

Bachelor thesis

The impact of Turkish conquest on Alanya and Sivas
during the Byzantine-Seljuk Wars 1048-1308.

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The first great general western study into the Seljuks is Claude Cahen's work *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* from 1968. This work laid the groundwork for the general consensus on arguments about the Seljuks. A disputable argument is the supposed golden age of the Seljuks from 1200 until the start of Mongol rule in 1243. The cultural and economic changes continued at least until 1270 with the construction of dervish lodges and *medreses* in Sivas, which will be discussed later.

Another key work is *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* by Speros Vryonis jr. in 1971. The title does not fully cover the book, because the background given is extensive. Two main arguments are given for the cultural transformation of Anatolia: the destructiveness of the Turkish raids and the conversion of Christians to Islam due to a crumbling ecclesiastical organization. This study will expand a bit on these points, arguing that Islamization differed greatly between areas and only reached its zenith in the last decades of Seljuk rule.¹

Case studies about areas are rare however, with most studies only focusing on the general outline or the aspects of cities. Comparative historiography has been of use for the study of the Seljuks in the last decades. Studies like Scott Redford's *Landscape and the state in medieval Anatolia: Seljuk Gardens and pavilions of Alanya, Turkey* in 2000 and Sara Ethel Wolper's *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* in 2003 focus more on aspects of the Seljuks. The landscape architectural view from Redford sheds a refreshing light on an important part of Seljuk architecture. Wolper studies the dervish lodges that changed the urban space by combining religion with architecture. A related study about urban space is Hugh Kennedy's work *From Polis to Madina: Urban change in late Antiquity and early Islamic Syria* from 1985. Kennedy's work will be useful to this study, because the urban change introduced by the influence of Islam in Syria is of a similar nature in Anatolia with the coming of the Islamic Seljuks.

But despite these refreshing views there are only a few of them. The general outline has barely changed since *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* in 1968 and regional studies are rare or limited to one city. Regional differences are barely mentioned in general works or non-comparative in case studies. These regional differences will not only help to give insight into the local, but also the national influence of a big process like Islamization.

This study will answer the question as to on what levels the Byzantine-Seljuk wars

¹ Songul Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs: Evolution of a Dynasty* (New York 2014) XV ; Andrew Peacock, Sara Nur Yildiz ed., *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London 2012) p. 7-8

have affected Sivas and Alanya. To get a good comparison between the cities, changes of multiple aspects like architecture, economy and politics have to be examined. Combining different aspects of two cities will result into a regional comparative study. Sivas and Alanya have been chosen, as for this study they are deemed sufficiently different in terms of length of occupation and different city functions.²

² Ibidem XV-XVII ; Ibidem 8-11.

The Byzantine-Seljuq wars were a series of wars in Anatolia between the Byzantine Empire and various empires and tribes of Turks from 1048 until 1308. During this time, the Seljuk Turks conquered most of Anatolia and brought destruction which resulted in change on many levels. They brought with them their Islamic influence and architectural changes. To better understand the different influence of the Turks, this paper will examine and compare two cities with different uses and periods of occupation. To better understand the Byzantine-Seljuq wars we first have to take a look at the origins of the Seljuk Turks. Key aspects involve the nature, religion and background of the Seljuk Turks.

The foundations for the first great Seljuk Empire are to be sought in their progenitor Seljuq, an Oghuz Turkish *beg* (chieftain) from the late tenth century. Seljuq and his clan came into contact with Muslim cities and so converted to Islam. By destroying the Ghaznavid Empire and Muslim cities they forged their own empire, later called the Great Seljuq Empire. Intermingling with the Persian and Muslim population resulted in Islamic and Persian influences. After annexing lands in the north and east during the eleventh century, the Seljuqs turned their attention westward under Sultan Alp Arslan. The real invasion of Anatolia started around 1068, although there are reports of Turkish invasions from 1059. The nomadic nature of the Turkish clans caused them to turn to Anatolia not only in search of plunder, but mostly in search of pasture. During that time Byzantine Anatolia was highly civilized and urbanized. The conquest of Anatolia also had a nomadic nature. Although cities were taken or destroyed, in general the nomadic Turks who were looking for pasture had to cripple the control over the lands by defeating the cities. The nomadic conquest also made defeating them quite difficult. The Turks used mounted archers and hit and run tactics, and so were versatile. Initially they had no motive to conquer the Byzantine Empire. As a continuation of the Roman Empire, the idea of the Byzantine Empire seemed timeless. The battle of Manzikert in 1071 was a turning point for the Turks, as their victory resulted in a temporary setback and less resistance from the Byzantine Empire. At this time, we also see the emergence of various other Turkish empires such as the Sultanate of Rum and the Danishmends, carving out pieces of Anatolia for their own.³

