

PRINCIPALITY OF TEKEOĞULLARI

Dr. Sait KOFOĞLU

İ.T.Ü. Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Bölümü,
kofoglu@itu.edu.tr

Article Info

Article History

Received: 20.02.2019

Accepted: 30.09.2019

Published: 27.12.2019

Keywords:

Yunus Bey

Zincirkıran Mehmed

Korkuteli

Kıbrıs

ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the 14th century, one of the centers in the Mediterranean has been occupied by a reputable statesman, Turcoman Dünder Bey, whom took the advantage of the change of thrown of the neighboring principality, *İlhanlı*. Depending on the declaration of the pilgrims of 721/1321, it was known that *Hamidoğulları*, an independent principality, remained in the region between Antalya and Konya, yet after the Seljukians influence, told by Ebu'l-Feda, one of the localities was in power. Surrounded by well-built walls and having two gates, one from the sea, the other from the land, on his way to see the surroundings, the ruler of Antalya was captured by Hamidoğulları Turcomans (by al-Tarakimin Bani al-Hamid), and Feleküddin Dünder Bey occupied the city.¹ This article examines the Mediterrenean conquer in the 14th century and its influence on the neighboring regions and states.

1 Ebu'l Feda, *Geographie*, trans.from Arabic, Reinaud, De Slane, Paris, 1840, p.378; *Takvim al-Buldan*, pub.Shier, Dresden, 1846, p.210; *Geographie, Traduire de'l Arabe en Francais*, trans. From French Guyard, Paris, 1883, p.133; Kalkaşandi, *Subhu'l-Aşa*, V, Cairo, 1915, p.345-346; Arif, "Anadolu Tarihinden; Hamid Oğulları, TOEM III, Istanbul, 1328, p.942; Ali, "Teke Emareti," TTEM, no:79, Istanbul, 1340, p.79; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler II*, Istanbul, 1929, s.241; "Teke Oğulları," TTAED, no: 1, Istanbul, 1933,p.96; Tekindağ "Teke Oğulları," IA,XII/1, n:128; "Teke-Eli ve Teke-Oğulları," TED, n:7-8, Istanbul, 1977, n.63.

Tekeoğulları Beyliği

Makale Bilgileri	ÖZ
<p>Makale Geçmişi Geliş: 20.02.2019 Kabul: 30.09.2019 Yayın: 27.12.2019</p>	<p>14. yüzyılın başlarında Antalya Akdeniz'deki merkezlerden biri ve komşu devlet olan İlhanlı'nın yıkılmasının avantajından yararlanan saygın bir devlet adamı Türkmen Dünder Bey tarafından ele geçirildi. 721/1321 Hacca gidenlerin beyanlarına bağlı olarak, bağımsız bir beylik olan Hamidoğullarının Antalya ve Konya arasındaki bölgede kaldıkları bilinmekle birlikte Selçuklular'ın nüfuzunun kırılmasından sonra Ebu'l-Feda'nın söylediği gibi yerel beylerden birisi iktidardaydı. İyi inşa edilmiş surlarla çevrili olan biri denizden, diğeri karadan gelen iki kapılı kaleden dışarı çıkan Antalya hükümdarı, Hamidoğulları Türkmenleri tarafından (el-Tarakimin Bani el-Hamid tarafından) ele geçirildi ve Feleküddin Dünder Bey kenti fethetti. Bu makale 14. yüzyılda Akdeniz fethini ve komşu bölgeler ve devletler üzerindeki etkisini inceler.</p>
<p>Anahtar Kelimeler: Yunus Bey Zincirkıran Mehmed Korkuteli Kıbrıs</p>	

The occupation of the Mediterranean coast was an important which derived the power configuration in the region, yet the dates of occupation vary from source to source. While Ali mentioned that it was 1305, when Hamidoğulları became the ruler, it was seen in his article that, he ignored Ebu'l Feda's information gathered depending on the pilgrim declaration.² On the other hand, one of the authorities in early Turkish history, Uzunçarşılı maintains that bearing in mind that the crucial piece *Takvimü'l-Buldan* was written in 1321, Antalya must have been occupied in at least 1319.³ In spite of this, in two

2 Ali, p.79.

3 Uzunçarşılı, "Teke Oğulları," p.96.

articles, Uzunçarşılı gives contradictory dates of occupation as 1301⁴ and after 1301.⁵ It was maintained by Tekindag that, after Dündar Bey occupied Antalya and surrounding, he landed it to his brother Yunus Bey, that played a significant role in establishment of Teke Beyleri. Due to the occupation of Antalya at this period, the family beginning has been admitted either as 708/1308, with the death of Seljukian ruler, Giyasuddin II.Mes'ud, or according to the madrasah manifestation, as 719/1319, when Yunus Bey's son Hizir Bey had been in Istanos. Also, Tekindag refers Dündar Bey's presence in Emir Coban of Karanbuk as 1314, which shows that Antalya could have been occupied after 1314.⁶ With all these uncertain dates, it could be said that, Dündar Bey occupied the city of Antalya, around 716/1316 and 717/1318, with the death of Olcayto Khan, Ebu Said's getting on to the throne of Ilhanlı and Emir Çoban's appointing his son Demirtaş as an Anatolian ruler.

Dündar Bey, relying on the Turkish traditions, handed the city administration to his brother Yunus Bey.⁷ When El-Omeri mentions of Hamiteli, he refers Yunus Bey as the ruler⁸ and Kalkaşandi refers Dündar as the thrown and his brother Yunus as the Antalya Bey.⁹ Ebu'l Feda, relying on Ibn Havkal, mentions that it was Sabit Ibn Al-Hamid who captured Antalya,¹⁰ while Uzunçarşılı says that Sabit could have been Hamidođlu Ilyas or Ilyasoglu Yunus.¹¹ Complementary with this, it is seen that, Yunus Bey's other son, was appointed as Korkuteli *emir* according to the manifestations found in still standing Sinaneddin Madrasah of Korkuteli (719/1319).¹²

4 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara, 1947, p.50.

5 Anadolu Beylikleri, p.62.

6 Tekindađ, "Teke Ođulları," p.129, "Teke-Eli ve...," p.63.

7 Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.241,249; Anadolu Beylikleri, p.62,67; "Teke Ođulları," TTAED, p.96, *Osmanlı Tarihi I*, p.50,52; Tekindađ, "Teke Ođulları," p.

8 El-Ömeri, *Mesalik ü'l-ebzar Fi Memalik ü'l-emsar*, trans. Taeschner, Leipzig, 1929, p.39.

9 Kalkaşandi, p.341.

10 Ebu'l Feda, *Geographie*, p.381; *Takvim al-Buldan*, trans. Schier, p.210.

11 Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.241,249.

12 Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.249.

