

A Principality In Southwest Anatolia In The Post-Selçuk Era: Eşrefoğulları

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ABSTRACT

Eşrefoğulları of Beyşehir and Seydişehir area, is a Turcomen settlement of the 13th century. In spite of the limited information about the establishor Eşref Bey, the major contributor to the settlement is accepted to be his son, Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey, who has acceded to the annexation of Konya, along with the neighboring settlements Karamanoğlu and Menteşeoğlu, on May 15, 1277. In 1282, while Karamanoğlu reattacked Konya, Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey, took part in plundering Alaşehir. Afterwards, in the beginning of 1288, raiding a district of Erzurum, Iğın, Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey announced his obedience to Sultan II. Mesud of Konya and moved the capital of his settlement from Gorgorum to the newly built Beyşehir. He contributed a lot to the rebuilding of Beyşehir with *bedesten* (a large shopping area of local products) of 31 stores along with Eşrefoğlu Mosque and Eşrefoğlu *han* (inn) which lied 15 metres west of *hamam*.

Declaring independence in 1299, following enlargement of borders to Seydişehir and Bozkır to the south of the Middle Anatolia, and Doğanhisar and Şarkikaraağaç to the north, Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey passed away in August 1302 and his oldest son Mehmet Bey took the reign. Mehmed Bey was among the ones, who paid a visit to the famous Mongolian raider/leader Emir Çoban in 1314 and acquired Bolvadin in 1320, before his death in the same year. Following him, his son II. Süleyman, an arduous leader, was assassinated by Mongolian revengeful vali Demirtaş in 1326 and Eşrefoğulları settlement came to the halting era.

Key Words: *Beyşehir, Eşrefoğlu, Demirtaş.*

ÖZET

Eşrefoğulları, XIII. yy.'ın sonlarına doğru Beyşehir ve Seydişehir havalisinde kurulmuş bir Türkmen beyliğidir. Kurucusu Eşref Bey ile ilgili bilgilerimiz sınırlıdır. Ölümünden sonra yerine geçen oğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Halil, beyliğin asıl kurucusu olup, babası gibi Türkiye Selçuklularının beylerindedir. Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey'in bir miktar kuvvetiyle 15 Mayıs 1277'de Karamanoğlu Mehmed ve Menteşe oğlu Türkmenleri ile birlikte Konya'nın işgaline katılmıştır. 1282'de Karamanoğulları yeniden Konya'ya saldırırken Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey de Alaşehir havalisini yağmalamıştır. 1288 yılı başında Iğın'a akın yapan Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey de daha sonra pişman olup, Sultan II. Mesud'un Konya dışında kurdurduğu tahtında huzuruna gelip elini öperek itaatini bildirmiştir. Memleketine dönen Seyfeddin Süleyman, beyliğin merkezini Gorgorum'dan yeniden imar ettiği Beyşehir'e taşımıştır. Seyfeddin Süleyman, 1299'da Beyşehir'de tamamladığı Eşrefoğlu Camii'nin tam karşısına 31 dükkanın bulunduğu bir bedesten yaptırmıştır, iki kısım olarak yaptırdığı Eşrefoğlu Hamamı'nın 15 metre batısına Eşrefoğlu Hanı'nı inşa ettirmiştir. 1299'da bağımsızlığını ilan eden Şarkikaraağaç'a kadar

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genişleten Seyfeddin Süleyman, Ağustos 1302'de ölmüş, beyliğin idaresi büyük oğlu Mehmed Bey'e geçmiştir. 1314'te kuvvetli bir Moğol ordusuyla Anadolu'ya gelen Emir Çoban'dan korkarak değerli hediyelerle onun ziyaretine giden Türkmen beylerinin arasında Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Bey de bulunuyordu. Mübarizüddin lakabını kullanan Eşrefoğlu Mehmed 1320'de Bolvadin'i aldıktan bir süre sonra ölmüş, yerine geçen oğlu II. Süleyman ise intikam hırsı ile hareket eden Moğol vali Demirtaş tarafından 9 Ekim 1326'da öldürülerek Beyşehir Gölü'ne atılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Beyşehir, Eşrefoğlu, Demirtaş.*

Eşrefoğulları is a Türkmen Principality established around Beyşehir and Seydişehir towards the end of the 13th century.¹ As far as it is understood from the inscriptions, Eşref Bey was one of the powerful and esteemed Türkmen Emirs serving at the extremities probably during the reign of the Turkish Selçuk Sultans İzzeddin Keykavus II and Rukneddin Kılıçarslan IV and in the following years. Like his other counterparts in the region, Eşref Bey, too, must have declared his principality during the ongoing struggles for the throne among the Selçuk Sultans and heirs under the invasion and oppression of the Moğols. However, it must be pointed out that our knowledge related to Eşref Bey is quite limited.²

