role here.

Biases against philosophy motivated by religious reasons caused negative perceptions about medieval rulers who were enthusiastic about philosophy. These rulers could not confess their philosophical beliefs publicly and had to hide their ideas. Ibn al-Athir records two instances of this situation. First, the Seljuk sultan and son of Qilij Arslan II, Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah (r. 1196-1204), was thought to have "corrupt beliefs" since he believed in the philosophers' doctrine. Rukn al-Din protected thinkers who followed this doctrine and kindly treated them. However, "although he was himself clever, preferring to conceal his belief so that people would not turn away from him."[160]

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[156] First one is the execution of Illuminationist philosopher Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi al-Maqtul in 1191 with the order of Salah al-Din. The second one is the dismissal of theologian and jurisprudent Sayf al-Din Amidi (d. 1233) from his position at the Aziziyya Madrasa after 1229. In the modern scholarhip, the second event is associated with the "Orthodox" leanings of the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, Al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa (r. 1229-37). However, his fame was not only related to the dismissal of Amidi but also due to the medieval accounts portrayed him. See Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library*, 102-3.

[157] Brentjes, "Ayyubid Princes and Their Scholarly Clients from the Ancient Sciences," 326.

[158] Ibid, 342.

[159] Ibid, 331, 345-6.

[160] After this information, Ibn al-Athir shares another anecdote about Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah: "I was told of him that he had in his entourage a man, a relative of his, who was accused of being a zindīq and holding the doctrines of the philosophers. A canon lawyer came to court one day and they both disputed. When the man declared some part of the philosophers' creed, the lawyer stood up, stepped toward him and slapped and cursed him while Rukn al-Dīn was present but keeping silent. The lawyer went out and the other said to Rukn al-Dīn, 'Something like that happens to me in your presence and you do not express disapproval!' He replied, 'If I had spoken up, we would all have been killed. It is impossible to profess openly what you want,' and he left him." See 'Izz al-Dīn Abu al-Hassan Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 3 The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, trans. Donald Sidney Richards (New York: Routledge, 2016), 80.

The second example comes from the Artuqid context. The Artuqid lord of Amid and Hisn Kayfa branch, al-Malik al-Salih Nasir al-Din Mahmud, was defined as "a tyrant who ruled his subjects badly" by Ibn al-Athir.[161] Mahmud was believed to have followed the philosophical doctrine of the denial of bodily resurrection. Ibn al-Athir asserted that those who held this belief were liars and wished God would punish them.[162] As mentioned above, Ayyubid sultan Salah al-Din, theologian al-Ghazali and other medieval personalities reported to confirm the bodily resurrection. Nasir al-Din Mahmud's opinion contrasts with the religiously accepted belief of some medieval circles.

Another example coming from the Syrian context reveals that the Ayyubid ruler of Karak al-Malik al-Nasir Dawud (r. 1229-48) was well-trained in philosophical doctrines. Dawud was leaving his slaves behind and traveling far away from his home to attend private philosophy classes in Damascus. He was also concealing his philosophy book beneath his cloak.[163] Bar Hebraeus vividly depicts the situation in Syria and shows that even an Ayyubid ruler had to hide his interest in philosophy from the some community members.

1.4 Overview of Chapters

The First Chapter consists of three sections covering the Artuqid patronage activities related to philosophy, astronomy, and occult sciences. As a case study, the first section focuses on the Artuqid ruler of Mardin Husam al-Din Timurtash's life, his support for the research of ancient sciences, his rapprochement, and relations with famous scientists and religious scholars of his time. I analyze all the information available about Timurtash from historical sources, including his coin design, architectural projects and library, and the ancient science researchers he supported. After analyzing the content of the poem line and letter written for the Artuqid ruler by the poet and physician al-ʿAntari, who had met Husam al-Din Timurtash, I explain how al-ʿAntari's observations help to evaluate Timurtash's self-constructed identity. Moreover, the second part deals with al-Sufi's famed manuscript of the *Book of the Fixed Stars*, copied in Mardin during the reign of Husam al-Din Timurtash. This section details art historical analyses of specific constellation depictions in this Artuqid copy and their possible sources of inspiration. It

[161] Ibid, 241.
[162] Ibid, 241.
[163] Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus: Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, trans. Ernest A. Wallice Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 404.

establishes that the Mardin copy closely follows the classical iconography. The iconography of celestial globes most likely inspired the artist/copyist. After examining a second manuscript attributed to another Artuqid lord, Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, which new research reveals was not dedicated to him, I highlight the significance of al-Sufi's book through medieval copies produced by other dynasties and cultures.

The third section focuses on the astrological and celestial themes frequently encountered in the art objects and architectural works of both the Artuqid and Zengid dynasties in the Jazira region. A "mule" coin with an Artuqid design on one side and a Zengid design on the other highlights the likelihood that the designers and die-engravers of the Artuqid and Zengid coinages probably attended the same school, given the iconographic similarity of these coinage styles. After discussing the astrological-themed coins minted by the Mardin and Kharput branches and their details, I examine the mirror of Artuq Shah, one of the most important and famous works from the Artuqids that have survived to the present day. I reveal that astrological themes were not limited to coins and mirrors by discussing a lavishly designed candlestick dedicated to the fourteenth-century Mardin Artuqid ruler al-Malik al-Salih and its afterlife.

The Second Chapter investigates the translation projects carried out in the Artuqid courts, particularly Aristotle's *De Caelo* and Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica*, through the intellectual exchange happened between these two courts, by the two Artuqid rulers Alpi and Qara Arslan. It also reveals Syriac translators-scholars were in charge of their translations, as well as both rulers' interest in the ancient sciences. Although it is not certain that the originals of the manuscripts prepared for Alpi and Qara Arslan have not survived to the present day, I present a comparative analysis of two extant copies thought to have been copied from the original versions and today housed in Paris and Iran. Then I discuss how both Alpi's and Qara Arslan's relationships with Christians that were recorded in historical sources and question whether these written sources contradict or comply with their real-life activities.

In Chapter 2, I reveal Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan's ambitious character, who introduced himself as a very orthodox religious profile in a manuscript from his private library and on his coins. This part is devoted to his personality and further discusses how combining pagan, Christian, and Islamic symbolism with Arabic epigraphy on the ruler's coins demonstrates deliberate changes and manipulation processes in coinage production. I also describe the patronage relationship between physician al-ʿAntari and Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, al-ʿAntari's significant observations about the Artuqid dynasty, and the

networks he established in the same section. I resolve the confusion regarding the date of Qara Arslan's death date by presenting new evidence used for the first time. In the continuation of the chapter, I examine the patronage activities of the Artuqid rulers, who came after Alpi and Qara Arslan, in the field of ancient science, the doctors they hired, and the manuscripts dedicated to them. In the last part, Artuqids of Kharput's fondness for philosophy among the rulers and members of the royal family, Ishraqi philosopher al-Suhrawardi's related movements, his manuscript dedicated to Imad al-Din Abu Bakr and a *majmua* sold by Sotheby's auction house in 2016, and another manuscript registered at the Süleymaniye Library are all analyzed in this part. I draw attention to the private libraries of the Artuqids of Kharput here and reveal their interest in other ancient sciences and philosophy.

Through Jazari's mechanical devices, bridge, fortification, and hospital construction projects, Chapter 3 explores the reflection of theory and practice in science during the Artuqid dynasty. The first section details al-Jazari's life and automata manuscript, his patron Nasir al-Din Mahmud's advanced knowledge of ancient sciences and his passion for philosophy, his son Rukn al-Dawla Mawdud's interest in occult sciences, and his patronage relationship with al-Jawbari. In the architectural section, I demonstrate how the technologically advanced level of the Artuqid dynasty was transferred into practice over bridges, city walls, and hospitals by combining epigraphic and photographic details with the primary historical records.

Chapter 1:
ARTUQID PERCEPTION OF PHILOSOPHY, ASTRONOMY AND OCCULT SCIENCES

1.1 The Philosopher Ruler in Mardin: Husam al-Din Timurtash (r. 1122-54)

Husam al-Din Timurtash's career as lord of Mardin started after his father Najm al-Din Ilghazi's death in November 1122. His brother Shams al-Dawla Sulayman ibn Ilghazi took over Mayyafariqin, while his nephew Badr al-Din Sulayman ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbar ibn Artuq remained in power in Aleppo.[164] Timurtash reigned over Mayyafariqin upon the death of his brother Sulayman in 1124.[165] In the same year, he took control of Aleppo at the age of twenty, but after returning to Mardin, his brief rule in Aleppo ended. While commenting on his abandonment of Aleppo, Arab historian Ibn al-Athir (d. 1233) defined him as a weak and incompetent ruler[166] "who loved calm and easy life."[167] Another Arab chronicler Ibn al-Adim (d. 1266), criticized Timurtash for his deficient ruling skills and the loss of Muslim power in Aleppo due to his "youthfulness."[168] The remarks of Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Adim from Syria show that Timurtash differed from his father, Najm al-Din Ilghazi (r. 1114 or 1115-1122), and his grandfather, Artuq ibn Eksük (d. 1090). They were both very active Great Seljuk commanders and were known to be the fierce enemies of the Crusaders. Timurtash sought to maintain power in his realm for thirty years after retreating to the Diyar Bakr region. Still, local rivals included his cousin Rukn al-Dawla Dawud ibn Sökmen (r. 1108-44), Artuqid ruler of the Hisn Kayfa, and Zengid ruler ʿImad al-Din Zengi (r. 1128-46), with whom he formed alliances

[164] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, 240. Also See, Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195*, ed. Amir Harrak, trans. Amir Harrak (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2019), 136. Badr al-Din Sulayman was appointed as deputy of Aleppo by his uncle Najm al-Din Ilghazi in 515 /1121-1222. See Ibid, 231.

[165] Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195*, 142. See, Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, 255.

[166] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, 254. Ibn al-Athir mentions Timurtash's age as seventeen in the year 1121-1122 (515). See, Ibid, 231.

[167] Ibid, 251.

[168] Selim Tezcan, "Jihad in a Context of Shifting Alliances and Enmities: Study on the Relations of The Early Artukids and Crusaders as Reflected in Contemporary Muslim and Christian Historiography, 1098-1124," PhD diss., (Bilkent University, 2013), 634.

when necessary.[169]

Timurtash is the first Artuqid lord whose intellectual pursuits in ancient sciences and learning are well documented in written sources. Ibn al-Azraq, a local chronicler of Mayyafariqin who worked for Timurtash as a metal trading agent, provides a first-hand account of his personality, intellectual interests, and level of education in his book entitled *Tārīkh Mayyāfāriqīn wa Āmid.* Al-Saʿid [170] Husam al-Din Timurtash was an amir, a scientist familiar with all sciences. He loved the people of knowledge (*ahl al-ʿilm*), kept contact with them, and honored the masters in every industry. He was very generous and virtuous and would not harm anyone unless it was necessary.[171] The chronicler remarks that if a man of religion and science[172] were to come, Timurtash would welcome him, treat him well, and provide him with everything he needed. If he discovered someone involved in science, he would approach him, bestow him, and inquire about what that person knew about science and art.[173] It is clear that al-Azraq's close relationship with Husam al-Din impacted the chronicler's positive attitude and comments in favor of the Artuqid lord. However, Ibn al-Azraq's keen observations about Timurtash and his enthusiasm for scientific activities provide essential details not found in other history books.

Ibn al-Azraq shares an interesting anecdote about Timurtash. During Husam al-Din's stay in Mayyafariqin in 1145/6 (540 H), a famous sheikh from Isʿird (modern-day Siirt) named Nur al-Huda Sulayman ibn ʿUmar al-Alawi[174] arrived. The ruler was

[169] Carole Hillenbrand, "Timurtāsh b. Il-Ghāzī," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition,* Online Version.
[170] The title "al- Saʿid" (Blessed) is first used by Ibn al-Azraq. Timurtash's widely known title is "Husam al-Din" (Sword of the Faith).
[171] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 96. Folio 176b, See Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 208. In Carole Hillenbrand's translation on page 141, it says "Husam al-Din was a knowledgeable *amīr,* well versed in all branches of religious knowledge. He liked the *ʿulamāʾ,* maintaining close contact with them, and he honoured skilled craftsmen in every trade." In the Arabic text on page 208, Ibn al-Azraq's sentence says: "*kāna amīran, āliman muṭlaʿan alā jamīʿi alʿulūm, yuḥibbu ahl alʿilm*." The chronicler does not use the word *ʿulamāʾ* and "religious knowledge" but he instead uses *ahl al-ʿilm* (people of knowledge), and *muṭlaʿan alā jamīʿi alʿulūm* (familiar with all sciences). Al-Azraq does not make a distinction between religious and ancient/philosophical sciences here and especially underlines Timurtash's interest in all branches of sciences.
[172] Al-Azraqs' expression *"rajul min āṣḥāb alʿimāma wālʿulūm"* (a man of the turban and sciences). See Folio 176b, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 208.
[173] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 97. Folio 176b, See Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 208.
[174] The *nisba ʿAlawī* used to refer to the descendants of Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661), the cousin of Prophet Muhammad, or more specifically to refer to the Alawis/Alawites (Nusayris) which is a Shiite sect emerged in Syria and spread to the northern Jazira region. See, Wadad Kadi, "ʿAlawī," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, accessed August 10, 2022, https://iranicaonline.org/articles/alawi-the-nesba. The Alawis are of Arabic origin and should not be confused with the Alevis of Turkey, who are of Turkish and Kurdish origin. In the

interested in having a conversation with him and went to see him, but the sheikh did not stand up for Timurtash. Al-Alawi sat in the mosque and fascinated people with his preaching and talking. If Timurtash was in Mayyafariqin, al-Alawi would accompany him; if the lord traveled to Mardin, the sheikh would accompany him. Wherever Timurtash stayed, so did al-Alawi. The sheikh had a great reputation in the eyes of Timurtash. Nevertheless, after some of the sheikh's actions caused the people and Timurtash to lose respect for and interest in the sheikh, he traveled to Syria. He took the Ismaili citadel of Abu Qubais in Syria. However, al-Alawi could not remain there for long due to his conflict with the Ismailis.[175] Following the event, the sheikh returned to Timurtash's side. Around this time, Sheikh Nur al-Huda al-Alawi encouraged the Artuqid ruler to study alchemy (*al-kīmiyāʾ*),[176] but he failed to achieve any results from his attempts.[177]

Al-Azraq's anecdote contains two noteworthy points. First, Timurtash's companionship with sheikh al-Alawi, potentially related to the Shiʿite Alawis, as a Sunni Artuqid ruler reflects his openness to scientists and religious figures of different backgrounds.[178] Besides, Timurtash portrays a more liberal profile than other Sunni rulers around him.[179] The second point is that Husam al-Din Timurtash is fascinated by

medieval period, the Ismailis, especially Nizari Ismailis were the regional competitor of the Alawis. See, Stefan Winter, *A History of the 'Alawis: From Medieval Aleppo to the Turkish Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 1, 33.

[175] The Castle of Abu Qubays was purchased by the Nizari Ismailis (also called Assassins) around 1140s. It is located near the Jabal Bahra (today Jabal Ansariyya) Mountains in Hama Governorate of Syria. See, Winter, *A History of the 'Alawis: From Medieval Aleppo to the Turkish Republic*, 35.

[176] There may be a connection between the Sheikh's encouragement of alchemical studies and his Shiʿite identity. Foster argues that there is "a special affinity exists between the Shīʿa and alchemy: alchemical gnomologia are attributed to the first Shīʿī imam and fourth caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and the sixth imām, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, is considered to be the author of several alchemical works and—even more importantly—the teacher of Jābir b. Ḥayyān. As for the Jābir corpus, it shares key concepts of the Ismāʿīliyya or rather those of the extremist Shīʿīs." Regula Forster, "Alchemy," In *Encyclopedia of Islam, Third Edition*, Online Version.

[177] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 77. Folio 171a and 171b, See Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 112, 188, 189. Ahmet Savran translated the word *al-kīmiyāʾ* into Turkish as chemistry. However, in the context of the medival period, "chemistry" did not exist in the modern sense, and the term represented alchemy instead. Because of this, I am referring to alchemy in my text.

[178] The sheikh's conflict with the Ismailis in Syria and his death at the hands of two Ismailis in Is'ird in 1151 may have been a result of his Alawi identity. For the details of his assassination, See, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 77-8. Folio 171a and 171b, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 112-3, 188-9.

[179] Given the lack of historical records, it is impossible to state which Sunni school of law (*maḏhab*) Timurtash followed. Despite this, there is evidence proving his Sunni identity. According to Ibn al-Azraq, in June 1152, the sultan and Abbasid caliph in Baghdad sent Timurtash a patent of authority (*manshūr*) and a robe of honor (*khilʿat*) to acknowledge his rule in Diyar Bakr region. At the time, Caliph al-Muqtafi (r. 1136-1160) and Seljuq sultan Ghiyath al-Din Mas'ud (r. 1133 - 1152) were ruling. See, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 92. Folio 175a, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 134, 203.

alchemy, a field of ancient science. Teachings on alchemy from ancient Greece and Hellenistic times were also passed down to Islamic alchemy. They all aim to transmute base metals into gold or silver using an elixir (*al-iksīr*) or philosophers' stone (*ḥajar al-falāsifa*). Alchemical practices in the Islamic world were associated with various courts and rulers. Timurtash's case is an example of this phenomenon.[180]

Rulers' interest in alchemy was influenced by their desire to increase their wealth.[181] Ibn al-Azraq claims that Timurtash minted his first copper coin (*fulūs al-ṣafār*) in 1147/8 (542 H) after sending al-Azraq to the city of Maden, located in the northern part of the Diyar Bakr region, to purchase copper needed.[182] The minting of the coin takes place two years after al-Alawi met Timurtash. Husam al-Din's increased pursuit of alchemy may have been closely related to his goal of minting his coin around this time, although the chronicler does not date when the sheikh left the Artuqid ruler's side and returned to him. If Timurtash had been successful in alchemy, he could have produced the metals for his first coin.

Intellectual gatherings were held at the court of Husam al-Din Timurtash, in which the Artuqid lord invited and hosted scientists and thinkers. One of these visitors was Ibn al-Saʾigh al-ʿAntari (d. after 1186), a physician, poet, and philosopher. In the year 1138/9 (533 H), al-ʿAntari paid a visit to the court of Timurtash and wrote two eulogies and a letter (*risāla*) for the ruler in which he described the impact of the conjunction of planets (*al-qirānāt*)[183] on the kings and the states.[184] In this *risāla,* he further discusses how the Turkish state caused the deprivation of foresighted people with knowledge of literature

[180] Islamic alchemy was developed by transmitting classical teachings, especially by translating Greek texts from Late Antiquity and Syriac works. See Forster, "Alchemy," Online Version.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 82-3. See, Folio 172b, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 120, 194.
[183] The Arabic term *qirānāt* stands for the gathering of two or more planets in the same zodiac sign in astrology. Persian astrologer Abu Maʿshar al-Balkhi (d. 886) wrote an influential book titled *Kitāb al-Milal wal-Duwal* (*the Book of Religions and Dynasties*) also known as *Kitāb al-qirānāt* (*On Conjunctions*) explaining the effects of conjunctions in historical astrology. Abu Maʿshar's book offers a scientific foundation for prognostication about dynasties, kings, religions, prophets, epidemics, wars, and other possible events by using the conjunctions of planets, comets, and other astronomical bodies. See, Jaʿfar Ibn Muḥammad Abū Maʿshar Al-Balkhī, *Abū Ma'šar on Historical Astrology: The Book of Religions and Dynasties (On the Great Conjunctions), 2 Vols*, ed. Keiji Yamamoto, trans. Charles Burnett and Keiji Yamamoto (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
[184] It is unclear whether al-ʿAntari wrote this letter after or before meeting Timurtash in 1138/9. However, the letter verifies an existing correspondence between the poet and the lord. The content and information it give about Timurtash are quite unique. See Al-ʿAntarī, *Al-Muḫtār as-Sā'iğ Min Dīwān Ibn Aṣ-Ṣa'iğ*, 20.

and science.[185] Besides, al-ʿAntari states that after the death of a certain woman, Husam al-Din Timurtash revived science and literature.[186] In the third verse of his eulogy, which he attached to his *risāla*, al-ʿAntari reveals how Timurtash supported scientific activities. The poet says, "He (Timurtash) revived the dying sciences, and with a price more valuable than the gold, he encouraged and made people demand them."[187]

As mentioned at the beginning of introduction, al-ʿAntari clearly explains in his *Diwan* that scientists and intellectual people in the medieval Turkish state(s) faced problems and setbacks. On the other hand, al-ʿAntari depicted Timurtash differently than the other medieval rulers he criticized. The poet praises the lord of Mardin with the title of "reviver" and, at the same time, highlights the ruler's efforts to support sciences financially and voluntarily. Details provided by Ibn al-Azraq and al-ʿAntari are valuable in profiling Timurtash. The Artuqid ruler was fond of science and learning. He also established friendships and relationships with scholars and was very pragmatist. Timurtash was interested in occult sciences and did not hesitate to take advantage of the opportunities provided by occult sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-gharība*), such as astrology and alchemy. The fact that al-ʿAntari conveyed knowledge about the effects of planetary conjunctions in his letter reflects that Timurtash was interested in astrology and was curious about his future and the destiny of the state he ruled, just like other medieval rulers of his time.

Husam al-Din Timurtash had a particular fondness for philosophy among the ancient sciences. This fact was reflected in medieval authors' definitions of him and his patronage activities. The poet al-ʿAntari's second eulogy for Timurtash, dated 1138/9 (533 H), contains an intriguing description of the ruler.[188] In the ninth verse, the poet says, "The only philosopher (*faylasūf*) king (*mālik*) of his time, the arrival of whom pleased the

[185] In the prose introduction of his Poem 135, al-ʿAntari explains the details about this undated treatise he wrote for Timurtash. However, his *Diwan* does not contain a copy of this treatise. At the end of his treatise, he adds his second eulogy dedicated to Husam al-Din Timurtash. This euology consists of seven verses. See Al-ʿAntarī, 161-2.

[186] Her identity is unknown. Nonetheless, there are two possible candidates. According to Ibn al-Azraq, Timurtash lost two of his daughters when he was alive. Safiyya Khatun, his first-born child, died in 1149/50 (544) in Amid (Diyarbakır). Safiyya (Safiye) Khatun was married to Jamal al-Din Mahmud ibn İlaldı. Nura Khatun died in Erzen in the last ten days of Rajab in 1151 (546 H). She was married to the lord of Erzen. The death of Nura Khatun deeply saddened Husam al-Din. The chronicler provides no mention of when Timurtash's wives died. He also had other daughters, Zumurrud (Zümrüd) Khatun and Hadiyya (Hediye) Khatun, who were still alive until Timurtash died. See, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 40, 95-6, 106. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 50, 139, 147.

[187] Ibid, 162.

[188] Poem 134. This poem consists of forty verses in total. See, Al-ʿAntarī, 158-161.

philosophers and sages (*ḥukamāʾ*) in Greece."[189] Al-ʿAntari's line is very intriguing, since he establishes a link between the ancient Greek masters of philosophical sciences and the Artuqid lord. The "philosopher king," a central philosophical concept in Plato's *Republic*, is also evoked by al-ʿAntari's description of Timurtash. According to Plato, the ideal state is ruled by the "philosopher-king" endowed with virtue and knowledge. This Platonic theory expects either the philosophers to become a king or the king needs to philosophize.[190] Al-ʿAntari must have known this significant ancient concept. It reveals the level of his philosophical knowledge.

Husam al-Din Timurtash minted his first coin nine years after al-ʿAntari's poem portrayed him as a philosopher-king. Aside from how others perceive him, one of the most important pieces of evidence of Timurtash's self-perception is the iconography on this 1147/8 (542 H) dated coin he minted. It is a very rare specimen, and was not published in many coin catalogues and academic publications focusing on the Artuqid coinage.[191] The Ottoman numismatist İsmail Ghalib wrongly attributed it to the Artuqid ruler of Mardin and great-grandchild of Timurtash, Husam al-Din Yülük Arslan (r. 1184-1201) in 1894. Later, Butak followed Ghalib's interpretation in 1947.[192] Lowick published the full inscription for the first time after comparing ten copies in 1974 and attributed it to Husam al-Din Timurtash.[193]

The obverse side of this coin, which is available in copies dated 542 H (1147/8) 543 H (1148) and 544 H (1149/50),[194] depicts a bust of a bearded and diademed male, his head facing right in profile within a circle (Figure 1.1). He is wearing a double pearl diadem and a draped garment reminiscent of the Roman military cloak *paludamentum* fastened by a fibula on his right shoulder. The figure has a slightly curly, pointed beard

[189] Singular *ḥakīm.* This special term is used as honorific title for polymaths, sages and philosophers of Ancient Greece in Arabic. Muslim writers especially used this title to refer Aristotle. See, Gregorios D. Ziakas, "Islamic Aristotelian Philosophy," in *Two Traditions, One Space: Orthodox Christians and Muslims in Dialogue*, ed. George C. Papademetriou (Boston, MA: Somerset Hall Press, 2011), 78. Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh al-Jazarī al-ʿAntarī, 159.

[190] Melissa Lane, "Philosopher King," in *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, ed. Mark Bevir (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2010), 1036-7.

[191] Stanley Lane-Poole, William Marsden, and İbrahim Artuk did not publish this coin.

[192] İsmail Ghalib Type I, See Edhem, *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin*, 38. Behzad Butak, *XI. XII. ve XIII. Yüzyıllarda Resimli Türk Paraları* (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1947), 33. Nicholas M. Lowick, "Les Premières Monnaies Artuqides: Une Exhumation Tardive," *Revue Numismatique* 6, no. 16 (1974): 95.

[193] Lowick, "Les Premières Monnaies Artuqides: Une Exhumation Tardive," 96. Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 74.

[194] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 73. Ramazan Uykur, *Madenden Yansıyan Tarih: Artuklu Sikkeleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2017), 225. Uykur records the third date 544 H (1149/50) on a specimen located in the Mardin Museum (Inv. 660) in his book.

(Figure 1.2). There are pseudo-Latin inscriptions on the right and left sides of the bust portrait.[195] The outer legend on the obverse, written in Kufic script, gives the date and the mint name as Mardin. On the reverse, the Kufic inscription[196] shows his titles "al-amir al-ʿalim" (the wise amir/ ruler), "Husam al-Din" (sword of the faith), "malik al-umara" (the king of princes) and "al-malik al-ʿadil" (the just king). His dynastic genealogy and an epithet paying homage to the Abbasid Caliph are also written on the reverse side.[197]

Figure 1.1. Coin of Husam al-Din Timurtash (r. 1122-54), 1147 (542 H), copper dirham, 26 mm, 5.28 gr, Yapı Kredi Vedat Nedim Tör Museum, Inv.15970, Istanbul (Şentürk, *What the Coins Tell Us*, 108).

Figure 1.2. Coin of Husam al-Din Timurtash (r. 1122-54), copper dirham, 23 mm, 5.54 gr, 5 h, illegible date, Leu Numismatik AG.

[195] Lowick, "Les Premières Monnaies Artuqides: Une Exhumation Tardive," 96.
[196] This style of linear Kufic writing is similar to the "talismanic Kufic" coined by Venetia Porter. See Venetia Porter, "The Use of the Arabic Script in Magic," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 40 (2010): 131-40. I would like to thank Scott Redford for drawing my attention to this detail.
[197] The epithet reads "zahir amir al-Muʾminin (helper of the Commander of the Faitful)." Ibid, 96. Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 73-4.

The coin designs of the last pagan Roman emperor and Constantine the Great's nephew, Julian II (r. 361-3) (orig. *Flavius Claudius Julianus*), or Julian the Apostate, as he acquired this title in Christian tradition, are the examples iconographically similar to Timurtash's first coin mentioned above.[198] On the obverse side, Julian II is depicted wearing a double pearl diadem and Roman military cloak *paludamentum* (Figure 1.3). His head is facing right just like Timurtash's coin. Julian II first minted coins with clean-shaven Roman imperial iconography when he was Caesar in Gaul between 355 and 360. After he was proclaimed Augustus in 361, he preferred the short bearded bust profile with the double pearl diadem and used until the long-bearded iconography was introduced starting in December 361 and until his death in June 363.[199]

Figure 1.3. Coin of Julian (Iulianus III), 361-363 CE, minted in Antiochia ad Orontem (Antioch), Miliarense, Silver, 21,1 mm, 4.10 gr, 6 h, Inv. RÖ 38202, Münzkabinett, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Timurtash's coin is clearly inspired by the obverse of Julian II's long-bearded coins struck in gold, bronze and silver, however his reverse does not show Julian II's military-themed representations or the attributes of a ruler holding a scepter and globe

[198] Spengler and Sayles argue that Timurtash's coin is reminiscent of Julian II's bronze coins. Lowick also uses a bronze coin of Julian II minted in Nicomedia between 360-363. Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 75. Lowick, "Les Premières Monnaies Artuqides: Une Exhumation Tardive," 96.

[199] María Pilar García Ruiz, "Julian's Self-Representation in Coins and Texts," in Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire, ed. Diederik W. P. Burgersdijk and Alan J. Ross (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 205, 211, 214.

crowned by the Victory (Figure 1.3).[200] Uykur argues that Husam al-Din Timurtash's coin has the look of a Roman coin but has no other distinctive features. Whelan (d. 1997) disputes Lowick's attribution of the coin to Timurtash, dates it to the second half of the thirteenth century, to the Artuqids of Mardin under Mongol suzerainty. The same author further suggests another specimen for the coin's iconography, Philip I's medallion struck in Cilicia, as an alternative.[201]

The surviving copies of Timurtash's coin are heavily worn, making it difficult to study the details of this coin type. However, Timurtash's coin is not a complete copy of Roman original, but rather an adaptation of it. Julian's coin has more defined edges and the *paludamentum* is more clearly defined. High relief is more outwardly directed and the drapery folds are looking evident. In contrast, the Artuqid coin's cloak and fibula are less detailed and sharp. Julian's beard and hair has a straighter shape. While in the case of Artuqid copy, the beard is curly and eye, nose and mouth details also seem to be rendered more ambiguously.

As a result of his deep philosophy training and, in particular, and his fondness for Neoplatonism, Julian II, who was raised as a Christian but later converted to paganism, was also called "Julian the Philosopher" due to his philosophical treatises.[202] Before becoming emperor, he traveled to Ephesus and was very impressed by the theosophist and miracle-worker Maximus of Ephesus (d. 370), whose teachings combined Neoplatonism with occult rites in 351. He was also following the writings of the Neoplatonist philosopher Iamblichus (d. 325), who discussed the use of pagan rituals for purifying one's soul.[203] Julian II was a self-conscious character who defined himself first as a philosophy lover and later as a philosopher. Julian II clearly prefers the philosophical state system based on virtue over the military one based only on courage, in accordance with Platonic ideas.[204] As explained in the previous pages, the "philosopher-king" is the one who governs with virtue and knowledge, as Julian II wished to become.

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[200] Seth William Stevenson and Frederic Madden, A Dictionary of Roman Coins, Republican and Imperial, Commenced by the Late Seth William Stevenson; Revised, in Part, by C. Roach Smith; and Completed by Frederic W. Madden (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), 872.
[201] Uykur, *Madenden Yansıyan Tarih: Artuklu Sikkeleri,* 225. Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia,* 77.
[202] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 75.
[203] Henry Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 296. Hinson further argues that Maximus of Ephesus combined divination and theurgy. E. Glenn Hinson, *The Church Triumphant: A History of Christianity Up to 1300,* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995), 160.
[204] García Ruiz, "Julian's Self-Representation in Coins and Texts," 217.

Juxtaposing the iconography of Julian II, a self-represented "philosopher king," with that of Timurtash, who was defined as a "philosopher-king" by al-ʿAntari and was widely regarded as a philosopher, both interested in the occult sciences, is not a mere coincidence, but rather the consequence of conscious involvement. When I reviewed all of the scholarly publications on Timurtash's first coin, I saw that the self-image that Husam al-Din Timurtash constructed by him as a "philosopher," a scholar, and an administrator interested in learning was overlooked in their analyses. Lowick clearly agrees with William Marsden's argument about the Artuqids being the "imitators" revealing an orientalist view. He further questions how the ruler or his "monetary advisers" could acquire Julian's coin. Lowick also claims that Julian's resemblance to Timurtash could be the reason for this design, and Timurtash could not have known of Julian II and his anti-Christian behavior.[205]

After criticizing Lowick's views, Spengler and Sayles suggest that die-engravers had collections of coins, including ancient coins, in their workshops for use as "models" for their designs. They further argue that this portrait could have been chosen intentionally despite not knowing why.[206] It is not possible to determine whether Timurtash was aware of Julian II except new written records are discovered. However, Timurtash was surrounded by very sophisticated thinkers and scientists with extensive knowledge of ancient sciences, for instance philosophy. He might also have a chance to hear about Julian II and his life. Regarding the reason behind this coin's design, I believe that the influence of Timurtash's and Julian II's reputation as philosophers should not be underestimated.

Even after a century had passed since his death, Husam al-Din Timurtash's reputation as a "philosopher" continued to be remembered and recorded. Syrian physician Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa (d. 1270) introduces Husam al-Din Timurtash as a man "of merit, a sage, and a philosopher" in his *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ* (*The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*).[207] Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa further recounts that the Timurtash endowed philosophy books to the shrine he established.[208] The Artuqid lord is known to

[205] Marsden, 145. Lowick, "Les Premières Monnaies Artuqides: Une Exhumation Tardive," 99. Nicholas Lowick, "The Religious, The Royal and The Popular in The Figural Coinage of the Jazira," in *The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1200*, ed. J. Raby (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1985),
[206] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 75.
[207] Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "10.75 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī," in *The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder, trans. Alasdair Watson and Geert Jan van Gelder (Brill Scholarly Editions, 2020), https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-tr-eng1:10.75/.
[208] Ibid.

have a deep interest in the sciences, but no details about his private library have been revealed. Perhaps the ruler's personal library supplied the philosophical works he donated to the shrine in Mardin.

Chronicler Ibn al-Azraq provides detailed information about this shrine's construction process. Husam al-Din moved the graves of his father Najm al-Din Ilghazi, and his brother Shams al-Dawla Sulayman, buried in Masjid al-Amir in Mayyafariqin, to the shrine of Khidr Mosque in the citadel of Mardin. He buried them in the Khidr Mosque after his takeover of Mayyafariqin in 1124. After a while, Husam al-Din established a *mashhad*[209] outside the Mardin citadel located right below the *rabaḍ* (suburb).[210] A *turba* (tomb) was built. Timurtash completed his project by spending a lot of money and establishing a *waqf* (endowment) to ensure its survival. He also moved the graves of all people buried in the Mardin citadel during Najm al-Din Ilghazi's reign, including the graves of his father and brother, to the *mashhad*. Timurtash decorated the building with rugs, curtains, and instruments. Within the structure, he collected a library (*khizānat kutub*)[211] and had many books added to it. Al-Azraq mentions that the books were still in the library while he was writing his book.[212] The dimensions of Husam al-Din's library are unknown. According to Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa and Ibn al-Azraq, the books gathered by Husam al-Din Timurtash were transferred into the structure that formed the shrine. Moreover, this *mashhad* can be described as a multifunctional space. Ibn al-Azraq says that al-Muhadhdhab al-Baghdadi,[213] the scribe (*kātib*) of *mashhad*, was appointed by

[209] The term *mashhad* is derived from the Arabic verb *shahida* (to witness, to see) and stands for more than one meaning including a place of martyrdom, a religious shrine, mausoleum, meeting place, and scenery. Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Mashhad," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition*, Online Version. Art historian Oleg Grabar shares the following comments on the term: "(…) the term mashhad, either as it is used today for certain buildings or as it was used in the past, implies different things; whenever it is possible, each instance merits a special analysis and suggests a different explanation, but it seems that, in early times, *mashhad* was most commonly used for any sacred place and does not always mean a specific construction over it, while as the centuries went by, many a small building with obvious religious features, such as a *mihrab*, acquired the name of *mashhad*." Oleg Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures, Notes and Documents," *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966): 11.

[210] In her footnote number 24, Carole Hillenbrand mentions that chronicler Ibn al-Adim saw the *mashhad* in Mardin and located it to the west of the city. Carole Hillenbrand also argues that the *mashhad* was built between 1124 and 1135 because when Ibn al-Azraq visited Mardin in 1135 (529 H), he witnessed the arrival of Dubais ibn Sadaqa's coffin and his burial in the *mashhad*. Folio 167b, and 171a, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 82, 110, 175, 187.

[211] In the medieval Islamic libraries, the word *khizānat* (pl. *khazāʾin*) generally refers to the bookcase where the books were stored. The books were to be placed horizontally on the shelves generally. The libraries were usually reserved as a specific room. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250-1517) Scribes, Libraries and Market* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 52. Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library*, 70-1, 86-88.

[212] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 76. Folio 171a, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 110-1, 187-8.

[213] His fullname was Abu ʿAbd Allah Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Iraqi.

Timurtash as new deputy vizier in 1144 (538 H).[214] Prior to his new position, the scribe al-Muhadhdhab, might have worked in copying manuscripts at the *mashhad* library.

Al-ʿAntari and the Artuqid lord have not established a long-term patronage relationship. Husam al-Din, who seems to be impressed by his letter or his encounter with al-ʿAntari in Mardin, had invited al-ʿAntari to visit him through ʿIzz al-Din al-*Faylasūf* (the Philosopher). Al-ʿAntari, who copied the poem he wrote in his undated reply to his *Diwan*, refused the offer and told them to look for someone else.[215] The poet's response to the letter introduces one of Timurtash's contacts: a philosopher named ʿIzz al-Din.[216] Unfortunately, the details of Husam al-Din Timurtash and ʿIzz al-Din's relationship remain a mystery. It is unknown whether it was a patronage relationship or more comparable to the Artuqid ruler's companionship with sheikh al-Alawi. Al-ʿAntari's response might also demonstrate that he did not write the eulogies for Timurtash with the intention of gaining the Artuqid ruler's long-term patronage but rather to find favor in Timurtash's eyes. Al-ʿAntari's arrival in Mardin, his meeting with Timurtash, and his response to ʿIzz al-Din are all intertwined, for this reason, making an exact timeline of them challenging. The correspondence may have occurred after their first meeting in Mardin, and Timurtash may have been interested in working with al-ʿAntari. An invitation may have been sent to establish a patron-client relationship through ʿIzz al-Din the Philosopher. Nevertheless, this narrative does not go beyond the assumption. In the future, new written sources may help put this relationship web into a more precise chronological order.

Other scientists, unlike al-ʿAntari, accepted Timurtash's invitation to come and work for him in Mardin. One of the scholars who came to serve Husam al-Din Timurtash was Ibn al-Salah (d. 1154), also known as Najm al-Din Abu'l-Futuh Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Sari. Ibn al-Salah was born in either Hamedan or Sumaysat (today Samsat in Turkey) but settled in Baghdad to study.[217] Al-Salah began his career in

[214] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 76. Folio 171a, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 110, 187.

[215] In the beginning of Poem 644, al-ʿAntari says "Inform Timurtash that God has decreed for me a sustenance, so I do not need anyone. So, seek other than me, for as long as I live, I serve no one but my God, the One, the Eternal." See, Al-'Antarī, 25, 484.

[216] Thanks to al-ʿAntari, I have discovered this scholar, whose name is not mentioned in the chronicles providing information about the Artuqid dynasty.

[217] In his book titled *Tarīkh al-Hukamā* (*History of Philosophers*), Egyptian historian and biographer Ibn al-Qifti (d. 1248), records that Ibn al-Salah was born in Sumaysat and died at the end of the year 1154 (548 H). Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa (d. 1270) mentions his death date as 1145 (540 H) or a little later. He also reports that Ibn al-Salah was born in Hamedan and was of Persian origin. His birth date is unknown. See, Ömer Mahir

Baghdad before moving to Mardin at an unknown date to work at the Artuqid court. Maragha was also among the places where al-Salah resided at an unknown time.[218] Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa describes Ibn al-Salah as a "learned sheikh" who was a distinguished expert in philosophical sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ḥikmiyya*). He was an eloquent writer who could articulate his thoughts precisely and write sophisticatedly. Ibn al-Salah was an outstanding physician of his time. Husam al-Din Timurtash treated him with great respect. After a period spent as a friend of the Artuqid ruler, Ibn al-Salah eventually made his way to Damascus, where he remained until the day he died.[219]

Ibn al-Salah was a prominent example of a true polymath. He had a wide range of academic expertise beyond medicine, including philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, and logic.[220] Ibn al-Salah was a scholar with the capacity and competence to develop Timurtash's intellectual interests. The fact that he was summoned to the Artuqid court demonstrates the scope of scientific endeavor in Mardin. Ibn al-Salah's activities are partially documented in the historical record. Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa reports that al-Salah was the philosophy tutor of Fakhr al-Din al-Mardini (d. 1198), a scientist born in Mardin.[221] Unfortunately, the biographer does not mention where Ibn al-Salah and al-Mardini studied or if there were other students of him. Ibn al-Salah is said to have been appointed to serve as his court physician by Husam al-Din Timurtash.[222] Another argument asserts that he probably founded the library in the *mashhad* while working as a physician at the Artuqid court.[223] Given al-Salah's medical expertise, his appointment would not be

Alper, "İbnü's-Salâh, Ebü'l-Fütûh," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 21* (Ankara: İSAM - İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2000), 197-8. Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāsim, "15.17 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ," in *The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder, trans. N. Peter Joosse and Geert Jan van Gelder (Brill Scholarly Editions, 2020), https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-tr-en g1:15.17/. Johannes Thomann argues that The *Kitāb fī al-ashkāl al-kurrīyah*, is an Arabic translation of Menelaus of Alexandria's work on spherical trigonometry (British Library Or.13127) copied from the Ibn al-Salah's book in 'Monday 4 Rabīʿ II 548' (29 June 1153). The scribe, Ismael, might be a student of Ibn al-Salah and records that Ibn al-Salah was alive in 1153. Thus, the copyist confirms the date of death given by Ibn al-Qifti. See Johannes Thomann, "The Oldest Translation of the Almagest Made for Al-Maʾmūn by Al-Ḥasan Ibn Quraysh: A Text Fragment in Ibn Al-Ṣalāḥ's Critique on Al-Fārābī's Commentary," in *Ptolemy's Science of the Stars in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Juste et al. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 118.

