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The Anatolian Seljuk City
An Analysis on Early Turkish Urban Models in Anatolia

By

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Introduction

The Seljuk period has been important in the urban history of Anatolia because of embodying the first Turkish-Islamic colonization and urbanization process in Anatolia. As a result of the foundation of the Anatolian Seljuk State, Turks participated in the settlement pattern of Anatolia in the beginning of the 12th century. The Anatolian Seljuk State was not only a tribal confederation comprised of Turcoman nomadic groups or subgroups from Central Asia and Iran, but also the synthesis of the Christian-Byzantine social, cultural, economic institutions with the synthesis of the social and cultural values which were based on the sedentary or nomadic life styles of Turks transferring from Central Asia and Iran to Anatolia.

The Seljuks organized the urban network and transportation system in Anatolia taken over from Byzantine that they were based on the potentials and dynamics of the international and regional trading of Anatolia. In this point, it is considered that Anatolian Seljuk cities were organized as the spatial and functional components of urban network and transportation system set up in Anatolia, and the colonization or land use policies transferring from the traditions of Turkish-Islamic States in Central Asia and Iran to Anatolia. So, it can be said that Anatolian Seljuk cities were developed on the urban heritage inherited from Byzantine, and also organized spatially under the impact of Central Asia-Turkish before Islamic and Iran-Turkish in after Islamic urban cultures in many regards.[1]

1 This study is based on the findings of the PhD thesis "The Urban Network and Urban Models in Anatolia during Seljuk Period" which was prepared at Selçuk University, Turkey, in 2005 by Koray Özcan.

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This study attempts to define the spatial organizations and physical morphology of Anatolian cities during Anatolian Seljuk period extending from the beginning of the 12th Century to the end of the 13th Century. Within this scope, the meaning of the concept of "the Anatolian Seljuk city" is conceived as the result of the impacts of the social, cultural and economic symbiosis between Christian-Byzantine and Muslim-Seljuk on the spatial organizations in Anatolia.

In order to establish the Anatolian Seljuk city, in terms of research sources and its methodology, it is considered that the use of original historical and manuscript sources should be supported with their spatial dimension. Within the framework of the this study, it is also considered that the spatial organizations and morphologies of the Anatolian Seljuk cities can be defined by using the maps based on the manuscript sources and archaeological or architectural ruins.

The chronological framework of this study extends from the beginning of the 12th century, when the political and administrative system of Anatolian Seljuk State began to develop, to the end of the 13th century, the period of the Ilkhanid which began to form after the end of the Seljuk period.

The study area is delineated as a unified political geography controlled by Anatolian Seljuk Dynasty in terms of the administrative and political boundaries;

In the West, Byzantine-Seljuk frontier regions called as Uc in the western Anatolia lay on the roughly diagonal line along Makri Bay and Dalaman River-Denizli-Kütahya-Kastamonu and Sinop, from southwest to the northeast of Anatolia.

In the South, the frontiers of Cilicia Kingdom of Armenia in Taurus Mountains and the coastal regions of the Mediterranean extending from Antalya to Alâîyye.

In the North, the frontiers of the Empire of Trebizond and the coastal regions of the Black Sea extending between Sinop and Cerasus.

In the East, frontier regions between the Great Seljuk Empire and Anatolian Seljuk State extended along Elbistan-Malatya-Erzincan-Erzen-i Rûm (Erzurum) and Çoruh Valley (Map 1).

The Spacial and Functional Organization of Anatolian Seljuk Cities
A view of Urban Heritage in Anatolia inherited from Byzantine

Anatolian cities had a spatial development extending outside the city walls during the Roman Empire and the following the Byzantine Empire.

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However, Arabian-Iranian invasions called as "Dark Ages" lasted from the beginning of the 7th to the end of the 9th centuries, and the following Turkish conquests continued for two hundred years after the 9th century. This process caused Byzantine Empire to weaken and lose control over the Anatolian cities, and also many cities were deported and unpopulated.[2]

When Seljuk Turks entered Anatolia, the Byzantine urban network and transportation system in Anatolia collapsed and Anatolia was kept out of the long-distance commerce. Consequently, rural and urban life depending on agricultural production and long-distance commerce were interrupted and the ruralization process was underway before the Turkish conquest, and also Byzantine cities were forced to enter the process of spatial and functional transformation.[3]

Archaeological surveys on Byzantine cities indicate that, Byzantine cities evolved in the reverse process both spatially and functionally. As a result, many urban and rural settlements in Anatolia were abandoned or depopulated, and also urban life was interrupted and a process of ruralization began in Anatolia before the Turkish conquests. Only a few cities with a sound economic base evolved to the fortified towns called *castron*,[4] but other cities were disintegrated into their component parts called as *dioikismos*.[5]

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2 G. Dagron, "The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries", *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Press, Washington, 2002, pp. 393–461. P. Charanis, "Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun Çöküşündeki Ekonomik Faktörler (The Economic Factors on the Collapsing of the Byzantine Empire)", TTK Belleteni, XLVIII (191–192), pp. 523–535.

3 E. Kirsten, Die Byzantinische Stadt, *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongress (1958)*, München, pp. 1–48. M. Angold, "The Shaping of the medieval Byzantine City", *Byzantinische Forschungen*, X (1985), pp. 1–37. G. Dagron, "The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (2002), pp. 393–461.