From 1096 onwards we see the Turks struggling with the incoming Crusaders. With the help of the Byzantine Empire the Crusaders took various cities from the Turks. Just a few years before, in 1092, the Great Seljuq Empire reached its zenith. After the death of its leader

³ Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c.1071-1330* p. 1-71 ; Cyril Mango, *The Oxford History of Byzantium* p. 169-188

Sultan Malik Shah I in 1092 the decline began with the difficulties of succession. The various Turkish empires in Anatolia were quarreling with each other, in which the Crusaders had a helping hand. Eventually the Sultanate of Rum proved the strongest, capturing the territories of the Great Seljuq Empire and subduing the Danishmends in 1178. This period is marked by consolidation of the various states and Byzantine counter-attack. The Sultanate of Rum captured more territories from various other states until the coming of the Mongol horde in 1243. The battle of Köse Dag, near Sivas, in 1243, marked the end of Seljuk rule in Anatolia. The Sultanate of Rum and various other empires became vassals under the Mongols. Mongol rule did not mean the end of Seljuk influence however. Sivas, for instance, saw a continuation in the construction of Seljuk architecture.⁴

This paper will try to explain the impact of the Byzantine-Seljuk Wars on Anatolian cities. Sivas and Alanya have been chosen as examples, because of the various stages of occupation and the different city functions. Sivas, already an important marketplace during Byzantine times, continued to grow under Seljuk rule. Alanya on the other hand was an administrative center and was eventually made winter capital of the Seljuks. Sivas came under Danishmend control after the battle of Manzikert until 1174 when the city was captured by the Seljuks. Alanya however remained in Byzantine control for long, with a period between 1071-1120 when it was in the hands of Seljuk tribes. Eventually the Seljuks of Rum would take lasting control in 1121. To better understand the impact of the Turkish occupation of Sivas and Alanya, multiple elements such as the architecture, cultural, political and economic changes will be discussed.

⁴ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* p. 72-140 ; Mango, *Oxford History* p. 189-214 ;

Architectural change

At first a few general remarks about the architecture in Anatolia are needed. Historians often describe Seljukid architecture as a subdivision of Iranian or Irano-Seljukid architecture. This point is too general however, considering the Byzantine and local influences. Military architecture is widely represented, with a good example being the city walls at Alanya. The frequent use of stone in Anatolia differed from the use of brick in the Iranian part. There were a lot of antique columns reused because there were many public buildings left. A typical Iranian influence used was the slender rounded minarets on the mosques. With regard to the climate, mosques were enclosed and the courtyard differed, but in a sense it is not really a difference in style.⁵

An important element in Seljuk architecture were the *caravanserais*. *Caravanserais* were used as resting places for caravans, connecting cities on long trade routes. In an age of prosperity for the Sultanate of Rum, most *caravanserais* in Anatolia were built between 1220 and 1250. *Caravanserais* were not only used as guesthouses, but also for military mobilization and as courts. Sivas, already being an important city in the network of trading routes before 1240, thrived as a marketplace after 1240 with the completion of the *caravanserai* on the route to Sivas. This as a result of the stabilization of the Seljuk states in Anatolia at the end of the twelfth century. The Seljuk Turks used a variation of the *caravanserais* used by Persian empires by using thick walls and slit windows.⁶

Another important element that Seljuk architecture brought was the *medrese*. *Medreses* were used for religious schooling and were mostly founded by the ruling elite as a form of *waqf*, a donation in money or land for religious purposes, to transmit wealth and status. In the case of Sivas, we can see that there already was a Sifaiye *medrese* built in 1218, but there were also two *medreses* built in 1271 during the Mongol period, the Gök *medrese* and the Çifte Minaret *medrese*. This building period marks the end of the period of cultural revival started by Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I in 1240. This paper will focus on the latter two *medreses*, as they mark the end of the Seljuk architecture. There are differences in style of decoration between the porch, the façade and the interior, which can be attributed to the different building materials used. A major difference with earlier Seljuk *medreses* is the use of

⁵ Scott Redford, 'Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery', *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 23 (1993) 219-228