Uzunçarşılı maintains that he has not seen the mentioned publications in the Madrasah,¹³ which were also mentioned by Erten and Yigitbasi.¹⁴

In a field study to Korkuteli, I photographed the epigraph above the gate of Sinaneddin Madrasah, dating 719/1319. Kalkaşandi mentions that Yunus Bey's son Hızır, ruler of Korkuteli was known as Sinanüddin¹⁵ and benefitting from the declining power, Dündar Bey announced himself as Sultan. According to Yazicioglu Ali, the neighboring provinces of Aydın, Saruhan and Menteşe admitted his sultanate and declared their obedience of levy and sending troops.¹⁶ Even, the establisher of Ottoman State Osman Gazi fighting with neighboring Germiyans, abstained from Dündar Bey and recognized him for some time including to become one of his leviers.¹⁷ This, has to do something with Dündar Bey's power with strong Turcomens, around 9 towns and 15 castles, in addition to 15.000 cavaliers, which were always ready to fight.¹⁸

Dündar Bey, was one of the opponents to Demirtas Noyan, whom declared his independency in 1322 in Anatolia and was also complained to Ilhanlı ruler Ebu Said Khan. Noyan, who was forgiven and sent twice as a ruler to Anatolia by Ebu Said, killed Suleiman Bey and besotted one of the most powerful principalities of Turcomens, Dündar Bey's area of *Eğirdir*. Dündar Bey, understanding he would no more stand the violent attacks, left *Eğirdir* to his brother Yunus Bey and drew away to Antalya. Facing Yunus Bey's death and his son's Mahmud Bey's taking over, Dündar Bey was surrendered to his opponent Noyan by Mahmud Bey. Knocking of Dündar, Noyan

13 Ibid.

14 Erten, *Antalya Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1940, p.82; Yigitbasi, *Eğirdir, Felekabad Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1972, p.49.

15 Kalkaşandi, VIII, p.17.

16 Arif, p.944; Sümer, p.88; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.59,171,242; *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.63; *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p.114.

17 Uzunçarşılı, p.114; Sümer, p.88.

18 El-Ömeri, trans. Taeschner, p.39; Kalkaşandi, p.341; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.241; *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.62; "Hamid Oğulları," IA, p.190.

became the new owner of the area through Antalya, belonged to Hamidoğulları, which in some sources were written as 724/1324,¹⁹ in others such as anonymous Seljukian, as 723/1323.²⁰ Uzunçarşılı maintains that Dünder Bey's death could not be in 724/1324, since Noyan's outbreak and his father Emir Coban's coming to Anatolia happened to take in this year and Dünder Bey's assassination could possibly be following the bordering Esrefoglu's annexation in 1326.²¹ In conclusion, it is possible to say that Noyan has killed Dünder Bey in 1326, following the disruption of Eşrefoğulları. Moreover, as Köseoğlu has mentioned in his article, the public fountain named after Dünder Bey belonging to 724, confirms this. Also, in Uluborlu, in a district, known as Salif Efendi, an epigraph found in a public fountain called Muhiddin Çeşmesi, Dünder Bey's name was referred and this shows that in 724, he was alive and living the golden ages.²²

Noyan, learning his father Emir Çoban's sheltering Gıyasüddin following Ebu Said's order, told Memlukian Sultan Melik Nasır that, he aimed to get under his service and he was able to go to Egypt. Melik Nasır, admitted his arrival and sent a *ferman* to his notables in Syria for their good company. Getting the admission, leaving behind his family in Larende, Noyan departed his town and headed Behisni, with almost 600 cavalymen, and local notables like Ahi Osman, Sahan Shah and son of Yunus, Mahmud (October 18, 1327). Leaving his post to his brother-in-law Emir Eretna, Noyan's accompany, Ahi Osman was his other brother-in-law, Sahan Sah was his cousin and Mahmud was Antalya domain Yunus's son. On January 10, 1328, Noyan arrived at Damascus and stayed there for a while as

19 El-Makrizi, es-Suluk, Highasophia Lib.No:3370, pub. Tekindağ, "Teke Oğulları," IA, p.129; "Teke-Eli...", p.64; Eldem, *Düvel-i İslamiye*, İstanbul, 1927, p.289; Uzunçarşılı, "Emir Çoban Soldoz ve Demirtaş," *Bellekten*, XXXI, Ankara, 1967, p.628, n.124; Nafiz, *Sivas Şehri*, edit. Toparlı, Erzurum, 1992, p.72.

20 Uzluk, *Anadolu Selçukluları Devleti Tarihi III*, Ank.1952, p.67.

21 Uzunçarşılı, "Emir Çoban Soldoz ve Demirtaş," p.628.

22 Köseoğlu, "Uluborlu Kitabeleri," *Ün Mecmuası*, II, no: 13; Isparta 1935, p.176-177.

a guest to Seyfüddin Tengiz; on January 21, 1328, he arrived Egypt and got into the presence of Memlukian ruler Nasır Muhammed.²³

Nasır admitted his presence and up on his will, writing to one of the powerful domains in Anatolia, Karamanoğulları that his family to be sent to Egypt. Receiving it, İbrahim Bey, told that the will has been sent to the family, but was not welcomed by Noyan's sons whom declined. İbrahim Bey thought there was a secret code between Noyan and his sons and referred him as a violent bold man, killing many Muslims and believed this was the reason for his coming to Egypt and he mentioned his thought Nasır. With a manipulative act, İbrahim Bey sent this letter to Nasır, by Noyan's assassin Dündar Bey's son İshak Bey, since İshak also wanted to take revenge. Confronting this dilemma, Nasır brought a face to face discussion with İshak and Noyan, which in the end, came to a cruel point. Nasır sent a responding letter to İbrahim via İshak and he believed Noyan was not in good-intent.²⁴

In this respect, Noyan's bestowing gifts to Egyptian local notables was not ignored by Nasır, which was making him uncomfortable. Moreover, when Noyan was regarded as "Liable to be the Egyptian Sultan," Nasır prisoned him on June 19, 1328 in Buscü's-Siba Tower in Cairo, as well as his company, Ahi Osman and Mahmud Bey. Meanwhile, a delegation of three, sent by İlhanlı ruler Ebu Said, has arrived at Cairo in July 1328 and wanted Noyan to be given to them. But, fearing Noyan would not get away with this and would take revenge in the end and attack Egypt, Nasır told that he would only hand his dead body. Following this, Noyan was executed at a place called Karafe in the tower in August 1328.²⁵

23 Arif, Ibid, p.944; Ali, p.79; Eldem, p.289; Nafiz, p.73; Spuler, p.141; Uzunçarşılı, "Emir Çoban Soldoz ve Demirtaş," p.632-633; Fleming, p.75; Sümer, p.88; Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1984, p.648-649, *İstanbul'un Fethinden Önce Yazılmış Tarihi Takvimler*, Ankara, 1954,p.71.

