



## Trade and Urban Development in Seljuk Anatolia<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

The face of Anatolia started to change after the Seljuks and accompanying Turkish tribes gradually adopted these lands subsequent to the Manzikert War in 1071. The Seljuk rulers were aware of the significance of economic power to support and sustain their military and political assets. In the Middle Ages, in order to take part in the international trade arena and to strengthen the economy of the state, conquest policies were shaped, international relations were developed and public improvements were put into practice. By the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Anatolia began to prosper and Anatolian cities under the Seljuk rule gradually became crowded and turned into prosperous settlements that hosted increasing trade activities. In this article, the revived trade, trade activities and relations in Anatolia during the Seljuk era and the transformation and development of the built environment associated with these are explored. In this context, the urbanization process in the Seljuk period, the development and variety of Seljuk cities are analyzed through the variety of trade and trade activities. Thus, in addition to previous studies on the physical and social structuring of individual Anatolian cities, Anatolian Seljuk city models, and studies on trade roads and road network passing through Anatolia, this study aims to evaluate the Seljuk cities based on trade and trade road network.

**Keywords:** Seljuk, trade, trade roads, Seljuk city

### INTRODUCTION

The Battle of Manzikert [Malazgirt] in 1071, which was an unfortunate defeat from the side of the Byzantine Empire and led to its decline, was a victory that heralded the attendance of a new element in Anatolia for the Seljuks and accompanying Turkish tribes who stepped into these lands. However, it took about a century for the Seljuk rule in Anatolia to settle thoroughly in stability and the socio-economic level to rise, settlement centers to develop, increase the level of welfare and to turn into prosperous cities over time. On the one hand, the Turkish conquests, on the other hand, the Crusades and the struggles and conflicts within the Turkish communities were the determining factors in this period. The Myriokephalon Victory against the Byzantines in 1176 consolidated the Seljuk power in Anatolia. The war waged by the Ayyubid and Mamlûk Sultanates in Egypt against the Crusaders and the destruction of the harbors taken back from them, caused the Europeans to turn their face to Anatolia, which was the shortest route connecting the west and the east. The 4<sup>th</sup> Crusade in 1204 and the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders worked to the benefit of the Republic of Venice the most, considering its developing trade activities. At the same time it paved the way for the Seljuk State to consolidate its power in the center of Anatolia, and actively begin to participate in the increasing trade activities and to become one of the important and determining sides of trade relations and network. In pre-Seljuk Anatolia, the Italian city states, especially Venice and Genoa had already started to trade effectively both in the harbors and in the settlements located on important trade roads in the inner regions. They wanted to continue their previously established trade relations with the Byzantine Empire and Armenian Kingdom, this time with the Seljuks. Similarly, the Seljuk State was engaged in trade activities and gave importance to establishing trade relations in order to take part in the international trade arena. For this reason, the State considered the control and improvement of the major east-west and north-south trade roads passing through its homeland. In these circumstances, the stagnant trade in Anatolia began to revive, the region started to develop and prosper, and the settlements here began to turn into prosperous cities that are increasingly getting crowded and accommodating well-organized trade activities.

This article aims to evaluate cities and trade in Anatolia during the Seljuk period from a framework at the intersection of urban, spatial and economic history studies. When previous studies on the Seljuk cities are briefly overviewed, Tanyeli (1987) focusing on the evolution of the physical structure of Anatolian-Turkish cities, Özcan (2005) analyzing Anatolian Seljuk urban models in associating urban form, components and function of cities and Tankut (2007) evaluating Seljuk cities in terms of urban form, components and architecture can be underscored as prominent studies, which discussed what basically made Seljuk city. There are also a great number of studies, which focused on single Anatolian-Turkish cities and their architectural heritage. In addition, trade roads in Anatolia and caravanserais in relation to trade roads attracted considerable attention in previous studies. Finally, trade and economy in Seljuk Anatolia was similarly addressed in economic history studies. In this context, as a contribution to the existing literature, in this article, the hierarchy, development and diversity of Seljuk cities are analyzed through the diversity of trade and commercial activities. In doing so, after a general introduction to the Seljuk period in Anatolia, the development of trade activities and relations is examined. Then, trade roads passing through east-west and north-south Anatolia, and the ports where these roads connected to sea routes, hence, trade road network is studied. After that, Seljuk cities are evaluated comparatively based on the diversity of trade activities and hierarchy of trade routes, including maritime trade and port settlements.

## TRADE IN SELJUK ANATOLIA

The Seljuks of Anatolia neighboring with the Ayyubids in the southeast, the Byzantine Empire in the west, the Kingdom of Little Armenia in the south, the Empire of Trebizond in the North, Kingdom of Georgia in the northeast, Kingdom of Armenia in the east also shared the same historic scene with the Italian city states, who were becoming more effective in Anatolian ports and thus getting stronger as maritime power foci in the Mediterranean (Figure 1). The ruling elite of the Seljuk State adopted very rational economic policies in order to make these lands a permanent homeland. They tried to develop as much of the trade activities as possible, to be one of the determinants of trade relations and networks, to control trade routes passing through Anatolia and to improve infrastructure both of this road network and of the settlements located on this network. Even conquest policies were carried out by considering commercial activities. To ensure commercial security and continuity of trade in the Seljuk territory could be considered as a reason for confrontation.