4 C. Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31 (1977), pp. 29–86. J. Teall, "Byzantine Urbanism in the Military Handbooks", *The Medieval City*, Yale University Press, London, 1977, pp. 201–205.

5 C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A late antique, Byzantine and Turkish city*, London, 1979, pp. 121–122, 137. C. Foss, "Archaeology and the twenty cities of Byzantine Asia", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81 (4), 1977, 469–486. A. Bryer, "Structure of the Late Byzantine Town; Dioiskismos and the Mesoi", *Continuity and change in the Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, Birmingham, 1986, pp. 263–279. Also see. M. Angold, "The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine City", *Byzantinische Forschungen* X (1985), pp. 1–37. Ch. Bouras, "Aspects of the Byzantine City; Eighth-Fifteenth Centuries". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (2002), 499–528.

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The Seljuk Settlement Policies and Revitalization of Rural and Urban Life

Seljuks systematically followed social, cultural and economic policies in order to revive urban and rural life and to rehabilitate of the socio-economic conditions of Anatolia inherited from Byzantine Empire. These policies were focused on the development of the long-distance commerce by constructing the caravanserais and bridges and on the revitalization of the agricultural production through various encouragements. In that way, Seljuks aimed to encourage the nomadic Turcoman groups to participate in urban and rural life for Turkish-Islamic colonization of Anatolia and to resettle the local Christian peoples[6].

First, the Seljuk sultans, especially from Sultan Kilij Arslan II (1155–1192) to Kay-Qubad I (1220–1237), modified the transportation system, inherited from Byzantine Empire, by constructing commercial buildings such as caravanserais and khans on the international trade routes across Anatolia in order to develop international and regional trade potential[7]. These routes led from Konya, the capital of Anatolian Seljuk, to Istanbul and Ephesus, the trade centers of the Byzantine Empire, and to Tabriz and Sultaniye, the eastern cultural and commercial centers and capital cities of the Ilkhanids.

Epigraphic evidence and archaeological findings indicated that approximately 120 caravanserais and khans were constructed along the international trade routes across Anatolia, the great majority of them in the first four decades of the 13th century.[8]

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6 C. Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey; The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, London, 2001, pp. 100–122.

7 K. Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts, Katalog* –Text, Berlin, 1961. O. Turan, "Selçuk Kervansarayları" (Seljuk Caravanserais), *TTK Belleteni*, X/39 (1946), pp. 471–496. J. M. Rogers, "Waqs and Patronage in the Seljuk Anatolia; The Epigraphic Evidence", *Anatolian Studies*, XXVI (1976), pp. 69–103. J. M. Rogers, "Royal Caravanserais and Royal Inscriptions in Seljuk Anatolia", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, the special issue for Albert Louis Gabriel (1978), pp. 397–431.

8 M. K. Özergin, *Anadolu Selçukluları Çağında Anadolu Yolları (Anatolian Routes during Anatolian Seljuk Period)*, Istanbul University (Unpublished PhD thesis), Istanbul, 1959, pp. 55–144. J. M. Rogers, "Waqs and Patronage in the Seljuk Anatolia; The Epigraphic Evidence", pp. 69–103.

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Most of the caravanserais and khans concentrated on the route to the east from Konya to Aksaray, Kayseri, Sivas that reflects the focal points or major cities of Anatolia between the 12th century and the 13th century. Ibn Said, an Arabic geographer, recorded that there were only 24 caravanserais between Kayseri and Sivas.[9] According to the archaeological findings, the first Seljuk caravanserai in Anatolia was the Kilij Arslan Caravanserai near Aksaray on the caravan route of Konya–Kayseri. It was constructed by Sultan Kilij Arslan II (1155–1192).[10]

Also, Seljuk sultans encouraged Islamic and Christian peoples (especially Turcoman nomadic groups and the previously deported local Christian peasants of Anatolia) to settle. They moved them to rural areas of Anatolia, giving them houses, farming tools, seed and fields, and also exempted them from taxation in order to increase agricultural production and to promote the process of Turkish-Islamic colonization in Anatolia. In 1196–7, Sultan Kay-Khusraw I made Christian-Tantalus and Karia peoples, who were deprived of their land, settle in groups of 5,000 in the areas around Akşehir by giving farming tools and fields.[11]

Similarly, the Karamanids, one of the nomadic Turcoman groups from Central Asia, were settled as the Turkish colonizators along the Seljuk and Cilicia Kingdom of Armenia frontier regions extending from Ermenek to Mut because of the strategic importance.[12]

Third, Seljuk sultans invited scholars, theologians, jurists, artists and poets from nearby Islamic countries such as Iran to settle in Anatolia. Sultans and emirs erected mosques, madrasas, hospitals and other social-cultural institutions in the cities inherited from Byzantine by using waqfs in order to promote Turkish-Islamic culture in Anatolia. So the Seljuk sultans reconstructed or re-colonized the cities that were conquered or captured from Byzantine control like Taxara (Aksaray) and Kalonoros (Alâîyye).

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9 C. Cahen, "Ibn Sa'id Sur L'Asie Mineure Seldjuqide", Ankara Universitesi *DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, IV/10–11 (1968), pp. 41–50.

10 M. K. Özergin, "Anadolu'da Selçuklu Kervansarayları (Seljuk Caravanserais in Anatolia)", *Istanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Dergisi*, 15/20 (1965), p. 83.