24 Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.243; Anadolu Beylikleri, p.64; "Emir Çoban...,"p.635-637; Tekindağ, "Teke-Eli...,"p.64; Fleming, p.75, Sümer, p.91; Turan, p.646-650.

25 Uzunçarşılı, "Emir Çoban Soldoz ve Demirtaş," p.637-640; Tekindağ, Karaman Beyliği, p.44; Sümer, Ibid,p.91; Turan, p.650; el-Ömeri, p.51, Spular, p.141; Flemin,

According to some sources, Dündar Bey's son Hizir Bey, who has hidden during his father's assassination, appeared in this period and took over the region except Antalya and brought Hamidoğulları live.²⁶ Also, benefitting from Noyan's absence, he took over Beyşehir, Akşehir and Seydişehir and took the title Sultan, like his father.²⁷ While Uzunçarşılı maintains that Hızır Bey was possibly Dündar Bey's the eldest son of three and died around 1330,²⁸ researching the successors, Erdem mentions that Hizir Bey, was, in fact, Dündar Bey's brother Yunus Bey's son, not Dündar Bey's son. According to Erdem, another son of Dündar Bey, Ishak , whom has occupied Antalya region and went to Egypt to face Noyan, returned to Antalya and gained all his father's territory. He confirms that a notable Ibn Batuta visited Antalya and Eğirdir in 1333, when Ishak Bey was in power and Yunus Bey's son Hizir Bey was in power in Antalya.²⁹ Uzunçarşılı refers in his Ottoman History that, there were two Hizir Beys, one Dündar Bey's son, the other Antalya ruler's Yunus Bey's son and maintains that following Noyan's flee to Egypt, Dündar's son Hizir came to get power, yet it could also be the Antalya ruler Yunus' son.³⁰

Yet, Hizir Bey, whom has hidden during his father's assassination and appeared after Noyan's escape to Egypt, was not Dündar Bey's son. Valuable researcher Coşan found in an old Turkish script in Ankara Public Library and in Istanbul University Library that it was not Dündar Bey's son, but his grandson and son of Ishak Bey, which was possible bearing in mind the both personality types, father being Hadji and son being fair and virtuous.³¹ Despite Coşan's findings were taken in suspicion, there has been some consistency

p.75; Cahen, *Osmanlılar'dan Önce Anadolu'da Türkler*, trans. Yıldız Moran, Istanbul 1984, p.295.

26 Arif, p.944; Eldem, p.289; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.243; Osmanlı Tarihi, p.50.

27 Arif, p.944-945; Edhem, "Anadolu'da İslami Kitabeler," *TOEM V*, no:25-30, Istanbul1330, p.145.

28 Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.63.

29 Erdem, "Hamidoğulları, Feleküddin Dündar'ın Halefleri," *Ün Mecmuası*, n.49, Isparta, 1938, p.702.

30 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p.50.

31 Coşan, p.105.

among researchers. It was accepted by Arif, Ali, Edhem and Uzunçarşılı that Dündar Bey was assassinated by Noyan and Hızır Bey became the new ruler of Hamidoğulları, but the biggest mistake is that their mistaking of Hızır Bey, either as a son of Dündar Bey or son of Antalya domain Yunus Bey. While Noyan, after appointed as Anatolian domain twice, followed Dündar Bey, his son Ishak Bey was in Egypt.³² Noyan, did not harm Dündar Bey's grandon Hizir since he was too young, but because he complained to Ilhanlı ruler Ebu Said, he followed him till Antalya and killed him in 1326. Since then, it was possible that old territories of Eğirdir and Hamideli became young Hizir Bey's domain with the permission of Noyan, whom also led Yunus Bey's son Mahmud Bey become ruler of Antalya. But, when Ishak Bey went to Egypt for revenge, witnessed Noyan's execution and returned to Eğirdir in 1328, his son Hizir Bey's temporary ruling came to a halt. That is why, in some researches, following Dündar Bey, the name Hizir Bey, was not seen frequently, when it disappeared all of a sudden.³³

In spite of this, Turan maintains that it was not certain whether Ishak was sent to Egypt and encountered a confrontation with Noyan and Ishak was told to establish his father's domain following Noyan's death.³⁴ Moreover, it is known that Ishak Bey, was not Yunus's son, but Dündar Bey's and it could be derived that Turan must have made this mistake when el-Makrizi referred Ishak as domain of Antalya.³⁵ Yet, Uzunçarşılı made the same mistake, ignoring the fact that when Noyan assassinated Dündar, Mahmud was in power.³⁶ Today, it is known that when Noyan and Mahmud fled to Egypt, and when Noyan was executed in an Egyptian tower in

32 Ibn Batuta, *Seyahatname*, trans. M.Şerif, p.315; Arif, p.945; Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1945, p.93; Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.64.

33 Coşan, p.110.

34 Turan, p.649-650.

35 Tekindağ, "Teke-Eli ve Tekeoğulları," p.64.

36 Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.243.

August 1328, Yunus's the other son, Mahmud's brother Calis Hizir Bey was in power in Antalya.³⁷

El-Ömeri, depending on one of the leading figures of the period who left Anatolia in 1332, Doria, confirms that Hizir Yunus was in power and he accompanied 12 cities, 25 towers as well as 8000 cavalymen.³⁸ Contradictory to this, in El-Ömeri's piece, depending on *Sheikh* Haydar that had left Anatolia in 1333, Hizir DüNDAR was in power and had a power about 40.000 soldiers³⁹ and the same information exists in Kalkaşandi's piece.⁴⁰ In et-Tarif, el-Ömeri's source, Hizir Bey was referred as the Turcomen Beys were, by using the terms "el-Meclisü's-Sami,"⁴¹ and in Kalkaşandi's source Hizir was called as "Sinanüddin."⁴²

While it is said by Kalkaşandi that following Hizir Bey, Dadi Bey became the new ruler,⁴³ which was also confirmed by Uzunçarşılı and Fleming,⁴⁴ Ali mentions that Hizir Bey's brother Mahmud became the new ruler, without giving the source of this information.⁴⁵ Uzunçarşılı, in some of his articles, mentions that it is not known for sure that, Mahmud Bey came to power whether after or before Dadi Bey and says that before 1373, Mahmud Bey's son, known with his nickname "Little" Mehmed Bey was in power in Antalya and it should be possible that his son would be the next ruler after his father.⁴⁶ Today, it is undeniable that after Dadi Bey, including the region

37 Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.67; "Teke Oğulları," *TTAED*, p.97; Fleming, p.76; Tekindağ, p.64; Tekindağ, "Teke Oğulları," *IA*, p.129.

38 El-Ömeri, p.48; Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği*, trans. O.Ş.Gökay, Ank.,1944, p..68; Fleming, p.81; Tekindağ, "Teke-Eli ve Teke-Oğulları," p.64-65.