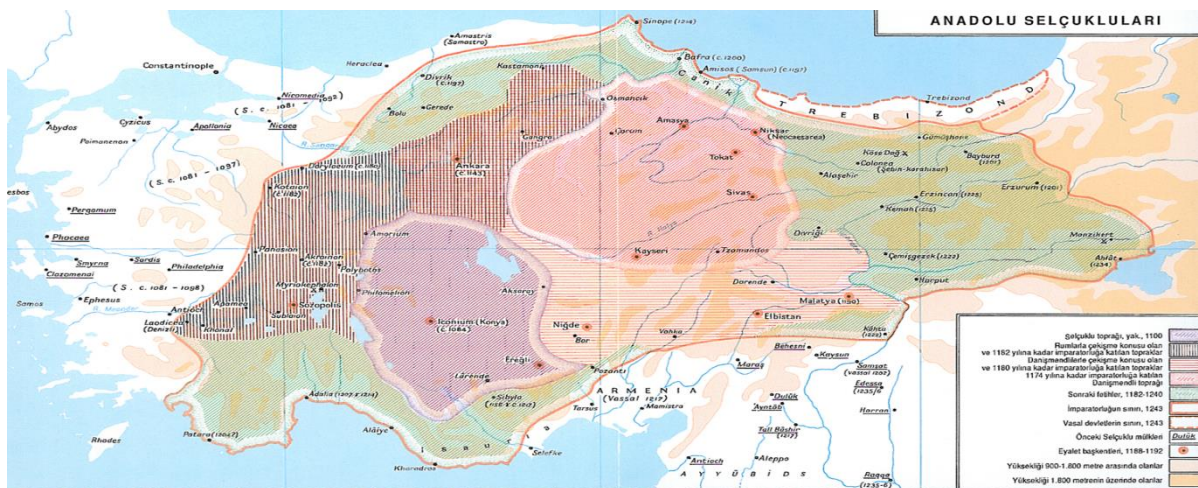


Figure 1. Map of Anatolian Seljuk State (Pitcher, 2001)

In terms of commercial security, besides the security of merchants trading at the borders of the country, the Seljuk sultans saw themselves responsible for the merchants from their subjects to continue their activities without any damage and could even consider this a



reason for military campaign. For example, in 1205, when Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I ascended the throne for the second time, Sivas was already an active settlement in international trade, accommodating traders from Russia and Kipchak from the north to Syria and Mesopotamia from the south. When the conquest of the Black Sea ports by the Komnenos interrupted the trade flow and the goods and merchants that could not reach the ports accumulated here, Keyhüsrev set out on the Black Sea military campaign but was not successful (Cahen, 2001: 133; Turan, 1993: 280). On the other hand, Antalya, one of the most critical international ports in south Anatolia, was conquered by Keyhüsrev for a similar reason. Merchants, who came to Antalya from Alexandria subsequent to the conquest of Byzantium by the Crusaders, informed the Sultan that their properties were confiscated by the Tuscan Aldobrandini, who was in charge of Antalya, and asked for help. Thus, the Seljuk army led by Keyhüsrev ended the Italian domination in the city with the support of local Greeks and Antalya was annexed in 1207 (İbn Bibi, 2014: 125-130; Turan, 1993: 283-285). From then on, Keyhüsrev added "*Sultanü'l Berr ve'l-Bahr*" [Sultan of the Land and the Sea] to his titles (Kayaoğlu, 1981: 361).

As exemplified by these historical events, the uninterrupted continuation of trade activities and trade flow as well as commercial security determined the Seljuk conquest policies (Köymen, 1992: 21-22; Koca, 2002: 346). Utmost significance was given to ensuring the security of the east-west and north-south trade routes passing through Anatolia during the Seljuk period. The distances that caravans would travel in about one day were calculated and the roads were accordingly equipped with caravanserais. At the same time, the Seljuk State, which wanted to play an effective and dominant role in trade activities and relations in the international arena, was aware of the importance of dominating the port cities where these roads ended, in other words, accessing the sea trade routes to which land trade routes were connected. Therefore, the conquest of key ports in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea continued during the periods of İzzeddin Keykavus I and Alaeddin Keykubat I, who were the successors of Keyhüsrev. With the conquests, the correspondence between the Latins and the Seljuks about commercial concessions and especially trade agreements with the Republic of Venice, which was the most influential and powerful among them, came to the fore.

During the rule of İzzeddin Keykavus I (1211-1220), the Greeks in Antalya revolted after the death of Keyhüsrev, massacred the Muslim people and started pillaging the city. Thereupon, Keykavus once and for all conquered the city (İbn Bibi, 2014: 169-174; Polat, 2006: 372). The Seljuk presence in Antalya affected not only Italian city states but also other states involved in Mediterranean trade. South Anatolian ports and Antalya, among them, was very important in terms of trade routes used by the Kingdom of Cyprus. The Kingdom of Cyprus can be mentioned as the first Christian state to have a trade agreement with the Seljuks. These agreements made through letters consisted of mutual promises and assurances. As can be seen from the letter dated 1214 by King Hugh (1205-1218) to İzzeddin Keykavus (1211-1220), correspondence with Cyprus started from 1207-1208 (Turan, 1958: 139). There are 5 letters shedding light on the trade relations between the Seljuk State and the Kingdom of Cyprus that have survived to the present day. The content of the letters (Turan, 1958: 139-142), which can be considered as the first alliance and treaty made by the Seljuks with another state, pointed to an alliance based on reciprocity (Turan, 2000: 167; Çavuşdere, 2009: 59-61). Thus, the Seljuk State, which strengthened its position in the Mediterranean with the final conquest of Antalya (Güçlüay, 2002: 366) and the alliance with Cyprus, was able to turn its face to the Black Sea, where the land routes ended in the north.

