

THE TITLES AND EPITHETS RECEIVED BY THE QARAMANIDS ACCORDING TO THE INSCRIPTIONS

KİTABELERE GÖRE KARAMANOĞULLARI TARAFINDAN KULLANILMIŞ OLAN UNVANLAR VE LAKAPLAR

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Abstract

In Turkey, there are a few carved inscriptions (tombstones, building and commemorative inscriptions) belonging to the Qaramanids in the provinces of Antalya, Larende, Ermenak, Konya, Laranda, Niğde, and Aksaray. Most of these inscriptions were published between 1911 and 1912 by the Turkish scholar Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938), who was the director of the Museum of Antiquities in Istanbul in 1910. In addition to them, the late Turkish historian Mükrimin Halil Yinanç (1900-1961), from Istanbul University, recorded copies of the inscriptions belonging to the Anatolian Seljuks and Anatolian Principalities, including that of the Qaramanids into the daftars (notebooks). These notebooks, which have not been published yet, are protected by the family of the deceased Professor Refet Yinanç (1939-2019). Most of the inscriptions, I used in this article, are basically based on these two sources.

The Qaramanids, a Turkish-Islamic State and politically opposed to the Ottomans, used Turkish, Arabic and Persian words as titles and epithets. They inherited most of these titles and epithets from the Anatolian Seljuks. While emphasizing the Central Asian Turkish roots with the Turkish words they used, they also emphasized that they supported Islam and the caliphate with Arabic words. With these words, they openly stated that they were the helpers of Islam and Muslims and that they were

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engaged in jihad. In addition to making conquests in the name of Islam, they also declared that they were fighting against polytheism and atheism. They always expressed their support for the caliph. Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey II declared himself as a caliph. They claimed that they were the heirs of the Iranian shahs with Persian words. They stated that they attach importance to justice and bestowal. They clearly wrote in the inscriptions that they were protecting the believers but were the enemies of the unbelievers.

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Keywords

Karamanids, Laranda, İslam, Konya, Inscription, Seljuks

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Öz

Türkiye’de Antalya, Larende, Ermenak, Konya, Laranda, Niğde, Aksaray illerinde Karamanoğullarını ait az sayıda oyma kitabe (mezar taşları, yapı ve hatıra yazıtları) bulunmaktadır. Bu yazıtların çoğu, 1910 yılında İstanbul’da Eski Eserler Müzesi müdürü olan Türk bilgin Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938) tarafından, 1911-1912 yılları arasında Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası yayımlanmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak, İstanbul Üniversitesi’nden merhum Türk tarihçisi Mükrimin Halil Yinanç (1900-1961), Karamanoğulları da dâhil olmak üzere, Anadolu Selçukluları ve Anadolu Beyliklerine ait yazıtların nüshalarını defterlere kaydetmiştir. Henüz yayınlanmamış olan bu defterler, merhum Prof. Refet Yinanç’ın (1939-2019) ailesinde bulunmaktadır. Bu yazımda kullandığım kitabelerin çoğu, temel olarak bu iki kaynağa dayanmaktadır.

Bir Türk-İslam devleti olan ve siyasi olarak Osmanlılara muhalif olan Karamanoğulları, unvan ve lakap olarak, Türkçe, Arapça ve Farsça kelimeleri kullanmışlardır. Bu unvanların çoğunu Anadolu Selçuklularından devralmışlardır. Kullandıkları Türkçe sözcüklerle, Orta Asya Türk köklerine vurgu yaparlarken, Arapça kelimelerle de İslam’ı ve hilafeti desteklediklerini vurgulamışlardır. Onlar, İslam’ın ve Müslümanların yardımcıları olduklarını ve cihatla meşgul olduklarını bu sözcüklerle açıkça ifade etmişlerdir. İslam adına fetihler yapmanın yanı sıra, şirke ve dinsizliğe karşı savaştıklarını da ilan ettiler. Halifeye desteklerini her zaman dile getirdiler. Karamanoğlu II. İbrahim Bey kendini halife ilan etti. Farsça sözcüklerle de İran şahlarının varisleri oldukları iddiasında bulundular. Adalet ve ihsana önem verdiklerini belirttiler. Müminleri koruduklarını, ancak kâfirlerin düşmanı olduklarını kitabelerde açıkça yazdılar.

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Anahtar Kelimeler

Karamanoğulları, Larende, İslam, Konya, Kitabe, Selçuklular



The Qaramanids (Qaraman Oghullari) was a Turkish-Islamic dynasty who reigned in the Central Anatolia and Taurus Mountains between the year 1256-1464 and the name of a strong Turkish-Islamic state in Turkish.¹ They always remained politically opposed to the Ottomans. Because they claimed to be the heirs of the state of Anatolian Seljuks, which collapsed in the late 13th century. They also claimed that they had the right to establish a state in Anatolia according to the Oghuz² political tradition. They largely remained one of the vassals of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt in the Central Anatolia and Taurus Mountains.³ In the mid-13th century, the towns of Ermenak and Laranda of Anatolia became their administrative centers. Then they captured the old Seljuk cities of Konya and Kayseri. At their strongest, their political influence reached the city of Sivas in the north, the town of Tarsus and Adalya (Antalya) in the south, and cities of Kütahya and Isparta in the west of Anatolia.⁴ They temporarily occupied the Ottoman capital, Bursa. The cities of Laranda⁵, Konya and Kayseri became their administrative centers.

