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**THE IMPACT OF CITY FORMATION IN GREAT
SELJUKS ON THE CITY CULTURE OF ANATOLIAN SELJUKS
BÜYÜK SELÇUKLU ŞEHİR YAPILANMASININ ANADOLU SELÇUKLU ŞEHİR
KÜLTÜRÜ ÜZERİNE TESİRİ**

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For establishment
of cities and for settling in
towns, a dynasty and a
government are required.
Ibn Khaldun

Abstract

An urbanization oriented formation can be observed in the development and housing activities enhanced based on the socio-economic conditions parallel to a settling life during the foundation period of the Great Seljuk Empire. The urban culture which was formed based on the Sasanians, Islamic, Samanians, Ghaznavids and Karakhanids gained a new pace during the Seljuks period and came to the fore. Several other coeval or follower states of Seljuks dominated the Islamic world shortly, which were established in Persia, Anatolia, Iraq, Syria and Egypt, were carrying political, social and cultural traces of Seljuks. It is evident that among these states, the Seljuk of Anatolia which was established as a branch of the Great Seljuk Empire presented this impact more clearly. The Seljuk city establishment process in the Anatolia took place within the uncontrolled lands or in the lands captured from the Byzantines and it was structured with conscious development policy which is specific to Seljuks. Similar applications of Seljuks which carry a fallow-up characteristic of the ones formed systematically in the Persian territory regarding city and urbanization activities were continued in the Anatolia through addition of some advancement. Undoubtedly, a different territory and existence of a different prior formation were fused once more under the Seljuk impact. The effect of the urban culture existed within the Khorasan territory since the foundation of the Seljuks over the cities of Seljuks of Turkey is an outstanding subject that is needed to be investigated through comparison by taking institutions and other primary factors into account.

Key Words: Seljuks, Anatolia, Seljuks of Turkey, City, City Culture

Şehirlerin inşa
edilmesi ve kasabaların
kurulması için mülkün

(hanedanlığın) ve devletin mevcudiyeti şarttır.

İbn Haldun

Özet

Büyük Selçuklu Devleti'nin kuruluş aşamasında sosyo-ekonomik koşullara bağlı olarak geliştirilen iskân ve imar faaliyetlerinde yerleşik hayata paralel şehirleşme amaçlı bir yapılanma görülmektedir. Bu meyanda oluşturulan ve menşei Sasanî, İslâm, Samanî, Gaznelî ve Karahanlılara dayanan Selçuklu şehir kültürü, Selçuklular ile yeni bir ivme kazanarak temayüz etmiştir. Kısa sürede İslâm dünyasına hâkim olan Selçukluların muasırı olan veya sonrasında İran, Anadolu, Irak, Suriye ve Mısır'da kurulan muhtelif devletler siyasî, sosyal ve kültürel bakımdan Selçuklu izleri taşımaktadırlar. Bunlardan Selçukluların bir şubesi olarak Anadolu'da tesis olunan Selçuklularda bu tesirin daha güçlü olduğu aşikârdır. Selçukluların Anadolu'da Bizans'tan devraldıkları veya boş yerlerde yapılanmaya gittikleri şehir müessesesi Selçuklulara has bilinçli imar politikası ile yapılandırılmıştır. İran coğrafyasında sistemli bir şekilde oluşturulan şehir ve şehirleşmeye dair yapılan faaliyetlerin devamı niteliğinde olmak üzere Selçuklular tarafından Anadolu'da aynı uygulama gelişerek devam ettirilmiştir. Şüphesiz farklı bir coğrafya ve öncesinde vaki olan bir yapılanmanın varlığı Selçuklu tesiri ile yeniden yoğrulmuştur. Selçukluların kuruluşundan itibaren Horasan coğrafyasında sahip oldukları şehir kültürünün, Türkiye Selçuklu şehri üzerindeki tesiri, oluşumu, kurumları ve diğer unsurları dikkate alınarak mukayese yoluyla incelenmesi gereken önemli bir mevzudur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Selçuklular, Anadolu, Türkiye Selçukluları, Şehir, Şehir Kültürü

Introduction

City is a settling unit where posses a historical and social structure, consists of various institutions, represents freedom and diversity and distinctive characteristics come to forefront. This unit is a territory in which a civilization guided by social, economic and cultural behaviors is expressed. City settlements which have a central status in the administrative structure of the medieval era states, was the essential element of the Seljuk administrative unit as well due to its characteristic. From this point, "city" means administrative territory based on its most evident characteristic.