His son Seyfeddin Süleyman Halil, who came to power after his death, was the actual founder of the Principality. He, too, was among the Beys (chief of Principality) of the Turkish Selçuks in the extremities.³ He came to the scene for the first time in April 1277, as an ally of Karamanoğlu Mehmet Bey, sent by the Memlük Sultan Baybars, who had come up to Kayseri after defeating the Moğol Army in Elbistan. Seyfeddin Süleyman Halil, later, participated in the invasion of Konya in May 15, 1277 together with Karamanoğlu Mehmet Bey and the Mentesoğlu *Türkmen*s.⁴

While Karamanlular attacked Konya in 1282 following a silent period after the Cimri incident and the death of Karamanoğlu Mehmet Bey, Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey carried out looting attacks around Akşehir. So, Tekudar, the Sultan of İlhan (1282-1284) sent his heir Kongurtay to Anatolia to punish Karaman and Eşrefoğlu and many Türkmens were killed in these regions.⁵

During the reign of Argun Han (1284-1291), who took over the throne after Ahmed Tekudar, the toppled Giyaseddin Keyhusrev III was killed and in his place

¹ İsmail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, Ankara 1984, 58; Erdoğan Merçil, *Musulman-Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, Ankara 1999, 295.

² Memduh Yavuz, "Eşrefoğulları Tarihi", *Beyşehir Kılavuzu*, Konya 1934, 17; İbrahim Hakki Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Beyşehir Tarihi*, prep. for publication by Ahmet Savran, Erzurum 1991, 27.

³ İsmail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 58; M.Yavuz, *ibid.*, 18; Merçil, *ibid.*, 295; İbrahim Hakki Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, İstanbul 1945, 54.

⁴ İbn Bibi, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'ye fî'l Umurü'l-Ala'ye* (Selçukname), II, prep. by Mursel OzTürk, Ankara:1996, 198 and 204-206; Anonim Selçukname Tarih-i al-i Selçuk der Anadolu, published and translated by F. Nafiz Uzluk, *Anadolu Selçukluları Devleti Tarihi*, III, Ankara 1952, 39 (From this point on, when references to Anonim Selçukname are made, the publication of Uzluk is referred to); İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 6; M.C.Sehabettin Tekindag, 13-15. Asırda Cenubi Anadolu Tarihine Ait Tetkik, İstanbul 1947, 19; Claude Cahen, *Osmanlılardan Önce Anadolu'da Türkler*, translated by Yıldız Moran, İstanbul 1979, 282.

⁵ Kerimuddin Aksarayi, *Musameretu'l Ahbar and Musayeretü'l Ahyar*, published by Osman Turan, Ankara 1944, 129-132; *Anonim Selçukname*, 302; İbn Bibi, *ibid.*, 210-216; S.Tekindag *ibid.*, 24 and 29-31.

Giyaseddin Mesud II, the son of İzzeddin Keykavus II who had died in Crimea was sent to Anatolia as the new Selçuk Sultan. However, Keyhusrev III's mother, who couldn't accept Mesud II's absolute power on the Selçuk throne, appealed to Argun Han and demanded the division of the country. Upon this request, with the help of the Moğol Prince Geyhatu who was in Anatolia, he allocated the Eastern part of the Selçuk land along with the capital Kayseri to Giyaseddin Mesud II, whereas he spared the Western part and its capital Konya to the two princes of Giyaseddin Keyhusrev III. When the Selçuk vizier Sahip Ata Fahrettin Ali and other honoraries of the State objected to this dangerous decision, Keyhusrev III's mother, who wished a secure future for her grandsons, summoned Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey as vice-sovereign and Karamanoğlu Guneri Bey as Governor General to Konya. Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey and Guneri Bey, who came to the city along with the Türkmens faithful to them crowned the two heirs to the throne of Konya with a ceremony held on May 15, 1285.⁶ However, Has Balaban, on Vizier Sahip Ata Fahrettin Ali's side, started an attack to Konya with his army, thus causing Karamanoğlu Guneri Bey to recede to his prior land in Karaman and Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey back to the centre of his Principality Gorgorum (near Beyşehir).