[218] Paul Hullmeine, "Correcting Ptolemy and Aristotle: Ibn Al-Ṣalāḥ on Mistakes in the Almagest, On the Heavens, and Posterior Analytics," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 32, no. 2 (2022): 202.

[219] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "15.17 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ."

[220] Alper, "İbnü's-Salâh, Ebü'l-Fütûh," 197.

[221] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "10.75 Fakhr Al-Dīn Al-Māridīnī."

[222] Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition Supplement Volume 1*, trans. Joep Lameer (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 891. Alper, 197.

[223] Alper, 197.

unexpected. Nevertheless, no written evidence confirms that he held this position and established the library in Mardin.

Commentaries that Ibn al-Salah wrote on physics, mathematics, astronomy, and logic are some of the author's works that have been preserved.[224] However, none of his medical works have remained to the present day.[225] Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa further mentions that "Ibn al-Salah excelled in philosophy and had a good knowledge of it and was expert in its intricacies and secrets and authored books on the subject."[226] Moreover, he devoted his life to reevaluating and criticizing the conclusions reached by Greek and earlier Arab authorities.[227] Ibn al-Salah's critique of the errors in the transmission of coordinates in Ptolemy's (d. ca. 168) famous catalogue of the fixed stars, the *Almagest* (*Kitāb al-Majisṭī*),[228] brought him widespread recognition. While writing his review, he consulted four Arabic and one Syriac version of the Almagest, directly translated from Greek.[229] Ibn al-Salah also criticized Al-Biruni's *al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī* and Al-Sufi's (d. 986) *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita* (*Book of Fixed Stars*) for failing to correct existing errors in Ptolemy's *Almagest*.[230] It is unknown when al-Salah's treatise was written, but thanks to Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi, it has survived to the present day.

1.2 An Artuqid Copy of Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita (Book of the Fixed Stars)

Ibn al-Salah's use of significant manuscripts and translations for his critiques might indicate that the author had access to sophisticated libraries, or his library was extensive enough. Ibn al-Salah does not specify which al-Sufi manuscript copy he used in his analysis. However, an al-Sufi manuscript was copied in Mardin during Husam al-

[224] Mubahat Türker Küyel, "İbn uş-Salah comme exemple à la rencontre des cultures," *Araştırma*, 9 (1971), 1-2. For a list of Ibn al-Salah's commentaries, See, Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition Supplement Volume 1*, 197. According to Paul Hullmeine, seventeen works by Ibn al-Salah have been discovered so far, and it is very likely that more works by al-Salah will be discovered in the future. See, Hullmeine, "Correcting Ptolemy and Aristotle: Ibn Al-Ṣalāḥ on Mistakes in the Almagest, On the Heavens, and Posterior Analytics," 202.
[225] N. Peter Joosse, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Najm al-Dīn," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Third Edition,* Online Version.
[226] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "10.75 Fakhr Al-Dīn Al-Māridīnī."
[227] Sezgin, *Wissenschaft und Technik im Islam,* 35.
[228] The name of the treatise is "On the Reason for the Mistakes and Misspellings Occurring in the Tables of Book VII and VIII of the Almagest and on the Correction of What can be Corrected of Them." See, Hullmeine, 204.
[229] Joosse, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Najm al-Dīn." Existing manuscripts contain a shortened copy of al-Salah's commentary by the Persian astronomer Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d.1311). MS. Ahmet III 3455 f. 82v-86v and 76r-v, Topkapı Palace Library. See, Hullmeine, 205.
[230] Hullmeine, 210-1. Moya Carey, "Painting the Stars in a Century of Change: A Thirteenth-Century Copy of al-Sūfī's Treatise on the Fixed Stars: British Library Or. 5323," Ph.D. diss., (SOAS University of London, 2001), 82-3.

Din Timurtash's reign, which might have coincided with Ibn al-Salah's stay in Mardin. The book of *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita* (*Book of Fixed Stars*) was copied in the fortress of Mardin in 1135/6 (529 H) by the scribe named ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbar ibn al-Rahim ibn Sadaqa ibn ʿAli ibn Yusuf ibn Nassam al-Jabali (Figure 1.4).[231] The manuscript is written in *naskhi* script and consists of 227 folios. MS. Fatih 3422 features eighty illustrations depicting the constellations in the sky and on the earth, similar to how they appear on the celestial globes.[232]

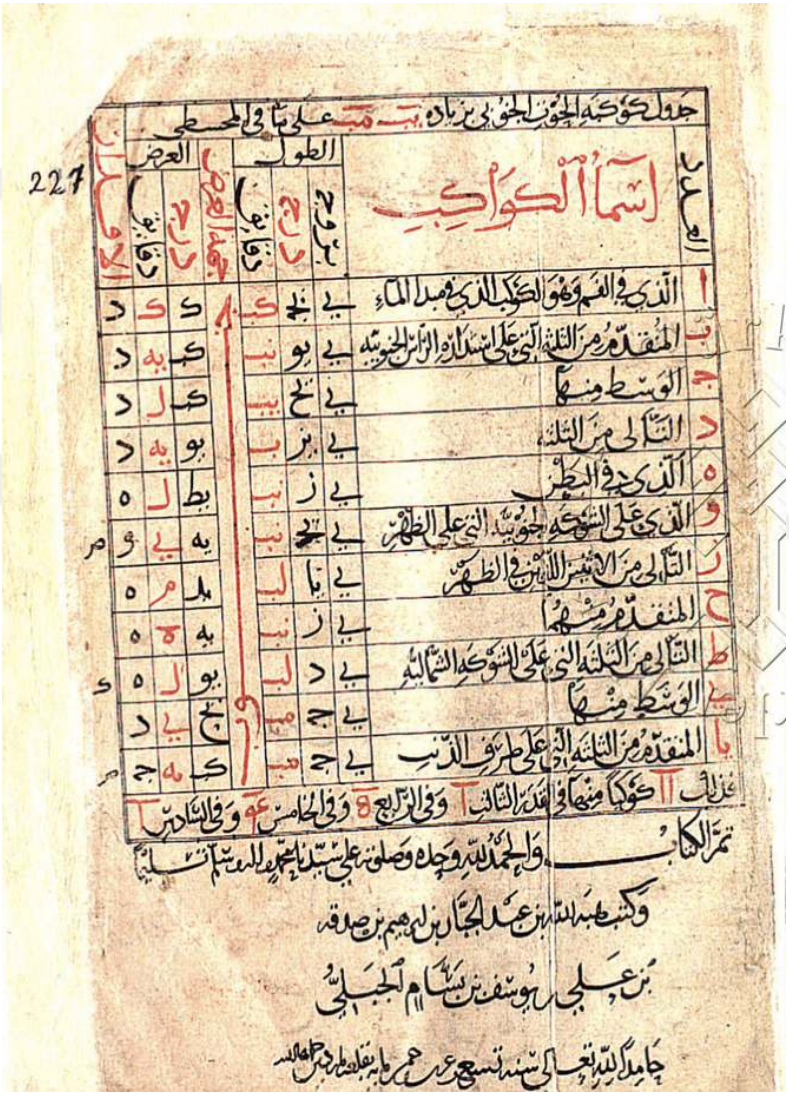

Figure 1.4. *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita*, f.227r, MS. Fatih 3422, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul.

[231] Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.ʿUmar al-Ṣūfī, *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita*, Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, MS Fatih 3422, f..227r.

[232] Nezihe Seyhan, "Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi'ndeki Minyatürlü Yazma Eserlerin Kataloğu" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1991), 436. The illustrations facing left depict their appearance on the celestial globe, whereas the illustrations facing right depict their appearance in the sky.

The commissioner or the users of this al-Sufi manuscript are unknown. There is no indication whether it was commissioned by Husam al-Din Timurtash or another member of the Artuqid royal family. Since the book production took place in the castle of Mardin, the copyist might be a state official, or the book might have been prepared for the court astronomers. There are ideas regarding the source of inspiration for the artist or astronomer who designed these constellation illustrations. Art historian Wellesz argues that the Mardin copy's illustrations are less detailed than those in other al-Sufi manuscripts, which she calls Group A. Wellesz locates MS. Fatih 3422 in the Group B. Simple contours are utilized in MS. Fatih 3422. The clothing of constellations is formed with a few basic lines. In some of its sections, this manuscript exhibits iconographic variation as well. For instance, it depicts the constellation Virgo with wings, similar to how it was shown in antiquity (Figure 1.5).[233]

Figure 1.5. Constellation of Virgo (*al-'adhrā'* in Arabic), *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita*, f.131r, and f.131v, MS. Fatih 3422, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul.

[233] Emmy Wellesz, "An Early Al-Ṣūfī Manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: A Study in Islamic Constellation Images," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 22. Another copy of al-Sufi's *Book of the Fixed Stars* located at the Doha Museum of Islamic Art [MS.2.1998] is dated 1125 (519 H). The Virgo is also depicted with wings. See Emilie Savage-Smith, "The Most Authoritative Copy of ʿAbd Al-Rahman Al-Sufi's Tenth-Century Guide to the Constellations," in *God Is Beautiful and Loves Beauty: The Object in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 125, 150-1.

Figure 1.6. Constellation of Virgo, *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita*, MS. Marsh 144, f.223 and f.224, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

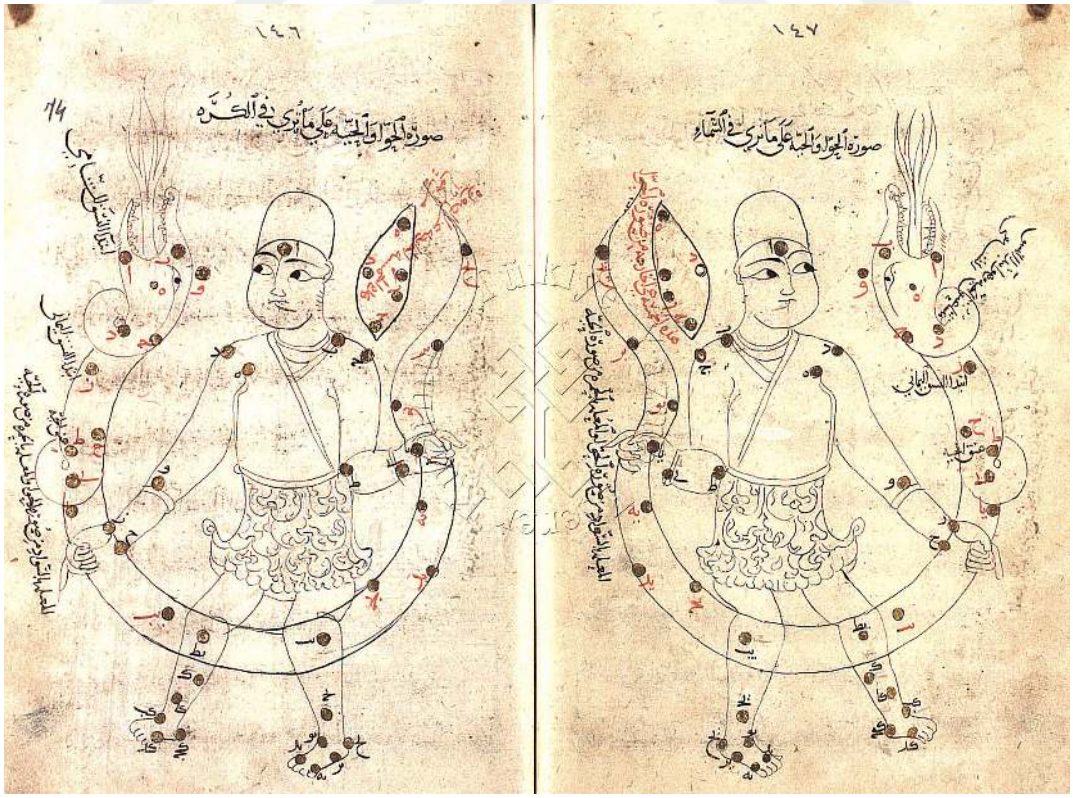

Figure 1.7. Constellation of Serpent Bearer (Serpentarius or Ophiuchus, al-ḥawwa wa'l-ḥayya in Arabic), Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita, f.74r, and f.74v, MS. Fatih 3422, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul.

The oldest surviving copy of the *Book of Fixed Stars* (MS. Marsh 144) in the Bodleian Library, dated 1009/10 (400 H), was presumably copied and illustrated by the author's son, Abu ʿAli Husayn ibn al-Sufi.[234] Al-Sufi follows Ptolemy's depiction in his text's Virgo-related parts. Still, in the illustration, the fifth star is located on the hunched shoulder, which Ptolemy placed at the top left of the wing (Figure 1.6).[235] The classical iconography is deliberately altered here, probably by the son, Ibn al-Sufi. Since the author al-Sufi emphasizes that Virgo should have wings while reporting a celestial globe made by ʿAli ibn Isa al-Harrani.[236] Nonetheless, al-Sufi and his son both follow the classical and Hellenistic "Serpent-Bearer iconography, in which "the serpent turns its head away from the man."[237] As can be seen, the Serpent-Bearer constellation in MS. Fatih 3422 is also loyal to this ancient tradition (Figure 1.7).

The origins of constellation and zodiac depictions, seen in illustrations in some of Al-Sufi's manuscripts and textually transmitted in Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Handy Tables*, can be historically traced back to the ancient Greek and Roman times via surviving artistic and literary sources.[238] The Greek poet Aratus of Soli (c. 315-245 BCE)'s *Phaenomena*, the Latin poet Hyginus's (c. 1st century CE)'s *De Astronomica*, and the Roman poet Manilius (c. 1st century CE)'s *Astronomica* are influential literary sources that provided detailed information on constellations, zodiac, and weather signs. The celestial globes are another source that transmitted the classical and Hellenistic tradition. Among the surviving examples are the Kugel Globe (c. 300-100 BCE), the Mainz Globe (c. 2nd century CE) and the Farnese Atlas (c. 2nd century CE).[239] The Farnese Atlas is believed to be a Roman copy of a Hellenistic sculpture

[234] Moya Carey, "Al-Sufi and Son: Ibn Al-Sufi's Poem on the Stars and Its Prose Parent," *Muqarnas* 26 (2009), 189.
[235] Wellesz, "An Early Al-Ṣūfī Manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: A Study in Islamic Constellation Images," 10.
[236] Moya Carey, "Painting the Stars in a Century of Change: A Thirteenth-Century Copy of al-Sūfī's Treatise on the Fixed Stars: British Library Or. 5323," PhD diss., (SOAS University of London, 2001), 71.
[237] Wellesz, 9.
[238] Although there is no known surviving illustrated version of *Almagest* today, the Vatican Library houses MS. Vat. gr. 1291, the earliest surviving illustrated copy of Handy Tables, an expansion of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which is thought to have been produced during the reign of Byzantine Emperor Constantine V (r. 741–755). This manuscript also reflects the representations of signs of zodiac, the sun god Helios and constellations derived from the classical past. For instance, Virgo is depicted with two wings. For its comparison with al-Jazari's zodiac wheel, See Pages 122-3 and Figure 3.3. See David H. Wright, "The Date of the Vatican Illuminated Handy Tables of Ptolemy and of its Early Additions," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 78 (1985), 355-62.
[239] Marion Dolan, *Astronomical Knowledge Transmission through Illustrated Aratea Manuscripts* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Verlag, 2017). Milan S. Dimitrijević and Aleksandra Bajić, "Mythological Origin of Constellations and Their Description: Aratus, Pseudo-Eratosthenes, Hyginus," in *Proceedings of the XII Serbian-Bulgarian Astronomical Conference (XII SBAC) Sokobanja, Serbia, September 25-29, 2020* , ed. L. Č. Popović et al. (Serbia: Publications of the Astronomical Society "Rudjer Boskovic" , 2020), 129-138. Another marble celestial sphere is dated 1st century CE. This globe has a band of twelve signs of zodiac and scattered stars

of Atlas bending on his knees and holding a celestial globe on his back (Figure 1.8).[240] Ophiuchus (Serpent bearer) and Virgo are depicted backwards in the Farnese Atlas, the Virgo still carries wings and the serpent turns his head away from Ophiuchus. In MS. Fatih 3422 and other al-Sufi manuscripts, the classical iconography, for instance nude and muscular representations, is altered and adapted to a new context. These constellations are wearing Eastern style clothing. However, some important distinguishing features, such as wings of Virgo, have been preserved.

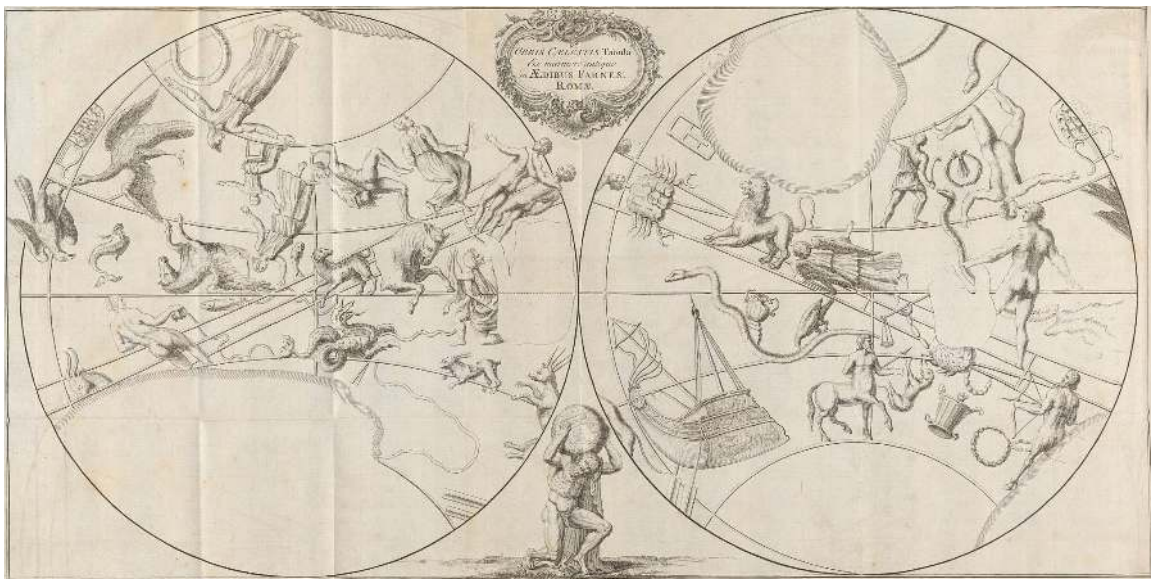

Figure 1.8. ORBIS CAELESTIS Tabula (*Table of the Celestial Orbs*) showing the Statue of Atlas (*Farnese Atlas*) holding the celestial sphere on his back in the middle and its depictions of constellations and twelve signs, originally dated 2nd century CE and in National Archaeological Museum of Naples, Inv. 6374, Italy (from Marcus Manilius's *Astronomica,* 30-40 CE*,* edited and published by Richard Bentley in 1739, London).

Wellesz further remarks that MS. Fatih 3422 "follows classical usage more closely" and "is intimately connected with the iconography of the celestial globes."[241] Indeed, the scribe of the Mardin copy, al-Jabali, might have used the celestial globes as the source of this style. He could have access to former illustrated astronomical manuscripts based on Ptolemy's

on his surface. It is located at the Vatican Museum (Inv.784) today. For the zodiac representations of Byzantium and Carolingian Empire, See Ivana Lemcool, "The Zodiac in Early Medieval Art: Migration of a Classical Motif Through Time and Space," in *Migrations in Visual Art*, ed. Jelena Erdeljan et al. (Belgrade: Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, 2018), 55-68.

[240] For details about the three-dimensional replicas of the Farnese Atlas's globe and Bentley's engraving, See Kristen Lippincott, "A Chapter in the 'Nachleben' of the Farnese Atlas: Martin Folkes's Globe," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 74 (2011): 281-99.

[241] Ibid, 23.

Almagest, which celestial globe makers frequently utilized. However, these manuscripts were criticized by al-Sufi for their inaccurate coordinates in his book. He further reports that he has seen many Harran-made "decorated globes" and condemned them for not showing "true star positions or magnitudes."[242] Al-Sufi mentions that the existing celestial globes reflect "different iconographical versions of figures."[243] One of the surviving celestial globes, closer to the date of MS. Fatih 3422, was designed in 1144 by Yunus ibn Husayn al-Asturlabi (the Astrolabe-maker) and is housed in the Louvre Museum today (Figure 1.9). On this globe's legend, confirming what al-Sufi said, al-Asturlabi notes that Ptolemy's star catalogue is used to determine the coordinates of the stars.[244]

Figure 1.9. Celestial globe, 1144 (540 H), by Yunus ibn Husayn al-Asturlabi, possibly from Iran, cast brass, inlaid with silver, engraved, Inv. MAO 824, Louvre Museum, Paris.

The earliest bronze celestial globes that have survived display a reasonably simple design. Only the outlines of the constellations are engraved on the object, but their fundamental

[242] Emilie Savage-Smith, *Islamicate Celestial Globes Their History, Construction, and Use* (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution, 1985), 23.
[243] Carey, "Painting the Stars in a Century of Change: A Thirteenth-Century Copy of al-Sūfī's Treatise on the Fixed Stars: British Library Or. 5323," 75.
[244] Savage-Smith, *Islamicate Celestial Globes Their History, Construction, and Use,* 25. Full inscription reads: "This globe includes all the stars mentioned in the book of the *Almagest* after modifying them in proportion with the interval between the calculations of Ptolemy and the year [A.H.] 540, i.e. 15°18'. [It is t]he work of (san'at) Yunis b. al-Husayn al-Asturlabi [in the] year 539." See, Sheila R. Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs,* 196.

aspects, which may be recognized instantly, are shown. Some manuscripts of al-Sufi's *Book of Fixed Stars*, such as MS. Fatih 3422, display this relatively straightforward iconographic style seen in early celestial globes.[245] It is possible that copyist al-Jabali, whose profession is unknown,[246] could access celestial globes, but no Artuqid example has been discovered. Given the proximity of Harran, the famous production center of celestial globes, it would be easy to find a celestial globe in Mardin, whose Artuqid lord Husam al-Din Timurtash wholeheartedly supported scientific activities and scientists.

Furthermore, it cannot be said certain which al-Sufi copy al-Jabali used as a reference while preparing MS. Fatih 3422. The Topkapı Palace Library houses an incomplete copy of *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita* registered as MS. Ahmet III 3493.[247] This manuscript was copied by the scribe Wathiq ibn ʿAli ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Husayn, also known as Abu'l-Shawqi, between 14 December 1130 and 12 January 1131 (10 Muharram and 10 Safar 525 H). Some scholars believe Ahmet III 3493 was prepared in the Artuqid city of Mayyafariqin. According to its colophon, the scribe utilized a copy that initially belonged to the scholar Abu Tahir ibn ʿAbd al-Baqi ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allah, also known as Ibn Qatramiz, who was from Mayyafariqin in the eleventh century.[248] Over the years, this manuscript passed through some different hands. Salah ibn Yunus ibn Aziz made a copy of this manuscript in August 1149 (Rabiʿ II 544 H), and at the time, it belonged to the library of Masʿud ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, a physician from Mosul.[249] In contrast to Fatih 3422, it possesses distinctive iconographic characteristics. I believe it is improbable that Ahmet III 3493 inspired the Mardin copy. Emmy Wellesz places Ahmet III 3493 in Group A, highlighting its similarities to the Marsh 144. Like the illustration of Virgo in Marsh 144, this one has a hunched shoulder and

[245] Wellesz, "An Early Al-Ṣūfī Manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: A Study in Islamic Constellation Images," 25.
[246] I question whether he was an astronomer, astrolabe-maker or globe-maker. Unfortunately, no further details about his life are available.
[247] It is made of 148 folios, and some constellations are missing from this manuscript.
[248] Anna Contadini, "Ayyubid Illustrated Manuscripts and Their North Jaziran and ʿAbbasid Neighbours," in *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187-1250*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand and Sylvia Auld (London: Altajir Trust, 2009), 187-8. See Carey, "Painting the Stars in a Century of Change: A Thirteenth-Century Copy of al-Sūfī's Treatise on the Fixed Stars: British Library Or. 5323," 251. Biographer Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa mentions about Ibn Qatramiz in the bibliography of the eleventh-century Syriac doctor ʿUbayd Allah ibn Jibril ibn ʿUbayd Allah ibn Bukhtishu (d. around 1058 -1066) who lived in Mayyafariqin during the reign the Marwanid dynasty (983-1085). Ibn Jibril wrote a letter to Ibn Qatramiz to "answer to his question on ritual ablution and why it is necessary." See Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "8.6 ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl" In *the Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*, edited by Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder, translated by Bruce Inksetter, Emilie Savage-Smith, and Geert Jan van Gelder. Brill Scholarly Editions, 2020. https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-tr-eng1:8.6.
[249] Carey, "Painting the Stars in a Century of Change: A Thirteenth-Century Copy of al-Sūfī's Treatise on the Fixed Stars: British Library Or. 5323," 251.

carries no wings (Figure 1.10).[250]

Figure 1.10. Constellation of Virgo, *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita*, Ahmet III 3493, f.79r, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database).

There is material evidence that al-Sufi's book impacted the design of celestial globes made in the Islamic world after his death, with some artisans even claiming in inscriptions that they used the *Book of the Fixed Stars* as the source of constellation coordinates.[251] The presence of al-Sufi's book could have been of great assistance to craftsmen who worked on the production of celestial globes, even though it is currently unknown whether globe production takes place in the Artuqid capital. The fact that such a significant work like *the Book of the Fixed Stars* was copied in the city of Mardin suggests that there were scientific endeavors related to astronomy. The celestial globes

[250] Wellesz, "An Early Al-Ṣūfī Manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: A Study in Islamic Constellation Images," 20, 23. There are iconographic differences of other constellations as well, but further comparisons are beyond the scope of this thesis.
[251] Savage-Smith, *Islamicate Celestial Globes Their History, Construction, and Use,* 23.

may have been used in education, astronomical measurements, and as a possible inspiration for Artuqid artists. MS. Fatih 3422 can be considered to be material evidence of the support given to the scientific activities, scientists, and skilled artisans that the abovementioned written sources earlier reported in their discussions of the reign of Husam al-Din Timurtash in Mardin.

Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, the Artuqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa and Timurtash's cousin, has allegedly claimed to be the commissioner of *Urjūza fī suwar al-thābita* (*the Poem on the Stars*) written by certain Abu ʿAli Husayn ibn al-Sufi.[252] The poem is dedicated to a ruler using the title "*shāhanshāh* (king of kings) *Abū l-Maʿālī Fakhr Dīn Allāh*." Brockelmann and Kunitzsch believe that this person could be Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan. Although the poet introduces himself as al-Sufi's son in his poem, they further claim there is no way the poet could be al-Sufi's son.[253] However, Carey's recent study demonstrates that the patron was not Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan but the last Buyid ruler of Rayy, Abu Kalijar Fanna Khusrau (d. after 1047), the son of Majd al-Dawla (d. after 1029).[254] The earliest version of this poem is preserved in the copy of Al-Sufi's *Book of Fixed Stars* dated 1125 (519) in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha.[255] It is unknown whether Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan commissioned an al-Sufi manuscript. Qara Arslan, like Husam al-Din Timurtash, supported scientists and had manuscripts prepared in ancient sciences.

Al-Sufi's *Book of Fixed Stars is* considered the "most important treatise on constellation iconography to be produced in the Islamic world – and one that later was to have a great influence in Latin Europe."[256] The *Book of the Fixed Stars* was created as a result of royal interest in star constellations and astronomy. Buyid ruler ʿAdud al-Dawla (r. 949-83) commissioned astronomer ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Sufi to compose a book on the subject. The Buyid ruler received al-Sufi's book combining the classical tradition (e.g. Ptolemy's *Almagest*) with the Bedouin celestial system called *al-anwāʾ* around 964 (353 H).[257] There are other significant al-Sufi manuscripts with royal patronage ties. The Bodleian Library possesses the first royal example, which bears the date 1170/1 (566 H).

[252] Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition Supplement Volume 1*, 898. Paul Kunitzsch, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al- Ṣūfī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Third Edition,* Online Version.
[253] Brockelmann, 898. Kunitzsch, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al- Ṣūfī."
[254] Carey, "Al-Sufi and Son: Ibn Al-Sufi's Poem on the Stars and Its Prose Parent," 181-2, 187-9.
[255] The manuscript is registered as MS. MI-02-98-90. Carey, "Al-Sufi and Son: Ibn Al-Sufi's Poem on the Stars and Its Prose Parent," 182.
[256] Savage-Smith, "The Most Authoritative Copy of ʿAbd Al-Rahman Al-Sufi's Tenth-Century Guide to the Constellations," 125.
[257] Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), 50. See, Sheila R. Canby et al., 197.

It is registered under the name MS. Huntington 212. The commissioner is believed to be the Zengid ruler of Mosul, Sayf al-Din Ghazi II (r. 1170-80).[258] He was the son of Zengid ruler of Mosul, Qutb al-Din Mawdud (r. 1149-70), and Zumurrud (Zümrüd) Khatun, the daughter of Husam al-Din Timurtash.[259]

Another al-Sufi manuscript comes from the Kingdom of Castile in Spain. The King of Castile, Alfonso X (r. 1252-84), had an adapted version of al-Sufi's work translated into Castilian in 1256. This book, titled *Libro de Las Figuras de las Estrellas Fixas* (*Book of the Figures of the Fixed Stars*), only contains the views of constellations on the globe, and its iconography is closer to that of the Al-Sufi manuscripts following the classical tradition, just as in MS. Fatih 3422. In addition, Alfonso X is also said to have at least one celestial globe in his library.[260] Al-Sufi's *Book of Fixed Stars* was widely used in various geographies, courts, and educational institutions because it was not only limited to mathematical astronomy calculations and could be used practically in star identification with the help of its constellation depictions.[261]

1.3 The Fondness for Astrology in the Jazira Region and Its Reflection on the Artistic Production

Sayf al-Din Ghazi II's fascination with the celestial world extended beyond the copy al-Sufi manuscript. Qutb al-Din Mawdud and his son Sayf al-Din Ghazi II issued coins depicting astrological themes. Sayf al-Din's coin representing "the solar personification" or Helios, is minted in 1171/2 (567 H). It copies the iconography of his father's first figurative Zengid coin, but shows his name and genealogy on the reverse (Figure 1.11).[262] A male bust portrait displaying Turkish facial characteristics, particularly the eyes, is depicted on the coin's obverse side. The figure with the long hair is positioned to look to the left, and there are two winged creatures, most likely victories,

[258] Contadini, "Ayyubid Illustrated Manuscripts and Their North Jaziran and ʿAbbasid Neighbours," 188. The dedication inscription is partially legible.
[259] In 1149 (544), Zumurrud Khatun was engaged to Sayf al-Din Ghazi, the brother of Qutb al-Din Mawdud; however, Sayf al-Din fell ill, and their marriage was not consummated. Mawdud ascended to the throne after his brother's death and married Timurtash's daughter Zumurrud (Zümrüd) Khatun in 1149. 'Izz al-Dīn Abu al-Hassan Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 16, 27-8.
[260] Laura Fernández, "Arab Stars in the Castilian Sky: Al-Sūfī's Book of Fixed Stars amongst the Manuscripts of Alfonso X," in *The Stars in the Classical and Medieval Traditions*, ed. Hadravová Alena, Petr Hadrava, and Kristen Lippincott (Prague: Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2019), 93-114.
[261] Savage-Smith, "The Most Authoritative Copy of ʿAbd Al-Rahman Al-Sufi's Tenth-Century Guide to the Constellations," 153.
[262] See S/S Types 59 (Mawdud), and 60 (Sayf al-Din). Spengler and Wayne G. Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol II: The Zengids,* 4-11.

perched directly above the portrait.[263] Its iconography is similar to the coin of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, showing the clean-shaven personification of sun god Helios mentioned in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.5).

Figure 1.11. Coin of Sayf al-Din Ghazi II (r. 1170-80), 1171/2 (567 H), copper dirham, 29 mm, 12 gr, 29 h, minted in Mosul, Inv. 1917.215.1003, American Numismatic Society, New York.

The celestial iconography, which appears on the coins of both Qutb al-Din Mawdud and his son Sayf al-Din, was not unique to the Zengid coinage; in fact, other Jaziran dynasties, particularly the Artuqids, began to design their coins with these themes as well. Spengler and Sayles argue that the similar iconography, styles, and techniques used in the Artuqid and Zengid coinage indicate that the designers and die-engravers were most likely from the same school of design that was active in the twelfth century.[264] Both authors propose that there was a "centralized school of die-engravers," and evidence from 1994 of a mule coin featuring designs from both the Artuqid and Zengid dies to support their theory.[265] Its obverse replicates the die of Qara Arslan's coin, which was minted in Hisn Kayfa in 1167 (562 H) (See Figure 2.8b in Chapter 2). Meanwhile, its reverse copies the reverse side of a coin minted between 1160 and 1970 (555-65 H) by Qutb al-Din

[263] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol II: The Zengids*, 4. Estelle J. Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (London: Melisende, 2006), 204.
[264] Ibid, 8.
[265] A mule coin is a coin that was struck from a pair of dies designed for different coins. Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol II: The Zengids,* 8.

Mawdud. Since there is no evidence of a central mint, the authors speculate that this mule coin could result from a die-engraver's mistake.[266]

There is currently no other written source reporting the interest of Artuqid rulers and their family members in the occult sciences (alchemy, astrology, magic, numerology, etc.), beyond the brief information provided by the chronicler Ibn al-Azraq and physician al-ʿAntari about Timurtash's interest in alchemy and historical astrology, mentioned in the first part of Chapter 1.[267] Three branches of the Artuqid dynasty utilized celestial imagery, especially planet and zodiac representations, in a variety of artworks, including coins, courtly objects, and other types of metalwork, as well as architectural works, such as fortifications and bridges. The discussions about the design of bridges and fortifications will be covered in Chapter 3.

Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan ibn Dawud and Najm al-Din Alpi ibn Timurtash introduced astrological and celestial depictions into Artuqid figural coins around the mid-twelfth century.[268] Following Alpi and Qara Arslan, the following Artuqid lords preferred the horoscopes (*al-burūj*), planets (*al-kawāakib*), and other celestial bodies (*al-ʾajrām al-samāwiyya*) as designs on their coins. The Artuqid coins depict planets Mars (*al-Mirrīkh*) and Mercury (*'Uṭāriḍ* or *al-Kātib*), zodiac symbols of Gemini (*al-jawzā'*), Sagittarius (*al-qaws*), the Sun and Lion (*Shir u khurshid* in Persian) representing the horoscope Leo (*al-asad*), and lastly the Sun (*al-Shams*) and the Moon (*al-Qamar*) as other celestial bodies.[269]

Figure 1.12. Coin of Husam al-Din Yülük Arslan (r. 1184-1201), 596 H (1199-1200), copper dirham, 31 mm, 14.58 gr, Inv. C 297, The David Collections, Copenhagen.

[266] Ibid, 8.
[267] See Pages 38-40.
[268] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol II: The Zengids,* 7.
[269] Uykur, *Madenden Yansıyan Tarih: Artuklu Sikkeleri*, 255-77.

The Artuqid ruler of Mardin, Husam al-Din Yülük Arslan ibn Qutb al-Din Ilghazi II (r. 1184-1201) minted a coin dated 596 H (1199-1200) with an apparent celestial reference (Figure 1.12). The obverse of his pearl-circled coin depicts a cross-legged seated warrior wearing orientalized helmet and garments. The warrior figure horizontally holds a sword in his right hand behind his head and grasps the plume of a helmeted decapitated head in his left hand.[270] This iconography represents the astrological depiction of the planet Mars and is widely used in Islamic artworks, particularly metalworks.[271] Moreover, the inscription on the obverse gives the name of Nur al-Din Atabeg, the Zengid Atabeg of Mosul (r. 1193-1210), meanwhile the reverse calls Yülük Arslan as the "*Malik* Diyar Bakr" and further mentions the name of Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir (r. 1180-1225), the Ayyubid lord and son of Salah al-Din, al-Malik al-Afdal ʿAli (r. 1193-96 in Damascus, r.1200-25 in Sumaysat and Suruj, modern Samsat and Suruç) and his brother Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo al-Malik al-Zahir (r. 1186-1216) to whom he pays homage.[272]

Figure 1.13a-b. Left: Obverse side of ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr (r. 1185-1204)'s coin, 582 H (1186-7), copper dirham, 27.5 mm, 8.65 g, Inv. C 483; Right: Obverse side of Nasir al-Din Artuq Arslan (r. 1201-39)'s coin, 599 H (1202-3), copper dirham, 28.5 mm, 13.73 gr, minted in Mardin, Inv. C 191, The David Collections, Copenhagen.

[270] Lane-Poole, *The International Numismata Orientalia: Coins of the Urtuki, Turkumans*, 31. Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia,* 103-4.
[271] Whelan 105. Lane-Poole, 44. Lane-Poole refers as "Mars in Aries."
[272] S&S Type 36, Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids,* 111-113.

Two other Artuqid coins also feature direct references to the celestial and astrological themes. The first example is the coin of ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr from the Artuqids of Kharput (Figure 1.13a). Its obverse shows a male figure who is straddling a dragon. His right arm is wrapping around the dragon's neck. His left arm holds the dragon's tail, and his right leg is around the dragon's chest. The dragon is opening his mouth wide toward the left while its tail is twisted and knotted on the right border.[273] Spengler and Sayles argue that Abu Bakr's coin follows the iconography of the Serpent Bearer (Serpentarius or Ophiuchus) constellation depicted in al-Sufi's *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita* (*Book of the Fixed Stars*). In the second part of Chapter 1, the Süleymaniye copy, MS. Fatih 3422, also represents a similar scene (See Figure 1.7). There are two other interpretations of this coin. The first is the "dragon-universe conflict" put forward by Uykur, and the second is the "dragon-master" iconography proposed by Whelan.[274]

Furthermore, the second coin, dated 599 H (1202-3), belongs to the younger brother and successor of Husam al-Din Yülük Arslan, Nasir al-Din Artuq Arslan from the Mardin branch (Figure 1.13b). A centaur archer wearing a helmet or a crown is shown on the left side of the obverse. The archer, whose head faces left, stretches his right hand, and his arrow targets at the gaping maw of the dragon. Dragon is at the very tip of the centaur archer's tail.[275] The centaur-archer symbolizes the Sagittarius zodiac sign when it is depicted alone. However, if the centaur-archer Sagittarius, is depicted aiming to shoot an arrow at a separate dragon or the dragon-headed tail which is connected to itself, this iconography points to "the dragon (*al-jawzahr*) in the particular exaltation of the "tail of dragon," which is identified with the descending node of the lunar orbit."[276] Dragon's head and the dragon's tail are the points where the Moon's orbit intersects the ecliptic or the path of the Sun.[277] Spengler and Sayles argue that one year before the strike of Artuq

[273] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids,* 61. Lane-Poole calls it "serpent" rather than dragon. See Lane-Poole, 23.
[274] Whelan, 189-98. Ramazan Uykur, "Artuklu Meliki İmâdeddîn Ebu Bekr'in Sikkesinde Ejder/Evren İle Mücadele İkonografisi," in *XIII. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları Ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri: 14-16 Ekim 2009 = Proceedings of the XIIIth Symposium of Medieval and Turkish Period Excavations and Art Historical Researches: 14-16 October 2009*, ed. Pektaş Kadir et al (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2010), 647-52.
[275] Lane-Poole, 33. Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids,* 122.
[276] Maria Vittoria Fontana, "The Iconographic Transformation of the 'Tail of the Dragon of the Eclipse' into the 'Hunting Cheetah'", in *Mantua Humanistic Studies III*, ed. by E. Scarpanti (Mantova: Universitas Studiorum, 2018), 59-60. "Al-Jawzahr, an invisible pseudo-planet thought to cause eclipses by devouring the sun and the moon." Sheila R. Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs,* 239.
[277] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids,* 125.

Arslan's coin, there was a "solar eclipse of 598 H [1201] occurred with the descending lunar node (the dragon's tail) in Sagittarius."[278] They speculate on what might have inspired Nasir al-Din Artuq Arslan's coin design. Lastly, an example of the depiction with an individual dragon comes from the twelfth century Zengid Bridge located in Jazirat ibn ʿUmar (Figure 1.14).

Figure 1.14. Relief showing the eclipse dragon from the Tigris Bridge of Jazirat ibn ʿUmar (Cizre/ʿAin Diwar, today in the borders of Syria), photo by Joachim Gierlichs, Spring 1993, the Archive Das Bild des Orients, Berlin.

Another Artuqid object, with astrological and magical references, is a bronze-cast mirror belonging to Nur al-Din Artuq Shah ibn al-Khidr (r. 1225-34), the last Artuqid lord of Kharput (Figure 1.15). When it was first published in 1811, the mirror of Artuq Shah was in the private collection of Abbé Tarsan; by 1823, it was in the private collection of Duc de Blacas. Later the mirror entered the possession of Prince Carl zu Öttingen-Wallenstein. It was sold at an auction in London in 1996 and purchased by the David Collections in Copenhagen, where it is still housed today.[279]

The mirror of Artuq Shah, which resembles the bronze Chinese mirrors, is polished on one side and decorated in low relief on the other. Artuq Shah's mirror, which measures 24 cm in diameter and weighs 2.3 kilograms, is significantly larger than the

[278] Ibid, 126.
[279] "Magic Mirror of Abu-l-Fadl Artuq Shah (r. 1225?–34)," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, n.d. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/642230.

other bronze mirrors that have survived to the present day.[280] In the center of its decorated face, a relief of a bird of prey, most likely a heraldic eagle symbolizing the ruler or kingship, is depicted. Three concentric bands surround it. Around the eagle, the personifications of the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon are located. There are astrological and mystical terms interspersed among these planetary busts.[281] Spengler and Sayles interpret the busts wearing the knotted garments in Byzantine style; meanwhile, Korn sees them in more classical and Hellenistic style.[282]

Figure 1.15. The Mirror of Nur al-Din Artuq Shah ibn al-Khidr (r. 1225-34), ca.1220-30s, bronze cast, diam. 24 cm, Inv. 4/1996, The David Collections, Copenhagen.