As the first stage of the city life in the medieval age, activities to toward creating a total settled life were especially applied through executive initiatives of government officers. Nizâm al-Mulk, one of the grand viziers of Seljuk, stresses the significance of prosperity of the country to establish peace and security in a country while he is indicating missions of sultans in his monumental book called "Siyasetname (The book of government)". As Nizâm al-Mulk is explaining how to prosper the world, he clarifies this issue in detail based on his opinions. According to him, if a sultan wants to survive his name along the next generations, he must start to work for "prosperous world". In this context, required development activities are presented in the book as: "Sultan builds underground water channels; bridges over running waters; develops productivity of villages and settlements; constructs castles, new cities, high buildings and fancy settlements; establish caravanserais on the significant road junctions; orders to found madrasahs for those who wish to study.¹ While Ibn-i Khaldun who presents the issues concerning the medieval age through an analytic way, is emphasizing the importance of constructing large buildings, great facilities, castles, large cities and high statues by the sultans

¹ Nizâm al-Mulk, *Siyar al-Mülük (Siyasetname)*, Tahran, 1389/2010, p. 12-13.

of the medieval age, he also presents information that confirms determinations of the Vizier Nizām al-Mulk.² These remarks about city culture which was counted as if they were among the sultans' most important duties, represent the understanding of that era definitely.

In each period of history, although a city is result of a mutual unit in terms of social, economic and cultural conditions, specifically, it represents genuineness and difference; and forms specific formation based on its own elements. In this regard, the harmony between the elements of the Seljuk cities located in Persia and Khorasan territory and the cities in Anatolia and their characteristic are required to be methodical compared and to be presented as a whole for integrity of the historical process. At this point, while basic elements which constitute a city were being exhibited firstly, instead of an elaborative explanation, distinction of dominant factors of the Seljuk cities in two separate territories and the impact of the previous territory over the succeeding one were tried to be presented with their general lines.

I. About City Concept

Before the word of city which was used to refer essential settlement units in Anatolia between the 11th and 14th centuries, "balık/باليك" and "kent" words were being used along with the Turkish history. The referral of "kent-kend" used in the recent researches and in current language to represent "city" concept was included in the Dîwān-i Lughāt at-Turk in the same meaning. However, it was seen that while it was being translated into Arabic or Persian, "kent" was used to refer village instead of a city and it was pronounced as "qariya/قرية" and "dih/دیه".³ At this point, although it was thought that the "kent" concept was imposed a village meaning, "qariya/قرية" is also used to refer a large place where people settle in masses. Especially, the concept of "qariya/قرية" which is indicated within the Qur'an in numerous times, was used to refer large cities like Mecca, Medina, Taif, Jerusalem, Midian, Egypt, Antioch and etc.⁴

The word of "shahr (شهر)" which is Persian equivalent of the Arabic word of "madina" that represents development in civilization and cultural life is rooted back to the word of "shar" which means city.⁵ The word of "shar" can be encountered in the medieval era literature after the acceptance of Islam. Several coeval authors from this group used the expression of "sharistan" instead of "shahristan".⁶ Also, word of "shar" as an equivalent of the word of city continued to be used in Anatolia.

It is remarkable that the name of the Sharkışla County of the Sivas one of the Anatolian cities carries traces of the Central Asia and Khorasan cultures to our contemporary time. Yet, as a reflection of "ordu-balık" expression which is used commonly for Central Asian cities, while "shar" was used instead of "balık"; another Turkish word "kışla" was used instead of "ordu" so that county name was eventually formed as "Shar-kışla" jointly.

II. Physical Structure of a Seljuk City

Since Seljuk cities were structured based on Islamic city model, first of all general characteristics of an Islamic city must be mentioned. An Islamic city which is surrounded by

² Ibn Haldun, *Mukaddime*, Trns. Zakir Kadiri Ugan, I, Istanbul, 1990, p. 447.

³ T. Baykara, "Türkiye Selçuklularında Şehir/Kent ve Şehirli/Kentliler", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı I*, Ankara, 2006, p. 275.

⁴ N. Turgay, "Kur'an Açısından Kentlerin Yıkılışı", *Mukaddime*, I (2010), p. 106.

⁵ For detailed explanations regarding the usage of word of "shar" within the history of Persia and of territory see Seyyid Mohsin Habibî, *Az Shar Ta Shahr (از شار تا شهر)*, Tahran, 1390/2011, p. 5 etc.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, Tashih: Mohammad Taqiy Bahar, Tahran, 1381/2003, p. 283, 354, 356, 357, 358 etc.

wall for security reason was the most important settling center where political life, social and economic activities take place. An Islamic city was composed of organizations of physical structures which have been formed under Islamic conditions such as a Friday mosque, a caravanserai (*khan*), a Turkish bath, a central bazaar, and districts.⁷ Islamic cities which house several elements such as prayer place, a Turkish bath and a bazaar resemble to European cities based on these characteristics. In this context, it is appropriate to elucidate a European city. Based on westerners' description, a settlement place which was surrounded by wall, which included a castle on its highest place, a large prayer place in the middle which was surrounded by bazaar, market and a square was used to constitute a city. Again according to their description, community who live outside the Medieval Age cities whose appearance look like a town were used to come to cities for pray and trade or in case of enemy attack.⁸

Orientalists tried to make connection between mosque and cathedral since they are both exploited for prayer purposes.⁹ However, although the mosque phenomena in Islamic cities correspond to cathedral and church structures of the west in the medieval age, it presents differences in proportion to its unique characteristics. Again, when part of the functional elements of a city, market or bazaar and Turkish bath are considered systematically, they are not the same in terms of their structure and operation.¹⁰

