



# A Historical Perspective Through the Lens of the Islamic City Theory: The Case of Konya

## İslam Şehri Teorisi Merceğinden Tarihsel Bir Perspektif: Konya Örneği

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### Öz

İslam şehri kavramı, Müslümanların yaşamlarını derinden etkileyen İslam dinine ve medeniyetine özgü mekânsal yapıları açıklar. Coğrafi, etnik ve kültürel çeşitliliklere rağmen dinin temel etkisinin İslam coğrafyasında benzer kentsel oluşumları şekillendirdiği gözlemlenmiştir. Bu coğrafyada geleneksel olarak görülen Bedevi kabile yaşamından şehir medeniyetine geçişte belirleyici temel faktör, İslam'ın çok boyutlu gereksinimlerini ve ritüellerini karşılamak için daha uygun yerleşimlere duyulan ihtiyaçtır. İslam'ı benimseyen toplumlar, yaşam biçimlerinin yeniden yapılandırılmış ve ibadet merkezi olan camiler, kentsel yaşamın merkezi haline gelerek aynı zamanda hukuki, idari, eğitim ve ticaret yapılarını yeniden şekillendirmiştir. İslam'ın Altın Çağı dönemlerinde zirveye ulaşan İslam şehirleri, zaman içerisinde modernleşme/sekülerleşme hareketleri sırasında, akılcı/bürokratik güçlerin yükselişiyle zayıflamış ve mekânı biçimlendiren temel unsur olma etkisi azalmıştır. Selçuklu ve Osmanlı İmparatorlukları dönemlerinde İslam şehri özelliklerini temsil eden Konya şehri de modern dönemlere yaklaştıkça önemli dönüşümler geçirmiştir. Bu değişiklikler; şehrin fiziksel, sosyal, ekonomik ve idari dokusunu etkilemiştir. Özellikle Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde modernist mekânsal şekillendirme nedeniyle ikinci plana atılan İslam şehri özellikleri, 1990'larda yerel yönetimlerde güçlenen İslami siyasi hareketlerin, özellikle de Milli Görüş belediyesi yaklaşımlarının ortaya çıkmasıyla yeniden önem kazanmıştır. Bu çalışma, İslam şehrinin tarihsel bir perspektiften ele alıp dünya çapında İslam şehirlerinin ortak özelliklerini vurgulamakta, Konya şehri özelinde sekülerleşme/modernist akımlarının İslam şehri üzerindeki aşındırıcı etkilerini incelemekte ve son olarak Konya'daki İslam şehrine yönelik son dönem canlandırma politikalarını değerlendirmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Din Merkezli Kentsel Form, İslam Şehri, Kentleşme, Mekânsal Laikleşme, Sosyal Dayanışma

### ABSTRACT

The concept of the Islamic city elucidates the spatial structures specific to Islam religion and civilization, deeply influencing the lives of Muslims. Despite geographical, ethnic, and cultural diversities, it has been observed that the fundamental influence of the religion shaped similar urban formations in the Islamic geography. A key determining factor in the transition from traditional Bedouin tribal life to urban civilization is the need for more suitable settlements to meet the multifaceted requirements and rituals of Islam. Societies embracing Islam have restructured their ways of life, with mosques becoming worship centers, simultaneously reshaping legal, administrative, educational, and commercial structures, thereby becoming central to urban life. Islamic cities, reaching their zenith during the Golden Age of Islam, gradually weakened over time during the processes of modernization/secularization, with the rise of rational/bureaucratic powers diminishing their role as the primary shaping force of space. Konya, representing the characteristics of the Islamic city during the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires, underwent significant transformations approaching the modern era, affecting its physical, social, economic, and administrative fabric. Particularly in the Republican era, the Islamic city features were sidelined due to modernist spatial shaping, but have recently regained importance with the emergence of Islamic political movements and approaches by National Vision (Milli Görüş) municipalities. This study examines the Islamic city from a historical perspective, highlighting common characteristics of Islamic cities

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*worldwide, scrutinizing the erosive effects of secularization/modernization trends on the Islamic city, specifically focusing on Konya, and finally evaluating recent revitalization policies directed towards the Islamic city in Konya.*

**Keywords:** *Teo-Centric Urban Form, Islamic City, Urbanization, Spatial Secularization, Social Solidarity*

## INTRODUCTION:

Cities have emerged as the centers where humanity's greatest ideals are realized, particularly with the transition to settled life. Apart from geographical and climatic necessities, every ethnic, religious, and political formation has imbued cities with meanings according to their own ideals. This diversity has led to variations in the physical, economic, social, and administrative structures of cities. Similarly, the Islamic religion, as a belief system and way of life, has facilitated revolutionary changes in urban structures and lives of regions where it has prevailed.

The emergence of Islam in the seventh century AD in the Arabian Peninsula and its rapid spread throughout the region led to a significant portion of previously nomadic Bedouin communities transitioning to settled life. A crucial factor underlying this transformation was the need for individuals embracing Islam to have a specific settlement to fulfill, learn, and teach the requirements of their new faith in all its dimensions. During a period where living in cities symbolized civilization and civility, religion provided the mental infrastructure that influenced the formation of the Islamic city. The advent of Islam introduced obligations and prohibitions for individual and societal life, reshaping the lifestyles of communities embracing the faith according to Islamic principles. The centralization of mosques as places of worship led to the centralization of urban life around them. With the new religion, legal structures, government institutions, educational facilities, and trade centers transformed radically, reshaping the physical environment

This rapid urbanization process extended beyond desert regions, impacting areas that had transitioned to urban life thousands of years prior through conquest policies. The cities conquered in wars waged for the spread of Islam retained their existing structures while being enriched with Islamic features, resulting in Islamic cities developing as mosaic structures encompassing various cultural backgrounds.

This study primarily aims to discuss the development process of the Islamic city and the Islamic religion's perspective on city life. It then analyzes Konya from a historical perspective, focusing on the physical, economic, and social characteristics of the Islamic city.

### 1. The Islamic City Theory and the Perspective of Islam on Cities

There exists a mutual subject-object relationship between space and the human shaping it, and civilization arises from this interaction. In this sense, humans are subjects in the process of civilization production. Simultaneously, humans are elements within the created space of the civilization produced. This reciprocal influence between humans as subjects and space as the object of civilization is undeniable. The space, particularly the city, which represents the visible face of civilization, is not merely a passive object or product but a dynamic organism. In this process contributing to the formation of oneself, the human subject turns into the subject itself (Abu Lughod, 1987: 172). In this process of self-formation, the human subject in an Islamic city designs space based on the intellectual foundations that define their existence. The fundamental argument of urban theories focuses on the intellectual structures' roles in organizing space. Urban theories emphasize the role of intellectual structures in organizing space, akin to how Protestantism shaped capitalism. In this context, Islamic urban theory refers not only to places where Muslims are dominant or densely populated but also to spaces designed based on this intellectual background.

Within a short time frame, Islam spread from the Arabian Peninsula to regions such as Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Central Asia, and Spain, compelling Muslims to settle rapidly. The expansive Islamic world encompassing a wide geography resulted in the establishment of new cities and the transformation of existing ones according to Islamic principles. It's notable that Islamic conquests did not aim to disrupt the structure of historical cities. Nevertheless, whether ancient cities were conquered or new cities founded by Muslims, the understanding and form brought by Islam have led to the emergence of the idea of an Islamic city.

Although Islamic cities in Islamic Golden Age were much more advanced quantitatively and qualitatively compared to European cities in the same period, the development of a modern Islamic city theory emerged much later. Two primary factors hindered the systematic formation of an Islamic city theory: Orientalist perspectives<sup>2</sup> and biased attitudes among intellectuals in the contemporary Islamic world towards Islamic cities (Alsayyad, 1996: 91).<sup>3</sup>

Considering the Islamic city as a uniform and homogeneous formation in all Islamic societies, regardless of ethnic and cultural differences, is criticized as an Eurocentric approach (Yerasimos, 1999: 9-10). Contrary to this approach, although the urban structure of the Arab society before Islam was the basic element in shaping the Islamic city, the traditions brought by other Islamizing societies should not be ignored. Islamic cities spread to many parts of the world, including Spain and North Africa, Egypt, Syria and Anatolia, Iraq, Iran, Central Asia, and India. It cannot be expected that the urban life of countries in these regions where Islamic societies exist will be the same in all aspects. Therefore, it is insufficient to explain differences solely based on different civilizations. Factors such as geography, climate, trade, political circumstances, and the use of diverse building materials in each region are taken into account to explain the differences observed in Islamic cities (Hourani, 1970; Abu Lughod, 1987: 172). Especially, the hybrid urban structures created by Iranian and Turkish societies by integrating traditional urban structures with the new religion should be carefully examined. Along with ethnic and local differences, the similarities that have emerged in the urban structure of Muslim societies over time cannot be explained solely by climatic or geographic reasons. Explaining these similarities can be considered as the fundamental reason for the Islamic city theory. With its innovations in social, economic, and legal systems, Islamic religion brought significant transformations and perspectives to social living spaces, lifestyles, and individual orientations.