Different from the port of Trebizond, which was ruled by the Empire of Trebizond and from the port of Samsun, which had two settlement centers, one of which was ruled by the Seljuk authorities (Niketas Choanites, 1984: 286, 290, 343; Turan, 1993: 219, 242, 248, 278-280), Sinop on the Black Sea coast was thoroughly and definitely annexed into Seljuk



territory during the reign of Keykavus. This port city, which was first occupied by Danişmendid Kara Tekin and started to become a homeland for the Turks, was abandoned during the Crusades and was finally conquered by İzzeddin Keykavus in 1214 by agreement (İbn Bibi, 2014: 174-182; Turan, 1993: 302-307). After this conquest, Keykavus added "*Sultanü'l Berr ve'l-Bahreyn*" [Sultan of the Land and the Two Seas] to his titles (Kayaoğlu, 1981: 362).<sup>ii</sup>

The period of Alaeddin Keykubat I (1220-1237), whose reign began after Keykavus, corresponded to the peak of the Anatolian Seljuk State. Keykubat, considered the most powerful ruler of the Seljuk State, adopted economic policies similar to his father Keyhüsrev and his brother Keykavus. He maintained the sustainability of trade and the security of trade routes on the one hand with alliances and trade agreements with Latins active in trade, on the other hand with conquests and intensive development activities that provided the necessary infrastructure for the realization of increasing trade activities. When Keykubat ascended the throne, most of the Crusader principalities in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East had disappeared and Europeans, especially Italian city-states, had already turned their faces to Anatolia to continue long distance trade. The Venetians, prominent among them, signed a trade agreement with the Seljuks in 1220. The agreement signed by Sipehsalar Şemseddin Emir ül-Gazi, and Tiepolo, the Venetian Podesta in Constantinople, on behalf of the Seljuk Sultan and Doge of Venice regulated the trade relations between the Seljuk State and the Republic of Venice (Çavuşdere, 2009: 61-63; Kayaoğlu, 1981: 362-364, Martin, 1980; Polat, 2006: 373; Turan, 1958: 125-129; Turan, 2000:168-180). While the terms related to freedom of trade, safety and security conditions for merchants were based on reciprocity, terms related to customs and particular judicial trials were mostly in favor of Venice. Turan (2000, 172) explains this situation with the dominance of the Republic of Venice, which made trade the basis of its political existence, against the Seljuk State, which did not have likewise much experience in international trade. In addition, the mention of "Latins, Pisans and other tribes" in the judicial sections within the agreement terms indicates that the Seljuk lands were open to other merchants in addition to the Venetians such as those from Pisa, Genoa and even from Provence (Turan, 2000: 172).

In addition to signing the treaty with Venice, Keykubat strengthened relations with Ayyubids in the southeast, too. He also welcomed both the intellectuals and merchants of the period who escaped from the Mongol invasion in Asia. Considering the approaching Mongol threat, he commissioned the renovation and reinforcement of fortifications of significant settlement centers such as Konya, Kayseri and Sivas. Keykubat, who was aware that to be an important ruling authority in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, it was necessary to control the ports besides the land roads, conquered Calonoros in 1223 (İbn Bibi, 2014: 258-272; Turan, 1993: 335-339).<sup>iii</sup> From then on, the Seljuks controlled two important ports of southern Anatolia including Antalya, where only Ayas was within the territory of Kingdom of Little Armenia. Keykubat had an arsenal built in order to establish a strong fleet together with the strong army in this port city, which was named after him, Alaiyye (Alanya). With the fleet getting stronger in a short time, the first overseas military campaign was organized to Suğdak in the Black Sea to support the merchants here and solve their problems. The campaign was successful and Suğdak went under Seljuk rule, only for a short period of time until the Mongols took over the port in 1239 (Çavuşdere, 2009: 59; İbn Bibi, 2014: 317-321; Turan, 1993: 358-360).

Construction and development activities during the rule of Keykubat were not limited to the strengthening of the Seljuk cities with the renovation and construction of fortification walls. When the sultan conquered Alaiyye and established a new settlement here, he built palace gardens and mansions in addition to the defense structures and the arsenal.<sup>iv</sup> There are important examples of monumental architecture dating from Keykubat's period such as mosques and palaces either commissioned by him or his entourage. Moreover, Keykubat



