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A MYTH ABOUT THE EMERGENCE OF THE QARAMANID DYNASTY AS REFLECTED IN THE OTTOMAN SOURCES

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Abstract

The issue of when and how the Qaramanid dynasty or tribe that founded the Qaramanid state came to Anatolia is still an unsolved historical problem. The view put forward by famous Turkologist the late Fuat Köprülü (1890-1966) in 1922 remains largely valid. This issue will remain unresolved unless a new source work is released. The general view was that the Qaramanid tribe, belonging to the Afshar branch of the Oghuzs who escaped from the Mongol invasion, came to the Shirvan or Arran region of Azerbaijan. From here they came to Ermenak by way of Sivas. It was claimed that the Babai uprising of Sivas had an impact on the establishment of the Qaramanid State. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Qaraman tribe began to act independently in Ermenak, which was situated in the Seljuk-Armenian border (uc), under the leadership of Qaraman Bey. Their relations with the Mongols, Armenians and Seljuk sultans were not regular. They have dealt with plunder in the region. When Qaraman Bey captured the fortress of Ermenak from the Armenians, he turned this place into a political center. Later he captured the town of Laranda.

Seljuk, Arab and Armenian historical sources related to this subject have been extensively studied by scholars. Whether the information given by the Mamluk historians about the Qaramanids is reliable or not is an issue that needs to be addressed separately. Ottoman chroniclers such as Mustafa Ali, Ruhi, Müneccimbaşı, Kâtip Çelebi, Hayrullah Efendi, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, Cenabi, Rustem Pasha and Müneccimbaşı also contemplated the emergence of the Qaramanid dynasty. However, these sources are problematic in terms of historical methodology, since they are of late date. As a matter of fact, Fuat Köprülü did not take these sources into account. Most likely, these are just a compilation. The information in the Şikari History, the official history of the Qaramanids, and the information given by Ottoman chroniclers do not match with each other. In this article, we are at least publishing these texts about the Qaramanids. The problem unfortunately remains unresolved.

Keywords: Qaramanids, Ermenak, Avsar, Seljuks, Qaramanoghullari, Oghuzs.

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OSMANLI KAYNAKLARINA YANSIDIĞI KADARIYLA KARAMANLI HANEDANININ ORTAYA ÇIKIŞINA DAİR BİR EFSANE

Öz

Karaman Devletini kuran Karamanlı hanedanının veya boyunun Anadolu'ya ne zaman ve nasıl geldiği konusu, halâ çözümlenememiş tarihsel bir problemdir. Ünlü Türkolog merhum Fuat Köprülü'nün (1890-1966), 1922 yılında ileri sürdüğü görüş, büyük ölçüde geçerliliğini halâ korumaktadır. Yeni bir kaynak eser çıkmadığı sürece, bu sorun, çözümlenmeden kalacaktır. Genel görüş, Moğol istilasından kaçan Oğuzların Afşar şubesine mensup Karamanlı boyunun Azerbaycan'ın Şirvan veya Arran bölgesine geldikleridir. Buradan da Sivas yoluyla Ermenak havalisine gelmişlerdir. Sivas'ta çıkan Babaî ayaklanmasının, Karaman devletinin kurulmasında tesiri olduğu ileri sürülür. On üçüncü yüzyıl ortalarında Selçuklu-Ermeni uc bölgesi olan Ermenak'ta, Karaman Beyin riyasetinde, Karamanlı aşireti bağımsız davranmaya başlamıştır. Bunların, Moğollar, Ermeniler ve Selçuklu sultanlarıyla ilişkileri düzenli değildir. Onlar, bu bölgede, yağma ve talan ile uğraşmışlardır. Karaman Bey, Ermenak'ı Ermenilerden alınca, burayı siyasi bir merkez haline getirmiştir. Daha sonra Larende'yi ele geçirmiştir. Bu konuyla ilgili Selçuklu, Arap ve Ermeni kaynakları, büyük ölçüde incelenmiştir. Karamanlılar hakkında Memluklu tarihçilerinin bu konuda verdiği bilgilerin güvenilir olup olmadığı ayrıca ele alınması gereken bir konudur. Mustafa Ali, Ruhi, Münecimbaşı, Kâtip Çelebi, Hayrullah Efendi, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, Cenabi ve Münecimbaşı gibi Osmanlı vakanüvisleri de, Karamanlı hanedanının ortaya çıkışı üzerine kafa yormuşlardır. Ancak bu kaynaklar, geç tarihli olduğundan dolayı, tarih metodolojisi açısından sorunludur. Nitekim ünlü makalesinde Fuat Köprülü bu kaynakların çoğunu dikkate almamıştır. Ancak, Osmanlı tarihçilerinin, bu konuyu nasıl algıladıklarını göstermesi açısından, bu metinler önemlidir. Bu konudaki Osmanlı metinlerinin, kaynağı da belirsizdir. Büyük ihtimalle, bunlar bir derlemeden ibarettir. Karamanlıların resmi tarihi Şikarî Tarihi'ndeki bilgiler ile Osmanlı tarihçilerinin verdikleri bilgiler birbiriyle uyumsuz. Biz bu makalemizde, en azından, Karamanlılarla ilgili bu metinleri bir araya getirerek yayınlamaktayız. Yukarıda belirttiğimiz gibi, sorun, ne yazık ki çözümlenmeden kalmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karamanlılar, Ermenak, Avşar, Selçuklular, Karamanoğulları, Oğuzlar.