11 S. Vryonis, "Byzantium and Islam Seven–Seventeenth Century", *East Europenean Quarterly*, 2/3 (1968), pp. 205–240. O. Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye (Turkey during Seljuk Period)*, Istanbul, 1971, p. 240.

12 Ibn Bibi, *El Evamirü'l Ala'iye Fil Umuri'l Ala'iye (The Chronicle on Anatolian Seljuk History)*, Ankara, 1996, vol. I, p. 354. Simbat, *Başkumandan Simbat Vakâyî–nâmesi 951–1334 (The Chronicle of the Commander Simbat)*, Unpublished document in the Library of Turkish History Society (nu: 68), Ankara, pp. 80–81.

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In the spatial manifestation of the Turkish-Islamic colonization process, churches, chapels, or basilicas in the conquered cities were converted into Islamic institutions like mosques and mescids, or removed the most impressive site of cities for construction of mosques named as Fethiye, or Fetih in Turkish. The historical records are signed that merchants were invited to the conquered cities by Seljuk sultans, Christian peoples were deported and Turks were settled in their places in the cities like Malatya, Sinop, Alâîyye and Aksaray.[13]

It was recorded in the Chronicle of Seljuk that Taxara in Central Anatolia was re-colonized and reconstructed as a base for military operations by Sultan Kilij Arslan II. While he invited scholars, artists and tradesmen from Azerbaijan and forced them to settle there, he deported the local Christian population. Afterwards, the Sultan ordered to construct a palace of white marble for himself and renamed it Aksaray (the white palace), also titled *Dârü'r Ribât* (the military base) in Persian.[14]

As similarly, Kay-Kavus I captured Sinop from the Empire of Trebizond in 1214 and his successor Kay-Qubad I conquered fortress of Kalonoros (Alâîyye) from its Armenian Lord Kir Fard in 1222. When they invited merchants, traders and craftsmen from other cities or regions to settle there, Christian peoples were deported and also made these cities bases for Seljuk naval power.[15]

The epigraphic evidences from the fortress of Alâîyye is signed that Kay-Qubad I constructed an arsenal protected by towers, and used for constructing and repairing of ships. After the Seljuk conquest, Kalonoros was renamed as Alâîyye in the honor of the Sultan Kay-Qubad I and used as the winter residence during his sultanate.[16]

Also, Sultan Kay-Qubad I planned a palace complex located on the western shore of the Lake Beyşehir. It was named Kubad-abad after the Sultan. According to the Seljuk chronicles, Sultan ordered to construct Sa'd al-din Umar Ibn Köpek, his court architect and master of the Royal Hunt, and its construction lasted from 1224 to 1226.[17] The archaeological surveys

13 Anonymous History, *Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihi; Tarih–i Selçuk (The Chronicle of Seljuk)*, Ankara, 1952, p. 25. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle of Syrian Patriarch (1042–1195)*, Unpublished document in the Library of Turkish History Society (nu: 44), Ankara, vol:II, pp. 251–252. Ibn Bibi, *ibid*, pp. 115–120, 162–174, 253–262, 315–344.

14 Anonymous History, *ibid*, p. 52.

15 Ibn Bibi, *ibid*, pp. 253–267.

16 A.Yardım, *Alanya Kitabeleri (Inscriptions of Alanya)*, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002.

17 Ibn Bibi, *ibid*, pp. 62–364.

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in Kubad-abad indicated that there were two palaces one small and other one large, a boathouse, water canals, cisterns, mosque, mescid, hamam (bathhouse) and hunting animal garden.[18] In addition, an inscription dated from the year 1236 signed that by that time Kubad-abad had a military governor named Bedr al-Din Sutaş.[19] In the light of this knowledge, it can be said that Kubad-abad promoted or evolved to a palace-city after the year 1236 in terms of the spatial and functional.

On the other hand, the theologians like dervishes and sheiks, from Central Asia and Iran contributed to not only the Turkish-Islamic colonization of Anatolia, but also development of agricultural production by founding dervish lodges in urban and rural areas of Anatolia.[20]

The accounts of Ibn Battuta who traveled in Anatolia at the end of the 13th century, confirm that there were many dervish lodges and zawiyes established in urban and rural areas of Anatolia by sheiks and dervishes.[21] Historical texts like menâkıb–nâme, make clear the role of sheiks and dervishes in the process of Turkish-Islamic colonization in Anatolia. In context, it can be given many cases in Anatolia like Hadji Bektaş, Seyyid Harun, etc.

Hadji Bektaş Veli, one of the Yesevi dervishes from Khorasan, settled in Suluca Karahöyük village (Hadji Bektaş village after himself) in Cappadocia, and constructed a dervish lodge on the ruins of a chapel. He contributed to the settling there Turkish-Islamic peoples and also the process of Turkish-Islamic colonization of Cappadocia known as one of the Christian culture region of Anatolia during the Byzantine period.[22] Similarly, Seyyid (or Hadji) Harun Veli and his followers from Khorasan settled near

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18 R. Arık, *Kubâd-âbâd; Selçuklu Saray ve Çinileri (Kubâd-âbâd; Seljuk Palaces and their Ceramics)*, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul, 2000. R. Arık 2003, "Kubâd-âbâd 2002 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları (*Kubâd-âbâd 2002 Archeological Survey) 25. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı (26–31 Mayıs 2003)*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, vol:2, pp. 345–350,

19 O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar (The Official Documents on Anatolian Seljuks)*, Ankara, 1988, pp .14.