⁶ Ibidem 229-236 ; Vryonis, Speros, *The decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor: and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century* (1986) 168-176

the foliate motifs. The amount of carving used in these two *medreses* is not seen elsewhere.⁷

The last important element for Sivas, and some other cities, is the construction of dervish lodges. The beginning of the construction of most dervish lodges started around 1240. The increase in trade created by the political stability of the Seljuk state also created the need for learning and the spreading of knowledge. The political stability resulted in Sivas and other cities becoming major immigration and trade sites for Muslims traveling from Iran and Central Asia. Religious and educational services for Muslim had to be built in the city for the Muslim elite. The existing religious buildings were altered to the needs of the new ruling elite. The dervish lodges also changed the structure of the city by functioning as urban and meeting centers.⁸

The changing of the city's structure is not something new in the thirteenth century. Hugh Kennedy in his study about urban change argues that urban change in the Middle East started in antiquity and continued after the conquest of the Arabs. Islamization of the cities is part of the process of urban change, but urban change already started before the conquest of the Arabs. This argument can in a way also be projected onto a similar site, namely Anatolia. The cities of antiquity here suffered changes at the hands of the Turks, who brought with them the Islamic culture. Because of the shared Islamic culture between the Arabs in the Middle East and the Turks in Anatolia the changes made by the Arabs can also be identified as changes made by the Turks. In certain points there are some similarities. The mosque, as new public building, not only replaced the church as the place of worship for the elite, but also became the main meeting place. Law and education were functions added to the mosque, used before by other buildings. Also, the decay of the monumental buildings and the changes in the classical street plan, features associated with the coming of Islam, were in evidence before the Arab conquest. New elements in the Anatolian urban change were the *medreses* and *caravanserais*. For Sivas we can see an even bigger difference by the adding of dervish lodges. In this way we can see that new rulers change the buildings previously used by the old rulers and that different civilizations contribute different new buildings.⁹

The architectural element of the Seljuqs is used heavily in Alanya, simply because Alanya was used as the winter residence of the Sultan, and therefore the amount of decorated

⁷ J.M. Rogers, 'The Cifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum and the Gök Medrese at Sivas: A Contribution to the History of Style in the Seljuk Architecture of 13th Century Turkey', *Anatolian Studies* vol. 15 (1965) 63-85.

⁸ Sara Ethel Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (Pennsylvania State University Press 2003) 42-55.

⁹ Hugh Kennedy, 'From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *Past & Present* vol. 106 (1985) 3-27.

buildings and buildings used for decoration is high. Although less of a marketplace like Sivas, because Alanya was the winter residence, the amount of trade found here was still high enough for the use of a *caravanserai*. Besides that, the building was also used as a winter palace for the sultan, with an extensive palace garden. The major architectural innovation used in these was the pavilion or kiosk, a characteristic element used in all the suburban pleasure palaces. In conjunction with the palace outside there also was a royal residence in the citadel. This residence consisted of a series of courts with frescoed patterns. This usage of heavy frescoes indicates the residence of a sultan, just like there were heavy frescoes used in the official palace at Konya, a summer palace at Kubadabad and a camp site at Kubadiye. Along with the suburban palace the *caravanserai* linked major routes through the mountains. Since Mongol rule the sultans confined themselves to the south, which is evident in the extensive use of royal decoration on the palaces. This is especially true for Alanya, where the decorating went even further to incorporate the citadel walls and nearby kiosks. This extension of a specific pattern to places where entrance and welcoming ceremonies took place, including *caravanserai* and palace, indicates a single decorative type used by the sultan. Scott Redford, in his study about thirteenth century Rum Seljuq palaces and palace imagery, puts the starting date of this simplified set of decorative elements for each and every royal setting in the 1230s and 1240s as an association with the Sultanate of Rum's decline and confinement of the sultan to southern cities as a result of Mongol rule.¹⁰

A few decades before the Mongol rule however, the Sultan Keykubad used an extensive program for the rebuilding and cultural revival of Alanya. The reason for this extensive rebuilding program was the importance of Alanya as a harbor. Alanya was a vital city in the Mediterranean trade. The city walls, which were damaged in the siege, were rebuilt with roughly coursed blocks, in contrast with the massive Hellenistic blocks used during Byzantine times. For the decoration the Seljuqs made use of ashlar masonry. The roughly coursed blocks were also used in the construction of the harbor fortress of Kizil Kule. This fortress was also in a way decorated by using plaster. The decorating of the walls and fortress was not only an esthetic function. City walls were used for official welcoming ceremonies, called *istiqbal*, for welcoming guests before the walls and then conducting them into town. This is however not a feature we see at every city. Alanya however, as winter capital, was probably used in this manner by the sultan.¹¹

The point made for Sivas about Hugh Kennedy's urban change can also be made for

¹⁰ Redford, 'Palaces and Palace Imagery' p. 229-236

¹¹ Ibidem 219-236.