How and when the Qaramanid dynasty who founded the Qaramanid state¹, which was a Turkish-Islamic state that dominated Central Anatolia and the Taurus Mountains between 1256-1264 years, emerged on the stage of history was an unsolved historical problem². The famous Turkologist the late M. Fuat Köprülü (1890-1966) brought this problem to the agenda for the first time in September, 1922. In his article titled Anadolu'da İslam (Islam in Anatolia), he argued that that it was necessary to take into account the Babai movement (the Sufi influence) in the establishment of this state³. In another article Anadolu Beylikleri Tarihine Aid Notlar (Notes on the History of Anatolian Principalities) first published in 1928, he gave more information on this subject, based mainly on Aksarayî Tezkiresi and Ibn Bibi, famous Seljuk chronicler. He did not pay attention the view of Halil Edhem (1861-1938) who was an Ottoman conservative politician, archaeologist and writer, on the Qaramanids sufficient. He argues that it was necessary to seek an ethnological element in the establishment of the Qaramanids. In

¹ The Qaramanids describe themselves as a state in the inscriptions. See. Mehmet Akif Erdoğan, 'The Titles and Epithets Received by the Qaramanids According to the Inscriptions', *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 16, Spring 2022, Konya, pp. 109-124. The definition of the Qaramanids as a principality is related to the ideology of the Republic of Turkey.

² In my article, Ottoman texts about the emergence of the Qaramanid dynasty were examined. Since a new contemporary source text has not emerged, the opinions put forward on this subject by Turkish historians have been expressed in general.

³ Fuat Köprülü, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet', *Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 2/4, September 1338, p. 56.