There are few engraved inscriptions (tombstones, building and memory inscriptions) describing the Qaramanids in Antalya, Laranda, Ermenak, Konya, Laranda, Niğde, Aksaray cities of Turkey. Most of these inscriptions were published between 1911 and 1912 by Turkish scholar Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938) who was a director of the Museum of Antiquities of Istanbul in 1910, in Journal of Ottoman History Council (Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası) (Edhem, 1327a, p. 741-760; 1327b, p. 741-760; 1328a, p. 821-836; 1328b, p. 873-881; Edhem, 1331.) In addition to these, the deceased Turkish historian Mükrimin Halil Yinanç (1900-1961), from Istanbul University, collected the copies of inscriptions

¹ Although the Qaramanids was defined as Turkish principality in the official history curriculum in Turkey, it can be documented that she were a more powerful Turkish state that had official correspondence with the Mamluk Sultanate. On the Qaramanids, see. (Sümer, 1997, p. 619-625).

² According to the late Faruk Sümer (1924-1995), Oghuz was the Turkish tribe, the ancestors of the Turks of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq and Turkmenistan.

³ In Mamluk sources, Qaramanids was mentioned under the title of Ermenak Principality in the sections reserved for Anatolian Turks. They were defined as Turkish amirs or *awlad-ı Qaraman*. Coins were minted in the towns of Laranda and Ermenak in the name of the Mamluk sultan al-Nasır Muhammad between 1316 and 1331 years. The Mamluk sultan Inal addressed İbrahim II. Qaramanid in diplomatic correspondence as canab al-ali (Dekkiche, 2017, p. 253-281).

⁴ For the details of the geography dominated by the Qaramanids, the following research should be consulted: (Yıldız, 2009, p. 311).

⁵ The name Laranda was changed to Karaman after 1300 (Groot and Reed, 1986, p. 676-678). For the monuments in Laranda, see. (Rogers, 1986, p. 678-682).

belonging to the Anatolian Seljuks and Anatolian Principalities, including that of the Qaramanids, in *daftars*, a kind of big notebooks.⁶

When the engraved inscriptions, written in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, belonging to the Qaramanids published by him in Istanbul are examined, it was seen that the Qaramanids have expressed themselves with the word *dawla* in these inscriptions since the year of 1329 (730). The Arabic word *dawla* means dynasty or state. In the inscription of Tol Madrasa of Ermenak, Musa Bey (d. 1345), son of Mahmud from the Qaramanids, defines himself as the witness for the Qaramanid State (*burhan ad-dawla*), in 1339. It turns out that this definition was also made by the other members of the Qaramanids in the later period. The administrative period of Halil Bey, son of Mahmud from the Qaramanids, who ruled in the first half of the fourteenth century, defines as the days of the state (*fi ayyam-ı dawla*) in the inscription of the Laranda Hatuniye Madrasa, dated 1381. In addition, the reign of İbrahim Bey (d. 1464) the Qaramanid was defined as the days for the state in the inscriptions of Ak Madrasa of Niğde dated 1419 and that of Konya Hatipoğlu Mosque dated 1423. Also İbrahim Bey's days were stated as the days for the Qaramanid State in the inscription of the tomb of Pir Hüseyin Bey of Konya dated 1431 and of the inscription of the castle of Mamuriya dated 1450 and the inscription of the Meram Bath of Konya dated 1463. When Pir Ahmed and İshak Bey shared the lands the Qaramanids, the prayer of God to make their state eternal (*hallad allahu dawlatuhuma*) was written in the inscriptions. All these evidences we obtained from the inscriptions was a clear indication that the Qaramanids defined themselves as an Islamic state in the Anatolian lands, even though they were politically subject to the Mamluk Sultanate. The members of the Qaramanids acquired Turkish, Arabic and Persian words in the inscriptions as titles and epithets to show their dominance.

It was understood from the inscriptions that the Turkish title of *khaqan* was rarely used by the Qaramanid members. It seems that the first members of the Qaramanids did not use this title generally. One of the valuable evidence on this subject was the phrase 'the greatest *khaqan* (*khaqan al-a'zam*) in the stone inscription belonging to the Madrasah of İbrahim Bey in the town of Laranda of Anatolia, dated 1432. He clearly describes himself as the greatest *khaqan* for the Qaramanids. In a Persian letter sent from Ottoman Sultan Murad I to Ali Bey of Qaramanids (d. 1397), Ali Bey was addressed by Ottoman sultan Murad I as ' the

⁶ These *daftars* are preserved in the private library of Mükrimin Halil Yinanç's relative, the late Prof. Refet Yinanç (1939-1019) and unpublished. I used these *daftars*, in particular vol. 18. I would like to thank the Yinanç family for allowing me to benefit from it.