The princes of Giyaseddin Keyhusrev III, on the other hand, were sent to Argun Han. Upon these developments, Giyaseddin Mesud II came from Kayseri to Konya in the company of Geyhatu and took over the throne of the Selçuks all by himself in 1286. This time, nevertheless, the Germiyans, who lived around Kutahya, started an offensive against Mesud II in 1286 and looted all the region extending to Gorgorum, the centre of Eşrefoğlu Süleyman's Government. Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey, who suffered this critical attack, was nevertheless able to get over with it when Sultan Mesud II, along with his Moğol Prince Geyhatu carried out a counter-attack on the Germiyans. His forces defeated the Germiyan forces led by Bozkus Bahadır, looted the area and returned to Konya (1287).⁷

However, the following year, at the beginning of 1288, when a mighty Selçuk-Moğol army attacked the Karamans around Tarsus and ruined Larende, Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey, the ally of Karamanoğlu Guneri Bey, attacked Iğın and beheaded Balabanoglu and his soldiers and sent their heads to Konya. Nonetheless, after a while, both allies realized that the situation was getting to be more and more dangerous and sent for Sultan Mesud II, declaring that they wished to apologize and ask for peace. Mesud II, on his throne placed outside Konya, had his hand kissed by Eşrefoğlu Süleyman and Karamanoğlu Guneri and got their absolute obedience after which he granted them his permission to go back home.⁸

⁶ İ.H.Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, 54; F.N.Uzluk ibid. 44-45; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, ibid. 7 and 58; O.Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, İstanbul 1984, 588-589; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 30; E.Merçil, ibid., 295; S.Tekindag, *Karaman Beyliği*, İstanbul 1947, 32; C.Cahen, ibid., 288; Barbara Fleming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien in Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964, 56-57.

⁷ İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, II, İstanbul 1929, 183; Şehabettin Tekindag, *Karaman Beyliği*, 33; *Anonim Selçukname*, 47-48; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 40; O.Turan, ibid., 590; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 31; E.Merçil, ibid., 295-296.

⁸ Germiyanogulları Tarihi, Ankara S.Tekindag, *Karaman Beyliği*, 34; İ.H.Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, 54; *Anonim Selçukname*, 48-49; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Beylikler*, 7-8 and 58; O.Turan, ibid., 590; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 32; E.Merçil, ibid., 295 and 303, B.Fleming, ibid., 59-59; M.Cetin Varlik, 1974, 28-30.

It is after these talks that Seyfeddin Süleyman had the centre of his Principality transferred from Gorgorum to Beyşehir, which he started to rebuild. It is understood from the verse in the inscription bearing the date 1288 situated on the tower door of the fortress around the section of this city still called Icerisehir (internal city) that this place was ordered to be built by Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey. The expression in the first line of the inscription which also bears the name of Sultan Giyaseddin Mesud II shows that the city was named “Süleymansehir” (City of Süleyman) after Süleyman. It is also significant that in the inscription Süleyman Bey is referred to as “Great emir, the magnificent”.⁹

In order to further strengthen the treaty with Eşrefoğlu, Sultan Mesud II thought of calling his brother Rukneddin Geyumers (“Siyavus” as in an anonymous Selçuk story) from Sinop and arranging a marriage between him and Gulcemal Hatun, Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman’s daughter in 1289. However, Rukneddin Geyumers, who went to Beyşehir to talk about the details of the marriage, was arrested and put in prison by Seyfeddin Süleyman, who wanted to use him to settle his accounts with Sultan Giyaseddin Mesud II. Upon hearing this, Giyaseddin Mesud II set off with his army to Beyşehir, the capital of Eşrefoğlu, but Karamanoğlu Guneri interfered and made it possible to set Geyumers (Siyavus) free by appealing to Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman

and saying that the imprisonment of the Sultan’s brother would not be right and that a new turmoil must not be given rise to.¹⁰ According to another story, Sultan Giyaseddin Mesud II granted all the possession rights of Alp-Saru village in Akşehir to his brother Rukneddin Kılıçarslan in Kastamonu, but when he claimed sovereignty of the State, informed Eşrefoğlu Süleyman about the situation and had him arrested and imprisoned while he was in Beyşehir. But, when Karamanoğlu Guneri interfered and threatened Eşrefoğlu, Prince Rukneddin Kılıçarslan was released from prison.¹¹

In the meanwhile, the Sultan of the İlhans, Argun Han had died and Prince Geyhatu, who was called from Anatolia to the capital Tebriz, became the new Sultan in July 1291. However, upon his departure from Anatolia and Giyaseddin Mesud II’s leaving for Kayseri, the Türkmens in the extremities rebelled once again. In the meantime, the Karamans had attacked Beyşehir, the capital of their ally Eşrefoğlu, but had to recede due to a tough resistance. This time, they went for Konya once again, and attacked the city under the command of Halil Bahadır and besieged it. Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman, on the other hand, stayed in Beyşehir and looked for ways of transforming his Principality into a more independent state.

Giyaseddin Mesud II, unable to cope with these turbulences in the second half of 1291, had to call the İlhan Sultan Geyhatu back to Anatolia one more time. Geyhatu came to Anatolia with his 20,000 troops, first attacked the Karamans followed by horrendous massacres and loots in Larende and Ereğli. Then, he turned

⁹ Halil Edhem, *Diğer İslamiye*, İstanbul 1927, 287; Memduh Yavuz, *ibid.*, 40-42; M.Zeki Oral; “*Anadolu’da Sanat Değeri Olan Ahşap Minberler, Kitabeleri ve Tarihçeleri*”, *Vakıflar Journal*, V(1962), 58; M.Zeki Oral, “*Kubadabad Yolunda*”, *Anıt Journal*, 26(1949); 11; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Beylikler*, 59; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 200-202.