1928, he says ‘unfortunately, the information about the emergence of the Qaramanids is still very confused and ambiguous (Karaman Oğullarının mübadisine ait malumât, maalesef, henüz çok karışık, mübhemdir)’. He claimed that ‘the Qaramanids were from the Qaraman tribe of the Salur branch of the Oghuzs’. He put forward the following views in summary: ‘After the capture of Ermenak and its environs in 1228 by Anatolian Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Kaykubad, the Turkmen tribes were settled here. Among them, there were many who belonged to the Qaramanid tribe. Nure b. Sadeddin, who grew up among Turkmens, has entered the sect of Babai. He gained religious influence over the Turkmens. His son Qaraman Bey established a kind of autonomous administration by taking over some places taken from the Christians. Anatolian Seljuk Sultan IV. Qılıç Arslan conferred Ermenak Principality (Beylik) to Qaraman Bey. Qılıç Arslan tolerated him, despite his looting. Qaraman Bey was a Turkmen who carries coal to Laranda, he was not of Armenian origin. Because Ibn Bibi, who took a deliberate stance against them, calls them Kharijites (Khawaric), he would write if Qaraman Bey was an Armenian’⁴. Although nearly a hundred years have passed since Köprülü’s ideas, this problem has not been solved yet. It should be noted that his students in general have also repeated his views on this issue. The Turkish historian the late Faruk Sümer (1924-1995), a follower of Fuat Köprülü, basically repeats Köprülü’s view on this issue. He writes that the Avşar (or Afşar) tribe, to which the Qaramanids belonged, was settled in Arran of Azerbaijan before the Mongol invasion, then migrated to the Sivas region of Anatolia due to the Mongol invasion, and came to the Ermenak region after the Babai Rebellion. He states that the region of Ermenak was conquered by Anatolian Seljuk Sultan I. Alaeddin Kaykubad in 1225⁵. The start of the struggle between Sultan Izzeddin Kaykavus and Rukneddin Qılıç Arslan and the Mongol commander Baycu’s defeat of the Seljuk army in 1256 provided a great autonomy to these Turkmen living in the uc region (Seljuk-Cilicia front, especially Ermenak) and their political importance increased even more. He sees the emergence of the Qaraman Bey in the Ermenak-Mut region as part of these developments and argues that he probably died in 1263. According to him, Qaraman Bey was also a supporter of Izzeddin Kaykavus, like many Turkmen emirs. Nure Sofi, Qaraman Bey’s father, was a disciple of Baba İlyas, who was a non-Sunni Turkmen Sheikh who rebelled against the Anatolian Seljuk state in 1240 and the Sheikh who spread the sect of Vafaiyya in Anatolia. He was more concerned with religious matters than with state affairs. Thinking that he would protect the Seljuk uc against the Cilician Armenians, Qılıç Arslan gave the principality to Qaraman Bey in 1261. Qaraman Bey committed robbery and attacked the regions of Gülnar and Silifke. He took many castles in this region and died in 1263⁶. The only difference between Sümer and Köprülü was that he claims that the Qaramanids belong to the Avşar tribe of Oghuzs. I can say that the views put forward by Faruk Sümer regarding the emergence of the Qaramanids are basically those of Köprülü. The view of famous Ottomanist the late İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (1888-1977) on this subject was based mainly on the view of Köprülü. As the only difference from the opinion of Köprülü, he says that the Qaramanids and the Qaraman tribe were belong to the Afşar tribe of Oghuzs⁷. The late Şehabettin Tekindağ (1918-1983) from Istanbul University, who prepared his doctoral thesis on the Qaramanids, says that there was disagreement about the way and when the Qaraman tribe came to Anatolia. According to him, the Qaraman tribe escaped from the Mongol invasion and came to Shirvan

⁴ Fuat Köprülü, ‘Anadolu Beylikleri Tarihine Aid Notlar’, *İzmir Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3, Latinized by M. Akif Erdoğan, İzmir 2016, pp. 92-93. Today, it has been proven that the Qaramanids belonged to the Afşar tribe of the Oghuzs, not Salur.

⁵ Faruk Sümer, ‘Karaman Oğulları’, *EI*, vol. IV, second edition, Leiden 1997, p. 619.

⁶ Faruk Sümer, ‘Karamanoğulları’, *DIA*, vol. 4, İstanbul 2001, p. 209.

⁷ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, Turkish Historical Society publication, 2. Edition, Ankara 1969, p. XIII.

of Azerbaijan. Citing Mamluk chronicler Ayni (Ikd al-cuman) as a source, he writes that this tribe was settled in the location of Kamyş, around Ermenak⁸. French historian Claude Cahen (1909-1991), not a student of Köprülü, argues that before the Mongol invasion, the relationship between Babai, a religious-social movement in Anatolia in 1240, and the establishment of the Qaraman Principality and Muslim mystic Hacı Bektaş (d.1271) was a fundamental problem⁹. When and how the Qaramanid dynasty came to the region of Ermenak and their origin is still a mystery. In addition, as I mentioned above, how this dynasty or tribe came to the stage of history has not been resolved yet.

Dr. Sara Nur Yıldız, who has taken up this issue again in recent years, argues that the issue of how the Qaramanid family came to Ermenak and how they made it their center is obscure. According to her, there was no contemporary record of when this family was settled in the town of Ermenak. She re-evaluates the available information on this subject in her unpublished doctoral thesis, *Mongol Rule in the Thirteenth Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282*, in the light of original contemporary sources. She states that the date of 1228 put forward by Fuat Köprülü is unfounded. Unlike Köprülü, she states that such a date does not exist in Ibn Bibi who was an official Seljuk chronicler. Köprülü received this information not directly from Ibn Bibi, but from Cami al-Duvel by Müneccimbaşı. She does not accept the information given by Müneccimbaşı because it was not a contemporary source. Moreover, in the original texts of Ibn Bibi, there was no such date or record as stated by Müneccimbaşı. She says that Müneccimbaşı, who says that the word Qaraman was a derivation from Qamareddin, used folk etymology. According to her, the Şikari History (Karamannâme) was a source based on oral tradition created in the second half of the 16th century and cannot be accepted as a reliable source on this subject. According to her, his expression on this subject was also mythological.