[280] Lane-Poole, 44. Sheila R. Canby et al., 57. Martina Müller-Wiener, ""Spiegel Des Alexander Und Weltenbecher" – Der Spiegel Des Artuq Shah Und Die Attribute des Idealen Herrschers," in *Von Gibraltar Bis Zum Ganges: Studien Zur Islamischen Kunstgeschichte in Memoriam Christian Ewert*, ed. Marion Frenger and Martina Müller-Wiener (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2010), 174.
[281] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids,* 120. Sheila R. Canby et al., 57.
[282] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids,* 121. Korn, "Art and Architecture of the Artuqid Courts" in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, 401.

The bust portraits depict various profile views, despite the the facial details are extremely faded. For instance, there is a right, left, or three-quarter profile, which indicates a tradition found on the classical, Hellenistic, and Byzantine coins. By comparing Artuq Shah's mirror to existing Artuqid coins, it is possible to contend that the artisans who created the mirror also benefited from the coins' iconography as well. Spengler and Sayles also highlights the artisans' possible source of inspiration as Roman and Byzantine coins.[283] It is also worth noting that at the time the mirror was made, Islamicate communities already had an established visual depiction style of the planets and zodiac in their metalwork, ceramics, manuscripts and other medium. However, Artuq Shah's mirrors are not following with this tradition. An example of this Islamicized style representations can be found in an enameled bowl at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1.16). The sun is in the center and it is surrounded by the planets in clockwise order: Mars, Mercury, Venus, the Moon, Saturn, and Jupiter represented in Islamicized garments.[284]

Figure 1.16. Mina'i Bowl showing the representations of planets and celestial bodies, late 12th- early 13th century, Central or Northern Iran, Inv. 57.36.4, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[283] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids,* 121.
[284] Sheila R. Canby et al., 206.

In the outer band, twelve zodiac signs are depicted around their ruling planets (*domicile*).[285] This band contains the dedicatory inscription. The mirror's Arabic inscriptions, written in *naskhi* script, read:

> *Outer band:* Glory to our Lord, the wise Sultan, the just, the God-aided, the victorious, the honored king, Nur al-Dunya wa al-Din (Light of the World and Religion) Abu'l-Fadl (Father of Virtue) Artuq Shah ibn al-Khidr ibn Ibrahim ibn Abu Bakr ibn Qara Arslan ibn Dawud ibn Sökmen ibn Artuq Nasir (Helper), the Commander of the Faithful.
> *Inner band*: In the Name of God, the Most Supreme, (this) magic (mirror) was endowed (for) every person (who would) look (at it) […abracadabra?] as an astronomical plate and horoscope.[286]

The outer inscription reflects the dynastic genealogy of Artuq Shah and his ambitious titles. However, the inner band contains contentious sections that cannot be deciphered or read. I here use the translation of the Court and Cosmos exhibition catalogue. But the earliest study conducted by Jacob von Hammer-Purgstall on the mirror reads the first debated part in the inner band's inscription as "*sittīn sittu mīʾa* – 660" and argues that this mirror was produced in the year 1261/2 (660 H). His arguments are accepted by later scholars frequently. The David Collection's catalogue further suggests either the year 600 H (1203/4) or 660 H (1261/2).[287] However, Nur al-Din Artuq Shah must be very young in the year 600 H since his father was enthroned the same year. It is also not possible to talk about the Artuqids of Kharput in 1261/2 (660 H) because the dynasty was ended by the Rum Seljuk sultan ʿAla al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-37) in August 1234.[288]

After this date, the chronicles provide varying details about Artuq Shah's life. According to some, Kayqubad, after taking over Kharput and seven other fortresses connected to it, gave the city of Akşehir (in modern Konya) and other places to Artuq Shah as fief (*iqṭāʿ*) and kept them with him until Artuq Shah's death.[289] According to Bar Hebraeus, after the conquest of Kharput, Kayqubad sent Artuq Shah and his wives with all their property to a city in the coastal region, where Artuq Shah allowed him to live for

[285] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids,*120. Sheila R. Canby et al., 57.
[286] Sheila R. Canby et al.*,* 57.
[287] Müller-Wiener, ""Spiegel Des Alexander Und Weltenbecher" – Der Spiegel Des Artuq Shah Und Die Attribute des Idealen Herrschers," 175.
[288] Sheila R. Canby et al.*,* 57, 312. See Appendix B for the reigning dates of the Artuqids of Kharput.
[289] Yusuf Baluken, "Harput Artukluları = Artuqids of Harput," in *I. Uluslararası Artuklu Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 25-27 Ekim 2007, Mardin, Vol 1*, ed. İbrahim Özcoşar (Mardin: Mardin Valiliği Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 232.

three years before the Rum Seljuk sultan secretly poisoned him in 1237.[290] The chronicler Ibn Bibi tells that the Rum Seljuk court official Taj al-Din Parwana was to be slandered for committing adultery with one of the concubines from the musicians and singers of the "*Malik* of Kharput," most likely Nur al-Din Artuq Shah, in Akşehir.[291] Ibn Bibi's account might support the chroniclers' reports mentioning Artuq Shah's time past in Akşehir.[292]

The Mirror of Artuq Shah is an exclusive courtly object believed to be used for "catoptromancy," the divination by a mirror.[293] Another suggestion proposed by Storm is that the Artuqid mirror is used for magical purposes.[294] The earliest example of magic mirrors with the representations of seven planets, is dated 1153 (548 H) and found at the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo today.[295] There was an increasing interest in astrology and magic in the later twelfth century, and this was also visible in artistic production. The magic mirrors, coins, and vessels, either ceramic or metal, are adorned with celestial symbolism.[296] Artuq Shah's mirror also shares similar iconography with the coins of Nasir al-Din Artuq Arslan (Figure 13.b), and Husam al-Din Yülük Arslan (Figure 1.12) analyzed above.

Moreover, The BnF is housing a curious plaster cast of the mirror of Artuq Shah today (Figure 1.17). It exactly copies the Artuqid mirror in design but omits some

[290] Ibid, 232. Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus: Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, 400.

[291] Nasir al-Din Husayn ibn Muhammad Ibn Bībī, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye Fi'l-Umuri'l-Ala'iye (Selçukname)*, Vol 2, trans. Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996), 28.

[292] Nureddin Ardıçoğlu, *Harput Tarihi* (İstanbul: Harput Turizm Derneği Yayınları, 1964), 58.

[293] Sheila R. Canby et al., 57.

[294] David Rice Storm, "A Seljuq Mirror," in *First International Congress of Turkish Arts: Ankara, 19th-24th October, 1959: Communications Presented to the Congress* (Ankara: Faculty of Theology of the University of Ankara, Institute of History of Turkish and Islamic Arts, 1961), 288-9.

[295] Storm published its inscription: "It was made in the ascendant of blessed augury, and it will serve, inshallah, for curing the paralysis of the mouth, alleviate the pains of childbirth and also other pains and sufferings, if Allah permit. This was achieved in the months of the year 548 . . . it was made of seven metals (i. e .) an alloy of seven metals) as the Sun passed through the sign of Aries." Storm, "A Seljuq Mirror," 288-9. Carboni emphasizes its talismanic and apotropaic attributes. See, Stefano Carboni, *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of art, 1997), 6.

[296] Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany: State Univ. of New York, 1983), 248. The Victoria and Albert Museum houses a bronze-cast mirror showing a pair of addorsed sphinxes with scorpion tails in relief (Inv.442-1887). It has a pierced knob similar to Chinese bronze mirrors. On the back surface, the mirror has an engraved seated ruler, single words, an astrological triangle, and charts that possibly had talismanic functions. It is dated to the 13th century and is attributed to the Khorasan region. This type of magic mirror was widely used, and other examples with different types of engravings exist in different museums as well (for instance, Inv. 2972 at the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum). They are attributed to regions of Northern Mesopotamia (especially the Artuqid dynasty) and Iran frequently and are dated to the 12th and 13th centuries. However, most of the examples do not have a dynastic inscription or date. It is impossible to be sure about their provenances. For two similar examples exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Court and Cosmos Exhibition, See Sheila R. Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs,* 246-8.

genealogical information about Nur al-Din Artuq Shah. The dating of the object is not certain; however the librarian E. Blocket from the BnF Department of Manuscripts suggests that "it could be a fake Egyptian copy from the fifteenth century."[297] The information about this replica is limited; however, it shows that the Mirror of Artuq Shah might have been famous as a magic mirror, and its copy was deemed significant. Further research could solve the mystery behind this copy.

Figure 1.17. Plaster Cast of the Mirror Nur al-Din Artuq Shah ibn al-Khidr (r. 1225 -34), 15th century (?) Egyptian copy, GE A 321 Inv Gén 36, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Paris.

Another object with astrological symbolism believed to originate from the Artuqid context is a candlestick made of brass with gold and silver inlaid decoration housed in the Benaki Museum in Athens (Figure 1.18). It was signed and dated 717 H (1317/8) by the

[297] "Zodiaque Exécuté Pour Nour-Ed-Din Aboul Fazl Ortok Shah, Fils D'Alkhezr Fils D'Ibrahim Ibn Adi Bekr Ibn Kara Arslan, Ben Dasud, Ben Sokman Ibn Ortok, Prince De Mésopotamie, (Hisn Kaïfa) De 1174 à 1185 [Document Cartographique]," *BnF Catalogue Général*, https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40716006d.public.

craftsman ʿAli ibn ʿUmar ibn Ibrahim al-Sankari al-Mawsili (from Mosul). This candlestick features twelve signs of the zodiac, human figures, and pairs of birds. Its cursive inscriptions only give the patron's title, "al-Malik al-Salih" who is believed to be the fourteenth-century Artuqid ruler of Mardin, Shams al-Din Mahmud ibn Ghazi II (1312-1363).[298] The next person to own the candlestick was Mirzan Aqa, the Mongol governor of Baghdad. Sometime prior to 1374, Mirzan Aqa made an attempt to remove the depictions of humans from the candlestick so that he could present it to the shrine of the Prophet in Medina.[299]

Figure 1.18. Brass Candlestick with inlaid silver and gold decoration, possibly owned by the Artuqid Sultan of Mardin, Al-Malik al-Salih Shams al-Din Mahmud ibn Ghazi II (r. 1312-63), dated 717 H (1317/8), made by ʿAli al-Mawsili, H. 0,53 m, diam. base 0,41 m, Northern Iraq or Syria, Inv.13038, Benaki Museum, Athens.

[298] *Guide Du Musée Benaki* (Athens: Imp. Elefthéroudakis, 1936), 82. Mouseio Benakē, *Benaki Museum: A Guide to the Museum of Islamic Art*, ed. Anna Ballian, trans. John John Avgherinos (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2006), 112-3.
[299] Mouseio Benakē, *Benaki Museum: A Guide to the Museum of Islamic Art*, 113.

Shams al-Din Mahmud was enthroned after his brother al-Malik al-ʿAdil ʿImad al-Din ʿAli Alpi ibn Ghazi II (r. 1312)'s sudden death.[300] In his famous traveler's account, Berber traveler Ibn Battuta records that Shams al-Din Mahmud was considered the most generous ruler living in the regions of Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. Andalusian poet al-Hawwari al-Andalusi (d. 1378) visited Mardin and wrote a panegyric for Mahmud, and the ruler rewarded him with twenty-thousand dirhams. Shams al-Din was further involved in philanthropic activities, for instance, the establishment of colleges (madrasas), charities, and hospices for food distribution.[301]

Al-Malik al-Salih loved poetry and supported poets. He continued to employ his father's courtier (*nadim*) and court poet Safi al-Din al-Hilli (d. 1349), at his court in Mardin.[302] Hilli composed poems called *Artuqiyyāt* for praising the Artuqid lords.[303] Another poet of Andalusian origin, al-Ruʿayni (d. 1377), also wrote a eulogy titled *al-Lāmiyya* for praising him and the other rulers from the Artuqid dynasty.[304] Like his father Najm al-Din Ghazi II (r. 1294-1312) and grandfather Muzaffar Qara Arslan (r. 1260-92), Shams al-Din Mahmud was also under the Ilkhanid suzerainty.[305] Mahmud used the title "sultan" on his coins, and preferred astrological iconography, for instance, the Sun and Lion (*Shir u khurshid*) on his coin minted in 1346 (747 H).[306] Ibn Khaldun, whose classifications of science are discussed in the introduction section of this thesis, placed "music" within the realm of the "ancient sciences." For the Artuqid lord Shams al-Din Mahmud, a treatise on music titled *Risāla fī taʿrīf al-ʿulūm* was written by Shams al-Din Muhammad b. ʿAli al-Khatib al-Irbili in 1337 (737 H).[307] Mahmud seems to be interested in diverse fields, including poetry, astrology, and music.

[300] Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh Munajjim Bāshī, *Câmiu'd-Düvel: Selçuklular Tarihi, Vol 2*, trans. Ali Öngül (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayıncılık, 2017), 168-9.
[301] Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325-1354. Vol. II*, ed. Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb (Cambridge: University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1959), 353-4.
[302] Wolfhart P. Heinrichs, "Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Sarāyā al-Ḥillī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition*, Online Version.
[303] Wahab Alansari, *An Anthology of Arabic Poetry* (Seattle: Academy of Languages, 2009), 235.
[304] İsmail Durmuş, "Ruaynî," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 35 (İstanbul: İSAM - İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2008), 176.
[305] Mahmud's sister, Dunya Khatun was married to the Ilkhanid ruler Öljeitu (r. 1304-16). See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Chapter Five: Safi d-Din Al-Hilli and His Qasida Sasaniyya," In *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld the Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 135.
[306] S&S Type 52, Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 164.
[307] Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition Supplement Volume 2* , trans. Joep Lameer (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 226.

Chapter 2:
PATRONAGE OF SCIENTIFIC TEXTS AND SCIENTISTS AT THE ARTUQID COURTS

2.1 Two Artuqid Cousins: Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan (r. 1144-67) and Najm al-Din Alpi (r. 1154-76)

Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan took over as the head of the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa when his father, Rukn al-Dawla Dawud ibn Sökmen died on July 22, 1144 (19 Muharram 539 H). Dawud's body was first taken from the city of Hani to Mayyafariqin and placed in the Muhaddatha Mosque for the public to visit him. The following day, he was taken to Hisn Kayfa and buried there. Qara Arslan seized control of Hisn Kayfa, Kharput, and Balu (Palu), while his brother Arslan Toghmish took over the fortress of Mizgard (today Mazgirt).[308] Moreover, the Zengid ruler of Mosul, ʿImad al-Din Zengi, Dawud's regional rival, refused to recognize Qara Arslan's authority and captured lands that belonged to Dawud, including Hani, Isʿird (today Siirt), Jabal Jur (today Bingöl), and other places.[309]

Timurtash was Zengi's vassal and acted against Dawud, then his son Qara Arslan, and the lord of Amid whom he and Zengi surrounded in 1133.[310] However, Zengi's capture of Dawud's lands after his death intimidated Husam al-Din Timurtash. Still, when Imad al-Din died in 1146, both Qara Arslan and Timurtash were relieved and could reclaim some of their lost territories. Timurtash even conquered former places of Dawud, such as Hani and Siwan.[311] Timurtash and Qara Arslan had an uneasy relationship. Before the Zengi's death, Qara Arslan was defeated by Timurtash at the citadel of Baghin, located northwest of Mayyafariqin, in 1145/50 (540).[312] Timurtash also besieged Isʿird for days and took it, but he returned it to Qara Arslan after a while.[313]

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[308] Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195*, 214. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 73-4. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 105-6. In footnote 117, Hillenbrand mentions that this mosque was built by the Marwanid ruler Nasir al-Dawla in Mayyafariqin in 1031/2 (423 H).

[309] Michael the Great, 214. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 74. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 107-8.

[310] Claude Cahen, "Artuḳids," *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Online Version.

[311] Carole Hillenbrand, "The Establishment of Artuqid Power in Diyar Bakr in the Twelfth Century," *Studia Islamica*, no. 54 (1981): 145-6. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 119.

[312] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 111. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 77.

[313] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 83.

Husam al-Din Timurtash died in Mardin on January 19, 1154 (2 Dhu'l-Qaʿda 548), and his son Najm al-Din Alpi took over the administration.[314] Three years later, a disagreement emerged between him and Qara Arslan. After marching into each other's territory, the two dispersed peacefully and eventually made peace.[315] Based on the limited written evidence, Qara Arslan's relationship with Najm al-Din Alpi was generally friendly. A marriage alliance has been formed to strengthen their relationship. The marriage of Qara Arslan's daughter and Najm al-Din Alpi's son Qutb al-Din Ilghazi was agreed upon in October 1164, and it took place in December.[316] The surviving chronicles contain extensive information about political and military events that occurred during the reigns of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan and Najm al-Din Alpi. Unfortunately, information about both their characters and patronage movements in the fields of science and culture is scarce. Although Ibn al-Azraq mentions some of the structures they built, the details of their scholarly interests can be learned from existing manuscripts commissioned by them and the lives of scientists and thinkers employed in their courts. This section seeks to bring together small pieces of information about both Artuqid lords to shed light on their intellectual interests, reading habits, and coinage designs.

2.1.1 Najm al-Din Alpi's Interest in the Aristotelian Cosmology

The early royal commissions of the scientific manuscripts in the Artuqid palaces started in the reign of Najm al-Din Alpi. A revised Arabic translation of Aristotle's famed book *De Caelo* (*On the Heavens*) was presented to Najm al-Din Alpi in 1158 (553 H). The book, whose Arabic translation is named *Kitāb al-Samāʾ wa-l-ʿālam* (*Book on the Heaven and the World*), was prepared by a Christian physician Mihran ibn Mansur ibn Mihran al-Masihi.[317] The original manuscript has not survived, but an example copied

[314] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 141. Ibn al-Athir reports the date as 1152/53 (547 H). Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin,* 167.

[315] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 121.

[316] Hüseyin Kayhan, "Fahreddîn Kara Arslan Devri Artuklu Tarihi," *Belleten* 72, (2008): 59. Al-ʿAntari's Poem 157 also talks about this marriage alliance. He was with Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan when they moved from Kharput to Hisn Kayfa, they disambarked at Hani for a while. Al-ʿAntari describes that the wedding took place in Hisn Kayfa and the kings of Diyar Bakr, the country of Romans and Akhlat (probably means the Asia Minor), and Mosul gathered around Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan. See Al-ʿAntarī, 192.

[317] The *nisba* "*al-Masīḥī*" stands for "the Christian." Gerhard Endress, "'One-Volume Libraries' and the Traditions of Learning in Medieval Arabic Islamic Culture," in *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, ed. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 202. Alan C. Bowen and Christian Wildberg, *New Perspectives on Aristotle's De Caelo,* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 289.

from the book of Najm al-Din Alpi is preserved today in the Astan Quds Razavi Library in Mashhad, Iran (Figure 2.1).[318] Mihran utilizes the early ninth-century Syriac translation of Yahya (Yuhanna) ibn al-Bitriq (d. 806). The exemplar of Mashhad 149 contains the complete work of Aristotle's original text consisting of four books. The colophon, which includes information about Mihran ibn Mansur and the Artuqid copy, is located at the end of Book IV, the last section.[319] Mihran ibn Mansur corrects and clarifies parts of al-Bitriq's translation in his revision of *De Caelo*'s Book I, Chapters 1-6. The high quality of Mihran's revision is thought to be a result of his access to the Greek original or the possible use of "commentaries and glosses available in Greek or Syriac" about *De Caelo*.[320] Mihran's translation reflects how he took an active role in transmitting the ancient legacy into a new context by revising the mistakes of former actors.

Figure 2.1. MS. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 149, dated 1055 H (1645/6) Astan Quds Razavi Library, Mashhad (Endress, 2006).

[318] Registered as MS. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 149. Gerhard Endress, "Reading Avicenna in the Madrasa. Intellectual Genealogies and Chains of Transmission of Philosophy and the Sciences in the Islamic East," in *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy: From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*, ed. James E. Montgomery (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 381.
[319] I am grateful to Professor Gerhard Endress for sharing these details with me.
[320] Gerhard Endress, "Ibn Al-Ṭayyib's Arabic Version and Commentary of Aristotle's De Caelo," *Studia Graeco-Arabica* 7 (2017): 222-3.

It is also challenging to identify what piqued Najm al-Din Alpi's interest in Aristotelian cosmology. However, there is a potential source of influence: scholar Ibn al-Salah. One of the commentaries written by Ibn al-Salah focuses on an argument in Aristotle's *De Caelo*'s Book III. Al-Salah discovered the flaw in Aristotle's argument while reading Yahya ibn al-Bitriq's Arabic translation. Assuming that the translator caused this error, he compared it to two other Arabic translations prepared from the Syriac translation of the book by Ibn Zurʿa (d. 1008) and Ibn al-Tayyip (d. 1043). Ibn al-Salah also examined commentaries of ancient thinkers Themistius and Alexander of Aphrodisias about *De Caelo.*[321] He eventually realized that the problem emerged from Aristotle's original text in Greek.[322] It is not known when Ibn al-Salah's commentary was completed. Still, Hullmeine argues that al-Salah probably worked on it before moving to Mardin. Al-Salah also mentions that he had a text of al-Farabi's comments brought from Damascus to Baghdad because he could not access it for his analysis.[323]

Ibn al-Salah might have shared his expertise on the study of *De Caelo* with his students in Mardin. It is possible that Ibn al-Salah trained Artuqid family members, for instance, "philosopher ruler" Timurtash and his sons, particularly Najm al-Din Alpi, and possibly scientists Fakhr al-Din Mardini and Mihran ibn Mansur. It was mentioned in the first section of Chapter 1 that Fakhr al-Din al-Mardini learned philosophy from al-Salah. Al-Mardini's life provides hints to speculate on al-Salah's possible arrival date and duration of his stay. Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa reports that Fakhr al-Din Mardini was eighty-two-year-old when he died on October 24, 1198 (21 Dhu'l-Hijja 594 H).[324] Based on this information, al-Mardini was born in 1118 (512 H). Timurtash's reign started in 1122. Even if he invited al-Salah to his court then, it is improbable that al-Mardini could begin learning philosophy at the age of four. Al-Salah should have stayed longer or arrived later. Furthermore, Ibn al-Azraq says that Alpi was born in 1126/7 (520 H).[325] If Najm al-Din Alpi had been trained at the court by Ibn al-Salah, it could have happened after the 1135s.

[321] Hullmeine, 219. Endress, "Ibn Al-Ṭayyib's Arabic Version and Commentary of Aristotle's De Caelo," 215-6.
[322] Hullmeine, 221.
[323] Hullmeine, 220.
[324] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "10.75 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī."
[325] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 40. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 50.

2.1.2 Two Artuqid Translations of De Materia Medica

Najm al-Din Alpi enhanced his knowledge of ancient cosmology with his *De Caelo* copy, meanwhile, his cousin Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan had *De Materia Medica* (*On Medical Matters*), the classical world's foremost text on botany and pharmacology, translated into Arabic. The book was originally written in Ancient Greek by Dioscurides of Anazarbos (d. 90). Its Arabic translations are called *Kitāb al-ḥashāʾish fī hayūlāʿilāj al-ṭibb* (*Book of Simples, on the Substances Used for Medical Treatment*). Qara Arslan appointed Abu Salim al-Malati (from Melitene, modern Malatya) for this project. Al-Malati used the Syriac translation prepared by Nestorian physician Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d. 873).[326] An event happened to prove that both Artuqid courts had not only political and domestic relations, but also cultural and scientific interactions. A copy of *De Materia Medica* arrived at Najm al-Din Alpi's court in Mardin. It is unclear whether Qara Arslan sent this sample as a gift or Najm al-Din Alpi requested that Qara Arslan send him a personal copy to review. However, Alpi and his courtiers considered al-Malati's translation incomplete and problematic. Alpi further decided to have a new translation done. The second translation of *De Materia Medica* was completed in 1164 (560 H) by Mihran ibn Mansur, the former translator of *De Caelo* for Alpi. Mihran also utilized the Syriac translation of Hunayn ibn Ishaq for this new Arabic version.[327]

In his introductory text, Mihran ibn Mansur shares invaluable details about Qara Arslan and Alpi's intellectual level, their courts, and the patronage process of this manuscript. Mihran refers to Qara Arslan as both Alpi's "brother and cousin" and "the learned and great man of justice" when describing the events that occurred before the preparation of his translation.[328] His description of Qara Arslan reveals a reasonably close relationship between Alpi and him. When Qara Arslan decided to have *De Materia Medica* translated, he began looking for a scholar who knew both Syriac and Arabic, and al-Malati was suggested for the task. After the book reached the palace in Mardin, Najm al-Din carefully read it and realized that "the Arabic words were not clear and precise, and the translation still contained the Syriac idioms of al-Mal(a)ti as he learned Arabic

[326] Dimitri Gutas, "The Arabic Transmission of Dioskurides: Philology Triumphant," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 132, no. 3 (2012): 458. Hunayn ibn Ishaq was working as the chief physician of Abbasid Caliph al-Muwakkil (r. 847-861).
[327] A. Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti XI-XIV üncü Asırlar: Büyük Selçuk İmparatorluğu ve Orta Zamanda Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tababeti Tarihine Dair* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1940), 20.
[328] Mahmoud Mohamed Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides* (Québec: Les Éditions du Sphinx, 1983), 38.

only late in age."[329] Abu Salim al-Malati's insufficient Arabic proficiency may reveal information about his identity. Given his proficiency in Syriac and his birthplace, Melitene, he was most likely of Syriac-Christian descent.[330]

Najm al-Din ordered the youngest of his courtiers, consisting of slaves and servants, to translate this book into Arabic.[331] Mihran ibn Mansur provides essential details about the composition of Alpi's court: it consists of "slaves," most likely *ghulām*[332] origin, and "servants." Mihran also defined himself as the youngest servant since he took responsibility for the translation project.[333] Regarding Najm al-Din's education level, Mihran remarks that "with his great knowledge – may it be forever great (Najm al-Din) knew about the benefits of such an important book, a great scientific work such as never previously had been written."[334] In the second part of his text, Mihran ibn Mansur emphasizes Alpi's high intellectual level after praising him in the first part of his text and listing his accomplishments and titles. In the eyes of Mihran ibn Mansur, Alpi was "a sage dressed in wisdom and a king robed in kingmanship."[335] Recalling that his father, Husam al-Din Timurtash, was also known as a "philosopher and sage," as the first part of Chapter 1 shows, Alpi's genuine interest in ancient sciences, like his father, is a reflection of the self-image he formed.

It is crucial to underline that Mihran may have a positive bias, like chronicler Ibn al-Azraq towards the Artuqid lords he served. When his text is evaluated with Alpi's patronage activities, a more nuanced and objective profile of the Artuqid lord can be identified. Furthermore, Alpi was not alone in realizing the significance of this famous botanical book. His cousin, Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, should also be aware of the book's medical value. Unfortunately, because Mihran is Alpi's slave/servant, he does not provide much information about Qara Arslan in his introductory text.

The two surviving Arabic manuscripts of *De Materia Medica* are linked to the original copies prepared for Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan and Najm al-Din Alpi. First, Abu Salim Malati's translation is believed to have survived in MS. Arabe 4947 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF) in Paris. MS. Arabe 4947, which has the distinction of being the only Arabic translation written on parchment and is made up of

[329] Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides,* 39.
[330] Ibid, 11.
[331] Ibid, 39.
[332] Young male slave. The term literally means young boy/man in Arabic.
[333] Ibid, 38.
[334] Ibid, 38.
[335] Ibid, 37.

124 folios. The incomplete text includes specific fragments from all five books of *De Materia Medica*.[336] It has no colophon and contains 160 illustrations depicting trees, plants, and some animals (Figure 2.2). Unfortunately, this manuscript is in bad condition "with pieces of blank parchment cut out, many losses, and the order disturbed.[337] According to Sadek, MS. Arabe 4947 is the genuine copy al-Malati created for Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan. He further argues that other factors support his position. First, the text was dated to the twelfth century by art historian Kurt Weitzmann due to its "profuse use of diacritical marks."[338] The use of parchment also was widespread in the Diyar Bakr region.[339]

The handwritten note on folio 19v names the scribe Behnam ibn Musa ibn Yusuf al-Mawsili who copied the book.[340] This identical copy of MS. Arabe 4947 is dated 1229 (626 H) and is thought to be MS. Ahmet III 2127 in Topkapı Palace Library (Figure 2.3).[341] MS. Ahmet III 2127's Arabic level is also inadequate, strengthening its relationship to MS. Arabe 4947. Furthermore, Sadek suggests that the Mosul-born Christian scribe al-Mawsili could have visited the library Qara Arslan in the cities of Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid and copied the book.[342] There is another scenario that could be possible. Given that al-Malati's translation reached Najm al-Din Alpi's court, al-Mawsili may have accessed the book in Husam al-Din Timurtash's library in the *mashhad* of Mardin.

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[336] Ernst J. Grube, "Materialien Zum Dioskurides Arabicus," in *Aus Der Welt Der Islamischen Kunst: Festschrift Für Ernst Kühnel Zum 75. Geburtstag Am 26. 10. 1957*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1959), 170.

[337] Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions* (London: British Library, 2000), 124.

[338] Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides,* 11.

[339] Ibid, 11.

[340] Al-Mawsili's manuscript is scriber of one of the *De Materia Medica* copies having author portraits of Dioscorides. The author portraits were frequently included in the illustrations in Islamicate socities. The producers of these manuscripts were inspired by the classical style author portraits from late antique and Byzantine scientific manuscripts. In a way, these legacy was transmitted to the Islamicate context in the thirteenth century. The authors portraits can be used as useful examples for discussing the issue of "translation" through art history.

Based on the qualitiy and iconography of depictions, Hoffman argues that the artist might have access to the late antique copies of Dioscorides's work. See Eva R. Hoffman,"The Author Portrait in Thirteenth-Century Arabic Manuscripts: A New Islamic Context for a Late-Antique Tradition," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 6-20.

[341] Sadek, 10, 17. See, Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti XI-XIV üncü Asırlar: Büyük Selçuk İmparatorluğu ve Orta Zamanda Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tababeti Tarihine Dair,* 20-1. Ünver claims that Najm al-Din Alpi also commissioned the first copy of *De Materia Medica*, but this contradicts Mihran's introductory text. He might not have personally studied the manuscript.

[342] Sadek, 11.

Figure 2.2. Depictions of seahorse and shellfish (f.20v) and lavender (f.53r), *De Materia Medica*, MS. Arabe 4947, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 2.3. Depiction of *Persea* and the handwritten note of al-Mawsili, *De Materia Medica,* MS. Arabe 4947, f.19v, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Mihran ibn Mansur's translation of *De Materia Medica* is believed to be held in Imam Reza Shrine Library in Mashhad, Iran.[343] This manuscript, registered as MS. Riḍā 5079 ṭibb 490, is composed of 284 folios, with depictions of 677 plants and 284 animals.[344] The complete text has five books of *De Materia Medica*. The illustrations are depicted in large sizes. The book has features indicating that it is an expensive copy of *De Materia Medica*, similar to the MS. Arabe 4947 in Paris. The quality of the book and the richness of its illustrations thus reinforce its possible royal ties with Najm al-Din Alpi and his court.[345] Sadek considers Mihran ibn Mansur's translation "as the best that has come down to us."[346] Mihran writes the names of some plants with red ink in the Syriac language; thus, it implies that the translator did not know their Arabic versions. For practical reasons, physicians who could use this manuscript needed to be fluent in Arabic and Syriac.[347] Moreover, the Topkapı Palace Library houses a manuscript with Persian and Arabic translations of the book. The Arabic translation dated 1461 (866 H) in MS. Ahmet III 2147 is a copy of Mihran's translation in Mashhad. In the Persian translation, most illustrations are depicted in the same way as the Mashhad copy.[348] The most important feature of the Topkapı exemplar is the introductory text written by Mihran ibn Mansur. Because the Mashhad copy lacks a colophon, and its date is confirmed by Ahmet III 2147.[349]

Few illustrations from the Mashhad manuscript have been published until today, and the book, contrary to Arabe 4947 in Paris, is not digitally accessible. It is difficult to say whether Arabe 4947 had figures because not all of Arabe 4947 has survived, but figurative depictions engaged in the extraction and preparation of medicines are shown in the Mashhad copy.[350] One of the four figurative illustrations in the Mashhad copy shows two men extracting sap from a balsam tree (Figure 2.4). Day argues that the man on the right is wearing a twelfth-century Muslim garment with *tiraz* (embroidery) bands. The older man on the left is depicted with long hair and a halo. He wears clothing with advanced folds of drapery reminiscent of early Syriac manuscripts and Eastern Christian

[343] Ibid, 16-7.
[344] Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Band III: Medizin-Pharmazie, Zoologie-Tierheilkunde. Bis ca. 430 H* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1996), 60. Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions,* 126. Grube, "Materialien Zum Dioskurides Arabicus," 171.
[345] Collins, 126.
[346] Sadek, 203.
[347] Grube, "Materialien Zum Dioskurides Arabicus," 171. Collins, 126.
[348] Sadek, 16.
[349] Sadek, 10, 16. Florence E. Day, "Mesopotamian Manuscripts of Dioscorides," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 8, no. 9 (1950): 274.
[350] Grube, "Materialien Zum Dioskurides Arabicus," 185.

iconography. Mihran ibn Mansur also utilizes the Estrangelo or Jacobite script in Syriac titles, which was commonly used in the Jazira region.[351] A note in Book IV of the Mashhad manuscript reveals that both the scribe and the painter were involved in the production process. The scribe criticizes the painter (*al-musawwir*) for placing the plant illustrations in the wrong order.[352] This artist, whose background is unknown, might also significantly contribute to these iconographic details.

Figure 2.4. Depiction of two men extracting sap from a balsam tree, *De Materia Medica,* MS. Riḍā 5079 ṭibb 490, Imam Reza Shrine Library, Mashhad (Day, "Mesopotamian Manuscripts of Dioscorides," 276).

The Syriac *De Materia Medica*, which Mihran used, may have served as a model not only for the text but also for the illustrations. Mihran, who did not specify where his

[351] Day, "Mesopotamian Manuscripts of Dioscorides," 275.
[352] Ibid, 278-9.

Syriac copy was made, may have obtained it from a nearby center specializing in producing Syriac scientific manuscripts. The strong connection with the Syriac iconography might have resulted from Syriac Orthodox (Jacobite) and Nestorian manuscript production in the northern Jazira region, especially Tur Abdin in Mardin.[353] The date of Mihran's translation coincides with the so-called "Syriac renaissance" used to define the increasing Syriac literary productivity between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Apart from translating *De Materia Medica*, it is possible that Mihran ibn Mansur, who has advanced medical and botanical knowledge, might have worked as a court physician for Najm al-Din Alpi. Mihran's position as physician-translator in transmitting Greek legacy into the Artuqid context is reminiscent of his predecessors in the Abbasid Caliphate, who acted as carriers of Greek knowledge into the Arabic world.[354] In this context, Qara Arslan's and Najm al-Din Alpi's initiatives in the translation project can manifest their crucial support for scientific study in the Artuqid realms.

2.1.3 The Relations with the non-Muslim Population

The patronage of Abu Salim al-Malati and Mihran ibn Mansur by Qara Arslan and Alpi represents the state of their relationship with the non-Muslim population in the Artuqid cities. The chronicles contain limited information about Artuqid lords' attitudes toward non-Muslims generally. The Syriac patriarch Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) shares specific details about the treatment of the non-Muslim population. In his chronicle, Michael the Syrian remarks that Najm al-Din Alpi was kind and generous to the people he ruled, especially towards the Christians, and churches and monasteries flourished during his reign.[355] Indeed, Michael the Syrian's statement coincides with the large-scale renovations and restorations of decayed Syriac Orthodox monasteries and churches in the region carried out by metropolitan Mor Yuhannon (John) of Mardin between 1125 and 1165.[356] He re-founded the Monastery of Mor Hananyo (Dayr al-Zaʿfarān) in Mardin and

[353] Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions,* 127.
[354] For an overview about the Syriac physicians involved in the translation movement in the Abbasid Caliphate, See Grigory Kessel, "Syriac Medicine," in *The Syriac World*, ed. Daniel King (New York: Routledge, 2019), 438-459.
[355] Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195*, 382. Michael the Great, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, trans. Matti Moosa (Teaneck, NJ: Beth Antioch Press, 2014), 711.
[356] William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London: Adam and Charles, 1894), 244-5.

revived the monastic life.[357] Mor Yuhannon was an expert in scriptures and ancient sciences and was known to be a "land surveyor and practical engineer."[358] The rulers of his time acknowledged and appreciated his success in diverting rivers and tributaries in Mesopotamia.[359]

Mor Yuhannon most likely received support and attention from the Artuqid lords, especially the lovers of science Husam al-Din Timurtash and his son Najm al-Din Alpi. It is not a coincidence that Mihran was among the servants of Alpi and was close to him since it was compatible with Alpi's positive attitude towards his Christian subjects. Husam al-Din Timurtash's relations with Christians were reported to be hostile, even though Mor Yuhannon could do much active work for the Christian community during his reign.[360] According to the only surviving Syriac copy of Michael the Syrian's chronicle, the Edessa Codex, translated into French by Jean-Baptiste Chabot, Timurtash did not treat Christians well during his reign but advised his sons to treat them at the time of his death.[361] Carole Hillenbrand, who drew attention to Michael the Syrian's testimony, emphasizes that Michael the Syrian, like Ibn al-Azraq, may have a potential bias, and it would be difficult to draw broad conclusions about Timurtash from a single statement.[362]

Two recent English translations based on the Edessa Codex do not include this testimony about Timurtash's anti-Christian behavior. Matti Moosa argues that Jean-Baptiste Chabot completed all of the missing parts he saw in the Edessa Codex from the chronicle of Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286).[363] Indeed, this testimony about Timurtash was written by Bar Hebraeus.[364] As if the chronicler said it, Chabot incorporated it into Michael the Syrian's translation. Bar Hebraeus does not specify his source. However, Bar Hebraeus might have taken Michael the Syrian's testimony as a reference stating that

[357] Sebastian P. Brock, "Yuḥanon of Mardin," Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition (Beth Mardutho, The Syriac Institute/Gorgias Press, 2018), https://gedsh.bethmar dutho.org/Yuhanon-of-Mardin.
[358] Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature,* 245. Michael the Great, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, 666.
[359] Michael the Great, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, 666.
[360] Based on Syriac sources, Mor Yuhannon is believed to be involved in rebuilding and renovation of fifty monasteries and churches affiliated to the Metropolitan of Mardin . See Gabriyel Akyüz, "Süryanilerin Artuklularla İlişkileri," in *Artuklular,* ed. Özcoşar İbrahim (Mardin: Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2020), 316.
[361] Michel le Syrien, *Chronique De Michel le Syrien Patriarche Jacobite D'Antioche: 1166-1199, vol.3.,* trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot (Paris: E. Leroux, 1905), 311.
[362] Hillenbrand, "The Establishment of Artuqid Power in Diyar Bakr in the Twelfth Century," 151.
[363] Michael the Great, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, 27.
[364] Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus: Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, 282.

many people died in the ambush in Edessa, which the Turks carried out with Husam al-Din Timurtash in 1138. The survivors, such as deacon, philosopher, and physician Abu Sa'ad from Sumaysat (today Samsat in Adıyaman) were enslaved.[365]

In the two abridged Armenian versions of Michael the Great's chronicle, an interesting anecdote about Timurtash was incorporated into Michael the Syrian's chronicle. It is not found in the Syriac Edessa Codex, and the accuracy and source of the story are questionable. According to this thirteenth-century Armenian addition, Artuqid lord Husam al-Din Timurtash was a "good, philo-Christian man" who carried out the rebuilding of churches. While the doctors lost all hope after he contracted a deadly disease, Timurtash placed his hope of salvation on the prayers of the Christians living in his land. Christians brought the relic of the saint's right hand from the Monastery of Mor Abai to the house of Timurtash, where the Artuqid lord saw a vision of the saint and talked to him. The saint cured him. "There was great comfort for the Christians and the churches throughout his reign at Mardin, Nisibis, Mayyafariqin, Rasala, Tara, and many other places under his sway."[366] It is unknown whether Bar Hebraeus had access to these two Armenian adaptations mentioning this story. Still, he remarks in his book that Saint Abai appeared in a vision of Husam al-Din Timurtash, confirming the Armenian version of the story.[367] The same testimony also appears in the translation of Chabot.[368]

A curious connection between the Artuqid family and the Mor Abai Monastery needs to be emphasized. In addition to the vision associated with Timurtash, another Artuqid lord was also interested in the Mor Abai Monastery. The great-grandson of Timurtash, al-Sa'id Najm al-Din Ghazi I (r. 1239-60), played an active role in the rebuilding of Mor Abai Monastery near the Qelleth (today Dereiçi) village in Savur

[365] Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195*, 190.
[366] The full anecdote says: Timurtash "was an Artukid, a good and philo-Christian man who, as a result, [re]built many churches. Now [Timurtash] grew ill with a fatal illness, [so dangerous] that the doctors abandoned hope and left [off treating him] and departed. Timurtash] placed his hopes on the prayers of Christians and sent to the monastery of Mor Aba [Iba], and they brought [the relic of the saint's] right hand. When they had entered [Timurtash's] home, they saw a fiery man who went and took [Timurtash's] hand. And [Timurtash] asked: "Who are you, lord?" [The saint] replied: "The Christians sent me [here] so that you would not die." [The saint] restored him, and then [Timurtash] sat and glorified God and was made well again. There was great comfort for the Christians and the churches throughout his reign at Mardin, Nisibis, Mup'arkin (Mayyafariqin), Rasala, Tara, and many other places under his sway. Similarly, after his death, his sons displayed the same solicitousness for Christians as he had bid them." See Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians*, trans. Robert Bedrosian (New Jersey: Long Branch, 2013), 178.
[367] Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus: Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, 282.
[368] Michel le Syrien, *Chronique De Michel le Syrien Patriarche Jacobite D'Antioche: 1166-1199, vol.3.,* 311.

district of Mardin.[369] Two existing inscriptions attest to Najm al-Din Ghazi's involvement and support in the reconstruction project. Moreover, the building was connected with the Monastery of Mor Hananyo (Dayr al-Zaʿfarān) during bishop Mor Yuhannon's tenure. The bishop was also believed to contribute to the structure's restoration and enlargement in the twelfth century.[370] Existing material and written sources cannot fully explain the origin and accuracy of Timurtash's vision of Saint Abai and his relation to the monastery in the Armenian adaptation of Michael the Syrian. With the example of Mor Yuhannon in mind, however, it is helpful to evaluate the possibility that this narrative might have created for explaining the nature of relations between Timurtash, the Artuqid lords who followed him, and their Syriac subjects.

Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan's interactions with Christians are the subject of a few anecdotes as well. The first testimony is related to the Gargar event. Michael the Syrian narrates that after the Franks' defeat in 1149, Qara Arslan sent an army to conquer Babula (today Geçitli village) in Adıyaman. Gargar (today Gerger) residents took refuge at the Syriac Monastery of Barsawmo located on the mount of Mor Barsawmo in Melitene (today Malatya). Qara Arslan's troops demolished the houses, wine presses, and vineyard hedges around the monastery because it did not surrender Gargar's women, children, and men. The troops took sheep, oxen, and prisoners. The monks met with Qara Arslan in Hisn Ziyad (Kharput). Through saint (Mor) Barsawmo's prayers, the Artuqid lord felt God's mercy in his heart and returned the people, property, and livestock. There was happiness all around.[371]

The second anecdote tells that an Armenian priest named Joseph built a church in the village of Bargish located in Enzite (today Doğankuş village of Elazığ) in 1152. Qara Arslan was angry to see the church shining. Some Turks hating the priest told him, "Whenever a new church is built, the local ruler dies." Qara Arslan's orders destroyed the church and imprisoned the priest. The priest was executed even though the inhabitants of Hisn Ziyad (Kharput) tried to intercede. From then on, no new churches or renovations were allowed in all lands of Beth-nahrin (Mesopotamia in Syriac). The Christians suffered until Qara Arslan's death. During the reign of his son, Christians in his dominion

[369] Banu Pekol, "Mor Abay Monastery," in *Syriac Architectural Heritage at Risk*, ed. Elif Keser-Kayaalp (Istanbul: Kültürel Mirası Koruma Derneği, 2022), 18-22.
[370] Ibid, 18-9.
[371] Michael the Great, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, 682. Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195,* 276-8.

offered him an excessive amount of gold, which would have allowed them to renovate every old church in his realm. This command gave Christians everywhere relief.[372]

Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan is depicted as a very different person in the two testimonies written by Michael the Syrian. In the first story, it is possible to say that Qara Arslan possesses a more approachable and understandable ruler profile. In the second story, he is portrayed as someone with very fanatic religious views and makes ruthless decisions, which contrasts with the first story. When considering the sentence attributed to the Turks who despised the priest, Qara Arslan may have favored superstition if he believed it and thought it might be true. It is necessary to consider chronicler Michael the Syrian's potential prejudice to address the problems in two stories. First of all, the rule that claimed to prohibit the construction and renovation of the new churches in Mesopotamia has a discourse that contradicts Mor Yuhannon's work on rebuilding and renovating monasteries and churches in Mardin. However, there is not enough written evidence to prove whether Qara Arslan carried out this prohibition in his territories.

More information is available regarding the religious views of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan in contrast to Timurtash and Alpi. In 1164, Qara Arslan, who did not take a very enthusiastic stance against Nur al-Din Mahmud ibn ʿImad al-Din Zengi's (r. 1146-74) call for holy war, reluctantly supported the war. He personally participated because of the fear of his subjects as well as possible political and military pressures from Nur al-Din Mahmud due to his vassal status. His cousin Najm al-Din Alpi also sent troops to this expedition.[373] One year later, the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustanjid Billah (r. 1160-70) and the Islamic profession of faith (*kalimat al-shahāda*) appeared for the first time on an Artuqid coin minted by Qara Arslan in 1165.[374]

These two Kufic inscriptions can be found in the portrait's upper right and left corners. The relief portrait is a three-quarter view facing toward the left within a beaded circle (Figure 2.5).[375] The long-haired, almond-eyed figure's facial details are reminiscent of the abovementioned Sayf al-Din Ghazi II's coin (Figure 1.10). Yalman argues that the portrait on the obverse was "meant to represent the sun (personified as Helios or

[372] Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195,* 308. Michael the Great, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, 691.
[373] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 147.
[374] S&S Type 6. Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 19.
[375] Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia*, 151.

Apollo)."[376] The author also emphasizes that the iconography of a wreathed, clean-shaven bust reminds of the coin of Constantine the Great, where the emperor is depicted alongside the Roman official sun god, Sol Invictus.[377] It is intriguing to see how Qara Arslan combines solar symbolism with overtly religious connotations and messages in his coin design. Since there are deliberate changes in the iconography, this contradicts the dominant "copying" argument in the Orientalist scholarship.

Figure 2.5. Coin of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan (r. 1144-67), 1165 (560 H), copper dirham, 29 mm, 12.15 gr, Yapı Kredi Vedat Nedim Tör Museum, Inv.15884, Istanbul (Şentürk, *What the Coins Tell Us*, 41).

2.1.4 The Time of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan and His Constructed Identity

Based on his situation with Nur al-Din Mahmud, it can be underlined that Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan was not a fanatic Sunni Orthodox leader who would eagerly participate in the holy war against the Crusaders. However, he presents himself as a deeply religious sovereign in his self-constructed identity. An undated coin of Qara Arslan depicts the enthroned Christ with a nimbus and holding a codex on the obverse within a double-beaded circle (Figure 2.6). Its Christian iconography is based on the Bronze folles of Byzantium.[378] Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan's epithet is written in vertical Kufic script to the right and left of the throne.[379] Qara Arslan's titalature is "the Helper of

[376] Yalman, "'Ala Al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seljuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," 159.
[377] Ibid, 160.
[378] S&S Type 2. Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 7-9.
[379] Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia,* 157.

the Commander of the Faithful" (*muʿīn amīr al-muʾminīn*), which appears only on this coin. Using this bold Islamic title, Qara Arslan introduces himself as the helper of the Abbasid Caliph.

Figure 2.6. Coin of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan (r. 1144-67), undated, copper dirham, 25 mm, 6.40 gr, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, Artuk 1202, Istanbul (Whelan, 2006, 157).

Aside from this undated coin, Qara Arslan uses this assertive titalature "the Helper of the Commander of the Faithful" in another context.[380] The dedicatory inscription on a manuscript kept as part of Qara Arslan's treasure illustrates that the Artuqid ruler was politically and religiously very ambitious. The copy of *Bustān al-ʿĀrifīn* (*The Garden of the Gnostics*), written by Hanafi theologian and ascetic Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi (d. 983), produced for Qara Arslan in 1162 (557 H). This manuscript focuses on ethics, piety, and Islamic law and is registered as MS. Ayasofya 1686 at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul.[381] The inscription reads:

> For the treasury of our king, the scholar, the just, the supported, the victorious, the helped, the reviver of justice, the pride of religion, the beauty of Islam, the supporter of the imam, the shelter of all creatures, the supporter of state, the glimmer of religion, the dignity of

[380] Whelan also draws attention to the use of this titalature. See Whelan, 157.
[381] A. Süheyl Ünver, "Artıklılar Kütüphaneleri Hakkında Yeni Tetkikler," in *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 15-20 Kasım 1943), Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1948), 222. See Joseph Schacht, "Abu'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī" *Encyclopedia of Islam Second Edition*, Online Version.

ummah (Muslim community), the majesty of kings, the sun of the sultans, the killer of infidels and polytheists, the crusher of atheism and rebels, the orbit of highness, the pride of the caliphate, the master of the princes of the East and the West, al-Harith (the Great Lion) Qara Arslan ibn Dawud ibn Sökmen ibn Artuq, the helper of the commander of the faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom (Figure 2.7).[382]

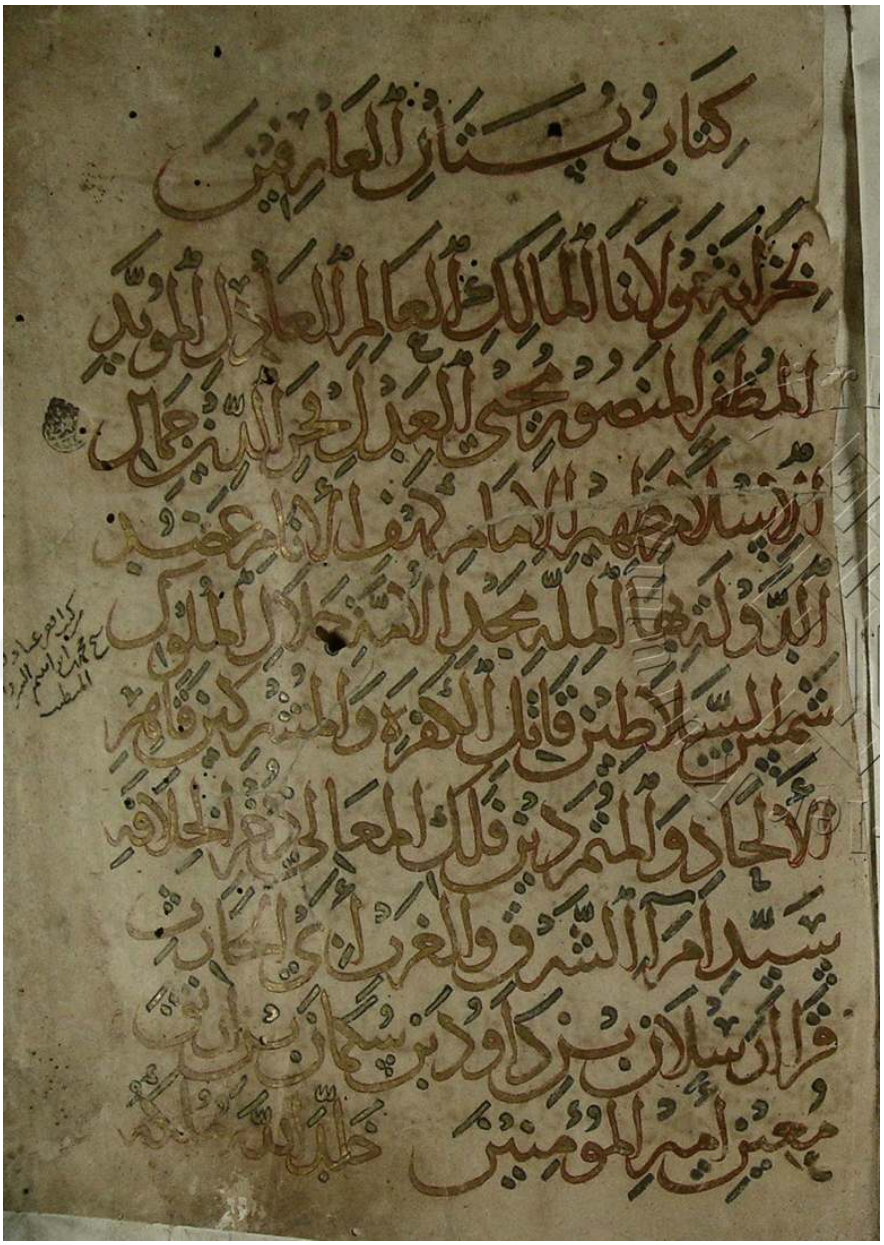

Figure 2.7. The dedicatory inscription of *Bustān al-ʿĀrifīn* (*The Garden of the Gnostics*) prepared for Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, 1162 (557 H), f.1r, MS. Ayasofya 1686, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul.

[382] Translation by the thesis author. See Naṣr ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Bustān al-ʿĀrifīn,* Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 1686, f.1r. Süheyl Ünver published the inscription in Arabic for the first time. See Ünver, "Artıklılar Kütüphaneleri Hakkında Yeni Tetkikler," 222.

In this manuscript, which proves the existence of Qara Arslan's private library, one encounters a much more detailed and confident ruler profile than seen on his coins. Due to the vassal status of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan and other Artuqid rulers, as well as their relations with stronger states in the Jaziran and Anatolian regions, the depiction of Qara Arslan in the dedicatory inscription can be seen as somewhat exaggerated and formulated. It is unknown if the Artuqid lord had any input into the content inscribed here. The scribe who copied the manuscript for Qara Arslan may have written it, and it would have been prepared to win the ruler's favor. Moreover, the manuscript's content reveals that Qara Arslan was also interested in reading religious manuals and learning details about the Hanafi branch of Sunni Islamic law, which might demonstrate his Hanafi background.[383] It is unknown whether a "public library" was founded by Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, like his cousin Husam al-Din Timurtash. However, Qara Arslan, who demonstrated his interest in ancient sciences and learning by initiating the *De Materia Medica* translation project, most probably established a private library, too.

Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan was also involved in scholarly patronage activities. The Artuqid court became an esteemed location to work and live during his reign. The Syrian poet, diplomat, and knight Usama Ibn Munqidh (d. 1188) spent ten years at the Artuqid court in Hisn Kayfa. In 1164, he first joined the service of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan. Then his presence continued under the Qara Arslan's son, Nur al-Din Muhammad starting in 1167. Then, he was invited to work at the court of Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din (r. 1171-93) in Damascus in 1174.[384] During his stay at Hisn Kayfa, Munqidh composed his books. He also wrote his book titled *Kitāb al-ʿAsā* (*Book of the Staff*), which includes his memoirs, anecdotes, encounters with the Crusaders, and information about the court of rulers of his time.[385]

While hunting at Hisn Kayfa with Qara Arslan, Munqidh documented his experiences. Munqidh portrays Qara Arslan as a medieval ruler who enjoys hunting.[386] Throughout medieval art, the "hunting scenes" recur as a common motif representing the princely cycle. Even though he was not a contemporary of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan,

[383] Another Artuqid ruler from Mardin branch, al-Muzaffar Qara Arslan (r. 1260-92) received a copy of *Mafāṭīḥ al-Ghayb* (*The Keys to the Unknown*) or *Kitāb al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (*The Great Commentary*) written by theologian Fakhr al-Din Razi (d.1210). The manuscript is registered as MS. Sultan Ahmet I 52 at the Süleymaniye Library. It was produced in 669 H (1270/1) in Basra, Iraq. See Ünver, "Artıklılar Kütüphaneleri Hakkında Yeni Tetkikler," 222-3.
[384] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. Paul Michael Cobb (London: Penguin, 2008), XXIX.
[385] Ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, XXIX.
[386] Ibid, 206.

Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (r. 1212-50) was also renowned for his falconry and hunting interests. Before 1250, Frederick II even wrote a treatise on falconry and ornithology entitled *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* (*On the Art of Hunting with Birds*) in Latin.[387]

After his contact with Husam al-Din Timurtash, philosopher and physician Ibn al-Saʾigh al-ʿAntari's reputation probably reached the Artuqid court at Hisn Kayfa. Al-ʿAntari was already known to the Artuqids of Mardin. Najm al-Din Alpi most likely met al-ʿAntari because Alpi was twelve years old when al-ʿAntari visited Timurtash's court in 1138/9, and he had written a poem to Alpi after Timurtash's death in 1154.[388] In the year 1163 (558 H), when Qara Arslan was conducting the siege of Amid (today Diyarbakır), he summoned al-ʿAntari to serve him in Melitene (today Malatya).[389] Meanwhile, Qara Arslan's father-in-law, Danishmendid ruler Nizam al-Din Yaghi-Basan (r. 1142-64), attacked Kharput and Çemişgezek in present-day Tunceli. Qara Arslan had to leave the siege to protect his lands.[390] Al-ʿAntari went to Kharput with Qara Arslan and waited until his correspondence and peace with Yaghi-Basan were finalized.[391]

Afterward, Qara Arslan joined the expedition in Syria, where he reluctantly assisted Nur al-Din Mahmud in 1164 (559 H). Before his departure to Syria, Qara Arslan ordered his vizier Jamal al-Din al-Khidr ibn Muhammad to look after al-ʿAntari.[392] On the other hand, Jamal al-Din abandoned him and went elsewhere. In his poem, al-ʿAntari reproaches Qara Arslan for being left alone.[393] It seems that the physician al-ʿAntari desperately needed the Artuqid lord's patronage in light of his reproach and disappointment in his poem. Later, al-ʿAntari was appointed as director of Hisn Kayfa's hospital (*bīmāristān*) in 1166, and he expressed that Qara Arslan treated him kindly.[394] Al-ʿAntari was preparing medicine recipes for some ministers and rulers he served.[395] Qara Arslan was also requesting al-ʿAntari to dispense him with special medical

[387] See Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, *The Art of Falconry: Being the De Arte Venandi Cum Avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, trans. Florence Marjorie Fyfe and Casey Albert Wood (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1943).
[388] Poem 180, See Al-ʿAntarī, 226.
[389] Al-ʿAntari wrote his prose introduction numbered 150 in 1164 (559 H), See Al-ʿAntarī, 180-1.
[390] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 135.
[391] Poem 152, See Al-ʿAntarī, 183.
[392] Poem 152, See Al-ʿAntarī, 17, 183.
[393] Poem 152, See Al-ʿAntarī, 184.
[394] Poem 162 and Poem 241, See Al-ʿAntarī, 202, 272.
[395] Al-ʿAntarī, 14.

recipes.[396] Although it has not survived, al-ʿAntari was the author of the book *Kitāb al-Aqrābādhīn* (*Book of the Medical Formulary*). He discusses compound medicines and medical formulas, indicating his competence in this field.[397]

Al-ʿAntari refers to his colleagues working at the hospital in Hisn Kayfa in his *Diwan*. After the death of his companion Abu al-Hasan ibn Abi Yasser al-Dabbasi, who lived for seventy-odd years, al-ʿAntari composed a lamentation for him. Al-Dabbasi was a kind, qualified physician treating the sick compassionately. He loved helping patients and only used medicines when necessary. He did not use medications that he believed were not perfectly prepared, so al-ʿAntari preferred to let the patient care for al-Dabbasi. At the same time, al-ʿAntari dealt with medicine composition after receiving his diagnosis and confirmation.[398] Besides, al-ʿAntari satirized the supervising physician named ʿAbd Allah in a hospital, which he did not specify but most likely was the hospital of Hisn Kayfa, for rebuking the patients and expelling them.[399]

Ibn al-Saʾigh al-ʿAntari is a significant eyewitness to Qara Arslan's reign since he informs about important events and their dates in his prose introductions to the poems. Evidence from his *Diwan* indicates that al-ʿAntari developed a close relationship with Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan during his stay at Hisn Kayfa. He wrote eulogies for Qara Arslan called "the Honoraries" (*al-fakhriyyat*).[400] The physician also wrote two poems in a row for Qara Arslan, who celebrated the Feast of the Sacrifice (*ʿEīd al-Aḍḥā*) in November 1164 and October 1165.[401] Even his son al-Muʾayyad contacted and paid a visit to Najm al-Din Alpi in Mardin and Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan in Hisn Kayfa.[402] Moreover, al-ʿAntari continued to live under the protection of the vizier Jamal al-Din al-

[396] The note at the end of Poem 160 presents interesting details about their patronage relationship and Qara Arslan's personal life. It reports: "He said: Prince Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan endowed his monthly salary in the state. Fakhr al-Din was famous for his fondness for coitus, which had exhausted him and weakened his power. Deep boils had appeared on the inside of his thighs and his testicles. He [Qara Arslan] asked him [al-ʿAntari] to prepare pastes and oils to be more sexually potent and help erectile dysfunction, but he [al-ʿAntari] did not. He [Qara Arslan] got angry with him and stopped his *dīwān* (council of state)." Al-ʿAntarī, 200. I am grateful to Ahmet Faruk Okatan for translating this note from Arabic to Turkish.

[397] Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "10.69 al-ʿAntarī" In *The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder, trans. Alasdair Watson and Geert Jan van Gelder (Brill Scholarly Editions, 2020. https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-tr-eng1:10.69/.

[398] Poem 789, See Al-ʿAntarī, 585-6.

[399] Poem 257, See Al-ʿAntarī, 281.

[400] Al-ʿAntarī, 19.

[401] Poem 158 (559 H), and Poem 166 (560 H), See Al-ʿAntarī, 193, 209.

[402] Poem 182 and Poem 192, See Al-ʿAntarī, 12, 227, 239.

Khidr ibn Muhammad after the death of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan.[403] After the vizier's death, al-ʿAntari wrote a lamentation for his new patron in 1169/70 (565 H).[404]

Figure 2.8.a-b. Coins of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan, obverse sides, left dated 570 H (1174/5), right dated 562 H (1166/7), copper dirhams, Inv. 1917.215.963 and Inv. 1919.143.1, American Numismatic Society, New York.

Al-ʿAntari's elegy, composed after Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan's death, clarifies the existing confusion in the scholarship concerning his death date. Ibn al-Azraq, an eyewitness of the time who served in various government positions for Husam al-Din Timurtash and Najm al-Din Alpi in the Mardin branch, and other chroniclers record Qara Arslan's death as 1167 (562 H).[405] While Ibn al-Athir only gives the year 562 H, Ibn al-Azraq records the full date as 18 July 1167 (28 Ramadan 562 H) and Bar Hebraeus as 17 July 1167.[406] It has been proposed in scholarship that Qara Arslan's reign may have been extended to the year 1174/5 due to the discovery of the last coin of Qara Arslan by orientalist-numismatist Stanley Lane Poole in 1875 (Figure 2.8a).[407] The coin minted in

[403] Poem 786, See Al-ʿAntarī, 577.
[404] Poem 792, See Al-ʿAntarī, 587.
[405] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 151.
[406] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 151. See Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 167. See Bar Hebraeus, 292.
[407] Type IV, See Lane-Poole, *The International Numismata Orientalia: Coins of the Urtuki, Turkumans,* 16. Carole Hillenbrand, "Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad," *Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition,* Online Version. Type IV, See Artuk and Artuk, Artukoğulları *Sikkeleri*, 77. İbrahim Artuk and Cevriye Artuk , *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslami Sikkeler Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970), 390-1. Edhem, *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin,* 28. Lane-Poole's argument is also accepted by İbrahim Artuk, Cevriye Artuk, and İsmail Galib Edhem, who extend Qara Arslan's reign until 1174/5 (570 H).

570 H depicts a bust portrait of a long-haired figure in frontal view set in a beaded circle, which is similar to that of the coin minted in 562 H but incorporates a small, winged figure, presumably representing victory on the right side (Figure 2.8b).[408] Both coins give the name of Qara Arslan and the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustanjid Billah (r. 1160-70). Whelan and Uykur argue that Nur al-Din Muhammad was on the throne during this time, and he minted this coin with the current date without changing his father's former inscription on the reverse. On the other hand, Spengler and Sayles interpret the name of the Caliph al-Mustanjid, who had died five years earlier, as Qara Arslan's refusal to recognize the new Caliph al-Mustadi (r. 1170-80).[409]

Ibn al-Saʾigh al-ʿAntari's prose introduction to his poem eliminates any uncertainty regarding Qara Arslan's death date and is consistent with the abovementioned written evidence. After Qara Arslan passed away, he composed this poem in the presence of the vizier Jamal al-Din al-Khidr ibn Muhammad. It is a combination of an elegy for Qara Arslan and a celebration of accession to the throne of his son, Nur al-Din Muhammad. In this note, al-ʿAntari records the date of his death as 17 July 1167, agreeing with Bar Hebraeus.[410] Ibn al-Azraq may have assigned the date one day later because he heard the news later. According to his book, Qara Arslan died in Kharput, but his body was transported to Hisn Kayfa via Mayyafariqin and buried in the tomb he constructed there.[411]

Kayhan argues that Ibn al-Azraq's testimony about Qara Arslan's death in 562 H contradicts his account of seeing him and his soldiers in 1175 (570 H).[412] Although Kayhan refers to Ahmet Savran's Turkish translation containing the testimony, there is a problem with Savran's translation casting doubt on Ibn al-Azraq's statement.[413] Based on a close reading of the facsimile of Ibn al-Azraq, the chronicle writes the following

[408] S&S Types 7 and 8, Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 21.

[409] As an interesting detail, both Whelan and Uykur place Nur al-Din Muhammad's regnal years between 1174 and 1185, contradicting their arguments. See Whelan, 170. See Uykur, *Madenden Yansıyan Tarih: Artuklu Sikkeleri*, 167-8. Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 24.

[410] Poem 785, Al-ʿAntarī, 576. The vizier Jamal al-Din al-Khidr died three years after Qara Arslan. The fact that the vizier was still alive when the composition was done further proves the reliability of the year 562 H. See Footnote 403.

[411] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 151. Ibn al-Azraq provides another clue about Qara Arslan's death. When discussing the death of his eldest son, al-Saʿid Nasr al-Din, in June in 1164 (Rajab 559 H), he mentions that Qara Arslan died shortly after his son. See Ibid, 136-7. Al-ʿAntari also wrote an undated elegy for al-Saʿid Nasr al-Din. Poem 780, See Al-ʿAntarī, 581.

[412] Kayhan, "Fahreddîn Kara Arslan Devri Artuklu Tarihi," 67.

[413] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 178-9.

information before seeing Fakhr al-Din and his army: "In the month of Dhu'l-Qaʿda (June 1175), Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn Qara Arslan decided to pass from Hisn Kayfa fortress to Kharput. The town of Amid was frightened by him, and there is no one left in the villages and fields."[414] Nur al-Din Muhammad is not mentioned in Savran's translation. Al-Azraq may have seen Nur al-Din Muhammad and his troops, but he wrote, "Fakr al-Din and his soldiers." In this case, a scribal error must be considered. Since there are other pieces of evidence that Nur al-Din Muhammad was on the throne at the time.[415]

2.2 The Descendants of Qara Arslan and Alpi

Nur al-Din Muhammad, who succeeded his father on the throne in 1167, reigned until 1185. According to Ibn al-Athir, Qara Arslan wrote to Nur al-Din Mahmud ibn Zengi on his deathbed, asking him to look after his son after he died.[416] Nur al-Din Muhammad, who remained loyal to Nur al-Din Mahmud on the battlefield, allied with Salah al-Din, ruler of the Ayyubids, after the Zengid ruler's death in 1174, and his vassal status continued.[417] Nur al-Din Muhammad was rewarded by the Ayyubid sultan with ownership of Amid, conquered in 1183, for his support of Salah al-Din's expeditions in Syria.[418] The previous ruling dynasty, the Inalids (r. 1095-1183), established Amid as an important cultural center and place of learning. According to the Syriac chronicler Bar Hebraeus, Amid said to have a library with nearly 1,400,000 books at the time, but Salah al-Din's vizier Qadi al-Fadil (d. 1200) took all the books from the city.[419] In another account, Shiʿite historian and poet Ibn Abi Tayyiʾ (d. 1228) reports that al-Fadil selected seventy loads of books from Amid for his library.[420] Nur al-Din Muhammad and the

[414] Ibn al-Azraq's book has survived to this day incompletely. It only consists of 200 folios. This event, which occurred in 1175, is described by the chronicler on the folio 198 of the existing manuscripts. See Ahmad ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Tārikh Mayyāfāriqīn*, ed. Karim Farouk El-Kholy and Yusuf Baluken (İstanbul: Nubihar Yayınları, 2014), 659.

[415] According to Ibn al-Athir, Qara Arslan's son Nur al-Din Muhammad militarily assisted Nur al-Din Mahmud ibn Zengi in conquering Sinjar on September 1170. Al-ʿAntari also wrote praise for Nur al-Din Muhammad in 1172 (567 H), where al-ʿAntari mentions "the majlis of Nur al-Din" and describes him as the "auspicious king (*malik*)" in Poem 177. Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 192. See Al-ʻAntarī, 215-220.

[416] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 167.

[417] Hillenbrand, "Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad."

[418] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 284.

[419] Alex Mallet, "Īnālids," *Encyclopaedia of Islam Third Edition*, Online Version. See Bar Hebraeus, 315.

[420] Şeşen, *Selahaddin Devrinde Eyyübiler Devleti (Hicri 569-589 / Miladi 1174-1193*, 269. Konrad Hirschler argues that this number is very unlikely reflecting the reality. He underlines that the narrative sources sometimes exaggerate the number of books in the medieval libraries. See Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue,* 4.

Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa appear to have taken over a significant center, prompting their interest in science and scholarly patronage.

While in Hisn Kayfa, Nur al-Din Muhammad had a medical book written for him before moving his court to Amid in 1183. Its author, physician, and mathematician al-Samawʾal ibn Yahya al-Maghribi (d. 1174?) was of Jewish origin but converted to Islam on November 8, 1163 (558 H) in Maragha.[421] After completing his religious education at the age of thirteen, al-Maghribi pursued further education in medicine and mathematical sciences (including algebra, geometry, and arithmetic) in Baghdad. He eventually moved to Maragha.[422] After settling in Diyar Bakr and Mosul for a while, al-Maghribi returned to his home in Maragha, where he would remain until his death.[423] He was a well-known physician who treated rulers in his time.[424] Myrne believes that al-Maghribi was probably staying in Diyar Bakr around 1167, where his path crossed with the Artuqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa and Hisn Ziyad.[425]

Al-Samawʾal's only surviving medical work, entitled *Nuzhat al-Aṣḥāb fī Muʿāsharat al-Aḥbāb fī ʿIlm al-Bāh* (*Pleasure Park for Friends on Intimate Relations with Their Beloveds*) was dedicated to Nur al-Din Muhammad at an unknown date.[426] The book is "essentially a treatise on sexology and a collection of erotic stories."[427] The

[421] Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition Supplement Volume 1*, 563. Brockelmann tells that there are disagreements about his death date. He gives the year 1174, but others believe al-Maghribi died as late as 576 or even 598.

[422] Ilias Fernini, *A Bibliography of Scholars in Medieval Islam: 150-1000 A.H. (750-1600 A.D.)* (Abu Dhabi: Cultural Foundation, 1998), 370.

[423] Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "11.21 al-Samawʾal," in *The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder, trans. Alasdair Watson, N. Peter Joosse and Geert Jan van Gelder (Brill Scholarly Editions, 2020), https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-tr-eng1:11.21/?q=alSamaw%CA%BEal&qk=form.

[424] Fernini, 371.

[425] Myrne, Pernilla. "Slaves for Pleasure in Arabic Sex and Slave Purchase Manuals from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries," *Journal of Global Slavery* 4, no. 2 (2019): 201.

[426] Extant copies are preserved in Istanbul MS Ayasofya 2129, Gotha MS 2045, Paris MS 3054, Escorial MS 1830, and Berlin MS 6381. The commonly used English title of the book is *the Companions' Promenade in the Garden of Love*. Nükhet Varlık also suggests an alternative translation for the title: "*Enjoyment of Friends: On the Intimacy of Lovers*." See Nükhet Varlık, "Books on Medicine: Medical Knowledge at Work," in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3-1503/4)*, ed. Necipoğlu Gülru, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 544. The *ʿilm al-bāh* literally means "science of coitus."

[427] See, Fernini, 371. The book's first section describes diseases and sexual deficiencies. The virile debility, uterine diseases, and their treatment are topics of the second section. This part also reflects Al-Magribi's interest in the psychological aspects of illnesses. The author vividly portrays falling in love without noticing or even recognizing it. Warm baths, running water and vegetation, music, and well-lit houses are also recommended for the distressed and melancholic. For the section of al-Samawʾal's book in which he explains why women tend to tribadism, See Pernilla Myrne, *Female Sexuality in the Early Medieval Islamic World Gender and Sex in Arabic Literature* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2020), 163-4.

Pleasure Park is divided into science/theory (*ʿilm*) and practice (*ʿamal*) parts.[428] In the preface to his book, al-Samawʾal emphasizes that his book appeals to everyone, from kings who are reluctant to consult physicians to commoners obsessed with sexual relationships. Moreover, the author offers a section about the purchase of slaves, aiming to provide the necessary information.[429] The dedication of this intriguing book to Nur al-Din Muhammad, which shows both his curiosity in sexology and parallels to his personal life, further demonstrates his support for the research of ancient sciences, especially medicine.

It's challenging to establish whether his father Qara Arslan's intimate life in al-ʿAntari's anecdote also applies to Nur al-Din Muhammad's life.[430] However, a personal life detail has piqued the interest of chroniclers. Ibn al-Athir states that Nur al-Din Muhammad was married to the daughter of Rum Seljuk sultan Qilij Arslan II, Seljuqa Khatun. But he fell in love with a female singer (*muġanniya*), eventually married, and favored her above his wife in 1180/81 (576 H). He neglected Seljuqa Khatun, and his new wife took control of the authority. After hearing the news, Qilij Arslan decided to launch an invasion against the Artuqid territories to reclaim the castles that had been presented to them as part of his daughter's dowry. For protection against the Rum Seljuk sultan, Nur al-Din appealed to Ayyubid sultan Salah ad-Din. The issue was settled between Qilij Arslan II and Salah ad-Din, and Nur al-Din was asked to "dismiss the singing girl" in a year. After dismissal, she traveled to Baghdad and remained there until her death.[431]

Furthermore, Salah al-Din's chancellor, ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1201), mentions that Nur al-Din liked singer-women. Despite his love for his wife, his passion for singers was taking over. He never left Seljuqa Khatun, but he preferred an older *muġanniya* over his young wife.[432] Michael the Syrian defines the incident as "the satanic

[428] "He wrote this book for Muhammad al-Erbaqi [sic] ibn Abu'l-Fath Qara Arslan and divided it into two parts: science/theory (*ʿilm*) and practice (*ʿamal*)." It appears that "al-Erbaqi" was misspelled. Al-Artuqi was supposed to be used. Usually, the Arabic word *naẓar* stands for theory, but the word *ʿilm* was utilized in this context. See Al-Samawʾal ibn Yaḥya al-Maghribī, *Nuzhat Al-Aṣḥāb Fī Muʿāsharat Al-Aḥbāb, Kitāb Fī Al-Muʿāsharah Al-Zawjīyah Wa-Ādābihā Wa-Mutaʿalliqātihā*, ed. Sayyed Kisrawi Hassan (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2008), 19.

[429] Pernilla. "Slaves for Pleasure in Arabic Sex and Slave Purchase Manuals from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries," 201-2.

[430] See Footnote 396.

[431] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 271-2. After the death of Nur al-Din Muhammad, Seljuqa Khatun married Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir (r. 1158-1225). She passed away in 584 H (1188-89). The caliph, who was deeply attached to his wife, had the mausoleum and hospice constructed on West Bank in Baghdad after her passing. See Ibid, 358.

[432] Ramazan Şeşen, "İmad Al-Din Al-Katib Al-İsfahani'nin Eserlerindeki Anadolu Tarihiyle İlgili Bahisler," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi III*, 1971, 268.

Figure 2.9. Female slave musicians from al-Jazari's musical boat automata, *al-Jāmi' bayn al-'ilm wa al-'amal al-nāfi' fī ṣinā'at al-ḥiyal*, 1206, MS. Ahmet III 3472, f.98, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (Balafrej, 2022, 749).

love of a prostitute," expressing his discomfort.[433] It cannot be determined with confidence whether the woman in question was a slave or a free person. Nur al-Din's case shows how medieval singers participated in the entertainment business at the courts. The production of the sexology manual was probably not a coincidence but a result of Nur al-Din Muhammad's interest in female slaves and singers. Another piece of evidence also points to the presence of slaves in the Artuqid palace. Qutb al-Din Sökmen II (r. 1185-1201), the heir to the throne after Nur al-Din's death in 1185 (581 H), was the child of a slave woman/concubine.[434] There are also four female slave musicians on al-Jazari's musical boat automata built for Nasir al-Din Mahmud (r. 1201-22), the son of Nur al-Din

[433] Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195*, 426.

[434] Ibid, 436. On the same account, Michael the Syrian says that the son of Qutb al-Din Ilghazi II and the lord of Mardin Artuqids, Husam al-Din Yülük Arslan (r. 1184-1201) was also born to a slave woman/concubine. Ibn al-Azraq says that Qutb al-Din Ilghazi II had a son born to a concubine in 1168 (564 H). Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 155. However, this son must be someone else, because Ibn al-Athir tells that Husam al-Din was an infant when his father died. Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'Rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 302.

Muhammad, consisting of a harpist, a flute player, and two tambourine players, visualizing the presence of slaves at the Artuqid court in Amid (Figure 2.9).[435]

Two significant scientists, Fakhr al-Din al-Mardini (d. 1198) and Sadid al-Din ibn Raqiqa (d. 1238) conducted research in the town of Hani in Diyarbakır, controlled by the Artuqids of Mardin. The town's governor was Jamal al-Din ibn Timurtash (b. 1127), appointed by his elder brother Najm al-Din Alpi in 1154.[436] Physician and philosopher Fakhr al-din al-Mardini was born in 1118 in Mardin. His grandfather was relocated from Jerusalem to Mardin at the request of Najm al-Din Ilghazi. During Husam al-Din Timurtash's reign, he studied philosophy with Ibn al-Salah. He learned medicine from Ibn al-Tilmidh, the famous chief physician of al-ʿAdudi Hospital in Bagdad. After completing his education, he settled in Hani.[437] Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa reports that al-Mardini endowed his books to the shrine (possibly the *mashhad* library) of Husam al-Din Timurtash in Mardin. "The books endowed by the shaykh Fakhr al-Din are among the best of books and are his own copies, most of which he had studied with his teachers and produced fair copies of and went to great lengths in correcting and perfecting."[438] Al-Mardini was well-versed in philosophical sciences. The biographer mentions that he served for "Najm al-Din ibn Artuq" most likely Najm al-Din Alpi, the Artuqid lord of Mardin.[439]

Al-Mardini's student and companion, Sadid al-Din ibn Raqiqa, was born in Hani in 1168 (564 H). He studied medicine and other philosophical sciences with al-Mardini. Besides, Ibn Raqiqa dedicated himself to the study of astronomy. He also studied hadith, grammar, and lexicography. He was a talented physician in ophthalmology and surgical operations, including the removal of cataracts.[440] Fakhr al-Din Mardini started treating

[435] This boat is designed for floating on the pool at a drinking party. Badīʿ az-Zaman Abu l-ʿIzz ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ar-Razāz al-Jazarī, *El-Câmi' Beyne'l-'ilm Ve'l-'amel En-Nâfi' fî Eş-Şınaâ'ti'l-Ḥiyel = [Al-Jāmi' Bayna Al-'ilm Wa-Al-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Al-Ṣinā'at Al-Ḥiyal]*, trans. Sevim Tekeli, Melek Dosay, and Yavuz Unat (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu , 2002), 127-8.

[436] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 40, 106, 108. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 147. Jamal al-Din also became the governor of Hisn Qalb (today Kulp in Diyarbakır) and al-Siwan. Another brother, Samsam al-Din Bahram received the administration of Dara in Mardin.

[437] His full name is Imam Fakhr al-Din Abu ʿAbd Allah Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Salam ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn ʿAbd al-Satir al-Ansari. Ibn Abi Uṣaibiʿa notes that al-Mardini's student Ibn Raqiqa also calls him "sheikh." See Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "10.75 Fakhr Al-Dīn Al-Māridīnī."

[438] Ibid.

[439] Ibid.

[440] Aḥmad Ibn-al-Qāsim Ibn-Abī-Uṣaibiʿa, "15.46 Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah," in *The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder, trans. N. Peter Joosse and Geert Jan van Gelder (Brill Scholarly Editions, 2020), https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-tr-eng1:15.46?.

the eye condition of Najm al-Din Alpi's nephew, Nur al-Din ibn Jamal al-Din ibn Artuq, the governor of the city of Hani.[441] However, when al-Mardini had to leave the city, he suggested Nur al-Din to consult his pupil Ibn Raqiqa for further medical assistance. Ibn Raqiqa treated him quickly, and the ruler rewarded him with a stipend and an allowance for Ibn Raqiqa's medical treatment and his full recovery. Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa, who was personally acquainted with the physician, remarks that Ibn Raqiqa was not even twenty years old when he gave all this service.[442] It would appear that the physician became associated with Nur al-Din ibn Jamal al-Din, a member of the Artuqids of Mardin, before 1186 (582 H). The fact that minor Artuqid rulers such as Nur al-Din supported scientists shows that these networks were not exclusive to the highest rulers in the Artuqid realms. After serving for Nur al-Din ibn Jamal al-Din in Hani, Sadid al-Din ibn Raqiqa was employed by a number of different Ayyubid rulers and members of the royal family. He spent the rest of his life in Damascus until he died in 1238 (635 H).[443]

Qutb al-Din Ilghazi II (r.1176-84), son of Alpi and heir to the throne in 1176, had a close friendship with a famous Christian scholar. Baghdadi librarian and historian ʿAli ibn Anjab Ibn al-Saʿi (d. 1275) provides a biography of this scholar named Abu Saʿid al-Hasan ibn Khalid ibn al-Mubarak ibn Mahdar al-Nasrani al-Mardini, nicknamed *al-Wahid* (the Only One, the Unique).[444] He was born in 1152 (547 H), only three years after Qutb al-Din Ilghazi II, who was born on May 22, 1149 (12 Muharram 544 H).[445] Ibn al-Saʿi reports that Abu Saʿid was constantly occupied with science in his youth, and he learned the wisdom of the previous ones, ancient sciences (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*), very well and came forward. He then refused to deal with the sciences. He was also very talented

[441] It's most likely that after 1176, Nur al-Din ibn Jamal al-Din took over as governor of Hani. Because his father was controlling the city at that time. As a result of the accession of Najm al-Din Alpi's son Qutb al-Din Ilghazi II to the throne in 1176, a dispute arose between him and his two uncles, Jamal al-Din and Samsam al-Din Bahram. He antagonized them until they submitted to him. The problem was solved thanks to the efforts of Sayf al-Din Ghazi II, amir (lord) of Mosul, and Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn Qara Arslan, amir (lord) of Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa. See Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195*, 384.