proud ruler of Arabian, Turk and Persian khaqans (iftihar-ı hawaqin al-Turk wa al-Arab wa al-Acam) (Feridun Bey, 1286, p. 88). As known, the title of khaqan, which comes from the Turkish word "khağan" or "khagan", was used by the Turks in the sense of 'the highest administrator'. As Prof. Boyle writes, the title of khaqan, a word borrowed into Turkish from Juan-Juan, was used by Arab geographers to describe the 'chiefs of Turkish tribes'. In addition, this word was seen in the works of Arab geographers among the titles of non-Muslim rulers such as the emperor of China. The successors of Genghis Khan wrote this word as qaan. This title was carried to Europe in the 6th century by the Avars (Boyle, 1997, p. 915). This Turkish word was made plural in Arabic as hawaqin. It should mention that this title was not mentioned in the History of Şikari, which is the official history of the Qaramanids. İbrahim Bey II from the Qaramanids, deeming himself the greatest ruler, claims to be the chief of all Turkish tribes. (Şikari Karamanname, 2005). This title was used by other Turcoman rulers before using the Qaramanids in Anatolia. For example, in the inscription of Halaf Gazi Masjid of Tokat, dated 1291, it was used as a plural form of the person who praises of rulers (hamidat al-hawakîn). Among the titles of Ottoman Sultans of Bayezid I (1389-1402), Mehmed I (1413-1421), and Murad II (1421-1444, first reign period), there was the title of khaqan. After his death, Bayezid I, was written as khaqan in the inscription of Hafsa Hatun Masjid of Bursa, dated 1443, by his son Murad II. (Tevhid, 1915, p. 188). It should be noted that in the inscription of the Hamza Bey Masjid of Tokat, dated 1413, the title of khaqan was also mentioned for Mehmed I, in addition to the titles of mawla⁷, sultan and abi al-fath. In the inscription of Green Mosque of Bursa, Ottoman Sultan Mehmed I was described as the khaqan for Arabia and Iran (khaqan al-Arab wa al-Acam). In the inscription of the aforementioned Hafsa Hatun Masjid, the title of khaqan was used for Ottoman Sultan Murad II.

Prof. Boyle argues that the title of khan was also used by the Turks as a synonym for the titles of khaqan or qagan. He states that this title was first mentioned on Qarakhanids coins, and that it was a title above the titles of melik and amir during the Seljuks and Kharizmshahs periods. This title was also used by the Mongols for the head of an ulus, confederation of tribes. The Safavids, on the other hand, used the title of khan for the provincial administrator of a lower rank than the beylerbey. He writes that, in the Turkish states of India, it was used to mean the nobility of Iranian and Afghan origin who were belonging to the sultanate family. (Boyle, 1997, p. 1010). However contrary to what Boyle argues,

⁷ For more information about Mawla, see. (Wensinck, 1997, p. 874).

the title of khan was different from the title of khaqan in Turkish as a word. The title of khan was also used by the members of Qaramanids. They refer to their Turkish roots by using the Turkish title of khan. In the inscription dated 1469 of the Sunqur Bey Mosque (Cami-i Kebir) of Niğde, the phrases 'Sultan bin Sultan Sultan Pir Ahmad Khan and Qasım Khan bin Qaraman' appear. Both Pir Ahmad and Kasım Sultan from the Qaramanids openly used the title of khan. In the History of Şikari, the official history book of the Qaramanids, the title of khan, a very influential title among Turks, was only used for Oguz Khan, ancestor of the Turks. However, this title was only used by the last Qaramanids, due to Ottoman rivalry. The inscription of Great Mosque of Niğde begins with an Arabic expression and continues in Persian for one line. According to the inscription, Pir Ahmad Khan and Qasım Khan of the Qaramanids has abolished the collection of some taxes from the people, such as kopçur, some kind of tax, in the region of Niğde (Dar al-Pahlawaniyya). If anyone would collect this tax, they cursed them. According to the order in this non-Turkish inscription, the fact that the title of sultan was written before the title of khan and was repeated several times means that the title of khan was a title that was lower than the title of sultan for the Qaramanids. This can be due to the political influence of the Mamluk Sultanate on the Qaramanids. The title of sultan emphasizes Islamic influence of Mamluk Sultanate over the Qaramanids, while the khan indicates their central Asian Turkic origin. It should be noted that the title of khan was also used for Ottoman Orhan Bey and Orhan Gazi in the late Ottoman inscriptions.

Most of the Qaramanids openly stated that they were the distinguished assistants of the Caliphs (Burhan amir al-mu'minîn or kasım amir al-mu'minîn). In the Arabic inscription of the Tol Madrasah of Ermenak, dated 1339, the honorific title the evidence for the Qaramanid State and Islam (Burhan al-dawla-wa al-din) was used for Pasha Musa (d. 1345) from the Qaramanids. In the inscription of the Madar-i Mawlana Zawiya of Laranda dated 1370, Alaaddin Ali (d. 1397) the Qaramanid defines himself as shadow of God on earth (zillullahi fi alam). In the inscription of the castle of Mamuriya⁸ dated 1450, İbrahim Bey of the Qaramanids, in addition to going by titles such as melik, mawla, mufiz, mansur, wazih, melik and sultan, most importantly, defines himself as shadow of God on earth. In addition, he states himself as proof of the fortress and the town of Mamuriya, which was taken from infidels. He converted it to Islam. He also states that he used this fortress as a base for the Holy War. In this castle, his horses were neighing, for