Another point that Sara criticizes was that the Qaramanid family was not settled in the vicinity of Ermenak as a result of the settlement policy of the Anatolian Seljuks. She writes that this family came to the Seljuk-Armenian front between 1240-1250 years and that this family was named for the first time by Ibn Bibi because of the Cimri Event in 1277. Sara states that there was no satisfactory information on this subject in the Smybat Chronicle, which was a contemporary Armenian source. By stating the views of English historian Keith Hopwood (1946-) and archeologist William Mitchell Ramsay (1851-1939), Sara concluded that this issue remains a mystery¹⁰.

Indeed, Dr. Sara Nur Yıldız looks at the perspective of a sound historical methodology and source critique, and critically examines the information previously given by previous historians. It is impossible not to agree with her solidist view. The general theory about the arrival of the Qaramanid family in Ermenak was that as a result of the Mongolian abscess in the East. The Mongol divisions (tümens) pushed a large number of Turkmen to the Cilician-Seljuk uc (border) in the 1250s, and problems arose in the possession of the plateau. This issue was tried to be explained by the population pressure in the region.

Some Ottoman chroniclers wondered about the origins of the Qaramanids and made compilations about them. Undoubtedly, these texts cannot be used as a source because they are not contemporary in terms of historical methodology. One of them, Mustafa Ali, the famous

⁸ M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, 'Karamanlılar', *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 6, Eskişehir 1997, second edition, p. 316.

⁹ Claude Cahen, 'Baba'I', *El*, vol. 1, second edition, Leiden, pp. 843-844.

¹⁰ Sara Nur Yıldız, *Mongol Rule in the Thirteenth Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282*, unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Chicago, Department of Near East Languages and Civilizations, 2006, pp. 388-410. I thank Sara for sending me the pdf of her thesis.

16th century Ottoman chronicler, in his *Füsul-ı Hall ü Akd and Kühn al-Ahbar*, says that it was not known how the Qaramanids arose and whether they were sons of kings (ebna-yı mülük) or outsiders (harici). According to his text, published for the first time by Necdet Sakaoglu¹¹ in 2005, ‘in 1268, when III. Kayhusrev ibn Qılıç Arslan was the sultan of Anatolian Seljuk, Qaraman Bey captured the Ermenak fortress by deception’. He says that Ermenak fortress was taken from the Varsak Infidels, a great nomadic confederation of Taurus Mountains. Ottoman chronicler Mustafa Ali says that he got this information from the History of Ruhi. However, there was no such passage in the History of Ruhi¹². Since Ruhi was an Ottoman chronicler, his chronicle cannot be accepted as a primary source on this subject. His chronicle covers event up to 1511 years. Ottoman chronicler Ruhi (d. 1522) only says that the Qaramanids and the Ermenak bandits would come out of Ermenak to oil the region. To prevent this, the Mongolian lords used to live in Laranda. He also says, 'The Qaramanids captured Laranda with the help of the people of Damascus'.

Other Ottoman chroniclers who wrote texts on this subject were the 17th century Ottoman encyclopedist Kâtip Çelebi¹³ (d. 1657) and the 17th Ottoman encyclopedist Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi¹⁴ (d. 1691). It seems that both of them quoted this text from either Ottoman chronicler Mustafa Ali or Ruhi. These texts are unfortunately not supported by Ibn Bibi and Aksarayi. Moreover, many mistakes were made during the transmission of these texts. These texts can show the viewpoint of the late Ottoman chroniclers towards the Qaramanids. Fuat Köprülü does not consider the records in the History of Cenabî (al-Aylam al-zahir), a 16th century Ottoman chronicle, written in Arabic, and the relevant passage in his History, written by Hayrullah Efendi (1818-1866), reliable. The mythological information about the first appearance of the Qaramanids is also available in the History of Rustem Pasha, an Ottoman chronicle 16th century¹⁵. According to it, in summary, ‘a group of Turks fled from the Mongol invasion and settled around Ermenak. They got on well with the Infidel of Varsak, thinking that they would be harmed by them. There was a fair of the Infidels. When the Infidel of Ermenak went to this fair, they captured the fortress of Ermenak by cheating’.