[442] Ibn-Abī-Uṣaibiʿa, "15.46 Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah."

[443] List of Ibn Raqiqa's Ayyubid patrons: Ayyubid ruler of Hama, al-Malik al-Mansur Muhammad ibn Taqi al-Din ʿUmar (r. 1179-91), Salah al-Din in Muhammad Yaghi Siyan and the wife of al-Malik al-Awhad in Akhlat during the reign of Ayyubid ruler of Diyar Bakr al-Malik al-Awhad Najm al-Din Ayyub (r. 1200-10) until 18 August 1212, Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi ibn al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Din (r. 1172-1216) and Ayyubid ruler of Damascus Al-Ashraf Musa Abu'l-Fath al-Muzaffar al-Din (r. 1229-37) in Mayyafariqin. See Ibn-Abī-Uṣaibiʿa, "15.46 Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah."

[444] ʿAlī ibn Anjab Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Al-Jāmi ȧl-mukhtaṣar fī ʻunwān Al-tawārīkh Wa-ʻuyūn Al-Siyar* (Baghdād: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Siryānīyah al-Kāthūlīkīyah, 1934), 141. I am indebted to Elif Yumru for her help in accessing the source. I am also grateful to Ahmet Faruk Okatan for translating this excerpt from Arabic to Turkish.

[445] Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Al-Jāmi ȧl-mukhtaṣar fī ʻunwān Al-tawārīkh Wa-ʻuyūn Al-Siyar*, 142. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 90.

in writing poetry. There was a friendship, which they had developed since their childhood, between him and Qutb al-Din Ilghazi ibn Artuq, the king of Diyar Bakr. The ruler would condemn Abu Saʿid for having cut himself off from Qutb al-Din, constantly calling and encouraging him until Abu Saʿid accepted the ruler's offer and advanced alongside Qutb al-Din, becoming a respected and elevated figure in the Artuqid court of Mardin.[446]

Abu Saʿid was involved in the event that could validate both his reputation at the time and the relations between the courts of the Artuqids and the Seljuks of Rum. "Yarıkshah [sic] ibn Qilij" summoned Abu Saʿid al-Hasan to become his minister and work for him; Abu Saʿid refused the offer and went to Baghdad and lived there for a while. Then al-Hasan returned to his homeland Mardin and died there in 1204 (600 H).[447] I believe the ruler in question here is Nasir al-Din Berkyarukshah ibn Qilij Arslan II, the Rum Seljuk ruler of Niksar and its surroundings.[448] Osman Turan was the one who first brought this source to the attention of the scholarship. However, Turan does not mention this curious Berkyarukshah connection or Abu Saʿid's interest in the ancient sciences in his book. Instead, he states that Qutb al-Din and Saʿid discussed "good manners," which was not mentioned in the text. Turan also neglects that Abu Saʿid and Qutb al-Din have known each other since they were children, but he only emphasizes their close friendship.[449] His closeness with Qutb al-Din may also point to a network of relationships between the court staff and the Artuqid royal family.

While comparing with other primary sources, I realized that Abu Saʿid al-Hasan's grandfather and father also worked for the Artuqids of Mardin. Ibn al-Azraq notes the grandfather's name as al-Muʾayyid al-Mustaufi al-Dawla Abu'l Hasan al-Mubarak ibn Mukhtar when reporting his death in 1147 (542 H). He was working as *mutawallī al-diwān* (chief of the council of state) for Husam al-Din Timurtash.[450] Before this position, Ibn Mukhtar started working at *diwān al-istifa'* (the tax office) in Mayyafariqin in 1116/7

[446] Ibn al-Sāʿī, 141.
[447] Ibid, 141-2.
[448] Ibn Bibi mentions that Nasir al-Din Berkyarukshah was the ruler of Niksar and Koyluhisar. See Muhammad Ibn Bībī, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye Fi'l-Umuri'l-Ala'iye (Selçukname), Vol 1*, 41.
[449] Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi: Saltuklular, Mengücikler, Sökmenliler, Dilmaç Oğulları ve Artukluların Siyasî Tarih ve Medeniyetleri*, 238. Turan also refers to the incorrect page (p.140), rather than pages 141 and 142 in the printed book of Ibn al-Saʿi.
[450] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 83. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 122.

(510 H).[451] "Ibn Mukhtar, was buried in Mardin in the mausoleum which he had built."[452] The question of whether or not Ibn Mukhtar was a Christian has sparked scholarly debates. Hillenbrand emphasizes the "possibility," while Cahen is sure about it.[453] The *nisba* "al-Nasrani" in Abu Saʿid's name stands for "the Christian," thus further proving his grandfather Ibn Mukhtar's disputed Christian identity. Moreover, Ibn al-Saʿi utilizes the name Mahdar (محضر), while Ibn Azraq uses Mukhtar (مختار) for the name of Abu Saʿid's great-grandfather. This difference might result from a scribal mistake or Ibn al-Saʿi's lack of knowledge. Ibn al-Azraq, like Ibn Mukhtar, worked for Timurtash's court, and it is crucial that he is a significant eyewitness and records Ibn Mukhtar's name and status. It's also possible that Ibn al-Azraq had personal acquaintance with Ibn Mukhtar.

The father of Abu Saʿid al-Hasan was al-Ajall Karim al-Dawla Abu Mansur Khalid. Still, he adopted his father's title al-Muʾayyid al-Dawla (the Helper of the State). After Ibn Mukhtar, his son continued to work in the same position. He has reached a successful and effective level in state affairs.[454] Khalid's fame likely spread to the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and to the physician al-ʿAntari. Al-ʿAntari wrote two poems for him where he mentions Khalid's name as "Muʾayyid al-Dawla Khalid ibn Mukhtar" and "Muʾayyid al-Malik Khalid ibn Abu al-Hasan ibn Mukhtar."[455] In his prose introduction, al-ʿAntari reports Khalid's visit to Kharput and their encounter.[456] The services of Abu Saʿid and his family to the Artuqid rulers demonstrate the existence of Christian subjects in the court in Mardin, like the employment of Mihran ibn Mansur by Alpi and the close relations established between the highest court members and the royal family. Khalid's son Abu Saʿid could spend his childhood with the crown prince Qutb al-Din Ilghazi II, revealing important information about Artuqid court life.

2.3 The Artuqids of Kharput

Kharput, or Hisn Ziyad in Arabic at the time, was a significant city ruled by the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa. It appears that it was frequently used for residence, particularly

[451] See Hillenbrand's Footnote 88. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 121-2. The head of the tax office is called *mustawfi* (the chief accountant). Ibn Mukhtar was apparently residing in Mayyafariqin because Ibn al-Azraq mentions that the vizier and qadi of the Akhlatshah dynasty stayed at his house in the same year, in 1147 (542 H).
[452] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 122.
[453] Hillenbrand, "The Establishment of Artuqid Power in Diyar Bakr in the Twelfth Century," 151. Claude Cahen, "Le Diyar Bakr Au Temps Des Premiers Urtukides," *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935): 268.
[454] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 122-3. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 83.
[455] Poem 153, and Poem 193, See Al-ʻAntarī, 184, 241.
[456] Poem 153, See Al-ʻAntarī, 184.

by Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan. As mentioned above, Qara Arslan also died in Kharput.[457] Syriac patriarch Michael the Syrian often refers to Fakhr al-Din as the "Lord of Hisn Ziyad."[458] However, the Kharput branch of the Artuqids was established by his younger son ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr (r. 1185-1204) in 1185 (581 H). The same year, Nur al-Din Muhammad could not join Salah al-Din in the siege of Mosul due to his illness. Instead, he dispatched an Artuqid force led by his brother ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr. Then, Nur al-Din Muhammad died in 1185 (580/1 H), and his young son Quth al-Din Sökmen II succeeded him. Nur al-Din's vizier Qiwam al-Din ibn Samaqa al-Isʿardi was in charge of state affairs. After hearing Nur al-Din's death, ʿImad al-Din wanted to seize power, but it was too late for him since he was still with Salah al-Din in Mosul. Instead, he captured Kharput and established his dynasty, which lasted until its conquest by the Rum Seljuk sultan ʿAla al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-37) in 1234 (631 H).[459]

2.3.1 Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi al-Maqtul and His Connections to the Artuqid Dynasty and the Rum Seljuks

The research on the Artuqids of Kharput is very limited. Only the dates of the dynasty's founding and end—as well as the political relationships they established with the Ayyubids and the Rum Seljuks, to whom they were vassals—are documented in the historical sources.[460] There is a lack of information about the patronage activities of the Artuqids of Kharput in the field of ancient sciences. However, the founder of the philosophical school of Illuminationism (*Ishrāqiyyun*) and philosopher Shihab al-Din Yahya ibn Habash al-Suhrawardi (d. 1191), also known as al-Maqtul (the Slain), was commissioned by ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr to write a book. *Al-Alwāḥ al-ʿImādiyya* (*The Tablets of ʿImad al-Din*) is a book written in the genre of mirror for princes.[461] The

[457] See Footnote 411.
[458] Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195*, 274, 312.
[459] Al-Isfahani records Nur al-Din Muhammad's death date as 15 May 1185 (14 Rabiʿ I 581). See Şeşen, "İmad Al-Din Al-Katib Al-İsfahani'nin Eserlerindeki Anadolu Tarihiyle İlgili Bahisler," 337. Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fil-Tarikh:Part 2 The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur Al-Din and Saladin*, 306-7.
[460] For an overview of their political history and the buildings they constructed, See Nureddin Ardıçoğlu, "Harput Artuk Oğulları'na Ait Kitabeler," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 6 (1939): 41-48. Ardıçoğlu, *Harput Tarihi,* 37-60. Baluken, "Harput Artukluları = Artuqids of Harput," 221-234.
[461] Suhrawardi also called as "Shaykh al-Ishraqi" (Master of Illumination). Reza Pourjavady, "Shihāb Al-Dīn Suhrawardī's 'Postscript' to His Tablets of ʿImād Al-Dīn and Najm Dīn Nayrīzī's Commentary on It," in *Illuminationist Texts and Textual Studies: Essays in Memory of Hossein Ziai*, ed. Ahmed Alwishah, Ali Gheissari, and John Walbridge (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 179. For the list of extant copies, See Ibid, 183-4.

book is composed of an introduction and four tablets.[462] In its introduction, al-Suhrawardi says that the Kharput ruler and Suhrawardi corresponded via letters, and Abu Bakr asked him to write this book. Abu Bakr wished to receive a work concisely and precisely explaining what needs to be known and the views of notable philosophers and scholars on the Islamic philosophical concept of the origin/beginning and return (*al-mabdaʾ wa'l-maʿād*).[463] This concept is concerned with the universe's start and end. Moreover, the content of al-Suhrawardi's book is related to physics, metaphysics, cosmology, and many topics about humans.[464] There are many references to the Qur'an in the text, especially toward the end. The book also talks at length about the spirituality and manners of the mythical Iranian rulers Afridun (also called Firiydun) and Kay Khusraw to give advice to Abu Bakr.[465]

The exact date of *The Tablets of ʿImad al-Din* is unknown. In this work, al-Suhrawardi references his famous book *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* (*the Wisdom of Illumination*), which establishes the fundamentals of the Illuminationist philosophy. According to the Ishraqi philosopher and physician al-Shahrazuri (d. between 1288 and 1304), al-Suhrawardi completed *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* around mid-September in 1186 (Jumada II, 582 H). Thus, *the Tablets of ʿImad al-Din* might have been written during or after this date since ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr established his dynasty in 1185.[466] Al-Suhrawardi mentions that the scholars before him wrote some concise works for the past rulers, but he has heard that the rulers could not benefit from these works. He believes the authors' careless attention to the quality of instruction and the style of expression is to blame for this problem. They fail to modify and simplify the confusing closed terms and ignore the universal benefit in favor of the particular benefit. Al-Suhrawardi further argues that he has revealed some subtleties and unique information. He does not think that a similar to

[462] The subjects of the tablets are listed: "Tablet One: on proofs for the finitude of dimensions, on the boundaries of the sky and the world, on the simplicity of the elements and what originates from them; Tablet Two: on the soul with reference to its faculties; Tablet Three: on the proofs for the existence of the Necessary Existent and on His attributes of greatness and perfection; and Tablet Four: on the order of the world, the destiny and eternity of souls and their happiness and wretchedness, pain and pleasure and the influences of souls." See Pourjavady, "Shihāb Al-Dīn Suhrawardī's 'Postscript' to His Tablets of ʿImād Al-Dīn and Najm Dīn Nayrīzī's Commentary on It," 180.

[463] Ibn Sina/Aviecanna also has a book titled *Al-mabdaʾ wa'l-maʿād* (*Provenance and Destination*). Pourjavady, 179. Ebü'l-Fütûh Şihâbüddîn Yahyâ b. Habeş Es-Sühreverdî, *El-Elvâhu'l-İmâdiyye = Hikmet Levhaları: (Metin-Çeviri)*, trans. Cihan Ahmet Kâmil, Salih Yalın, and Arsan Taher (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2017), 36-38.

[464] Es-Sühreverdî, *El-Elvâhu'l-İmâdiyye = Hikmet Levhaları: (Metin-Çeviri)*, 19.

[465] Pourjavady,180. Es-Sühreverdî, 38.

[466] Es-Sühreverdî, 19.

his work has been written before.[467]

The dedicatory text of al-Suhrawardi provides essential information about the Artuqid ruler and the philosopher's possible ties to the Artuqids. The text shows the intellectual curiosity of ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr, despite the lack of written sources, and how he got closer to the scholars of his time, similar to the Artuqid ruler of Mardin, Husam al-Din Timurtash, and al-ʿAntari's correspondence. Like the previous rulers al-Suhrawardi mentioned, Abu Bakr's desire to learn about the philosophical discussions about the beginning and end of the universe may be a reflection of his interest in philosophy and cosmological questions. In his book, al-Suhrawardi discusses key elements of both the Illuminationist and Islamic Peripatetic (*masha'i*) philosophy.[468] It is impossible to know how familiar Abu Bakr was with the traditions described in the book, but the ruler might have received additional training to understand the philosophy of Peripatetic school, which blended Aristotelian teachings with Islam, and the Illuminationist philosophy pioneered by al-Suhrawardi.

The philosopher, mystic al-Suhrawardi was born in the village of Suhraward, close to Zanjan in northern Iran, in 1154 (549 H). He later traveled to Maragha to study philosophy and theology. Following that, al-Suhrawardi visited Anatolia and Diyar Bakr time to time where he might have aimed to find patrons and courts to attach himself.[469] During this period, al-Suhrawardi appears to have established "a reputation as a Sufi mystic and rising philosopher."[470] Al-Suhrawardi developed companionship with philosopher and physician Fakhr al-Din Mardini, who was living in Hani under the control of the Artuqids of Mardin. According to Sadid al-Din ibn Raqiqa, al-Suhrawardi visited al-Mardini on occasion, and al-Mardini used to tell them about al-Suhrawardi: "How intelligent and how eloquent this youth is! I have never found anyone like him in my generation, but I fear that his great carelessness, his recklessness, and his lack of

[467] Ibid, 38-9.
[468] Ibid, 19.
[469] Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥabaš Suhrawardī, *The Philosophy of Illumination: A New Critical Edition of the Text of Ḥikmat Al-Ishrāq*, ed. and trans. John Walbridge and Hossein Ziai (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), XV.
[470] Suhrawardī, *The Philosophy of Illumination: A New Critical Edition of the Text of Ḥikmat Al-Ishrāq*, XV.

restraint will be the cause of his downfall."[471] Al-Suhrawardi became friends with Ibn Raqiqa, and they even went for a walk together in the mosque of Mayyafariqin.[472]

Yalman draws attention to al-Suhrawardi's legacy in the regions of Anatolia and Jazira. The author goes into great detail about the impact of Illuminationism and al-Suhrawardi's ideas on artistic production, particularly architecture and coinage, among the Seljuks of Rum and Artuqids.[473] Al-Suhrawardi maintained contacts with the Rum Seljuks in addition to his network with ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr and the Harput branch of the Artuqids. He is believed to have visited the Rum Seljuk court in Konya during the reign of Qilij Arslan II. The Seljuk prince of Niksar and Koyluhisar, Berkyarukshah ibn Qilij Arslan II, is believed to have ties to the Ishraqi shaykh al-Suhrawardi. Ibn Bibi reports that the philosopher dedicated his book *Partawnāma* (*The Book of Radiance*) to Berkyarukshah, who was well-versed in sciences and poetry.[474] However, al-Suhrawardi only reveals that he wrote his book "in compliance with the command of one of the 'lovers of virtue'" in the introduction.[475] Because of the ambiguous phrases of Ibn Bibi and al-Suhrawardi, the dedicatee of the *Partawnāma* is highly debated.[476] This Persian philosophical treatise combines various topics, such as metaphysics, physics, and logic.[477] Its dedicatee, who was interested in philosophy, must have known Persian well.

[471] Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "15.18 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī," in *The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder, trans. N. Peter Joosse and Geert Jan van Gelder (Brill Scholarly Editions, 2020), https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-tr-eng1:15.18?q=15.18&qk=form.

[472] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "15.18 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī."

[473] Yalman, "'Ala Al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seljuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," 151-186. Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ʿAla Al-Din Kaykubad (r. 1220–1237)."

[474] Ibn Bībī, 41. Andrew Peacock recently discovered a Persian manuscript titled *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir lil-Malik al-Nāṣir* (*The Garden of the Victorious for the Victorious King*) written by Kamal al-Din ibn Said. This manuscript focuses on the topic of heresy and is dedicated to the Rum Seljuk amir Berkyarukshah ibn Qilij Arslan II. It was composed in 1161 (558 H). Andrew C. S. Peacock, "Court Culture and Intellectual Life in Seljuk Anatolia," (Webinar, Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED), Istanbul, May 11, 2022). According to Ibn Bibi, Berkyarukshah wrote a masnawi called "Hurzad u Parizad" in Persian. Today, the masnawi is lost, but Ibn Bibi copied some parts of Berkyarukshah's masnawi in his chronicle. See Ibn Bībī*, El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye Fi'l-Umuri'l-Ala'iye (Selçukname), Vol 1*, 41-44.

[475] Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabaš Suhrawardī, *The Book of Radiance = Partaw'nāmah: A Parallel English-Persian Text*, trans. Hossein Ziai (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1998), 2.

[476] Existing arguments propose different individuals as the owner, including the sons of Qilij Arslan II, Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah (r. 1196-1204), Ghiyth ad-Din Kayhusraw (r. 1192–6 and 1205–11), and an unidentifiable personality. See Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ʿAla Al-Din Kaykubad (r. 1220–1237)," 386. Suhrawardī, *The Book of Radiance = Partaw'nāmah: A Parallel English-Persian Text*, XIV.

[477] Suhrawardī, *The Book of Radiance = Partaw'nāmah: A Parallel English-Persian Text*, XIV.

Yörükan argues that al-Suhrawardi probably came to Anatolia after 570 H (1174/5), considering his birth date.[478] According to Ibn Raqiqa, once al-Suhrawardi left them, he traveled to Aleppo.[479] He arrived there in 1183.[480] His active years in the regions of Anatolia and Diyar Bakr could be dated between 1174/5 and 1183. Since he corresponded with ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr by letter, al-Suhrawardi could have been in Aleppo at the time. During his active years in Aleppo, al-Suhrawardi's talent, knowledge, and competence in intellectual debates attracted the attention of the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo and the son of Salah al-Din Ayyubi, al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi (r. 1172-1216). Ibn Raqiqa reports that al-Suhrawardi's rivals got together because he was close to al-Malik al-Zahir and had risen quickly in rank. They sent accusations to the Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din, stating that al-Suhrawardi was an "infidel" and that if he remained with his son, he would "corrupt his faith," and if he was released, he would corrupt the faith of the people wherever he went. Saladin wrote to his son that al-Malik al-Zahir had no choice but to kill Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi because he could not be sent anywhere or stay where he was. Al-Suhrawardi was executed when he was thirty-six years old, at the end of the year 586 H (January 1191). Upon hearing the news of his death, Fakhr al-Din al-Mardini said: "Did I not tell you so before, did I not fear for him?"[481]

2.3.2 Two Curious Manuscripts from the Artuqids of Kharput

The Sotheby's auction house sold a collection of texts (*majmuʿa*) in Arabic and Persian from 1286 (685 H) on October 19, 2016, which was reportedly owned by al-Muzaffar Qara Arslan (r. 1260-92), a ruler of the Mardin branch of the Artuqid dynasty (Figure 2.10). This *majmuʿa* consists of eleven different texts on astronomy, logic, arithmetic, philosophy, algebra, inheritance, proverbs, and medicine.[482] Based on the preface of the *majmuʿa* (f.1v), the owner is identified as "Abu'l-Harith ibn Ibrahim ibn

[478] Yusuf Ziya Yörükan, *Şihabeddin Sühreverdî ve Nur Heykelleri*, trans. A. Kamil Cihan (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1998), 47. Yalman argues that "his activity in Rum has to have been towards the end of Qilij Arslan's reign, while the princes were already in their provincial centers." Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ʿAla Al-Din Kaykubad (r. 1220–1237)," 386.
[479] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "15.18 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī."
[480] Suhrawardī, *The Philosophy of Illumination: A New Critical Edition of the Text of Ḥikmat Al-Ishrāq*, XVI.
[481] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, "15.18 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī."
[482] "Majmu'a, a Scientific, Astronomical and Mathematical Compendium of Eleven Works, dedicated to the Artuqid Ruler Abu'l-Harith Ibn Qara Arsalan Ibn Artuq, Mardin, Anatolia, Dated 685 AH/1286 AD," *Sotheby's*, n.d., https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/arts-of-the-islamic-world-l16223/lot.104.html.

Abi [sic] Bakr ibn Qara Arsalan [sic] ibn Dawud ibn Sakman [sic] ibn Artuq" in the auction catalogue.[483] Due to the manuscript's date, the experts who prepared the catalogue text incorrectly and attributed it to al-Muzaffar Qara Arslan from the Artuqids of Mardin.[484] The book, however, belongs to the grandson of the founder of the Kharput branch, ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr, as proven by the owner's name and genealogy. Abu'l-Harith's father is Nizam al-Din Ibrahim (r. 1204-23), who ascended the throne after Abu Bakr.[485]

Although the auction house has not disclosed the identity of its new owner, I believe this scientific text collection, which includes the works of anonymous and known writers, might have ended up in a private collection. Therefore, the manuscript could not be studied.[486] However, there are two different witnesses who saw and briefly examined it. The first one is the Ottoman numismatist İsmail Ghalib Edhem (d. 1895) who records the full dedicatory inscription in his coinage catalogue as:

> "Our Lord/Master/Ruler/Prince, the Just, the Victorious, the Reviver of Justice, the Glory of the World and Religion (*Mawlana Malik, al-ʿAdil, al-Muẓaffar, Muhyi al-ʿAdl, ʿIzz al-Dunya wa'l-Din*), Abu'l-Harith Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn Abi [Abu] Bakr ibn Qara Arslan ibn Dawud ibn Sakman [Sökmen] ibn Artuq – the Helper (*Nasir*) of the Commander of the Faithful (*Amir al-Muʾminin* – the Caliph)."[487]

[483] Ibid. The corrected version needs to be: Abu'l-Harith ibn Ibrahim ibn Abu Bakr ibn Qara Arslan ibn Dawud ibn Sökmen ibn Artuq.

[484] The Sotheby's auction house previously sold two other Artuqid objects. An Artuqid brass basin prepared for al-Muzaffar Qara Arslan ibn Ghazi I was sold on April 24, 2012. It consists of three dedicatory inscriptions giving the name of three Artuqid rulers from Mardin branch. First inscription gives the full title of al-Muzaffar Qara Arslan; the other two names are Amir (Prince) Dawud ibn al-Malik al-Salih Shams al-Din Mahmud (r. 1368-76), and his son al-Malik al-Zahir Majd al-Din Isa ibn Dawud II (r. 1376-1407). The Museum of Islamic Art (MIA) in Doha bought this Artuqid dynastic basin, and it was exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2016. The second Artuqid object, a silver and gold-inlaid bronze jug dedicated to al-Malik al-Zahir Majd al-Din Isa ibn Dawud II (r. 1376-1407) was sold on 27 April 1995 (lot 58) by the Sotheby's. See Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "Le Basin du Sultan Qarā Arslān Ibn Īl-Ġāzī," *Revue* des *Études Islamiques* 36, no.2 (1968), 263-78. See "An Artuqid Silver-Inlaid Brass Basin Made for Sultan Qara Arslan Ibn Il Ghazi, Mardin, Anatolia, Second Half 13th Century," *Sotheby's*, https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/arts-of-the-islamic-world/lot.538.html. See Sheila R. Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs,* 58.

[485] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 3 The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, 84.

[486] My analysis is based on the existing publications and information to which I have access.

[487] Translation by the thesis author. İsmail Ghalib only includes the Arabic inscription in the text. Edhem, *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin,* 25. Edhem, *Müze-i Hümâyûn Meskûkât-ı İslâmiyye Kısmından Meskûkât-ı Türkmâniyye Kataloğu*, 23.

Figure 2.10. *Majmuʿa* consisting of eleven scientific texts from the library of Artuqid *Malik* Abu'l-Harith ibn Ibrahim ibn Abu Bakr ibn Qara Arslan ibn Dawud ibn Sökmen ibn Artuq, dated 1286 (685 H), presumably Private Collection (Sotheby's, Arts of the Islamic World, Lot 140, 19 October 2016).

Ghalib argues that the manuscript is reliable because it provides genealogy in the correct order in the section devoted to the Artuqids of Kharput.[488] He refers to the dedicatee as "Abu'l-Harith Ahmad" after counting his honorific titles. According to Ghalib, the dedicatory inscription is written in the preface of the work titled *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥāt,* and dated the beginning of month of Safar 685 (between March and April 1286). Only in his Ottoman Turkish catalogue, this text's subject is noted as "*ilm-i hesab*" which stands for mathematics and arithmetic in Ottoman Turkish.[489] It's not clear why this sentence was omitted in the French version.

In the Sotheby's catalogue, the names of the different texts in this manuscript are listed in order. The anonymously written *Kitāb al-Tanqīhāt* is first on the list, but the subject is identified as metaphysics, logic, and physics. This catalogue further argues that the author is most likely Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi al-Maqtul (d. 1191) even though it is not written.[490] There is no known book by al-Suhrawardi with this title. However, the Jewish physician and philosopher Ibn Kamnuna (d. 1284) wrote a book with a very similar title in 1268 (667 H) called *Al-Tanqīḥāt fī Sharḥ al-Talwīḥāt* (*Refinement and Commentary on Suhrawardi's Intimations*), which is based on al-Suhrawardi's Ishraqi philosophy and his book titled *the Intimations* (*al-Talwīḥāt*).[491] It is difficult to say without personally inspecting the manuscript, but this first work could be a copy of Ibn Kamnuna's work. The Sotheby's catalogue has overlooked this possibility.

The author of the preface defines *Malik* Ahmad, the owner of the manuscript, as "a prince who loved the arts and sciences."[492] There is no other information available about Ahmad, but based on the abovementioned manuscript, researcher-lawyer Nureddin Ardıçoğlu, who extensively published on the Artuqids of Kharput, claims that he ascended the throne after his father Nizam al-Din Ibrahim.[493] Despite this, Ibn al-Athir mentions that ʿIzz al-Din Khidr, the son of Nizam al-Din Ibrahim, died in 1225 (622 H)

[488] Edhem, *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin,* 24. Edhem, *Müze-i Hümâyûn Meskûkât-ı İslâmiyye Kısmından Meskûkât-ı Türkmâniyye Kataloğu*, 22.
[489] Edhem, *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin,* 24. Edhem, *Müze-i Hümâyûn Meskûkât-ı İslâmiyye Kısmından Meskûkât-ı Türkmâniyye Kataloğu*, 22.
[490] "Majmu'a, a Scientific, Astronomical and Mathematical Compendium of Eleven Works, dedicated to the Artuqid Ruler Abu'l-Harith Ibn Qara Arsalan Ibn Artuq, Mardin, Anatolia, Dated 685 AH/1286 AD."
[491] Ibn-Kammūna Saʿd Ibn-Manṣūr, Ahmed Alwishah, and Hossein Ziai, *Al-Tanqīḥāt fī Sharḥ Al-Talwīḥāt: Refinement and Commentary on Suhrawardī's Intimations, A Thirteenth Century Text on Natural Philosophy and Psychology* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publications, 2002).
[492] Edhem, *Catalogue Des Monnaies Turcomanes: Beni Ortok, Beni Zengui, Frou' Atabeqyéh Et Meliks Eyoubites De Meiyafarikin,* 25.
[493] Ardıçoğlu, *Harput Tarihi,* 52-3.

and was succeeded by his son, Nur al-Din Artuq Shah (r. 1225-34).[494] Baluken, referring to both Ardıçoğlu and Ghalib, claims that ʿIzz al-Din Ahmad and ʿIzz al-Din Khidr are the same person, and that the Artuqids of Kharput did not exist in 1286 since the Rum Seljuks previously ended it in 1234. The same author also argues that this *majmuʿa* might also have been copied from the original copy prepared for ʿIzz al-Din Khidr.[495] More written evidence is required to establish that Ahmad and Khidr are the same person. Artuqid prince Ahmad could have been Nizam al-Din Ibrahim's "throneless son" and he could have lived until 1286. The important point to emphasize here is that Abu'l-Harith Ahmad has his private library and is well-educated enough to read a wide range of scientific texts. If Ibn Kamnuna's commentary on al-Suhrawardi's philosophy is included in Ahmad's book, it is a manifestation of their family's interest in philosophy, particularly the al-Suhrawardi connection, beginning with his grandfather ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr ibn Qara Arslan. I believe this *majmuʿa*'s rigorous and careful research will help us answer these details in the future. I hope the new owner will make it available to scholars so that it can be analyzed thoroughly.

İsmail Ghalib does not mention where he saw the book or who owned Abu'l-Harith's manuscript. However, the physician and medical historian Süheyl Ünver was fortunate enough to see and investigate it in the library of the lawyer Halil Ethem Arda.[496] Ünver reveals that an Arabic work on logic (*al-manṭiq*) entitled *Kitāb al-Qawāʿid al-Hikamīyya* (*Book of the Philosophical Principles*) was written for "ʿIzz ad-Dunya wa'l-Din Abu'l-Harith ibn Ibrahim ibn Abi [Abu] Bakr ibn Qara Arslan ibn Dawud ibn Soqman [Sökmen] ibn Artouq [Artuq]" in 1286 (685 H). Ünver mentions the name of the author as al-Imam Dhiya' al-Din Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ni'matallah al-Jirani. Besides, he adds that the book contains a collection of article with the same date, which has not been mentioned by the Sotheby's auction catalogue and İsmail Ghalib. He does not specify where other dates are located. [497]

There is conflicting data about this manuscript in all three sources. First, only Ghalib copies the full inscription, and he includes the name Ahmad in his coinage

[494] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 3 The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, 254.
[495] Baluken, "Harput Artukluları = Artuqids of Harput," 230.
[496] A. Süheyl Ünver, "Quelques Nouveaux Exemples du Service Rendu Par Les Artoukides de L'Empire Seldjuk à L'Histoire des Sciences," *Extrait des Archives Internationales d'Histoire Des Sciences*, no 4 (Paris: J. Peyronnet, 1948), 587.
[497] Ünver, "Quelques Nouveaux Exemples du Service Rendu Par Les Artoukides de L'Empire Seldjuk à L'Histoire des Sciences," 587.

catalogue, whereas neither Sotheby's nor Ünver do. The second issue is the current location of the dedicatory inscription. The Sotheby's catalogue disproves İsmail Ghalib's claim that the *Kitāb al-Tanqīhāt* is a work of arithmetic/mathematics, despite Ghalib's definition of the book as such. The fact that the inscription is said to be on the folio 1v in the auction catalogue, Ünver's article makes reference to al-Jirani's work which was listed as the second text in the Sotheby's catalogue. A suggestion can be made as to the location of the dedicatory inscription that when Ünver examined the book in the library of Halil Ethem Arda, the first and second texts might not have been ordered properly. Nevertheless, in the light of all these uncertainties about the *majmuʿa,* there is a need for detailed study of it otherwise all these discussions will remain hypothetical.

The lawyer Halil Ethem Arda, from Thessaloniki, had an impressive collection of manuscripts and calligraphy. He decorated his famous mansion number 41, located in İlyas Bey Çıkmaz of Şifa Sokak, in Kadıköy district of Istanbul, with the special works in his collection.[498] Following his death in 1966, a part of his collection was sold, while the remainder, 140 works, was donated to the Topkapı Palace Museum by his daughters and wife between 1968 and 1972.[499] *Malik* Ahmad's *majmuʿa* never entered the collection of the Topkapı Palace, and most probably changed hands until it's latest sale by the Sotheby's auction house in 2016.[500]

Süheyl Ünver discovered another manuscript that reflects the fondness of Artuqid dynasty family members for philosophy and the existence of their private libraries. This Arabic manuscript is located in the Süleymaniye Library today and registered as MS. Ayasofya 2456. The copyists did not include a date, but Ünver places it in the thirteenth century.[501] Researcher Teymour Morel, recently examined the same manuscript. Morel distinguishes two codicological units, the first of which consists of four different texts

[498] Zeynep Atbaş, "Koleksiyoner Halil Ethem Arda'nın Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi'ndeki Koleksiyonu," in *Zeren Tanındı Armağanı. İslam Dünyasında Kitap Sanatı Ve Kültürü = Zeren Tanındı Festschrift. Art and Culture of Books in the Islamic World*, ed. Aslıhan Erkmen and Şebnem Tamcan Parladır (Istanbul: Lale Yayıncılık, 2022), 79. For the description of his mansion and Quran collection, See Müfid Ekdal, *Bizans Metropolünde İlk Türk Köyü: Kadıköy* (İstanbul: Kadıköy Belediyesi, 1996), 279-80. Müfid Ekdal, *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu: Kadıköy Konakları* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014), 88-9.

[499] Atbaş, "Koleksiyoner Halil Ethem Arda'nın Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi'ndeki Koleksiyonu," 79.

[500] I would like to thank Zeynep Atbaş for sharing this information with me. When I first heard that the books of Halil Ethem Arda had been donated to the Topkapı Palace, I wondered if Abu'l-Harith Ahmad's manuscript was also on this list. The fact that it was sold abroad raised my doubts whether it was exposed to the smuggling of historical artifacts. However, the book was most likely sold after the collector's death. Unfortunately, I could not find any information about the manuscript's later owners.

[501] Ünver, "Quelques Nouveaux Exemples du Service Rendu Par Les Artoukides de L'Empire Seldjuk à L'Histoire des Sciences," 587. Ünver, "Artıklılar Kütüphaneleri Hakkında Yeni Tetkikler," 223.

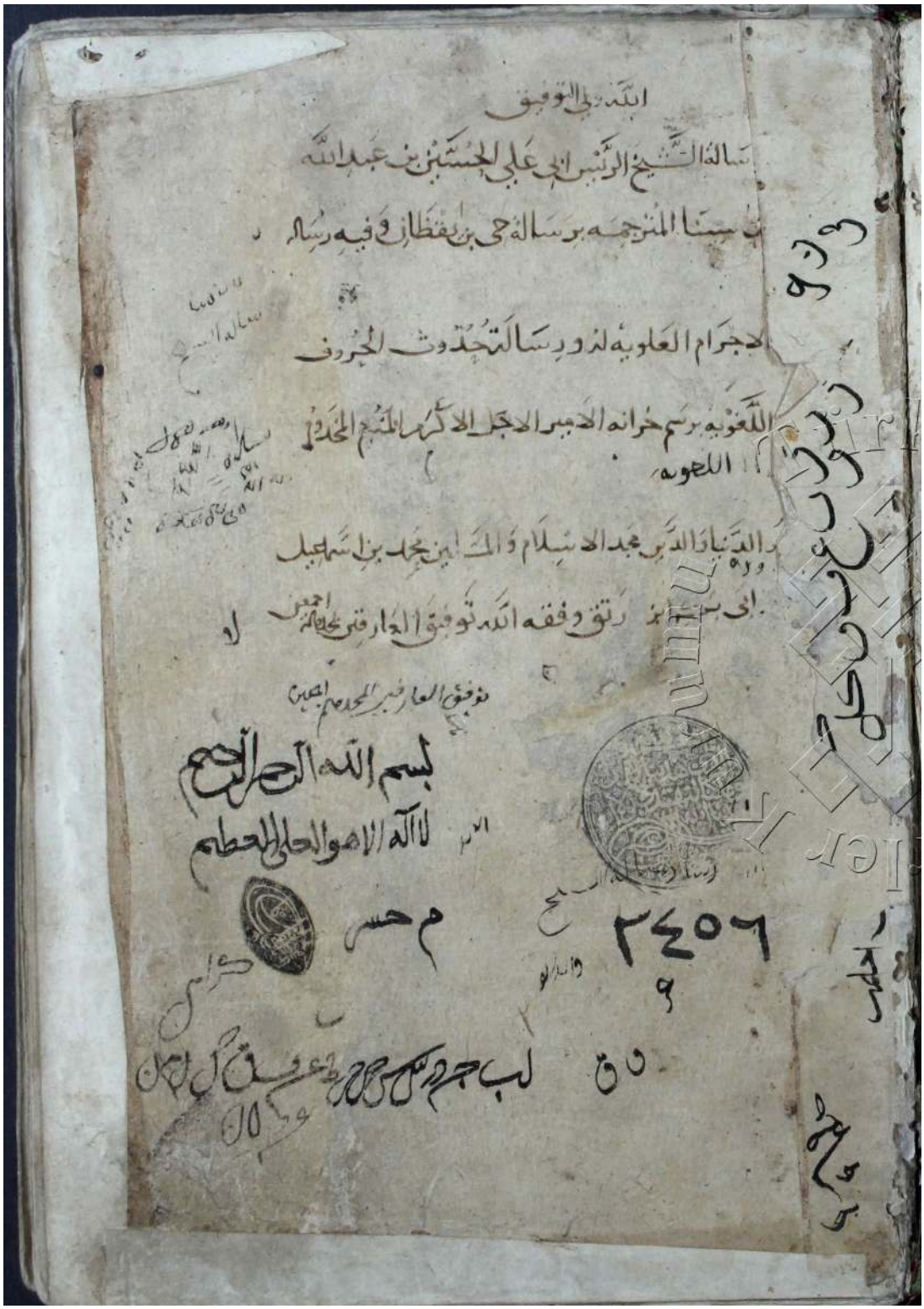

Figure 2.11. The dedicatory inscription written at the top-middle of MS. Ayasofya 2456, f.IVr, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul.[502]

[502] The inscription was first published by Süheyl Ünver in 1948 in two articles, later Teymour Morel re-published and analyzed it recently. See, Ünver, "Artıklılar Kütüphaneleri Hakkında Yeni Tetkikler," 223. Ünver, "Quelques Nouveaux Exemples du Service Rendu Par Les Artoukides de L'Empire Seldjuk à L'Histoire des Sciences," 587. Morel, "An Unknown Artuqid Emir?," 417.

written by Ibn Sina (Avicenna) (d. 1037) and a commentary by his pupil Ibn Zayla (d. 1048), while the second part possesses "a pseudo-correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great as well as various texts and passages of gnomological nature."[503] The author identifies two different copyists; however, the first one who copied the *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān (Epistle of Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān)*, and its commentary by Ibn Zayla, also prepared the dedicatory inscription of this manuscript (Figure 2.11).[504]

The scribe reports that the texts of Ibn Sina were prepared for the "library of the most honorable and most generous emir, the benefactor, the master, the light of this world and Religion, the glory of Islam and Muslims, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl [b.] Abī Bakr Ibn [A]rtuq."[505] Ünver argues that this amir, Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Abu Bakr ibn Artuq was from the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid.[506] In contrast, Morel eliminates two candidates: Nur al-Din Muhammad, son of Qara Arslan from the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid or Nur al-Din Muhammad, son of al-Malik al-Saʿid Shams al-Din Dawud I (r. 1292-94) from the Artuqids of Mardin.[507]

Indeed, the genealogy of the owner clearly shows that this amir was either, the grandson or great-grandson of ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr, ibn Qara Arslan from the Kharput branch or the son of Abu Bakr ibn ʿAli al-Harami ibn Alptash ibn Artuq who was a member of the Artuqid family. The second possible candidate was recorded by the chronicler Ibn al-Azraq in his book where he reports that ʿAli al-Harami died while he was serving for Husam al-Din Timurtash from the Mardin branch, and his son Abu Bakr was a Sufi and *faqih* who lived long and served for the sons of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan in Hisn Kayfa.[508] There is no other Abu Bakr recorded among the Artuqid family members. Like Abu'l-Harith Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn Abu Bakr, no historical sources focusing on the Artuqid dynasty mention Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Abu Bakr too. I believe this manuscript belonged to an Artuqid *amir* who never ascended to the throne thus the chroniclers did not pay attention to him. The possible candidate could be a prince from the Artuqids of Kharput, yet further written evidence about him is needed. The

[503] I am grateful to Dr. Teymour Morel for sharing his article with me. See Teymour Morel, "An Unknown Artuqid Emir?," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, no. 66 (2015- 2016): 415. Morel lists the names of Ibn Sina's texts as following: "*Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān (Epistle of Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān)* (fol. IVv-5v); *Risālat al-Ṭayr (Epistle of the Bird)* (fol. 29r-31v); *Fī al-Aǧrām al-'Ulwiyya (On the Supernal Bodies)* (fol. 31v-41r); *Asbāb Ḥudūṯ al-Ḥurūf (On the Causes of the Production of the Letters)* (fol. 41r-49r)." Ibid, 415.
[504] Morel, "An Unknown Artuqid Emir?," 416.
[505] Ibid, 416.
[506] Ünver, "Quelques Nouveaux Exemples du Service Rendu Par Les Artoukides de L'Empire Seldjuk à L'Histoire des Sciences," 587. Ünver, "Artıklılar Kütüphaneleri Hakkında Yeni Tetkikler," 223.
[507] Morel, 416-7.
[508] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 224.

overall content of the manuscript as well as his interest in Ibn Sina's works might indicate that this prince, like his grandfather or great-grandfather Artuqid ruler ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr, enjoyed reading and learning philosophy. The members of the Kharput branch left behind these significant manuscripts demonstrating their interests in the ancient sciences, particularly philosophy, as well as the manuscript production for their personal libraries.