¹⁰ *Anonim Selçukname*, 50-51; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 31.İ.H.

¹¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 59; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 34-3.

his direction to the land of Eşrefoğlu and ordered that the prisoners of war captured in and around Beyşehir be killed with torture being exposed to fire. The number of men, women and children prisoners captured in both Türkmen Principalities was close to 7,000. Thereupon, Geyhatu moved to Denizli (Ladik) and attacked the city with a shower of arrows as a reaction to the town's resistance by closing down the city doors. After he captured the city, he had all the inhabitants killed for three days and three nights. The still dissatisfied Geyhatu went even farther to Muğla region, which was only recently captured by the Mentese Türkmens, and there, too, he committed unprecedented massacres and lootings.

While he was going back to Tebriz via Kayseri in 1292, Geyhatu, with the support of Çobanogulları in Kastamonu, sent an army led by Sultan Mesud II and the Moğol commanders Goktay and Giray over Prince Rukneddin Kılıçarslan, who had started a rebellion for power. The Karamans, taking advantage of this lack of authority in the region, didn't miss the opportunity and re-attacked Konya under the leadership of Halil Bahadır once again. Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman, however, didn't act with them and captured Fort Gavele and its surroundings. Nevertheless, being afraid of Geyhatu's anger, he sufficed with the spoil he had collected and went back to Beyşehir upon abandoning Fort Gavele (November 1292).¹²

After this date, Seydeddin Süleyman carried on with the reconstruction activities of Beyşehir. It is understood from the buildings still in existence in our time that these activities were generally concentrated on the section of the city called Icerisehir (internal city), which remained in the North of the small river that flows into Lake Beyşehir dividing the city into two. The Eşrefoğlu Bath, for example, consisting of two different sections for men and women respectively is situated about 15 meters west of Eşrefoğlu Inn, also built by Seyfeddin Süleyman, and is in ruins today. He also had a Bazaar built with 31 shops opposite the Eşrefoğlu Mosque in Icerisehir. Besides, a 116-squaremeter inn, surrounded by durable walls, covered with six domes and having three doors is also present next to the southern part of this Bazaar. Today, the domes and all the shops are in a collapsed state. The men's section of the Bath is about 2.5 meters buried in the ground and has turned into ruins. The women's section, too, is in ruins.¹³

Eşrefoğlu Mosque, built upon the orders of Seyfeddin Süleyman is constructed adjacent to six of the shops in the Bazaar. The Mosque, which is unique in the richness of Anatolian wood craftsmanship is in the *Kufe* type of architecture and has wooden columns and a wooden roof. The main double-winged 10-meter entrance door on the North side is one of the most beautiful examples of the art of Selçuk carving. It is understood from the first inscription situated on its top that this masterpiece was constructed in 1297. This two-line inscription is also a declaration of a donation. According to this, Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin donated this Bazaar consisting of

¹² Aksarayı, *ibid.*, 170-172; *Anonim Selçukname*, 60-63; S.Tekindag, "Karamanlılar", IA, V, 319; Barbara Fleming, *ibid.*, 61; C.Cahen, *ibid.*, 290-291; O Turan, *ibid.*, 604-606; Faruk Sümer, "Anadolu'da Moğollar", *Selçuk Araştırmaları Journal*, Ankara 1970, 61-63; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 36-39; E.Merçil, *ibid.*, 295-310.

¹³ M.Yavuz, *ibid.*, 43-44; Yılmaz Onge, "Konya Beyşehir'de Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey Hamamı" *Vakıflar Journal*, VII(1968), 139-144; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 223, 276-277; Halil Edhem, "Anadolu'da İslami Kitabeler", *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Journal (TOEM)*, V/27, 139-141.

yarn spinners and weavers, the Mosque, the shops around the inn, the Great Bath and apart from these, two buildings in the village of Selmes. The revenue from all these pieces of estate was 12,000 *dirhem* which was spared as an allowance to his two sons, Mehmed and Eşref, who were appointed as trustees of Eşrefoğlu Mosque. It is understood from the second inscription on the arch of the second door that leads virtually into the Mosque that the construction of the Mosque was completed in 1299.¹⁴

In the meanwhile, following the struggles for the throne in the İlhan capital, Gazan Mahmud (1295-1304) had come to power. However, after a little while, Taysioglu Baltu, one of the well-known Moğol commanders serving in Anatolia, rebelled against Gazan Mahmud. Having had the support of all the other Türkmens in the extremities and above all with that of the Karamans and Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman, Baltu had fled to Eşrefoğlu capital Beyşehir following his defeat against the Moğol Army, but had passed on to the Karaman capital Larende when he felt his life in danger. Nevertheless, since he didn't feel safe here either, he decided to seek refuge with the Memlüks, but as he was crossing the soil of Kilikya Armenian Principality, he was caught and was handed over to the Moğol commander Sülemiş. He was later sent to Tebriz and killed there in October 1296. On the other hand, Sultan Mesud II, who exhibited an undecided attitude in this rebellion was released by Gazan Han and made to dwell in Hemedan. And Alaaddin Keykubat was appointed to the Selçuk throne.