When we evaluate Persian cities in the era of Islam, a city was founded on three basic elements observed in Sasanians. These three elements are *kuhendiz* (kuhendij (که‌ندز)-dij (دژ)), *inner city* (*shahr-i derun*) and *peripheral city* (*shahr-i birun*). In the *kuhendiz* that was considered as the most essential part of a city, there are jail, arsenal, government commodities, and officers who supervise all of these. There was a district where the wealthy families of the Sasanian era were used to live. This Islamic city developed bound to religious cause coalesced with this basic structuring. *Rabaz/d* (ربض), one of the main parts of the city, was housing all of the basic elements of a city life such as dar al-hukuma, Friday mosque, market and residential districts.¹¹

a) Protection of Seljuk Cities: Walls

Within the Europe and Islamic world of the Medieval Age, the most significant physical elements of cities are their walls. Walls which were usually constructed for protection were determining the physical area of the city. When Turks came to Anatolia first, they settled in the Byzantium castles of that era. Anatolian cities in the Byzantium era have a presence of a closed town surrounded by wall and trench likewise the ones in the Europe in the medieval age.¹² The same appearance continued in the Anatolian Turkish cities. Nevertheless, the application of surrounding cities by a physical wall is not a way of protection starting after Turks' invasion of

⁷ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City-Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (May. 1987), p. 156.

⁸ O. Ergin, *Türkiyede Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, İstanbul, 1936, p. 35.

⁹ A. Raymond, "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1994), p. 7.

¹⁰ A. Çetin, "Memlûk Dönemi Doğu Akdeniz Müslüman Şehirlerinin Ekonomik Yüzü: Çarşılar", *Gazi University Journal of Gazi Educational Faculty*, Vol. 4, 2009, p. 372.

¹¹ Sh. Yousefifar, *Costarhaye dar Monasebat-e Shahr ve Shahrneshini dar Dove-re Selcuqiyani* (جستارهایی در مناسبات (شهر و شهرنشینی دوره سلجوقیان), Tahran, 1390/2011, p.120.

¹² In year 1061, the Byzantian Emporor Dukas had the Malatya walls and tranches repaired, which were damaged during the clashes of Abbasids and Rum. See Süryanî Mihail, *Vekainâme*, Translated by Hrant D. Andreasyan, II. Section, Turkish History Institution, 1944, p. 23; E. Honigmann, "Malatya", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, VII, Eskişehir, 1997, p. 235; Henri Pirene, *Ortaçağ Kentleri*, Trns. Şadan Karadeniz, İstanbul, 2005, p. 48; M. Demir, "Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Şehirleşmesi", *Journal of Academic Studies*, Vol. 16, 2003, p. 61.

Anatolia; or they did not learn it from the Byzantines. Rather, it was a structuring that can be observed in the central Asia, Khorasan, and Persian city landscape.¹³ Yet, the villages established for agricultural purposes during the Gokturk period had developed to level of city over the time such that these settlements used as agricultural areas were surrounded by walls thus they gained a city identity. What was observed in the 8th Century was that in these cities established based on agriculture commercial activities started to arise. Tamim b. Bahr, a traveler of this age, gave us information about the Uyghur city of Beshbalık where commerce and agriculture were main activities and the city was surrounded by walls.¹⁴ In addition, the wall structure was observed in all the Great Seljuk cities such as Esfahan, Nishapur, Ray, Marv¹⁵, Hamadan, Herat, Kashan and etc.¹⁶

Another aspect which can be encountered in the Seljuk cities is to strengthening the protection by constructing a second row of wall. For instance, the city of Herat was surrounded by two separate wall structures whose distance was more than 30 feet to each other.¹⁷ When we investigate Anatolian cities, the Malatya city used to have two walls as well one of which was lower than the other and there was 15 m distance between them. The exterior wall was also surrounded by trance.¹⁸

As general characteristics of the Seljuk cities, there were gates opening from the walls to the exterior which connect the city to its periphery. In the Great Seljuk cities, there were four essential doors in the surrounding walls of a city.¹⁹ Moreover, Anatolian Turkish cities used to have main gates which open toward the four main directions of north, south, east and west. According to the size of the city, it was observed that number of these doors can be increased and there may be other gates toward various directions as well.²⁰

b) From Kohendij to Ahmadak

¹³ F. Sümer, *Eski Türklerde Şehircilik*, Ankara, 1994; M. Cezar, *Anadolu Öncesi Türklerde Şehir ve Mimarlık*, İstanbul, 1977, p. 72 etc.; İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Türk Bozkır Kültürü*, Ankara, 1987, p. 110-113; B. Ögel, *Türk Kültür Tarihine Giriş, Türklerde Köy ve Şehir Hayatı*, I, Ankara, 1978, p. 175 etc.; T. Baykara, "Eski Türk İktisadi Hayatı ve Şehir", *İstanbul University Journal of History Institute*, VI, 1975, p. 75.

¹⁴ V. Minorsky, "Tamim b. Bahr's Journey to the Uighurs", *BSOAS*, 12/2, 1948, p. 295.

