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3

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From the Establishment of Ottoman State to the Period of Fetret (Interregnum)

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1. The Western Anatolian Region and the Rise of the Ottoman Principality

The rise of the Ottoman Empire as a small principality at the northern edge of Western Anatolia and its transformation into a world power on the stage of history cannot be followed from the contemporary sources that belong to this period. This situation does not only lead to a chronological translation, but at the same time leaves the origin of such a dynasty in the uncertainty that had established a worldwide empire. The fact that the origins of the Ottoman Empire were only written a century after its establishment means that the information about its beginnings and establishment is problematic. The problem of Ottoman sources has been well known and discussed from the beginning of the twentieth century. Significant problems include the first Ottomans not only in Ottoman chronics but also in the indirect information found in contemporary Byzantine sources. This situation during the first phase of Ottoman history, both the foundation of the principality and the dynasty, are related to the period of becoming a private government and have led researchers who are engaged in these issues to offer theoretical speculations rather than directly focusing on the case.

This situation especially originated with Gibbons,[1] F. Köprülü,[2] P. Wittek,[3] and continued with H. İnalcık[4] regards general acceptations and resulted in objections that were presented earlier in the 1980s, but in fact just enlivened the forgotten information that became ornamented with sociological-anthropological theories.[5]



Zaviya of Sheikh Edebali, Birecik

However, there seems to be nothing far more than for the historian but comparing the recently dated earlier Ottoman chronicle with both Byzantine and thirteenth century Seljuk sources that refer to the citations of official documents that are earlier dated in the light of topographical and material objects about the first phase and the origins of Ottoman history. It can be stated that the theoretical approaches relying on the stated facts may complete this frame. The emergence of first Ottomans to the historical stage is based on a significant social change thirteenth century Anatolia. It is necessary to place the Seljuks at the origin of this change, which had settled definitely to the Anatolia landmass and founded political unions since 1071.

Anatolia under Seljuk government almost presents a completed sense of Turkishness that can be counted as the basis of the Ottomans at the end of the thirteenth century. This appearance and the sense of Turkishness not only came into being as a result of local components that became Islamic but also as a result of Turkmen/Oghuz immigration to Anatolia as stated by the sources of the period.[6] Absolutely, it is undeniable that some parts of local components that have various ethnic origins from Anatolia had worshipped the religious beliefs of the new conquerors and unified under the umbrella of Eastern Christianity. But this highlights the fact that it does not reach to a great in number, in contrast according to the results of the official census made by Ottomans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries compared to western Anatolia.

There were more Orthodox Christian groups in the main geography of the Seljuks in Central and Eastern Anatolia.[7] It is clear that the population observed from those notebooks did not occur all of a sudden and

if there were a mass of Islamic activity in some districts, there would be not that amount of Christian groups with the same intensity like in Turkish reality. The migration of the Oghuz tribes that caused serious changes in the social, economic, religious and administrative structure of Anatolia have effected the endemic Seljuk government system and administration. The Seljuks had transferred those living in semi-nomadic groups to the clans of districts to end the threat of civil turmoil and arguments, which would destroy their inner order.[8] The meeting of the new groups that had arrived near district clans and those residents of the Byzantine components not only prepared a disputing atmosphere but also created a social interaction between them. It is possible to observe the effects of specialties that belong to district culture and to understand similar development in the sources of the Balkans in the Ottoman period. In this way, new political organizations were founded as sources of economic power derived from the loots by the rushes made towards Byzantine areas on the one hand exercising traditional lifestyles of their own and on the other hand by shaping their own religious motifs ornamented with spiritual ideals in the so called extremity area. This "extremity system" as perceived earlier in the middle and eastern Anatolia, which unified under Seljuk administration has achieved a new attack and force with Mongols that came on to the stage by their act of threatening Anatolia in the eighteenth century. This unexpected development effected deeply not only the near eastern history but also effected the European history, and even prepared a basis for the new establishments that lie to our century. After 1071, Turkish clans that aimed inner areas of Anatolia brought new migration groups with them, and at the second period of the twelfth century, Seljuks were at the face of explosion with the rise of the Khorezmshah, a new Turkish migration took place.



"Deli"

It was the greatest migration wave, may be greater than ever with Mongol domination over Iran and Azerbaijan at the twenties of the thirteenth century. This situation not only concerned Anatolia but also the northern steps of Black Sea that is related to the beginning of the development in the future with the northern parts of the Balkans, as well.[9] By this, the connection and the bonds especially between Anatolia and the Northern Black Sea was tightened at the thirteenth century. Byzantine's act of bringing some Turkish clans from the northern areas to Balkans and the act of putting them in their services by passing them to western Anatolia against political foundations at the extremity point created a new conflict and played an important role in the development of political organizations or rather helped an easy spread. During the dispersion of Seljuk government as a result of Ilkhanid pressure, Turkish clans which lost the mountain plateaus started to crowd around west extremity point of Anatolia. Alpine of northeastern part of Anatolia and the line, which lie from Kastamonu district to Antalya was filled up with Turkish clans.[10] These Turkish clans were not simple nomadic tribes. They were dominated under Khorezmshahs, Seljuks and by other Turkish principalities and were well aware of administrative and military structure. However, some of them aided in Babai revolution in 1240s that is important in Anatolian history.[11]

Among them there were dervishes, fathers and the shahs who played important roles in their religious and cultural lives. Those provided the spiritual power and the Islamic approval as a matter of their own understanding. This spiritual structure which seems to be strict, in reality ornamented with motifs that provide a smooth transition and presented harmonious characteristics with local facts at some points. To tell that these groups move with restricted, book based Islamic thoughts who are devoted to jihad-ghaza principle does not even fit to the style of Ottoman chronics that are under the effect of the fifteenth and sixteenth century's sophisticated Sunnis that are expected to explain all these events from this perspective. It is explicit that sedentary society from Middle and Eastern Anatolia such as city components ahi groups, trade organizations, artists and farmers had moved to the extremity area which is highly colorful. In this way the political administrative structure was established in a very short time, the basic footsteps in economic activities begun which would support the structure and provide production. It is not a real approach to name all of these as a result of a certain consciousness and a systematic political development. It is rather an establishment that had been centered around the political structure. In just the same way when Turkish principalities at the extremity point had appeared in the 1300s, they had not owned such a ready point but they had achieved all required sub-structures in light of the past structures and with becoming a political organization. The tribal understanding of these groups, sociological solutions of government organizations which were brought by blood connections are all products.[12] of the efforts of systematization by today's researchers and is far away from the maturity to put the period's historical conditions. From this way, it was not preferred to handle the establishment of Turkish principalities and the Ottoman principality by theoretical suggestions but with the basis of the case.

If we turn to the historical development, the perspective at the and of the thirteenth century is as such: Turkish principalities that had recognized the İlhanlı sovereignty as opposed to Seljuks which had struck in Central Anatolia had begun an intensive effort in the

Western Anatolia with taking the advantage of the political crisis in Byzantine that had lost the central authority. In time, especially Karamanoğulları, which had possessed the capital of the former Seljuk had achieved a higher status at the district that was private and would become a semi-private government later. Those had put their argument of becoming the varicosity of Seljuk's and their politics as opposed to other Turkish principalities. Germiyanoğulları, which has been established with relation to the western principalities of Kütahya and Candarogullari that was originated in Kastamonu-Sinop center presented themselves as powerful principalities. Karesi, Aydin, Saruhan, Menteşe principalities formerly open to the sea had changed the *formel "ghaza"* ideology and idealized as principalities that were supervised by forcing powers. Especially Germiyan and Çandaroğulları had activated their warrior leaders at the line segments, which were close to Byzantine capital restrictions. These were probably semi-dependent, in most times moving on their own, sometimes unite with other principalities which were like them and could prepare unified attacks towards the Byzantine feudal principalities. It has been stressed on the fact that these establishments were intensely perceived at the areas that lie from Bolu to Eskişehir sect and also at the Sakarya point and even Umurlu,[13] Ottoman and Karesi principalities were believed to originate from these companies. On the other hand, at the front of Western Anatolia, Eretna, Kadı Burhanettin, Eşrefoğulları, Ladik principals, Hamidoğulları at the south, at the north, Çepni principals inside the Trabzon Greek government (Tacettinoğulları, Hacı Emiroğulları) were placed. But a small principality was rising slowly with taking the advantage of political conditions and the geopolitical situation that is close to Byzantine district, which is struck at the area between Germiyan and Çandaroğulları. This area not only provided a connection with inner parts of Anatolia but also in the Northern Black Sea's sparsely vegetated plains and even with the Balkans. Turkish leaders on this land who were related to İzzeddin Keykavus were dependent upon these crowded Turkish principalities. Keykavus' act of taking refuge behind Byzantine in 1260s and his transformation to Crimea has led the Turkish group which were related to him enable them to meet around the land.[14] The region which the Ottoman principality come into view was very dynamic and served as a stage to many events, and people who were there had experienced from this atmosphere. Even the Byzantine society had enabled an environment to communicate with the local groups.