Islam, both in its sources and practices, prioritizes living in cities over Bedouin culture and supports urban life. The contrast between the geographical characteristics of the place where Islam first emerged and its message is intriguing. Islam is a form of urban life. However, it emerged in the Arabian Peninsula, which was inhabited by Bedouin tribes leading a nomadic way of life. Generally engaged in animal husbandry and not fond of residing in cities, Bedouins were a nomadic society (Zeydan, 2010: 88). Therefore, people not only left behind their old beliefs but also their old ways of life and entered a rapid process of change, witnessing a revolution. The birth of Islam in Mecca, which was the only city like settlement in the region, had a significant contribution to this situation. Mecca, accepted as a sacred place and a trading market by all Bedouin Arab tribes, was ideal for

<sup>2</sup> The approach of the 'Western city', as articulated by Max Weber, where he stated that capitalist trade, fortresses, monopolistic markets, bourgeois legal institutions, and the political structure tied to the king with relative autonomy manifested, resulted in the judgment of 'not being a city' in geographies lacking these institutions outside the West (Weber, 2003). Abu Lughod (1987), on the other hand, argues that French Orientalists studying North African cities are chasing after these Weberian ideal types and attempting to generalize their fieldwork findings onto the prototypes of Islamic cities. According to Abu Lughod, the concept of the Islamic city is a 'constructed' one based on a few cities. In this study, Abu Lughod states that the research identified as the second group of researchers accepts these prototypes and seeks Weber's basic characteristics in other Islamic cities, even noting that some cities planned in the modern era are arranged within this Orientalist framework. However, by emphasizing that cities develop according to various forces and that fundamentally unique urban forms also transform with different combinations of these forces, Abu Lughod rejects all generalizations.

<sup>3</sup> The influence of Islam on cities can be felt relatively not only in the Middle East but also in all geographies where Islam dominates. However, it's not possible to speak of a homogeneous model of an Islamic city in every aspect, as different ethnographies and cultural interpretations can lead to variations in influence. Islam's inclusivity of local values has had significant impacts on the richness of this field.

interaction among tribes.<sup>4</sup> The emergence of the Islamic belief in this structure outlined a unique framework for urban understanding, supporting urban life and inter-city and inter-civilization interactions with its own arguments (Alver, 2011: 332). The spiritual commandments as well as the social rules have made Islam a city religion (Abu Lughod, 1987: 156). This thought structure based on Islam's fundamental beliefs has led to the establishment of many cities. The spread of Islam's message through conquests has undergone extraordinary transformations. This change was experienced primarily in the northeast with the Sassanid Empire (Mesopotamia and Iran), the Byzantine Empire (Syria and Egypt), and initially in the western regions that were Romanized and later partially barbarized (North Africa and Spain) (Serjeant, 1997: 13).

The encouraging features of Islam towards cities are reflected more in life practices and indirect guidance than in religious sources. While cities are mentioned in many verses of the Quran, there is no explicit requirement for living in cities.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, there are very few direct statements on this issue in the hadiths, which are secondary sources in Islam. Nevertheless, the social and individual challenges of Bedouin life and their discrepancies with Islamic ideals have been frequently highlighted.<sup>6</sup> While Islam does not dictate the physical structure of cities, its understanding of worship and its direct influence on individual and social relations have significantly impacted both urban environments and residences.<sup>7</sup> Islam's encouraging practices for urban life began to yield results in a very short period, and there emerged a significant trend towards urbanization. Islam's transformative impact on nomadic culture can be attributed to various factors including military, economic, and cultural influences, with the concept of the individual as envisioned by Islam playing a crucial role.<sup>8</sup>

One of the fundamental understandings of Islam is its claim to address universal rather than tribal beliefs or regional religious affiliations. In line with this understanding, the concept of 'umma' emerged. In this sense, Islam has both a local scale 'community' and a global scale 'umma' perception and goal (Demirci, 2003: 132). Living Islam as a whole, learning it, teaching it, and performing its obligatory social worship can only be possible through a certain settled life (Söylemez, 2011: 24). For example, one of Islam's most important requirements is the encouragement of collective prayers and the compulsory nature of Friday prayers, which necessitate a settled way of life (İnalçık, 1995: 249).<sup>9</sup> The conditions necessary for prayers, such as cleanliness requirements before prayer like ritual washing and ablution, point to the importance of individual and spatial cleanliness. Accordingly, it is observed that structures such as baths and fountains are located in

<sup>4</sup> It is stated that the Prophet Muhammad was a city dweller and was suspicious of nomads, and that the leadership that initially spread Islam was the urban bourgeoisie of the peninsula (Abu Lughod, 1987: 156).

<sup>5</sup> Some verses in the Quran that mention cities are; Al-Fajr, 8-10; Al-Qasas, 59; Al-Hijr, 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> Criticism of Bedouin life is frequently mentioned in Islamic sources. The 97th verse of Surah At-Tawbah and its continuation: "The Bedouins are stronger in disbelief and hypocrisy and more likely not to know the limits of what Allah has revealed to His Messenger..." highlight the superiority of urban and civilized life over the desert and Bedouin lifestyle (Demirci, 2003: 132).

<sup>7</sup> Neither the Quran nor the Sunnah provide a comprehensive and systematic legal corpus. Despite their limited number of provisions and sometimes lack of detail, these two sources often remain silent on legal issues that arise mainly in the geographical extensions of Dar-ul Islam, thus necessitating significant cultural, social, and economic changes (Serjeant, 1997: 23). The rules set by religion gave rise to schools of thought through the compilation and regulation by scholars. These schools of thought, while bearing certain differences, also influenced individuals' social living conditions, resulting in different regulations in cities where different schools of thought existed.

<sup>8</sup> According to Ibn Khaldun, considered one of the founders of sociological thought, society is divided into two main groups based on their mode of production and livelihood: the Bedouins (those living in rural areas) and the Hazeris (those living in cities). Ibn Khaldun suggests that intellectual and scientific developments, the arts based on refined taste, and even social welfare are associated solely with urban dwellers, indicating that such advancements do not emerge in rural areas. Ibn Khaldun also discusses the historical origins of the differences between rural and urban life. He argues that agricultural activities belong to the period before settled life, hence adopted by those living in rural areas; whereas urban dwellers do not engage in farming because their economic activities belong to the post-nomadic period (the urban period). Thus, the thinker emphasizes that urbanization is a process, contrasting the simplicity and ordinariness of rural life with the sophistication and complexity of urban life, implicitly praising urban life (Ibn Haldun, 1982).

<sup>9</sup> The fact that the congregational prayer is twenty-seven degrees more virtuous than the individually performed prayer, and the requirement for a place to be considered as a city for the Friday prayer, affirm this situation most explicitly (Demirci, 2003: 132).

urban areas. On the other hand, the fact that prayers are performed at certain times has directly influenced individuals' time management and life planning (Gül, 2001: 82).

Islam's other requirements such as alms, fasting, and pilgrimage also require a social life and urban culture. Zakat aims to maintain a balance between social classes and preserve the spirit of unity. The systematic appearance of the zakat system in commercial life has occurred through the waqf system. The obligation of pilgrimage encourages the visitation of cities such as Mecca and Medina, and during the pilgrimage, Mecca becomes a general assembly where Muslims from all over the world come together. Fasting and the month of Ramadan have also been of great importance in Islamic cities as a worship that maximizes social assistance and emphasizes social unity (Gül, 2001: 82-83).