20 E. S. Wolper, *Cities and Saints; Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, Pennsylvania University Press, Pennsylvania, 2003. S. S. Blair, "Sufi Saints and Shrine Architecture in the Early Fourteenth Century", *Muqarnas*, 7 (1990), pp. 35–49.

21 Ibn Battúta, *Ibn Battúta Travels in Asia and Africa; 1325–1334*, London, 1970, pp. 124–126.

22 W. F. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, II, Octagon Books Press, New York, 1973, pp. 568–576. Aşıkpaşaoğlu, Tevârih-I Al-i Osman (The Ottoman History of Aşıkpaşaoğlu), Ankara, 1970, pp. 221–222.

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ancient Roman settlements of Vervelid in the southwest of Konya and renamed it Seydî-Şehr (Seyyid Town in English).[23]

These settlements became not only Turkish-Islamic colonization centers but also religious organizations or sacred centers for religious subgroups comprised of the members of a sheik or dervish in Anatolia during Seljuk period.

The re-organization of Anatolian Cities in terms of the functional

In Seljuk urban network and transportation system set up in Anatolia, each of the Anatolian cities was specialized in different functions according to its geographical and strategic positions.[24]

In the middle of the 13th century, Ibn Said, an Arabic geographer, recorded that there were 24 major cities with a governor, judge, administrator, mosques, numerous hamam, and bazaars in Anatolia under Seljuk domain.[25] And, Simon of Saint Quentin, a Christian missioner, visited to Anatolia in the end of the 13th century. He reported that there were more than one-hundred settlements consisting of castles, towns, and villages in Seljuk Anatolia.[26]

The inscriptions in the fortress of Konya and Sinop give information about the functional identities of major Seljuk towns.[27] In this regard, some cities like Konya and Kayseri, known as *Dâru'l Mülk* (the sultanate cities) in Persian,[28] became administrative and political centers. While some cities placed along Byzantine frontiers called as *Uc*, were governed by Subaşı like Honaz and Denizli, and specialized in military organizations and also titled

23 Abdulkerim bin Sheikh Musa, *Makâlât–I Seyyid Harun Veli* (The Tale of Seyyid Harun Veli), Ankara, 1991, pp. 21–82.

24 K. Özcan, *Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yerleşme Sistemi ve Kent Modelleri* (Urban Network and Urban Models in Anatolia during Seljuk Period), Selçuk University (Unpublished PhD thesis), Konya, 2005, pp. 181–185.

25 C. Cahen, "Ibn Sa'id Sur L'Asie Mineure Seldjuqide", Ankara Universitesi *DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, IV/10–11 (1968), pp. 41–50.

26 Simon de Saint Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, Jean Richard (ed.), Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1965, pp. 66–68.

27 Mehmet Şakir Ülkütaşır, "Sinop'ta Selçukiler Zamanına Ait Tarihi Eserler (The Historical Remains in Sinop during Seljuk Era)", *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, V (1949), pp. 112–151.

28 Ibn Bibi, *ibid*, p. 315.

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as *Dârü's sagr* (the frontier cities) in Persian.[29] The cities located in the frontier regions called as *Uc*, between Anatolian Seljuk State and the Byzantine Empire like Denizli, Kütahya and Ankara, were developed as military organization centers. Also, nomadic groups were organized in these cities for military operations over the frontiers.[30] And, the port cities like Alâîyye and Antalya in the coastal regions of the Mediterranean and Sinop in the coastal regions of Black Sea coast was functioned and specialized in international trading activities and military-strategic organizations.[31]

Also, the Seljuk sultans signed agreements with the Venetians to develop international trade in Anatolia.[32] Trade agreements between the Seljuk and the Venetians resulted in the construction of consulates and establishment of trading quarters in Anatolian cities, such as Konya, Alâîyye, and Sivas. Italian, French and Jewish merchants also settled in these cities and built consulates and churches.

In Sivas, the merchants of Genoa constructed a consulate and chapel in the 13th century.[33] Also, Sivas became the major center of international caravan organizations as well as the regional trade center of inner Anatolia.[34] Unlike Sivas, Antalya and Sinop became international trade centers as well as military-strategic centers, and they were used as naval bases for an overseas operation against Sughdak (Crimea), where the Seljuks organized a Turkish colony and erected a mosque in 1225.[35]

Moreover, based on the existence of long-distance commerce a vital urban social and economic life developed in Yeşilırmak and Kızılırmak

29 O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar* (The Official Documents on Anatolian Seljuks), Ankara, 1988, p. 15.

30 K. Özcan, *PhD Thesis*, pp. 174–175, 185.

31 G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches Sur Le Commerce Genois Dans La Mer Noire Au XIII. Siecle*, Paris, 1929, pp. 166–168.

32 O. Turan, "Ortaçağlarda Türkiye–Kıbrıs Münasebetleri" (The relations between Turkish and Cyprus in Medieval), *TTK Belleteni*, XXVIII/110 (1964), pp. 209–227. O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar* (The Official Documents on Anatolian Seljuks), Ankara, 1988, pp. 109–146. M. E. Martin, "The Seljuk–Venetian Treaty of 1220", *English Historical Review*, 95/375 (1980), pp. 321–330.