Osman Gazi

2. First Ottomans and Osman Bey

It is hard to reach the reliable information about the founders of Ottoman principality and the name of the family who have given their name to the government, and even the first phases of the Ottoman history and the political events. It seems quite hard to reach the historical reality from the present sources. Many researchers tried to re-interpret the Ottoman chronics. Except Osman Bey as a historical character, whose name had been cited in the Byzantine sources, his ancestors, his position, the issue of organization of the principality and the oldest Ottoman sources which had been script a century later and the following Ottoman history in the middle of fifteenth century was evaluated during the era of Fatih Sultan Mehmet and Bayezid II. In these sources the stories of Ottoman family and their arrival to Anatolia are not convincing to many researchers. However, it has been argued that reliable information would be achieved with the comparison of rumors. Ottoman historical traditions relates the ancestors of Osman Bey who had founded the Ottoman principality as a result of the appearance of Mongols that came in mass Turkish groups to Anatolia during 1220s. While some Ottoman sources state that the starting point of Ottomans is Mahan, some others indicate Ahlat. Especially Ahlat is the land where Celaleddin Khorezmshah had been defeated by the Anatolian Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad the first in 1230. This area had been staged as a house both to Turkish groups that come from Khoresm area and earlier Turkish groups. Ancestors of Ottomans had moved from Ahlat to Erzurum, Erzincan sides upon Mongols move towards Anatolia and after residing therefor a certain time, they had descended to Haleb with the idea of returning back to their country, after that they had to move to Pasin plateau and when they were there some part of the family was separated and the others who remained had moved to Soğüt by using Ankara-Karacadağ line under Ertuğrul Bey`s leadership. This geographical route which was demonstrated in the Ottoman sources, present great similarities with the event of Kharesm groups that were transferred by Ibn Bibi, and took refugee in Seljuks and on the land where they were shown to settle down. But there are no other evidences to relate this with the ancestors of Ottomans. However, Süleyman Shah is the first person who was expressed in the ottoman sources in this adventure but it is observed that his story was later added to the chronics.[15]

While Aşık Paşazade, Anonymous Tevarih-i Al-i Ottomans, Oruç Bey history places the story of Süleyman Shah to the front, Ahmedi which is the original source of Ottomans essentially recognizes Sultan Aladdin and Gündüz Alp but does not illustrate their origins. Enveri, sends a person called Sah Melik from Urfa who is one of the ancestors of the dynasty and brings him to Sultanonu. Şükrullah defends that Ottomans with Seljuk family is in Anatolia and they should be placed in Karacadag. Karamani Mehmet Pasha by taking Ahlat as a basis tells about Kayık Alp who is the leader of them and defends that they came to Ankara-Karacadağ. If we

leave Süleyman Shah to one side, the sources unite on individuals such as Gök Alp, Gündüz Alp, Ertuğrul, Sungur Tekin, Gündoğdu, Sariyati and Osman Bey.[16] The result evaluated from these with the signals of material sources is the dynasty of Gündüz Alp-Ertuğrul and Osman Bey. Anything apart from this is unrealistic at this point. These three faces which unite each other at the same time symbolizes three families and lasts the family to 1220s derived from the origins of Ottomans. The family lines in the chronics are highly unreliable except from this.

Information about the Ottoman sources seem to be gathered about Osman Bey. His relation between his father Ertuğrul and his siblings, his achievement of the leader of ghaza and his connection with Şeikh Edebali is told with an epic style. While these were made, various legends were involved and government organization is ideolized. But the only contemporary work that gives Osman Bey's name is a Byzantine chronic. Except his name, there are no information, as well. This source directly illustrates the fact that Osman Bey is a historical individual. The information about his father's name as Ertuğrul depends on the coins that belongs to Osman Bey.[17] Also, on another coin which belongs to Osman Bey again not only his name is script but also his father's name Ertuğrul and his grandfather's name Gündüz Alp. Infact, all suspicions about not only the last money but the first are not completely transient.[18] Ottoman sources ally on the fact that Osman Bey as a historical character who belongs to Kayı clan. Again some of the researchers present a shared thought about such a connection as totally made up.[19] However, Kayı tradition had been officially accepted by the Ottoman dynasty in the fifteenth century on the other hand, the information at the census notebooks that belongs to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows the explicit marks of Kayıs on the nucleus geography of Ottomans. On this land, there are Çepni, Bayat, Eymir and Kayıs and names of these have reached to the present dates as village names. Also Seljuk sources such as Ibn Bibi and Aksarayi often refers to extremity Turkish people on this geography. On the other side, it is not engaging to present that Ottomans originated from Kayı clan. If those sources had carried the effort of prescribing a clan they would prefer more popular and active clans instead of Kayıs. From this perspective, it is that Kayı reputation had been originated from a historical reality but its superiority in founding a principality claim had been later put forward. [20] Whatever the case the first organization of Osman Bey is a reflection of Turkish clan system. In this way, it has been observed that clans, which are separated to parts formed warrior groups that are called "squadrons" and each squadron was called by the leader of the squadron. This fact has been placed as a part of former system in the census records at the earlier Turkish settlement over the land. Turkish clans were often recorded by the names of the governors in the notebooks. It can be stated that this tax aimed fragmentation originated from the historical structure at some places. For example concepts such as divan, squadron, tir which are met frequently in the books are the reflections of military organizations and they do not symbolize any meaning in the notebooks that belongs to Bolu, Central Anatolia, Eastern Black Sea and Muğla regions during they were written.

It can be understood that Osman Bey was prioritized in those groups which were made up of warrior squadrons from Pachymeres' naming. This situation is directly related with Osman Bey's empowerment in his own clan, his growing reputation as a result of his challenge with Byzantine and also related with his establishment process of a principality. At the time of his leadership, there were significant changes both in the system and structure of the association and in time basic hierarchical components were founded in order to correct the complex structure of the extremity point with the existence of political dominance.



Sultan Osman I and Sheikh Edebali, (Şehname-i Ali-i Osman Arifi), (1558)

Political developments in Seljuk Anatolia and Byzantine Anatolia play an important role the second period of the twelfth century on the appearance of Ottoman principality like other Turkish principalities. Activities of Ottomans ranking from Eskişehir to Bursa sect and in the area that is situated in the north is often associated with the unified military act. Alaeddin, the Sultan of Seljuk and Ertuğrul or Osman over the land in the Ottoman sources. There are no certain signals in these contemporary sources that can be compared from historical perspective. But Ottoman sources had initiated carefully to place these rumors to political area with confusion about the Ottoman activities. For example the conquest of Karacahisar, which is perceived as the basis of connection between the appearance of the government and the Sultan of Seljuk, was the turning point in the Ottoman history. But the Seljuk sources of the period were totally mute about this issue. From this aspect to turn back to Seljuk and Byzantine sources about the thirteenth century Anatolia is essential to understand the political atmosphere and the frame which would also give way to Ottoman organization.

3. The Political Environment in Anatolia and the Ottoman Principality

The Anatolian Seljuk government act of vesayet had brought changes in political and social structure at the second period of the thirteenth century especially after

the Kösedağ war in 1243. Mongol power under Baycu Noyan had pressured Konya in 1256. Upon the heavy defeat of the army Keykavus the second had taken refuge in İznik Empire. After Baycu's arrival, he came to Konya with Denizli Turkish which he had received great support (1257). After this he divided the country into two and shared with his brother, Kılıçarslan. This situation has prepared a basis for new developments in terms of the extremity point at the west. When Keykavus involved in an argument with his brother, the struggle began. Ali Bahadır who had gathered Turkish soldiers from Sivrihisar sect went along Konya but was defeated and took refuge in extremity Turks. Keykavus escaped and came to İstanbul and was sent to Crimea in 1278. When Keykavus was in İstanbul, Ali Bahadır went near him and the Turks who were connected to him met at the restrict of Byzantine. In fact when Ali Bahadır's conspiracy plan was observed, he was assassinated. Some part of Turks who had come around İznik had settled at the restrict sect and some part were left to Rumelia.[21]

Mongol's pressure was met with reaction among the Seljuk Sultans and Turks who are under their domination. Mongols enthroned Sultan Mesud in 1284. Karaman and Eşrefoğulları forces, which are opposed to them took Konya and enthroned Keykavus' two sons. But opposing to this, Ilkhanid Argun Han's son Keyhatu came to Anatolia with a great force. He went in Konya even Sultan Mesud was with him. Extremity Turks had to comply with Sultan Mesud with Germiyans in 1288. At this time Germiyans and the extremity Turks were dissolved and they were left to west restricts. Restrict principalities which were connected to Germiyans took the control of the area. Aydin, Saruhan, Karesi were founded and Menteşe had formed an important principality below the land. At the Northwestern Anatolia, raiding principals had reinforced their activities to Kastamonu principals. Between 1291 and 1292 Keyhatu organized an act towards extremity Turks. In 1298 Bayincar who was the new commandant of Mongols had enthroned Alaeddin Keykubad the III. Other Mongol commandant Sülemiş had rebelled (1299). Upon this rebellion, Ilkhanid 's control over the extremity point lost its effect. Sülemiş' rebellion bothered Ilkhanid very much.[22] Between 1299 and 1301 Osman Bey and other extremity principals had organized frequent raiding attacks on Byzantine restricts. All these developments appear to be handled at the basis of Ottomans in the Ottoman history.

On the other side contemporary Byzantine sources enable detailed information about the activities observed at the eastern principality of Byzantine. These information also relate with the nucleus geography of Ottomans Pachymeron who was the observer of the period details the developments in the Anatolian sect of Byzantine. His interpretation helps to enliven the origin of Ottoman geography. Since 1250, Paflagonia, Kastamonu mountains were filled up with Turkish clans. The reaction against Emperor Michael VIII's efforts of forming military powers had loosens the defense chains in the restrict points. Defense sect collapses and the extra tax requirements enabled Paflagonians to provide a logistic support for Turks and leads them to turn back to Turks. Despite Michael's act of increasing the taxes in 1281 and 1282, it does not work.[23] Upon Turks intense activities, Michael's son Andromichos could pass to Bursa in 1290. If the defuse order of Bursa, İznik, Ulubat are perceived this activity is left effectless especially when the Sakarya defense chain collapsed. These narration show that Osman Bey had been advantageous from this environment.