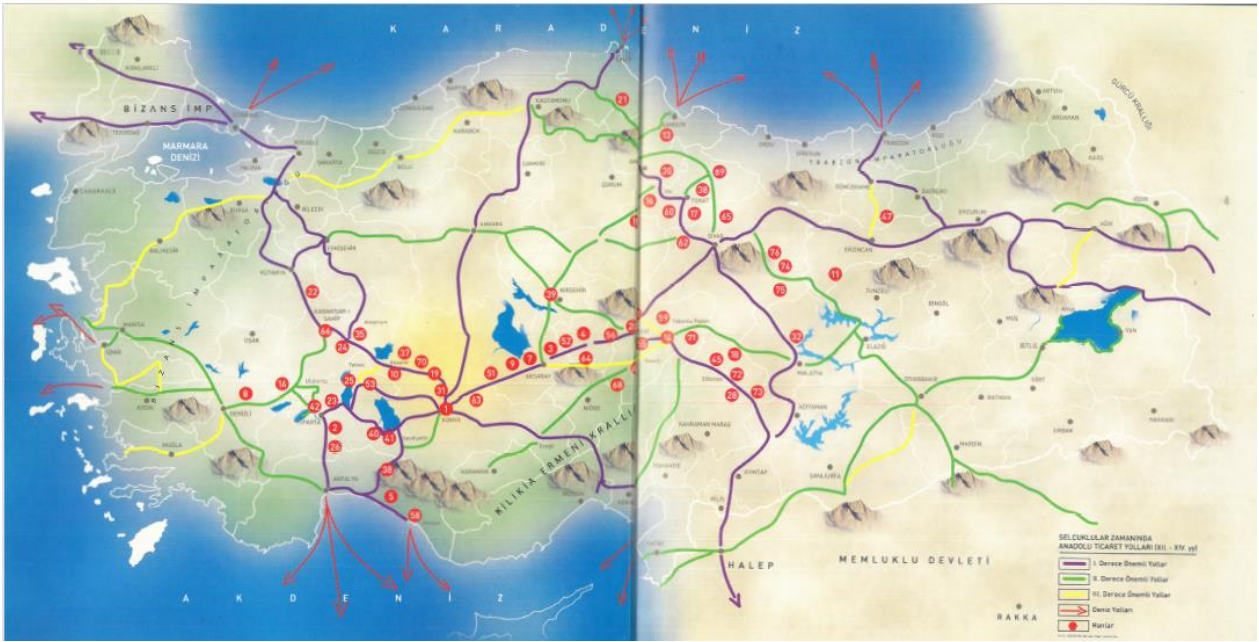


attached great importance to the continuity and increase in trade activities, following the trade policies adopted by the Seljuk State. Thus, he initiated construction and development activities to provide the necessary infrastructure. In Seljuk history, it is during the rule of Keykubat that land roads, in other words, caravan roads were improved, and the construction of many bridges and especially caravanserais was supported the most. Caravanserais were started to be built in the third quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Acun, 2007: 17) during the rule of Kılıçarslan (1156-1192) (Özergin, 1959: 83; 1965: 145) and those dating to the Seljuk period, were approximately 250 in number (Yavuz, 2000: 249; 2006: 436; Acun, 2007: 17).<sup>v</sup> Caravanserais with the largest size and richest architectural program were built during the rule of Alaeddin Keykubat.<sup>vi</sup> Among these, Alara Han, Aksaray Sultan Han and Tuzhisar Sultan Han were caravanserais commissioned by the sultan and Ağzıkara Han, Çardak Han and most probably Obruk Han were built during his reign.

Subsequent to Keykubat's reign, during the rule of his successor Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II, the Seljuk State was defeated by the Mongols in the Köseadağ War in 1243. From then on, the state continued its existence dependent on the Mongol Ilkhanid Empire, until the 14<sup>th</sup> century thanks to capable viziers and statesmen. Although the state is dependent on the Mongols, it can be said that caravanserais were built in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, caravan routes were preserved, and trade activities continued both in the ports and in Seljuk settlements, especially in cities such as Konya, Kayseri and Sivas.

#### **TRADE ROAD NETWORK IN SELJUK ANATOLIA**

During the Seljuk period, the trade routes connecting the cities of Anatolia to each other and to the outside corresponded to a very complex and intricate road network strengthened with multiple and various connections on two main routes: north-south and east-west (Figure 2).<sup>vii</sup> First, on the north-south route, there were roads starting from Baghdad in the south and continuing as Mardin, Diyarbakır, Harput, Malatya to Sivas. Likewise, there were roads starting from Aleppo and leading from Kilis, Antep, Adıyaman, Malatya to connect to Sivas. Sivas was a significant node at the junction of routes. From Sivas a line to the east connecting Erzincan and Erzurum had a branch leading to the north, which met the port Trebizond; another line from Sivas to the north connected Tokat, Amasya and ended with the Samsun port. Additionally, there were secondary roads leading from Amasya to the northwest, which finalized with the Sinop port. These ports were the final destinations of the north-south route in the Black Sea coast, where land roads met with maritime routes. It has to be added that, in the south, one of the major roads that started from Aleppo and continued to Kilis and Antep had another branch connected to Kayseri through Elbistan, which made Kayseri another significant node at junction like Sivas.



**Figure 2.** Trade Routes in Anatolia in the Seljuk Period (Eravşar, 2011)

Kayseri was located on the main road between Konya and Sivas on the east-west line. At the same time, Yabanlu Pazarı, an international fair held every year near Kayseri, supported Kayseri's remarkable position in the trade routes network. Yabanlu Pazarı was known as the most important international fair in Anatolia during the Seljuk rule, which was probably held every year in May-June even during the Mongol domination, at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Sümer (1985, 1-24) provided most comprehensive information about Yabanlu Pazarı, where commodities ranging from slaves to horses, mules, furs, precious textiles and etc. were traded and a multitude of merchants from various countries from the north, south, west and east came together.<sup>viii</sup> A line from Kayseri to Kırşehir reached Sinop port via Ankara, Çankırı, Kastamonu and Samsun port via Kırşehir, Amasya. Another node on the main road from Kayseri to the west was the capital Konya. A main road to Sinop via Ankara, Çankırı, Kastamonu to the north, and a main road to Adana and Ayas (Yumurtalık) via Ereğli to the south provided the connection of the land roads to the maritime trade ports. Especially after the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it should be added that the port of Ayas, which was ruled by the Kingdom of Little Armenia in the south, became a rival to Antalya, when the Seljuk State was dependent on the Mongol Ilkhanid Empire.

There were also main roads running from Konya to Antalya and Alanya via Seydişehir; and to the south connecting to Antalya via Seydişehir and Isparta. On the east-west route, the main road starting from Tabriz via Ağrı into Anatolia connected Erzurum, Erzincan, Sivas, Kayseri and Aksaray to Konya. From the node Konya a main road led to Akşehir, Karahisar-ı Sahip, Kütahya, Kocaeli, finally reaching Constantinople, and another one continued through Akşehir, Eskişehir, Bilecik, Kocaeli and reached Constantinople. In the West, the land roads ending at the ports of Foça, İzmir and Ayasuluk in the Aegean were secondary routes. The roads from Karahisar-ı Sahip or Isparta to Uluborlu reached Denizli, İzmir and Foça via Manisa in the northwest, and Ayasuluk in the west via Aydın. Another road from Denizli to the west was connected to the Balat port via Muğla, to the southeast, and a busier road to the sea routes with the Antalya port. One of the secondary routes of the east-west line located in the east of Anatolia was the road to Batum via Doğu Beyazid, Iğdır.