Islam, to forget the social traditions of the pre-Islamic eras termed as the 'age of ignorance', also made individual transformation mandatory in this regard. According to Al-Farabi's "The Virtuous City," beneficial deeds occur in cities. City life, where its inhabitants support each other, is a virtuous society formed to achieve happiness (Söylemez, 2011: 24). Within this new conceptual framework, places of worship also functioned as social interaction and educational spaces. A new religion brought new educational institutions with it. The mosque, serving as a worship center, took on the role of an educational institution over time. Alongside mosques, institutions for education were also established. For example, during the Umayyad period, the most common basic educational institution was the 'kuttap.' The spatial unity between worship and education was first separated (Naşabi, 1997: 88).

Islamic cities, as well as being a tool for individual transformation, have also assigned missions to spread and establish in cities in some cases. Matters such as holding onto the conquered regions, establishing military supply points, and systematically collecting taxes and spoils have contributed to the spread of Islam (Can, 1992: 111). Within the framework of an Islamic city system organized in a new model, both old cities in conquered regions and newly built spaces coexisted. With the marketing of values produced in rural areas, cities have taken on a commercial identity. Thus, cities, becoming centers of attraction, have quickly risen to become military, administrative, political, and cultural centers (Alver, 2012: 342-343).

## 2. Basic Characteristics of Islamic Cities

The presence of certain common characteristics observed in cities throughout the Islamic geography, spanning from the Atlantic Ocean to Southeast Asia, demonstrates the existence of a unifying influence independent of geographical, climatic, and ethnic differences. The impact of Islam on shaping the urban environment has led to the emergence of the Islamic city type. The thought system and life practices acquired with Islam have directly influenced not only life but also the urban fabric. These reflections can be seen in the physical, social, and economic structures of cities.

### 2.1. Physical Characteristics of Islamic Cities

The purpose of urban planning is to give tangible expression to the city symbolizing the religious, social, and political system as an abstract reality (Elisseef, 1997: 113). The fundamental physical appearance of a city is contingent upon its historical origin and the geographical features of its location. However, the factors influencing the detailed physical appearance of cities are reflections of the urban planning process. Cities come into existence in two ways: spontaneously evolving or deliberately established by an authority. The conceptual system active in the process of transformation and construction is the primary factor in shaping the city. Religious beliefs, cultural and moral norms, and individual and social sense of belonging are among the primary factors shaping cities in this sense.

The Islamic city is a physical structure formed in a way that facilitates believers in fulfilling the requirements of religious life due to the influence of religious beliefs on lifestyle. Since its emergence in the first half of the seventh century, Islam has spread and been adopted in various regions, manifesting its influence and gradually acquiring specific motifs that constitute its identity. The Islamic religion, which emerged in the recent history of humanity, encountered different civilizations in the regions it spread to, sometimes exerting transformative effects on those civilizations and sometimes feeling the influence of powerful civilizations.

The Islamic religion's characterization of worldly life as transient and emphasizing the preparation for the afterlife has had significant effects on the physical characteristics of cities. As a result of this understanding, architectural designs in Islamic cities have sought to avoid extravagance and worldliness.<sup>10</sup> Traditional Islamic architecture has adhered to simple construction materials and utilized organic sources such as light and wind as energy sources. By recreating the tranquility, harmony, and serenity of nature within mosques and courtyard spaces, nature and the city have not been perceived as opposing concepts, and a balance has been maintained between them (Can, 2012: 12).

The Islamic city and its architectural plan represents the physical dimension of religious understanding. Fundamentally, there is a hierarchical order and a system consisting of public, semi-public, semi-private, and private spaces. The enclosed houses and courtyards surrounded by walls constitute private space. Semi-private spaces are the streets in front of the doors and walls of the houses, while semi-public spaces consist of wide streets and squares within the clusters of houses. The public space is formed by the mosque, marketplace, and adjacent square located in the center of the Islamic city (Abu-Lughod, 1987: 163-164; Goş, 1987: 55).<sup>11</sup>

It can be readily observed that the Islamic city encompasses certain common elements regardless of vast geography. According to Lapidus (1984), the Islamic city has five fundamental elements, namely:

- Fortress
- Palace and administrative center where governance functions are carried out
- City center with Friday mosque, caravanserais, bazaars, and open markets
- Neighborhoods (residential areas)
- Outer neighborhoods.

In addition to these basic elements, there may be variations, but around places of worship, there are public and common elements such as madrasas, libraries, soup kitchens, hospitals, tombs, fountains (sebils), caravanserais, baths, small squares, and coffeehouses.

When a city is constructed, its buildings and physical structure emerge as a reflection of the beliefs, customs, and social organization of that society in every aspect. Capitalist societies have constructed their cities around skyscrapers, stock exchanges, and commercial centers, utilizing an "eco-centric" urban model. In communist societies, cities were built around large squares and monuments, employing a "socio-centric" model. Societies where religion serves as the fundamental reference

<sup>10</sup> The emphasis on the afterlife in the Islamic religion should not be interpreted as relegating worldly life entirely to the background, as it might be in Christian faith. In Islam, where work is equated with worship, the main emphasis is to prevent worldly endeavors from neglecting one's worship life.

<sup>11</sup> The labyrinthine street system and dead-end streets commonly found in Islamic cities need to be evaluated within this framework. The streets should not be considered purely as public spaces; rather, they reflect a special emphasis on privacy and a quest for security (Abu-Lughod, 1987: 170).

point have formed their cities around places of worship and sacred sites, creating a "theo-centric" model. Examples such as Red Square or Tiananmen Square for the socialist world, the World Trade Center or the New York Stock Exchange for the capitalist world, Mecca for the Muslim city, the Vatican for the Christian city, and the Al-Aqsa Mosque for the Jewish city are evidence of which paradigm shaped the city centers (Demirci, 2003: 133). Perspectives on life and ideological inclinations have shaped the functions of cities and, naturally, their physical locations.

As emphasized above, mosques have been considered not only places of worship but also public spaces where social cohesion is achieved, and they continue to stand out as the dominant feature of urban life in the Islamic world. Every city with a Muslim population was required to have a Friday mosque. During the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, this practice was widespread to represent state authority, but with the increase in urban population, Friday prayers began to be held in multiple mosques (İnalçık, 1995: 249).

Islamic cities vary in size and form. Some cities are rectangular, some are circular, and some are linear in shape. Cities also differ in terms of dietary habits and clothing, which are directly related to climatic conditions. Building materials and construction systems also vary. Although there are common structures in each Islamic city, there are differences in the materials used and architectural forms (Goş, 1987: 51). While certain constants are considered in public and private spaces, details are determined by climate, building materials, and the environment, and with the spread of Islam to many countries, changes in architecture and urban form have begun to increase.

The understanding that "cleanliness is part of faith" has a significant influence on the selection of locations for the establishment of Islamic cities and on the structures within the city. Furthermore, the limited water resources in the Islamic geography further enhance the importance of cleanliness. Indeed, important Islamic cities such as Baghdad, Basra, Kufa, Cairo, and Fes were founded and developed along riversides. Similarly, during the Byzantine period, Istanbul, which faced water problems, gained ample water supply during the Ottoman period through dams and aqueducts (Özey, 1994: 17). The importance of this understanding reflected in urban areas is evident in structures such as ablution facilities, fountains, and baths.

In the early periods of Islamic cities, green areas were not abundant, and existing green areas were often located around palaces. Despite the encouragement of tree planting in the practices and sayings of the Prophet, geography and climate had a significant influence on the development of such areas. Except for unfavorable regions, examples such as Anatolia, the Caucasus, and the Far East, where Islamic civilization flourished, demonstrate that cities were rich in green spaces. While there are not many examples of public recreational areas, it is mentioned that during the Abbasid period, squares and areas were arranged for military and sports activities in some cities, and in the city of Samarra, there was a large zoo unlike anything seen in its time (Can, 1992: 120). One of the physical reflections of Islamic belief in urban areas is the absence of statues and monuments in cities.<sup>12</sup>

## 2.2. Economic Characteristics of Islamic Cities

The development that enabled Islam to advance far beyond its initial borders was commercial relations. Indeed, within a very short period, the influence of Muslim traders was decisive in the

<sup>12</sup> The main reason for this is Islam's rejection of idolatry and emphasis on the unity of God. In Islamic belief, it is thought that statues and sculptures may lead people to associate partners with God, thus creating obstacles to worship. Therefore, the absence of statues and monuments in cities in Islamic culture serves the purpose of preserving the principle of monotheism.

spread of Islam to the shores of Africa, India, and South Asia (Lewis, 1997: 336).<sup>13</sup> The importance Islam attaches to trade is clearly evident in the Islamic cities. Consequently, Islamic cities (such as Baghdad, Damascus, Homs, Aleppo, Hama, Mosul, Istanbul, Cairo, etc.) also became the most important trading centers of their time worldwide. As a result, indicators of trade culture such as marketplaces, covered bazaars, and markets found their place within the urban structure as complementary elements of physical architecture (Özey, 1994: 17). The bazaar (market) holds a significant place in the Islamic city and is one of the most common elements seen among Islamic cities. In Islamic cities, the marketplaces were operated under the endowment system, adhering to the principle that the marketplace was not private property. Therefore, the public nature of the commercial area was primarily acknowledged, and private ownership was not permitted (Bergen, 2015).