Akcha of Osman Gazi, (1324), (Y.Kredi collection)



Detailed information about Bitinya, a point to which the Ottomans were aimed at and Pachymeres' news about Çobanoğulları that lasted in 1307 were often associated with Osman Bey's union with them. Moving from Pachymeres, it has been stressed that often the assassination of Çobanoğlu Muzafferiddin Yevlak Arslan (1291-1292) his son Mahmud left the raiding attacks to his brother Ali and later he cooperated with Byzantine and left his place to Osman. Even if there were no records found in Pachymeres about the bonds between Ali and Osman, it has been interpreted that these information were derived from Ali at the time when he was in service of Osman Bey in Kastamonu and after Ali his act of possessing the leadership and enrolled in a hard ghaza activity with Turks coming from Paflagonia. [24] In reality, Pachymeres used an expression which compares the activities of Ali and Osman and the first time he uses Osman's name is at the Bafeus war who defeated a Byzantine force. He writes Osman's name as "Atman".[25] Some researchers claimed that more than a name, this could be a reputation and even argued that he was one of the leaders of a group who came to Altınordu sect in Bitinya as a result of some conflicts and his name depends on the reputation of "Ataman" and therefore suggested that he was one of the "Atamans" of the Bitinya.[26]

Except all these assumptions, the concrete information which is dependant to the contemporary sources, namely Pychimeres' defeat of Byzantine army in a place called Bafeus in 1301 or 1302. By this way, Osman Bey appeared as a military leader and a historical character. At a time when Byzantine hardly found soldiers to attack Turks, in the beginning of 1302, they had intended to use Alan groups that escaped before Mongols downwards Danube, and reached to a number of 15,000 with their families. In 1302 Spring, in Manisa, Alans were

involved in a resistance towards Turks with the emperor's son Michael IX. After July 1302, Alans were put in charge in order to help the defense at the Sakarya River, and at this point, they were defeated by the Turks. Probably with one of those that Osman Bey was involved with Commandant "Nichomdia" who belonged to the Mouzolon family, and was defeated by Osman Bey's forces, and had to turn back in 27th of July at Bafeus. Follower Alans helped the army to turn back to Nichomedia castle. Forces under Osman's domination had altered İzmit, İznik, Bursa and other villages with castles and exhausted all the connections. In the first raiding attacks, Turks were not settled on this land, the lands on these villages were emptied, the escapists either moved to the empty castles or to İstanbul. The information in the Byzantine chronics take attention in terms of Osman Bey's power. In reality, not all of the civil citizens in Bitinya land escaped with Osman Bey's attacks towards İznik and Bursa in the beginning of 1310s. It can be said that the civilians of the land's ethnical, religious and social structure were effective in the formation of new principality basis. When late Ottoman and early Byzantine sources are evaluated, it can be understood that Bitinya area was not totally left. The reflections of the Ottoman records in the fifteenth century illustrate that there was a total chaos from Karesi to Menteşe and related to this, Christian Orthodox in Bursa area existed with various names and reputations of villagers with ethnic origins and some of them with Turkish names. [27] It is observed that warrior Alans took the side of Ottomans. By this way, these warrior groups on whom Osman Bey counted on, had played an important role in the formation of his political identity. It is also strange that Pychymeres recorded Osman Bey's act of taking support from Meander Turks.[28] Geographical distance shadows the reliability of this information. However, the settlement area of Kayı clan provides some clues about such a communication.[29] All these are the symbols of Osman Bey's achievement as a great character among the Turkish principality world after the Bafeus war.[30]



Emir Sultan, Bursa. (1838)

After Bafeus war, it was generally accepted that the Ottoman principality had become a political organization. Instead of being involved in a struggle with Byzantine feudal principals, Osman Bey straightened his position over the land with getting well with others. There are no records about Osman Bey's relation with principals of the land in Byzantine sources. Ottoman sources give great length to the epic stories about this issue. The result derived from these is that a small castle was put under the domination of Ottomans in the land between Eskişehir, Bursa and İznik. However, after Bafeus Osman Bey took Melangeia and made it a movement base.[31] By threatening İznik, he kept the land in constant blockade. During this time he took some of the castles that are mentioned in the Ottoman sources. Except from İznik blockade, up to 1307, there is no information about Osman Bey's activities dependant upon Byzantine sources. During this time Byzantine gave its weight to Western Anatolia. Byzantine tried to avoid Turkish activities with Catalan soldiers who were hired by money. Although in the beginning they succeeded in preventing Turkish attacks, later they could not put up with Byzantine and left the land (1304). After their leave, Osman Bey straightened the pressure on İznik and Bursa.

Emperor in spring 1305 had made a similar proposal to İlhanlı Olcayto just like he made to Ghaza Khan to give his illegitimate daughter as a wife and his will to form an alliance opposed to Turks. He had received a word from İlhanlı that enough number of soldiers would be given and he sent his sister Maria to İznik, and tried to support and refresh the resistance of the citizens towards Osman Bey. But the news arrived from Mongols had resulted with the reinforcement of Osman Bey's activities. In 1307 he put an end to İznik-İzmit connection by taking Trikokkia castle. Pychimeres tells that at the end of this year, Mongol army came to Bitinya and took many places.[32] It is not obvious that Pychimeres' information about this issue is reliable or just his wish. Even if this was true, it can be said that Osman Bey took the land very quickly. Byzantine who were busy in Europe were not concerned with Osman Bey until the local war in 1321 happened.

In fact, until 1326, to the time of Bursa's conquest, there are no contemporary information about Osman Bey and his son, Orhan Bey's activities. As observed from Ottoman sources, Osman Bey achieved the control of a great land from Sakarya to Boğaz and on the north to the beaches of Black Sea. Yahşi Fakih Menakibname which is addressed as the most important source of the origin of history, written by Aşıkpaşazade gives detailed information about Osman Bey's activities on the land. According to this, after Osman bey conquered Yenişehir, he moves towards İnegöl. He conquers Kulaca which is a small castle. After that he begins to raiding attacks towards Mudurnu at the east part of Sakarya. After he approaches to the areas near İzmit.

He conquers Bilecik and İnegöl. In order to stop Osman Bey's raiden attacks, four neighbor cities, Atrenos, Kestel, Kite and Bednos rebels allied. This mobilization ends with Dinboz enmity. According to Yahşi Fakih, even Ottomans moved to conquer Bursa and after being defeated, the followed blockage politics. Even Pychimeres mentions that the city was given as a tribute for Turks for a year. During this time, Turks took castles such as Lefke, Meceke, Geyve, Karacepis and Karatekin. After this, İznik blockade begins.[33] There is no other confirmation about the details of this information and Byzantine sources

deal with the governors who were put in charge to fight with Turks on the land. For example, Mouzolon, the defeat of Bafeus, who was sent to Kite in 1303 and was defeated by 5000 Turks, Macrenos who settled in Ulubad in 1305, Marules who activated at Achyraous between 1303 and 1306, Kassianos, who was the commandant of the district forces in Kocaeli peninsula in 1306, and Michael Atzimes who was sent to eastern provinces between 1311 and 1315. As opposed to this, Yahşi Fakih recognizes the people with more different names.

In this manner, cities such as Bursa, İznik, İzmit were left behind like islands. Osman Bey's death at 1324 followed his son's conquest of Bursa two years later, and the organization process of ottoman principality was completed. Ottoman principality over the land had stepped strongly in the way of determining political stability. The local war, which lasted seven years roughed up Byzantine very much and Osman Bey's son Orhan bey by whom he was placed took Bursa in 6 April 1326. A year later in may this area also collapsed with the deprivation of the castle walls as a result of the earthquake. This situation only meant the end of sovereignty, which was limited with cities in Bitinya. After Bursa was taken, İznik's blockade was reinforced as being the most important center at the area. Andronikos III. Moved with his armies parallel to İzmit gulf after İzmit and İznik became main targets and came to the place called Pelekanon. Orhan Bey was waiting him at the plateau with 8,000 warriors. The dispute started at 10 June 1329, Byzantine army lost many soldiers and the emperor was injured from his knee. Turks attacked to Filocrene once more with forces and the emperor sailed to İstanbul difficultly at 11th of June.[34] This was the first challenge of Eastern Rome Emperor vs. Orhan Bey who was observed as a simple Turkish principal. This struggle had led the opening of İzmit-İznik gates and enabled a high reputation both to Orhan Bey and his relatives. In 2 March 1331, after İznik was taken, the emperor accepted the situation and agreed to pay tribute for some cities in Bitinya sect. After that in 1337, İzmit was taken and all parts of Kocaeli were dominated. In this way, the Ottoman Principality was recognized as a well-known political organization.



Sultan Orhan watching the execution of the Byzantinian Prince, (Şahname-i Ali-i Osman, Arifi, 1558)

4. Ottomans in the World of Anatolian Principalities

In the first years, Ottomans as appeared as a principality by their struggle with Byzantines and had a different importance and status among other Turkish principalities of the land. Ottomans were part of the Turkish principality world, actually were closely effected by the İlhanlı existence in the first period of the sixteenth century that had basic specialties. Like others, they had to follow the activities of İlhanlı in some periods carefully. In the middle of 1320s, a conflict caused by Timurtaş, deprived İlhanlı existence significantly. Timurtaş' escape to Egypt next year who pressured the extremity principals in 1326 was a relieving act also for the Ottomans like other principals.[35] Except for the social conditions and the characteristics of the dependant citizen (taba), certain roles were very effective in constituting a terkip in the foundation of Ottoman principality on its own geography and its situation by being neighbor with Byzantine.

Semi-nomadic life style that occurred from its Middle Asian Turkish traditions, like the need for new areas for some parts which were settled at a land for a long time, religious society who deeply effected the spiritual structure were some of these effective factors.[36] Actually, the situation of the Turkish principalities that appeared at the end of the thirteenth century at Western Anatolia were not very different from each other in terms of these conditions.

Although they were different political organizations, they were the representatives of the same world in terms of the understanding, sub-cultural structure and from humanistic perspective, they symbolized a unified, spiritual existence.

It can be said that, from the period that Orhan Bey became a leader of the political organization to this conquest of Bursa, their first relations were observed with Çobanoğulları, Umur principality at Bolu area, Germiyanoğulları and Karesi principalities.