33 G. I. Bratianu, *ibid*, pp. 166–168. W. Heyd, *Yakın–Doğu Ticaret Tarihi* (Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen–Age), Ankara, 1975, pp. 332–334.

34 K. Özcan, "Ortaçağda Bir Anadolu Türk Kentinin İşlevsel Kimliği Üzerine Hipotetik Yaklaşımlar; Selçuklu Çağında Sivas" (Hypothetical Approaches on the Functional Identity of an Anatolian-Turkish Town in the Middle Ages: Sivas during the Seljuk Era), *Journal of Academic Studies,* 7/33 (2007), pp. 100–115.

35 Ibn Bibi, *ibid*, pp. 253–267, 325–345. Also see: A.C.S. Peacock, "The Saljuq Campaign against the Crimea", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 16/2 (2006), pp. 133–149.

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Valleys formed on trading routes extending from Central Anatolia to Black Sea coasts. In Yeşilırmak Valley, cities like Amasya and Tokat, became the transferring and distribution centers in the Seljuk transportation system set up in Anatolia,[36] the seasonal open market places like Ezine Bazaar in Yeşilırmak Valley and Ziyaret Bazaar in Kızılırmak Valley, began to establish and developed as the regional trading centers by constructing caravanserais under the patronage of Seljuk Sultans and Khatuns in the 13th century.[37]

Also, cities like Kırşehir and Ankara, placed in the Kızılırmak Valley were promoted in production centers as the major seats of the Akhi order, and also engaged in vital commercial life and cultural activities Akhilik as the Turkish crafts and trades-guilds organization based on futuwwa (brotherhood), was organized in Anatolia by Akhi Evran in the middle of the 13th century. Akhi Evran known as the founder of guild of tanners, settled in Kırşehir and made Turkish craftsmen and tradesmen organize there.[38] Unlike Kırşehir, following the collapse of the Anatolian Seljuk State, Ankara was controlled as an autonomous city by Akhis with regard to the social and economic as well as administrative and political[39].

Anatolian Seljuk Urban Models

In this study, it is considered that the main factor on the spatial patterns and morphologies of Anatolian Seljuk cities were their functional identities in the urban network and transportation system set up in Anatolia. Anatolian cities inherited from Byzantine were re–organized by Seljuk in terms of the spatial and functional.

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36 L. Yılmaz, "Seljuk Cities in Northern Anatolia: Amasya, Tokat, Sivas", *TTOK Belleteni*, 305 (1970), pp. 21–30.

37 K. Özcan, "Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yerleşme Tipolojileri–I: Pazar ya da Panayır Yerleşmeleri (Settlement Typologies in Anatolia during Seljuk Period: Bazaar or Fair Cities), *Anadolu University Journal of Social Sciences*, 6/1 (2006), pp. 205–224. Also see: Ş. Turan, *Türkiye-İtalya İlişkileri; Selçuklulardan Bizans'ın Sona Erişine Kadar* (Turkish–Italy Relations; from the Seljuk to the collapse of the Byzantine), İstanbul, 1990, p. 109.

38 M. Bayram, *Ahi Evren ve Ahi Teşkilatı'nın Kuruluşu* (Akhi Evran and the Formation of Akhi Organization), Konya, 1991. Neşet Çağatay, *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik* (Akhis as a Turkish Corporation) Ankara, 1997.

39 A. Tevhid, "Ankara'da Ahiler Hükümeti" (The Akhi Government in Ankara), *Türk Tarih Encümeni*, IV/19 (1913), pp. 1205–1219.

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The spatial patterns of Anatolian cities was organized and developed by Turkish–Islamic monumental–public buildings such mosques, mescids, and madrasas, by using waqf under the patronage of Seljuk Sultans and Emirs. Especially, Christian–Byzantine institutions in Anatolian cities like churches, chapels, or basilicas, were converted into Islamic institutions like mosques and mescids in the process of Turkish–Islamic colonization.

And, the functional identities were based on the roles of the cities in the international and regional trade potentials, geographical positions, military–strategic atmosphere, and political relationship between the Anatolian Seljuk State and the Byzantine Empire. In this frame, each of the Anatolian cities was specialized in different functions such as military, administrative, trading centers.

Consequently, Anatolian Seljuk cities were classified on the main three categories as the "fortified city", "the open city" and "external focused city", in terms of to the spatial patterns and functional identities.

"The Fortified City" Models

As a result of the developments outlined above, cities such as Konya and Kayseri, which were on the focus point of the international trade routes across Anatolia specialized in administrative and political functions. They also held military and strategic importance.

For this reason, the Royal palaces and government offices called as *devlethane*, were constructed in both of them, like Felek–abâd in Konya and Qaykubadiye in Kayseri.[40] These cities were also used as meeting places for Seljuk armies before campaigns: the Ruzbe plain in Konya and Meşhed plain in Kayseri.[41] Although these cities were surrounded the city walls together to the partially expanded outside the city walls by erected the monumental–public buildings consisting of a mosque, madrasa, hamam and the founder's tomb, named as külliyes like Sahip Ata in Konya and Huand Khatun in Kayseri, near the main city gate where were organized Seljuk sultans and emirs.[42] This type of cities are here labeled "the fortified city, type A" (Figure 1).

Coastal cities in the edge of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean like Antalya and Sinop, were re-fortified and its settlement areas completely

40 S. Redford, "Thirteenth–Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and palace Imagery", *Ars Orientalis*, 23 (1993), pp. 215–232.