As a result, the source of the Ottoman records is unknown. These are compilations made by Ottoman chroniclers just out of curiosity. Using them to explain the origins of the Qaramanids poses problems for historical methodology. I think it would be more accurate to consider this only as mythological information. I think it looks like this issue will remain unresolved unless a new resource comes out

Additional Texts

(Kâtip Çelebi, Cihannüma, The Müteferrika edition, Istanbul, p. 614)

In the past, Muslims looted the region of İçel and took some of their places. Then, since the Seljuk family, when Kutulmuş invaded Turkey, they made Konya the capital. During the reign of Alaeddin Kaykubad, one of the Seljukids, Sultan Alaeddin believed in Nure Sofu, who was affiliated with a religious order (sahib-i süluk). It is reported that a group of Turks escaped from the Mongols and settled around Ermenak. Their chiefs were called Nure Sofu. This person had many children. They called his eldest son, Qaraman. One day there was a fair of the infidels.

¹¹ *Karamanname*, pp. 43-45.

¹² Halil Erdoğan Cengiz, Yaşar Yücel, ‘Ruhi Tarihi’, *TTK Belgeler*, XIV/ 18, Ankara, 1989-1992, pp.359-472.

¹³ Katip Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, The Müteferrika edition, İstanbul, p. 614

¹⁴ Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Tenkih-i Tevarih-i Müluk*, Paris copy, pp. 118-119, dated 24 Shawwal 1083 (12 February 1673)

¹⁵ İnan, Göker (ed.), *Matrakçı Nasuh, Rüstem Paşa Tarihi Olarak Bilinen Tarih-i Al-i Osman (İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin)*, İstanbul 2019, pp.109-110.

The personals of the Silifke castle went to this fair. Meanwhile, the Qaramanids came together and argued among themselves that for a long time we obeyed and gave tribute to these infidels. We had an opportunity today. Wearing their clothes, they came near the castle of Silifke and covered their bodies as it was a rainy day. Those in the castle did not know this. The Qaramanids entered the castle and conquered it. Later, they reported this situation to Sultan Alaeddin. Sultan Alaeddin requested that this castle be given to his son, because his son would fight the infidels in this region. When this news came to Sultan Alaeddin, he was very happy and he gave the administration of this region to him (Qaraman). When Qaraman arrived in Silifke, he started to fight in this region and conquered some places. When Sultan Alaeddin saw this, he loved Qaraman very much and gave him (the town) of Laranda. He gave him the rank of emir al-umera (leader of Islamic military commanders). In this century, the Ottoman family appeared. Then, when the Seljuk state collapsed, the Qaraman family captured these regions. Then, during the reign of Sultan Mehmed Han the Conqueror, Pir Ahmed who was the eldest of them, Sultan Mehmed took into account his opinion in some works. Mehmed the Conqueror took these regions from the Qaramanids in 871 (1467).

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An Ottoman text on the history of Qaramanids from Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Tenkih-i Tewarih-i Müluk*, the Paris Copy, folio: 235-237, pp. 118-119). 24 Shawwal 1083 (text dated 12 February 1673).

Part: Description of some states

Maliks in Turkey

Now the phrase the provinces of Qaraman, Germiyan, Saruhan, Hamidili, Tekeili, Karasiili, Turgudili, Zulkadirlü and Kızıl Ahmedlü, Aydın, Menteşe, İzmiröglü, Qazı Burhaneddin who have Sivas and the homelands of Ramazanoğulları, which is famous in the Anatolian province, is actually included in the Ottoman state. But no one knows when their first rulers arose and whether they were sons of the king or outsiders. In 666, when Kayhusraw bin Qılıç Arslan was the sultan of the Seljuk State (mülk-i Yunan), Qaramanoğlu Mehmed Bey rebelled and captured the city of Konya. In other words, during the reign of Sultan Alaeddin, the Turkish people escaped from the Tartar tribe and settled in the vicinity of the town of Ermenak. This people had a leader named Nure Sofu. They called his eldest son Qaraman. One day, he raided the infidels gathered at the fair and killed them all. He dressed his people in their clothes and entered the fortress of Ermenak in the dark of night, as if an unbeliever came from the fair. He captured the fortress of Ermenak with this trick. After this incident, Nure Sofu girded her son Qaraman with a robe and a sword. He gave the sanjak of Ermenak to Qaraman. He was sited sometimes in Ermenak and sometimes in Taşili. Later, when his time came, Qaraman died. His son, Mehmed, succeeded his father. After a long time, the incident of the Sultan of Egypt came to Turkey. The aforementioned Mehmed took a person named Cimri Harici as a vizier and in this turmoil he took the city of Konya and expelled Kayhusraw from the province. However, the aforementioned Kayhusraw's vizier named Sahib Şemseddin Cuveyni attacked with soldiers and defeated Qaramanoğlu. He caught Mehmed Bey and his vizier and killed them. In other words, this was easily done to Mehmed in 677. The Qaramanid family left a son named Mahmud in the cradle. When he grew up, he became a gentleman to Ermenak. Later, he died in 707. Instead, Yahşi prevailed. In fact, some historians wrote that the Qaramanids wrote Mahmud's name as their father in their signatures, since they accepted that they were affiliated with Mahmud. However, in the *History of Melik Müeyyedi*, it is written that while Nure Sofu was a person of Armenian origin, he became a Muslim, chose the path of the Sufis, then became famous for his asceticism and distanced the people from him. One of