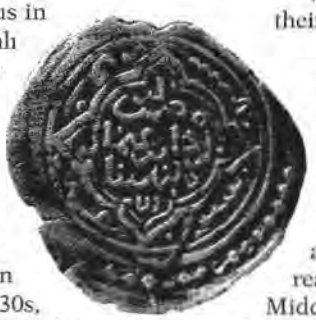
It can be understood that after Bursa was taken by Orhan Bey, a new political understanding occurred towards other close Turkish principalities over the land. The way to reach to Marmara Sea and Gallipoli peninsula was challenged.

When Ottomans were at the Byzantine restricts, some other Turkish principalities remained at inner parts and beach principalities started "ghaza" activities nearby the sea. Especially, Saruhan,Aydin, Menteşe and Karesi principalities made raiden attacks to the sea and the islands and they addressed these attacks as "ghaza" formulations in this frame that aimed a sacred act in the contemporary sources, the principles were referred as "ghazi" title which corresponds to the name given to generals for outstanding exploits.[37] In the beginning, Ottomans interpreted this ideology formerly recognized as simple and exercised this according to their own understanding, it was out of high Islamic understanding.[38] Ahmedi who was the prior Ottoman history writer, redefined this formulation in terms of high Islamic forms.[39]

This understanding still does not illustrate a harsh and enduring war, in more gentle style address to Ottoman administration, showed itself with an application called evaluation. In the first years of Ottomans, it can be seen that except for the relations between Kastamonu and Germiyan principals, the first connection was with Karesi principality. According to the information derived from the sources, Ottomans appeared in order to protect society from the forces and pressures of Germiyanoğulları. It can also be stated that 1330s, during the struggle with Byzantine, Orhan Bey's reputation was effective for neighbor principalities to gain sub-structures. At the same land, Karesioğulları and Ottomans rose as rivals. Karesi-Ottoman rivalry unified them in a strange way. Sources posit that Ottomans benefited from the struggle occurred between the dynasty members and the citizens of Karesi on the geography that reaches to Agean Sea which was centered at Balikesir, Bergama with the separation of Karesi principality into two as a result of the death of its principal. The concrete fact is that karesi city was completely dominated under Ottoman government between 1345-1346.[40] It is explicit that after İzmit was taken in 1337, Karesi city gained an importance for Ottomans and this city enabled a free activity in passing Rumelia. Ottomans also benefited from the sailing experience of Karesi umera. Until the annexation of Karesi and the passage to Rumelia, the relations of Ottomans with neighbor Turkish principalities were on a certain conformity basis. The effect of İlhanlı who cared about the status in Anatolia should be added to this. In an İlhanlı tax list, between 1349 and 1350, the names of the principals of Ottomans, Candaroğulları, Aydınoğulları, Hamid and Denizli were mentioned, Karesi, Saruhan and Menteşe were not mentioned.[41] It can be observed from the list that Karesi was under the Ottoman domination. In fact, the list is important in terms of İlhanlı effect on several principalities. In the beginning of 1330s, while Ibn Battuta was giving information about his visits to Anatolian principalities, he calls Orhan Bey as the august of Turkish principals and tells that he had a strong and dynamic military force.[42] He does not tell anything about his relations with other principalities. In fact, he did not experience any difficulty while passing from one principality to another. This fact shows that political division is not that much important in the Western Anatolia's wide Turkish basis. After that Haydar who was an oral commentator of Omeri's, told that Karamans and Ottomans gained their reputation by "challenging with the non-Muslims", another commentator, Balabán from Genoa, told that Orhan Bey lived harmonious and peaceful with his neighbors. Among the principalities, Germiyanoğulları had a noble status. Orhan's society was composed of "bad people".[43] This last expression occurred for the fact that Orhan Bey's society was composed of the mutecanis groups. Also it should be taken into account that this was an opposite propaganda. There is no information about Orhan Bey's relation with Aydın and Saruhan navy principalities in the Ottoman sources. In fact, the situation that Byzantine was in, and the allies seem to create closeness between these three principalities more than politics.



Akcha of Orhan Gazi, Bursa, (Y.Kredi Collection)



In 1329, Andronicos allied with Saruhan and Aydınoğulları towards Orhan Bey who threatened İznik and İzmit. But it was not the Ottomans who caused an alliance between two principalities. The aims and objectives of these allies of Byzantine were different. In this way, Aydin and Saruhan forces organized a military expedition to Gallipoli in 1331 and the next year, they plundered Eğriboz and Semadirek. At this time, as mentioned above, Ottomans took İznik. After the death of Andronicos III, Kantakuzenos tried to capture the domination by defending that he was inheritor of Andronicos, therefore should be enthroned. His primary allies were Aydın, Saruhan and Ottoman principalities. The conflict between Queen Anna and Kantakuzenos take attention with the triple alliance that organized an activity towards Trükya (Thrace) (Thrace) in 1346.[44] Orhan was married to Theodora who was the daughter of Kantakuzenos. When Saruhanlı and Aydın forces, which was composed of 6,000 people were nearby Queen Anna, they changed side and remained nearby Kantakuzenos who was their former ally.

In this way, it was a time for Ottomans to begin to their Rumelia adventure. Ottomans appeared to be a large principality. Since 1330s, Ottomans on the one hand, moved to the South Anatolian and West Anatolian sides which were Bursa-İznik centered and to the Kastamonu area and via Bolu route, to the part which reached to Ankara. Ottoman aim towards the Middle Anatolia, was the most important signal with reaching Ankara in the eastern part in a very early date (1354),[45] at the time of Orhan Bey.

5. New Ottoman Territories and Ottomans' Passage to the European Side

The passage to the Rumelia side constitutes the turning point of the Ottoman history. In the last years of Osman Bey's sovereignty, their achievement of taking the head of the gate which goes to Trükya (Thrace) in Gallipoli peninsula and was the beginning of such a development of the period that was not comprehensible. The act of taking Kocaeli area, the occupation of Karesioğulları, and the local war situation in Byzantine

provided Ottomans an important opportunity to pass to the Rumelia side. These lands were the new aims of Ottomans and enabled them a noble status among other principalities and also provided the way to become an empire. The areas of Aydın and Saruhanoğulları who formerly organized many passages to Aegean Sea and Trükya (Thrace) and to other principalities that were very far away from the northern-western side of Aegean Sea. This caused transportation and support problems, also they could not follow and enduring settlement ideology in order to reduce the number of the basis. It would be inadequate to charge them with the successful activities of settlement with their different conditions than Ottomans, geo-political status and adequate political environment. Ottoman act of residing in Rumelia, the occupation of local principalities just happened by the transference of their basis to new settlement areas. All of these posit that Ottoman governors moved with a certain consciousness. Other Turkish navy principalities should have found ghaza and tributal ideology as practical and have followed short lasting ideas. Karasi principality's act of going under domination of Ottoman government in 1345-1346, provided Ottomans to reach the Edremit gulf and the southwestern beaches of Marmara Sea and this area became a new extremity area for Ottomans. The transference of Ottoman forces to this area effected the settlement activities in Anatolia both by reinforcing and slowing down. This situation almost like a paradox with the transference of the product to Anatolia from Rumelia and on the other side, the settlement in Rumelia showed itself out as the usage of human power sources. Ottoman settlement in Gallipoli from 1350s is both related with the Karesi umerasi and Kantakuzenos' deep relations with Orhan Bey in order to gain the empire. Kantakuzenos had always acted with his friends Umur and Orhan Bey, and after the death of Umur Bey, he was engaged in a more intimate relation with Orhan Bey. As a result of this alliance, Ottoman forces found an opportunity to pass to the Rumelia side and acquired the geography. These alliances also opened the way to İstanbul for Kantakuzenos for a short term and enabled Ottomans an enduring settlement. Ottoman forces came to Gallipoli peninsula and Trükya (Thrace) in 1349 and in order to help Kantakuzenos in 1352. In the 1352 summer, Ioannes Palaiologos V who was the son of Queen Anna, was given some land in Trükya (Thrace) by Kantakuzenos. He was involved in a conflict with Mathaios who was the son of Kantakuzenos, and besieged Edirne by taking the land from Mathaios. In order to rescue his son, Kantakuzenos organized an army composed of Turkish soldiers and after a short struggle he went in Edirne. But the conflict was not solved and Kantakuzenos required help from Orhan Bey upon Ioannes' activities supported by Serbs and Venetians. Orhan bey sent 10-12,000 rider soldiers under his son, Süleyman's commandment. Ottoman forces defeated Serbia-Bulgarian army who was the enemies of Kantakuzenos at Meriç River in 1352.[46] This development was the first success of ottomans in Trakya (Thrace). In the Ottoman sources there are no detailed information about this event but various references about the Sırpsındığı War were found in relation to the case as a probability with little suspicions. By this way, Ottoman realized the land. Orhan Bey's son, Süleyman Bey had taken many other lands in Gallipoli while he was going to help Kantakuzenos in 1352. Tzympe castle was given to them as a base but Süleyman Bey left this place at the end of the war.[47] Emperor Kantakuzenos applied Orhan Bey to empty the castle and even informed that he would pay compensation fee. During this time, when the beach of Marmara in Trakya (Thrace) was destroyed with an earthquake at 1-2 March 1354, Gallipoli was also effected. People left the city and Süleyman Bey entered the city, immediately.[48] By this way after the Gallipoli peninsula was taken completely an opportunity to widen in Trakya (Thrace) was appeared. When Orhan Bey was alive, the conquest of Edirne straightened Ottomans. Edirne's conquest is still argumentative, there are no references about when and how it was taken. According to the Ottoman sources, it was given to Ottomans when Orhan Bey was alive and with his son Murad and Lala Sahin's systematical military attack in 1361 at the time when Meriç river over flew.[49] Although this historical information was approved the conquest is suggested to occur in 1369 after 1366. What ever the case, the conquest of Edirne is a turning point for Trakya (Thrace) and the Balkans and it enabled a simplification for İstanbul's conquest.[50] The place was transferred to a base and two sides occurred one through the Balkans and the other which faced İstanbul. Turkish passages to Rumelia side and their passages occurred systematically. Such extremity principalities such as Hacı İlbeyi, Evranosoğulları, and Mihaloğulları activated at the district points and with the developments in the extremity areas attracted the settled groups and the Turks in Anatolia in this area. Ottoman government supported these migrations and by making both willing and obligatory exiles ,[51] they tried to fulfill the human power lack in the land. Ottoman conquests widened itself with reconciliation and with an ideology, which helped to integrate the system that became long lasting.[52] The rights that the Islamic laws endeavored for non-Muslims who could read and write were also determinant for Ottomans and the gentleness during the application enabled the adaptation of rules



Venetian merchants in Byzantinium

easily. Especially those groups, which remained in uncertain politics adjusted the Ottoman government without any hesitation. The applied system once exercised in Bursa area during the establishment years showed itself out in this area. It means that Ottomans did not exclude all Christians whom they saw, just the opposite, they tried to keep the societies in cities and at plain areas. The tribute received was not more than they paid to Byzantine governors. As a result of this, Byzantine society was not that much effected from the changes in government. This situation also gave way to some Christians to change their religion. Every individual in service of Ottomans were treated as the same citizens of the same government and they were not treated differently. Ottomans transferred their experiences to Rumelia with such applications.