Chapter 3:
ʿILM AND ʿAMAL: MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ARTUQID REALMS

3.1 Artuqid ruler Nasir al-Din Mahmud ibn Muhammad (r. 1201-22) and al-Jazari's Automata

The Artuqid ruler of Hisn Kayfa and Amid, Qutb al-Din Sökmen II (r. 1185-1201), died after falling from the roof of a pleasure pavilion (*al-jawsaq*) he possessed outside of Hisn Kayfa.[509] The Dunaysir-born scribe and poet ʿUmar Ibn Ibrahim (d. 1209) wrote an elegy after his pass telling the cause of his death: "Surely Sökmen was honorable; Those aged drinks, which are very destructive, destroyed him."[510] Before his death, Sökmen II selected his slave (*ghulām*) Ayas as his heir, who was married to Sökmen's sister. Moreover, Sökmen II disliked his brother, Nasir al-Din Mahmud (r. 1201-22). He banished him to Hisn Mansur (modern Adıyaman Castle) and kept him in a remote part of their realm. Ayas took over the state after Sökmen II died in 1201. The Artuqid viziers, however, desired to replace him and dispatched Nasir al-Din Mahmud to seize power. Ayas was imprisoned and then released at the request of the Rum Seljuk sultan. Ayas then migrated to Anatolia and was employed as a state *amir* of the Rum Seljuks.[511]

After fleeing to the Rum Seljuks, Ayas became involved in architectural projects.

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[509] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 3 The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, 60. The fifteenth-century Ayyubid bureaucrat al-Munshi al-Hisni (d. after 1420) reports that Sökmen II fell from a roof of a *jawsaq* approving Ibn al-Athir. See Al-Hasan ibn Ibrahim al-Munshi al-Hisni, *Tarikh Hisn Kayfa*, ed. Yusuf Baluken (Istanbul: Nubihar Yayınları, 2019), 68.

[510] For the full Arabic elegy in Arabic and Aslan's translation, See Ahmet Aslan, "Artuklular Zamanında Düneysir (Kızıltepe'de) Arap Edebiyatı Çevresi," *Harran Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 13, no. 20 (2008): 271. I would like to thank Ahmet Faruk Okatan for his help for retranslation of this verse.

[511] Ibn al-Athir writes his name "Iyas," but he is commonly referred as "Ayas" or "Ayaz" in the scholarship. Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 3 The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, 60-1. On footnote 10, translator Donald S. Richards notes the Rum Seljuk sultan as Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshah ibn Qilij Arslan II (r.1196-1204), but Yalman argues that Rukn al-Din's brother, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw (r. 1992-6 and 1205-11) was on exile and stayed at the Artuqid court in Amid around this time. The Seljuk sultan in question was most probably him. Yalman, "'Ala Al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seljuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," 169, 183-4. Ibn Bibi reports the full name of Ayas, who loyally served for both Seljuk sultans, Kaykhusraw, and his son Kayqubad, as Asad al-Din Ayas with the titles of "constable" (*kundastabl*), or "crazy Ayas" (*Ayas-i majnun*). See Ibn Bībī*, El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye Fi'l-Umuri'l-Ala'iye (Selçukname), Vol 1*, 254, 311.

In the construction projects he supervised, Ayas frequently used artists and architects particularly from Aleppo. Scholars argue that Ayas might have used his previous networks in the Artuqid territories, and this mirrored the Artuqid contribution to the Rum Seljuk architecture. For instance, Ayas collaborated on the Konya Great Mosque project with Syrian architect Muhammad ibn Khawlan al-Dimasqi, as waqf administrator (*mutawallī*) during the reign of Kayqubad.[512] Prior to his service for Kayqubad, Ayas worked for Rum Seljuk sultan ʿIzz ad-Din Kaykawus ibn Kaykhusraw (r. 1211-20). An inscription from the northern façade of the Sinop citadel names Asad al-Din Ayas, as the governor of Honaz and the personal slave (*al-ghālibi*, meaning belonging to the triumphant) of Kaykawus. Moreover, two sultanic inscriptions of Lonca Gate of the Sinop citadel further mention the name of Syrian military architect Abu ʿAli ibn al-Kattani al-Halabi. He was later mentioned on the inscription of the Red Tower constructed during the reign of Kayqubad in Alanya.[513]

People, ideas, and goods were constantly moving back and forth between Jazira, Syria, and Anatolia during the medieval period. The agency of Ayas, the presence of artists from Aleppo and other cities in Anatolia and Artuqid realms, the migration of scientists and thinkers who worked for the Artuqids to Anatolia and Syria, such as al-Suhrawardi al-Maqtul, or the departure of physicians such as Fakhr al-Din Mardini and his student Ibn Raqiqa to work with the Ayyubids were reflection of active networks established between these regions. For the broader context of Mediterranean in the twelfth century, Hoffman argues that there was an "international court culture that superseded geographic regional affiliations."[514] This period was characterized by cultural exchange between minor independent states in various regions, including Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Sicily, Syria, Spain, Byzantium, and the Caucasus.[515] The Artuqid dynasty, with its three branches, was also a part of this cultural milieu as well.

Historical records show that Nasir al-Din Mahmud, the Artuqid lord of Amid and Hisn Kayfa, shared an interest in the ancient sciences, as did Husam al-Din Timurtash.

[512] Yalman, 169, 184.
[513] See Scott Redford, *Legends of Authority: The 1215 Seljuk Inscriptions of Sinop Citadel, Turkey* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2014), 87, 170-92, 228-230. Also See Scott Redford, "Mamālik and Mamālīk: Anatolian Seljuk Citadels and Their Decorative and Inscriptional Programs," in *Cities and Citadels in Turkey: From the Iron Age to the Seljuks*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 305-346.
[514] Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, no. 1 (2001): 25.
[515] Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," 25.

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, Arab historian Ibn al-Athir describes Nasir al-Din Mahmud as a tyrant who mistreated his subjects. He believed in philosophers' teachings and their ideas about the denial of bodily resurrection.[516] What al-Athir emphasizes here is crucial. In the medieval period, Muslim philosophers following the Aristotelian and Neoplatonist schools denied the bodily resurrection. Their ideas contradicted Islamic norms asserting the certainty of bodily resurrection.[517] It is clear that Ibn al-Athir has prejudices against philosophers, but one can learn about Nasir al-Din Mahmud's interests. He was well-versed in philosophy.

A notable polymath, court engineer (*al-muhandis*), and inventor (*al-mubtakir*), widely known for his contributions to the development of technology and mechanical devices, served at least twenty-five years at the court of Nur al-Din Muhammad started in 570 H (1174/5) and continued during the rule of his sons, Qutb al-Din Sökmen II and Nasir al-Din Mahmud. His full name is Badiʿ al-Zaman Abu'l-ʿIzz Ismaʿil al-Razzaz al-Jazari (d. 1206).[518] The *nisba* "al-Jazari" reveals that he was originally from the Jazira region and actively worked in the Diyar Bakr territory. His honorary title Badiʿ al-Zaman means "prodigy of the age" and his honorific Abu'l-ʿIzz stands for "father of the well-respected."[519] The only information available about al-Jazari, whose life story and himself are not recorded in any historical source, is contained in the book he authored. Sezgin mentions that the colophons of some manuscript copies indicate that al-Jazari finished his work two years after Nasir al-Din Mahmud's accession to the throne. In an earlier study, Riefstahl argues that the book was definitely written after 597 H (1200/1), but he disagrees with the studies claiming that the book was completed in 1206.[520]

Al-Jazari presented his book titled *Al-Jāmi' Bayn Al-'Ilm Wa Al-'Amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Ṣinā'At Al-Ḥiyal* (*Compendium on the Theory And Useful Practice of The Mechanical Arts*) to Nasir al-Din Mahmud. The Artuqid lord was interested not only in philosophy but also in science and engineering. Al-Jazari reports that his book project started after the request of Nasir al-Din Mahmud, who enjoyed observing and discussing his

[516] See Page 34.
[517] Imtiaz Yusuf, "Discussion Between Al-Ghazzālī and Ibn Rushd About The Nature Of Resurrection," *Islamic Studies* 25, no. 2 (1986): 182.
[518] Al-Jazarī, *El-Câmi' Beyne'l-'ilm Ve'l-'amel En-Nâfi' fi Eṣ-Ṣınaâ'ti'l-Ḥiyel = [Al-Jāmi' Bayna Al-'ilm Wa-Al-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Al-Ṣinā'at Al-Ḥiyal]*, XV–XVII, 2.
[519] Gerhard Jaritz, "al-Jazarī, Badīʿ al-Zamān," *Encyclopaedia of Islam Third Edition*, Online Version.
[520] Ibn Ar-Razzāz al-Jazarī, *Compendium on the Theory and Practice of the Mechanical Arts = Al-Jami' Bain Al-'Ilm Wa-l-'Amal an-Nafi' Fi Sina'at Al-Hiyal*, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 2002), VI-VII. Rudolf M. Riefstahl, "The Date and Provenance of the Automata Miniatures," *The Art Bulletin* 11, no. 2 (1929): 210.

mechanical devices. Nasir al-Din wanted al-Jazari to compile his selected fantastic devices and automata in an illustrated book.[521] As a court engineer, toolmaker, and craftsman, he emphasizes that he never constructed a device without first consulting with Nasir al-Din Mahmud. The ruler was also involved in the creation and design processes. He further shared his opinions and was highly active in the patronage process of this manuscript. Moreover, al-Jazari mentions that he witnessed the interests of philosophers and the Artuqid rulers of his time, which encouraged him to continue his scientific studies.[522] Although these details give the impression of a close and fascinating relationship between the Artuqid patron and his artist/court engineer, al-Jazari makes sure to mention that he has submitted himself before Mahmud. The court engineer states in his introductory text that he had to follow the pattern the ruler suggested to him, because he had no other choice but to obey.[523] It explains the nature of their patronage relationship.

Saliba argues that al-Jazari wrote his book in the Aristotelian tradition of *Mechanical Problems,* which aims to actualize the potential principles of nature into reality. This phenomenon was materialized through machines (*al-ḥiyal*). Al-Jazari combines both theory (*ʿilm*) and practice (*ʿamal*) while he is talking about the mechanical arts in this book.[524] Saliba further underlines that Nasir al-Din Mahmud's statement as recorded by al-Jazari, repeats the Aristotelian terminology: "You have made peerless models and brought them forth from potentiality into actuality."[525] Al-Jazari embraces the Aristotelian philosophical doctrines wholeheartedly. In a recent publication, Balafrej analyzes the "automated slaves" in the al-Jazari's book and further suggests that even though al-Jazari did not include in his book, there is a close link between Aristotle's definition of slave as "animate equipment" and his ideas about how the automated labor and slavery are connected.[526]

Al-Jazari's work has survived in fifteen copies to the present day. The oldest existing manuscripts are found in two copies, first one dated 1206 (602 H) and the second either dated (?) 1273 or 1206 (672 H or 602 H) in the Topkapı Palace and third copy dated

[521] Al-Jazarī, *El-Câmi' Beyne'l-'ilm Ve'l-'amel En-Nâfi' fî Eṣ-Ṣınaâ'ti'l-Ḥiyel = [Al-Jāmi' Bayna Al-'ilm Wa-Al-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Al-Ṣinā'at Al-Ḥiyal]*, 1-2.
[522] Ibid, 1-2.
[523] Ibid, 2.
[524] George Saliba, "The Function of Mechanical Devices in Medieval Islamic Society," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 441* (1985): 142-3.
[525] Ibid, 143.
[526] Lamia Balafrej, "Automated Slaves, Ambivalent Images, and Noneffective Machines in Al-Jazari's Compendium of the Mechanical Arts, 1206," *21: Inquiries Into Art, History, and the Visual*, no. 4 (2022): 748.

1315 (715 H) in a private collection.[527] The oldest known manuscript was copied from a reproduction based on al-Jazari's original work and registered as MS. Ahmet III 3472 at the Topkapı Palace Library.[528] According to Oxford Bodleian copy, al-Jazari completed his work on 4th of Jumada II, 602 H (January 16, 1206). The colophon of MS. Ahmet III 3472 reflects that this copy was finished by the end of Shaʿban 602 H (April 10, 1206). It was copied in *naskhi* script by Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn ʿUthman al-Hiskafi who was coming from Hisn Kayfa. The scribe reveals that al-Jazari was not alive when he completed this copy.

Three copies were produced in 1206, two of them are in the Topkapı Palace, and the third one was used as a model to produce the Oxford Bodleian copy.[529] Ward argues that this copy was produced in the Artuqid court since the *nisba* of the scribe, signals the first Artuqid capital, Hisn Kayfa. All three copies carry ciphers which were also commonly used on the Artuqid coins. They also have the same testimony (*shahāda*) and the colophon at the end of the text. The common details might signal that there was a manuscript studio at the Artuqid palace that copied and illustrated the work of al-Jazari.[530]

The fifty devices in al-Jazari's book are organized into six distinct categories. Each device is numbered by the letters of the Arabic alphabet from 1 to 50. He intended to simplify complex machinery. So, al-Jazari provided detailed drawings to show different components and their subassemblies. There are 174 illustrations total, depicting various designs for clocks, locks, vessels for drinking parties, pumps, locks, door, doorknobs, locks and fountains with moving figures, for instance dancing slave girls, musicians, slave servants, and animals (elephants, peacocks, dragons, eagles, monkeys, etc.). Some of his devices are meant to be practical such as fountains, perpetual flutes, and machines for raising water.[531] Furthermore, the Artuqid court was entertained by a

[527] Registered as respectively: MS. Ahmet III 3472 and MS. Hazine 414. The dating of MS. Hazine 414 is debated. Ahmad Yusuf al-Hassan argues that previous studies misread the date 602 as 672 thus he designates the manuscript is one of the oldest copies. See Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, *Al-Jāmi' Bain Al-'ilm Wal-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Sinā'at Al-Hiyal*, ed. Ahmad Yusuf al-Hassan (Institute for the History of Arabic Science, 1979), 13. Third copy was sold at the Sotheby's auction in 1978, and Hill could access the black-and-white photocopy of the manuscript and published it. See Donald Routledge Hill, "XVI Notice of an Important Al-Jazara Manuscript," in *Studies in Medieval Islamic Technology: From Philo to Al-Jazarī - from Alexandria to Diyār Bakr*, ed. Donald Routledge Hill and David A. King (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 291.

[528] Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, *Al-Jāmi' Bain Al-'ilm Wal-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Sinā'at Al-Hiyal*, 9.

[529] Oxford copy is registered as MS. Graves 27. Rachel Ward, "Evidence for a School of Painting at the Artuqid Court," in *The Art of Syria and the Jazira, 1100–1250*, ed. Julian Raby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 69-74.

[530] Ward, "Evidence for a School of Painting at the Artuqid Court," 76, 80.

[531] Al-Jazarī, *El-Câmi' Beyne'l-'ilm Ve'l-'amel En-Nâfi' fî Eṣ-Ṣınaâ'ti'l-Ḥiyel = [Al-Jāmi' Bayna Al-'ilm Wa-Al-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Al-Ṣinā'at Al-Ḥiyal]*, 1-328.

variety of unique automata, such as a boat full of female slave musicians performing for the royal audience or tricky drinking vessels.[532]

Figure 3.1. Castle Water Clock, *Al-Jāmiʿ bayn al-ʿilm wa al-ʿamal al-nāfiʿ fī ṣināʿat al-ḥiyal*, 1206, MS. Ahmet III 3472, f.5r, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* [facsimile edition], 1990).

The mechanical devices created by al-Jazari demonstrate the high progress of technology and engineering in his environment. Both al-Jazari and Nasir al-Din Mahmud had a close affinity with the ancient sciences, and some of al-Jazari's devices further prove this fact. The first mechanical device of the book is the Castle Water Clock (Figure 3.1). It is a monumental water clock (*binkām*) designed to display solar hours. The day and night are divided into twelve hours. Every hour, a door opens, and a human figure

[532] Jaritz, "al-Jazarī, Badīʿ al-Zamān."

emerges from this watch on the upper door niches. The watch is powered by the movement of water from its reservoir. The door directly beneath this human figure reads "God, the Owner of Dominion/the King" (*Allah, al-Mālik*) in Kufic script. This door turns on its axis simultaneously with the human figure and changes its color (Figure 3.2).[533] The falcons with open wings come forward drop bronze ball from their mouths into the vases underneath every hour, and the glass lamps on the arch alternately light up to show the position of the Sun during the day. The musicians in the middle of the floor play drums, cymbals, and zurna at various times of the day, such as during the night, day, and prayer hours.[534] All of these elements together creates a ceremonial and theatrical setting at the court.

The castle-like structure is topped with a semicircular astronomical dial which shows six of the twelve zodiac signs that are currently visible on the horizon line. The astronomical dial is designed as a circle, with the bottom half representing the other six zodiac signs below the horizon (Figure 3.3). It also depicts the Sun's and Moon's orbits and positions them in the sky during the day.[535] The astronomical dial visualizes how geocentric universe model developed by Ptolemy in his book *Almagest,* was still influential in the time of al-Jazari. In addition, astronomical and astrological representations seem to be significant part of the Artuqid court culture in Amid and were openly used in this context. Another significant issue is al-Jazari's and the Artuqid ruler's interest in the concept of time and its management here.

The iconography of al-Jazari's astronomical dial reflects the traces of ancient legacy transmitted through time. A drawing similar to Jazari's dial is found in the oldest extant illustrated codex of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* (*Procheiroi Kanones*) which is a practical handbook for calculating the movements of celestial bodies (Figure 3.4). This lavishly designed copy is believed to be prepared during the reign of Byzantine Emperor Constantine V (r. 741-75) who was also an admirer of alchemy.[536] The sun god, Helios

[533] It can be reference to the part of the Quranic verse (3:189) [*sūrat āl ʿim'rān*].
[534] Al-Jazarī, *El-Câmi' Beyne'l-'ilm Ve'l-'amel En-Nâfi' fî Eṣ-Ṣınaâ'ti'l-Ḥiyel = [Al-Jāmi' Bayna Al-'ilm Wa-Al-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Al-Ṣinā'at Al-Ḥiyal]*, 3-38. Also See Ismā'īl ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*, trans. Donald Routledge Hill (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1974), 18-41.
[535] Ismā'īl ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*, trans. Donald Hill (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1974), 18-41.
[536] Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages: Searching for the Classical Tradition," 46. Wright, "The Date of the Vatican Illuminated Handy Tables of Ptolemy and of its Early Additions," 355. However, the date of this codex is debated. For details, See Leslie Brubaker and John F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, (Ca 680-850): An Annotated Survey* (Routledge: London, 2016), 38-40.

Figure 3.2. Door with the Kufic inscription, *Al-Jāmi‘ bayn al-‘ilm wa al-‘amal al-nāfi‘ fī ṣinā‘at al-ḥiyal*, 1206, MS. Ahmet III 3472, f.12r, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* [facsimile edition], 1990).

Figure 3.3. Astronomical Dial of al-Jazari's Castle Water Clock, *Al-Jāmi‘ bayn al-‘ilm wa al-‘amal al-nāfi‘ fī ṣinā‘at al-ḥiyal*, 1206, MS. Ahmet III 3472, f.27r, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* [facsimile edition], 1990).

or Sol Invictus on a quadriga is located at the center of the cosmos. He is surrounded by the circles divided into twelve section each. The inner circle depicts twelve naked personifications of hours in dark and light skin. The second circle has twelve clothed male figures representing the personifications of months. Lastly, the outer circle shows the Zodiac signs in classical iconography. The names of the months and the signs of the zodiac are written in Greek on the intermediate rings.[537] The zodiac signs on Al-Jazari's dial are comparable to those in *Handy Tables*, with the exception of Handy Tables' winged Virgo, naked Gemini, and naked Libra holding the scales. For Virgo, al-Jazari stays loyal to the Al-Sufi's manuscripts' hunched shoulder iconography. The absence of naked depictions can also be interpreted as evidence of this ancient legacy's societal adaption in the Islamicate context.

Figure 3.4. Zodiac circle with Helios in the center, Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* (*Procheiroi Kanones*), ca. 9th century, Byzantium, MS. Vaticanus Graecus (Vat. gr.) 1291, f.9r., Vatican Library, Vatican.

[537] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, (Ca 680-850): An Annotated Survey*, 37-8.

Water clocks and other types of automata entered in diverse courtly and public contexts in the medieval world. They were also sent as diplomatic gifts for foreign rulers. It was possible to encounter automata in cities such as Cairo, Samarra, Baghdad, Constantinople, Sicily, Karakorum and other Mongol capitals. Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786-809) sent Frankish king Charlemagne a brass water clock as a diplomatic gift in 807. One could witness singing "artificial birds," "artificial trees," and "musical fountains" at the Abbasid Palace in Baghdad.[538] The Italian diplomat and bishop Liudprand of Cremona (d. 972) traveled to the court of Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (r. 913-59) in 949 where he saw the emperor's gilded bronze automata titled the "Throne of Solomon" accompanied by roaring lions and singing birds.[539] In 1142, Norman King Roger II (r. 1130-54) constructed a water clock, has not survived, with trilingual inscriptions in Latin, Greek and Arabic on the wall next to the Capella Palatina in Sicily.[540] Traveler Ibn Jubayr came across with the water clock located on the Damascus Mosque's east door in 1184. Every hour, two bronze falcons would lean forward and drop two brass balls each into the brass cups below them. Perhaps the falcon design of al-Jazari's Castle Water Clock was inspired by this clock.[541]

The Norman King Roger II was known for his cosmopolitan court culture and artistic production reflecting shared themes of the medieval courtly life in the twelfth century. His famous coronation robe, the "Mantle of Roger" is made of red silk and embroidered with gold threads. Its triumph of lion over camel scene is decorated with red dots which could possibly evoke "their original ancient association with stars and constellations."[542] While adorning his coronation mantle with astrological and cosmological symbolism, Roger II was not alone. Prior to him, the Holy Roman Emperor Henry II (r. 973-1024) received "the Star Mantle," originally made of dark violet silk, which carries embroidered heavenly bodies and thirty-two constellations (including

[538] Elly Rachel Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 20-1.
[539] Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art,* 22-3.
[540] See Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler Between East and West*, trans. G. A. Loud and Diane Milburn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 104. For the details of the trilingual inscription, See Jeremy Johns, "Lastra con iscrizione trilingue dalla clessidra di re Ruggero II : Trilingual inscription from the clepsydra of King Roger," in *Nobiles Officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo*, ed. Maria Andaloro (Catania: Giuseppe Maimone, 2006), 772-3.
[541] Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: A Medieval Journey from Cordoba to Jerusalem*, trans. Ronald J. C. Broadhurst (London: I.B. Tauris, 2020), 300-1. This clock is also called "Jayrun Water Clock" and constructed by *muwaqqit* and clockmaker Muhammad al-Saʿati during the reign of Zengid ruler Nur al-Din Zengi (r. 1154-74).
[542] Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," 32.

Zodiac signs) in octagonal star-shaped frames (Figure 3.5).[543]

Figure 3. 5. The Star Mantle of Henry II, between 1014-24, Inv.2728/3-6, Diözesanmuseum Bamberg, Germany (Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker 2018, 74).

Roger II's painted wooden nave ceiling of Cappella Palatina also features octagonal star decorations framed by the Kufic inscriptions on the octagonal coffers (Figure 3.6). Twenty octagonal stars are lined in two longitudinal lines and this central part was connected to the walls through transitionary wooden muqarnas frame.[544] The use of muqarnas ceilings in palatial contexts was a widespread practice in the medieval Mediterranean Islamicate courts. The pavilions or kiosks with muqarnas ceilings also constructed by the Christian dynasties, for instance the twelfth-century palace of the Mouchroutas in Constantinople can be an example of it. The pictorial cycles of Cappella Palatina also follows Islamic courtly entertainment scenes with dancing girls and musicians, animal representations, servants and so on.[545]

[543] Elizabeth Coatsworth and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past: Surviving Garments from Early Medieval to Early Modern Western Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 75-6.
[544] Fabrizio Agnello, "The Painted Ceiling of the Nave of The Cappella Palatina in Palermo: An Essay On Its Geometric And Constructive Features," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 414
[545] For a detailed comparison of the Capella Palatina and Mouchroutas, See Jeremy Johns, "A Tale of Two Ceilings. The Cappella Palatina in Palermo and the Mouchroutas in Constantinople," in *Art, Trade, and Culture in the Islamic World and Beyond: From the Fatimids to the Mongols. Studies presented to Doris Behrens-Abouseif,* ed. Alison Ohta et al. (London: Ginko Library, 2016), 58-73. For further details about the muqarnas pavilions/kiosks, See Eva R. Hoffman and Scott Redford, "Transculturation in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), 412-4.

Figure 3.6. The Wooden Nave Ceiling of Capella Palatina, Sicily (Museums With No Frontiers).

Figure 3.7. Al-Jazari's door design for the Artuqid Palace in Amid, *Al-Jāmi' bayn al-'ilm wa al-'amal al-nāfi' fī ṣinā'at al-ḥiyal*, 1206, MS. Ahmet III 3472, f.165r and f166v, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* [facsimile edition], 1990).

The wooden ceiling of Cappella Palatina includes consciously written Kufic and pseudo-Kufic inscriptions along with foliate and geometric designs.[546] Greek monk Philagathos Kerameos, who gave a sermon in the Cappella Palatina during the reign of Roger II, depicts the wooden ceiling as it "imitates the heavens when, through the clear air, the host of stars shines everywhere."[547] Roger II is believed to be interested in astrology and astronomy. Hoffman argues that the octagonal star decorations could carry possible connections with cosmic imagery but it is not certain.[548] The juxtaposition of Kufic inscriptions with octagonal stars also recall al-Jazari's monumental door design with two wings for the Artuqid Palace in Amid (Figure 3.7). Al-Jazari's cast metalwork door is composed of "a grid network of hexagonal and octagonal stars joined by rhomboidal filler units."[549] Al-Jazari utilizes a script reminiscent of foliated Kufic for the inscription band that he defines in his words as "Kufic script with intertwined letters, and between the letters are intertwined leaves."[550]

Among al-Jazari's mechanical devices, the bloodletting (*fasād*) measuring devices are practical tools that might have been used for medical purposes by the Artuqid court physicians. Al-Jazari designed four bloodletting devices called the monk basin, two scribes, the basin of the reckoner and the basin of the castle. First one, the Monk Basin consists of three parts: the tower at the bottom, and a figure of a monk holding a staff on the top of tower (Figure 3.8). The basin is located between them. As al-Jazari emphasizes his identity, the "Christian" monk wears a hooded cloak. The way this automata works is this: the blood from the patient is poured into the basin. When the blood reaches the reservoir at the bottom of the tower, the machine starts to work. Thanks to the pulley and weight system inside, the tip of the monk's staff shows the amount of blood collected in

[546] Jeremy Johns, "Arabic Inscriptions in the Cappella Palatina: Performativity, Audience, Legibility and Illegibility," in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Antony Eastmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 136, 140.
[547] Johns, "Arabic Inscriptions in the Cappella Palatina: Performativity, Audience, Legibility and Illegibility," 140-1. Crusader Lord of Beirut, John of Ibelin (r. 1205-36)'s audience hall with a marble "sea pavement and the astrological ceiling" was witnessed by German imperial ambassador Wilbrand of Oldenburg in 1212. Ibelin's hall had a painted ceiling with the the sun in the center recalling the use of cosmic imagery and astrological symbolism in the medieval palatial contexts. See, Lucy-Anne Hunt, "John of Ibelin's Audience Hall in Beirut: A Crusader palace building between Byzantine and Islamic Art in its Mediterranean Context," In *The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism,* ed. by Michael Featherstone, and et al. (Berlin, München, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 257, 262, 266, 269.
[548] Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," 32, 47.
[549] Necipoğlu and Al-Asad, *The Topkapı Scroll Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956*, 150.
[550] Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices,* 192.

numbers written on the basin's ridge.[551]

Figure 3.8. The Monk Basin for Bloodletting, *Al-Jāmi' bayn al-'ilm wa al-'amal al-nāfi' fī ṣinā'at al-ḥiyal*, 1206, MS. Ahmet III 3472, f.125v, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* [facsimile edition], 1990).

Bloodletting was first used as a medical treatment method in ancient Greece and the rest of the Hellenistic world. It eventually made its way to the scientific circles of medieval Islam thanks to the writings of Hippocrates (d. 370 BC) and Galen (d. 216). However, al-Jazari is the first known inventor who has designed bloodletting measuring devices. His choice of a Christian monk as the figure might refer to the activities of the

[551] Al-Jazarī, *El-Câmi' Beyne'l-'ilm Ve'l-'amel En-Nâfi' fi Eṣ-Ṣınaâ'ti'l-Ḥiyel = [Al-Jāmi' Bayna Al-'ilm Wa-Al-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Al-Ṣinā'at Al-Ḥiyal]*, 169-182. Also See Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*, 137-148.

Christian physicians.[552] In the Jazira region, the Syriac physicians and monasteries around Mardin and Amid were very active. As discussed in Chapter 2, the employment of Mihran ibn Mansur and Abu Salim al-Malati as Christian scholars, who were most likely physicians, can be a parallel example. Historical resources partially document their existence and activities, as translators and physicians, at the Artuqid courts.

The automata of al-Jazari can be viewed as a reflection of the Artuqid court's interest in ancient knowledge. Because the scope of al-Jazari's designs and the concept of automata were not novel in the scientific circles of the thirteenth century. Al-Jazari, as he mentions at the beginning of his work, read and studied the works of ancient scholars and later craftsmen, focusing on sun clocks, water-operated mechanisms, pneumatic (movements), and water machines for clocks.[553] In one section of his text, he mentions the names of important scientists and scholars he has read about, for example, he says "I came across a well-known paper by Apollonius, the Indian carpenter: he made a wheel which turns slowly and opens water outlets upon the completion of half a rotation."[554]

Furthermore, the scholars who worked on al-Jazari's manuscript identified that he was influenced by the scientific research conducted in Greek and Arabic languages by Heron of Alexandria, Philon of Byzantium, Apollonius of Perga, Archimedes, the Banu Musa brothers, and others.[555] Throughout the presentation of the many designs in his book, al-Jazari emphasizes his own unique contributions and does not hesitate about showing how he has solved the problems that existed in the books and treatises he read. It would be inaccurate to say that al-Jazari and other medieval scientists like him merely consumed and internalized the ancient scientific heritage. After studying many works that drew from the past for inspiration, they were finally ready to publish their own original creations. In this setting, they were no longer passive bearers of past scientific knowledge into their environments.

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[552] Durmuş Çalışkan, *Cezeri'nin Olağanüstü Makineleri: Herkes için Cezeri*, ed. Mehmet Ali Çalışkan (Istanbul: Babil Kitap, 2019), 217.

[553] Al-Jazarī, *El-Câmi' Beyne'l-'ilm Ve'l-'amel En-Nâfi' fî Eş-Şınaâ'ti'l-Ḥiyel = [Al-Jāmi' Bayna Al-'ilm Wa-Al-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Al-Ṣinā'at Al-Ḥiyal]*, 1. A sundial can also be found in the garden of the Great Mosque of Diyarbakır (Amid) today. Although it is widely assumed that al-Jazari created the watch, its accuracy is highly doubtful.

[554] Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*, 170.

[555] Constantin Canavas, "Al-Jazarī's Compendium of Ingenious Devices: A Model of Representing and Communicating Technical Knowledge in a Medieval Islamicate Context," *Le Livre Technique Avant Le XXe Siècle* (2017), 76-79. For examples of Greek and Latin primary source translations, See Andrew N. Sherwood et al., *Greek and Roman Technology: A Sourcebook of Translated Greek and Roman Texts* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2020).

Another person who "learned to make unusual things" by studying Banu Musa brothers' *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl* (*Book of Ingenious Devices*) was the physician and contemporary of al-Jazari, Sadid al-Din ibn Raqiqa, who served the Artuqids of Mardin and later the Ayyubids.[556] Although no communication was recorded between them in the written evidence, al-Jazari's abovementioned statement about his encounter with the interest of scholars of his time, particularly philosophers, should be kept in mind. Al-Jazari might have also met Ibn Raqiqa and exchanged ideas; however further evidence is needed.

Nasir al-Din Mahmud was also interested in the mathematical sciences (*ʿulūm al-taʿālīm*) besides engineering and mechanical devices. First example is an arithmetic (*ʿilm al-ḥisāb*) treatise titled *Kitāb al-Lubāb fī al-Ḥisāb* (*The Book for Minds on Arithmetic*) was dedicated to Nasir al-Din Mahmud. It contains an arithmetic table as a practical work. The treatise is registered as MS. Marsh 663 (f.308-337) in the Bodleian Library. The author is Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Ibrahim al-Isʿirdi al-ʿAttar who is believed to be active in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His first *nisba "*al-Isʿirdi" indicates that he was born in Isʿird (today Siirt), while the second *al-ʿAttar* denotes that he came from a family of perfumers. The date of the work is not written in the catalogues.[557] It is unknown whether he worked at the palace like al-Jazari or he was a visitor scholar who sought a patronage relationship.

The second example is also practical and designed by al-Jazari. He explains the reason behind producing this tool associated with spherical geometry. Some people found it unconvincing when al-Jazari asserted that any three points on a sphere lie on a single circle, and they asked al-Jazari to demonstrate this with a compass. A brass ruler forms the basis of this measuring instrument, which also has an additional section that is mounted vertically from the ruler's center (Figure 3.9). This vertical moving piece is attached to the semicircular projection located in the brass ruler's middle part. These two distinct pieces are marked with the numbers.

[556] Ibn Raqiqa even wrote a poem for a tricky wine cup similar to what al-Jazari designed for the court. Ibn-Abī-Uṣaibiʿa, "15.46 Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah."

[557] Boris Abramovich Rozenfeld and Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, Mathematicians, Astronomers and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilisation and Their Works (7th-19th c.) (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, 2003), 199. Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte Des Arabischen Schrifttums, Band VII: Astrologie-Meteorologie Und Verwandtes. Bis Ca. 430 H* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 411. "Ms. Marsh 663 (Bodleian Library, Oxford University)," *Fihrist*, https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript_1195.

This measuring device can be used on both a sphere and a flat plane to determine the center of three non-collinear points.[558] Al-Jazari's instrument is based on the proposition of Euclidian geometry proposing that "through any three noncollinear points there passes a circle."[559] Despite the fact that al-Jazari does not specify with whom he engaged in intellectual debate on this topic, it is necessary not to rule out the possibility that he might also discussed the design of this object with the Artuqid lord. As he stated in his abovementioned introductory text that al-Jazari had conversations with Mahmud prior to constructing his tools. It appears that both mathematical and technical topics were debated in the court of Nasir al-Din Mahmud, with the Artuqid ruler actively participating in these discussions. Al-Jazari's book provides crucial information about Mahmud's field of interests in the ancient sciences.

Figure 3.9. Measuring Instrument, *Al-Jāmi' Bayn Al-'Ilm Wa Al-'Amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Ṣinā'At Al-Ḥiyal*, 1206, MS. Ahmet III 3472, f.170r, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* [facsimile edition], 1990).

[558] Al-Jazarī, *El-Câmi' Beyne'l-'ilm Ve'l-'amel En-Nâfi' fi Eṣ-Ṣınaâ'ti'l-Ḥiyel = [Al-Jāmi' Bayna Al-'ilm Wa-Al-'amal Al-Nāfi' Fī Al-Ṣinā'at Al-Ḥiyal]*, 234-7. Also See Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*, 196-8.
[559] David Gans, *An Introduction to Non-Euclidean Geometry* (New York: Academic Press, 1973), 78.

Another example demonstrating the nature of the patronage relationship between the Artuqid rulers and the scientists happened during the reign of Nasir al-Din Mahmud's son, Al-Malik al-Masʿud Rukn al-Din Mawdud b. Mahmud (1222-1232). Arab dervish and alchemist al-Jawbari was from Damascus and traveled around Egypt, Amid, Konya, Harran, Antioch, and other places. Then he visited the court of Mawdud. Al-Jawbari studied many texts on alchemy, other occult sciences, and other ancient sciences in the first half of the thirteenth century. He wrote treatises on occult sciences especially geomancy and astrology.[560]

Al-Jawbari tells us that while he and Mawdud were discussing "the exposés of the masters of the crafts and sciences" in Ibn Shuhayd al-Maghribi's book titled *Deceit Disrobed and Doubt Dispelled* at the court salon, Mawdud was curious and asked questions to al-Jawbari about the writer and the book.[561] The Artuqid ruler told al-Jawbari to "Put together a book that follows his method and takes the same approach but make it shorter and easier to understand."[562] Afterward, al-Jawbari completed his book *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār* (*The Book Containing a Selection Concerning the Exposure of Secrets*) and offered to Mawdud. The book focuses on charlatans and aims to expose the inner workings of their deceptions. False prophets, false mystic sheiks, dishonest Jewish and Christian mystics, fraudulent alchemists, physicians and pharmacists, jugglers, and cunning ladies noted for their traps are among the sorts al-Jawbari deals with in this book.[563]

Al-Jawbari reveals that he asked Mawdud to excuse him, but Mawdud would not let him off. [564] Like al-Jazari, al-Jawbari had to comply with the Artuqid lord's wishes. Both examples demonstrate the power dynamics at work in patronage relationships between rulers and scientists, scholars, and inventors. Gerard Väth cites chroniclers that report Rukn al-Din Mawdud as an "alchemist" and "heretic" interestingly.[565] It is not known whether this information was a result of Mawdud's closeness with al-Jawbari, but his interest in ancient sciences like his father Nasir al-Din Mahmud, and perhaps his philosophical beliefs, may have prompted these discourses about him to emerge.

[560] Stefan Wild, "Al-Djawbarī, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm," *Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition*, Online Version.
[561] Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Jawbarī, *The Book of Charlatans*, ed. Manuela Dengler, trans. Humphrey Davies (New York: New York University Press, 2021), 9.
[562] Al-Jawbarī, *The Book of Charlatans*, 7.
[563] Ibid, 9-11.
[564] Ibid, 7.
[565] Unfortunately, I could not access two sources he is referring. Väth, *Die Geschichte Der Artuqidischen fürstentümer in Syrien Und Der Ğazīra'l-Furātīya (496-812/1002-1409)*, 185.