In the Islamic city, a significant portion of commercial activities were concentrated around the large mosque located in the city center. Another remarkable feature is the separation of places of economic activity from residential areas (Raymond, 2010: 450). The fact that bazaars and caravanserais gathered around large mosques and religious buildings in the city center indicates the existence of a public center, as also noted by modern Hanafi jurists. It can be understood from this that there is a close connection between the mosque and the bazaar in the Islamic city. As the number of mosques increased in the city, the number of markets also increased, spreading to different neighborhoods (Can, 1997: 27).

Trade areas were organized according to the radial-concentric model principle, with the most important and high-income-generating economic activities located in the city center, while lower-income-generating activities spread outward. Accordingly, places where valuable products requiring special craftsmanship (such as kaysariyye, bedesten), shops selling international trade goods (such as fabrics, spices, coffee), and shops selling precious metals (such as jewelers) were generally located in the city center. Large bazaars, large caravanserais, and places where large-scale wholesale trade took place (such as funduks, hans, vekales, simsaars) were generally located in the city center, while vegetable and grain markets requiring large areas were located around the city center, and activities that could pollute the environment (such as tanneries, animal markets, etc.) took place outside the city (Raymond, 2010: 450). This arrangement, classified according to the nature of trade, also applied to residential areas. The elite, consisting of merchants, bourgeoisie, and clergy, resided in neighborhoods close to the center, as well as near major bazaars and mosque-school complexes. The poor population lived on the outskirts of the city, where adverse conditions prevailed.

In Islamic cities, guilds formed the economic system. Except for high-ranking bureaucrats, the army, and the clergy, the urban population organized themselves into guilds according to their crafts. Not only Muslims but also members of other religions were included in the guild system. This structure was institutionalized differently in different periods. The Ahi organization, existing in Seljuk and Ottoman cities, had the task of regulating the city's economic and social sphere (Demirci, 2003: 140; Aktay and Topçuoğlu, 2007: 280; Bergen, 2013: 69).

### 2.3.Social Characteristics of Islamic Cities

People who choose Islam are seen as constituent parts of a whole.<sup>14</sup> Those who prioritize solidarity have considered societal interests over individual interests, thus propelling Islamic society far beyond

<sup>13</sup> The spread of Islam through traders in its early stages was facilitated during the Ottoman Empire period through "Colonizing dervishes." Before conquests, dervishes were sent to regions primarily for the purpose of guidance, and the spiritual conquest of the region was achieved first. For more information about the Colonizing Turkish dervishes, one can refer to the works of Ömer Lütfi Barkan.

<sup>14</sup> The Prophet's hadiths emphasize the importance of social solidarity in Islamic cities. In one hadith, he said, "The fidelity of a believer to another believer is like the bricks of a wall, each one supporting the other," while in another hadith, he described believers as "being like a



its time.<sup>15</sup> One of the most prominent features of the Islamic city is the communal structure supporting the individual effort expended to submit to the commandments of Allah (Serjeant, 1997: 18). Islam not only rejects racial and class distinctions but also develops principles of solidarity, such as almsgiving, charity, and sacrifice, to support disadvantaged groups and prevent economic disparities. Despite the emphasis on social solidarity, Islamic cities lack a public square or agora where the daily activities of the population take place, as seen in European cities. However, every Islamic city must have a central Friday Mosque where all the city's people gather on Fridays (Çelik, 2012: 147).

The Arab society, originally characterized by a Bedouin and tribal lifestyle, began to urbanize with Islam, and the rules brought by Islam were set to facilitate and encourage this process. Urban life reflects the ummah (community), which has two aspects. On the one hand, Islam is about submitting to a divine and social law that does not recognize distinctions among people, and thus, individuals dissolve into the collective space, much like individual households within a cluster of buildings. On the other hand, Islam recognizes the autonomy of each believer. According to the Quran, a believer's self, family, and property are considered sacred and inviolable (Özey, 1994: 17). The smallest and most fundamental units of the spatial structure of the Islamic city are the neighborhoods where this sense of privacy is experienced. Neighborhoods are the production area, tax unit, administrative unit, and educational unit of the Islamic city (Bergen, 2013: 163).

Commercial activities occur at a minimum level in neighborhoods. Thus, the city center serves as a point of convergence and meeting for neighborhoods consisting of different sociological structures. Only small markets are formed in neighborhoods to meet urgent needs. Non-Muslims could not sell alcohol or pork to Muslims due to the prohibition, nor could they open their shops in Muslim neighborhoods. Taverns were located in the non-Muslim district of Galata, on the other side of the Golden Horn, and these areas were considered sin districts by Muslims (İnalçık, 1995: 258).<sup>16</sup>

Since the neighborhood constitutes an organic structure in the Islamic city, it resists external interventions and invasion. In this sense, the neighborhood is a community composed of individuals who are in social solidarity with each other, called kefalet, and responsible for each other's positive and negative behaviors. To maintain this structure, if property sales were to take place in a neighborhood, the right of first refusal, called the 'şuf'a right,' would be granted to the nearest neighbor.<sup>17</sup> This protective approach is directly related to the concept of privacy preached by Islam to societies. The measures introduced by privacy encompass the construction of buildings and the establishment and development of cities. The construction of residences in cul-de-sacs entered through narrow streets and surrounded by high walls in a large courtyard exemplifies this sense of privacy (Saoud, 2002: 2). Islam also places great importance on neighbors. The right of neighbor is almost equated with the right of relatives. Therefore, in Islamic cities, neighborly relations are reflected in architecture. The reason for not allowing multi-story buildings is also to prevent the

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*single body, feeling love and compassion for one another and protecting each other''* (Buhârî, Salât 88, Mezâlim 5; Müslim, Birr 65). These teachings highlight the fundamental characteristics of social cohesion within Islamic cities.

<sup>15</sup> In Islam, special value is placed on guests, travelers, as well as the disadvantaged members of society such as the poor, sick, and needy. Islamic cities feature establishments such as guesthouses, inns, caravanserais, fountains, bridges, tekkes (Sufi lodges), hospitals, and soup kitchens operated by endowments, known as waqfs. All these structures serve as indispensable monuments of the Islamic city, reflecting the welfare state structure of Islamic states (Özey, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> In Islamic cities, while there is typically no spatial segregation based on economic factors, there are observable spatial differentiations along ethnic and religious lines. Ethnic and religious minorities tend to reside within their own enclaves or ghettos (Abu-Lughod, 1987: 165). Islamic cities also serve as the domain of mainstream Sunni understanding. Rural life, on the other hand, is seen as the place where Sunni teachings cannot penetrate, and where other religious sects and extremism develop (Çelik, 2012: 142).