⁸ Today Mamuriya is an historical castle and town in the south of Turkey, on the Mediterranean coast, in the Anamur district of Mersin.

the sake of God, in order to make jihad with the help of God. He says that he was a gift for Islam (hediye ila sirat al-mustakim). With this title, he was assertive about the caliphate. In the inscription Ak Madrasa of Niğde dated 1409, Mehmed Bey the Qaramanid starts with basmala, then praises the God and the prophet Muhammad respectively. Such a definition was largely based on the Anatolian Seljuks in Anatolia. One of the oldest inscriptions in which the title *amir al-mu'minin*⁹ was written in Anatolia was the inscription of Yağbasan from the Danishmandids dated 1157. In this inscription, Yağbasan b. Melik Gazi b. Melik Danishmend (d. 1164) was honored as dignified man of the caliph (*zahir amir al-mu'minîn*). Seljuk sultan Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw (d. 1237) was mentioned with the same title in the inscription of Uluborlu Great Mosque dated 1231. In the inscription of Uluborlu Çeşme dated 1281, Seljuk sultan Kayhusraw bin Kaykubad (d. 1246) was described as God's shadow on earth (*zıllullahi fi al-alam*). In the inscription of Uluborlu Great Mosque dated 1287, Mesud b. Kaykawus was mentioned with the same title. Keyhusrev b. Kaykubad was identified with the same title in the inscription of the Inn of Zamantı Karatay dated 1240. Keyhusrev b. Kaykubad was honored as both 'God's shadow on earth' and 'the trustworthy man of the caliph' (*kasîm amir al-mu'minin*) in the inscription of the Castle of Adalya (Antalya) dated 1238 (Tevhid, 1340, p. 336). It is understood that these two concepts have politically different meanings. In one place in the Antalya inscription, Seljuk sultan Keyhusraw b. Kaykubad states himself as helper of the Islamic Ummah (*muğis ummat al-zahira*). In the inscription of Eğirdir Madrasa dated 1301, the epithet person who works for Muslims and Islam (*âmil al-Islam wa al-Muslimin*) was used for Dündar Bey (d. 1326), son of İlyas Bey, from Khamidis, a Turcoman dynasty who ruled the region of Isparta and Adalya of Anatolia. In the Arabic inscription of the Ertokuş Madrasa (Atabek Madrasa) dated 1224 in Isparta, the Seljuk Sultan Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw was clearly defined as eminent person of the Caliph (*burhan amir al-mu'minîn*). It was understood that the epithet person who patronizes Muslims (*puşt-penah-ı İslamiyan*) used for Celebi Murad Arslan b. İnanç Bey (1335-1362), one of the amirs of the Inanjids of Denizli was rare. In the inscription of the castle

⁹ This title has been used in both political and military meanings in the history of Islam. The example that it was used in the military sense, that is, the military commander who made war and jihad, in the Ottomans since Orhan Bey or Murad I, was the warrant given by Orhan Gazi to Gazi Evrenos Bey. Orhan Gazi appointed Evrenos Bey as *Amir al-Mu'minin* on the occasion of the conquest of Komotini, Siroz, Monastery (Bitola), Bihašte and Morašte. The order was as follows: Allah, Hz. Muhammad, the caliph (I. Murad) and the *Amir al-mu'minin*. The Prophet Muhammad's drum (*tabl*), a pennant made of hair (*tuğ*) and the sultan's caftan became the symbols of dominance of the *amir al-mu'minîn*. (Feridun Bey, 1286, p. 88-89).

of Alanya dated 1230, there were expressions of both evidence for the caliph and dignified man of the caliph for Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw. In the Arabic inscription of the Ibn Hatir Fountain dated 1267 of Niğde, the epithet 'the evidence for the caliph' was used for Seljuk sultan Kayhusraw bin Kılıç Arslan. In the inscriptions of the castle of Sinop (Behçet, 1930a, p. 37; 1930b, p. 45) dated 1215, Kaykawus b. Kayhusraw was referred to as both caliph's deputy and evidence for the caliph. The word 'evidence' (burhan) was mentioned in the plural as 'the evidences of caliph' (berâhin-i amir al-mu'minîn) in the inscription of Great Bridge of Tokat dated 1250. The Seljuk historian the late professor Mehmet Altay Köymen (1916-1993) has stated that the names of Baghdad Abbasid caliphs (Nasır, Zahir and Mustansır) were engraved on the coins of Seljuk sultan Alaaddin Kaykubad I. (Köymen, 2020, p. 156). It was understood from the Arabic inscription dated 1243 of the İncir Han of Burdur Bucak that this title 'the dignified man of the Caliph' was also used for Seljuk sultan Kayhusraw bin Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw. This nic epithet kname was also mentioned in other inscriptions.