## **TRADE, TRADE ROADS AND CITIES IN SELJUK ANATOLIA**

When examining to what extent the road network was effective in determining the urban network, it can be said that the cities on the main roads, especially those located at the junction of these roads, were the largest and primary cities. These cities can be considered as first-degree settlements in that they accommodated more intense trade activities; had larger commercial centers, including more number of commercial edifices and bazaars, and accommodated more crowded and more diverse populations in terms of ethnicity and religion. Konya, Kayseri and Sivas are examples of such settlements. In the Seljuk period, Konya, Kayseri, Sivas were located on the major axis in the road network in Anatolia, or in other words, they overlapped the center of gravity of this network system (Özcan, 2015: 185-206). William of Rubruck (2010, 276-277) and Marco Polo (1953, 24), who wrote down their impressions about the places they visited in their travel accounts, visited Konya, Kayseri and Sivas while passing through Anatolia during their trips in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Likewise, the Arab traveler İbn Battûta (2000, 412, 414, 416) later visited these cities in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and narrated about the daily life, people and physical characteristics of them.

Among these cities, Sivas can be considered as one of the largest urban trade center at the junction of north-south and east-west trade routes. Through the markets of Sivas, commodities such as slaves and furs brought by the Russians, Kipchaks and Bulgarians from the north reached the Islamic states in the south. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Sivas was an international trade center where traders from various ethnic and religious groups prepared caravans and gathered in populous market places. When the European presence in the city is examined, it can be said that the Genoese and Venetians had consulates here and there were a group of Genoese and Venetian merchants who regularly resided in the city. The trade agreement signed with the Venetians supports this situation. Furthermore, Turan (1951, 450) emphasizes that the Genoese established a colony here and some Genoese merchants stayed in Kemaleddin Han (Funduk), based on the fact that they built a church, and some of them resided in the houses they rented.<sup>ix</sup>

Sümer (1985, 5) points out that, in addition to the Genoese even the local rulers in Iran had their commercial representatives in Sivas during the Seljuk period. Merchants coming to the city from Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Iran and Turkistan met with merchants from Italian city-states, Byzantine Empire and from Russian and Kipchak countries, where large-scale goods were traded (Sümer, 1985: 5). As stated in the endowment deeds of Sahip Ata, there was also a Jewish neighborhood in the city and a group of Jewish merchants was part of the vibrant commerce in Sivas. Again, as mentioned in this endowment, one of the madrasas in the city was called Medrese-i Bulgari, which can be said to serve Bulgarian merchants from the Volga region in the north (Turan, 1951: 450). According to the incomes of the endowment and places given in the text, Kucur (2009, 248-249) states that, there were properties belonging to non-Muslims other than Jews in Buğday Pazarı and Sübaşı Neighborhood and there were church endowments around Aşçılar Çarşısı ve Kayseriyye Gate. Therefore, it can be claimed that Sivas was one of the Anatolian cities with the most multicultural demographic during the Seljuk period.

Sivas, which was a larger trade center compared to the capital city Konya, was also an important production center in Anatolia besides international trade. Sümer (1985, 5) says that Sivas made a remarkable income from the sales of soap, perfumery and horse in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The city was significant for wheat production and carpet weaving, as well as manufacture of woolen and cotton cloths and their trade (Turan, 1951: 450; Kaya, 2006: 416, Turan, 2000: 162). Within the Gök Medrese endowment deeds of Sahip Ata, there is substantial information about trade activities, types of crafts along with bazaars, market places and commercial areas (Bayram, Karabacak, 1981; Kayaoğlu, 1981: 367; Özcan, 2007: 110; Özgüven, Doyduk, 2006: 493; Tanyeli, 1987: 62-63; Turan, 1951: 451; Uysal, 2008: 96): There were bazaars including groceries, butchers, medicinal herbs sellers, food

makers, blacksmiths, thread and yarn sellers, clothiers, tailors, and other master craftsmen. In addition, those who traded more valuable goods such as goldsmiths and fur sellers and money changers were located in hans, which were safer trading places. There were hans named as Sahtiyân, Pamuk, Şekerciler and Bazzazlar after type of commercial goods and also as Necmeddin Candar, Tâceddin Mahmud, Nizâmeddin Hurşid, Kamiledin Mansûr, Zahirreddin, Büyük Han, Eski Kapan, and Kemaleddin, which served both for commerce and accommodation. It can be said that the endowment deeds contained more clues about the spatial structuring of Sivas in the Seljuk period, for in addition to commercial buildings and bazaars, public buildings such as madrasas and masjids, neighborhoods and city gates were also mentioned within the deeds (Hersek, 2006: 273-277; Özcan, 2007: 103-108; Özgüven, Doyduk, 2006: 492-495; Tanyeli, 1987: 59-63, Map 3.6.2; Uysal, 2008) (Figure 3).