As for Seyfeddin Süleyman, while he supported Baltu at the beginning of this rebellion, he changed his stance after Baltu's defeat and stood against him as he was trying to flee to Beyşehir from the Moğol terror. On the other hand, the new Selçuk Sultan Alaaddin Keykubat III, along with the Moğol commanders Bayancar and Bokucur Noyan, could come to Konya only towards the end of 1298.¹⁵ But this time, Sülemiş, who expected to be appointed as Governor General of Anatolia due to his achievements in the Baltu rebellion, got angry and started a revolt himself when this position was granted to Bayancar. After defeating and killing Bayancar and Bokucur in a battle he fought with their forces, Sülemiş came to an agreement with Karamanoğlu Guneri Bey, Mahmud Bey and Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey, and even asked for the help of Hüsameddin Lacin, the Memlük Sultan in a letter he sent to him. In this letter, Sülemiş talked about the support of the other Anatolian Principalities, along with those of the Karamans and Eşrefoğlu.

However, he had to flee to Egypt in April 1299, after being abandoned by the Karamans, Eşrefoğulları and the other Principalities in the extremities in the war

¹⁴ H. Edhem, *Düvel-i İslamiye*, 287; M. Yavuz, *ibid*, 48, 50-56; Yusuf Akyurt, "Beyşehir Kitabeleri ve Eşrefoğlu Camii ve Turbesi", *Journal of Turkish History and Ethnography*, 4 (1940), 113-125; Omer Tekin-Recep Bilginer, *Beyşehir ve Eşrefoğulları, Eskişehir* 1945, 26; M. Zeki Oral, "Eşrefoğlu Camiine Ait Bir Kandil", *Belleten*, XXIII/89(1959), 113-118; İ.H. Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 217-239; M. Zeki Oral, "Ahşap Minberler, Kitabeleri ve Tarihçeleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, V(1962), 57-58; Gönül Öney, *Beylikler Devri Sanatı*, Ankara 1989, 37-39.

¹⁵ Aksarayı, *ibid.*, 196-206 and 236-239; *Anonim Selçukname*, 67; S.Tekindag, "Karamanlular", *Encyclopedia of Islam* (IA), 320; Osman Turan, *Tarihi Takvimler*, Ankara 1984, 78; C.Cahen, *ibid.*, 293; F.Sümer, *ibid.*(journal), 66-67; İbrahim Kafesoglu, "Keykubat İİP", IA, VI, 662; Bertold Spuler, *Mogollari*, translated by Cemal Koprulu, Ankara 1987, 568-569; Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, 2 and 12; O.Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 617-618.

fought in Akşehir, Erzincan. Eventually, with the 40,000 troops he got from Sultan Hüsameddin Lacin, Sülemiş returned to Anatolia, and in spite of the fact that he met the Moğol Army in Akcader Dam, he managed to go as far as the Esreoglu land. Although he had considerable supporters around Beyşehir and Seydişehir, when he wanted to go to Kastamonu, he was caught by Emir Çoban near Ankara, taken to Tebriz and burned to death after being tortured (August 1299).¹⁶

The fact that the Moğols were busy with the rebellion of Sülemiş, and that Sultan Alaaddin III couldn't stay in Anatolia, let alone in Konya during the rebellion all prepared a suitable medium for Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Bey's declaration of his independence. Even though Sultan Keykubat III returned to Anatolia from Tebriz with the support of Gazan Han granting him the sovereignty of the whole Selçuk country, he couldn't make it until Konya, but had to suffice with his reign in Sivas. This being the case, it was obvious that the former authority couldn't be exerted in the extremities of the country. In any case, Sultan Keykubat III, who was sent back to Tebriz by the Moğol Governor General of Anatolia Abisga Noyan following a complaint, thanks to his wife he was saved from being killed, but was toppled from the Selçuk throne and made to live in Isfahan upon the orders of the İlhan Sultan Gazan Mahmud Han (1301). In his place, Giyaseddin Mesud II, who was previously forced to reside in Hemedan, was once again appointed to the Selçuk throne and came to Anatolia via Mosul and was crowned. However, as in the past, his reign would be a very passive one, almost unnoticeable.¹⁷