41 Ibn Bibi, *ibid*, pp. 126, 163, 233, 289, 315, 443.

42 H. Crane, "Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXXVI (1993), pp. 1–57.

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surrounded by city walls, and also functioned as the trading centers and also naval bases and military-strategic centers for overseas operations.[43] Similar to coastal cities, some of the inland cities grew as the part of the defensive system of the Anatolian Seljuk State. Called *Karahissar* (*Black Castle*), as in Afyon Karahissar, Şarki Karahissar, Osmancık Karahissar, and Develi Karahissar, they were specialized in military organization for the internal and external threats such as the rebellious nomadic Turcoman groups or the Byzantine and the Mongol threats. Likewise, Simre near Amasya in northern Anatolia and Aksaray near Konya in Central Anatolia, were founded by the Seljuk sultans Masud and his son Kilij Arslan II, as the headquarters for launching military operations on the Empire of Trebizond and the Cilicia Kingdom of Armenia.[44] In context of this study, these cities which were completely developed inside the city walls are called "the fortified city, type B" (Figure 2).

"The Open City" Models

In this study, "the open city model" is classified under two sub-categories as "type A" and "type B" with regard to their spatial and functional characteristics. In this context, the geographical conditions of Anatolia were the main factor in the spatial development of cities like Amasya and Tokat, whose main function was to serve as regional production-distribution centers for finished goods. These cities were specialized as the regional trading centers in Anatolia. These cities expanded beyond the city walls in order to engage in vital and density commercial activities by constructing the *külliyes* as urban social, cultural and economic service buildings which consisted of the nucleus of new development areas outside the city walls as defined *mahalle*, in which were formed into the nomadic and tribal Turcoman groups[45]. These cities are called "the open city, type A" (Figure 3).

Likewise, cities like Ziyaret Bazaar, Ezine Bazaar, and Yabanlu Bazaar placed on the caravan routes in Yeşilırmak, were established and developed as regional annual or seasonal open market places, in where caravanserais were constructed for encouragement of commerce by Seljuk sultans, khatuns

43 Ibn Bibi, *ibid*, pp. 162–174.

44 Ahmed bin Lütfullah Müneccimbaşı, *Camiü'd–Düvel–Selçuklular Tarihi; Anadolu Seçukluları ve Beylikler* (The Chronicle on History of Anatolian Seljuks and the Beyliks), İzmir, vol. II, İzmir, 2001, pp. 17–18.

45 K. Özcan, *PhD Thesis*, pp. 184–185.

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and emirs[46]. Also, the caravanserais here were constructed and functioned as the fortress or citadel[47]. This study defines these cities as "the open city, type B" (Figure 4).

"The External Focused City" Model

The cities which expanded considerably beyond the city walls are defined as the external focused city model. These cities were located between the Seljuk State and the Byzantine Empire in the frontiers regions called as *Uc*, which lay on the along the Antalya, Denizli, Afyon Karahisar, Kütahya, Çankırı, Kastamonu and Sinop routes.

The main function of these cities was to organize and direct the nomadic groups on the frontiers to contribute to Turkish-Islamic colonization of Anatolia. These cities like Denizli, Kütahya, Ankara, and Çankırı, became not only the centers of the administrative units (*Uc* provinces) in the Anatolian Seljuk administration system, but also the social, cultural, and economic contact points between Christian-Byzantine and Muslim-Turkish societies through activities such as trade in finished goods and raw materials.

In the Byzantine frontier regions, Seyf ed-din Kızıl Beg, the governor of Ankara, summoned to construct monumental public-service buildings as the development and colonization generators to expand Turkish-Islamic colonization, like Kızıl Beg Mescid beyond the city walls of the fortress of Ankara.[48] Similarly, in Kütahya, Emir Hezar Dinarî, governor of Kütahya, built several Turkish-Islamic colonization buildings, like mosque and hospital (Dar al-Shifa), outside the city walls of the fortress of Kütahya.[49] For this reason, these cities expanded the outside of the city walls considerably by establishing new residential quarters or settlement areas in which were settled Turcoman groups. And, the nucleuses of these quartres were focused on Turkish-Islamic colonization buildings, such as mosques, mescids, hospitals, and zawiyes, built by Seljuk emirs, sheikhs and dervishes (Figure 5).

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46 H. Crane, "Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia", pp. 11–12.

47 K. Özcan, *PhD Thesis*, pp. 184–185.

48 P. Wittek, "Orta Zamanlarda Ankara" (Ankara in Medieval), *Çığır Milli Kültür Mecmuası*, 47(1936), pp. 118–119. H. Crane, "Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia", pp. 29, 35.

49 A. Sayılı, "A Hospital in Kütahya", *TTK Belleteni*, XII/47 (1948), pp. 681–682.

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Conclusion

This study argues that the Anatolian Seljuk cities reflect the morphological characteristics in terms of to their spatial and functional roles in the urban network and transportation system set up in Anatolia. Anatolian Seljuk cities developed on the urban heritage inherited from Byzantine, and also organized spatially under the impact of pre-Anatolian Turkish urban culture. In this regard, they were defined under three categories of "fortified city", "open city" and "external focused city" models according to the distinguishing spatial and functional characteristics (Figure 6).