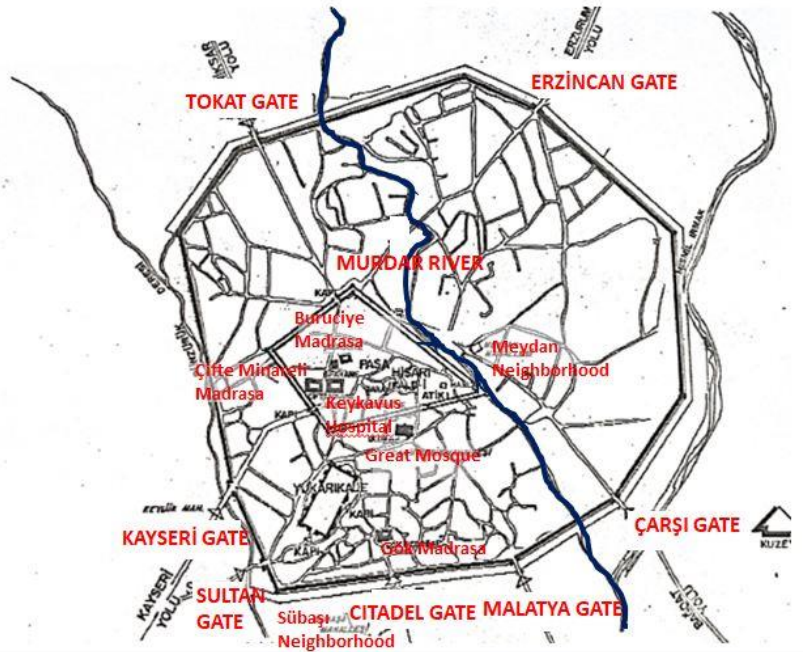


Figure 3. Sivas City Center, Çifte Minareli Madrasa and Keykavus Hospital

The historical commercial area of the city surrounded by walls during the period of Alaeddin Keykubat I partially overlapped with the present day commercial center. In the endowment deeds of Sahip Ata, some workshops and a few commercial edifices along the Murdar River were mentioned (Bayram, Karabacak, 1981: 51-59; Hersek, 2006: 275). Hersek (2006, 275) states that 28 hans, 15 of which dated to the Seljuk period were located between the Great Mosque and the Murdar River. It can be said that, in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the commercial area started from the inner walls, also overlapped the vicinity of the Great Mosque, extended eastward, including a part of the Murdar River and the commercial structures around it, showed a linear development, which extended beyond the city gates (Hersek, 2006: 276-277; Tanyeli, 1985: 63; see also Özgüven, Doyduk, 2006: 493; Uysal, 2008: 96-99). It is thought that the open space located in the north of the Great Mosque was used as a market place during the Seljuk period, the coppersmiths, blacksmiths were located in the east of this area, the wheat bazaar in its north, and herbs and onion bazaars were located in its northeast (Hersek, 2006, 275). Similar to the commercial regions of other Anatolian cities, it can be said that the animal market and especially the tanneries were located outside the dense commercial areas along the Murdar River due to practical reasons. In the physical structuring of the city, dervish lodges, hans and baths were for the most part built near the commercial district. Madrasas, mosques, masjids and tombs as monumental examples of architectural structures similarly determined the shaping of the urban form and patterns (Figure 4). İbn Battûta (2000, 416), who visited the city later



in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, said that Sivas was "a city with very regular and well-maintained wide streets, and its bazaars were full of crowds of people". Hence, it can be thought that Sivas continued as an effective and important settlement in international and regional trade in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, subsequent to the Seljuk period.<sup>x</sup>



**Figure 4.** Sivas in the Seljuk Period (after Hersek, 2006: 277)

Konya and Kayseri, which were considered as first-degree settlements together with Sivas most probably witnessed similarities in terms of urban development. As regards its social and physical structure (Baykara, 1985; 31-142; 2009), hosting a populous and multicultural demographic, busy with vibrant commerce, the spatial development of Konya (Küçükdağ, Arabacı, 1994: 229-315; Özcan, 2011; Yasa, 2006) with its dense and large commercial areas and monumental examples of urban architecture well displayed its characteristics as a first-degree city within Anatolian urban network during the Seljuk rule. On urban life and patterns in relation to trade and merchants, William of Rubruck (2010, 277), who visited the city in 1254, gave information about the important roles of Genoese and Venetian merchants based on alum trade in this travel accounts. It is possible to argue that foreign merchants were also effective in commercial activities in Kayseri. Considering that the Yabanlu Bazaar - a very important international market in the Middle Ages - was established regularly, especially in the Seljuk era, near Kayseri, it can be said that Kayseri witnessed a similar urban life and populous commercial centers with a large number of merchants. In addition to its social, its physical structure, including extended commercial areas, various neighborhoods and building complexes and single architectural monuments (Demir, Çubuk, 2013: 26-73; Eldem, 1982: 30-131; Eravşar, 2006), showed that Kayseri was a first-degree city in Seljuk Anatolia.

It is possible to consider cities such as Amasya, Tokat, and Erzurum as second-degree cities on the main trade routes, in other words, on the first-degree trade roads. These cities most probably had smaller and fewer commercial areas and activities, and fewer bazaars and commercial structures that accommodated foreign traders in less variety and quantity, compared to the first-degree cities at nodes such as Konya, Kayseri and Sivas, where international trade is the busiest. Yet again, these second-degree cities considerably developed due to trade activities, as they were located on the main trade routes and had hosted significant construction and urban growth. These cities can be regarded as regional