In this disintegration period of the final years of the Turkish Selçuk State, like the other Türkmen rulers in the extremities, Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey declared independence possibly in the year 1299 or 1300. He issued silver coins in the name of Giyaseddin Mesud II in Süleymanşehir (Beyşehir) named after himself, in the year 1297; and once again in Süleymanşehir in the name of Alaaddin Keykubat III in 1297 and 1300.¹⁸ He expanded the borders of his Principality starting from Gorgorum and Beyşehir, as far as Seydişehir and Bozkır in the South and until Doğanhisar and Sarkikaraagac in the North. He died in August 1302. After him, his eldest son Mehmed Bey took over power.¹⁹

¹⁶ Aksarayı, *ibid.*, 246-247 and 270-271; el- Omeri, *Mesaliku'l-ebzar fi Memaliku'l Emsar*, published by Franz Taeschner, Leipzig 1929, 24-28; B.Fleming, *ibid.*, 65; S.Tekindag, "Karamanlilar", IA, 320; F,Sümer, *ibid.*(journal), 67-69.

¹⁷ Aksarayı, *ibid.*, 291-295; I.Kafesoglu, "Keykubat III", 663; F,Sümer, *ibid.*(journal), 71 O.Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 633-635; E. Merçil, *ibid.*, 165-166.

¹⁸ İbrahim-Cevriye Artuk, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri –*Teshirdeki İslami Sikkeler Katalogu*, I, İstanbul 1974, n.754-755, 438-439; Johann Christoph, *Münzen der Seltschuken Anatoliens*, Bremen 1990, 11, 21, 87, 85, 90.

¹⁹ Ali, "Eşrefoğulları Hakkında Birkaç Söz", TOEM, year 5, issue:25-30(1330/1914), 255; H.Edhem, *Düvel-i İslamiye*, 287; M.Yavuz, *ibid.*, 18; Y.Akyurt, *ibid.*(journal) 129; O.Tekin, *ibid.* 27; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 59; C.Cahen, *ibid.*, 298; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 64-65; E.Merçil, *ibid.*, 225. Eşrefoğlu Seyfeddin Süleyman Bey, some time before his death, had a mausoleum constructed next to the mosque named after him. According to the rumours, among the three tombs in the mausoleum, Seyfeddin Süleyman himself rests in the one in the middle, and his wife and youngest son rest in the other two. The inscription over the door gives us the date 1301 for the construction of the Eşrefoğlu Mausoleum. M.Yavuz, *ibid.*, 287; H.Edhem, "Anadolu'da İslami Kitabeler", 143-149; M.Zeki Oral, "Ahsap Minberler", 58; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*" 61-65; G.Oney, *ibid.*, 39.

Without wasting time, Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Bey went on with the general invasion policy that his father had started and carried out attacks to enlarge the land of his Principality. Careful not to go into a clash with the Karamans in the South, he headed North and invaded Gelendost and Yalvac. However, after a while he had to recede and leave these regions to his powerful neighbour Hamidoğlu Felekuddin Dundar Bey. In the meantime, the İlhan Sultan Gazan Mahmud Han had died, and his son Olcaytu Hudabende Muhammed (1304-1316), who came to power, sent his uncle İrincin Noyan in order to halt the ongoing political chaos and disorder in Anatolia.²⁰

İrincin Noyan, starting from his early days in Anatolia, began to torment people. In the same period, the last Turkish Selçuk Sultan Giyaseddin Mesud II got sick and eventually died in 1308 as a result of the deep sorrow he felt for the Moğols' incessant wishes and evil deeds, and cruelties of İrincin Noyan.

In the following years, besides the Türkmens in the extremities who completely cut off their ties with the Selçuks during the reign of Alaaddin Keykubat II, from 1308 onwards almost all the regions to the west of Central Anatolia went out of Moğol Control. There started sporadic uprisings in Anatolia as a reaction to İrincin Noyan's increasing cruelties. Moreover, the failure of Olcaytu Muhammed Han's attack on the Memlüks in Egypt in 1312 formed the basis for new action for the Karamans, for the other Türkmens in the extremities and doubtlessly for Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Bey. In the same year, Karamanoğlu Yahşi Bey invaded Konya, whereas Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Bey invaded Iğın and Akşehir. After the invasion, Mehmed Bey ordered the construction of a mosque in Akşehir and gave the rule of this centre to Kamereddin Naib.²¹ On the other hand, Olcaytu Han, with a hesitation for this powerful reaction and dare of the Türkmens Principalities, sent the Governor General of the Province Emir Çoban Soldoz and his troops to Anatolia. Emir Çoban came to Karabük, situated between Sivas and Erzincan, in 1314 and invited all the Türkmens Beys who had rebelled against the İlhan dominance to pay their respects and declare their obedience. Like the other Türkmens rulers terrified of Emir Çoban, who had managed to stop the Sülemiş rebellion and his powerful Moğol Army, Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Bey, too, was among those who went to Karabük with his precious gifts. After being welcomed warmly and honored by Emir Çoban and declaring his obedience, he went back to Beyşehir.²²