3.2 The Construction Projects

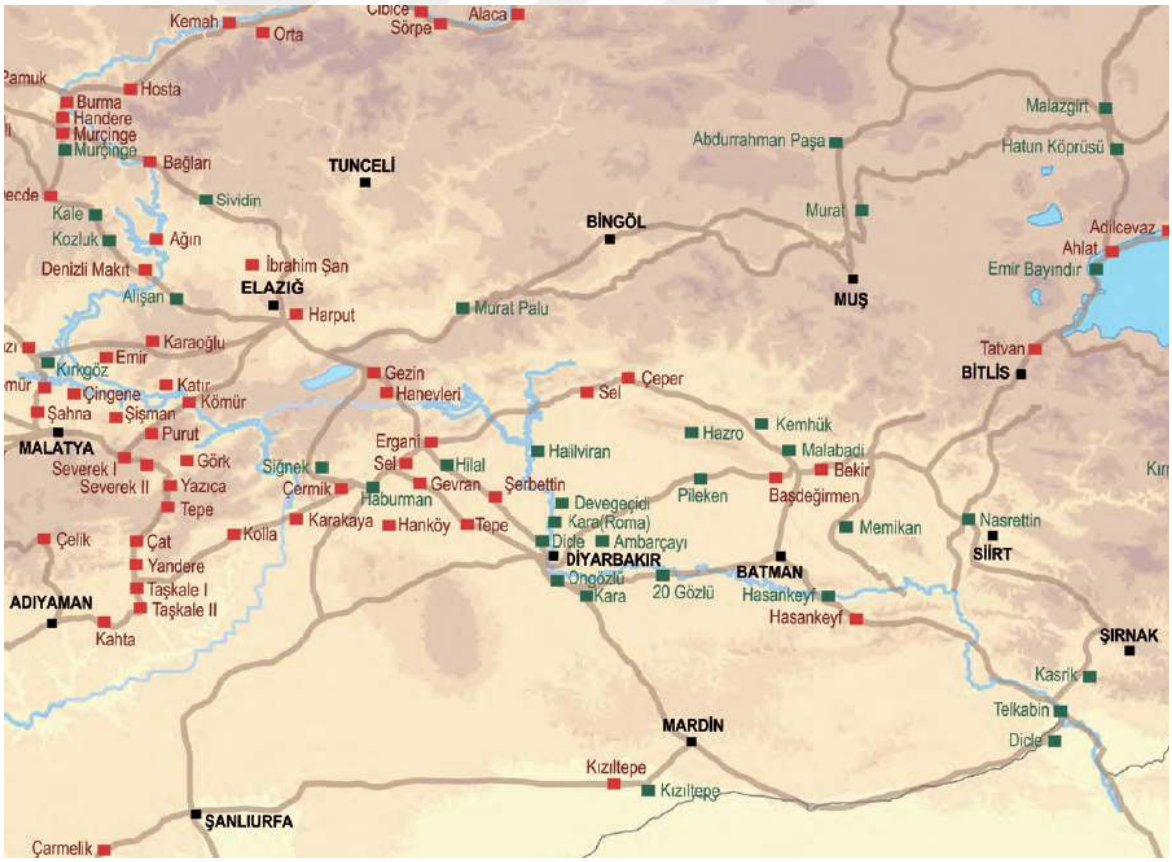
The Artuqid cities were located at significant trade routes coming from Bagdad to Mosul then to Jazirat ibn ʿUmar (Cizre). Caravans traveling from the Jazirat ibn ʿUmar crossroads would either entered into the territories of Artuqids of Mardin or would proceed on to two other Artuqid cities, first Hisn Kayfa and then Amid in the twelfth century.[566] The Artuqid cities were renowned for their bustling marketplaces, and commerce played a significant role in the economy of the region. Mayyafariqin, Erzen, Hisn Kayfa, Mardin, Dunaysir, and Sur (Diyarbakır's center today) were some of the cities that fell under this category.[567] Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) traveled through Dunaysir (Kızıltepe) on 22 June 1184 (580 H). He described Dunaysir as a flat, unwalled city filled with caravans, four-day-a-week markets, a recently constructed madrasa with a bath, and gardens irrigated by waterwheels.[568] When he was young, geographer Yaqut al-Hamawi (d. 1229) saw Dunaysir as a large village, but he came back years later in 1225 (632 H) and saw a big city filled with large markets.[569]

Mardin was a significant exporter of crystals to Anatolia and Iraq, in contrast to the city of Hani, which was exporting copper and iron mines. Black basalt was widely utilized, as evidenced by its presence in the construction of the city walls of Amid. Various resources were already present underground, including lignite and hard coal.[570] The convenience of transportation was essential for the continuity of trade. Geographically, the presence of large rivers (Euphrates and Tigris), and their associated streams and big mountains required the regulation of transportation. Bridges were built and repaired in different cities and locations in order to facilitate access by the different Artuqid branches.[571]

The Malabadi Bridge in Mayyafariqin (Silvan) is an Artuqid bridge whose construction process is described in written evidence, and has the earliest dated inscription. It is located on the Batman River (*Sātīdamā*, bloody in Arabic), a tributary of

[566] Thomas Sinclair, *Eastern Trade and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages: Pegolotti's Ayas-Tabriz Itinerary and Its Commercial Context* (London: Routledge, 2020), 50.
[567] Väth, *Die Geschichte Der Artuqidischen fürstentümer in Syrien Und Der Ğazīra'l-Furātīya (496-812/1002-1409),* 200.
[568] Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: A Medieval Journey from Cordoba to Jerusalem,* 270-1.
[569] Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia, from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), 96.
[570] Väth, 202.
[571] The Tigris Bridge in Jazirat ibn ʿUmar, Sinek Çay Bridge and Dunaysir Bridge are also attributed to be the Artuqid patronage based on the stylistic analyses, however these constructions do not carry building inscriptions.

Map 4. The Trade Routes of Anatolia, Upper Mesopotamia and Caucasia in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Map by Martin Jan Månsson).



Map 5. A Section of ÇEKÜL's Silk Road-Culture Road Map Showing the Locations of Khans in Red and Bridges in Green at the Artuqid Territories (Elazığ, Diyarbakır, Batman, Mardin) (ÇEKÜL, 2012).

the Tigris River near Mayyafariqin. Local chronicler Ibn al-Azraq reports that the Qaraman Bridge was destroyed in 1144/5 (539 H). The bridge, which is an early Islamic-Arabic structure, was dated to 668/9 (48 H).[572] Two years later, in 1146/7 (541 H), Husam al-Din Timurtash began work to rebuild the Qaraman Bridge. Al-Zahid ibn al-Tawil took office as supervisor, but the piles fixed on the left side of the bridge were dismantled and demolished by the flood. Due to its defective construction, Ibn al-Tawil was discarded. Timurtash appointed Amir Saif al-Din Shirbarik Mamdud ibn Ali ibn Alp-Yaruq ibn Artuq. Saif al-Din started to build the bridge under the supervision of Abu'l-Khair al-Fasul who utilized large timbers in the construction. Its construction continued until 1153/4 (548 H).[573] The chronicler praised the bridge as "it is one of the marvels built in this age and work continued on it."[574]

Timurtash passed away before he could see his bridge was finished. His son, Najm al-Din Alpi completed the remaining arches with small additions. In the year 1155 (550 H), al-Zahid ibn al-Tawil was appointed to reconstruct the collapsed mosque and the domed bazaar in Mayyafariqin, and he also started to complete the Qaraman Bridge during the reign of Najm al-Din Alpi.[575] In the introductory text of *De Materia Medica,* Mihran ibn Mansur emphasizes that Najm al-Din Alpi "spent a great deal of his treasure in the service of God in order that God may be pleased with him, such as building the bridge at Qaraman which is considered the greatest bridge of all time."[576] Supporting Mihran ibn Mansur, Ibn al-Azraq defines the Malabadi Bridge as one-of-a-kind in the world, and further mentions that Timurtash was the first person who constructed a bridge in the Diyar Bakr region at that time. After him, his cousin Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan constructed a bridge over Tigris at Hisn Kayfa, then another located under Isʿird (Siirt), and a third one between Isʿird and Erzen. The bridges of Qara Arslan were modeled after

[572] Amid was conquered by the Arabs in 639 (17 H).
[573] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 111,113-115.
[574] Ibid, 115.
[575] Al-Zahid ibn al-Tawil was active during the reign of Najm al-Din Alpi. In the month of Ramadan 1166 (561 H), he started the construction of Dems Bridge's base on the Tigris River. Two arches were left before it was finished, and Ibn-Tawil arrived to complete the bridge. Before he could build most of the bridge and tie his other two arches, he fell ill and went to the town. The Tigris River overflowed and destroyed the three arches of the Dems bridge, and it collapsed. Ibn Tawil was buried in the madrasa in Mayyafariqin after he died on October 19, 1174 (570 H) in Mayyafariqin. His son went to Mardin and was appointed to his father's position at the the overseer of foundations. After that, he went to the Dems Bridge, demolished the remaining three bases, and went to the city. See Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 116, 149, 165-6. The domed bazaar was burned in 1149/50 (544 H). The Mosque of Mayyafariqin was collapsed on June 27, 1152. See Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 131, 134.
[576] Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, 37.

the Malabadi Bridge.[577] The architect is unknown. The inscription on the south façade, which is rather faint, says that Husam al-Din Timurtash had it built in 542 H (1147/8) by paying for it from his personal wealth.[578] In contrast, Ibn al-Azraq interestingly dates the beginning of the project one year earlier.

Figure 3.10. The Malabadi Bridge, Photo by Albert Gabriel, 1908-34, AG20K003976, Albert Gabriel Fund INHA, Media Library of Architecture and Heritage, France (POP-Plateforme Ouverte du Patrimoine).

The Malabadi Bridge demonstrates how advanced Artuqid architecture and engineering were. The Malabadi Bridge, measuring in at an impressive 40.86 m in arch span and 281.67 m in length, and 7.15 m in width, is the sole surviving example of a bridge of its kind in the world (Figure 3.10). It is on the UNESCO Tentative List.[579] The bridge is made of ashlar, brick and rubble stones. In support of Ibn al-Azraq's observations, Tunçdağ argues that scaffolding marks on the bridge's pointed arch are

[577] Ibid, 109-110.
[578] Gabriel and Sauvaget, *Voyages Archéologiques Dans La Turquie Orientale*, 345. Tunçdağ, "Artuk Oğulları Sanat Eserleri," 101.
[579] Permanent Delegation of Turkey to UNESCO, "The Malabadi Bridge," *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6113/.

visible on both sides.[580] Decorated with sun, and a debated elephant or lion (?) motif on the southern façade and human figures on the northern façade, the Malabadi Bridge is quite asymmetrical in structure. It was obviously built to adapt to its geography. The bridge was restored in 1930 by the General Directorate of Highways. There are rooms that can be reached by stairs when entering the bridge from the western part.[581] According to a record of Ibn al-Azraq, the Artuqid ruler Najm al-Din Alpi stopped at the bridge in July 1164 (559 H) to spend the night on his way to Mardin. He might have stayed in one of these rooms.[582]

The Hisn Kayfa Bridge is the second Artuqid bridge known to have been built after the Malabadi Bridge, however it has not an inscription. Ibn al-Azraq, who gave clues about its construction date, reports that Hisn Kayfa Bridge's feet were displaced on April 2, 1165 (18 Jumada I 560 H), due to the water rise of the Tigris River.[583] An anonymous note found in Arab geographer Ibn Hawqal (d. after 978)'s book titled *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* (*The Book of the Shape of the World*) highlights that Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan constructed the Hisn Kayfa Bridge in 1116/7 (510 H). Hisn Kayfa also had a suburb (*rabaḍ*) under the castle where several shops, baths (*hammams*), accommodations for guests, and houses were located.[584] However, at the time of the anonymous writer mentioned, Qara Arslan's father Rukn al-Dawla Davud (1108-1144) was on the throne. Gabriel, who has drawn attention to this detail, still accepts the construction date of the bridge as 510 H.[585] As a traveling eyewitness of the time, Ibn al-Azraq's testimony is crucial. The bridge should be dated between the Malabadi's construction date and 1165. Whelan also places the bridge in the mid-twelfth century.[586]

The bridge was strategically significant in transportation because it connected the city to the Mosul-Diyarbakır road and other roads leading north to Lake Van.[587] According to travel books, the bridge was intact and used until the second half of the sixteenth century, after which it was no longer used and was destroyed through time. [588]

[580] Tunçdağ, "Artuk Oğulları Sanat Eserleri," 100.
[581] Altun, *Anadolu'da Artuklu Devri Türk Mimarisi'nin Gelişmesi*, 200-5. See Whelan, 396. Whelan argues that it is an elephant, however other studies remarks that the figure below is a lion.
[582] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 136.
[583] Ibid, 148.
[584] Ibn Havkal, *10. Asırda İslam Coğrafyası*, trans. Ramazan Şeşen (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2014), 211.
[585] Gabriel and Sauvaget, 77-8.
[586] Whelan 406.
[587] Michael Meinecke, *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions Versus Migrating Artists* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 58.
[588] Tunçdağ, "Artuk Oğulları Sanat Eserleri," 103.

The Hisn Kayfa Bridge, which was in ruins during Albert Gabriel's research in Eastern Anatolia in the early twentieth century, was unfortunately flooded and destroyed by the Ilısu Dam Project in 2020 (Figure 3.11). It is made of rubble stones, ashlar, and brick, just like the Malabadi Bridge. Its pointed central arch's span is approximately 40 meters, and its length exceeds 100 meters, smaller than the Malabadi Bridge in dimensions (Figure 3.12). [589]

Figure 3.11. The Remains of the Hisn Kayfa Bridge, Photo by Albert Gabriel, 1908-34, AG20K004188, Albert Gabriel Fund INHA, Media Library of Architecture and Heritage, France (POP-Plateforme Ouverte du Patrimoine).

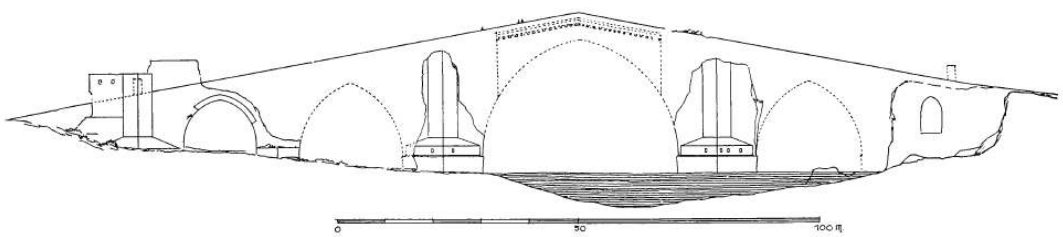


Figure 3.12. The Reconstruction of Hisn Kayfa Bridge by Albert Gabriel (Gabriel and Sauvaget, 1940, 71).

[589] Altun, *Anadolu'da Artuklu Devri Türk Mimarisi'nin Gelişmesi*, 194.

Figure 3.13. A recent photo of reliefs of Hisn Kayfa Bridge after they were transported to the Batman Museum in 2018 (DHA [Demirören News Agency], 12.02.2018).

Visitors and experts were intrigued by the human reliefs at the Hisn Kayfa Bridge's piers (Figure 3.13). In his writings, British Foreign Office officer and early archaeologist John G. Taylor describes these as "male figures of Parthian workmanship, about three feet high and in good relief, but unfortunately, owing to fluvial action, much defaced."[590] Gabriel claims that he counted seven different human reliefs during his visit to the site in the 1930s. There were actually only five of them that he documented in his book. According to Gabriel, these figures represent the twelve zodiac signs.[591] Whelan claims that these depictions adhere to "an established iconography of prince and servants" seen in manuscript illustrations and architectural decoration courtly ceremonies.[592] She further suggests that Qara Arslan could have used these figures of court pages to create his own "sovereign iconography," which was also part of his coin decoration plans.[593] There are various academic interpretations of the carved reliefs of the Hisn Kayfa Bridge,

[590] John George Taylor, "Travels in Kurdistan, with Notices of the Sources of the Eastern and Western Tigris, and Ancient Ruins in Their Neighbourhood," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 35 (1865): 33.
[591] Gabriel and Sauvaget, 75-6.
[592] Whelan, 406-11.
[593] Estelle J. Whelan, "The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia," Ph.D. diss., (New York University, 1979), 907-912.

but the consensus is that these reliefs date from the Artuqid period, not the spolia. I also believe that the existing pieces are not representing the "use of spolia" iconographically.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, "classicizing" motifs were given new interpretations in various forms of art such as architecture and coins in the medieval dynasties of the Mediterranean region.[594] These dynasties include Artuqids, Seljuks of Rum, Zengids, Normans of Sicily, and Byzantines. Another trend was the use of "Islamicizing" motifs. In Sicily and Byzantium, pseudo-Arabic Kufic script was used to decorate architectural forms (mosaic, wall painting, brick) and portable objects. Some examples were even more eclectic, combining elements of both classicizing and Islamicizing styles. The San Marco Bowl, a Byzantine divinatory glass bowl dated to the eleventh-twelfth century, is an excellent example with pseudo-Arabic inscriptions imitating floriated Kufic and well-known Greco-Roman characters.[595] These motifs were consciously re-employed and gained new meanings in different contexts.

The use of classicizing motifs on different artistic forms, raises questions about the possible employment of spolia usage by the Artuqids. In the introduction of the thesis, two historical records of Michael the Syrian and Ibn Shaddad that provide insight into Artuqid perspectives on spolia are mentioned.[596] The Great Mosque of Harran and the Great Mosque of Amid (Diyarbakır) are both located in the Jazira region and are frequently cited as examples of the survival-revival debate due to their use of classicizing motifs and spolia. Neither of these two buildings has direct connection to the Artuqid dynasty, but the Great Mosque of Mayyafariqin (Silvan) does.

In 1152 (547 H), the Great Mosque of Mayyafariqin was collapsed during the reign of Husam al-Din Timurtash. Later, his son Najm al-Din Alpi began rebuilding it in 1155 (550 H).[597] Keser-Kayaalp emphasizes that the abovementioned mosques of Harran, Amid, and Mayyafariqin contains "reused fragments as well as classical-looking newly produced elements."[598] For instance, the cyma recta is designed with Islamic motifs in the Great Mosque of Mayyafariqin.[599] In a way, they incorporates "spolia in re" and

[594] Hoffman and Redford, "Transculturation in the Eastern Mediterranean," 410.
[595] Alicia Walker, "Meaningful Mingling: Classicizing Imagery and Islamicizing Script in a Byzantine Bowl," *The Art Bulletin* 90, no. 1 (2008): 32-33, 35, 37, 46.
[596] For the details of two records, See Page 17.
[597] See Page 136 and footnote 575.
[598] Keser-Kayaalp, "The Great Mosque of Diyarbakır in Light of Discussions on Spolia and Classicism," 142-3.
[599] Ibid, 143.

"spolia in se" at the same time.[600] The northern façade shows a frieze of blind arcade (Figure 3.14a) which is topped by cyma recta. The spandrel of blind arcade is completed with fishscale fills.[601] Another two twelfth-century buildings from Mardin, the Hatuniye Madrasa and the Jamiʿ al-Asfar (Yellow Mosque) or Najm al-Din Mosque have also architectural decoration in classicizing style. In the Hatuniye Madrasa, mihrab niche has two carved capitals with acanthus leaves, being only remaining example from the Artuqid context (Figure 3.14b). Beyazit identifies that two architectural styles, Islamic and antique, were used in the Artuqid buildings in Mardin.[602]

Figure 3.14a-b. Left: Detail of blind arcade on the northern façade, The Great Mosque of Mayyafariqin (Archnet). Right: The mihrab capital with acanthus-leaf decoration, Hatuniye (Sitti Radviyye) Madrasa, Mardin (Photo by the thesis author).

Women from the Artuqid dynasty, whose names are rarely mentioned in sources about the Artuqids, are only mentioned due to news of marriage alliances, weddings, and funerals. There is very little information available about their social status and characteristics. Zubayda Khatun, daughter of Najm al-Din Alpi and sister of Qutb al-Din

[600] Richard Brilliant coined the terms "spolia in re" and "spolia in se" in an article published in the Italian journal Prospettiva in 1982. The term "spolia in se" refers to the reuse/transfer of physical materials into a new context, whereas "spolia in re" refers to the reuse/appropriation of older styles, ideas, and images in new productions, both physically and conceptually. See Richard Brilliant, "I Piedistalli Del Giardino di Boboli: Spolia in Se, Spolia in Re." *Prospettiva*, no. 31 (1982): 2–17. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney, *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine* (London, England: Routledge, 2016), 2-8.

[601] Keser-Kayaalp and Wheatley-Irving, "Late Antique Architectural Sculpture at the Mayyāfāriqīn Mosque," 130, 133.

[602] Deniz Beyazit, "Architectural Decoration of the Artuqids of Mardin during the 12th and the 13th Centuries: between Antique and Islamic Style," *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift Der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études Asiatiques: Revue De La Société Suisse-Asie* 58, no. iv (2004): 1013-1030.

Sökmen II, is one of the few female patrons from the Artuqid family who has left her mark on the architectural evidence and whose work has survived to the present day. Zubayda Khatun had the Haburman Bridge built in 1179 (575 H), located around the village of Haburman on the outskirts of Çermik in Diyarbakır (Figure 3.15). The Haburman Bridge is located on the Sinek Stream which pours into the Euphrates. It is made of limestone ashlar, rubble stone and brick following the style of the Malabadi Bridge but smaller in size. The bridge measures 107 m in length, 5.50 m in width. The middle arch is 19.50 m in span, and 12.50 m in height. [603] The bridge has a building inscription on the southern façade mentioning that Zubayda Khatun was involved in the construction of this building. There is an Ottoman period repair inscription dated 1825/6 as well.[604]

Figure 3.15. Haburman Bridge in Çermik (SALT Archive).

Viennese traveler and ichthyologist Victor Pietschmann saw and photographed the bridge in 1914 (Figure 3.16). Pietschmann shares an anecdote about the bridge: While

[603] Ünal reads the date as 1198/9 (595 H). Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal, *Diyarbakır İli'ndeki Bazı Türk-İslâm Anıtları Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1975), 165, 167. Tunçdağ, "Artuk Oğulları Sanat Eserleri," 114-6.
[604] Ünal, *Diyarbakır İli'ndeki Bazı Türk-İslâm Anıtları Üzerine Bir İnceleme,* 167-7. Also See Altun, 206.

walking around the city towards the river with his local guide, there was said to be a large, old stone bridge with an inscription in the city, and people living in the town said that this bridge is maybe two thousand or three thousand years old. While Victor was expecting to see a Greek or Latin inscription, they came across an Arabic inscription. His local guide read it for him and said, "from the time immediately after Muhammad and placed by the builder of the bridge."[605] The observations of the locals regarding their perceptions of medieval structures are quite interesting. However, the local guide appears to have misread the inscription as well.

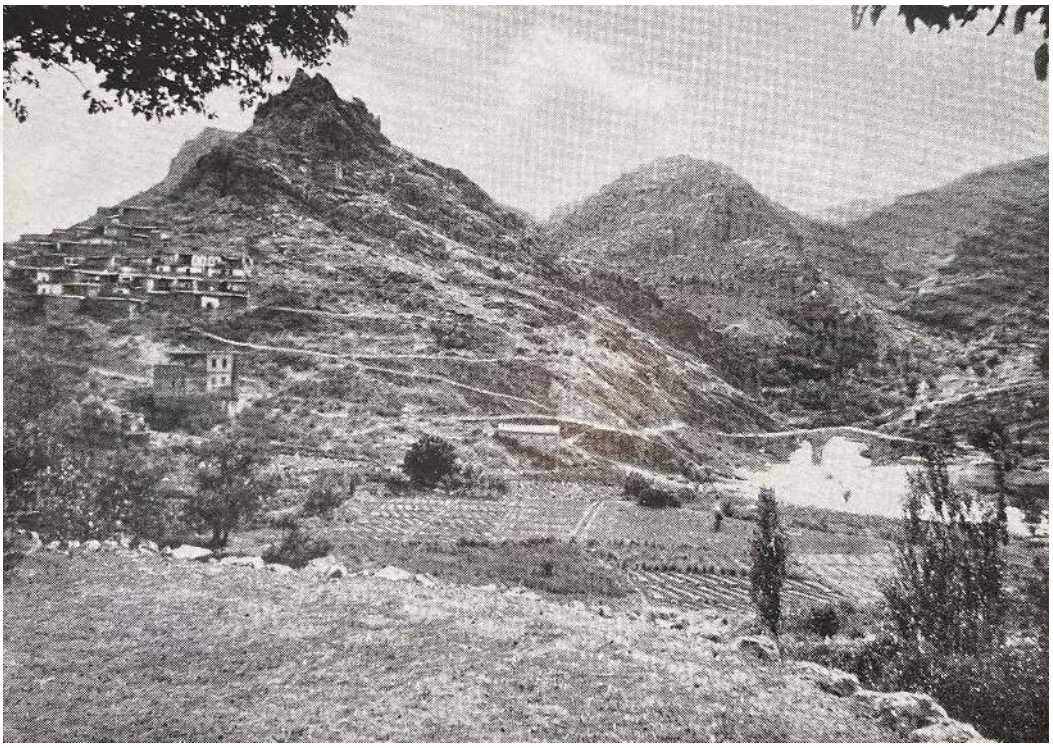


Figure 3.16. View of the Mountain of Çermik, and the Haburman Bridge on the right, Photograph by Victor Pietschmann, 1914 (Pietschmann, 1940).

Different states that ruled in the medieval Anatolia preferred distinct titles for various people working on architectural projects. The Seljuks of Rum utilized the title *al-miʿmār* for the architects, and they named the state official who controlled big architectural projects as *amīr-i miʿmār.* In the contexts of Mengüjekids and Saltukids, the architects coming from Akhlat were mentioned as *al-miʿmār* in their inscriptions. In contrast, Ibn al-Azraq reports that the Artuqids and Sökmenids or Akhlat-Shahs utilized

[605] Victor Pietschmann, *Durch Kurdische Berge Und Armenische Städte: Tagebuch Der Österreichischen Armenienexpidition 1914* (Wien: Adolf Luser, 1940), 110-1.

the word *al-ḥisābi* for architects and engineers.[606] On the other hand, the Rum Seljuks preferred *al-muhandis* for engineers. For instance, Ibn Bibi used the word *bannāyān-i muhandis* to define construction engineers.[607] As mentioned earlier, *al-tarsīm* was also standing for the plan designer and drawer in the Artuqid building inscriptions. It should be noted, however, that multiple titles may be used for employees performing the same activity. New inscriptions that will be unearthed, as well as the information from newly discovered historical sources, will add to our understanding of the function of titles in different periods and geographies.

Figure 3.17. The Halilviran Bridge dated 1218/9 (615 H) (Diyarbakır Governorate).

The Halilviran Bridge, also known as Devegeçidi Bridge, is another Artuqid structure discovered in 1970 and located on the Devegeçidi Stream, 20 kilometers north of Diyarbakır center.[608] For the building material, rubble filling is covered with black basalt cut stone. The type of black basalt ashlar stone is similar to the one used for the fortifications of Amid (Figure 3.17). The total length of the bridge with seven arches is 101.40 m. Nasir al-Din Mahmud of the Artuqid branch of Hisn Kayfa and Amid built this

[606] Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi: Saltuklular, Mengücikler, Sökmenliler, Dilmaç Oğulları ve Artukluların Siyasî Tarih ve Medeniyetleri*, 257-8. For instance, Ibn Bibi reports that the Seljuk amir Sad al-din Köpek (Dog) had the title of *al-miʿmār.* See Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ʿAla Al-Din Kaykubad (r. 1220–1237)," 212.
[607] Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism, and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ʿAla Al-Din Kaykubad (r. 1220–1237)," 377.
[608] Metin Sözen, *Diyarbakir'da Türk Mimarisi* (İstanbul: Gün Matbaasi, 1971), 218.

bridge in 1218/9 (615 H), as attested by its inscriptions.[609] The first inscription can be found between the first arch and the bridge's coastal pillar, and the second can be found on the second pillar's pointed arch. Between the fifth and sixth arches of the bridge, the third inscription can be found.

Figure 3.18. The Halilviran Bridge's second inscription mentioning al-Malik al-Salih Nasir al-Din Mahmud and Ja'far ibn Mahmud al-Halabi (Diyarbakır Governorate).

The first two inscriptions identify the bridge's patron and architect, while the third displays the 261st verse of the Quran's *al-Baqara* (the Cow) verse.[610] The name of *al-ustadh* Ja'far ibn Mahmud al-Halabi (from Aleppo) is written on the first two inscriptions. Same person uses the title of *tarsīm al-ustadh* in the Mesudiye Madrasa constructed by Qutb al-Din Sökmen II in 1198. Al-Halabi's name reappears on the two Amid wall inscriptions dated 1236 (634 H) after the Ayyubid conquest, naming him "*tarsīm"* Shuja' al-Din al-Mukaddam Ja'far ibn Mahmud al-Halabi. The title of *tarsīm* designates the person who is responsible for the design and drawing in the Artuqid and Ayyubid contexts.[611] At the end of the second inscription (Figure 3.18), Nasir al-Din Mahmud also noted as "*tarsīm* (the designer) al-Malik al-Salih."[612] Mahmud's education and talents

[609] Fügen İlter, *Osmanlılara Kadar Anadolu Türk Köprüleri* (Ankara: Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü, 1978), 109.
[610] İlter, *Osmanlılara Kadar Anadolu Türk Köprüleri,* 110.
[611] Zafer Bayburtluoğlu, *Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yapı Sanatçıları* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1993), 189-192.
[612] Hüseyin Karaçam, "Artuklu Kitabeleri (1102-1409)," 114-6.

were very sophisticated, as he was interested in and learned about mathematical sciences and mechanical devices. The word *tarsīm* could stand for Mahmud's involvement in the project in designing or drawing the bridge's design. Until new evidence is discovered, it is difficult to comment on the breadth of his technical knowledge of architecture. Mahmud's decision to represent himself in the inscription as the designer, rather than a benefactor ruler, is noteworthy.

The Ambar Çay Bridge is another building project by the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid, although only its remains have survived to the present day. It is located on the Diyarbakir-Silvan (Mayyafariqin) road and is made of limestone. İlter published an old, undated photo of the bridge which has twenty arches and is similar to the flat and arched design of the ten-arched Tigris Bridge of Amid (*On Gözlü Köprü*) constructed by the Marwanid ruler in 1065 (Figure 3.19). The author mentioned that at the time she published her work, only the foundations of the bridge were remaining.[613]

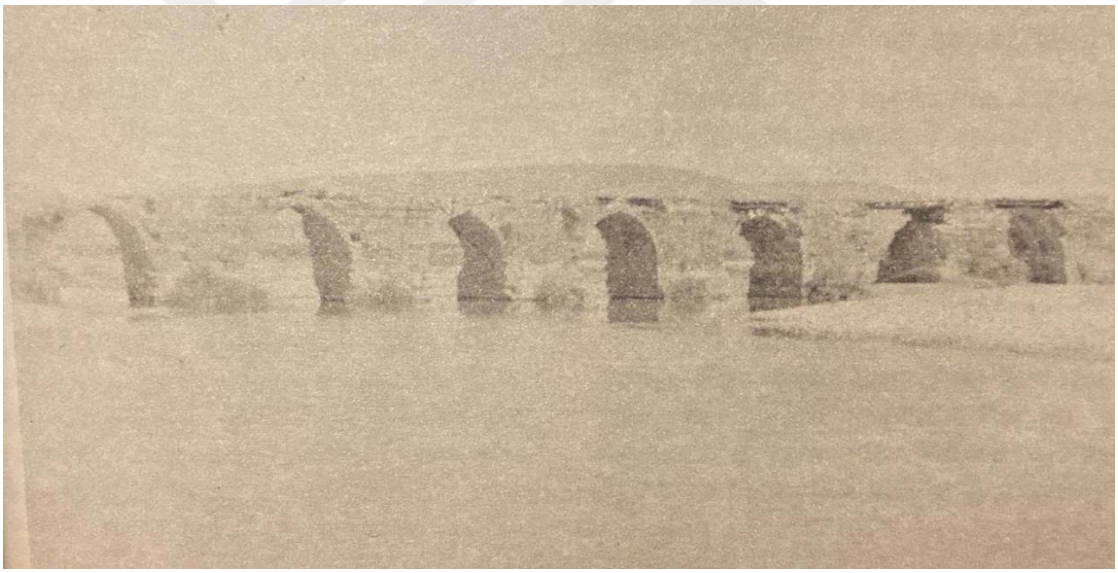


Figure 3.19. The Ambar Çay Bridge before it collapsed, unknown date (İlter, 1978, 165).

Konyar previously published the bridge's building four-lined inscription found between the ninth and tenth arches. Konyar, who could not read the entire inscription clearly, claimed that the bridge was built during the reign of Al-Malik al-Masʿud Rukn al-Din Mawdud b. Mahmud (1222-1232) and the builder's name was Osman ibn Takak, who was the apprentice of *al-ustadh* Ja'far ibn Mahmud al-Halabi. The date of the

[613] İlter, *Osmanlılara Kadar Anadolu Türk Köprüleri,* 163. Cevdet Çulpan, *Türk Taş Köprüleri: Ortaçağdan Osmanlı Devri Sonuna Kadar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), 54.

inscription is 1223 July (Rajab 620 H).[614] In the inscription, two titles *al-bannāʾ* (mason/builder) and *ghulam* (slave) are used to define Osman ibn Takak. Çulpan and İlter argue that Mawdud was the one who repaired the bridge. Thus the bridge was an earlier structure, but its date could not be read.[615] Bayburtluoğlu argues that the title of *al-bannāʾ* was used to designate people responsible for the actual building activities. Another person, who utilized the title of *al-bannāʾ* in the Artuqid context, was Masʿud who worked on the construction of the Mesudiye Madrasa with *al-ustadh* Ja'far ibn Mahmud al-Halabi. This might indicate the division of labor between them.[616]

Throughout his chronicle, Ibn al-Azraq describes how the Artuqids rebuilt and repaired the destroyed fortifications in their cities. His first mention coincides with the period of Husam al-Din Timurtash. In the year 1144/5 (539 H), the curtain wall (*al-badana*) of Mayyafariqin collapsed and was rebuilt again.[617] Another case is the demolishment of the Forty Tower (*Burj al-Arbaʿīn*) started by Al-Zahid ibn al-Tawil and Qaraqush *al-ḥisābi* on January 29, 1164 (2 Rabiʿ I 559 H) in Mayyafariqin. The dismantling process took one and half month. Its construction started on April 30, 1164 (Wednesday, 5 Jumada II 559 H) and it was completed on November 16, 1164 (Saturday, 28 Dhu'l-Hijja 559 H). The construction period took six months and three days. It was the most aesthetically pleasing of the buildings of its time, said Ibn al-Azraq. The responsible person was Yaqut *al-ḥisābi* who spent extraordinary effort with his technical expertise.[618]

Another tower project began on February 13, 1165 (29 Rabiʿ I 560 H) in Mayyafariqin. The Mirror Tower (*Burj* al-*Mirʾāt*), located on the Mayyafariqin fortification and near the Palace Gate (*Bāb al-Qasr*), has begun to be demolished in preparation for its reconstruction.[619] The project was finished on August 4, 1165 (23 Ramadan 560 H) and its construction took three months and twenty-three days to complete.[620] The Mirror Tower is still standing and located on the east side of the city and a part of inner-city walls today (Figure 3.13). The southern tower has a Kufic inscription naming Artuqid ruler Najm al-Din Alpi as patron and mentions his titles. It is dated

[614] Basri Konyar, *Diyarbekir Kitabeleri: Cilt II* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1936), 142-3.
[615] İlter, *Osmanlılara Kadar Anadolu Türk Köprüleri,* 164.
[616] Bayburtluoğlu, *Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yapı Sanatçıları*, 154-7.
[617] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State*, 111.
[618] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 137. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Tārikh Mayyāfāriqīn*, 627.
[619] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 147.
[620] Ibid, 149.

1165/6 (561 H) (Figure 3.20).[621]

Figure 3.20. The Mirror Tower, Photo by Albert Gabriel, 1908-34, AG20K003984, Albert Gabriel Fund INHA, Media Library of Architecture and Heritage, France (POP).

Above the inscription, there are lion figures on the left and right sides and a double sphinx sharing a single head in the center. According to Gierlichs, the single-headed double sphinx is a highly distinct depiction in both Artuqid and Seljuk contexts. However, the David Collection's 13th century architectural element, with inventory number 1/1990, displays an iconography similar to the lions of the Mirror Tower. The author further suggests that these figures may have apotropaic or astrological symbolism because similar lion depictions can be found in some manuscripts of al-Sufi's *Book of the Fixed Stars* (Figure 3.21).[622] The comparison of both examples show striking similarities and highlights how diverse medieval sources of inspiration, either manuscripts or architectural reliefs, could possibly influence another artistic medium. Moreover, Ibn al-Azraq does not explain why it is called "Mirror Tower" in the Artuqid context. Still, a

[621] Whelan, 401.
[622] Joachim Gierlichs, *Mittelalterliche Tierreliefs in Anatolien Und Nordmesopotamien: Untersuchungen Zur Figürlichen Baudekoration Der Seldschuken, Artuqiden Und Ihrer Nachfolger Bis Ins 15. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1996), 210-1. For the architectural relief, See "Architectural Element, Limestone," Davids Samling, https://www.davidmus.dk/islamic-art/stone-and-stucco/item/1177?culture=en-us.

closer example is found in his chronicle's other section focusing on the Marwanid dynasty (r. 990-1085). Ibn al-Azraq reports that the two small towers above Mayyafariqin inner gate were built during the reign of Marwanid ruler Nizam al-Dawla Nasr (r. 1061-79), and they had mirrors and binoculars apparently for security purposes.[623]

Figure 3.21.Left: Constellation of Leo, Al-Sufi's *K. Ṣuwar al-kawākib*, Dhū 'l-Qa'da 630 H (August/September 1233), Mosul, MS. Landberg 71, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. Right: The lion figure from the Mirror Tower in Mayyafariqin (Gierlichs, 1996).

Aside from the towers and fortification walls constructed for security in the medieval cities, there were also towers constructed during military expeditions. During Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan's Amid campaign, an example from the Artuqid context was recorded. In 1163 (558 H), Qara Arslan came to Amid with a big army and set up military headquarters. His cousin Najm al-Din Alpi also sent soldiers to help him. Qara Arslan surrounded and pressed the city by erecting either tower or catapult built by a man coming from Maghreb.[624] Ibn al-Azraq does not give any further information about this builder, but I think he might be a traveling craftsman. Michael the Syrian gives details about the material used in this construction. The chronicler reports that Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan "set up siege engines in array and established wooden tower(s) encrusted with iron."[625] Two chroniclers define different types of buildings as either a temporary tower or a catapult, but the wood must have been preferred for practical and useful purposes. It can be said that the Artuqids were also developed in the field of war technology.

The traces of fortification repairs and rebuilding carried out by the Artuqids can be seen in various inscriptions. The excavation team at the Sumaysat Castle discovered

[623] Ahmad ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Mervani Kürtleri Tarihi*, trans. Mehmed Emin Bozarslan (İstanbul: Koral Yayınları, 1990), 184.
[624] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*, 131.
[625] Michael the Syrian, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great* (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195, 312.

an undated building inscription mentioning the name of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan and his Persian and Turkish titles as "Shah [king] Diyar Bakr, Alp, İnanç, Kutluğ."[626] In 1152, Husam al-Din Timurtash captured Sumaysat.[627] The Sumaysat Castle was controlled by his son Najm al-Din Alpi after him. Qara Arslan's presence in the inscription, further reveals that he and Alpi were involved in the reparation and reconstruction process of fortifications together.[628] Another Artuqid castle with repair inscription is Hisn Ziyad (Kharput). Qara Arslan's grandson, Nizam al-Din Ibrahim (r. 1204-23) conducted an extensive reparation project at the Hisn Ziyad. The Artuqid repair inscriptions are on a tower located at the end of the western wall of the castle. There are ten inscriptions, but they have not come to the present in complete form.[629]

Figure 3.22. Nur al-Din Muhammad's Inscription on the Urfa Gate (Karaçam 2012, 48).

[626] Nimet Özgüç, "Sümeysat Definesi." *BELLETEN* 49 (1985): 445. Also See Scott Redford et al., *The Archaeology of the Frontier in the Medieval Near East: Excavations at Gritille, Turkey* (Philadelphia: Published by University Museum Publications, University of Pennsylvania for Archaeological Institute of America, 1998), 28.
[627] Michael the Syrian, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great* (the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex) Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195, 390.
[628] Redford et al., *The Archaeology of the Frontier in the Medieval Near East: Excavations at Gritille, Turkey,* 28.
[629] Ardıçoğlu, "Harput Artuk Oğulları'na Ait Kitabeler," 45.

Amid city walls and towers are marked with inscriptions from the Artuqid period. The earliest example comes from the reign of Nur al-Din Muhammad, who received the city in 1183 (Figure 3.22). After taking the town, Muhammad repaired and constructed the Amid city wall sections. He placed a conquest epitaph dated 1183/4 (579) on the Urfa Gate on Amid's outer walls. Similar to his father's titles, Muhammad uses *al-Malik* (the king), "*malik al-umara*" (the king of princes), and also combines ancient Turkish titles such as "İnanç Yabgu" and "Kutluğ Beg" along with Persian titles. This inscription is significant because it symbolizes the Artuqid takeover of the city from the Inalids with the help of the Ayyubid sultan Salah al-Din.

The *thuluth* inscription is decorated with a bird sitting on a bull, and there are dragon reliefs around the lower inscription.[630] Muhammad further puts a Quranic reference: the thirteenth verse of surah as-Saff says: "Help is from Allah and victory is near."[631] His son Qutb al-Din Sökmen II also continued to repair the city walls. He has an inscription dated 1198/9 (595 H) on the Gate of Deliverance (Bāb al-Faraj), calling himself the "sultan of Diyar Bakr." Sökmen II's choice is quite assertive, since the Artuqid lords generally claimed the title of "*malik*" highlighting their vassal status in the Jazira region. The name of Isa Abu Dirham with the title *al-bannāʾ* (mason/builder) is also written. Isa Abu Dirham also appears on the inscriptions of the Zinciriye Madrasa in Amid.[632]

Nasir al-Din Mahmud, who previously involved in the construction of the Halilviran Bridge, also did extensive work on the Amid's city walls. The building inscriptions reveals his part in the construction and renovation projects. Mahmud's earliest inscription was located on the Diyarbakır Prison's door in the citadel. It is dated 1203/4 (600 H) and mentions the name of Yahya ibn Ibrahim al-Sarafi. The context where it came from is unknown and the inscription was painted over and disappeared afterward.[633] The inner citadel gate made of basalt, which carries a limestone relief with a lion and bull struggle scene, has a faint inscription, however it could be read earlier and dated to 1206/7 (603 H) proving the repair and rebuilding activities of Mahmud in the inner citadel (Figure 3.23a).[634] The other two basalt stone reliefs depicting the same scene

[630] Karaçam, "Artuklu Kitabeleri (1102-1409)," 47-50.
[631] Ibid, 53.
[632] The inhabitants of Diyarbakır generally call the Gate of Deliverance as "the Gate of Conquest" today. Ibid, 66-8.
[633] Karaçam, "Artuklu Kitabeleri (1102-1409)," 82-4.
[634] Ibid, 84-6.

are positioned at the entrance gate of the Great Mosque of Amid's eastern courtyard (Figure 3.23b).

Figure 3.23a-b. Left: Lion-bull struggle relief from the inner citadel gate, Amid (Karaçam 2012, 85). Right: Lion-bull struggle relief from the Great Mosque of Amid (Musuem With No Frontiers).