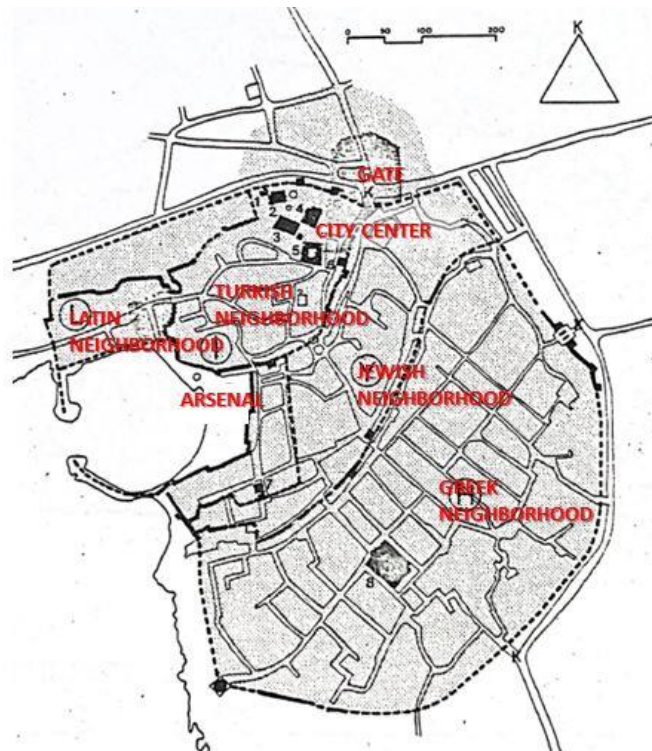


commercial centers compared to international commercial centers located at the junction of main roads. For example Amasya was a significant urban center in the Seljuk period. Taking into account the number of architectural edifices dating to this period, their distribution in the urban patterns and the commercial centers in the city (Kuzucular, 1994: 33-51; Tanyeli, 1987: 70-71; Urak, 1994; Urak, 2006) Amasya was presumably a smaller settlement busy with less volume of trade in comparison to Sivas, Konya or Kayseri.

Cities such as Kırşehir and Denizli can be considered as third-degree cities located at the junction of second-degree land roads. It can be assumed that these cities accommodated fewer and less diverse commercial activities, had smaller commercial areas in the form of local bazaars and markets places, less population and public architectural works than the cities on the main trade routes. Finally, cities such as Niğde and Harput, which are located on secondary roads, can be considered as the forth-degree settlements in terms of trade activities and relations with trade routes. It can be thought that they had the smallest settlement areas with fewer architectural edifices, accommodated least number of market places, bazaars and commercial structures serving trade activities in the form of mostly production and limited local distribution led by limited number of merchants compared to other cities within the urban network.

In contrast, it is possible to evaluate port cities where land trade roads reached the seas, in other words, transit trade routes connected to the maritime trade routes as cities accommodating multicultural demographic, intense commerce and showing significant urban development. Alanya, Antalya and Ayas in the Mediterranean, Sinop, Samsun and Trebizond in the Black Sea were important port cities in the Middle Ages, where Ayas and Trebizond were outside the Seljuk territory.<sup>xi</sup>

For example, Antalya was one of the prominent ports in Anatolia during the Byzantine period in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, with the Seljuk rule, trade in the city mostly increased, based on the agreement through letters made with the King of Cyprus and the subsequent trade agreement with the Venetians. In the second half of the century, during the period when the Seljuk State was dominated by the Mongols, Ayas became a rival to Antalya, but with the subsequent Beylik period in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Antalya succeeded again in becoming the prominent port city in international trade in southern Anatolia. İbn Battûta (2000, 402-403), who visited the city after the Seljuk rule, gave significant information about the commercial activities of Antalya, the diversity of the population it hosts and the formation of the built environment. In the city surrounded by walls, as İbn Battûta reports, Christian merchants - which can be considered to be predominantly Italian merchants - lived in the neighborhood called Mînâ (Port), Greeks and Jews lived in their own neighborhoods and Muslim Turks lived in the city center. Neighborhoods were surrounded by walls and there were doors between them that are closed at night (Figure 5). It can be argued that the separation of neighborhoods belonging to different ethnic and religious groups with walls and gates was not carried out in order to separate the groups from each other, but that the city walls were structured in different periods in history (Kurt, 2010: 160-163; Tanyeli, 1987: 49; Yılmaz, 2006: 207-209). Considering the Seljuk social structure and administrative policy, it can be said that a situation such as the retreat of each group to their own neighborhood behind closed doors was not a generalized attitude. Although there could be separate neighborhoods based on religious and ethnic groups, transition in between could still be possible (Kuban, 2008: 69). Therefore, it can be said that during the Seljuk period, Antalya, as an international port city fed by trade, had a considerable multicultural demographic and this diversity contributed to the enhancement of urban life and reflected in the physical structure without very clear and sharp distinctions.



**Figure 5.** Antalya in the Seljuk Period (after Tanyeli, 1987: Map 3.3.4)

After the first takeover of the city in 1207, the walls were initially repaired, but when the Seljuk rule was interrupted aftermath the rebellion, the city was reconquered (İbn Bibi, 2014: 169-174). Redford (2011), who studied Seljuk urban culture in relation to architectural patronage focusing on the inscriptional record on Antalya city walls, evaluated urban history traced on Seljuk city walls reflected the development in stately authority.<sup>xii</sup> In addition to the construction and repair of the city walls after the second conquest, reconstruction activities gained momentum with monumental architectural works such as mosques, masjids, madrasas, mausoleums and baths, and the most ambitious architectural initiatives were carried out during the period of Alaeddin Keykubat I (Kurt, 2010; Sönmez, 2009; Tanyeli, 1987: 48-52; Yılmaz, 2002; 2006) (Figure 6). After the Battle of Köseadağ in 1243, the city, which lost its importance under the Mongol dominion, retreated until regained the international port city character in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as narrated by İbn Battûta.



**Figure 6.** View of Antalya depicted in Cornelis de Bruyn (1714)  
(<http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=42443>, last accessed 06.01.2021)





About the commercial areas of the city, İbn Battûta (2000, 403) stated that the city center, where the Muslim inhabitants lived, had a Friday mosque, madrasa, many baths and well-organized bazaars. The commercial district, which is known to be located in the city center in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, probably continued around the port, especially to the neighborhoods north of the port where Italian merchants settled (Heyd, 1975: 612; Tanyeli, 1987: 51-52). Thus, it can be assumed that the commercial areas extended from the port to the northeastern city gates to cover the city center, and even out of the city walls, to reach all these areas (Figure 5).