In the meanwhile, Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi's grandson Ulu Arif Çelebi was trying to spread the *Mevlevi* philosophy among the newly formed Türkmens Principalities in Western Anatolia both in his own religious leadership (1312-1319) and in that of his father Sultan Veled. He paid innumerable visits to especially

²⁰ Aksarayi, *ibid.*, 295-300; F.Sümer, *ibid.*(journal), 71-73; B.Spuler, *ibid.*, 570; C.Cahen, *ibid.*, 294; O.Turan, *ibid.*, 635-638 and 644-645

²¹ Ahmed Eflaki, *Ariflerin Menkibeleri*, translated by Tahsin Yazici, İstanbul 1989, 309; İ.H.Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, 58; O.Turan, *ibid.*, 639; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Beylikler*, 59; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 49; E.Merçil, *ibid.*, 295; C.Cahen, *ibid.*, 298.

²² Aksarayi, *ibid.*, 311-312; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, II, İstanbul 1029, 241-242; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, "Anadolu Türk Tarihinde Uc Mubim Sima", *Türk Tarih Encümeni Journal (TTEM)*, I/5(1931), 66-67; *Anonim Selçukname*, 67; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, "Emir Çoban Soldoz ve Demirtaş", *Bellekten*, XXXI/124(1967), 602-603; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Beylikler*, 60; F.Sümer, *ibid.*, (journal), 81; O.Turan, *Tarihi Takvimler*, Ankara 1984, 70; B.Spuler, *İran Moğolları*, 128; B.Fleming, *ibid.*, 69; O.Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 639.

Germiyan, Mentese, Aydin and Ladik (Denizli) Principalities with the hope of gaining their confidence. During these trips, he frequently crossed the land of Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Bey, who had deep interest in and great services to the *Mevlevi* belief and philosophy. Eflaki Dede, who took part in these visits says that, one day Emir Eşrefoğlu Mubarizuddin Mehmed Çelebi invited Ulu Arif Çelebi over to Beyşehir as his guest. He implored the acceptance of his invitation, gave him his warm praises and what is more, he made his son Süleyman Şah a follower of Arif Çelebi.

On the other hand, upon the return of Emir Çoban from Anatolia to İlhan capital Tebriz, Olcaytu Muhammed Han was poisoned to death (1316) and his son Ebu Said Bahadır was bethroned. Emir Çoban Soldoz, who had great achievements in Anatolia, overtook the rule of the country. Using his power well, he appointed his son Demirtaş as Governor General of Anatolia (1318).

Like the other Türkmen Principalities that benefited from the changes that came about in the Anatolian İlhan capital and the following struggles, Eşrefoğlu Mubarizuddin Mehmed Bey didn't recognize the Governorship of Demirtaş and re-declared independence and formed his own reign. Then, he started military action and went north around Afyonkarahisar capturing Sultandağı, Çay, Ishakli and Bolvadin, expanding the borders of his Principality. These invasions are verified in the inscription of Carsi (Market) Mosque (1320), built upon the orders of Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Bey to Emir Ziyaeddin. In his inscription, it is seen that Eşrefoğlu Mehmed Bey used the title "The Great Emir" and the nickname "Mubarizuddin".²³ He probably died some time after 1320, the year when he invaded Bolvadin.

In the meanwhile, having succeeded in taking Konya back from the Karamans, Demirtaş had started to rule Anatolia as he wished and act more independently against the İlhan capital. And after a while, seeing that the situation was ripe, he issued coins in his name, made a religious announcement and declared his independence and sovereignty in 1322. With the encouragements of the theologians around him he even claimed to be the "messiah" and gained even more power in time, threatening the Türkmen Principalities which had previously declared their independence.

Upon these developments, the Türkmen Beys, headed by Eşrefoğlu Süleyman Şah II and Hamidoğlu Felekuddin Dunder Bey complained about Demirtaş to his father Emir Çoban Soldoz and to the İlhan Sultan Ebu Said Han. At first, Ebu Said Han didn't pay serious attention to these complaints, but when his son issued coins in his name and made a religious announcement of his rule along with his efforts to be the ally of the Memlük Sultan Malik Nasır, he decided to punish his son and sent Emir Çoban, who had asked for his permission, to Anatolia in 1324. Reluctant to fight with his father, Demirtaş accepted his offer and came to the İlhan capital Tebriz. As expected, he was forgiven by Ebu Said Han and allowed to go back to Anatolia with his former title, Governor General.²⁴

²³ Ali, *ibid.*(journal), 255; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, II, 47-48; İ.H.Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, 55; M.Zeki Oral, "Ahsap Minberler", 58; Süleyman Goncer, *Afyon İli Tarihi*, İzmir 1971, 31; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 49; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Beylikler*, 60; E.Merçil, *ibid.*, 295.