¹⁵ The walls of the city of Marv was constructed subject to the order of Sultan Malikshah. See A. Yakubosvskiy, "Merv", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, VII, p. 775.

¹⁶ Mohammad b. Ali Ravandî, *Râhat al-Sudûr ve Ayat al-Surûr*, Pub. Mohammad İqbal, Tahran, 1364/1984, p. 132, 180-182, 393; Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, C. II, Pub. Ahmet Ateş, Tahran, 1362/1982, p. 345; M. Bala, "İsfahan", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, V.II, İstanbul, 1987, p. 1069; Z. V. Togan, "Herat", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, V.I, p. 429.

¹⁷ Togan "Herat", *İA*, p. 429.

¹⁸ A. Gabriel, *Voyages Archeologiques Dans La Turquie Orientale*, I, Paris, 1940, p. 268; N. Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri*, I, Ankara, 1959, p. 245. Evliya Çelebi reports that the height of the walls were 26 yard which is about 20 m. See E. Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, IV, Pub. Ahmed Cevdet, İstanbul, 1314, p. 10.

¹⁹ For Esfahan see M. Bala, "İsfahan", *İA*, V.II, p. 1069; There were four gates on the walls of the city of Herat (Gates of Saray, Ziyad, Firuzabad and Hushk). Togan "Herat", *İA*, p. 429.

²⁰ On the Malatya city walls, there were 5 gates on the East, one gate on the North, one gate on the West, and four Gates on the South, which make 11 gates on the total. The most well-known among these gates were Alacakapı, Süsürkem²⁰, Meshakand Pazar Gates. See E. Çelebi (1314), IV p. 10; N. Başgelen, *Bir Zamanlar Malatya*, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 6; B. Eskici, "Malatya", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı 2*, Ankara, 2006, p. 265; Y. Keskin, *Malatya Ulu Camiinin Asli Hali ve Türk Mimarisindeki Yeri*, Master Thesis, Ankara, 1992, p. 20.

As it can be understood from the information in the sources of this era and from the ruins of the ancient cities, structurally the Great Seljuk cities were composed of threesome formation system as an *inner castle* (dij-kohendij-kohendiz)²¹, a *main city* (central city-“*Shahristan*” or “*Sharistan*”) and a *rabaz* (exterior city).²² As the population increases in the “*shahristan*” where the majority of the community used to live, peripheral districts called *rabaz* were formed consequently. This part of city was also called exterior city or suburb because it was in the outside of the “*Shahristan*”.²³ This structural formation as a whole was consisting of a Seljuk city. Anatolian cities in the Seljuk era were composed of an inner castle, an inner district called “*batın*”, “*dâhil*”, “*inner-city (icherishahr)*”, “*shahristan*” or “*derun (enderun)*” surrounded by walls and a district remains outside of the walls which was called “*zâhir*” or “*birun*”.

According to its form in the Seljuk era, the district lays outside of the wall was called “*tash-shahir*” which recalls rural formation as well.²⁴ In some Anatolian cities, sometimes it is possible to encounter that one of inner castle or external castle does not exist.²⁵

The *Kuhendij/z (inner castle)* that constitutes administrative center where the administrative clan, one of the essential elements of the city, resides, and which was consisted of several statutory, administrative and political institutions was referred as *Ahmadak* in Seljuks period of Anatolia. Furthermore, the word of “*erg (ارگ)*” which refers an inner castle in the era of the Great Seljuks can be frequently encountered. There was an officer called “*kutval=custodian*” who is responsible for protection of the Erg. The Kutval in charge of the castle was used to be assigned by the emir of the city.²⁶ In the cities of the Great Seljuks, there have always been two castles. The one on the higher location was being called “*Zabrin*”; the one in the lower position was being called “*Furüden*”. In the era of Anatolian Seljuks, castles were usually being constructed on elevated locations where there is resistance opportunity against enemy attacks. Therefore, these castles were used to be called as names such as “*balahisar*” (upper castle) or “*erg*”.²⁷

An inner castle was surrounded by a defense wall apart from exterior defense wall; and serving as military-command center. The city administration and their civil and military subordinates were used to reside in this part of the city. All other administrative buildings were used to gather around it. In the large-sized cities, the inner castle where the combatant personnel dwell was like a military post during the peace period.²⁸ Beside the administrative buildings, there were other structures such as an armory, a Turkish bath, a mint, a jail, a small-sized market, and a mosque.²⁹

²¹ “*Kuhendiz*” which refers castle of the city, was the most important elements of the medieval age Persian and Khorasan cities. They were referred with the city in which they were located such as “*Kuhendiz-i Belh*”, “*kuhendiz-i Semerkand*”, “*kuhendiz-i Buhara*”, “*kuhendiz-i Nishapur*”, “*kuhendiz-i Marv*”. See *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, p. 220, n. 4.

²² M. A. Köymen, *Kirmân Selçukluları*, Ankara, 1989, p. 220; Yousefifar, *Costarhaye...*, p. 316.

²³ İ. Pirlanta, *Fethinden Sâmânîler Dönemi Sonuna Kadar Nişapur*, PhD Thesis, Ankara, 2010, p. 106.