However, each of these main categories also showed differences in terms of their geographical and strategic conditions. The fortified city model is divided into two sub-categories according to functional identities and geographical conditions. The fortified cities located in the focal regions of the urban network and transportation system which the Seljuks organized in Anatolia surpassed the determined demographical sizes of 10,000 people for medieval cities[50] that functioned and specialized in the political and administrative centers. For this reason, the fortified city of "type A" expanded partially outside the city walls by constructing the colonization buildings which Seljuk sultans and emirs organized using waqfs. And, the fortified cities of "type B" completely developed inside the city walls. These cities were ports and strategic centers like Antalya, Alâîyye, and Sinop, in the transportation system set up in Anatolia. This model was also seen in the cities that they became centers for military operations and colonization organization as the elements of the Seljuk defensive system like *Karahissars* (*Black Castles*).[51]

Second, "open city" model indicates that the main functions of these cities were specialized in international and interregional trade activities and can also be subdivided as the "type A" and the "type B" with regard to the spatial organization.

"Type A" cities like Ziyaret Bazaar and Yabanlu Bazaar, were located at the points of the geographical intersections of the Seljuk transportation system and they grew through the founding of caravanserais or khans which were erected by sultans and emirs to promote and protect of the long-distance trade in Anatolia. These cities were not enclosed by walls because the constructed caravanserais in the cities served not only for trade activities but also, for defensive functions like the fortress.

50 T. Chandler-G. Fox, *3000 years of Urban Growth*, London, 1974, pp. 218–219.
51 K. Özcan, *PhD Thesis*, pp. 76–82.

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"Type B" cities were taken over from Byzantine control (*the Castron*), and expanded beyond the city walls because their development potential was limited by geographical conditions. Only, the nucleuses of these cities in the top of the hills were fortified such as Amasya and Tokat.

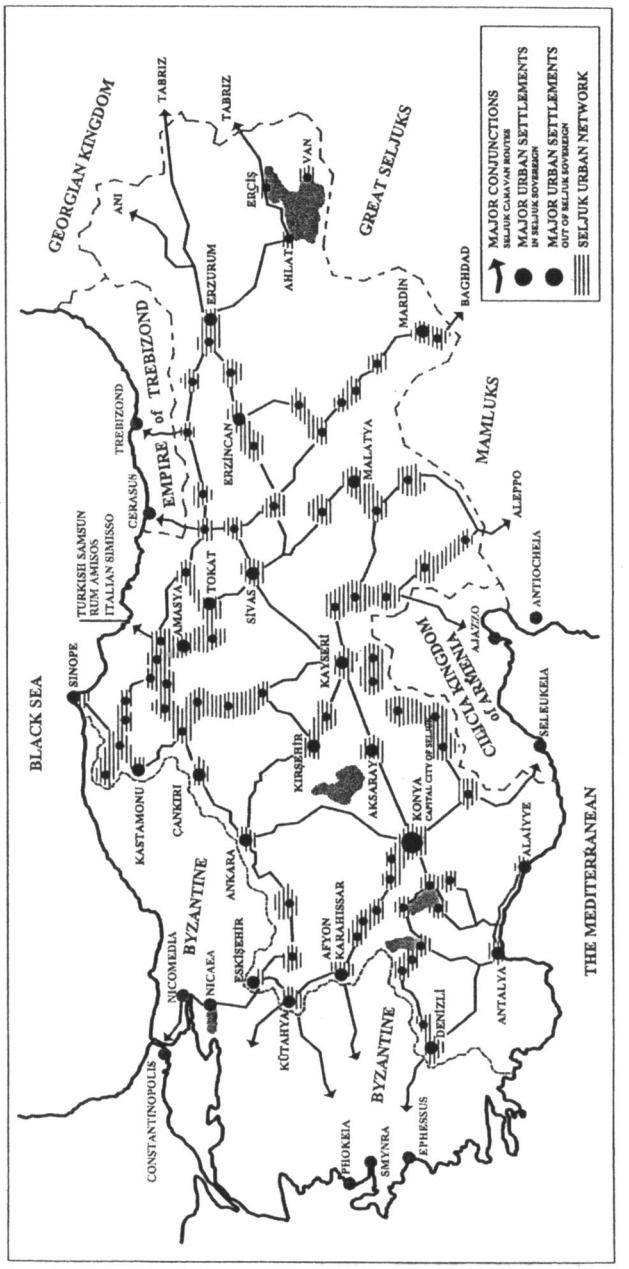
Third, "external focused city" model defines for cities located in the frontier regions between the Seljuk State and the Byzantine Empire, such as Denizli, Kütahya, Ankara, and Çankırı. They were also functioned as the centers for military operations where organized to raid by nomadic Turcomans on the Byzantine Empire for the Turkish-Islamic colonization of Anatolia. For these reasons, they expanded beyond city walls in order to the military and strategic conditions determined their spatial organizations by constructing monumental public-service buildings as the development and colonization generators.

As a result of the models on Seljuk cities outlined above, it is stated in this study that the potentials and dynamics of urban network and transportation system set up in Anatolia during Seljuk period extending from the beginning of the 12th Century to the end of the 13th Century had acted on the functional identities of Seljuk cities and also formed the their spatial organizations. These factors continued to form the spatial and functional characteristics of Anatolian cities after the Seljuk period, in the succeeding the Ottoman period.