39 El-Ömeri, p.21; Wittek, p.53,67; Fleming, p.81; Tekindağ, p.65.

40 Kalkaşandi, V, p.346.

41 El-Ömeri, *Et-Tar'if Bi'l-Mustalah el-şerif*, Highasophia Lib.Nr.3160, Tekindağ, p.65.

42 Kalkaşandi, VIII, p.17; Fleming, p.82.

43 Kalkaşandi, p.17; Tekindağ, p.82.

44 *Icabetü's-sail ila Marifet er-Risail*, Paris National Lib.Catalog, nr.4437, by Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.68, "Hamid Oğulları," *IA*, p.191; Fleming, p.82.

45 Ali, p.80

46 Uzunçarşılı, "Teke Oğulları," p.97, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.68.

Isthanoz and Antalya, Mahmud Bey's son "Little" Emir Mehmed became the next ruler.⁴⁷

On the other hand, Cyprus King Pierre I de Lusignan prepared his 114 piece navy for war and gathered them in 1361, July 12, in Famagusta. The Genevians in Cyprus joined the arm with their two galleys and Rhosessian knights joined under the command of Admiral Jean Forbin, in addition to Papa Innocent VI's niece. Before Pierre I headed towards Antalya, Antalya *emir* Mehmed Bey has sent envoys to Pierre, whom has declined the motion of peace. Reaching Antalya on August 23, Pierre sent his brother Jean of Antiocha to Alanya ruler, whereas he, himself, occupied the city Antalya on a special day of St. Bartelemous Day.⁴⁸ The Epigraph heralding Antalya's annexation by Pierre I was found in Antalya Tower and was removed to Museum of Antalya and was published by Erten. It was written that, with the help the God, the powerful Cyprus and Jerusalem King Pierre, occupied the city Satalie in St. Bartholemous Day, on the night of August 24, 1361.⁴⁹ Referring Macharias, Tekindağ and Fleming maintains that when Pierre arrived Antalya, Mehmed Bey, known as *Signor della Terra*, Tacca *emir*, was not present in the city, but in Stenon.⁵⁰

47 Kalkaşandi, VIII,p.17; Uzunçarşılı, p.68, "Hamid Oğulları," p.191, Tekindağ, p.129; "Teke-Eli ve Teke-Oğulları, p.65; Merçil, *Müslüman Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, Ank.,1991, p.299.

48 Erten, *Antalya Livası Tarihi*, Istanbul,1338-1340/1919-1922, p.61-62; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.250; Erten, *Antalya Tarihi*, p.84; Tekindağ, *Karaman Beyliği*, p.52-53; Hill, *A History of Cyprus II*, Cambridge, 1948, p.321; Tekindağ, "Karamanlıların Gorigas Seferi," *TD*, VI, no:9, Istanbul.,1954, p.165-166, "Teke-Oğulları," *IA*, p.130; Fleming, p.84; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, NY, 1965, p.325-326; Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*, Ank.,1958, p.118, Newman, *A Short History of Cyprus*, London, 1940, p.104; Turan, "Ortaçağlarda Türkiye Kıbrıs Münasebetleri," *Bellekten*, XXVIII, no:10, Ank.,1964,p.222.

49 Erten, p.62; Tekindağ, p.54; Riefstahl, *Cenubi Garbi Anadolu'da Türk Mimarisi*, trans. Berktin, Istanbul,1941, p.42.

50 Machaeras, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled Chronicle*, ed.&trans.Dawkins, vol. 2, Oxford, 1932, by Fleming, *Ibid*, p.85; Tekindağ, p.130; Hill, *Ibid*, p.321-322; St.Atiya, p.326-327.

Arriving the rich Antalya, Cypriots plundered the area and killed a number of people, as told by, Machaut, who wrote a remarkable source about the massacres, the fire and the plunder.⁵¹ On the other hand, Pierre's brother, Jean from Antiochia, whom was assigned to conquer Alaiye, was defeated by the help of Alaeddin Ali of Karamanoğulları. Yet, when Antalya's annexation was found out, Aliye *emir* Hüsamüddin Mahmud Bey and Manavgat *emir*, preferred to make peace and levy as well as recognized the new rulers of Cyprus. Following this, Pierre went to Alaiye, accepted Mahmud Bey's obedience and returned to Famagusta, where, on the other hand, he left military force in Antalya, under the command of Jacques de Nores.⁵²

The news of the success of Cypriot King and Christian navy created joy in Europe, but soon, it was altered by a new improvement, when, Antalya *emir* Mehmed Bey, Aliye *emir* Mahmud Bey and Eğirdir *emir* Elias Bey took the move to save Antalya, with the help of reputable knights of Rhodes and forced the enemy to uphold a hard fight. In spite of the Turkish defeat, Mehmed Bey allying with Ali Bey of Karamanoğulları, initiated a blockage on Antalya, banning the food entrance and with 45.000 troops and 8 galleys hold a powerful fight with Jacques de Nores. Heralding this strong fight, soon, in a few months, on October 24, Pierre went to Europe and asked help. Meanwhile, Mehmed Bey benefited from his absence and hold a campaign over Cyprus⁵³ and with the help of navy of the region, namely Alaiye, holding 12 navy, Mehmed Reis, took the control of the north west of the island, Pentaglia and conquered and plundered Kyrenia. On his return to Antalya, the future Cypriot King Francis Spinola, followed him and waged a sea

51 Machaut, *La Prie d'Alexandrie ou Chronique du roi Pierre I er de Lusignan*, edit. Latrie, Geneve 1877, p.20, Tekindağ, "Karamanlıların Gorigos Seferi," p.166, "Teke-Eli...", p.66; Hill, p.322; Atiya, p.326-327; Turan, *Resmi Vesikalar*, p.118.

52 Newman, p.140; Atiya, p. 327; Fleming, p.85; Turan, "Türkiye Kıbrıs Münasebetleri," p.222-223.

53 Atiya, p.328; Newman, p.140-141; Hill, p.322; Tekindağ, "Karaman Beyliği," p.54, "Karamanlıların Gorigos Seferi," p.167, Turan, "Türkiye Kıbrıs Meseleleri," p.223.

fight, where he, himself drowned and Mehmed Reis took the shelter in Tripoli of Syria. The fight has been altered, when the Memlukian *emir* of the city, did not intend to fight against Turks, and the Cypriot navy, this time, headed Anatolian coasts and hold Anamur Tower, where, they took refuge of Turks and hold some unsuccessful campaigns in the region.⁵⁴