<sup>17</sup> In inheritance regulations, the right of pre-emption (şuf'a) is exercised, whereby priority is given to relatives if the inheritance estate is to be sold. This ensures that the division of inheritance and land is prevented.

neighbor's field of view from narrowing and obstructing their view (Abu-Lughod, 1987: 165; Özey, 1994: 17).<sup>18</sup>

### 3. An Example of for an Islamic City: Konya

Geographically positioned as a gateway between Eastern and Western civilizations, Konya has been profoundly influenced by numerous civilizations throughout its history, even serving as the capital for some.<sup>19</sup> Throughout history, chronologically Konya has been under the rule of various empires and kingdoms, including the Hittite Empire in the 17th century BC, the Phrygian Kingdom in the late 8th century BC, the Lydia Kingdom in the 7th century BC, the Persian Empire in 546 BC after conquering Lydia, Alexander the Great's Empire in 334 BC after defeating the Persians, the Seleucid Empire following Alexander's death, becoming part of the Roman Empire in the 1st century AD, and later transitioning to Byzantine control from AD 395 onwards as the Eastern part of the Roman Empire (Baykara, 2002: 182-183).<sup>20</sup>

As a point where trade routes traversing Anatolia from north to south and east to west intersected, Konya became a destination for commercial and military expeditions. From ancient times to the present, many travelers like William of Rubruck, Marco Polo, İbn Battuta, Evliya Çelebi, Gertrude Bell have included observations of Konya in their routes, contributing to a significant historical literature about the city (Kabakci, 2019; 51-53; Çelik, 2023: 680-687).

The fate of Konya began to change with the influence of Islam entering Anatolia. Until then, Konya was an important transit city both commercially and militarily. However, during the period of Muslim states such as Seljuk Empire, Sultanate of Rum and Emirate of Karaman dominating Anatolia, Konya rose to prominence as a center of civilization with administrative and political functions. Along with this process, both its population and urban expansion area showed growth.

Although Islamic conquests quickly influenced Anatolia, ongoing internal conflicts and struggles for dominance prevented the conquests in Anatolia from becoming permanent. The Byzantine Empire regained the territories it had lost to Muslims due to internal strife and domination struggles. Located near the northern borders of the Umayyad and Abbasid Islamic states, Konya became a target for every invasion from the south (Konyalı, 1964: 33).<sup>21</sup>

The Turkic migrations following the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, which opened the door to Anatolia for the Turks, meant that Islamic influence would settle permanently in Anatolia. This process led to Konya's encounter with Islam and its transformation within the regulations of Islamic civilization.

#### 3.1. The Seljuk Period in Konya (1071-1277): The Arrival of Islam and the Golden Ages<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> In Islamic cities, as observed worldwide until modern times, the visibility of women in urban spaces is greatly limited. This is often attributed to various cultural, religious, and societal factors affecting women's access to and participation in public spaces. Women are typically confined to domestic duties and family affairs, resulting in their diminished presence in public realms (Abu-Lughod, 1987: 167).

<sup>19</sup> Çatalhöyük, known as one of the earliest known settlements where people transitioned to a sedentary lifestyle, holds significant historical importance. Situated just 40 km away from the center of Konya, its proximity underscores the region's significance since the advent of settled human habitation.

<sup>20</sup> The name "Konya" is said to have originated from the Frigian term "Kawania," which evolved into "Konian," and later during the Roman and Byzantine periods, it was referred to as "Iconian" or "Iconium." This etymological evolution reflects the city's rich history of hosting various civilizations throughout time. The influence of different cultures and empires, including the Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines, has contributed to shaping Konya's name and identity. In the works of Islamic geographers, the city's name appears as "Küniye," a spelling that was also adopted by Turks and pronounced as Konya (Baykara, 2002: 182).

<sup>21</sup> Contrary to the Arab nationalist approach of the Umayyads, during the Abbasid period, other ethnic groups were actively utilized in the army and administration. Turks, for the first time, participated in campaigns directed towards Anatolia within the ranks of the Abbasid army, and settlement began in the conquered regions of Anatolia. These conquests can be considered as a preparatory stage for the independent beyliks and states established by Turks after the Abbasids.

<sup>22</sup> The Seljuk period, during which Konya experienced its golden age, naturally became one of the most extensively studied periods in academic literature. For more detailed information on the Seljuk period in Konya, see: İbn-i Bibi (1941). Anadolu Selçukî Devleti Tarihi [History of the Anatolian Seljuk State], from the Persian Summary Selçuknâme by İbn-i Bibi. Uzluk Printing House ; Baykara, T. (1985). Türkiye Selçuklu Devrinde Konya [Konya in the Seljuk Period], 2nd Edition, Ankara; Gordlevski, V. (1988). Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti [The Anatolian Seljuk State], Translated by A. Yaran, Ankara: Onur Publications; Yasa, A. (1996). Anadolu Selçuklu Döneminde Türk-

Anatolian Seljuk cities are generally considered as continuations of ancient Christian cities. Initially, remote and uninhabited areas saw limited establishment of new cities (Akyüz, 1996: 229). For instance, Konya was conquered by the Seljuks, who preserved and carefully developed its urban heritage. The Anatolian Seljuks expanded their conquests to the borders of Istanbul and initially chose Nicaea (İznik) as their capital.<sup>23</sup> However, due to the influence of the Crusades, in 1181 during the reign of II. Kilijarslan, the capital was relocated to Konya for its perceived security (Hattstein and Dellus, 2004: 378; Hacıgökmen, 2011: 234-244). With the relocation of the capital to Konya, an administrative center was built on Alaaddin Hill, and the Byzantine-era religious center, the Eflatun Mosque, was converted into the Eflatun Mosque<sup>24</sup>, while Alaaddin Mosque was built as a Friday mosque in 1155 (Konyalı, 1964: 247-248).<sup>25</sup>

Among Anatolian cities, Konya, Kayseri, and Sivas show partial differences in spatial organization compared to other Anatolian cities. These cities, which were also administrative centers, are notable for their sultanate palaces built for the residence of the sultans and adjacent structures. Additionally, their populations being much larger than other cities necessitated multiple Friday mosques. During the reign of Alaaddin Keykubat, Konya had a settlement area of 150 hectares, making it the largest city in Anatolia when compared to the spatial sizes of other cities (Özcan, 2005: 175-176). Research conducted during this period determined that the population of Konya was around 50,000 or 60,000 (Baykara, 1985: 138-142; Akşit, 2014: 73).<sup>26</sup> This increase in space and population led to the expansion of the city to the regions of Meram and Gevele, adjacent to Alaaddin Hill, with mansions, palaces, and vineyard houses (Konyalı, 1964: 105).

With the development of trade in Konya, the bazaars surpassed the city walls and began to differentiate their functions in the opposite direction of the city's development. According to Anatolian Seljuk period Vakıfname records, 31 different bazaars and markets were identified in Konya (Özcan, 2006a: 29). The bazaars and markets in Konya during this period included: Horse market, hay market, wheat market, timber market, Perfumers' bazaar, Drapers, Goldsmiths, Cotton sellers, Confectioners, Tanners (Leatherworkers), and Butchers (Uysal, 2010: 152).<sup>27</sup>

The increase in the number and size of cities weakened central authority and amplified the influence of guilds in city management (Lewis, 1997: 246). Seljuks closely engaged with the structure of each region they occupied, endowing every corner of their land through endowments (waqfs) and guilds with institutions of knowledge, culture, and social assistance such as mosques, madrasas, libraries, hospitals, and caravanserais (Aktay and Topçuoğlu, 2007: 279). The majority of the historical monuments that currently exist in Konya are inherited from the Anatolian Seljuk period (Konyalı, 1964).

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İslam Şehri Olarak Konya [Konya as a Turkish-Islamic City in the Anatolian Seljuk Period]. Doctoral Dissertation, Hacettepe University, Institute of Social Sciences; ; Özcan, K. (2005). Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yerleşme Sistemi ve Kent Modelleri [Settlement System and Urban Models in the Seljuk Period Anatolia]. Doctoral Dissertation, Konya: Selçuk University; Cahen, C. (2014). The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum. Eleventh to Fourteenth Century. Routledge

<sup>23</sup> From the second half of the 12th century onwards, the Anatolian Seljuk state was politically and administratively strengthened and reached the Black Sea and the Mediterranean (Akyüz, 1996: 229). As a result, the growing internal, external, and transit trade led to the significance of urban life in Anatolia. With the development of commercial and industrial activities in Anatolia, Anatolian cities also grew (Gordlevski, 1988: 229).

<sup>24</sup> As a result of the drainage system's failure in 1910, most of the remains of the palace were destroyed, and today, almost nothing remains except for a few walls and towers (Cansever, 2014: 107). However, the ruins, which have been preserved, are valuable as they represent one of the first Seljuk works. Although the palace and the mosque were built around the same time, the fact that the original form of the mosque was preserved while the palace became a ruin is linked to the tradition of destroying monuments considered as symbols of political dominance when cities change hands. The Karamanids destroyed the works of the Seljuks, while the Ottomans destroyed those of the Karamanids. From those times to the present, only works with religious or social significance have survived (Konyalı, 1964: 135-136).