At the second period of fourteenth century, people who were living at the areas that were seriously destroyed and low in population as a result of the epidemic plague, which effected all parts of Europe and the Balkans. They were in between the feudal principals and the kings as a result of the conflicts in the political structure and remained in uncertainty with the Orthodox-Catholic opposition. In this environment, Ottomans who went to Balkans provided a settled country safety for these groups. Even the society at the mountains that rejected ottoman domination and exercised harsh raiding attacks, saw the secure conditions and turned back to their former land.[53] In those captured lands, the application of timar system meant the establishment of a better ordered government. Some of the former local principals were taken in timar system and were pacified. Some of the military groups without changing their names were directly taken into Ottoman military organization. Feudal rights were eliminated and they were placed with dynamic applications of timar system. Villagers were connected to timarlı sipahis who were addressed as tax collectors and do not have any lawful authority over them or directly connected to vakif or to the central government in terms of financial matters. Except for the cizye, they shared the same status with the Turkish villagers. With the continuum of the conquests in Balkans, at the areas, which remained behind crowded cities began to raise, countries were established, villages were widened and the land, which was in deep silence, destroyed and not used started to be enlivened. Actually this was necessary for Ottoman soldiers and for the financial directory. Timar system required human power that enables production and the support for the migration provided a way to reduce human power lack in the productive Rumelia land. Migrations to Rumelia from Anatolia did not begin suddenly, especially it continued in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Turkish settlement were especially around Trakya (Thrace), Macedonia, in northwestern sides of Rumelia and formerly in Dobruca and Varna sect. In these lands, there are various signals that Turkish dervishes have played an important role in the settlement, [54] and shows that revision of the Anatolian settlement were exercised for the second time.



Murad Hüdavendigâr (Murad I), Subhatü'l-ahbar, (Y. Kredi Press)

5. Political Developments in the Balkans (1362-1389)

During the Orhan Bey period, on the one side Ottomans allied with Byzantine and on the other side they had good relations with Genoese, and during the Venetian-Genoese war in 1351, they made an agreement in Pera in İstanbul. Even the war on 13 February 1352 in Bosphorus, they were on the Genoese side as opposed to Venetian-Catalan-Byzantine. During the war Genoese ambassadors who were coming form Galata, agreed with Orhan Bey to use the harbor for their ships. In 1352 spring, the Genoese even carried Turkish groups to European side. As mentioned above, these groups who were activated with the aim of supporting Kantakuzenos, defeated Serbian-Bulgarian forces to the south of Edirne. All these symbolize that there was a political balance between the Byzantine and the Latins. This experience in a such an early period showed itself with the way taken by Ottoman principality in such a short time. According to Latin sources, Orhan Bey attacked İstanbul by using the bases in Gallipoli in 1361.[55]

Ottomans were moving in Trakya (Thrace) step by step. Dimatoka, which is the greatest center after Edirne and Filibe were taken under Ottoman domination. Lala Şahin Pasha later made this last conquest and used the place as a base for himself. There were many problems in the relations of Byzantine-Hungarian and Serbs during Turkish movement in Trakya (Thrace). This environment enabled important opportunities for Ottomans. Byzantine emperor's in searching an ally in west as opposed to Ottomans, found an answer from his cousin Amadeo who was the Count of Savoy in 1366. Formerly in 1363 after with the defeat of the crusade towards Alexandria organized by the Pope and with the involvement of Hungarian and Cypriot kings, Amadeo decided to organize a single attack on Turks directly.

In 23 August 1366, he captured Gallipoli which was an important Turkish naval base. This was perceived as a great success among Christian world. Amadeo gave the land to Byzantine in 1367. Although this situation destroyed the connection of Ottomans with Balkans, Ioannes V's son and Andronikos IV left the castle to the Ottomans by Murad I requests.[56] A new basis of a central structure was established with the activities in Anatolia and Balkans, which made ottoman principality a government at the time of Murad I, and new needs caused necessary changes in the government organization and also in the organization of military system. Murad I connected feudal principalities to himself after the resolution of the empire established by Stefan Dusan

and caused necessary changes in the political structure of Balkans. The movement of Balkans in triple division sometimes met with struggles of unified local forces and even with attacks, sometimes Ottomans had to defend themselves. The alliance of the Pope with the local Italian governments in Balkans delayed the conquests but it did not help them to take them out of Balkans. When his father was in Europe, Andronikos IV was in İstanbul and believed that rather than struggling against Turks, they should relax them. During this complexity in İstanbul, another important event occurred in 1371 in terms of Balkan history, Ivan Ugljesa who was a despotic in Serez and was against Ottoman act towards Macedonia, moved forward Edirne with his brother Vukashin in 1371 September. But at the shore of Meriç river at Cnormen, he lost the war in 26 September. Some parts of Serbian army were destroyed. This success achieved from the war opened the gates of Macedonia, Serbia and Greece to Ottomans. Many Serbian princes declared their dependency by paying tributes. One of them was Marco who was the son of Vukashin and would achieve legendary reputation in the following days,[57] At the end of this war, Byzantine western connection with the land was destroyed.

But Manuel who was the smallest son of Ugljesa heard about the defeat, he took Serez in 1372 November. Ottomans reacted to this and like Serez they attacked Selonica in 1372 April but later they had to come back for some time. However, for the fact that Byzantine was in a difficult situation, emperor Ioannes V made peace with Murad I. By this way, Byzantine became dependant on Ottomans. Even Ioannes V regained his throne with Murad I' help from his son Andronikos IV. Between 1376 and 1381, the domination of Andronikos and the local war period between İstanbul and the Genoeses in Galata helped Murad to move freely in Rumelia. This period constituted a time for an enduring settlement for Ottomans in Rumelia. Turks reached to the plateau of Vardar river, they entered Ohri and Pirlepe in 1380 and went to Albania. Another Turkish line moved along the Meriç river and took Sofia in 1385, and Nis in 1386. Ioannes V with his other son Manuel, took Serez in 1371 and started to act by himself. Murad sent Pasha Hayreddin on Manuel upon his opposition to his father. Ottoman forces took Serez again and in September 1383 and reached Salonica; which was the center of Manuel and kept the land under occupation up to 1387. The city was taken in 9th of April.[58] At the period when the Ottomans widened their activities in Balkans upon Stefan Dusen's death who had founded a Serbian empire and wore his crown in Scopya in 1346, his government was divided into private feudal principalities.[59] Lazar was one of them and ruled near the Morova river, and as mentioned above at the Cirmen war in 1371, at the same time, Serez despots who were his rivals and again in the same year, Dusan's son and his representative King Uros' death, it was highlighted.



Akcha of Murad I, (Y.Kredi Collection)

It became powerful with the support of the Independent Serb Church which was founded by Dusan. Kosova War after Cirmen in 1371 that determined the Ottoman dominance in balkans occurred between allies of Lazar and Murad I's act of moving directly on Lazar is related to the defeat of Ottomans in Plocnik in 1388. Plocnik in the northwest of Nis, Ottoman forces met with Serbs but it was not a real war, and after that, Murad I took Nis in the last days of September 1386 August was done with the Bosnian army at Bileka under the commandment of Tvrtko. Murad I upon the probability of the union between Lazar and Tvrtko moved on Lazar. Actually, it was not a military expedition to stop the rebellion at the Ottoman districts, rather a movement to destroy a potential danger.[60] This important war occurred in 28 June 1389 at Kosova plateau. The struggle ended up with Ottoman victory.[61] But Murad I and Lazar lost their lives at the battlefield. Although Serbs were defeated, they counted Kosova struggle as a victory in mythology. Especially, in the nineteenth century at the formation of this popular myth, the existence of the national ideology served as a basis. This myth was introduced by Lazar himself and Serb-Orthodox culture was born. Kosova gained an importance as the main land for Serbs. Actually, the result of this war is important for Ottomans.