Confronting Cypriot attack, first in Alexandria, then Syrian coast and Alaiye, Memlukian Sultan Shaban II and Egyptian *Emir* el-Nasiri started to get prepared for a sea fight and sent entourage to Anatolian *emirs* to encourage them to fight at the same side. This included Karamanoğlu Ali, Alaiye emr Mahmud, Hamidoğlu Ilyas, Mehmed Bey of Korkuteli, Aydınoğlu Isa, Menteşeoğlu *Emir* Musa, and his brother of Feniche, *Emir* Kirman, and Saruhanoğlu Ishak Bey. They were told that they should ally against the Christians, the commercial relations should be on hold, and they should start preparing a strong navy and all the expenses would be covered by the Memlukian Sultan, who also, allowed the use of the pierres of his own Kingdom for commercial relations.⁵⁵ In this sense, according to Macharias, Mehmed Bey and Pierre gathered together and Mehmed Bey, as mentioned, took loyalty oath to Pierre.⁵⁶ In spite of this peace initiatives, Pierre attacked the Syrian and Kilikian coasts in September 1367, whereas, the Memlukian Sultan Shaban, conquered Tarsus and started to Turkify the Kilikian region. Pierre, on the other hand, in October 1367, went to Europe twice and tried to start a second campaign. Disagreeing this, Cypriot rulers and commanders assassinated Pierre on October 17, 1369 and brought his son, Pierre II to power (1369-1382).⁵⁷ Following the ruler's death, Cyprus became in disorder and Antalya faced with Turkish threat. Benefiting

54 Atiya, p.329; Newman, p.141; Hill, pg.323-324; Fleming, p.86; Turan, p.223-224; Bedevi, *Kıbrıs Tarihi*, Lefkoşa, 1966, p.80.

55 Kalkaşandi, p.16-19; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.172-175; *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.64,73,75,87; Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği*, p.72-73; Hill, p.339-343; Tekindağ, *Karaman Beyliği*, p.55; "Karamanlıların Gorigos Seferi," p.167-168; Fleming, p.87; Akın, *Ayinoğulları Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma*, Ankara, 1968, p.57.

56 Fleming, p.88; Hill, p.351.

57 Fleming, p.88; Hill, p.352; 360-361, 370; Turan, p.224-225.

this absence of power, Mehmed Bey got very close to conquer Antalya with allied powers from Manavgat and Alaiye emirs, but failed. Meanwhile, on October 1372, during inauguration ceremony of Pierre II, the uprising in Famagusta fired a war between Cyprus and Genova. Genevians' presence in Mediterranean scared the Cypriots, and while they were thinking to give Antalya back to Turks, Mehmed Bey and his allies from Karamanoğlu had already started an attack from land and sea and took Antalya tower as well as the city, itself, on May, 1373.⁵⁸ The first thing he did was renovating the mosque-turned church as Yivli Mosque, which has been recently opened to visitors. The epigraph above the mosque door still is present and tells Mehmed Bey's reconquerer of Antalya and was first been published by Erten in 1920.⁵⁹ The epigraph says "With the help of God, the city Antalya was reconquered by us. This Holly mosque was built to show our respect to the Sultan of the coasts son of Mahmud, Muhammed Bey. May his rule be long."

Mehmed Bey, referred as Muhammed in the epigraph, was also, known as "the Chainbroker," since he broke the chain of the city attached by Cypriots, merging city towers. Although his year of death is unknown, it is possible that he was buried in a tomb of his son, that had died before him and the tomb is known as "the Tomb of the Chainbroker," in Antalya.⁶⁰ The epigraph on the Tomb says: "Nothing is eternal, but God's existence. This honored tomb was built up to the order of the Great Emir, Yunusoğlu Mahmudoğlu Muhammed. May his property be long lived."

58 Erten, *Antalya Livası Tarihi*, p.62; Ali, p.80; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.250; Anadolu Beylikleri, p.65; Fleming, p.89; Hill, p.376-377, 380-383, 388-389; Tekindağ "Teke-Eli...", p.67; Merçil, p.299.

59 Erten, *Antalya Livası Tarihi*, p.89; Refik, "Fatih Zamanında Teke-Eli," *TTEM*, no:79, Istanbul, 1340, p.336; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.250; *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.68; Riefstahl, p.38, 69; Fleming, p.90; Erten, *Antalya Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1940, p.61.

60 Tevhid, p.337; Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, p.250; *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.68; Erten, *Antalya Tarihi II*, p.61; Riefstahl, p.37, 68; Fleming, p.90; Tekindağ "Teke-Eli...", p.68.

Following Mehmed Bey's death, the region did not lose its importance, yet the Ottomans became the new interest owners. In Ottoman sources, it is mentioned that with the circumcision ceremony of the sons of Ottoman Sultan Murad I, Yıldırım and Yakup Çelebi, held in Bursa, the relations with the neighbors got a pace when, Egyptian Sultan and Byzantium Emperor, as well as the rulers of the mid-west Anatolia, such as, Aydın, Karaman, Germiyan, Saruhan, Isfendiyar were invited, and sent precious gifts to the Ottoman Sultan.⁶¹⁶² During the ceremony in Bursa, that took a month, the Ottoman Sultan Yıldırım was known to encourage maintaining help for the upcoming campaign.⁶³ However, there is an uncertainty about the attendees to the campaign. In the epigraph Fetihname, that tells about the Ottoman victories in Balkans, we are told that Candaroğulları, Hamidoğulları, Menteşe, Tacca and Germiyanogulları, the principalities of the mid-west Anatolia, attended the campaign over South Anatolia, whereas, Neşri and Sa'deddin refers about Saruhan and Aydınoğulları did the same.⁶⁴ Yet, in the history of Oruç Bey, Yıldırım's campaign was defined a little different than the known. There, it is said, Yıldırım first took over the mid-south Anatolian principalities, such as, Alaşehir, Beyşehir and Konya and declared peace with Karamanoğlu and afterwards, he followed to Saruhan and Tacca.⁶⁵ Whereas, the Byzantium historian, Dukas

61 Babinger, *Die Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, Hannover, 1952, p.23; Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihannüma*, pub. Unat-Köymen, Ankara, 1949, p.202-203; Hadidi, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, pub.Necdet Öztürk, Istanbul,1991, p.91-93; *Anonymous Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, pub. Giese, *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, Breslau, 1922, p.24; von Hammer, *Geschichted des Osmanischen Reiches*, Peşte, 1827, trans. Mehmed Ata; *Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1911, p.217; Aşıkı, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, pub. Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri I*, Istanbul, 1947, p.129.

62 Babinger, p.23; Atsız, *Oruç Bey Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1972, p.44; Aşık Paşazade Tarihi, Istanbul, 1332, p.56-57; Atsız, *Aşıkpaşaoğlu*, p.129-130; Neşri, p.204-209; Hadidi, p.93-97; Hoca Sa'deddin, *Tacü't-Tevarih I*, Istanbul, 1863, p.95-97; Münceccimbaşı Ahmed b.Lütf Allah, *Camü'd-Düvel II*, NuruOsmaniye Lib.No:3171; Hammer, trans.Ata, p.225; *Anonymous Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, pub.Gieze, p.24; Arif, p.946; Varlık, p.57-61.