<sup>25</sup> The conversion of the largest religious temple into a mosque following the conquest of a city has been seen as a symbolic indication of the city's Islamization (Cahen, 2000: 208).

<sup>26</sup> It would take seven centuries, until ten years after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, for Konya to reach its population level again. Even during the Tulip Era between 1718 and 1730, which followed the most splendid period of the Ottoman Empire, the population of Konya was determined to be 22,000 (Küçükdağ, 1989: 77-78). In this sense, the importance of Konya during the Seljuk period is remarkable.

<sup>27</sup> William Rubruck, one of the important travelers of the Middle Ages, who came to Konya in 1253, stated that he encountered many Frankish and Genoese merchants in Konya (Gordlevski, 1998: 212).

Another key factor in the formation of Konya was Sufism. The Sufi institution, acting as a buffer mechanism between local populations and ruling elites, endeavored to prevent the widening of the gap between classes in the formation of urban classes. Scholars and Sufis sought refuge in Anatolia, fleeing from the Mongol invaders, and their arrival marked a pivotal moment in the region's history. Their knowledge and spiritual teachings infused Anatolia with a unique blend of science and mysticism, shaping its cultural and intellectual landscape. Under their guidance, Anatolia blossomed into a center of learning, where diverse disciplines flourished alongside profound spiritual practices (Küçük, 2007; Aktay and Topçuoğlu, 2007: 278). During this period, Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, one of the most renowned figures not only in Islamic civilization but also globally in the realm of Sufi culture, sought refuge in Konya fleeing from the Mongol invasions. Through his profound mystical teachings, Rumi endeavored to foster tolerance as a fundamental value among diverse individuals, including adherents of different religions.

Seljuk cities evolved in three different forms: fortress cities, open cities, and outward-oriented growth models. According to Özcan, Konya developed in accordance with the fortress city model of type A. These fortress cities are situated at political centers and hubs of commercial production and distribution. They feature centralized political centers surrounded by walls, with institutions like endowments, tekkes (Sufi lodges), and zawiya extending beyond these walls. This distinguishes them from type B fortress cities such as Alanya and Sinop, which are completely enclosed by castle walls. It also sets them apart from open cities like Tokat, Amasya, and Kırşehir, which lack fortified walls, and outward-oriented growth models that expand beyond city walls (Özcan, 2010).<sup>28</sup>

Seljuk cities generally consisted of three parts, divided into fortress, city, and neighborhoods.<sup>29</sup> Sometimes, the main city with the grand mosque would be located in the middle of the fortress inner city, which also included ruling circles and neighborhoods. This main city, surrounded by walls, was connected to the outside through large gates. It would expand beyond the city walls, forming the outer city, surrounded by gardens, and further beyond, vineyards and fields would be arranged (Yasa, 1996: 66-68; Yasa, 1998). As cities grew, development stages from the center to the periphery were observed. During the Seljuk period, cities had grown to such an extent that almost all of them had expanded beyond the walls, becoming major centers of trade and industry, establishing a high society and cultural life, with each profession and artisan settling in their own bazaars and neighborhoods (Akyüz, 1996: 233). Like other Seljuk cities, Konya evolved from a fortified citadel surrounded by walls into a thriving urban center that extended beyond its fortifications due to its social, political, and economic progress during this period (Baykara, 2002: 183-184).

Konya, experiencing its golden age during the Seljuks, was shaken by the impending Mongol threat. After the death of Sultan Alaaddin Keykubat, unsuccessful rulers who succeeded him and consecutive defeats in wars led the Anatolian Seljuks to accept Mongol rule. Although the Mongols looted many cities and civilizations they invaded, the Seljuk capital of Konya managed to survive this invasion process unscathed.<sup>30</sup>

### 3.2. The Ottoman Period in the City of Konya (1467-1923): An Islamic City Losing Its Splendor

<sup>28</sup> There is ongoing debate regarding the development of the fortress structure in Konya due to insufficient information inherited from the urban legacy of the Byzantine period. Until 1221, it was an open city, but after this date, with the construction of walls, the entire city was enclosed and transformed into a closed city. It is understood that the city flourished during the reign of Alaaddin Keykubat, and it expanded beyond the walls once again (Küçükdağ et al, 2020: 5).

<sup>29</sup> Although Konya has a two-tiered wall system surrounding the city center, its location in a flat plain made defense difficult in the event of invasion. Therefore, Gevele Castle, strategically positioned to dominate the center of Konya, was chosen as the defense center for invasions that could not be resisted in the city center (Konyalı, 1964: 99).

<sup>30</sup> There are many rumors regarding Konya's avoidance of the Mongol invasion. Among them, the claim that Konya was not attacked due to the sympathy and admiration of Baycu Noyan, who was responsible for the Anatolian forces, towards Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī, is the most widely accepted (Yalçın, 2020).

In Ottoman cities, Muslims and non-Muslims lived in separate neighborhoods. Ottoman cities are a synthesis of Islamic elements, Central Asian Turkish culture, and the characteristics of the geographical regions they were located in. In this sense, Ottoman cities represent a synthesis of Islamic elements, Turkic-Seljuk civilization, and Byzantine institutions as fundamental formative elements. Despite their distinctiveness from other Islamic cities for various material and cultural reasons, they shared common ground with Islamic beliefs. Ottoman cities constitute a cohesive architectural unity, blending natural and human-built environments. Ottoman cities integrated nature into their architecture through garden houses, ponds, and fountains. Alongside grand public monuments, houses were typically constructed as single or two-story buildings. This approach emphasized the prominent placement of structures serving the urban population within the city fabric.

While Seljuk cities were typically founded in plains, Ottoman cities benefited from transitions between plains and mountains in terms of distribution and architectural features, generally being cities leaning against mountains (Cerasi, 2001: 81). This structure, which prioritizes protection instinct, also envisages more efficient use of agricultural lands. Ottoman cities developed on historical foundations. Examples include İznik, Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul, Amasya, Konya, Sivas, and Tokat. The historical heritage has been respected and integrated into daily life as entities that give dimension and meaning to the city's history (Cansever, 2014: 61). As an Ottoman city, Konya's houses were built with gardens and single-story structures typical of Islamic cities, with attention to the element of privacy. Mosques and markets were strategically located as dominant points and gathering centers within the city. Agricultural areas providing the city's sustenance, gardens, animal husbandry pastures, and recreational areas are located around the city.

In 1465, Fatih Sultan Mehmed abolished the Karamanids and established the Karaman Province, making Konya its center. Although Konya, which was losing its status as an important city during the Karamanids period, quickly adapted under Ottoman rule and soon became an important Ottoman city.<sup>31</sup> Konya maintained its development from the 16th century to the early 19th century for over three hundred years. However, as the population increased, the city began to decline. Despite the growing population, it couldn't preserve its old city status. Subsequent developments, such as the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the shift of eastern trade to the west, caused Konya to lose its status as a crossroads of trade routes. It remained as an Ottoman city. Later travelers to Konya, such as Cuinet and Texier, emphasized that the area was in a ruined condition (Öcal, 2005: 249).<sup>32</sup>

The encounter of classical Ottoman cities with modernity occurred during the late Ottoman period with reform movements. Instead of traditional urban governance methods, institutions transferred from the West and a Western modernist approach to city shaping began to emerge, laying the foundations for the urban organization of the Republican period. Changes in urban areas during the Tanzimat period also affected Konya. Measures regarding the city structure began to be taken after the Konya Bazaar fire in 1867 (Aygör, 2015: 8).<sup>33</sup> New settlement areas were started to be formed according to grid plans according to the Ebniye and Turuk regulations declared to prevent the haphazard shaping of urban areas, and new buildings were built and new streets were opened according to this plan. Especially during this period, neighborhoods such as Selimiye, Cedidiye, and

<sup>31</sup> Shortly after the conquest of Konya, the city, along with Kayseri, was exempted from taxes due to its bravery in the Battle of Otlukbeli against the Akkoyunlu state in 1473 (İnalçık, 1954: 108).