Alanya. *Caravanserais* and *medreses*, the new elements contributed by the Turks were also to be found in Alanya. The conversion of the churches to mosques also happened in Alanya. Just as Sivas had the dervish lodges as unique buildings, Alanya had a citadel and suburban palace for the Sultan.¹²

¹² Kennedy, 'Polis to Madina' 3-27

Economical change

The raids and conquests of the Turks devastated the countryside and interrupted the trade throughout Anatolia. After the formation of the Seljuk state however, the Turks created a local demand by establishing new centers. This is in contrast with centuries before, in which the landowning class spent the money elsewhere, extracting money from the region. We must not also forget the impact of the nomadic Turks on the economy. They populated the pasture and engaged in trade with local towns. The beginning of the thirteenth century however sees a rise in the economy, because of the integration of the Turkish population and the presence of the sultan and his various courts spread throughout Anatolia. It is because of this increase in trade and economy that we see the emergence of the *caravanserais*, already spoken of elsewhere. These *caravanserais* were built to support the already existing trade routes. To give an example of the increased economic activity: roof tiles have been found in certain archaeological sites, pointing to the fact that trade did not devolve into the trade for basic needs. There was still enough money to be found in some towns, according to the findings of glazed pottery in Amorium. The fact that these luxury products were available suggests that there was a supply and demand of luxury, although of course not every town and city in Anatolia had this. The groundwork for the economic revival in the thirteenth century was already laid during the second half of the twelfth century with the political stabilization of the Seljuk state.¹³

The economic situation during the thirteenth century is especially true for Sivas and Alanya. Reports indicate that Sivas, already an important marketplace before 1240, grew considerably after 1240. Trade in Sivas also resulted in intellectual spreading however, and combined with the economic input resulted in the construction of dervish lodges in Sivas.

The changing situation of Alanya in the beginning of the thirteenth century however was not the result of a better economic situation. After the Seljuks took Alanya in 1221, the Sultan ordered a cultural and architectural revival to make Alanya the winter capital. The presence of the Sultan and the increased population and garrison not only increased the market for demand, but also attracted merchants and treasurers.

¹³ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* p. 155-172 ;

Demographical and cultural change

When the Seljuks took over the towns, the process of Islamization began. The population of these towns consisted of a Turkish garrison with slaves and freedmen and the natives who remained or who were brought back as a process of recolonization. These groups were clearly defined, although after several decades certain people of mixed race, *ikdish*, started to appear. The Seljuks did not and could not destroy the indigenous population however. The amount of violence and the length of the conquest resulted in a temporary desolation in some areas, but at least everywhere in a displacement of the population. Portions of the population simply fled, mainly west, to avoid the raids. Not only the destruction of the towns, but also the destruction of farmland certainly resulted in famine and plague, killing parts of the population. Even in places where the farmland was not destroyed, the raids resulted in a disruption of the rural population, effectively stopping the production. A peculiar element in the population was the mixed race of Turks and the local population. This new generation was first seen in the beginning of the twelfth century, and was used in the various Turkish armies. The proportion of the Turkish population is unclear, however some reports indicate that there were ten times as much natives as Turkish and Iranian people. Even if these numbers are untrue, an educated guess supports the fact that there were far more natives than Turks. The Seljuks also brought people to the Anatolian towns, not only to replace the people that left or died, but also more important people, especially Iranians and Persians in the thirteenth century, who became important not only on a social but also on a demographic level. Iranians and Persians were used for the government, but they also formed a civil and religious aristocracy. Islamization in this way not only had elements of the Turks but also of Iranians, Arabs and Persians. Of course, the natives also had their influence on the Turks, Iranians and Persians. The full Islamization however, started during the thirteenth century and was completed during the Mongol period. Especially until the middle of the twelfth century, the Turks were a small but powerful minority. Control of most of the strategic roads resulted in a halt of the various groups of Turks into Anatolia. They were essentially a small governing and military caste, serving as administrators and captains of military garrisons.¹⁴