63 Neşri, p.240-241.

64 Feridun Bey, *Mecmua-i Münşeatü's-Selatin I*, Istanbul, 1264-1265, p.113.

65 Babinger, p.26; Atsız, *Oruç Bey...*, p.49.

maintains that, Yıldırım's this campaign was intended to be against the Pamphillian Turks living in Perge,⁶⁶ Uzunçarşılı maintains that, besides the localities, Ottoman fought against his allies, when Karamanoğlu took over the Ottoman belongings in Beyşehir and plundered the area, and Yıldırım came to the region, where he assigned Hamidoğlu İsa Bey as the ruler in Beyşehir and Firuz Bey in Antalya.⁶⁷ Yinanç says that Yıldırım was accompanied by Byzantine Emperor's son, Manuel in these campaigns over Antalya, which was ruled by Mehmed Bey's son, Osman Chelebi.⁶⁸

Antalya, during Osman Chelebi reign was not remarkable and even, Yıldırım's father Murat I, did not dare to conquer the city, bearing in mind that Osman Chelebi was a poor ruler, holding only Antalya and İsthanoz.⁶⁹ Also, in Ottoman sources, such as Ahmedî's, it is maintained that even Yıldırım, during his campaign in the region, in 1390, came to the Antalya border, but did not annex it.⁷⁰ Şükrullah says Yıldırım took over Konya and Larende and headed towards the north, to Amasya, Canik, Tokat, Sivas and Samsun and following, he returned to south and took over not only Antalya, but the whole south region.⁷¹ Supporting this, Mehmed Pasha from Karaman, maintains the same that Yıldırım came to south following the mid-east Anatolia.⁷² Meanwhile, from Aşık Paşazade, Oruç Bey and Neşri,

66 Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi*, trans. Mırmıroğlu, İstanbul, 1956, p.28; Charanis, "The Strife Among the Paleologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402," *Byzantion*, XVI, 1942-1943, p.304-305; Ostrogorsky, *Bizans Devleti Tarihi*, trans. İşıltan, Ankara, 1981, p.104.

67 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p.265.

68 Yinanç, "Bayezid I," *IA* II, p.370.

69 Neşri, p.234-235; Wittek, p.76; Tekindağ, "Teke Oğulları," *IA*, p.131; "Teke-Eli ve...", p.68.

70 Ahmedî, *Dasitan-i Tevarih-i Mülük-ı Al-i Osman*, pub. Banarlı, p.130; Ahmedî, *Dastan ve Tevarih-i Mülük-ı Al-i Osman*, pub. Atsız, p.21,27; Fleming, p.103; Tekindağ "Teke-Eli...", p.69.

71 Şükrullah, *Behçetüt Tevarih*, pub. Atsız, İstanbul, 1956, p.56; Şükrullah, *Dokuz Boy Türkler ve Osmanlı Sultanlar Tarihi*, pub. Atsız, İstanbul, 1939, p.32; Wittek, p.78; Fleming, p.103,107.

72 Karamani Mehmed Paşa, *Tevarihü's-Selatini'l Osmaniye*, trans. Halil, "Milli Tarihimize Dair Eski bir Vesika," *TTEM*, XIV, no:2, İstanbul 1924, p.92, Karamani

we are told that Yıldırım came to Karaman from Tacca region,⁷³ from Hoca Sa'deddin we are told that Yıldırım started his campaign Bursa in 1391 and following his taking over the region Firuz Bey was assigned.⁷⁴ Gibbons tells that Yıldırım's taking Antalya was the first Ottoman conquer that took place in the Mediterranean,⁷⁵ while Refik tells that his son, Isa Chelebi was assigned rather than Firuz Bey, whom was appointed as the commander in the region.⁷⁶ Uzunçarşılı and Yinanç says that Yıldırım took over Antalya in 1392 and terminated Hamidoğulları rule there.⁷⁷⁷⁸

Besides the line of annexation, the years of conquer are not clear. Fleming maintains that the Antalya campaign of Yıldırım took place in the era when the relations with the Memlukians of Egypt were broken and the second campaign must have taken place around 1397 and 1399.⁷⁹ He also refers that during the campaign, Antalya ruler has changed from Osman Chelebi to his son, Mustafa Bey and he has run away and took the shelter to Memlukian Sultan Ferec in March 1400.⁸⁰ In conclusion, it is certain that after Yıldırım took over Antalya, he assigned his son Isa Chelebi as the ruler and his other son, Mustafa Chelebi as the commander, which could be derived from the fact that during the Ankara War of 1402, Mustafa was the commander.⁸¹

Mehmed Paşa, *Osmanlı Sultanları Tarihi*, trans. Konyalı, Istanbul, 1949, p.348; Fleming, p.103,107.

73 Aşık Paşazade, p.71-72; Aşıkpaşaoğlu, pub.Atsiz, p.139; Babinger, p.26; Neşri, p.314-315; Anonymous Tevarih-i Al-i Osman, pub.Giese, p.34.

74 Hoca Sa'deddin, p.128-129; Ali, "Teke Emareti," p.81.

75 Gibbons, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*, trans. Ragıp Hulusi, Istanbul, 1928, p.164-165.

76 Refik, "Fatih Zamanında Teke-İli," *TTEM*, p.67; Uzunçarşılı "Teke Oğulları," *TTAED*, p.97-98; *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.78.

77 Uzunçarşılı, "Hamid Oğulları," *IA*, p.191.

78 Yinanç, p.371; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p.265; Tekindağ, "Teke-Oğulları," *IA*, p.131; "Teke-Eli...", *TED*, p.69; Merçil, p.299.

79 Fleming, p.106.

80 Fleming, p.106-107, Yinanç, p.379.

81 Babinger, p.34; *Oruç Bey Tarihi*, pub.Atsiz, p.59; Aşık paşazade, p.78; Aşıkpaşaoğlu, pub.Atsiz, p.144; Neşri, p.350-351; Hoca Sa'deddin, p.169; Refik, p.67; Wittek, p.85; Fleming, p.107; Tekindağ, "Teke-Eli...", p.69.