The epithet 'shadow of God on earth' was used by Ottomans. This epithet was written both in the inscription of Hafsa Hatun Masjid dated 1443 and in the inscription of the Ottoman Sultan II. Murad Mosque. In the inscription of the Bursa Green Mosque Tomb, a prayer was made for the continuation of Ottoman Sultan Çelebi Mehmed's caliphate on earth. (halladallahu fi hilafat al-arz). It should be noted that the Qaramanids were not mentioned as imam, a Muslim man who was political and religious leader of the believers, in the inscriptions. In a letter addressed from Ottoman Orhan Bey to Ali Bey the Qaramanids, two epithets draw attention. The first was the person who helps Muslims and Islam (avn al-Islam wa al-Muslim) (Feridun Bey, 1286, p. 66) and the other was the shadow of God in the World and the Hereafter (zıllullahi fi al-arzayn) for Ali Bey the Qaramanid. This epithet 'the greatest ruler who loves his city' (Şahriyar-ı a'zam) was used for the members of the Qaramanid members by very few. One of them was Ali Bey the Qaramanids.

The Qaramanids rarely used the title of (şahenşah- a'zam or şahenşah-muazzam), 'the greatest ruler to protect the kingship'. In the Arabic inscription of the Ak Madrasa of Niğde, dated 1409, Sultan Mehmed the Qaramanid was referred to as 'the greatest ruler to protect the kingship'. In the inscription of Qadı Mursal Mosque of Konya dated 1409, Mehmed b. Alaaddin the Qaramanid was referred as şahenşah- muazzam. Again, in the inscription of the Tomb of Pir Hüseyin Bey, son of Turgud, of Konya dated 1431, İbrahim II. The Qaramanid was referred with the title of şahenşah- muazzam, as well as sultan, malik and sayyid. It is understood

that the Qaramanids inherited this title from the Anatolian Seljuks. Because, both in the Arabic inscriptions of Alaaddin Mosque of Niğde dated 1223 and in the inscription of the castle of Alanya dated 1230, Seljuk sultan Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw was referred as the greatest ruler to protect the kingship. In the inscription of Bucak İncir Inn dated 1243, Kayhusraw b. Kaykubad b. Kayhusraw was honored with this title. This title was used for Kayhusraw bin Kılıç Arslan in the inscription of the İbn Hatir Fountain of Niğde. F. C. De Blois writes that the words *shah* and *şahañşah* were two titles belonging to the sultanate in Persian. *Shah* that means 'king' in Western languages, while *şahañşah* means 'king of kings'. He traces the origin of this word back to the Achaemenid Kingdom in Persia. He writes that these words were found in the inscriptions of the Arsacid and Sassanid states. He argues that this may be a Persian imitation of the Turkish word 'khan' (Blois, 1997, p. 191). Since this title was used by very few the Qaramanid lords as late as 1409, it seems to be a manifestation of the Ottoman-Qaraman conflict over Seljuk heritage.

In the inscription of the mausoleum allegedly belonging to the great Muslim mystic Mawlana Calaladdin Rumi and his grandmother dated 1370 of the town of Laranda, the title 'father of conquest' (*abu al-feth* or *abi al-fath*) was used for Alaaddin Halil bin Mahmud the Qaramanid. It is understood that this title was inherited from the Anatolian Seljuks to the Qaramanids. One of the oldest inscriptions in which this title was used in Anatolia was the Danishmendid Yağbasan inscription dated 1157. In this inscription, Yağbasan b. Melik Gazi b. Melik Danishmend was mentioned with the title of 'the father of the victor' (*abu al-muzaffer*). The title of the father of conquest' was used for Seljuk sultan Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw in the inscription dated 1224 of the Atabay Ertokuş Madrasa of Isparta. Again, in the inscription of Alanya, Seljuk sultan Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw was defined as 'the father of the conquest'. It was seen that this title was widely used in Anatolian Seljuks. The definition of 'the father of conquest' was clearly made for Kayhusraw bin Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw in the inscription of Bucak İncir Inn and for Kayhusraw bin Kılıç Arslan in the fountain inscription of İbn Hatir of Niğde. All these definitions mean that the Anatolian Seljuk Sultans made conquests in Anatolia. The title of 'the father of conquest' was used for Mesud bin Kaykawus in the inscription of the pulpit of Ankara Arslanhane Mosque dated 1290 (Edhem, 1911, p. 312). Again, the title was used for Mesud bin Kaykawus in the inscription of the castle of Beyşehir, capital of Aşrafids Principality and one of the administrative centers belonging to the province of Konya, dated 1288. In the undated inscription of Melik Gazi, Kayhusraw b.

Kaykubad was mentioned with the title. The inscription of Ebulkasim b. Ali al-Tusi (d. after 1234), one of the viziers of Seljuk sultan Ala al-din Kaykubad I, of Tokat dated 1233, Seljuk sultan Kaykubad b. Kayhusraw was honored with this title. In the inscriptions of the castle of Sinop dated 1215, Kaykawus b. Keyhusrev was remembered with this title. Kaykubad b. Feramurz was described as 'the father of conquest' in the inscription of the pulpit of Kızıl Bey Camii of Ankara. A passage about how Alaaddin Halil the Qaramanid got this title was available in a passage of the History of Şikari. Accordingly, he took this title because he conquered the fortress of Görkes (Gorikos) on the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia, which was in the hands of the infidels. According to this passage, on Friday night, he prays in the mausoleum of Mawlana Calaladdin. He gave him the good news of the conquest. He names him 'the father of conquest' in the dream. Undoubtedly, this narrative was included in the book to enable Mawlana's followers to support the conquests of the Qaramanids. This title was also used by the Ottoman sultans. Mehmed the Conqueror took the title of 'father of conquest' after the conquest of Constantinople.