²⁴ D. Kuban, “Anadolu Türk Şehri Tarihi Gelişmesi, Sosyal ve Fiziki Özellikleri Üzerine Bazı Gelişmeler”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Vol. 7, 1968, p. 55; Baykara, “Türkiye Selçuklularında Şehir/Kent ve Şehirliler/Kentliler”, p. 275-6.

²⁵ A. Boran, *Anadolu’daki İç Kale Cami ve Mescitleri*, Ankara, 2001, p. 9.

²⁶ *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, p. 359.

²⁷ C. E. Arseven, “Kale”, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, II, İstanbul 1993, p. 909.

²⁸ Baykara, “Türkiye Selçuklularında Şehir/Kent ve Şehirliler/Kentliler”, p. 280.

²⁹ U. Tanyeli, *Anadolu-Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci (11-15. yy.)*, İstanbul, 1987, p. 13.

c) From the Jāmeḥ Mosque to Ulu Jāmeḥ (*The Grand Mosque*)

Several historians add “religious structure” element beside elements of wall, market, bazaar to be able to qualify a settlement as city.³⁰ In the medieval European and Islamic cities, the essential element was determined as a religious structure which was surrounded by settlers. In the cities which entered into Islamic rule, observation of erection of a mosque first supports this point.

Following conquest of Persian cities by Muslims, first of all a mosque and other several new ingredients were added into cities. In some Persian and Turkistan cities, mosques were initially built in the periphery of the exterior walls so that potential issues that may arise between the local settlers and Arabs can be avoided, and thus Arabs settled outskirts of a city can practice their prayers without a hassle. However, after achieving full dominance over these cities, a proper mosque was built in cities.³¹

It is apparent that a new characteristic physical structuring was started to be followed upon Islamic impact. The most explicit specification of the mosque culture was “*masjid*” in the era of the Great Seljuks. It was understood that the mosque called “*masjid-e Jāmeḥ*/مسجد جامع (*Jāmeḥ Mosque*)” was the largest mosque of that city in Seljuks. Ravandî stated that a “*masjid-e Jāmeḥ*” called Mutarrez in Nishabur was large mosque and that a thousand men can practice their prayers at the same time in this mosque. Moreover, it was among the records of Ravandî that by means of a fire burnt in this mosque, the whole of the city was being illuminated.³²

The “*masjid-e Jāmeḥ*” located in the city center in the era of the Great Seljuks constitutes the ancestor of “*Ulu Jāmeḥ*” mosques determinants of an Anatolian city. These “*Ulu Jāmeḥ*”s were first called as Friday “*Masjid*”s due to the impact of the Great Seljuks. Since they were constructed new, they were sometimes called as “*Jāmeḥ-e jaded*/جامع جديد”; or since they are new and large in size, they were called “*Jāmeḥ-e kabir*/جامع كبير” as well.³³ The “*Ulu Jāmeḥ*” mosque located in the center of the city walls of the Malatya/Melitene city casts the most original and apparent mosque model of Persian-Seljuk mosque architecture within Anatolia. In the construction of this mosque that is still erected today, fired brick was used as it is used in Persia on the contrary to the application of stone material in Anatolia. Based on all these characteristics of the Malatya “*Ulu Jāmeḥ*” which has arrived our contemporary era, it carries and represents the Great Seljuk mosque tradition in Anatolia solely on its own.³⁴

d) Market-Bazaar Organization in the Seljuk Cities

The word of market originates from the Persian word of “*chārshū*” or “*chār-sū/chāhar-sū*”. This name used to refer an object with four edges means quadripartite. Sheltered bazaars and open- or closed-ceiling shopping places which are neighbored with shops on its two sides

³⁰ H. Pirenne, *Orta Çağda Kentler, Kökenleri ve Ticaretin Canlanması*, Trns. Şadan Karadeniz, Istanbul 1991, p. 18.

³¹ S. Özçamca, *Büyük Selçuklu Şehirleri ve Ulaşım-Ticaretteki Yerleri (Üç Kaynağa Göre- El-Belazuri, El-Bundari, Er-Ravendi)*, Master Thesis, Bursa, 2007, p. 35.

³² *Rāhat al-Sudūr*, p. 180.

³³ T. Baykara, “Ulucami-Selçuklu Şehrinde İskânı Belirleyen Bir Kaynak Olarak”, *Belleten*, LX/227, 1996, p. 51.