In 1402-1415, the south Mediterranean line, besides Antalya and Alaiye was ruled by Karamanođlu Mehmed Bey, who allowed the former ruler of Antalya, Osman Chelebi to stay in Isthanoz.⁸² During this period, Yıldırım died in Ankara War fought against Timur forces of Mongolians and it took a while for the Ottomans to gain power. In this era, Isa Chelebi started to prepare a campaign against his brother Chelebi Mehmed and asked for help from Smryna region rulers.⁸³ However, this did not happen, due to Chelebi Mehmed's death and his son Murad II (1421-1451) came to the reign, who had to deal with the uprisings in the region. Benefiting from these uprisings, Karamanođlu Mehmed Bey allied with Osman Chelebi, living in Isthanoz and tried to gather forces against Murad over Antalya. Yet, it was the same time when the commander Firuz Bey died and his son Hamza Bey, a fierce fighter, took the command and yielded hardships for Osman and Mehmed Beys. In a rigorous fight between Hamza Bey and Osman Chelebi, the second one died and finding out this Mehmed Bey surrounded the city with 26.000 troops, which according to some sources took around three to six months and ended with an accidental death of Mehmed Bey. His sons Ibrahim Bey and Alaeddin Bey surrendered to Hamza Bey, who presented his loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan and became the new ruler of Tacca, in return. This was the end of Hamidoğulları and beginning of a new era with the Ottoman rule as mentioned by Fleming and Tekindağ.⁸⁴⁸⁵

Antalya, during Hamidoğulları period, was mentioned to be the center of commercial relations, particularly timber trade

82 Refik, p.72; Turan, *Tarihi Takvimler*, p.36,50; Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihine Ait Takvimler*, Istanbul, 1961, p.24.

83 Neşri, pub.Unat-Köymen, p.448-449; Hoca Sa'deddin, p.232-233; Hammer, p.96; Fleming, p.115; Akın, p.79-80.

84 Aşık Paşazade, p.111; Aşıkpaşaođlu, pub.Atsız, p.106; neşri, p.590-591; Hoca Sa'dddin, p.327-331; Hadidi, p.176; *Anonymous Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, p.60-62; Hammer, p.182; Refik, p.67; Ali, "Teke Emareti,"p.83-84; Edhem, *Düvel-i Islamiye*, p.286; Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.69; "Hamidoğulları,"p.191; Fleming, p.119-121; Tekindağ, *Karaman Beyliđi*, p.88-89; "Karamanlılar,"p.324-325; "Teke-Eli...,"p.70; Merçil, p.299.

85 Fleming, p.123; Tekindağ, "Teke-Oğulları,"p.132; "Teke-Eli...,"p.70.

obtained from the rich area of Isparta, that is transported through Antalya. Heyd maintains in the second half of the 14th century, Antalya has been the commercial centre between Egypt and Anatolia, where transportations of precious assets, like spice, sugar and linen took place by Muslum and Jewish traders, including Venetians and Genovians, in spite of the banning for by Pope Clemens V in 1308.⁸⁶ The trading materials included valuable pieces of Chalons, Narbonne, Perpignon and Lombardine fabrics in certain colors, and there, they were traded for the assets coming from India, Egypt and Yemen, as well as France and England. They paid two percent customs for every material, which was mentioned to be not excessive during Hamidođlu reign.⁸⁷ Coming with a Genovian ship *Martholomyn* from Lazkiye to Alaiye, Ibn Batuta tells the city Antalia was pretty much planned and in order, where, Christians, Greeks, Jews and Muslims lived in separate quarters, with plenty of natural sources of spring and trees prevailed with the fruits exported to Egypt.⁸⁸ Ebu'l Feda, tells that the citrus fruits were raised and Turcomen carpets were well-known and exported to neighboring cities, whereas El-Ömeri says in the Mediterranean region, citrus, wheat and oast were raised in addition to stockbreeding, which were cheaper than the neighbors and⁸⁹ Florence currency florin was used according to Genevian Domenchio Doria.⁹⁰

86 Heyd, *Yakınođu Ticaret Tarihi*, trans. Enver Ziya Karal, Ankara, 1975, p.612; Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, p.249,253; "Hamid Ođulları," p.191; Erten, *Antalya Tarihi*, p.96; Atan, *Başlangıçtan Osmanlı Devleti'ne Kadar Türk Gümrük Tarihi I*, , Ankara, 1990, p.101.

87Heyd, p.610-613, Turan, Resmi Vesikalar, p.125; Fleming, p.83; Planhol, p.92-93; Delilbaşı, "Ortaçađ'da Türk Hükümdarları Tarafından Batılılara Ahidnamelerle Verilen İmtiyazlara Genel bir Bakış," Belleten, XLVII, no: 185, Ankara, 1984,p.98-101.

88 Ibn Batuta, trans. Şerif, p.311-312; Heyd, p.312; Fleming, p.77; Planhol, p.91-92.

89 Ebu'l Feda, *Geographie*, trans. Slane, p.379-381; Planhol, p.92.

90 Taeschner, p.19-20; Turan, p.130-131.

REFERENCES

- A. Refik, "Fatih zamanında Teke-Eli" *TTEM*, sene 14, Sayı:79, İst. 1340.
- Ahmed Tevhid, "Antalya Kitabelerine Dâir" *TTEM*, sene 14, Sayı:83, İst.1340 s.336.
- Âli, "Teke Emareti" *TTEM*. Sayı:79, İst. 1340.
- Anonim Tevârih-i Âli Osman nşr. Fr.Giese, *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, Breslau 1922.
- Anonim Tevârih-i Âli Osman*, Fr.Gieze, nşr.
- Aşık Paşazade Tarihi*, İst.1332.
- Âşıkpaşaođlu Ahmet Aşıkı, *Tevârih-i Âli Osman*, Düz.N.Atsız, Osmanlı Tarihleri I, İst.1947.
- Aziz S.Atiya, *The Crusade in Later Middle Ages*, New York 1965.
- B.Fleming, "Türkler-Anadolu Beylikleri" *IA*, XII/II.
- Barbara Fleming, *Landschaftsges chichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spatmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964.
- Claude Cahen, *Osmanlılar'dan Önce Anadolu'da Türkler*, Trk.çev., Yıldız Moran, İst. 1984.
- Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi*, trans.V.Mırmırođlu, İst.1956.
- Ebû'l-Feda, *Geographie*, Arapça nşr., M.Reinaud/De Slane, Paris 1840.
- Ebû'l-Feda, *Geographie, Trauduire de'l Arabe en Francais*, Frz. Trans.,M.Stanislas Guyard, II, Paris 1883, s.133.
- Ebû'l-Feda, *Takvim al-Buldan*, nşr Ch. Schier, Dresden 1846.
- el-Makrîzi, es-Sulûk,. Highasophia Lib N.3370, II, s.47 a'dan nakl. Ş.Tekindađ, "Teke Ođulları" *ÍA*, s.129.
- el-Ömerî, *Et-Ta'rif bi'l-Mustallâh el-Şerîf*,. Highasophia Lib.N.3160, Var.27 b.
- el-Ömerî, *Et-Târif bi'l-Mustalâh el-şerîf*, Highasophia Lib.N.3160, Var.27 b'den nakl., Ş.Tekindađ, "Teke-Eli ve Teke-Ođulları"
- El-Ömerî, *Mesâlik ü'l-ebşâr Fi Memâlik ü'l-emsâr*, nşr;Franz Taeschner, Leipzig 1929.
- Erdođan Merçil, *Müslüman Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, Ank.1991.
- Faruk Sümer, "Anadolu'da Mođollar" *SAD*, I, Ank. 1970.
- Feridun Beđ, *Mecmuâ-i Münşeâtü's Selâtin I*, İst. 1264-1265.
- Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Anadolu Selçukluları Devleti Tarihi III*, Ank. 1952.