The process of Islamization did not start at the same time in every town however. The cities of Sivas and Alanya, differed greatly in periods of occupation and functionality. For a city like Sivas, which was occupied early on during the Byzantine-Seljuk Wars, the Islamization started earlier than in Alanya, which had an interlude of Byzantine reconquest

¹⁴ Andrew Peacock, 'Nomadic Society and the Seljuq Campaigns in Caucasia', *Iran & the Caucasus* vol. 9 no.2 (2005) 205-230.

between Turkish conquest. Sivas, which was first captured in 1071, remained in Danishmend hands for about a hundred years until 1174. Being an important trading town, Sivas became a multicultural town with various merchant populations. A clear distinction remained however between various parts of the population. The building of dervish lodges during Mongol rule in Sivas points to the fact that different parts of the city were used for different parts of the population. The architecture also points to this fact.¹⁵

Although Alanya fell early to the Turkish conquest at around 1071, after fifty years the Byzantines recaptured the town. During this period, which lasted a hundred years, the changes that were made regarding Islamization, which was still in an early phase, were offset. Alanya, which was made the winter capital of the Sultanate of Rum at its reconquest, received an extensive cultural and architectural program. The amount of Islamic input here was only second to the capital at Konya.

The Islamization of Anatolia reached an ending at the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The Greek Christian element had been integrated into the new Islamic society in Anatolia. Some regions were not part of Islamization however. West and north Anatolia were in the hands of Christian empires and so the Christian element was strong in these regions. Apart from these areas, the biggest part of Anatolia had been under control of the Rum Seljuks or other Turkish groups. The dislocation of large parts of the population fastened the process of cultural transformation. The traditional Islamic administrative, religious and economic institutions took over the society with sanction and support. Spreading the mosques, *medreses* and *caravanserais* throughout Anatolia meant remodeling on Islamic patterns. As *dhimmis*, meaning non-Muslims or ‘people of the Book’, the Christians had to pay a tax for their land, but they were still able to exercise their religion.¹⁶

An element which is in a way important for the Islamization of Anatolia is the destruction of the church apparatus. The destruction of the administrative part of the church left the Christian communities leaderless in a period of great upheaval. The reorientation to a Muslim government and culture should have happened within the Christian ecclesiastical institution. The majority of Christian lands, revenues and buildings were confiscated and given to Muslims. By replacing the Christian buildings and lands with Muslim ones, Christians could easier be accepted into Muslim society. This does not mean however that Christian elements or even Byzantine elements were completely gone or integrated into

¹⁵ Ibidem 205-230 ; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* p. 248-260

¹⁶ Speros Vryonis Jr., ‘Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 29 (1975) 41-71.

Muslim society. The people's culture still had strong Christian and Byzantine elements. The Seljuks became to depend upon the Christians on an economic level for agriculture and crafting and commercial traditions. The economic continuity of Byzantium had important repercussions as well in the Turkish tax structure and administration.¹⁷

¹⁷ Speros Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism* p. 195-215

Political change

In the highly urbanized Anatolia, the towns and cities were the centers of administration and culture, even more so for the Muslims than for the natives. The Sultans controlled the cities by controlling the local aristocracy. This aristocracy of mixed race provided the people for the local government. After multiple generations however, the line between this mixed race and Muslims by origin blurred. This social class lost its distinctive character and justification. So it is true that this mixed aristocracy was important for the local government, but even more important were the Iranian Muslims. The framework of ideas and traditions for the trades was provided by the Iranians, and the natives gave it their local touch. The Sultans made use of the already available aristocracy for the government, but gave the control to the Iranian Muslims. This was of course to exercise control over the towns and cities but not angering the local population by having the idea of total domination by a foreign power.¹⁸