It was understood that the word sultan has both mystical and political meanings in the Islamic world. In the inscription of the Madar-i Mawlana Zawiya of Laranda, the phrase the lovers of sultan (sultan al-aşikin) was used for Mawlana Rumi (1207-1273), one of the greatest Islamic mystics of Anatolia and founder of Mawlawiyya Order, which was clearly in mystical sense. However, the Qaramanids used this word a lot as an Islamic title at the highest level. Mehmed bin Alaaddin the Qaramanid was written as the greatest sultan (sultan al-a'zam) in the inscription of the Ak Madrasa of Niğde dated 1409. The fact that the some Qaramanids express themselves as the greatest sultan was because they claim to be the heirs of the Anatolian Seljuks. In the inscription of the Shah Masjid of Niğde, Ali Bey the Qaramanid was defined only as a sultan. İbrahim Bey II the Qaramanid was referred to as the sultan in the inscriptions of Kubba Masjid, the Hanım Mosque and Ayas Ağa Masjid of Niğde. It is seen the inscription that it was Pir Ahmed Bey who used this title at the highest level. In the inscription of Cami-i Kebir of Niğde dated 1469, he expressed himself as sultan, son of sultan, sultan Pir Ahmad Khan (sultan bin sultan sultan Pir Ahmad Khan). The History of Şikari also confirms that the Qaramanids used the title of sultan widely. According to a newly discovered document, in an endowment document belonging to Süleyman Bey I the Qaramanid, he was referred as the greatest sultan (sultan al-a'zam), the pride of the sultans of Arabia and Iran (fah al-müluk wa salatin al-Arab wa al-Acam) and Sultan of Islam and Muslims (sultan al-Islam wa al-Muslimin) (Degerli and

Küçükdağ, 2020, p. 36).¹⁰ This title was also widely used by other Turcoman lords of Anatolia. For example, Gazi Ahmed Bey, son of Menteşe, described himself as the greatest sultan (sultan al-muqarram or sultan al-muazzam) in the inscriptions of Milas. In the Arabic inscription of the Cami-i Kebir of Denizli, dated 1244, the phrase the greatest sultan was used for Germiyan Shah bin İbrahim Shah bin Süleyman Shah ibn Mehmed, one of the beys of the Germiyan Dynasty who ruled the region of Denizli of western Anatolia between 1288 and 1391 (Edhem, 1910, p. 112-128). The members of Ottoman dynasty also used the titles of sultan and khan. In the inscription of Orhan Gazi Mosque of Bursa dated 1337, Orhan Gazi was referred to as sultan of Islamic veterans and mujahideen (sultan al-guzât wa al-mücahidin), son of the veteran (gazi b. gazi), the hero of the world and Islam (şuca' al-dunya wa al-din), the military commander of the borders (marzban al-afak) (Tevhid, 1330, p. 318-320)¹¹ and the precious person of time (bahadur-ı zaman). I have not come across a record in the inscriptions that the word bahadur, which was an honorary title in the means of brave and hero, was used by the Qaramanids. The Ottoman sultan Murad I was mentioned as both a sultan and a khan in the inscription of Qibla Masjid of Niğde. Ottoman sultan Bayezid the Thunderbolt was described as khan and a sultan in the inscription of the Firuz Ağa Mosque of Milas (Erdogru, 2021, p. 1075-1087). Ottoman sultan Murat II was referred to as the pride of Ottoman dynastic sultans (fahri selatin-i al-i Osman) in the inscription of the Mosque in Bursa. In the inscription of Green Mosque of Bursa, Çelebi Mehmed was described as sultan of East and West (sultan al-Şark wa al-Garb). The source of this title in Anatolia was the Anatolian Seljuks. For example, in the inscription of the mausoleum of Hond Hatun dated 1312 in Niğde, Seljuk sultan Kayhusraw was written as sultan the world and the pillar of Islam (rukni al-dunya wa al-din). Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw was written as the greatest sultan (sultan al-a'zam) and sultan of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, the sultan of Europe and Asia (sultan al-barrayn wa al-bahrayn) in the inscriptions of the castle of Alanya. In the inscription of the Bedreddin Mosque of Alanya dated 1277, the phrase the greatest sultan was used for Seljuk sultan Kayhusraw bin Kılıç Arslan. In the undated inscription of Qaraman Bey, a man who gave his name to the Qaraman dynasty,

¹⁰ A Source on Hatunsaray-Sheikh Shibli Zawiya: The foundation charter of Karamanoğlu Süleyman I Bey.

¹¹(The oldest Islamic inscription in Bursa). Some researchers have put forward the opinion that this inscription attributed to Orhan Gazi is not contemporary. In the inscription of the castle of Adalya, Seljuk sultan Kayhusraw b. Kaykubad was honored as *marzban al-afak*. It was understood that Orhan Gazi probably took this title from the Anatolian Seljuks. For now, I have not come across any evidence that this title was honored by the Qaramanids.

his grave was located in the village of Balkason of Ermenak, there was the expression the greatest sultan for Masud bin Kaykawus, Anatolian Seljuk sultan. In the inscription of the Yeni Mosque of Denizli dated 1271, Kayhusraw bin Kılıç Arslan was stated as the greatest sultan. In the inscription dated 1243 of the İncir Inn of Bucak of Burdur, the descriptions of the greatest sultan and Sultan of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and Anatolia were made for the Anatolian Seljuk sultan Kayhusraw bin Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw. In the inscription of the Ertokuş Madrasa, the phrase the greatest sultan was written for Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw. It was seen from inscriptions that the common usage of this title was the greatest sultan and sultan of the most understanding rulers (sultan al-afham).