- G.de Machaut, *La price d'Alexandrie ou Chronique du roi Pierre I er de Lusignan*, Edit. L.de Mas Latrie, Geneve 1877, s.20.
- George Hill, *A History of Cyprus II*, Cambridge 1948.
- George Ostrogorsky, *Bizans Devleti Tarihi*, Trk.çev. Fikret Işıltan, Ank.1981.
- H. Edhem, "Anadolu'da İslâmi Kitabeler", *TOEM V*, Cüz:25-30; İst.1330, s.145.
- Hâdîdî, *Tevârih-i Al-i Osman*, Pub.Necdet Öztürk., İst. 1991.
- Halil Edhem (Eldem), *Düvel-i İslâmiye*, İst.1927.
- Herbert A.Gibbons, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*, trans.Ragıp Hülisi, İst.1928.
- Himmet Akın, *Aydın Oğulları Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma*, Ank. 1968, s.57.
- Hoca Sa'deddin, *Tâcû't- Tevarih*. I, İst. 1863.
- İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, "Emir Çoban Soldoz ve Demirtaş" *Bellekten*, XXXI, Ank. 1967, s.628, sayı 124.
- İ.H. Uzunçarşılı "Hamit Oğulları" *İA*, V/1, s,190.
- İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, "Teke Oğulları" *TTAED*. Sayı:1, İst.1933, s.96.
- İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, Ankara 1937.
- İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler II*, İst. 1929.
- İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi I*, Ank. 1947.
- İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, İst.1945.
- İ. Hakkı-Rıdvan Nafiz, *Sivas Şehri*, Yay. Pub. R.Toparlı, Erzurum 1992.
- İbn Batûta, *Seyahatnâme I*, Trk.trans.M.Şerif, İst 1333.
- J.Von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, I.Peşte 1827,trans. Mehmed Ata; Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi, I, İst. 1329/1911.
- Kalkaşandî, *Subhu'l-Âşâ*, V, Kahire 1915.
- Karamanî Mehmed Paşa, *Osmanlı Sultanları Tarihi*, trk.çev. İ.Hakkı Konyalı, İst. 1949.
- Karamanî Mehmed Paşa, *Tevârihü's Selâtini'l-Osmaniye*, trans. M.Halil,"Milli Tarihimize Dair Eski Bir Vesika", *TTEM*, XIV, Sayı:2, İst.1924.

- L.Machaeras, *Recital concerning the sweet land of Cyprus entitled Chronicle*, Ed. and Transl,R.M. Dawkins, 2.Vol.Oxford 1932 s.208'den nakl. B.Fleming.
- M.Fuad Köprülü, "Bayrak" *IA*, II, s.411.
- M.H. Yinanç, "Bayezid I" *IA* II, s.370.
- M.Neşrî, *Kitâb-ı Cihannümâ*, Yay.F.R.Unat- M.A Köymen, I, Ank.1949, s.202-203
- Mehmet Arif, "Anadolu Tarihinden: Hamid Oğulları," *TOEM* III, İst. 1328, s.942.
- Melek Delilbaşı, "Ortaçağ'da Türk Hükümdarları Tarafından Batılılarla Ahidnamelerle Verilen İmtiyazlara Genel Bir Bakış", *Bellekten*, XLVII, Sayı:185, Ank.1984, s.98-101.
- Muslihu'd-dîn Mustafa b. Muhammed, Yasin Sûresi Tefsiri, Trk. Yazma, İst.Millet Ktp. Âli Emiri -Şer'iyye Kısmı, Nr.821, Var. 2 b'den nakl.M.Esat Coşan.
- Müneccimbaşı Ahmed b. Lütf Allah, *Camiü'd-Düvel II*, NuruOsmaniye Lib. Nr.3171, Var 278a.
- Nazan Danişmend, "Anadolu Türk Beyliklerinin Haçlı Bayrakları" *Türklük Mecmuası*, I, İst.1939.
- Oruç b.Adil, Tevârih-i Al-i Osman, nşr. Franz Babinger, *Die Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, Hannover 1952.
- Oruç Beğ Tarihi*, Pub.Atsiz, İst.1972.
- Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*, Ank.1958.
- Osman Turan, Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye Tarihi, İst.1984.
- Paul Newman, A Short History of Cyprus, England 1940, s.104, Osman Turan, "Ortaçağlarda Türkiye Kıbrıs Münasebetleri," *Bellekten* XXVIII, Sayı:10, Ank.1964, s.222.
- Paul Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği*, Trk.trans. O.Şaik Gökyay, Ank. 1944.
- S.Fikri Erten, *Antalya Livası Tarihi*, İst.1338-1340/1919-1922.
- S.Fikri Erten, *Antalya Tarihi*, İst. 1940.
- Ş.Tekindağ, "Karamanlıların Gorigos Seferi", *TD*, VI, Sayı:9, İst.1954, s.165-166
- Ş.Tekindağ, "Teke Oğulları" *IA*, XII/1, s.128.

- Ş. Tekindağ, "Teke-Eli ve Teke-Oğulları" *TED*. Sayı:7-8, İst. 1977, sayı 63.
- Şehabeddin Tekindağ, Karaman Beyliği (13.-15.nci asırda Cenbu Anadolu Tarihi'ne ait tetkik, Basılmamış Doktora Tezi), İst.1947.
- Şükrullah, *Behçetüt Tevarih*, Düz.N.Atsız, İst.1956.
- Şükrullah, *Dokuz Boy Türkler ve Osmanlı Sultanlar Tarihi*, Pub.Atsız, İst.1939.
- Tahir Erdem, "Hamid Oğulları, Feleküddin Dünder'in Halefleri", *Ün Mecm.*,V, Sayı.49, Isparta 1938, s.702.
- Turhan Atan, *Türk Gümrük Tarihi I, Başlangıçtan Osmanlı Devleti'ne Kadar*, Ank.1990.
- Vergi Bedevi, *Kıbrıs Tarihi*, Lefkoşa 1966.
- Wilhelm Heyd, *Yakındoğu Ticaret Tarihi*, Trk.trans., Enver Ziya Karal, Ank.1975.
- Xavier de Planhol, *De La Plaine Pampylienue Aux Lacs Pisidiens Nomadisme et vie Paysanne*, Paris 1958.
- Z.Arıkan, XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Hamit Sancağı, İzmir 1988.