³⁴ Gabriel, *Voyages Archeologiques...*, p. 273; M. O. Arık, “Malatya Ulu Camiinin Aslı Plânı ve Tarihi Hakkında”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Vol. VIII, Ankara, 1969, p. 141; Başgelen, *Bir Zamanlar Malatya*, p. 6.

were called market. Arabian “*sūk*/سوق” (p. *asvāk*/اسواق) and “*Bâzâr*” words have been used to carry this meaning.³⁵

It is claimed that to qualify a settlement place as a city, this place must be guarded and there must be a bazaar in other words it must be a commercial center; and there must be an activity, an industrial production other than food production.³⁶ In the Seljuk era, commercial activities were taking place in markets, caravanserais (*khans*) and bazaars. An essential trade place, *market-bazaar* was a city constituent in which an economical life continues; and this was an important city ingredient like castle, “*masjid jāmeḥ*”, district and Turkish bath which are located in the city center.³⁷ As it can be seen in Marv, one of the cities of the Great Seljuk Empire, a bazaar was partially located outside of the “*Shahristan*” in the beginning. As the settlement had been transported toward “*rabaz*”, stores of the members of the market and craftsmen remained in the city center.³⁸ The market in an Anatolian Seljuk city was in the city center as it was experienced in the Great Seljuk cities. There were several occupational groups were performing their activities. Tradesmen were conducting retail business in open/ or closed markets which was significant in the Seljuk commercial life. Tradesmen and craftsmen were conglomerated in markets specific to themselves. Thus, there had been specialty markets formed for certain products and items over the time. In the period of the Great Seljuk Empire, there were bazaars and markets which were mentioned with the name of specific craftsmanship such as goldsmiths, jewelers, tanners, weavers, coppersmiths, ceramists, and shoemakers.³⁹ In the cities of Anatolian Seljuk State, there were caravanserais (*khans*) in which several tradesmen who trade the same type of good conglomerated. For instance, Cotton Khan, Fruit Khan, Rice Merchants Khan and Sugar Merchants Khan had been existed for long time in the history.⁴⁰ In the cities of the Anatolia Seljuk State, individual horse and wheat markets used to have essential place in the daily city life as well. Especially, the market for horse which was the most important animal of that era requires serious amount of space in the city. Therefore, the largest area can only be found outside of the walls, next to the city gate. In the Seljuk era, the horse bazaar rest outside of the Konya city walls is important since it represents the characteristics of that era very well.⁴¹

There were seasonal or temporal bazaars or fairs being established on the international commercial roads or on the stopover places of armies or on the country borderlines.⁴² Markets can also be seen as branch of army bazaar in the Great Seljuk era since they were the stopover

³⁵ A. Çetin, “Memlûk Dönemi Doğu Akdeniz...”, p. 373.

³⁶ T. Baykara, *Türkiye Selçukluları Devrinde Konya*, Ankara, 1985, p. 19; T. Baykara, *Türkiye Selçuklularının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi*, İstanbul, 2004, p. 122.

³⁷ Yousefifar, *Costarhaye...*, p. 120 etc.; Yousefifar, “Berresi-e Vijegiha ve Muellefeha-e Târikh-e Mefhum-e Shahr dar Seddeha-ye Meyane-e Târikh-i İrân (بررسی ویژگیها و مؤلفه های تاریخی مفهوم شهر در سده های میانه تاریخ ایران)”, *Farhang*, Vol. 60, 1385/ 2007, p. 283-284.

³⁸ A. Yakubovskiy, “Merv”, *EI*, VII, p. 775.

³⁹ Yousefifar, *Costarhaye...*, p. 316 etc.; A. Yakubovskiy, “Merv”, *EI*, VII, p. 775.

⁴⁰ A. Tabakoğlu, *Türk İktisat Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1986, p. 148; E. Merçil, *Türkiye Selçukluları'nda Meslekler*, Ankara, 2000, p. 50, 64.

⁴¹ The horse bazaar in the Konya was large in size and historically significant. Baykara, *Türkiye Selçukluları Devrinde Konya*, p. 41.

⁴² K.Özcan, “Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yerleşme Tipolojileri -I- Pazar yada Panayır Yerleşmeleri”, *Anadolu University, Journal of Social Sciences*, 6/1, 2006, p. 207.

places for armies. In the Malikshah period, the foundation of the army bazaar (*bazar-ı lashkar*) in the Esfahan, capital city of the empire represents this impact and continuity.⁴³

In the era of Anatolian Seljuk State, city bazaars were used to be located just outside of a city gate. Since the market was operating next to wall gate, this gate was being called as “*Pazar kapısı*” (*Market Gate*).⁴⁴ It is also known that there were markets established next to each gate of the city of Herat.⁴⁵

e) Districts (محلّة/المناطق)

The most essential physical elements of cities are their districts in which people who know each other and who are responsible from each other's behaviors live; in other words, districts were the places dwelled by the men and their families who pray together in the same mosque as communion.⁴⁶ The Seljuk districts are the reflections of classical Islamic cities, which cannot be observed in the medieval European cities. Districts, the most important settlement part of a city, had been formed and developed based on ethnical, religious, denominational and cultural aspects. In the era of Sultan Muhammad b. Malikshah, it was reported in the sources that Muslims and people from other religions were living in separate districts of Esfahan.⁴⁷ Again, following the Oghuzs invasion, clashes among the district residents due to various opinions indicates that these districts had formed denominational unity in their entirety.⁴⁸ Similar to the applications in the Great Seljuk Empire, the district structuring in the Anatolian Seljuks exhibits especially religious conglomeration. As the relationship between Turks and the local people continued, however they settled in separate districts from the local people because of their Muslim identity. For the purpose of separating the districts of Muslims and other religions from each other, several walls had built in majority of the cities. While gates of these walls were opened in the day time, they were kept closed in the night time. It is possible to observe separated districts of Muslims and people from other religions explicitly in Konya, Antalya, Alanya, Ankara, Malatya, Sinob and Kayseri Cities.⁴⁹ Ibn Battuta who made comprehensive explanations for Antalya reports that Rums, Jews and Muslims were used to live in distinct parts of Antalya City such that they were separated through such walls defined above.⁵⁰ Additionally, the walls separating Turkish and people from other religions can still be observed in the Castle of Uluborlu.