his sons, named Qaraman, escaped and became the person in charge of Sultan's horses (emir-i ahur) to Sultan Alaeddin. Then, Nure Sofu lived for a time in the province of Varsak. While the castle of Silifke was still in the hands of the infidels, Qaraman became one of the people who entered the castle and made friendship with the castle commander. One day, he made a plan with his subordinates and entered the castle of Silifke. He found an opportunity and killed the castle commander and conquered Silifke. Sultan Alaeddin was pleased with this and gave the Silifke government to his adopted son Qaraman. In addition, he sent him an official document (temessük), in which it was written that the places he would conquer would belong to him. Qaraman became famous for its savagery. He conquered many places. Sultan Alaeddin, in his last years, added Laranda to his ensign. According to some, he even took Qaraman as a groom. Then, when the Seljuk state collapsed, Amir Qaraman became like a commander to other beys and made Konya the capital. He gave a sermon in his own name and issued coins. He got his wish. He died after a while. His son Alaeddin took the throne instead of his father. In his first years, when one of the military commanders Hamza b. Firuz told Murad I that Alaeddin had rendered military services in the conquest of Teke, Murat I gave him the sancak of Sofia in the Rumelia. He even married the sister of Murad I.

Parable

When the aforementioned Alaeddin (Mehmed b. Ali) became the owner of coins and sermons, he took the path of his father and began to make some promises. In 792, Bayezid Han the Lightning made a military expedition against him. He was defeated and captured during the war. He transferred his politics to Timurtaş Bey¹⁶ to deal with him. His sons, Mehmed and Mustafa, were sent to Bursa in prison. His hometowns Bursa, Konya, Aksaray and Kayseri were conquered by (the Ottomans).

Parable

After serving twelve years in prison, he (Mehmed b. Ali) was mercifully released from prison and his hereditary state was given to him. However, he did not stand on his own. When Sultan Mehmed was at war with his brother Musa in the Balkans, he attacked Konya, saying that sedition is obligatory. The Bey of (Konya) made an agreement with the notables of Konya, stood against him, defeated his soldier, and captured himself and his son, Mustafa. However, after they came to the Ottoman state, they were released, with the favor of the Islamic clergy, on the condition that they would not revolt after that. Later he died. Later, his hereditary state was left to İbrahim Bey. He ruled for forty-four years, from 825 to 869, as he was the fairest and wisest of this clan. Even he died. Ishak Bey, the eldest of his six children, took the throne. His other children were given the Ottoman Elite (müteferrika). Later, when the Ottomans sent soldiers, Ishak was defeated. The Qaraman Government (hükümet-i Yunan) was conferred on his brother, Ahmed, (by the Ottomans). Not all Qaramanids kept their promises to the Ottomans. While they were in friendship by taking girls from the Ottomans and giving girls to the Ottomans, when the Ottoman Sultan went to war with the infidels, they did not stand alone and did harm and evil against the Ottomans. (The Ottomans) captured them many times, but after taking their promises and the word, they released them again. When the conqueror of Istanbul (Constantinople), Sultan Mehmed Han the Conqueror, ascended the throne, all their provinces were captured. The fact that they did not keep their word and drew the sword against the Muslims caused their state and organizations to be dismayed.

¹⁶ Timurtaş, son of Qara Ali Bey, was an Ottoman vezir of Murad I, Ottoman Sultan. He died in 1404 (Franz Babinger, 'Timurtaş Oghulları', *EI*, vol. 10, second edition, Leiden, 2000, p. 528)

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Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, Tenkih-i Tevarih-i Müluk, Paris nüshası, yaprak: 235-237, s. 118-119). 24 şevval 1083 (12 Şubat 1673 tarihli metin).