Ottomans benefited in terms of military and political means in such a short time. There was no other force than Hungarians that could rebel at the southeastern parts of Danube River. Northern Serb way was opened to Ottomans and the Serb despotism became confederate and the opportunity occurred to move to wards Hungary, Serbia, Albania and Bosnia. In long time, the conquests planned to Bosnia had caused ethnical, social, political, economical and cultural changes.[62] It is stressed that the reasons of the Islamic widening is argumentative and groups which were under the pressure of Catholics chose Islam, and Islam did not spread suddenly but in time, also economic and social reasons played important role on this situation. It has been suggested that Islamization presented a tendency to move from cities towards villages. Also, it was defended that in the extenuation of Islam, local concepts with the aim of being dominant in Ottoman administration and in order to reinforce their status, it was effective. But among all these thoughts, the effects of Turkish colonization, the spiritual roles of tekkes and dervishes were not analyzed to an extent. Bogomil factor is the weakest of all among these reasons. It has been suggested that there were negative effects of Ottoman domination on the society in the south Balkans and these effects prevented them to get organized as a nation and even the conquests slowed down the passage of Balkans to

European culture and civilization lost validity with the archival studies. In reality, Ottoman conquests in Balkans had caused necessary changes in the settlement of local concepts but at the same time, provided the protection of their national identities. For example, Albanians under the intense religion of Greek and Slavs and the ethnical and cultural pressures accepted Islam and maybe, it is by this act that they could protect their ethnical existence. Their assimilation process of becoming Greek and Slav stopped in this way.[63] Also Islamization did not converted them to Turks but resulted the domination of the effect occurred by this culture but provided a unity with the Anatolian Turks who migrated from various lands. The law system with the settlement of Ottoman domination was very effective in a protective central government and also in the protection of the mosaic of Balkan countries. The churches that were tolerated, achieved a high status which could effect the social and religious life with more flexible activities. Also they were allowed to develop Orthodox Christianity from spiritual and material means. The hierarchies of the churches were recognized and protected under the Ottoman domination. Even those churches became powerful to organize a rebellion against the Ottoman government in the nineteenth century. Some expressions about the Balkan nations does not correspond with historical reality such as the superiority of the local society in terms of economic, social and cultural means in order to protect their identities towards new conquers.[64] These expressions were produced because the system of Ottoman laws and economy and, their application was not truly understood. In the process that began with the Kosova war, Trakya (Thrace), Hungary and northeastern parts of Bulgaria would be the starting point for the conquests and would serve as a basis for Turkish colonization for a Turkish settlement when the Islamization began in Bosnia and Albania, it would protect the Ottoman existence in Balkans. This strong settlement provided a potential success for the country that was heavily destroyed in Ankara war in 1402 which was in a desperate position, and gave the opportunity to re-organization.



Yıldırım Bayezid, (Bayezid I)

7. The Confederate Process of West-Anatolia Principalities

The beginning of ottoman act of remaining in Rumelia from the 1350s was considered as a turning point for their relations with the western Anatolia Turkish principalities. Especially, the extremity principals who conducted ghaza at the district points of Rumelia with their own troops achieved great reputations. This was at the same time provided them great wealth and magnificence. The wealth and the magnificence were very effective both among Ottomans and other principalities in Anatolia. The movement of the western and Middle Anatolian principalities at the Ottoman side made it easier to reach the same opportunities. Even it is not wrong to say that historian Sukrullah's expressions about this issue are parallel with the historical sights even they were late-dated. Starting from their neighbors, Ottomans followed a careful politics on the Turkish principalities in Anatolia. Those politics show out themselves in two phases. The first one is the confederate that began during the reign of Murad I, which means to keep western Anatolia Turkish world in a state of confederate under the Ottoman flag. The second one is to unite all confederates in the central administration, and also to free former principals and their families according to Yıldırım Bayezid's idea.[65]

Probably, Murad I took into account the potential dangers, which could occur with the effects of extending the activities in Rumelia. Also Karamanoğulları who aimed to become the inheritor of Seljuks in the Middle Anatolia were exercising similar politics on the western Anatolia principalities and they were thus important rivals. Since 1360, Karamanoğulları factor and the rivalry were both highlighted Ottoman reputation as "fighting with the non-Muslims" spread to all Turkish extremity world and even to the principalities at the Middle Anatolia. Ottomans took the responsibility of the role that Germiyanoğulları played at the extremity world. By this way, Murad I slowly started to establish the politics of confederation. Small principalities that remained between these two strong principalities started to balance their activities according to them.

But Ottomans after these two events were not late to unite the Anatolian principalities to themselves by holding the leadership. First case was the Gorigos military expedition (a shore settlement between Silifke and Erdemli) that they aimed to show that Karamanoğulları could take the responsibility of the ghaza reputation of Ottomans, as well. The announcement of the Sultans of the Mamluks was very effective at the opening of this military expedition. Anatolian principality forces were involved in the forces of Karamanoğulları with 40,000 soldiers which requested the domination of other Turkish principalities under themselves by saying that they were the inheritors of Seljuks. Robert de Lusignan who was the castle commandant of Gorigos, requested support from the Cypriot King Pierre I. Anatolian principalities were defeated and moved up to the mountains because they could not prevent the support of the unified forces coming from Cyprus.[66] This defeat must have destroyed the reputation of Karamanoğulları in the eyes of other principalities. In this way, Murad Bey achieved a higher status with the successful ghazas in Rumelia. Also after the Gorigos military expedition, Hamidoğlu Ilyas bey required a (khutbah) sermon to be delivered for himself and asked the coin to be cut in Felekabad who was opposed to Alaeddin Bey. But when he faced with extreme difficulty, he requested help both from Germiyanoğulları Süleyman Bey and Ottoman principal Murad. His son Hüseyin Bey who after him accept-

ed Ottoman domination as opposed to Karamanoğulları and delivered the castles at the front points of Karaman to Ottomans, as a result of the pressure applied by them. These were very important centers such as Akşehir, Beyşehir, Seydişehir, Yalvaç and Karaağaç.[67] During this period, Bayezid who was the son of Murad I married to Germiyanoğulları Süleyman Bey's daughter and Kütahya, Emet, Simav and Tavşanlı were given as a trousseau. Up to 1380, it is obvious that these lands were under domination of Ottomans. In fact, even if the purchase of land were the comfort products of the efforts to show the legitimacy of Ottoman sources, it is still explicit that Germiyanoğulları and Hamidoğulları aimed at Ottomans who were stuck between Karamanlı-Ottoman rivalry. The corridor of Middle Anatolia, which was opened after Ankara was taken and started to function at the time of Murad I in 1354. This corridor formed the second extension side in Iran silk trading line. Small principalities at Tokat-Amasya region went under Ottoman domination as opposed to Kadi Burhaneddin who were placed with Eretna Oğulları in Sivas. Ottoman influence started to effect the Middle Anatolia areas, which would be later called as "Eyalet-i Rum".

The area, which was suggested to be bought from Hamidoğulları was presented as the reason that created the conflict between Ottomans and Karamanoğulları. Actually, it was just an excuse for deeper reasons of the challenge between two rival principalities. Murad I went on Konya and in the war that occurred at Frenkyazisi, Karamanoğulları were defeated. This situation also ended Karamanoğulları' claims on the principalities. By this way, from 1367 to 1387, Ottomans reduced the influence of Karamanoğulları who were their primary rivals. Karamanoğulları recognized Ottoman domination and other principalities too, which were under Ottoman domination. It was Ottoman's first important act in the Middle Anatolia, later they reached Sivas. The movement, which continued in two lines, at the end unified. Kosova War in 1389 was the first important sight of Anatolian confederation under Ottoman flag. Western Anatolian principal forces were also involved in this war. It was a great achievement as mentioned earlier but Murad's words caused the resolution of this alliance and led Karamanoğulları to attack to the Ottoman land by taking other Anatolian principalities with them. Perhaps, this situation was a concrete solution way for Yıldırım Bayezid who was placed after his father. This was a hard and limited ideology aimed at transforming the principality lands into provinces directly by taking them under central control.[68] It is not obvious whether the Anatolian principality societies which were united by the confederate lines or directly were the Ottoman lands, accepted this domination easily. Since the Ottoman system was not centered, and the fact that the social structure of the principalities and the Ottoman society share the same cultural environment in terms of basis, the exercise of local principality aristocracy by timar and goods, and the act of taking these into their own system, and at the end, with their rise at Rumelia with ghaza reputation have all balanced the potential reactions and provided the harmony among the society. On the other side, in order to legitimize the occupation of Anatolian principalities, late-dated Ottoman sources with new formulas, take attention.

8. The Rise of the Central Government System Founded by Yıldırım Bayezid

During the Kosova War in which Murad I lost his life, he provided important developments in Rumelia and Anatolia, left the principality structure, gathered all his important rivals together under his own flag and left a strong country behind him. But confederation politics remained as a strong barrier and protected the formation of a strong central system in front of the government. Both confederate principals in Rumelia and Anatolia could escape from such loose connection whenever they could. The death of Murad at the battlefield caused movements both in Anatolia and in the Balkans. Bayezid who was enthroned after his father's death at the battlefield,[69] primarily executed his enemies inside and provided control. After that, his primary aim was the Anatolian principalities, which were united with Karamanoğulları.



Coin of Bayezid I, (1338), (Y.Kredi Collection)

With this opportunity occurred, Byzantine regained Salonica and some other places. But the problems in Anatolia became urgent. Alaeddin Bey from Karamanoğulları, took Beyşehir and came to Eskişehir. Yakub II from Germiyanoğulları occupied the lands that he delivered by the heritage line and Kadi Burhaneddin entered Kırşehir. Yıldırım Bayezid made an agreement with Stephan Lazarevic who was the son of Serb King went to Anatolia after making him his confederate. After his departure from Rumelia, Pasha Yiğit Bey took Scopya in 1391 by defeating Vuc Brankovic who was the director of Scopya and Prishtina and did not recognize Ottoman domination. By this way, an important base was taken.