f) City Squares in Seljuk Era

Before the Great Seljuk Empire period, there were squares on junctions of main streets, where local markets were established. In the squares located in the city center, there were

⁴³ *Rāhat al-Sudūr*, p. 140, 157.

⁴⁴ The dense commercial activities in the Malatya was taking place in outside of the Pazar Gate on the East walls of the city, which originates its name from this bazaar. It is understood that this bazaar place was inherited from Seljuks to Ottomans and continues its existence for a long time period. See Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, IV, p. 10.

⁴⁵ Özçamca, *Büyük Selçuklu Şehirleri ...*, p. 93.

⁴⁶ O. Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki “Mahalle”nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol. 4, 1984, p. 69.

⁴⁷ *Rāhat al-Sudūr*, p. 157.

⁴⁸ *Rāhat al-Sudūr*, p. 182.

⁴⁹ A. Y. Ocak, *Ortaçağlar Anadolu'sunda İslam'ın Ayak İzleri Selçuklu Dönemi*, İstanbul, 2011, p. 22-23.

⁵⁰ *Ibn Battûta Seyahatnâmesi I*, Trns. A. S. Aykut, YKY, İstanbul, 2004, 403.

Palaces, administrative buildings and “*masjid-i jāmeḥ*” (Friday mosque) existed.⁵¹ The city of Nishabur casts very specific example of this structure. When Harun Rashid, the Abbasid Caliph, came to Nishabur, he lodged in the manor house located in the Telâcird Square.⁵² When Tugrul Bey conquered the Nishabur City, he lodged in the palace located in the Shadyah Square with company of his government officers, which was administrative center of Ghaznavid Sultans, and which was referred in the sources as “Shaziyah” or “Dār al-Emān”.⁵³

Along with the information obtained from the resources, it is understood that a city square had been part of civil and military part of the daily life in the era of the Great Seljuks. In the city squares, horses were trained by running them along with the length of the square on a slow pace; thus riders and their horses were being trained regarding various army methods. The reference of “Square” was adopted as a measure/unit (*vāhid-ekiyāsi*) in terms of horse gallop training.⁵⁴

The squares of Seljuk era which were usually the place in which religious and government ceremonies were taking place were also a place for entertainment. In these squares there were several activities, sport organizations such as archery, horse riding, “*cirit*”, and “*chevgan*”. Similar to the Sultans of the Great Seljuk Empire, the Sultans of Anatolian Seljuks played into “*chevgan*” games and ride horse on these squares.⁵⁵

It was seen that the word of “*meydan*” (میدان-square) was being exploited to refer districts of Persian cities in early ages. For instance, “Telâcird Square” in Nishabur was named as “Telâcird District” after a while. Similarly, “Ziyâd Square”, “Hânî Square”, “Huseyn Square” are all now the names of these districts.⁵⁶ The district called “*Meydanî*” in the Konya city casts an example for this transformation.⁵⁷ The traces of culture of square in the Seljuk era can still be observed in the names of our contemporary places.

III. Education: From the Nizāmiyye madrasahs to the Anatolian madrasahs

In the medieval age of the Islamic world, higher education or advanced training to have an occupation and profession were used to be given in madrasahs. As it is known, the first systematic madrasahs were built in the era of the Great Seljuk Empire through attempts of grand vizier Nizām al-Mulk. Instead of detailed explanation of history and operational principal of these madrasahs, this system which was demised from the Persian territory to Anatolia through the Seljuks was intended to be emphasized. From this expression, when we investigate the Seljuk madrasah structuring within the Anatolia, it can be found that they were follow-up of madrasahs of *Nizāmiyye Madrasahs*. In *Nizāmiyye Madrasahs*, the education language was Arabic which was the language used in religious and scientific courses. The among the courses given in these Madrasahs were including the knowledge of Qur’an and its commentary, fiqh, method, hadith, remark, literature, mathematic and medical sciences. In the

⁵¹ Yousefifar, *Costarhaye...*, p. 108.

⁵² Nishābūrî, *Tāriḫ-i Nishabur*, Pub. Mohammad Reza Shafî Kadkanî, Tahrân, 1375/1996, p. 219.

⁵³ *Râhat al-Sudûr*, p. 182; Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, p. 345.

⁵⁴ M. A. Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, III, Ankara, 1992, p. 285.