Fasl fi beyan-ı bazı düvel

Müluk der vilayet-i Rum

Hafi olmaya ki halâ Anadolu vilayetinde meşhur olan vilayet-i Karaman ve Germiyan ve Saruhan ve Hamidili ve Teke İli ve Karasi ili ve Turgud İli ve Dulkadirlü ve Kızıl Ahmedlü ve ebna-yı Ramazan memleketleri ve Aydın vilayeti ve Menteşe ve İzmiroğlu ve Sivas sahibi Kadı Burhaneddin vilayetleri ki bilfiil memalik-i husrevaniye cümlesi dâhildir lakin evvel-i hâkimleri (hükümetleri) ne tarih ile zuhur etdikleri ve kendüleri ebna-yı mülukdan midür yoksa haricden midür kimesnenin malumu değildir imdi tarih-i hicretin 666 yılında ki Keyhusrev ibn Kılıç Arslan padişah-ı mülk-i Yunan idi ol asrda Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey huruç edüp Konya'yı aldı yani Sultan Alâeddin zamanında Etrak taifesi Tatar kavmi şerrinden kaçıp Ermenak civarında yerleşmişler idi ol taifenin Nuri Sufi nam bir bellü başlusı var idi en büyük oğluna Karaman derlerdi bir gün panayırdan cem' olan küffarı nagah basup cümlesini kılıçdan geçirdi ve onların libaslarını kavmine giyirüb karagusunda panayırdan küffara gelür üslubunda kalaya gidiler ve bu hile ile Ermenak Hisarını aldı badehu Nure Sufi oğlu Karamana hilat ve kılıç kuşadı Ermenak sancağını Karamana verdi gâh anda gâh Taşili'nde sakin olup bade zaman eceli gelüp Karaman fevt olup oğlu Mehmed Bey babası yerine geçdi nice rüzgârdan sonra Sultan-ı Mısır Rum'a gelmek fetreti vuku buldı mezbur Mehmed Bey Cimri Harici nam şahsı vezir edindi ve ol fetret içinde Konya'yı alup Keyhusrev'i vilayetden sürdi çıkardı lakin mezbur Keyhusrev'in Sahip Şemseddin Cüveyni nam veziri leşkeri çeküb Karamanoğlunu sıdı kendüyi ve vezirini dutup öldürdi yani 677 tarihinde mezbura bu müyesser olup Karamanoğlu'nun beşikde Mahmud nam bir oğlu kaldı büyüdükde ol dahi Ermenağ'a bey oldu aher 707'sinde öldü fevt olup anın da yerine Yahşi hâkim oldu hatta Karamaniler imzalarında pederi yazdıkları ol Mahmud'a intisablarına binaendir deyü bazı müverrihler yazmışlardır amma Tarih-i Melik Müeyyedi'de Nure Sufi Ermeniyyü'l-asl bir şahs iken Müslüman olup sufiiyyun tarikine süluk etdi badehu zühd ü salahla namdar olmağın halkı kendüden bait eyledi mezburun Karaman nam bir oğlu kopdı giderek Sultan Alaeddin'e emiri ahur oldu pes Nure Sufi bir zaman Varsak vilayetinde sakin olup Silifke kalası henüz küffar elinde iken zabiti ile dostlaşub kalaya girüp çıkar makulesi olmağın bir gün müridleri ile ittifak edüb kalaya girdi bir fırsatla hâkimini öldürüp Silifke'yi feth etdi Sultan Alâeddin hazz edüb oğlu Karaman'a Silifke hükümetini verdi ve minbad ne yer fethederse kendünün olsun deyü temessük gönderdi ol dahi bahadırılığla şöhret bulup nice yerler feth etdi giderek Sultan Alaeddin Larende'yi anın sancağına zamime kıldı bazıları kavlince gögegü dahi edindi sonra al-i Selçuk münkariz oldukda Emir Karaman sair beylere başbuğ gibi olup Konya'yı payitaht edindi hutbesini okudup sikkesini burudup kamran oldu bade zaman kendisi vefat eyledi oğlu Alaeddin babası yerine cülus kıldı amma evail-i halinde ve ümeradan Hamza bey Firuzun arz edüb Teke İli fethinde yoldaşlıkda bulunduğın bildirmeğın Sultan Murad-ı Kadim kendüye Rumeli'nde Sofya sancağını vermiş idi hatta hemşiresini taht-ı nikâhına almış idi