Yıldırım Bayezid who passed to Anatolia directly took Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe, Hamid and Germiyan principalities in Western Anatolia and put under Ottoman domination in 1389-1390 winter. In the 1390 Autumn, he took over Alaşehir, the single Byzantine land remained in the Western Anatolia in the Turkish land and it was like an island even when he was with Manuel who was the son of Byzantine Emperor and Çandarlı Süleyman Bey.[70] In 1390 May, Yıldırım Bayezid took Karahisar when he was in Sahip and, prepared for an expedition towards Karamanoğulları and took Beyşehir

and besieged Konya. But when Candaroğlu Süleyman Bey and Kadı Burhaneddin organized a unified activity and entered the Ottoman land, he resolved the siege and made an agreement. Çarşamba river became the check point for both governments, also Beyşehir and the local areas remained in Ottoman land. Another aim of Yıldırım Bayezid was Candaroğulları.[71] Upon his father's death in 1391 in March, he called Manuel II who was the Byzantine emperor.[72] During this time, at the capital of Byzantine, a village was formed in which the Muslim traders were settled and a Qadi (Kadı) was put in charge for their business and he increased the tribute which was to be paid. Now, his act of calling Byzantine emperor for the military expedition towards Çandaroğulları originated from the thought that Byzantine destiny was also at his hands.

Manuel II stayed near Yıldırım Bayezid from 8 June 1391 to 1392 January with his forces.[73] During this military expedition, Ottomans were defeated before the forces of Candarlı and Kadı Burhaneddin although they reached to Kastamonu-Sinop sect. After that, they came to Osmancik but at the Çorumlu sect, they could not stand before Kadı Burhaneddin. Kadı Burhaneddin reached Sivrihisar and Ankara and destroyed the land.[74] In 1392, the Amir of Amasya under siege of Kadı Burhaneddin went under domination of Ottomans and in this land, Ottoman control was formed. At this side, Taceddinoğulları at Yeşilırmak plateau, Tasanoğulları at Merzifon area and the leader of Bafra with other local principals both recognized Ottoman domination. In this way, there were only two powers who could fight against the Ottomans. Karamanoğulları and Kadi Burhaneddin. Their removal could occur only during 1397-98 struggles just after the reinforcement of the situation in Europe. During the time when Ottomans were busy in Europe, a new military expedition was organized towards Karamanoğulları and Karamanoğlu Alaeddin Bey's forces were defeated in Akçay and he escaped and closed himself in Konya Castle but he was found and executed by Ottoman forces which entered in. By this way, Karaman and Konya were taken under control. (1397 Autumn). In the following year, all the areas, which were ruled under the domination of Kadı Burhaneddin were taken. Ottoman armies moved on Firat plateau to Mamluke land and to Malatya-Elbistan. This situation protected the potential Ottoman-Mamluke alliance towards the Timur (Temerlane) threat and left Ottomans alone. In the Europe, Yıldırım Bayezid's brave domination was exercised effectively. After the crown celebration in 1392 February, emperor Manuel II. was released from the military responsibility for a period. But in all parts of Balkans, Turkish power was reinforced. During Ottoman's activities in Anatolia, also extremity principals continued their activities and Pasha Yiğit as mentioned above defeated Vuk Brankavic and at this time Firuz Bey made raiden attacks toward Eflak and Şahin Bey attacked towards Albania. But there were important movements in the Balkans Mircea, the prince of Eflak regained Silistre and started to pressure the Ottoman forces in Karinabad. Venetians were moving in Mora and Hungarians in Eflak and Danube Bulgaria.[75] In 1393, Şişman who was the king of Bulgaria with the support of Hungarians revolted.

An Ottoman army took over Tirnova in 17 July 1393. Şişman had to move back in Niğbolu. By this way, all Bulgarian Kingdom became Ottoman land. Only in Vidin, which is near to the district of Hungary, as a princedom was left and there remained Strasimir who was the brother on law of Şişman. Bayezid wanted to organize the situation at Balkans and in 1393-1394 winter by gathering the Balkan princes and palaologs at Serez, he wanted to see their devotion and to intensify them. Emperor Manuel II with his sibling Theodoros who was a Mora despotic, with his nieces Emperor Ioannes VII and Manuel's father Konstantin Dragas and Serb King Stefan Lazarevic came to Serez.


Coin of Bayezid I, (1338), (Y.Kredi Collection)

Bayezid wanted Theodoros to join in the Teselya military expedition and to Venetia, he requested deliverance of some cities in Mora to himself. But Theodoros and Manuel did not sympathize with this request. Theodoros escaped to Mora and Manuel could difficultly returned to İstanbul. Ottomans took over Salonica where formerly taken in 1387 and was lost in 1389 and by entering the Teselya area, he took some cities. Evranos Bey was sent to Mora. Theodoros left Argos to Venetians (27 May 1394). In the following year, Ottoman forces took over Tirhala which was an important center and this place became a headquarters for Turhan Bey. In 1394 September, Bayezid besieged İstanbul but the Byzantines under difficult conditions could reach the sport provided from the sea line.[76] The besiege took eight years.

Ottoman forces made a sudden attack on Hungary in 1395 and such castles like Salankamen, Krasova, Titel, Beckerek, Temeshvar, Mehadiye were targeted with raiden attacs. The activity at Mircea, the prince of Eflak with the union of the king Sigismund of Hungary resulted with a defeat in Rovine near the Agres River in 17 May 1395. But Dragos who was the confederate of Ottomans and Marko who was the son of Vukasin died during the war. Princedom of Eflak accepted Ottoman confederation. In June 1395, King Şişman in Niğbolu was executed. These sudden and fast military expeditions of Ottomans activated Hungarians and Venetians. The king of Hungary, Sigismund took on the responsibility to organize an opposite attack in Balkans. He took the support from The Pope and transformed this activity in to a crusade. The chivalries in France positively answered this announcement. Under the commandment of the son of the Burgonia Duke, Jean de Neuers, with

10,000 soldiers, and 6,000 chivalry from Germany, involved in this movement. Venetians told that they could provide a few ships. Genoese with Rhode cavalry in Midilli and Sakiz took on the responsibility of the control of the sea line. Western forces met at Budin in July 1396. Mircea, the Prince of Eflak came with 10,000 soldiers. Sigismund could form a force with 60,000 soldiers. Approximately, 100,000 soldiers were gathered in the crusade from Poland, Bohemia, England, Spain and Italy. When Bayezid had heard about this news, he moved on Danube River with his own forces. Crusade forces were in a state of romanticism that they aimed to place Turks out of Balkans and even move to Jerusalem. Stratsimir in Vidir opened his gates to crusades. These forces reached to Niğbolu after they pressed a small Turkish garrison in Rahova. Niğbolu castle, which was settled on a high peak that faced Danube was an important place. The confederate of Bayezid, Stephan Lazarevic' forces reached Niğbolu where was under siege. French armies, which were 4-5 km far away from the Ottoman forces were defeated and their commandment Jean was enslaved by Ottomans. Other crusade forces were scattered, Sigismund tried to move but he was pushed back by the Ottomans and escaped. (25 September 1396).[77] This great victory that was achieved in Niğbolu, showed the power of Ottomans in Balkans and that they could not be thrown out. Yıldırım Bayezid with all his society achieved a great reputation even at the center of Egypt and in the world of Islam. This activity was the last military struggle just like the same ideology in the crusades. The result concerned the Western Europe more than Byzantine, which was in great difficulty.



An archer shooting his arrow backward, (Album of Topkapı Palace)

It has been stressed that the crusades were intended to protect Hungary more than Manuel II and the Byzantine and they wanted to exclude Ottomans from this land who threatened Middle Europe. In order to reach to the sacred land and to rescue Byzantine were secondary aims. The war was the challenge of Ottoman forces with the alliance of Western countries and from one point, it opened the way of Ottomans to Hungary and also showed that they could reach to this land. This struggle did not cause any changes in Byzantine destiny. Only İstanbul remained for Bayezid after defeating the Bulgarian King Stratismir. The city was besieged. Evranos bey re-entered Mora. Argos, which was an important city was taken by Ottomans in June 1397. Ottoman forces defeated despotic Theodoros near Leontarion and by passing on Mora, they moved to Modon-Koron. All these activities of Yıldırım Bayezid provided him an opportunity to pass to a central government system. The pressure that he applied on İstanbul and his activity to conquest this land was necessary to organize a central empire. In order to control this land, he founded a base in Gallipoli, Çanakkale Bosphorus. His achievements in the west provided him an important status and the reputation of "sultan". He tried to form the sub-structure that could apply the central government administration, census records, the tax system, financial concepts devoted to İlhanlı traditions and the application also aimed to dominate the administration directly by the dynasty.

Kapıkulu (member of those troops directly under Sultan's command) and gulam systems were re-organized. Important missions were directly connected to him and were given to the slave originated people, the extremity principals who acted by their own, local dynasties, Turkish principalities were taken under control. By this way the basis for central empire was founded. Also, the efforts to replace high Islamic understanding slowed down the traditional meaning of being "ghazi", the Islamic formulation of this was presented in more idealized way.

But applications were different from the writings of those authors who searched for legitimate basis and idealizations. Yıldırım Bayezid was now the Sultan of an Islamic government who was organized with his establishments, not a leader of an extremity principality.[78]

All these efforts of Yıldırım Bayezid took the attention of central understandings, local aristocratic societies and even the extremity principality's reactions. On the other side, trade which was connected to Egypt and India via Antalya was taken under control from Amasya-Tokat to the satin ways to Iran. Ottoman center just like Bursa and Edirne owned great trading activities and were opened to international trading. This new foundation of the empire would remain silent with the appearance of Timur and with his visit to Anatolia until the re-organization of the government by Fatih Sultan Mehmed, the government would be in a depression.