The Artuqid lord actualized two extensive and sophisticated round tower projects in Amid. First project, the Ulu Beden Tower, is dated 1208/9 (605 H). The Ulu Beden Tower is located on the southwestern corner of the Amid fortifications. It is designed in a circular plan and has a diameter of 25.5 meters (Figure 3.24). The tower is composed of three horizontal levels where the upper part is designed with the *muqarnas* cornice. Around the building inscription in *naskhi* script, the projecting reliefs of a bicephalic bird (most likely an eagle), sphinxes, lions and griffins are positioned. Ibrahim ibn Ja'far is mentioned with the title of *al-bannā* (mason/builder), however other workers are not mentioned in the inscription.[635]

The decorative program of Ulu Beden Tower also includes the astrological motifs and inscriptions in floriated Kufic (Figure 3.25). This section is located on the southeast of the sloping surface surrounding the Ulu Beden Tower's foot.[636] Karaçam argues that three meters of this inscription are approximately missing and some fragments were found during excavations around the fortifications by the Diyarbakır Museum, but the

[635] Whelan, 415-8.
[636] Canan Parla, "Diyarbakır Surlarının Artuklu Dönemi Figürlü Kabartmaları," *The Journal of Academic Social Sciences*, no. 33 (November 2016): 9.

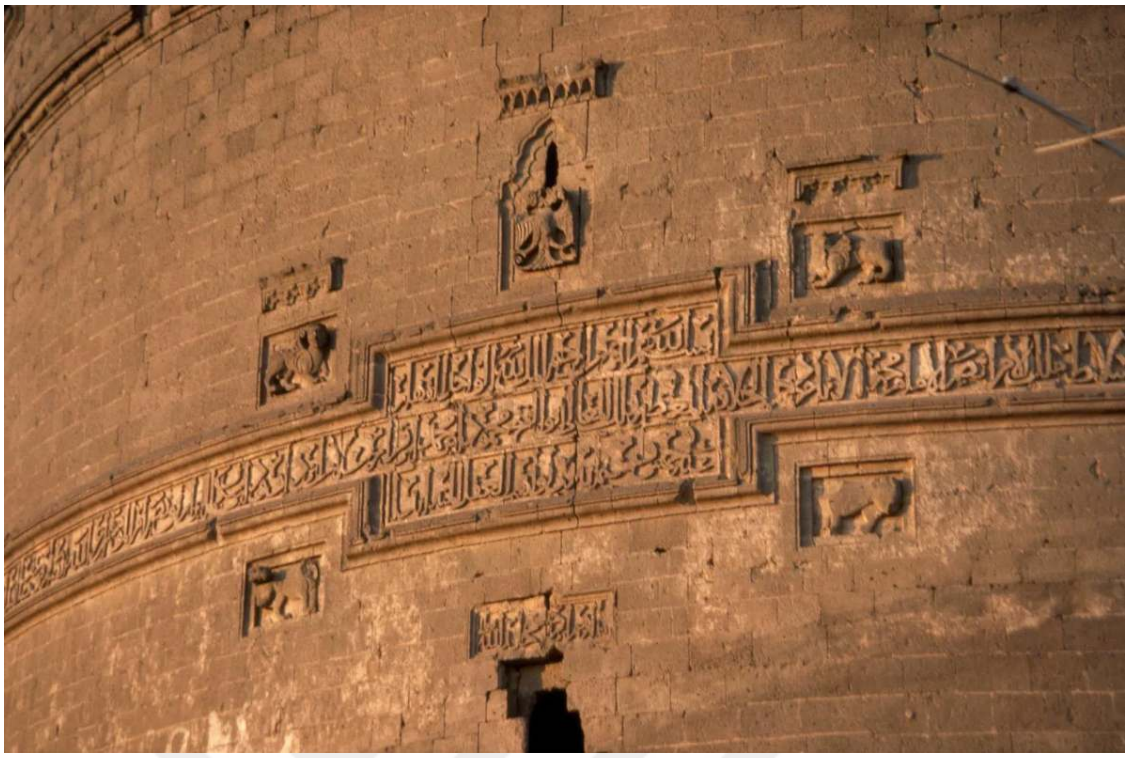


Figure 3.24. The Detail of Ulu Beden Tower, Diyarbakır, 1984 (Archnet).

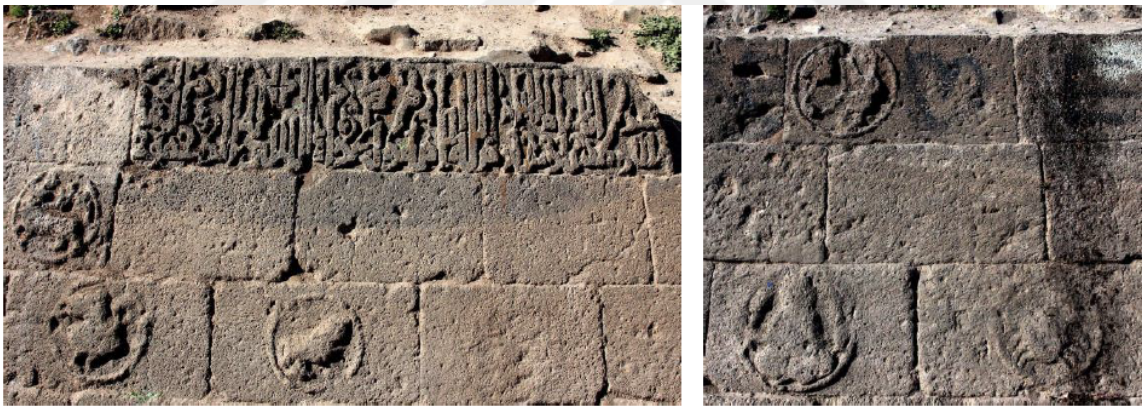


Figure 3.25. Roundel zodiac signs and floriated Kufic inscription from the Ulu Beden Tower (Parla, 2016, 10).

inscriptions cannot be read.[637] However, Parla was able to identify the roundel reliefs and concluded that the existing six pieces are symbolizing the zodiac signs of Sagittarius, Leo, Aquarius, Virgo, Cancer, and an undefined one. Parla argues that the round relief on the Scorpion Tower, which carries a cross-legged human figure holding a scorpion in his hand, might have been transferred from the Ulu Beden Tower (Figure 3.26). This roundel relief symbolizes the zodiac sign Scorpion. This Tower is dated 1236/7 and constructed

[637] Karaçam, 76.

by the Ayyubids.[638] It appears that Nasir al-Din Mahmud not only embellished his court with the zodiac symbolism in the Castle Water Clock, but also, he incorporated celestial references into his newly constructed defense structure in the city fortifications.

Figure 3.26. Roundel relief symbolizing the constellation Scorpion (Parla, 2016, 14).

The second building, the Seven Brothers (Yedi Kardeş) Tower, is located on southern part of the city walls of Amid. The tower is made of basalt cut stone and has a building inscription written in *thuluth* script in three rows. It is an undated round tower with a diameter of 27.8 meters, larger than the Ulu Beden Tower. Yahya ibn Ibrahim al-Sarafi is serving as the builder (*al-bannā'*).[639] There is disagreement about the pronunciation of an Arabic word in this inscription coming after Nasir al-Din Mahmud's title al-Malik al-Salih. While Max van Berchem reads the word as "*bi-rasm*" (for, with the intention), Jean Sauvaget reads it as "*tarsīm.*" Karaçam argues that it is more correct to read it as "bi-rasm" according to Arabic grammar rules, but the author does not completely ignore the possibility of Mahmud's role as designer in this project.[640] Thus the inscription either implies "Malik Salih *tarsīm* (designer)" or "Malik Salih bi-rasm (for Malik Salih)."

Furthermore, the Artuqid lord decorates his tower with two lion reliefs positioned on the left and right sides of the inscription. Above, a double-headed eagle is situated.[641]

[638] Parla, "Diyarbakır Surlarının Artuklu Dönemi Figürlü Kabartmaları," 13,
[639] Whelan, 418-20.
[640] Karaçam, 110-1.
[641] Karaçam, "Artuklu Kitabeleri (1102-1409)," 103-8.

Figure 3.27. The Seven Brothers Tower, undated, Diyarbakır (SALT Archive).

The decorative program of the Seven Brothers Tower and Ulu Beden Tower includes high reliefs of double-headed eagles and lions, which symbolize power and authority of Nasir al-Din Mahmud.[642] Most likely that this was a conscious choice of the ruler. The dimensions of the Seven Brothers Tower and its bold inscription naming Nasir al-Din Mahmud as "malik al-umara, sultan Diyar Bakr wa al-Rum wa al-Arman (the king of princes, sultan of Diyar Bakr, Rum and Armenia)" also strengthen this possibility (Figure 3.27). At that time, the Ayyubid princes ruled in various states in the Diyar Bakr region, and Mahmud's political independence was rather limited as Ayyubid vassal status.[643] However, the Artuqid lord was not alone in claiming this title. In the twelfth and thirteenth

[642] Gülsen Baş, *Diyarbakırdaki İslâm Dönemi Mimari Yapılarında Süsleme* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 370. On the cross-cultural use of the double-headed eagle motif in medieval Anatolia, See Suna Çağaptay, "On the Wings of the Double-Headed Eagle: Spolia In Re and Appropriation in Medieval Anatolia and Beyond," In *Spolia Reincarnated: Second Life of Spaces, Materials, Objects in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Period*, ed. Suzan Yalman and Ivana Jevtić (Koç University: Istanbul, 2018), 309-338.
[643] Karaçam, 109.

centuries, first Danishmendids and then Rum Seljuks, finally Mengüjekids, around the same time with Nasir al-Din Mahmud, claimed the title of malik al-Rum.[644]

Nasir al-Din Mahmud regularly utilized the motif of the double-headed eagle on different contexts. The double-headed design was used on his coins minted in Hisn Kayfa in 1213/4 (610 H), and three other types minted in Amid in 1217/8 (614 H), 1218/9 (615 H) and 1220 (617 H).[645] Although the motif on his coins is the same, Nasir al-Din Mahmud has changed the iconographic details in different types. The copper coin minted in 615 H (1218/9) shows a double-headed eagle carrying stylized wings with swirl patter. The eagle figure carries Artuqid dynastic stamp (*tamgha*) on its chest (Figure 3.28b).[646] Another example comes from the Artuqid Palace in the inner citadel of Amid. A turquoise glazed square tile plate with a black double-headed eagle was found in the castle area in 1946 (Figure 3.28a). Later, during excavations in the 1960s, similar fragments were found. Based on the decorative program of the palace, it was dated to the period of Nasir al-Din Mahmud.[647]

Figure 3.28-a.b. Right: Ceramic tile with the double-headed eagle motif from the Artuqid Palace in Amid (Diyarbakır) (Parla 2016, 17). Left: Nasir al-Din Mahmud's copper coin, dated 615 H, minted in Hisn Kayfa, Inv. TK468, The Barber Institute Coin Collection (Mıynat, 2017).

[644] Ali Mıynat, "Cultural and Socio-Economic Relations Between the Turkmen States and the Byzantine Empire and West with a Corpus of the Turkmen Coins in the Barber Institute Coin Collection," PhD diss., (University of Birmingham, 2017), 129-30.
[645] Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography, Vol I: The Artuqids*, 42-9, 53-4. Mıynat, "Cultural and Socio-Economic Relations Between the Turkmen States and the Byzantine Empire and West with a Corpus of the Turkmen Coins in the Barber Institute Coin Collection," 290-2.
[646] Mıynat, "Cultural and Socio-Economic Relations Between the Turkmen States and the Byzantine Empire and West with a Corpus of the Turkmen Coins in the Barber Institute Coin Collection," 290.
[647] Rüçhan Arık, *Selçuklu Sarayları ve Köşkleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2017), 125-6.

In the medieval context, the hospital (*bīmāristān*, *māristān*, *dār al-shifā*) was a prominent place where theoretical (*naẓarī*) knowledge in medicine was put into practice (ʿ*amal*), just like the role that mathematical sciences and engineering played in constructing various architectural structures and mechanical devices. In the Artuqid context, it is unknown whether medical education is provided in madrasas or hospitals or by what means. Artuqid hospitals, known to exist from written sources, have not survived to the present day as material evidence. In the Chapter 2, the existence of Hisn Kayfa hospital is established through the analysis of physician and philosopher Ibn al-Saʾigh al-ʿAntari's *Diwan*, who worked at the Hospital of Hisn Kayfa for around twenty years. The Artuqid hospital in Hisn Kayfa employed not only al-ʿAntari, but also other doctors mentioned in his poems. Al-ʿAntari did not provide information about the hospital's location or its architecture.

Another hospital learned from the written evidence was located in Mayyafariqin. In his translation of *De Materia Medica*, Mihran ibn Mansur's introductory text provides significant information about the Hospital of Mayyafariqin in 1164 (560 H). While praising of Najm al-Din Alpi's philanthropic activities and generosity, Mihran says: "His decree of charity is still in full force, such as the building of mosques in his kingdom – God keep them prosperous. He also built the Maristan (hospital) in Mahrus Mifariqin [Mayyafariqin] and supplied funds for its maintenance."[648] During the reign of Marwanid ruler Nasr al-Dawla ibn Marwan (r. 1011-61), he constructed a hospital in Mayyafariqin in 1031 (422 H). Ünver argues that Alpi's hospital is a different establishment from Nasr al-Dawla's hospital, but he is also not sure whether Alpi's hospital was built on the previous hospital's site or in a different place.[649]

Ardıçoğlu published an inscription found in five pieces on the tower at the southern end of the western city walls of Kharput. The author claims that the inscription dated 1128/9 (626 H) bearing the name of the last Artuqid ruler of Kharput Nur al-Din Artuq Shah contains the word "marsan" as a version of "maristan." Thus, he concludes that there was a hospital in Kharput built by the Artuqid ruler. After the hospital, he assumed was in the Kharput Castle, was destroyed, Ardıçoğlu believes the stones were used to repair the castle.[650] In his article, Danik published a re-reading and translation of

[648] Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, 37.
[649] Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti XI-XIV üncü Asırlar: Büyük Selçuk İmparatorluğu ve Orta Zamanda Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tababeti Tarihine Dair*, 22.
[650] Ardıçoğlu, *Harput Tarihi*, 59-60.

the inscription, and while "al-Marsan" is mentioned as the master's name and the building as a place of worship in this translation, he concludes that this inscription is still a hospital inscription.[651] Both Ardıçoğlu and Danık present evidence from Bar Hebraeus's chronicle about Mongol commander Baiju Noyan's visit to Kharput for treatment in 1244 when he was sick to show the existence of Kharput hospital.[652] A hospital built by the Artuqids could have existed in Kharput, but the inscription, which is claimed to belong to the Hospital of Kharput, is problematic due to its incompleteness and reading difficulties. Further evidence is also needed.

Figure 3. 29. The View of Emineddin Complex taken from the roof of the Jamiʿ al-Asfar (Yellow Mosque in Arabic) or Najm al-Din Mosque, May 15, 2022 (Photo by the thesis author).

The last Artuqid hospital, mentioned in historical sources but not preserved, was built in Mardin. It was located at the southwest corner of the city, in the neighborhood of Maristan. The Hospital of Mardin is believed to be a part of an Artuqid ensemble of structures titled Emineddin (*Amin al-Din* in Arabic) Complex.[653] The complex included

[651] Ertuğrul Danık, "Harput Kalesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 26 (1997): 317, 319. For the photos of remaining two pieces in the Kharput Museum, See Figures 3 and 4, Ibid, 321-2.
[652] Ardıçoğlu, *Harput Tarihi*, 62-3. Danık, "Harput Kalesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 319.
[653] Deniz Beyazit, *Le Décor Architectural Artuqide En Pierre De Mardin Placé Dans Son Contexte Régional: Contribution À L'histoire Du Décor Géométrique Et Végétal Du Proche-Orient Des Xiie-Xve Siècles* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017), 31.

a bath, a madrasa, a hospital, and a mosque, but only the mosque, madrasa, and bath survived as a result of the repairs.[654] The Emineddin Complex is close to the Jamiʿ al-Asfar (Yellow Mosque) or Najm al-Din Mosque. Its photo taken from the roof of the Jamiʿ al-Asfar shows the complex from the southeast corner (Figure 3.29). The domed bath is seen on the east side. Today, this bath is used as a private property and has a pool in the garden. The mosque is on the southern side facing the open land (Figure 3.30). The madrasa is located to the right of the staircase that descends from the north entrance door, but is now used as imam lodging (Figure 3.31). The complex has a rectangular open courtyard.

The Emineddin Complex in Mardin is believed to be the earliest dated structure constructed by the Artuqid dynasty.[655] The name of this building is neither mentioned in Ibn al-Azraq (d. 1176)'s chronicle dated the twelfth century, nor *The History of the Mardin Artuqid Rulers* written by Ottoman scribe Katip Ferdi in 1537.[656] Najm al-Din Ilgazi's brother, Amin al-Din, is frequently mentioned in publications as the founder of the Emineddin Complex. The Ottoman judge of Mardin, Abdüsselam (ʿAbd al-Salam in Arabic) Efendi (d. 1843), argues in his book *Umm al-ʿIber* on Mardin's history that Amin al-Din Jabbar (d. 1092) started building the madrasa, but he died before finishing the construction. Najm al-Din Ilghazi (r. 1114/5-1122) completed the project. Abdüsselam Efendi argues that the Emineddin Mosque is called as "Bimaristan (hospital)."[657]

A revisionist work on the Emineddin Complex argues that Abdüsselam Efendi was the first person to claim the founder as "Emineddin." But the Mardin judge did not provide any evidence to prove his argument. The later researchers, including Ali Emiri Efendi, accepted this information without questioning. The author also emphasizes that there is no person named Emineddin in the published Artuqid family trees.[658] On the other hand, another study claims that the title "Emineddin" was given to Najm al-Din Ilghazi's

[654] Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti XI-XIV üncü Asırlar: Büyük Selçuk İmparatorluğu ve Orta Zamanda Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tababeti Tarihine Dair*, 16.
[655] Emine Dağtekin and Gül Asatekin, "Anadolu'da Bir Belge: Mardin Emineddin Külliyesi," in *I. Uluslararası Artuklu Sempozyumu Bildirileri: 25-27 Ekim 2007- Mardin: Bildiriler*, ed. İbrahim Özcoşar (Mardin: Mardin Valiliği Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 257.
[656] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*. Katip Ferdi, *Mardin Artuklu Melikleri Tarihi*, ed. Ali Emiri, trans. Y. Metin. Yardımcı (İstanbul: Mardin Tarihi İhtisas Kütüphanesi, 2006). Ottoman intellectual Ali Emiri Efendi, who published Katip Ferdi's book as edited volume, noted the Emineddin Complex in his Footnote 14, referencing the work of Abdüsselam Efendi. Ibid, 8.
[657] Abdüsselam Efendi, *Mardin Tarihi*, trans. H. H. Güneş (İstanbul: Mardin Tarihi İhtisas Kütüphanesi Yayını, 2007), 43-4.
[658] Birgül Açıkyıldız-Şengül, "Mardin Emineddin (Emînüddin) Külliyesi: Hami ve Mimari = Mardin Emineddin (Emînuddin) Complex: Patronage and Architecture," *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 34, no. 2 (December 2017): 16.

Figure 3.30. The View of Emineddin Complex from the Southern Side, the Mosque on the Left, the Open Praying Hall in the Middle and the Hamam on the Right Side, May 15, 2022 (Photo by the thesis author).

Figure 3.31. The Madrasa Section of the Emineddin Complex, May 15, 2022 (Photo by the thesis author).

brother Sökmen by the Caliph.[659] However, authors' primary references do not include such information. Sökmen ibn Artuq (d. 1104) had another title frequently referred to as Muʿin al-Din or Muʿin al-Dawla. Ibn al-Athir calls him as Muʿin al-Dawla in his chronicle. He also mentions of another son ʿAbd al-Jabbar ibn Artuq, but he does not provide further detail about him. ʿAbd al-Jabbar is known to be the father of Badr al-Dawla Sulayman who was appointed as the governor of Aleppo by Najm al-Din Ilghazi.[660] Abdüsselam Efendi may have meant ʿAbd al-Jabbar, about whom little is known, when he attributed Jabbar to the Artuqid dynasty, even though there is no one in the family with the name Amin al-Din so far.

The identity of the patron is debated. Açıkyıldız-Şengül claims that the Emineddin Complex was built in the name of a religious man called Sheikh Emineddin, based on the endowment documents, waqf registers and cadastral registers dated 1518 in the Ottoman archives. It is complicated to say the exact date of the building since there is no building inscription, but based on its architectural features, it may have been built by the Artuqids in the twelfth century.[661] Ali Emiri reports that the hospital was in ruins in 1913.[662] In the Ottoman records, it is called "Sheikh Emineddin Hospital" and continued to function until the beginning of the twentieth century.[663] The title "sheikh" may have been added later during the Ottoman period. The fact that Açkyıldız-Şengül attributes this title to the builder, has the same flaws as Abdüsselam Efendi's argument. As another example, Jamiʿ al-Asfar or Najm al-Din Mosque is also named "Sheikh Najm al-Din Ghazi Mosque" in the Ottoman archives. The medieval sources do not count the title "sheikh" among the Najm al-Din Ilghazi's titles. This title problem needs further investigation as well.[664]

The Jamiʿ al-Asfar or Najm al-Din Mosque is considered to be the only remaining monument from the so-called "Necmeddin Complex." Ali Emiri reports that Najm al-Din Ilghazi was buried in the Jamiʿ al-Asfar opposite the Maristan (hospital).[665] In Chapter 1, the *mashhad* constructed by Husam al-Din Timurtash for the tombs of his father Najm al-Din Ilghazi and his brother Sulayman was discussed at length. Ibn al-Azraq described the

[659] Ayten Dirier and Cemil İnan, "Türkiye'de İlk Tıp Fakültesi'ni Mardin'de Artuklular Kurdu," *Journal of Islamic Jerusalem Studies* 20, no. 3 (2020): 342-43.
[660] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response,* 79, 231, 240.
[661] Açıkyıldız-Şengül, "Mardin Emineddin (Emînüddin) Külliyesi: Hami ve Mimari, 17.
[662] See the footnotes of Ali Emiri in Katip Ferdi, *Mardin Artuklu Melikleri Tarihi*, 8.
[663] Alpay Bizbirlik, *16. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Diyarbekir Beylerbeyliği'nde Vakıflar: (972 Tahriri Işığında)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), 310-1.
[664] BOA, C.EV, 28/1390.
[665] See Footnote 15 of Ali Emiri in Katip Ferdi, *Mardin Artuklu Melikleri Tarihi,* 10.

building and what Timurtash established in it in his chronicle about the early period of Artuqids of Mardin. Its location was described as the western side of Mardin, outside of the walls and under the suburb area. The chronicler also mentioned the *waqf* established for its maintenance and the library it included. Hillenbrand believes that the building was constructed between the years 1124 and 1135.[666] Husam al-Din Timurtash was buried in the *mashhad*, according to Ibn al-Azraq, who also provided the date of his death as January 19, 1154 (2 Dhu'l-Qaʿda 548).[667]

Figure 3.32. The missing inscription of the Jamiʿ al-Asfar (Yellow Mosque) in Mardin, on the north façade, 19 April, 1911 - 21 April, 1911, Gertrude Bell, Inv. GB/3/1/18/1/157 (Gertrude Bell Archive Newcastle University).

[666] See Footnotes 209-12.
[667] Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Meyyafarakin ve Amed Tarihi: Artuklular Kısmı*. 96.

Deniz Beyazit published the missing inscription above the entrance door of Jamiʿ al-Asfar. This inscription, today is lost, is written in a circular medallion with zigzag framing. It was photographed by Gertrude Bell in 1911 (Figure 3.32).[668] A handwritten note records the eight-line floriated Kufic inscription in the Max van Berchem Foundation in Geneva. It gives the name of the patron at the end as: "Alp (*hero*) İnanç Kutlug (*loyal fortunate*) Bey Abu [Saʿid Timurtash ibn Abi Ilghazi] ibn Artuq, may God glorify him."[669] Floriated Kufic was first developed by the Fatimids in the eleventh century and later spread to the other regions of Syria, southern Anatolia, Palestine, and western Iran.[670] The floriated Kufic script also appears on the Artuqid buildings in the twelfth and thirteenth century as well.[671] Beyazıt argues that this mosque was a part of the Timurtash's *mashhad* area.[672] This inscription further supports the location and the multifunctionality of the *mashhad* as a complex in Mardin.

[668] Beyazit, *Le Décor Architectural Artuqide En Pierre De Mardin Placé Dans Son Contexte Régional: Contribution À L'histoire Du Décor Géométrique Et Végétal Du Proche-Orient Des Xiie-Xve Siècles,* 32.
[669] Ibid, 35.
[670] Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival*, 55. Also, See Adolf Grohmann, "The Origin and Early Development of Floriated Kūfic," *Ars Orientali*s 2 (1957): 183-213.
[671] Among them, the lost inscription of Jamiʿ al-Asfar from the reign of Husam al-Din Timurtash (r. 1122-54) in Mardin, one inscription dated 1193/4 (590 H) from the Mesudiye Madrasa from the reign of Qutb al-Sökmen (r. 1185-1201) and verse inscriptions from the Great Mosque of Dunaysir dated 1204 (601 H) from the reign of Nasir al-Din Artuq Arslan (r. 1201-39) can be counted. See Karaçam, 60, 154-6, 229. The mihrab niche of tomb in Hatuniye (Sitti Radviyye) Madrasa also has a floriated Kufic inscription band. See Beyazit, *Le Décor Architectural Artuqide En Pierre De Mardin Placé Dans Son Contexte Régional: Contribution À L'histoire Du Décor Géométrique Et Végétal Du Proche-Orient Des Xiie-Xve Siècles,* 38.
[672] Beyazit, *Le Décor Architectural Artuqide En Pierre De Mardin Placé Dans Son Contexte Régional: Contribution À L'histoire Du Décor Géométrique Et Végétal Du Proche-Orient Des Xiie-Xve Siècles,* 35.

CONCLUSION

The fifteenth-century Mamluk envoy from Aleppo, Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Halabi Ibn Aja, spent days in the city of Amid on his way to Tabriz in 1472 and recorded his feelings about the Artuqid monuments in his travel account: "The beholder who contemplates these monuments and ruins recognizes their grandeur [of the Artuqids] while recalling the words of the poet who said: 'The winds blew over their homes as if they were appointed there.'"[673] The fact that the architectural works of the Artuqid dynasty, whose traces were gradually erased from history and about which very little information is available today, are also admired in the early modern period is quite revealing regarding the aesthetics of artworks they left behind. Indeed, the Artuqid dynasty is known for its artistic and architectural accomplishments and contributions to scientific developments and education. The Artuqid rulers were great supporters of scientists, thinkers, and artists of their time in the Jazira region.

This thesis presented the patronage activities of the Artuqid dynasty in the ancient sciences between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. It aimed to read about the interest in the ancient sciences and its reflection based on the patronized scientists, manuscript production, private libraries, mechanical devices and architectural projects enhanced by the technical developments. The Artuqid palaces were home to an advanced court culture that became a prestigious hub for scholars and thinkers interested in scientific research and ancient sciences. Some of the Artuqid rulers especially invited famous scholars to their courts and wanted to establish patronage relationships or companionships with them. Some scholars who already had patrons refused to work for them or left to serve for other rulers or high officials in other medieval dynasties.

In Syria, Jazira, and Anatolia, networks were established with other medieval dynasties, craftsmen, and scientists. It is known that some important figures associated with the Artuqids traveled to these regions and entered into new patronage relationships. Moreover, the patronage activities of the Ayyubid and Rum Seljuk sultans in the field of ancient sciences set parallel examples to the Artuqids and further show that these prestigious activities were part of a broader courtly life and supported by diverse royal

[673] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Mamluk Perceptions of Foreign Arts," in *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Evolution and Impact*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephan Conermann (Goettingen: V & R Unipress, Bonn Univ. Press, 2012), 308.

family members as well. The Artuqid rulers, who gave importance to science and scientists, founded and supported educational institutions, and had various books dedicated to their names, could be criticized for their areas of interest in the medieval period. Historical sources offer us existing biases about them. Their intellectual interests and beliefs were not appreciated sometimes.

The geographical location of the Artuqid dynasty also impacted their economy and artistic output. Different trade routes and travelers from diverse cities were passing by the Artuqid cities, bringing economic power and goods to the Artuqids that helped them sustain lavish artistic production and employment of successful scholars and artisans.[674] There were ancient trade routes in the Jazira region where the Artuqid dynasty ruled, and the Artuqids continued to use the roads and bridges from previous periods. Additionally, new bridges were constructed on the sites of demolished bridges, and new bridge projects were implemented in different locations.

Researchers often emphasize that the Artuqids, which realized large and significant bridge projects fitting their geographical conditions, were highly advanced in building technology and engineering. Meinecke considered the Hisn Kayfa Bridge as "an engineering masterwork of daring design, rivaling its Classical predecessors not only in the remarkable perfection of stone masonry but also with the human representations incorporated into the architectural decoration."[675] The three branches of the Artuqid dynasty ruled in areas where some of the bridges, city walls, and other types of buildings constructed by the previous owners, especially Roman structures, were still standing. These immobile structures, acting as "stationary sources of ancient knowledge," might have inspired the Artuqid dynasty in their construction projects.

Understanding the relationship of Artuqids with the past requires examination of their support for ancient sciences and the themes associated with the past that they used in various artistic mediums. In contrast to architecture, the transmission of ancient knowledge could also be materialized through the circulation of portable objects, for instance books, coins, ceramics, metalwork and automata at the courts. As explained in the introduction, translation projects were a significant process for the transmission of ancient science into the medieval period. These translators played an active role. The

[674] Lorenz Korn, "Art and Architecture of the Artuqid Courts" in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, edited by A. Fuess and J.P. Hartung (London; New York: Routledge, 2011), 402.
[675] Meinecke, *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions Versus Migrating Artists,* 64.

revised and up-to-date translation projects patronized by the Artuqid rulers Najm al-Din Alpi and Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan can be considered an example of this fact. It is clear that Artuqid rulers, whose scientific patronage activities can be traced back to historical sources and manuscripts that have survived, played an active role as discussant of intellectual debates, requestors of manuscript production and founders of libraries and hospitals. The Artuqid coinage also shows the nature of their connections with the past through deliberate changes in usage of symbols and iconography of Greek, Roman, Hellenistic and Byzantine coinage.

I constructed this thesis as a microhistory project focusing on the Artuqid dynasty, bringing together themes from history, the history of art, and the history of science. An overview of historiography, especially art historiography, focusing on the Artuqid dynasty has not previously been written in depth. I discuss, albeit briefly, how scholars have perceived and discussed the Artuqids and their art and culture from the nineteenth century to the present day. More comprehensive studies on the historiography and art historiography of the Artuqid dynasty need to be conducted in the future. The three chapters present research on the Artuqid reception of ancient sciences at the individual and dynastic levels. In an effort to apply an interdisciplinary perspective, I attempted to conduct my analysis by combining physical materials with all available written resources.

Furthermore, I have made a humble contribution to the scholarship as a result of the small discoveries in my research journey. The first of these was the translation and analysis of information about the Artuqid dynasty in the collection of poems of the twelfth-century physician, poet, and philosopher Ibn al-Saʾigh al-ʿAntari that I discovered at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. The four surviving manuscript copies of his *Diwan* in the world were published in an Arabic edited volume by Muhammad Yusuf Ibrahim Banat in 2017, but I examined the sections related to the Artuqid dynasty for the first time in my thesis. The information obtained from al-ʿAntari's poems, as well as his important observations, demonstrate that poetry, which is frequently overlooked by historians, has a great potential for medievalists who are suffering from the lack of primary resources in their research.

My second discovery was the tracking of the *majmuʿa* (collection of texts) sold at the Sotheby's in 2016. The auction house only provided brief information about the physical condition and textual content of this *majmuʿa*, which contains eleven scientific texts in Persian and Arabic, but did not give details about its previous owners and the last owner who sold the manuscript. I was lucky to identify two witnesses, the Ottoman

numismatist İsmail Ghalib Edhem and physician and medical historian Süheyl Ünver, who saw and mentioned this manuscript associated with the Artuqids of Kharput. The manuscript was located at the library of collector and lawyer Halil Ethem Arda in the first half of the twentieth century. The study presented only available information about the manuscript; however, a careful examination of this work needs to be done in the future. The manuscripts, like objects, are freely circulating and changing owners. It is significant to write about the "lost lives of manuscripts" and provide knowledge about whether they are misinterpreted in different contexts.

This study presents a limited investigation into the diverse patronage activities of the Artuqid dynasty in the field of ancient sciences due to the scarcity of available written and material evidence. With a thorough examination of the manuscripts and objects sold at auctions and or new primary sources to be discovered in the future, later researchers can better explain the activities of the rulers and other family members of Artuqid dynasty regarding the ancient sciences, and scientific research as well as their relationship with the classical and Hellenistic tradition. Future research on Artuqids will be guided by the diversification of the written source types to be examined, as well as a more cautious study of manuscripts copies and objects entered in private collections and museum collections. More interdisciplinary projects focusing on the ancient sciences can provide greater insights for new research trajectories through the collaboration of historians of art, historians of science, and historians.

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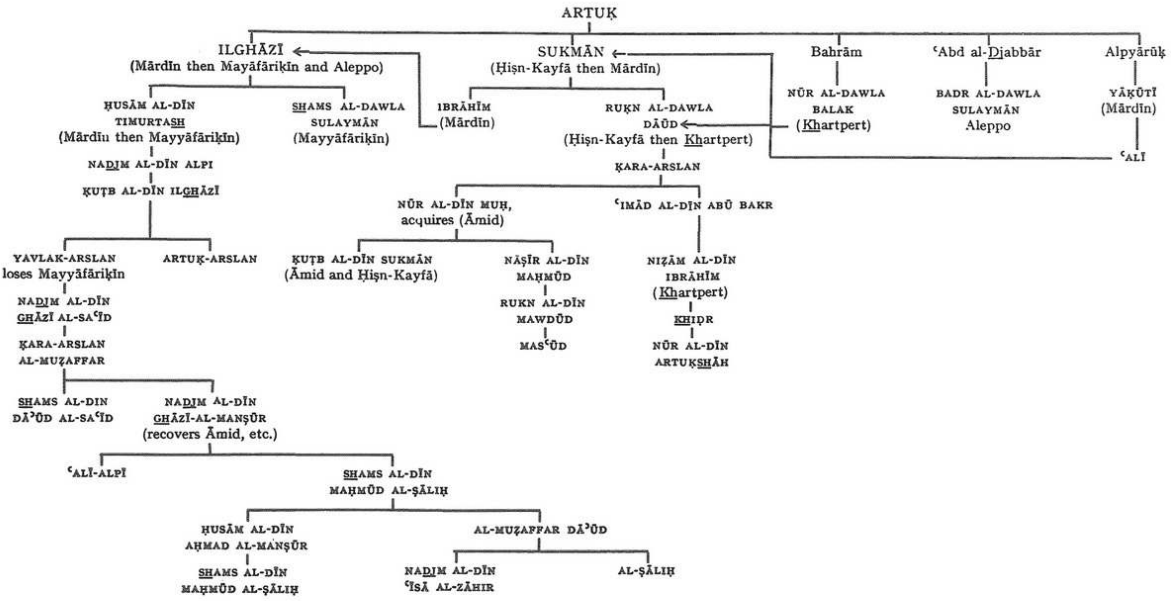
Appendix A: Family Tree of the Artuqids



(Claude Cahen, "Artuḳids," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Online Version)

Appendix B: Dynastic Lineage of the Artuqids

I. The Artuqids of Mardin and Mayyafariqin (r. 1100-1409 / 494-812 H)

Name	Reigning Years	Birth, Death Dates, and Other Details
Yaquti ibn Alp-Yaruk ibn Artuq	1100/1-1103 (494-497 H)	
ʿAli ibn Alp-Yaruk ibn Artuq	1103 (497 H)	
Muʿin al-Din / Muʿin al-Dawla Sökmen ibn Artuq	1104 (498 H)	Died on September 23, 1104 (1 Safar 498 H)
Ibrahim ibn Sökmen	1104-1108 (498-502 H)	
Najm al-Din Ilghazi ibn Artuq	1114/5-1122 (507/8-516 H)	Died on November 1122 (Shaban 516 H)
Al-Saʿid Husam al-Din Timurtash ibn Ilghazi	1122-1154 (516-548 H)	Born in 1104/5 (494/5 H) Died on January 19, 1154 (2 Dhu'l-Qaʿda 548)
Najm al-Din Alpi ibn Timurtash	1154-1176 (548-572 H)	Born in 1126/7 (520 H)
Outb al-Din Ilghazi II ibn Alpi	1176-1184 (572-580 H)	Born on May 22, 1149 (12 Muharram 544 H)
Husam al-Din Yülük Arslan ibn Ilghazi II,	1184-1201 (580-597 H)	Lost Mayyafariqin in 1185 (581 H)
Al-Malik al-Mansur Nasir al-Din Artuq Arslan ibn Ilghazi II	1201-1239 (597-637 H)	

Al-Malik al-Saʿid Najm al- Din Ghazi I ibn Artuk Arslan	1239-1260 (637-658 H)	
Al-Malik al-Muzaffar Qara Arslan ibn Ghazi I	1260-1292 (658-691 H)	Used the title of "al-Sultan" on his coins first time (1289/90 – 688 H)
Al-Malik al-Saʿid Shams al-Din Dawud ibn Qara Arslan	1292-1294 (691-693 H)	
Al-Malik al-Mansur Najm al-Din Ghazi II ibn Qara Arslan	1294-1312 (693-712 H)	Died on Sunday, on August 5 or August 6, 1312 (8 or 9 Rabiʿ II 712 H)
Al-Malik al-ʿAdil ʿImad al-Din ʿAli Alpi ibn Ghazi II	1312 (712 H)	ʿAli Alpi could only rule for seventeen days then he died suddenly.[676]
Al-Malik al-Salih Shams al-Din Mahmud ibn Ghazi II	1312-1363 (712-765 H)	Died on October 20, 1363 (12 Muharram 765 H)
Al-Malik al-Mansur Husam al-Din Ahmad ibn Mahmud	1363-1368 (765-769 H)	
Al-Malik al-Salih Saraf al-Din Mahmud ibn Ahmad	1368 (769 H)	He was killed after the enthronement.[677]
Al-Malik al-Muzaffar Fakhr al-Din Dawud II ibn Shams al-Din Mahmud	1368-1376 (769-778 H)	Reigned after his nephew Saraf al-Din Mahmud.

[676] Munajjim Bāshī, *Câmiu'd-Düvel: Selçuklular Tarihi,* 168.

[677] In his chronicle focusing on the history of Hisn Kayfa Ayyubids, the fifteenth-century Ayyubid bureaucrat al-Munshi al-Hisni (d. after 1420) reports that a merchant from Mardin told him that Saraf al-Din Mahmud poisoned his father Husam al-Din Ahmad to take the throne, however, his aunt Fatima Khatun discovered the truth. Then, she poisoned her nephew Mahmud. There is another story about the cause of death of Saraf al-Din. His uncle al-Muzaffar entered his room and choked him with a pillow while Mahmud was sleeping. See al-Munshi al-Hisni, *Tarikh Hisn Kayfa*, 306. The real name of the book is called *Nuzhat al-naẓīr fī rāḥat al-khaṭīr.* Its only extant copy is located in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna. Registered as Cod. Mixt. 355. The whole book could not survive today and it ends with the year of 778 H (1376). Ibid, 330.

Al-Malik al-Zahir Majd al-Din Isa ibn Dawud II	1376-1407 (778-809 H)	Killed in 1407 (809 H) by the Aq Qoyunlu (White Sheep) dynasty.
Al-Malik al-Salih Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn	1394-1396 (796-798 H) 1407-1409 (809-812 H)	Ruled Mardin when al-Malik al-Zahir was taken hostage by Timur (r.1370-1405). Qara Qoyunlu (Black Sheep) conquest of Mardin, and the end of the Artuqids.

II. The Artuqids of Kharput (r. 1185-1234 / 581-631 H)

Name	Reigning Years	Birth, Death Dates, and Other Details
ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr ibn Qara Arslan	1185-1204 (581-600 H)	Established the dynasty
Nizam al-Din Ibrahim ibn Abu Bakr	1204-1223 (600-620 H)	
ʿIzz al-Din Khidr ibn Ibrahim	1223-1225 (620-622 H)	
Nur al-Din Artuq Shah ibn Khidr	1225-1234 (622-631 H)	Rum Seljuk conquest of Kharput in 1234

III. The Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid (r. 1101-1232 / 495-629 H)

Name	Reigning Years	Birth, Death Dates, and Other Details
Muʿin al-Din Sökmen ibn Artuq	1101-1104 (495-498 H)	Hisn Kayfa and Mardin Died on September 23, 1104 (1 Safar 498 H)
Ibrahim ibn Sökmen	1104-1108 (498- 502 H)	Mardin
Rukn al-Dawla Dawud ibn Sökmen	1108-1144 (502-539 H)	Kharput, Hisn Kayfa and other places. Died on July 22, 1144 (19 Muharram 539 H).
Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan ibn Dawud	1144-1167 (539-562 H)	Kharput, Hisn Kayfa and other places. Died on 17 July 1167 (27 Ramadan 562 H)
Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn Qara Arslan	1167-1185 (562-581 H)	Amid, Kharput, Hisn Kayfa and other places. Died on 15 May 1185 (14 Rabiʿ I 581 H).
Al-Malik al- Masʿud Qutb al-Din Sökmen II ibn Muhammad	1185-1201 (581-597 H)	Lost Kharput to his uncle ʿImad al-Din Abu Bakr. Ruled Amid, Hisn Kayfa and other places.
Al-Malik al-Salih Nasir al-Din Mahmud ibn Muhammad	1201-1222 (597-619 H)	
Al-Malik al-Masʿud Rukn al-Din Mawdud ibn Mahmud	1222-1232 (619-629 H)	Ayyubid conquest of Hisn Kayfa and Amid in 1232. End of the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa and Amid.