## CONCLUSION

This article aimed to evaluate trade and urban development in Seljuk Anatolia from a perspective, which overlapped urban, spatial and economic history studies. Accordingly, the development and diversity of Seljuk cities was examined through the diversity of trade and trade activities. It can be said that with the Seljuk rule, Anatolia started to play a more active role in international trade. The Seljuk sultans, who were aware of the significance of trade and being an active party in the international trade arena in the Middle Ages in ensuring the power and continuity of the state, determined both their economy and conquest policies within this scope. Under the Seljuk rule, construction and infrastructure activities were carried out taking into consideration trade and trade relations, land roads passing through Anatolia were revived, and trade caravans were ensured to travel safely with the construction of remarkable number of caravanserais and bridges on these roads. The land routes passing through east-west and north-south in Anatolia and the ports where these routes connected to maritime routes, in other words, the trade road network were examined. Finally, Seljuk cities were studied comparatively with examples based on the diversity of trade activities and the hierarchy of trade routes. Inland Seljuk cities were hierarchically considered as: first, second, third and fourth degree settlements in relation to their location at the junction of primary roads, on the primary roads, at the junction of secondary roads or on secondary roads respectively. It is possible to say that, the first-degree cities corresponded to international trade centers, the second and third most likely to regional trade centers and finally fourth degree ones were production centers, when urban network is evaluated in terms of trade activities. As for port cities, Sinop in the north and Antalya in the south can be considered as significant international ports in Seljuk Anatolia. In this article, as examples of international trade centers, inland settlement Sivas at the junction of main roads and port city Antalya, where the land roads connected to maritime roads were discussed more in detail to reveal their spatial development in relation to trade. It can be said that, Sivas showed the characteristics of a first-degree city, or in other words an international trade center, when its multicultural and populous demographic, variety and quantity of trade activities, number of bazaars, markets and commercial edifices and the development of commercial areas and finally architectural monuments and public works all together determining its urban development are considered. Likewise, it is possible to state that Antalya was the significant international trade port city in terms of its demographic and socio-economic structuring, which well enhanced its spatial development. Antalya, which partially regressed with the importance of Ayas port in the east in the second half of the century, was revived during the Beylik period in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>i</sup> This article derives from the paper titled "Selçuklu Döneminde Anadolu'da Ticaret, Ticaret Yolları ve Kent Ağı [Trade, Trade Roads and Urban Network in Seljuk Anatolia]" I presented in the "III. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Sempozyumu Selçuklular ve Haçlılar [3rd International Symposium on Seljuk Culture and Civilization- Seljuks and Crusaders]", which was organized by Selçuk Üniversitesi, Selçuk Üniversitesi Selçuklu Araştırmalar Merkezi ve Medeniyet Okulu, Karatay Üniversitesi, Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi and Türk Tarih Kurumu, in 8-10 April 2016. For preliminary results see Caner Yüksel, 2020. The paper is revised, updated and redeveloped for this article.

<sup>ii</sup> For further details and evaluation on the conquest of port cities see Geyikoğlu, 2003: 259-267.

<sup>iii</sup> Polat (2006, 373) gives this date as 1221.

<sup>iv</sup> For constructions in Alâiyye see Redford, 2008. For structures around the port see Bilici, 2009: 160-161.

<sup>v</sup> Scholars have different arguments on the earliest caravanserai in Anatolia. For example, Yavuz (1997, 80-81) and Kuban (2008, 239) claim Altınapa Hanı dating to 1206 -Özergin dated Altınapa Hanı before 1201-02- to be the earliest caravanserai, while Deniz (2007, 57, 74) point to Alay Han and Baş (2010, 70, 73) to Öresin Han be the earliest.

<sup>vi</sup> For a detailed evaluation on the size and architectural program of the caravanserais see Önge, 2007. For the evaluation of a similar example Karatay Han commissioned by the vizier Celaleddin Karatay see Binan, 2008.

<sup>vii</sup> For further information on trade roads Bedirhan, 2014: 374-375; 2016: 16-20; Bektaş, 1999: 14, 43, Map 6; Eravşar, 2011: 18-20; Eravşar, Yavuz, 2012: 329-348; Eravşar, Yavuz, Toprak, 2013; Ersoy, 1995: 23-26; Eskikurt, 2014: 24-33; Günel, 2010; Kayaoğlu, 1981: 364-365; Özergin 1959; 1965; Polat, 2002: 381-382; Tuncer, 2006: 424-430; 2007: 13-16, 26-36; Turan, 1946; Ünal, 1970; Yavuz, 2000; 2006: 435-436.

<sup>viii</sup> For other fairs and market places in addition to Yabancı Pazarı see Özcan, 2006: 205-224; Bedirhan, 2016: 21-23.

<sup>ix</sup> For Genoese presence in the city see also Özbek, 2006: 410-411.

<sup>x</sup> For a detailed evaluation on Sivas matching and comparing its history with the reigning periods of Seljuk sultans, as well as analyzing the Seljuk history of Sivas through inscription panels see Hakkı, Nafiz, 1997: 59-68. For further evaluation on the spatial development of the city see Hersek, 2006; Özcan, 2007; Özgüven, Doyduk: 491-497; Tanyeli, 1987: 58-64, Map 3.6.1, 3.6.2; Uysal, 2008.

<sup>xi</sup> For a general discussion on the Seljuk port cities see Bedirhan, 2016: 18-21; Özcan, 2017.

<sup>xii</sup> For a compilation of inscription panels on city walls as well as inscription panels of other Seljuk edifices see Yılmaz, Tuzcu, 2010. See also Yılmaz, 2006: 130-144.