⁵⁵ İbn Bîbî, *al-Avāmîr al-Alāiyye fî al-Umûr al-Alāiyye*, Pub. Adnan Sadık Erzi, TTK, Ankara, 1956, p. 43, 229, 271, 350; Kerîmuddin Mahmud Aksarayî, *Müsâmerütül-Ahbâr*, Pub. Osman Turan, 2. Baskı, TTK, Ankara, 1999, p. 282-283; Rashiduddin Fazlullah states that Malikshah was used to play “*chevgan*” in meydan-e guy and in meydan-e mubarak. *Jami al-Tawarikh*, p. 370, 379.

⁵⁶ *Tāriḫ-i Nishabur*, p. 201-202, 219, 290.

⁵⁷ O. Turan, “Şemseddin Altun-aba, Vakfiyesi ve Hayatı”, *Belleten*, XI/42 (1947), p. 220, Tanyeli, *Anadolu-Türk Kentinde ...*, p. 167.

Anatolian Madrasahs established based on the Great Seljuk madrasahs, the education agenda was being followed in the same way in the *Nizāmiyye Madrasahs*. This madrasah organization established in the Islamic world continued in the same pattern during the era of the Seljuks of Anatolia and accordingly there were madrasahs established in many Anatolian cities. Furthermore, within the chain of *Nizāmiyye madrasahs* in the cities of Baghdad, Esfahan, Hocend, Taberistan, Basra, Belh, Marv, Mosul, Herat, Ray, Halep, Damask and Harezem, there were Konya *Nizāmiyye madrasah*.⁵⁸

IV. Moral Impact: Persian Impact on the Anatolian Scholar Life

It is propounded that a higher Islamic civilization which was dominated by the Persian characteristic had developed in the Seljuk cities which house member of the throne and Turkish administrative sect. We witness were Persian impact due to the period that they experienced in the Persian territory; and an Arabic impact after acceptance of Islam over the Seljuks. However, it is evident that Persian companions of Turks from Khorasan have increased their numbers in Anatolia as they surpass Arabs based on the facts that all Seljuk Sultans knows well Persian beside Arabic in speaking and writing; and the Persian impact can also be seen on Sultans' names.⁵⁹

Until the Ilkhanids, there have been many Persian scholars who came to Anatolia and guided Turks along with intellectual and scientific aspects; and they had influenced flourishing scientific activities in the Anatolian cities.⁶⁰ For instance, a well-known Persian scholar and philosopher *Sheikh Shehābaddīn Omar b. Mohammad Suhrawardī* used to have serious influence over the throne during the period when he stayed in Konya.⁶¹ It is also considered that Persian scholars had been influential within scholastic environments and in the intellectual ground swell of that era occurred in Malatya. *Sheikh Ebū Tahir al-Esfahanī* and *Mohammad b. Ebū Bakr al-Tabrizī* were the most well-known names among the scholars visited this city.⁶²

CONCLUSION

As a result of our findings, it can be concluded that the general texture of the Seljuks of Anatolia had been reformed based on the characteristics of the Turkish Muslim society along with the cultural current and structuring inherited from the Great Seljuk Empire through the impact of the transition and development process based on the social and religious conditions. Seljuks of Anatolia conveyed the city culture which was primarily based on the Great Seljuk Empire, and which has been considered as moral and material cultural heritage. Application of several values contained by the Seljuks onto the places where they settled after their arrival to Anatolia was the natural result of the system. Since the founders of the Anatolian Seljuk State and the Great Seljuk Empire were different branches of the same tree, the impact of the

⁵⁸ Nurullah Kasayî, *Madares-e Nizāmiyye ve Taserāt-e Elmî ve Ectemâi-ye An*, Tahran, 1374/1395, p. 133 etc, 219-251; Bedirhan, Yaşar- Atçeken, Zeki, *Selçuklu Müesseseleri ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, Konya, 2004, p. 106-107.

⁵⁹ Some of the Seljuk Sultans after Kılıç Arslan the Second adopted Persian Kings existed before the Islam such as Keyhūsra, Keyqavus, Keyqubād, and Keyferidun.

⁶⁰ N. Kaymaz, "Anadolu Selçuklu Devletinin İnhitatında İdare Mekanizmasının Rolü", *A.Ü. D.T.C.F. Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2/II (1964), p. 97; Z. V. Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş*, İstanbul, 1946, p. 203-205.

⁶¹ İbn Bîbî, p. 234; Yazıcızâde Âli, *Tevârîh-i Âli Selcuk (Histoire Des Seldjoudes D'Asie Mineure)*, Pub. M. Th. Houtsma, Leyden, 1902, p. 226.

⁶² M. Bayram, "Selçuklular Zamanında Malatya'da İlmî ve Kültürel Faaliyetler ve Siyasi Boyutları", *III. Battal Gazi ve Malatya Çevresi Halk Kültürü Sempozyumu Tebliğler* (19-21 Ekim 1988), İstanbul, 1989, p. 69.

previous one on the follower was inevitable. It is clearly seen that political, economic, social and religious artefacts are the reflections of the Great Seljuk Empire over the Anatolia. Although there were certain regional discrepancies due to the effects of several ecological and demographical conditions such as climate, local geography, and population, the dominance of the impact of the Great Seljuk Empire in terms of city formation can be observed strongly.

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