El-kıssa

Mezbur Alâeddin sahib-i sikke ve hutbe oldukda babası tarihini dutup bazı ahde başladı 792 tarihinde Yıldırım Bayezid Han üzerine vardı esna-yı cenkte münhezim olup tutdı ve siyasetini Timurtaş beye ısmarlayup hakkından gelindi oğulları Mehmed ve Mustafa habs ile Burusa'ya gönderildi ve memleketleri Konya ve Aksaray ve Kayseriye feth olundu

El-kıssa

On iki sene hapis çekdikten sonra yine terahhum olunup Mehmed b. Ali hapisten itlak ve mülk-i mevrusı erzani görüldü lakin tek durmayup Sultan Mehmed b. Bayezid karındaşı Sultan Musa ile Rumelinde mukabil oldukda müfsid-i mezbur farzdır deyü Konya üzerine geldi mirliya olan Bey ayanı vilayet ittifakı ile karşı çıkup askerini soyup kendini ve Mustafa nam oğlunu esir ettiler lakin Der-i Devlete geldiklerinden sonra ulema iltimasıyla minbad isyan etmemek üzere salıverildiler badehu ol vefat etdi badehu mülk-i mevrusı İbrahim Beye yetdi bu zümrenin eâdili ve eâkılı olmağın 825 tarihinden 869 tarihine dek kırk dört yıl aldı verdi ol dahi fevt olup altı evladının büyüğü İshak Bey hâkim oldu sair evladına Dergâh-ı Ali müteferrikalığı verildi badehu Der-i Devlet'ten asker koşulmağıyla İshak münhezim olup hükümet-i Yunan biraderi Emir Ahmed Beye tevcih olundu ve bilcümle evlad-ı Karaman ahidlerine durmayup al-i Osmandan kız alup ve kendüler onlara kız verüp ülfet üzere iken heman ki padişah-ı İslam küffara gazaya giderdi onlar tek durmayup hasaret ve şenaet ederler idi nice nice ele getürdiler yine aldırmayup ahd ü guft ile yine salıverirler idi vakta ki Sultan Mehmed Han İstanbul fâtihi tahta cülüs etdi umumen vilayetleri feth ü zabt olundu mezburunun nakz-ı ahd edüb Müslümanalara kılıç çekmeleri zeval-i mülk ü devletlerine sebep oldı

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Kâtip Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, Müteferrika tabı, p. 614.

Sabıkâ mezkûr olan İçel ki ehl-i İslam gâh garet gâh bazı yerlerin alub çak al-i Selçukiyeden berü Kutulmuş Rum vilayetini istila etdikde Konya'yı taht etmişlerdir anlardan Alaeddin Keykubad asrında bir sofu ismi Nure sahib-i süluk olmağla Sultan Alaeddin ona itikad etmişdir nakl ederler ki Etrakden bir taife Moğoldan kaçub Ermenak civarında mütemekkin olub ekib biçüb öşrünü kefereye verirler idi bunların reislerine Nure Sofu derlerdi ve bu nasaranın evladı çok olub büyük oğluna Karaman derlerdi bir gün keferenin panayırı olup Silifke kalasının halkı ol panayıra çıkdılar ol esnada Karamanîler müctemi olub müşavere etdiler ki niceye dek bu kâfirlere itaat edüb haraç verelim bugün fırsatdur kâfirleri kırub dahi libaslarını giyüb kal'a kurbüne gelüb ittifaken yağmurluca gün olmağla örtünüb bürünmüşler idi kal'ada olanlar bunları bilmeyüb kal'aya koyulub feth etdiler badehu Sultan Alaeddine ilam eyledi ve reca eyledi ki kendü oğluna ol kal'anın beğliğini vire ki ol semtte olan küffâr ile gaza eyleye Sultan Alaeddine bu haber geldikde gayet mesrur olub ol semtin beğliğini vermişdir Karaman Silifke'ye vardıkda ol semtte gaza etmeğe başladı ve bazı yerleri feth etdi Sultan Alaeddin bunu gördü gayet Karamana muhabbet eyledi ve ona Larendeyi ilhak eyledi ve emirü'l-ümera payesini verdi ve ol asırda al-i Osman zuhur eyledi sonra Selçukiye devletleri münkati oldukda al-i Karaman ol semtleri zabt etmişlerdir çak Fatih Sultan Mehmed Hana gelinceye dek en ahirleri Pir Ahmed bazı umurda Sultan Mehmed ana muber olmuşdur ve ol memleketleri onardan nez' etmişdir ki ol vakt sene sekiz yüz yetmiş bir idi.

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