²⁴ Aksarayı, *ibid.*, 311-312; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, II, İstanbul 1029, 241-242; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, "Anadolu Türk Tarihinde Uc Muhim Sima", *Türk Tarih Encümeni Journal (ITEM)*, I/5(1931), 66-67; *Anonim Selçukname*,67; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, "Emir Çoban Soldoz ve Demirtaş", *Belleten*, XXXI/124(1967), 602-603;

After he returned to Anatolia, Demirtaş started a powerful move to overtake the Türkmen Principalities which had loosened or even completely cut off their ties with İlhan sovereignty. He was full of feelings of revenge towards them. Because, these Principalities both had complained about him to Ebu Said Han and to his father Emir Çoban, and had taken an opposing stance against him and hadn't recognized his sovereignty when he declared independence against the İlhans in 1322. When he first attacked the Karamans, he realized that he wasn't able to do much against them since they had retreated to steep mountains and well-protected fortresses. So, he turned his direction towards the Eşrefoğlu land. In the end, Eflaki's predictions through the mouth of Ulu Arif Çelebi had come true and Demirtaş had shortly captured Beyşehir and taken Süleyman Şah II as prisoner of war. It must have been due to his feelings of revenge that Demirtaş treated the local people very cruelly and after having the nose, ears and finally the genitals of Eşrefoğlu Süleyman II cut off, he had his eyes picked out and had him drowned in Lake Beyşehir (October 9, 1326).²⁵

Eşrefoğulları Principality never recovered after this date and Beyşehir, which lacked a legitimate ruler after the fleeing of Demirtaş to Egypt in October 1327, along with Akşehir and Seydişehir area were captured by Hamidoğlu Hizir Bey in 1328.²⁶ The rest of the Principality was shared between Sahip Ata and Karaman Principalities. According to the notes of Sehabettin el-Omeri, Eşrefoğulları, among the Turkish Emirates that recognized the Germiyan sovereignty, was a Turkish Principality consisting of a 70,000-troop army, 65 cities and 150 villages.²⁷

In the honour of Eşrefoğlu Mubarizuddin Mehmed Bey, who welcomed scientists and poets in his palace and provided them with encouragement, Semsuddin Mehmet Tusteri, who came from Tuster in Irak, wrote a philosophical piece of work in 1310 with the title "el Fusulu'l-Eşrefiyye". Again in the time of Mubarizuddin Mehmed Bey, on one of the islands in Lake Beyşehir, presumably the "Mada" island, a magazine was issued bearing the name "Takarriru'l-Munasib" (State Appointments), by Kemaleddin of Konya in 1320. Mubarizuddin Mehmed Bey, who hosted Ulu Arif Çelebi and Eflak Dede in his palace was a *Mevlevi* and a follower of Arif Çelebi. He had also taken under his protection one of the prominent scientists of his time, Jemaleddin Mevlana Ahmed and again one of the leading poets of the era Tirazi and let his country benefit from these outstanding personalities.²⁸

İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Beylikler*, 60; F.Sümer, *ibid.*, (journal), 81; O.Turan, *Tarihi Takvimler*, Ankara 1984, 70; B.Spuler, *İran Mogolları*, 128; B.Fleming, *ibid.*, 69; O.Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 639.

²⁵ El-Omeri, *ibid.*, 31; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, II, 48 and 242; M.Yavuz, *ibid.*, 20; H.Edhem, *Düvel-i İslamiye*, 288; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, "Emir Çoban Soldoz ve Demirtaş", 628; *Anonim Selçukname*, 67-68; İ.H.Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, 55-56; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 60-63; B.Fleming, *ibid.*, 75; O.Turan, *Tarihi Takvimler*, 12 and 46; Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihine Ait Takvimler*, İstanbul 1961, 18; Faruk Sümer, *ibid.*(journal), 88; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 50, 56 and 402; E.Merçil, *ibid.*, 295.

²⁶ Mehmed Arif, "Anadolu Tarihinden Hamidoğulları", TOEM, III/15(1328/1912), 944-945, Ali,"*Teke Emareti*", TTEM, 79(1340/1924), 79; H.Edhem, *Düvel-i İslamiye*, 288; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, II, 243-344; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 60-63; İ.H.Konyalı, *Akşehir Tarihi*, 56.

²⁷ el-Omeri, *ibid.*,31; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 60; M.Yavuz, *Beyşehir Kilavuzu*, 17.

²⁸ Eflaki, *ibid.*, 323; M.Yavuz, *Eşrefoğulları Tarihi ve Beyşehir Kilavuzu*, 18-19; İ.H.Konyalı, *Beyşehir Tarihi*, 60; İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 60.

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