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Map 1: Urban Network in Anatolia During Seljuk Period

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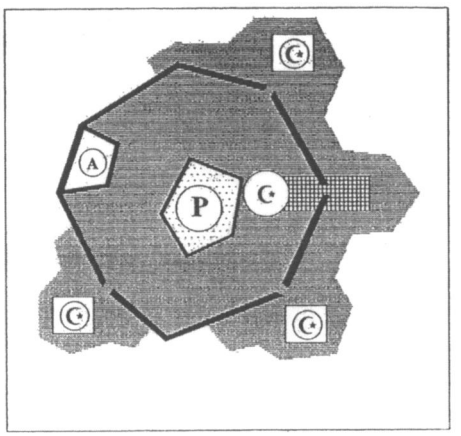


Fig. 1: The Fortified City, type A

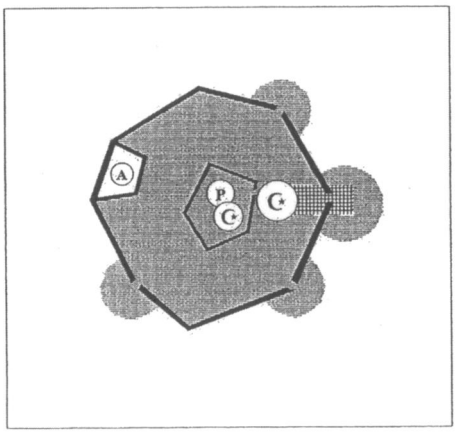


Fig. 2: The Fortified City, type B

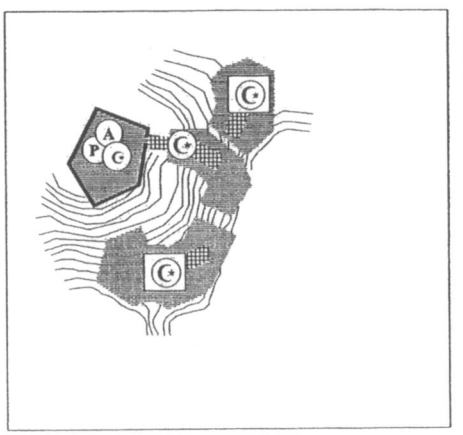


Fig. 3: The Open City, type A

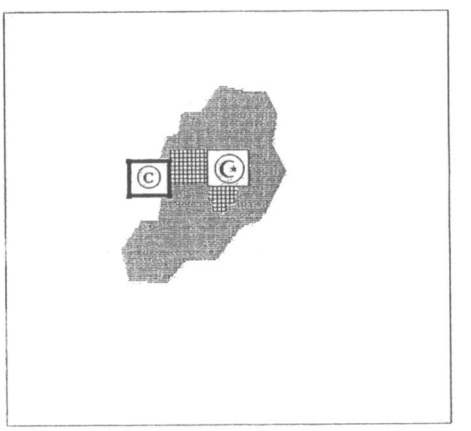


Fig. 4: The Open City, type B

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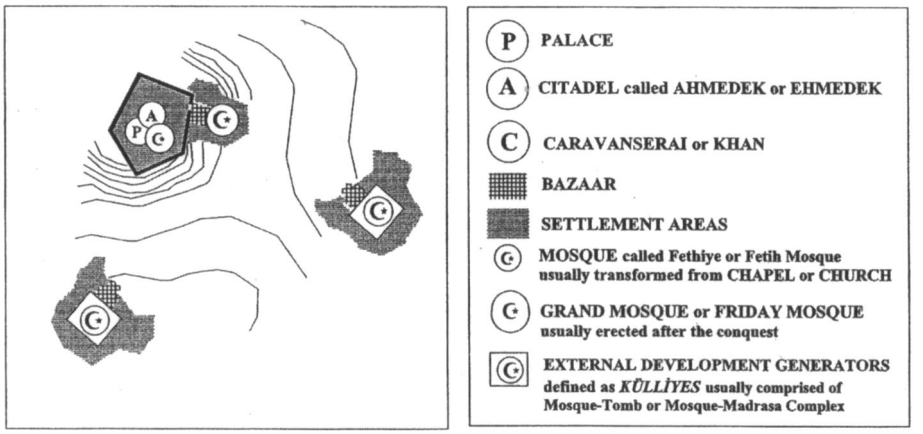


Fig. 5: The External-Focus City Legend

Urban Models	Locational Features	Functional Identities	Spatial Characteristics
The Fortified City			
The Type A	Inner regions, focal points of the transportation system	Administrative and political centers	Partially expanded outside the city walls by constructing the *Külliyes* near main city gates
The Type B	Coastal regions	Commercial centers and also naval bases for overseas operations	Completely surrounded by the city walls
	Military and strategic regions	Military organization centers for internal and external threats	
The Open City			
The Type A	Geographical transition zones such as valleys, extending along the international and regional caravan routes	Regional distribution and production centers for rural hinterland	Expanded beyond the city walls by constructing *Külliyes* as the nucleus of new development areas
The Type B		Regional annual or seasonal open market places, fair towns	Established and developed by constructing the commercial buildings served as the fortress like Khans or Caravanserais
The External-Focus City			
The Type of External-Focus	Between Anatolian Seljuk State and Byzantine frontier regions called as *Uc*	Turkish-Islamic colonization centers where nomadic Turcoman groups were raid on the Byzantine frontiers	Developed by constructing monumental-public service buildings as the colonization generators

Fig. 6: Matrix of Urban Models

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