The government of the Sultanate is a bit of a problem. The suzerainty of the Sultan over most of the areas and towns was only nominal. Some historians reluctantly name the political system 'feudal', including Claude Cahen in his *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*. 'Feudal' is a difficult term. Not only is it outdated, but the system of feudalism does not cover the political system of the Rum Seljuks. In any case, with no other name to call it, 'feudalism' seems the best option, albeit not the correct one. Feudalism however is a concept of a system which scholars in Western-Europe understand the best. The Seljuk government had a system of *iqta's*, which are comparable to the European 'fiefs', there were some differences however. An *iqta'* can best be described as a contract between the Sultan and a local ruler, giving the local ruler the right to collect taxes in return for help when needed. *Iqta'* holders did not own the lands, but were assigned to obtain revenue. The government could at any moment change this. Also, the lands involved in *iqta'* were not subject to inheritance. The system of *iqta's* could change in different areas, and not every area received an *iqta'*. In the case of Alanya, direct administration was needed as it was the winter capital of the Sultanate of Rum where the treasurers housed. Accordingly, the Alanya region was a frontier zone, requiring special attention. Therefore, a general command of this southern region was established. Under Mongol rule the 'feudal' system was more like the European version, with the Mongol ministers establishing family fiefs by dividing the provinces for revenue. This system of *iqta'* seems in some cases more of a 'hands off' system by the government, in which areas and

¹⁸ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* p. 189-201, 216-247

cities could go on without major control and only when it was absolutely needed there would be involvement.¹⁹

¹⁹ Ibidem 216-247

Conclusion

The Turkish conquest of Anatolia brought change on multiple levels to society. In the first phase of the Turkish conquest the economic situation worsened. The conquests resulted in fleeing of urban and rural populations, disrupting trade routes. After recolonization and stabilization of the Seljuk states however, local trade began with the nomadic Turks and towns. Also, by investing in the towns the Turks created a local demand. It was not until the beginning of the thirteenth century that an economic revival can be measured. This economic revival was a result of the political stabilization of the Seljuk state, beginning in the end of the twelfth century. As a result of the increased economy, we can see an increased spending on architecture and buildings, resulting in the construction of numerous *caravanserais*. This result can be seen in Alanya, where the presence of the Sultan created an increased market, as well as for Sivas, which became a major trading city after 1240.

In the field of architecture the Turks brought new buildings, like the *medrese*, *caravanserai*, mosque and dervish lodge. Not all buildings were new however, already existing buildings were converted or parts were reused for new buildings. As pointed out before, it goes too far to describe Seljuk architecture as only a subdivision of Iranian architecture. Local differences and the integration of Christian and Byzantine elements, such as the reusing of their buildings, added a differentiating touch to their architecture. An important phase in Seljuk architecture is the thirteenth century, with multiple *medreses* and dervish lodges being built at Sivas. The extensive program at Alanya resulted in the reuse of lots of buildings with added fortifications and decorations, like the town wall and the citadel.

The cultural element also changed considerably during the Turkish conquest. Byzantine and Christian elements were incorporated into the Muslim framework of society the Turks brought. This Islamization however did not reach a conclusive end until the late thirteenth century. Between Sivas and Alanya the amount of Islamization differs greatly. Different periods of occupation and different city functions resulted in more and less Turkish influences. The cultural revival for Alanya certainly helped, as well as the influence of the court and a great influx of Turks. Sivas on the other hand, as a marketplace had a great many influences, in which the Islamization reached a high point only after Mongol rule.

Politically the situation changed considerably, although direct government from the Sultan was absent. The empire over which they ruled was big, and so local or regional government was preferred. This changed depending on the city however, as Sivas and Alanya required different forms of government for different purposes. The local aristocracy got the

upper hand in governing the cities. This mixed local aristocracy lost its justification after a few decades however. Iranian and Persian Muslims, who were brought in, were far more important for the government. As for the system of *iqta*'s, Alanya and Sivas required different uses. Alanya, being the winter capital of the Seljuks, required direct administration for a general command of the southern frontier zone. Sivas, although being a big city, only had minor administrative needs.

The amount of violence and the length of the conquest resulted in a temporary desolation in some areas, but at least everywhere in a displacement of the population. Portions of the population simply fled, mainly west, to avoid the raids. Not only the destruction of the towns, but also the destruction of farmland certainly resulted in famine and plague, killing parts of the population. Even in places where the farmland was not destroyed, the raids resulted in a disruption of the rural population, effectively stopping the production. A peculiar element in the population was the mixed race of Turks and the local population. This new generation was first seen in the beginning of the twelfth century, and was used in the various Turkish armies. The proportion of the Turkish population is unclear, however some reports indicate that there were ten times as much natives as Turkish and Iranian people. Even if these numbers are untrue, an educated guess supports the fact that there were far more natives than Turks. The Seljuks also brought people to the Anatolian towns, not only to replace the people that left or died, but also more important people, especially Iranians and Persians in the thirteenth century, who became important not only on a social but also on a demographic level. Iranians and Persians were used for the government, but they also formed a civil and religious aristocracy.

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