The Qaramanids also used the title of sayyid, the president and an honorary title used for descendants of the prophet Muhammad. Ala al-din Halil bin Mahmud the Qaramanid was written as the president of sultans of Arabia and Persia (sayyid-i selatîn al-Arab wa al-Acam) in the inscription of the Mausoleum of Madar-i Mawlana of Laranda. The source of the title was the Anatolian Seljuks. In the inscription of the Mosque of Alaaddin of Niğde dated 1223, Kaykubad bin Kayhusraw was described as the president of sultans of Arabia and Persia. Seljuk sultan Kayhusraw bin Kılıç Arslan was mentioned with the same phrase in the inscription of Ibn Hatir Fountain of Niğde. In the inscription of the castle of Sinop dated 1215, Kaykawus b. Kayhusraw was known as the president of the sultans of the world (Sayyid al-salatin al-âlam). With this phrase, the Qaramanids claim that they were the foremost of the sultans of Arabia and Persia.

The members of the Qaramanids generally used the Turkish title of bey or beg and its Arabic title of amir in the inscriptions. Proper noun and the titles such as Şams al-din Beg, İbrahim Beg, Sayf al-din Süleyman Beg and Badr al-din Beg were founded in the inscriptions belonging to the Qaramanids. In the inscription of the Tol Madrasa, Musa bin Mahmud the Qaramanid was referred to as the great lord of the world (amir al-kebir al-alam). The title of al-amir was used for Ahmed Bey the Qaramanid on a tombstone inside the Amir Musa Madrasah of Laranda. In the inscription of the Hacı Begler Mosque of Laranda, the title the greatest lord (al-amir al-akbar) was used for Hacı Beg. In the inscription of the Hatuniya Madrasa, the title the greatest lord was used for Halil bin Mahmud the Qaramanid. On the tombstone of Dürrihond Hatun, there was the title the lord for Badr al-din Bey the Qaramanid. In the inscription of the Imaret Madrasa of Laranda, İbrahim II the Qaramanid was called the title the greatest lord (Uzuncarsılı, 1937, p. 56-144).¹² It

¹² From the Qaramanids Period Documents, the Charitable Foundation of the Imaret of Karaman by İbrahim Bey.

was understood from the inscription that the title amir was a higher level than Turkish title beg in the Qaramanids.

The title of Muslim veteran (*gazi*) was used for Musa Bey the Qaramanid in the inscription of the Tol Madrasah of Ermenak. The same title was used for Ahmed Bey Qaramanid. It should be noted that Ahmed Bey from the Mantasha dynasty also used this title. This was a title frequently used by the Turcoman lords of Anatolia. The Ottomans were also given this title. Ali Bey the Qaramanid addressed to Ottoman sultan Murad I. as the epithet savior of Islamic veterans and mujahideen (*nâsır al-guzât wa al-mücahidîn*) (Feridun Bey, 1286, p. 89). In the Birgi inscription dated 1307, the titles mujahideen, murabit and the sultan of Islamic veterans (*sultan al-guzat*) were used for Mehmed Bey who was the founder of principality of Aydın (Koprulu, 1928, p. 1-32).¹³ In the inscription of the Sultan Orhan Gazi Mosque of Bursa, Orhan was honored as the sultan of Islamic veterans and müjahideens and the Muslim veteran, son of the veteran.

The title of male slave of God (*âbid*), was used for Musa Bey the Qaramanid of the inscription of Tol Madrasa of Ermenak.

The epithet of the ruler who punishes those who rebel and obstinate against monotheistic religions (*qâhîrat al-tuğyan wa al-mutamarridîn*) was used to describe Ala al-din Halil bin Mahmud the Qaramanid in the inscription of the Madar-i Mawlana lodge of Laranda. With this epithet, he states that he punishes the groups who do not accept the religions of monotheistic, especially Islam. The epithet of the one who destroys apostates and sinners (*qâhir al-facara wa al-mülhidîn*) was used for İbrahim II the Qaramanids. In a Persian undated letter sent from Murad I to Ali Bey the Qaramanid, Ali Bey was described as the person who broke the hopes of the person who destroys those who resist accepting monotheistic religions (*qâsir-i a'nak al-mutamarridîn*) (Feridun Bey, 1286, p. 88). One of the epithets of Ali Bey was the savior who acts cautiously to discourage evil people (*al-nasr wa at-tamkin li-kesr-i ahzab al-şayatîn*) (Feridun Bey, 1286, p. 99) The Qaramanids stated in official correspondence that they were fighting against heresy, polytheist, atheist, the Devil and those who resist accepting monotheistic religions.