<sup>32</sup> When we look at the legal practices regulating social relations in Konya during the Ottoman period, we can see that alongside the principles of Islamic law (Turkish: Şer'i hukuk), which constitute the fundamental legal framework of the Islamic city, customary law rules (Turkish: Örfi hukuk) implemented by the local population were also applied. Indeed, it was common practice for individuals who disrupted the order in the city to be expelled from the region or ostracized by having tar applied to their doorsteps as a form of stigmatization (Çetin, 2014a; 2014b).

<sup>33</sup> In 1867, due to a fire that broke out in a shop, a total of 192 shops, as well as the Yüksek Mosque and Kapı Mosque, which were located at the present location of the Aziziye Mosque, were completely burned down (Akçakaya, 2010: 20).

Mamuriye, created for immigrants from the Balkans and the Caucasus, can be easily distinguished from other classical neighborhoods of Konya (Özcan, 2006b 165). Differences in architectural styles are also noticeable in public buildings and places of worship such as neighborhoods and streets. The rectangular architecture, which is the basic feature of Seljuk architecture used in Seljuk period works such as Alaaddin Mosque, Sahipata Mosque, Konevi Mosque, and İplikçi Mosque, was abandoned. When looking at Ottoman period mosques, Selimiye Mosque, built in accordance with classical Ottoman domed mosques, and Aziziye Mosque, built in baroque style, stand out.

In the classical Ottoman period, city growth occurred organically. New neighborhoods formed through external migrations or the establishment of new mosques, markets, or social institutions, with development around these structures maintaining the existing neighborhood texture. Ottoman reforms introduced an interventionist modernist approach, shifting from organic city development to deliberate shaping of cities and neighborhoods to influence society. For example, the luxury and ostentation-based urban understanding adopted with the Tulip Era, which represents the first example of Ottoman reforms in the early 18th century, resulted in the construction of many palaces and mansions in Konya (Küçükdağ, 1989: 182). This transformation can be clearly observed when examining the urban development flows used in the urban expansion process of Konya. In traditional Konya, the region between Alaaddin Hill and Mevlana Mausoleum are the sole regions that continue to maintain the clarity of Islamic urban elements to this day. With the increasing importance of railway transportation in the late Ottoman period, a region extending towards Konya railway station, built along the Baghdad railway, emerged as an alternative axis of the city (Küçükdağ et al, 2020: 23). The transition from religious structures to material structures in shaping the urban development area clearly demonstrates this paradigm shift. Finally, in the Republican era of Konya, Nalçacı Avenue extending northward became the largest development axis, shaping the city's expansion process to this day (Yaldız et al, 2014: 231).

### **3.3. Transformation of Space in Konya from the Republic to the Recent Past (1923-1994): Periods of Erosion of the Islamic City Character**

With the declaration of the Republic, a radical understanding of modernity was embraced in Turkey, and with the reforms implemented, individual, social, and economic life were entirely redesigned to fit Western models. This major transformation process also manifested itself in urban structures, prioritizing modern cities over traditional ones as examples within the framework of contemporary civilization. Cities underwent a transformation in terms of physical, administrative, social, and economic aspects, moving away from the characteristics of classical Islamic cities to align with Western urban centers.

To perceive the transformation Konya underwent during the republican period, one can consider Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar's depiction of Konya in his essay "Beş Şehir" as a starting point. Tanpınar references historical events and figures while portraying Konya, expressing that he feels the spirit of the Seljuk period throughout the city (Tanpınar, 1969: 79-107).<sup>34</sup> However, Konya in the Republican era experienced an identity crisis between the past and the future, with significant changes to the structure of the city inherited from the Seljuk and Ottoman eras. The disruptions in houses, streets, avenues, and the overall city silhouette are manifestations of the changes in perception in the present day.

Traditional Konya houses were single-story buildings with courtyards, built from adobe material with flat earthen roofs and surrounded by walls, forming social spaces within the community. These

<sup>34</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's essay "Beş Şehir," regarded as one of the masterpieces of urban essayism, discusses Konya along with Bursa, Erzurum, Ankara, and İstanbul.

traditional houses, designed to be closed to the outside world, showed the sense of privacy required by Islamic life. However, with modernity, this housing concept underwent a deep transformation. Due to urbanization, population growth, changes in economic production and consumption patterns, migration movements, architectural concepts and styles imported from the West and technological changes in architecture, a very different housing concept emerged. Houses, predominantly made of stone and brick instead of adobe, began to be constructed with increased numbers of floors. The disappearance of traditional house gardens led to the elimination of the transition area between public and private spaces. Interaction and street relations in dead-end streets lost their significance, becoming merely pathways to access houses.<sup>35</sup> With the introduction of electricity and mains water supply to houses, individual rooms gained importance over shared spaces within homes, and parts traditionally located in the garden, such as fountains, baths, and toilets were moved indoors (Aygör, 2015: 2).

In addition to changes in the structure of houses, the architecture of public buildings also underwent significant changes. The dominant architectural ideology during the early Republican period, known as the National Architecture Movement, shaped the era from 1938, the year of Atatürk's death, until the 1950s. This movement, influenced by the rising totalitarian trends of the time, is characterized by 'brutalist architectural works.'<sup>36</sup> In contrast to the craftsmanship and detailed architectural styles of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods in Konya, this movement departed from the harmonious integration of traditional and modern forms.<sup>37</sup>

The traditional Islamic city, centered around the Great Mosque and the bazaar, began to erode during this period, and secondary urban centers emerged in different parts of the city.<sup>38</sup> Particularly after the 1980s, multi-storey structures began to replace traditional markets in market areas, such as the Grape Market, Mevlana Bazaar, Women's Market, and Melike Hatun Bazaar. Urban planning efforts in Konya accelerated after the Republic, reaching various dimensions. Especially, the regulatory works for Alâeddin Hill Government Mansion artery, Government Square, Kayalı Park, and Şerafeddin Park were carried out at the expense of the traditional urban texture and through significant destruction.

Moreover, with the influence of neoliberalism and globalization phenomena since the 1980s, gated communities have entered the country's agenda, leaving their mark on Konya's urban sprawl, and housing projects catering to the elite have begun to be built one after another. The understanding of coexistence of rich and poor segments within neighborhoods, which is the fundamental characteristic of the Islamic city's socio-economic structure, has been disrupted by this process, leading to the spatial segregation process, where similar income groups are brought together (Alver, 2007; Sipahi, 2011: 65-80). Looking at the spatial distribution of gated communities, Yeniyol region in Meram district was settled upper-middle income group in the early neoliberal period. However, due to the limited urban development area and high land costs of Meram district, gated communities have begun to concentrate in Selçuklu district, which is the most advantageous district of Konya in

<sup>35</sup> It is not possible to see the dead-end streets that occupied a significant place in the street structure in Konya during the drawing of its first urban plan in 1921 in present-day Konya.

<sup>36</sup> Brutalist architecture, or Brutalism, is characterized by the use of raw materials in their natural state and the absence of surface ornamentation, decoration, or motifs. It aims to evoke a sense of ongoing construction even after completion. These structures reflect the cold, stark face of modernity, often using exposed concrete to create bold, geometric forms. Brutalist architecture has regained attention, especially with recent mass housing projects by the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ), leading to criticism and debate.

<sup>37</sup> One of the most striking examples of the architectural conflict between traditional and modern styles can be found in the buildings within the Keykubat Campus of Selçuk University. Despite Konya being a city that experienced its golden age during the Seljuk period, the largest university in the city only has a few buildings and overpasses reminiscent of this architectural era. Other structures within the campus are disjointed and unrelated in architectural style, creating a sense of inconsistency and lack of coherence.

<sup>38</sup> Due to the topographical structure of the city, while the historical center of Konya around Alaaddin Hill maintains its significance, alternative centers such as Aydınlikevler, Bosna Hersek, and Nalçacı have emerged.

this regard.<sup>39</sup> Karatay district, the third central district has lagged far behind the other two central districts in this regard (Sipahi, 2011: 291-296).

In the context of administrative systems of cities during the Republican era, significant changes took place. The reform process, which was inherited from the late Ottoman period and continued by the Republic, aimed at abolish the traditional administrative system entirely and transferring it to a Western bureaucratic system with its laws and institutions. This radical reform approach led to policies of denial towards the past after being governed by a single municipality for many years, Konya became a metropolitan municipality in 1987, following the opportunity provided by the 1982 constitution for different administrative structuring for large settlements. With Law No. 3399, Karatay, Meram, and Selçuk districts were established as central districts to form the Konya Metropolitan Municipality.