In the inscription of the Mausoleum of Madar-i Mawlana of Laranda, Ala al-din Halil bin Mahmud the Qaramanid was mentioned as the murderer of polytheists and unbelievers (*qâtil al-kefere wa al-muşrikîn* or *qâtil-i zenâdıqa wa al-müşrikîn*). In the inscription of İbrahim Bey Madrasa of Laranda, İbrahim Bey II

¹³ Notes on the history of Anatolian Principalities.

the Qaramanid was stated as the person who put on the right belief those who propose to associate partners with God (*nezzam nasih shirk*). İbrahim Bey II describes himself as the murderer of heretics and polytheists. These epithets were taken from the Seljuk Sultanate. In the castle inscription of Sinop, this epithet was used for Seljuk sultan Kaykawus b. Kayhusraw. Such epithets were also used by the Ottomans. Upon the Ottoman conquest of Edirne, Plovdiv and Komotini, Ali Bey the Qaramanid sent a Persian letter to Ottoman sultan Murad I. In this letter he describes him as the one who kills sinners and infidels (*qâtil al-kuffâr and qâmi' al-fuccâr*). He also defines him as the shadow of Allah in this world and the hereafter (*zıllullahi fi al-arzayn*). These epithets express the efforts of Qaramanids in spreading the religion of Islam. It is seen that this title and epithet were also used by the Ottoman sultans. For example, Tursun Bey (d. after 1491), the official historian of Mehmed the Conqueror, uses the epithets of the command of the believers (*amir al-mu'minin*) and the murderer of sinners and polytheists (*qami al-fecereti wa al-muşrikin*) (Feridun Bey, 1286, p. 93) for Mehmed the Conqueror (Tursun Beg, 2020).¹⁴

Mawla has two different meanings according to the Qur'an and Hadith. The first meaning was private teacher, patron and trusting person. The second meaning was synonymous with the president, sayyid. It was seen that İbrahim Bey II the Qaramanid used the epithet of the master of Arab and Persian kings (*mawla muluk al-Arab wa al-Acam*) in the soup kitchen inscription of Laranda. In the inscription of Sinop, Seljuk Sultan Kaykawus b. Kayhusraw was defined as the master of Arabia and Iran (*Mawla Arab wa al-Acam*). It was understood that this title was also used by the Ottoman sultans. It was written for Sultan Murad the greatest ruler (*el-mawla-i a'zam*) in the inscription of the Yakup Bey Madrasa of Kütahya dated 1440.

In the soup kitchen inscription of Laranda, it was seen that the title of 'the one who sets the rules' (*wazı marasim al-adl wa al-ihsan*) was used for İbrahim Bey II the Qaramanid. This means was the person who establishes the rules of justice and benevolence.

The epithet of the person who upholds the rules about blasphemy and injustice (*hadim-i qavâid al-cawr wa al-tuğyan*) was used for İbrahim Bey the Qaramanid in the soup kitchen inscription of Laranda. It was used in the sense of abolishing or destroying laws and practices that oppress the public.

¹⁴ History of Mehmed the Conqueror.

The Qaramanids used the Arabic title of owner, (malik). In the inscription of the Mausoleum of Madar-i Mawlana of Laranda, one of the titles and epithets of Ala al-din Halil the Qaramanid was owner of all slaves belonging to Muslims (malik riqab al-umam). It was a common epithet. This epithet was used for İbrahim Bey II the Qaramanid in the inscription of the madrasah of Laranda.

In addition to these titles and epithets, it was seen from the inscription that every Qaramanid has a unique epithet. They use epithets such as open-handed person of the religion of Islam (karim al-din), person who was proof for the religion of Islam (Burhan al-din), the proud person of Islam (fahd al-din), the sun of Islam (şems al-din), the supreme person of Islam (Ala al-din), the crown of the religion and state of Islam (tac al-dawla wa al-din) in the inscriptions. The origin of these titles and epithets is the Anatolian Seljuks. I should mention that most of these titles and epithets were also used by the Ottoman sultans. The title of supreme commander (isfahsalar or sipehsalar) used by the Anatolian Seljuk sultans was used by both the Qaramanids and the Ottomans in private correspondence. Ottoman sultan Orhan Gazi honored Ali Bey the Qaramanid as the supreme commander of Qaraman province and the person Turks and Persians want (maram-ı Türk and Tazik) (Feridun Bey, 1286, p. 81). In addition to these, in other documents, it can be determined that the Qaramanids used titles such as respectable person (canab), the helper of Islam (adud), new one for Islam (nevin), ruler (hudawand) etc.

As a result, I can make the following comments from the words they used in the inscriptions as a title and epithet: the Qaramanids, as a Turkish-Islamic state, used Turkish, Arabic and Persian words as title and epithet. They inherited most of these titles from Anatolian Seljuks. While they emphasized the Central Asian Turkish roots with Turkish titles, they also emphasized that they would support Islam and the caliphate with Arabic titles. They clearly stated that they were the helpers of Islam and Muslims and that they were busy with jihad. In addition to making conquests in the name of Islam, they declared that they are fighting against polytheism. They always expressed their support for the caliph. İbrahim Bey II declared himself caliph. They also stated that they were the heirs of the Iranian shahs with Persian titles. They stated that they attach importance to justice and bestowal. They openly wrote that they protect the believers but are the enemies of the unbelievers.

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