### 3.4. Revitalization Practices of the Islamic City in Konya (1994-2023): Urban Policies in Search of Glorious Days

In recent years, with the growing influence of the Islamic political movement, references to the long-neglected characteristics of the Islamic city have begun to be made specifically for Konya, and efforts have been made to initiate activities aimed at reviving the past. Especially after 1994, under the continuous administrations of conservative right-wing party municipalities (National Vision municipalities<sup>40</sup>), many projects have been attempted to be implemented in this regard.<sup>41</sup> Urban transformation projects have been initiated to revitalize the historical center, which was transforming towards a depressed area of the city in the early republican period.<sup>42</sup> Through revitalization efforts, the Mevlana Mausoleum, Selimiye Mosque, and the area known as the Bedesten (old bazaar) have become one of the best examples reflecting the mosque-market unity, which is the most important element of the Islamic city model. The urban transformation and renewal efforts carried out in the old settlement area of the city have quickly made an impact, leading to a significant surge in faith and cultural tourism towards Konya. One of the clearest indicators of this is that in 2023, the most visited museum in Turkey was the Mevlana Museum (Anadolu Ajansı, 2023).<sup>43</sup>

Recently, 'sister city' practices, which have become important in strengthening solidarity among different city counterparts, can provide significant data in terms of trends. The fact that all of Konya's twenty-two sister cities, except for Verona/Italy, Henan/China, and Kyoto/Japan, have been shaped by Islamic civilization is significant in this regard. These cities are spread across a wide geography,

<sup>39</sup> During the 1980s, Selçuk University made significant strides, playing a crucial role in the development of the city towards the north with its massive student population of nearly 90,000.

<sup>40</sup> National Vision (Milli Görüş), a political movement and ideological trend that emerged in Turkey in 1960's, was based on Islamic values and aimed to establish a system in political, social, and economic realms grounded in Islamic principles. After success in 1994 local elections, in the domain of municipal governance, National Vision emphasized a governance approach that focuses on the needs of the society, promoting a fair, transparent, and participatory administration. The concept of Fair Order (Adil Düzen) was integral to the philosophy of National Vision. This order sought to reduce income and opportunity disparities in society, enabling everyone to sustain a just livelihood according to their needs. Within this framework, economic policies, social justice, education, and healthcare are targeted to establish an equitable system.

<sup>41</sup> The conservative identity of Konya is reflected in local elections during this process. In previous periods, Konya made its choices based on the political conjuncture. Between 1963 and 1968, the right-wing Justice Party, between 1973 and 1977, the leftist Republican People's Party, and between 1984 and 1994, the centrist parties such as the Motherland Party and the True Path Party won local elections in Konya.

<sup>42</sup> With the establishment of the Republic, the fundamental aim behind the restructuring of urban routes was to liberate cities from their traditional layouts and mosque-centered development. The prolonged neglect of areas such as Süleymaniye and Eyüp Sultan in Istanbul, Hacı Bayram in Ankara, and the Mevlana district in Konya reflects this approach. Instead of traditional mosque-centered settlements, efforts were made to replace them with public squares.

<sup>43</sup> In the physical structure of Konya, the decrease in Islamic city characteristics is primarily evident not in the quantitative presence of mosques but in the qualitative decline in their impact on urban life. According to recent data, out of 89,817 mosques in Türkiye, Konya has 3,255 mosques, being the second one after Istanbul in numbers, yet regarding the population, it becomes first, having more than 3% mosques of the total (Aydınlık, 2023). This indicates that while mosques still remain a significant element in the physical structure of Konya, they are not at the center of social and economic life as they are in traditional Islamic cities.



including the Balkans, Andalusia, Central Asia, South Asia, and the Arab world.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the sister cities of the central districts, which are the largest districts affiliated with Konya municipality, share similar characteristics. Six out of seven sister cities of Meram, all sister cities of Selçuklu, and both sister cities of Karatay are cities shaped by Islamic civilization. Furthermore, in recent years, Konya, which has hosted many events related to Islamic culture and civilization, has been selected as the World Pilot Culture City by the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) and as the Islamic World Tourism Capital for the year 2016 by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Finally, in 2022, Konya hosted the Islamic Solidarity Games, which are considered the most important sports event among Islamic countries.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the recent efforts to revitalize the Islamic city, it cannot be said that renewal-based local initiatives and social activities aimed at the historical city center are compatible with the overall planning approach of the city. This is because the city has experienced significant horizontal and vertical expansion due to excessive population growth and land demands, especially since the 1980s, coinciding with the era of neoliberal policies.

## CONCLUSION:

Islamic belief has preferred an urban lifestyle over the irregularity of rural or nomadic lifestyles. As much as in its spiritual injunctions, social rules have made Islam a city religion. The encouraging practices of Islam towards urban life have quickly led to a significant urbanization trend. This trend has occurred not only in establishing new cities but also in the rearrangement of cities of ancient civilizations, according to Islamic principles. Especially in the conquered lands of Mesopotamia, Iran, Egypt, and Byzantium, ancient cities were preserved and developed by Muslims, resulting in a cultural synthesis. Certain features observed in all Islamic geographical regions, from the Atlantic Ocean to Southeast Asia, regardless of geographical, climatic, and ethnic differences, demonstrate the existence of a common unifying influence. The impact of Islam on shaping the urban environment has thus led to the emergence of the Islamic city type. Standard physical structure that has emerged to facilitate the requirements of religious life, administrative/legal institutions in a similar manner based on Sharia principles, trade culture that enabled the rapid spread of Islam, and economic order institutionalized based on solidarity and cooperation, emphasizing social unity within the framework of 'ummah' rather than individualism, are common features seen in all traditional Islamic cities.

Based on the common characteristics of Islamic cities, the theory of the Islamic city formed the most important element in shaping the traditional city center of Konya. After ancient civilizations, Konya, which began to take shape under the influence of Roman, Hellenic, and Byzantine civilizations, fell under Islamic rule with the 11th century and has remained under Islamic rule ever since. During the Seljuk period, its golden age, Konya, which became one of the most important settlements not only in Anatolia but also in the entire Islamic geography, embodies all the characteristics of an Islamic city with its Islamic structures, advanced economic structure, institutionalized administrative organization system, and social structure based on social solidarity principles in accordance with Islamic principles. After the Seljuks, although it relatively lost its importance during the periods of the Karamanids and the Ottoman Empire, the city maintained its Islamic qualities.

<sup>44</sup> Konya's sister cities are Sylhet (Bangladesh), Cordoba (Andalusia/Spain), Chimkent (Kazakhstan), Kalkandelen (Macedonia), Zanzibar (Tanzania), Aden (Yemen), Mazar-i-Sharif (Afghanistan), Tripoli (Lebanon), Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Hebron (Palestine), Multan (Pakistan), Kulob (Tajikistan), and Balkh (Afghanistan).

<sup>45</sup> Konya hosted the Islamic Solidarity Games from September 9th to 18th, 2022. The event involved approximately 6,000 athletes and sports officials from 57 Islamic countries. The Games featured competitions in various sports disciplines including athletics, swimming, judo, wrestling, weightlifting, football, and basketball. Konya made significant efforts to accommodate athletes and successfully organize the event, thus hosting a major international sports event.

Reform movements that began in the late Ottoman period and reached their peak with the Republic, and arrangements based on the Western world have had significant effects on the transformation of Konya. Capitalist system transformed the city's economic structure, and urban planning activities, seen as a tool for social engineering, changed the silhouette of traditional Konya into a Western city. All traditional administrative and legal institutions were abolished, and institutions and legislation were transferred to shape our city administration according to Western examples. Finally, the new individualism brought about by the understanding of modernity eroded the communal sense formed by the traditional city's ummah understanding, and individualism came to a decisive position in social relations.

In Konya, which has transitioned from an Islamic city to a more Westernized city over time, there have been efforts to revive the long-neglected characteristics of the Islamic city, particularly influenced by the strengthening Islamic political movement in recent years. However, it cannot be claimed that the renewal-based local initiatives and social activities fully align with the city's overall planning approach.

### Compliance with Ethical Standard

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