9. The Arrival of Timur and the Fall of Central Government

After the Niğbolu War in 1396, Ottomans pressured towards İstanbul and loosened besiege with the Karaman military expedition in 1397. At this time, Manuel II requested support from the west and France answered to their calls. Charles IV was closely interested in İstanbul because it connected Genea and Genea's colonies in the Byzantine land. The chief commandment Jean de Meingre, a French chivalry who also was known as Boucicout and was rescued with ransom after being enslaved during the Niğbolu War and was put in charge. Chief Commandant Boucicout by dividing the Ottoman forces, entered İstanbul with his small forces in the beginning of 1399. This situation resulted a great happiness inside the city. Manuel II tried to find support for İstanbul by going to Europe with him (10 December 1399).[79] He applied to Italy, England and

France but understood that he could not manage to get any support. While he was busy in Europe, his niece, Ioannes VII was trying to defend İstanbul. Bayezid reinforced the siege very much. The city could be taken at any time. But during this time, a power appeared from the east and destroyed the plans of Ottomans. Timur who defended that he was the inheritor of Mongols in Anatolia, had taken the control of wide areas and took Iran, Afghanistan, India and at the north, and Altınorda sect. In the 1390s, at east, the Ottomans and his benefits intersected at the same point. Timur who went along the East side of Anatolia aimed at more western parts in 1394. In 1399 when Bayezid wanted to extend his influence through Erzincan, Amir, Mutahharten, he took refuge under Timur. Timur entered Erzincan in 1400, later attacked on Sivas and took the control of the city. This land was under control of Ottomans and the situation became to be gentle. An influence struggle was experienced between Timur and Bayezid. Timur was afraid to move on Bayezid who had the sultan ghazi reputation in the world of Islam. But he wanted him to show obedience to him like the other Anatolian principalities did, he wanted changes in the status in Anatolia also desired the former principalities to rule the old lands again. He told about his idea to Bayezid. Suddenly, former Mongol-İlhanlı and Seljuks struggle appeared in a different way. Timur acted like the inheritor of the Mongols, and Bayezid like the Seljuks. After the destruction of Sivas, suddenly Timur went in Anatolia to move on Mamluks. His fast act is connected with his hesitation to attack Ottomans. What ever the case, actually, Mamluk military expedition did not illustrate an urgency for Timur. May be his hesitation was the alliance of Ottoman-Mamluk forces and primarily he wanted to exclude Mamluks from the south of Anatolia and then to aim to connect Ottomans to himself without any struggle. Whatever the case, Timur came to Behisni via Malatya and then to Aleppo. He took the cities such as Hama and Hums. In 1401, he came to Dimask. Ferek who was enthroned recently went in Cairo. During Timur's military expedition towards Syria, Bayezid did not comprehend that it was his turn for Timur. He took Kara Yusuf and Sultan Ahmed with him. Later he moved on the Amir of Erzincan. Mutahharten accepted the domination of Bayezid. Erzincan was taken under control of Ottomans. When Timur sent troops to Erzincan, Ottoman forces already went back when the troops entered the land. After this, Timur wanted Kara Yusuf to be executed or given to himself. On the other side, Anatolian principals took refugee at Timur by escaping. At the end Timur decided to move on Bayezid in March 1402. He came to Sivas via Kemah, and he announced Bayezid to be ready for the war. Two sides met in Çubuk plateau near ankara in 28 July 1402. Bayezid came with a large army and at the right side of the army his confederate Lazarevic who was a Serb despot and on the left side his eldest son Süleyman located. With Janissary corps, he remained at the center. At the back sides there were troops under command of his sons. Timur's forces were larger in number. Timur got use of the elephants in his army and defeated Bayezid. Ottoman forces were spread. Bayezid's sons went back as a result of the war. Anatolian principality forces took side near Timur's army. Bayezid was taken as a slave when he continued to fight with a small troop. He died during his enslavement.[80]



Helmet of Orhan Gazi

Ankara War was a turning point for the Ottomans especially when the results are considered. The central government fell down which Bayezid had established the Anatolian union collapsed, the principals regained their former status and in this way, the political sitation in Anatolia turned to a similar are to the Former reign of Murad I. Timur's forces entered Bursa and moved among West Anatolia. In order to show that he was also a ghazi like Ottomans, Timur besieged Izmir and took the control of the city from Latins.

Bayezid's sons were involved in a struggle for the throne in a short time. This situation relieved Byzantine, which was under siege. In fact, they were threatened that Timur could come to Rumelia by passing İstanbul but it did not happen. Ottoman government was torn into pieces. The connection between Rumelia and Anatolia was cut. In a short time, the Ottomans were plunged into an uncertain environment, and the interregnum period unleashing a new chaos was about to begin for Ottoman history.

Notes

(*) Translated by Melek Yeğin.

1 Paul Wittek Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu, translated by R. Hulusi, İstanbul 1928.

2 Fuad Köprülü Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu, Ankara 1972.

3 The Rise of The Ottoman Empire, London 1938.

4 "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State", IJTS, II/2 (1982), 71-79; "Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış", Osmanlı, I (Ankara 1999), 37-60.

5 For this kind of literature see. Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a. Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar, (prep. M. Öz-O. Private), İstanbul 2000, introduction.

6 O. Turan, Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye, İstanbul 1971, p. 505 vd. Cl. Cahen, Osmanlılardan Önce Anadoluda Türkler, trans. Y. Moran, İstanbul 1979, p. 149 vd.

7 For these kind of issues, see the census notebooks about the districts. Anadolu'da ve Rumelia'de Yörükler ve Türkmenler, Ankara 2000.

8 Cl. Cahen, ibid, p. 296 vd.

9 Z. V. Togan, Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş, İstanbul 1970, p. 154 etc., 267-271.

10 Cl. Cahen, "Note pour des Turcomans d'Asia Mineure au XIIIe siecle", Journal Asiateque, no. 239 (1952), p. 335-354; amlf, "İbn Said sur l'Asia Mineure Seldjuqide", Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, VI/10-11 (1972), p. 41-50.

11 See. A. Yaşar Ocak, Babailer İsyanı, İstanbul 1980.

12 For these see. P. Lindner, Ortaçağ Anadolusunda Göçebeler ve Osmanlılar, translated by M. Günay, İstanbul 2000, p. 17-86; especially S. Divitçioğlu, Osmanlı Beyliğinin Kuruluşu, İstanbul 1996, p. 35 etc.; Ümit Hassan, Osmanlı. Örgüt-İnanç-Davranıştan Hukuk-İdeolojiye, İstanbul 2001, p. 95-107.

13 It has been suggested that this principality has some relations with the Ottomans. For this see E. Zachariadou, "Pachymeres on the Amorioi of Kastamonu" Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, III (1977), p. 57-70; Also, Z. G. Öden, "Umuroğulları Hakkında Bazı Görüşler", XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Bildiriler, Ankara 1999, II, 589-594.

14 F. M. Emecen, İlk Osmanlılar ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası, İstanbul 2001, p. 11-13. A. Decei, "Le probleme de le colonisation des Turcs Selcoukides dans la Dobrogea au XIIIe siecle", Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, VI/10-11 (1972), 85-111.

15 The claim that Süleyman Shahah is the ancestor of Osman Bey is articulated by himself. In Âşıkpaşazade's writings, it has been suggested that while Osman Bey declared his freedom against Selçuk Sultan, his grandfather Süleyman Shah entered Anatolia before Seljuks (Tarih, Atsız edition, Osmanlı Tarihleri içinde, İstanbul 1949, s. 103; also see. note 20). Süleyman Shah is both presented as the grandfather of Osman and a century earlier he is identified with Kutalmışoğlu Süleyman Shah. Because of this, it is a direct claim and therefore it is not the problem of Osman Bey but Âşıkpaşazades or his sources.

16 For all the interpretations in the sources see. F. M. Emecen, İlk Osmanlılar, p. 1-16.

17 İ. Artuk, "Osmanlı Beyliğinin Kurucusu Osman Bey'e Ait Bir Sikke", Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920), Ankara 1980, p. 27-33. P. Lindner mentions about the coins that belong to Osman Bey. A second coin in London's British Museum is named as Osman Bey, and it is like the late Seljuk and modern İlhanlı coins. Also, another coin which is dated in 699 is printed for Gazan Mahmud Khan. ("Selçuklular, Moğollar ve Osmanlılar Arasında", Osmanlı, I, 148).

18 For some historians and people who are specialized on the history of coins necessarily thought that these are not the original money but others do not approve this claim. (For example see. Oğuz Tekin, "İlk Osmanlı Sikkesi Ne Zaman Basıldı", Toplumsal Tarih, vol. 66 (Haziran 1999), p. 62-63.

19 Argument is very old. For instance against Wittek's thoughts about the issue, F. Köprülü relates with Kayı, and tries to justify his claim ("Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Etnik Menşei Meseleleri", Belleten, VII/27 (1943), 284-300). F. Sümer does not present a concrete claim on this issue. ("Kayı", İslam Ansiklopedisi, VI, 461).

20 The narrations of Yazıcızade Ali about Kayı clan echoes in Asikpaşazade's sources. In order to defend that he is independent, these claims are interesting. "ger ben Âl-i Selçukvân der ise ben hod Gök Alp oğluyun derin ve ger bu vilâyete ben anlardan öndin geldim der ise Süleyman Şah dedem hod andan evvel geldi" (Âşıkpaşazade, Tarih, Atsız edition, Osmanlı Tarihleri içinde, İstanbul 1949, p. 103).

21 O. Turan, "Keykavus II", İA, VI, 644-655; N. Kaymaz, Pervane Muinüddin Süleyman, Ankara 1970.

22 O. Turan, Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi, İstanbul 1984, p. 620 etc.

23 J. Lefort, "13 Yüzyılda Bitinya", Osmanlı Beyliği, p. 107 etc.

24 H. İnalcık, "Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış", Osmanlı, I, 40; "Osman Gazi'nin İznik Kuşatması ve Bafeus Savaşı", Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a, p. 307; Y. Yücel, Çobanoğulları-Candaroğulları Beylikleri, Ankara 1980, p. 49.

25 About this issue see. Kramers, Gy. Moravcsik's claims and interpretation. L. Bazin, "Antiquite meconnue du titre d'Ataman", Harvard Ukrainian Studies, III-IV (1980), 61-70.

26 C. Heywood, "Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluş Problemi. Yeni Hipotez Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler", Osmanlı, I, 137-145. Earlier moving from Habibü's-Siyer same claims were analyzed. Cl. Huart, Z. V. Togan's related ideas and directly focusing on concrete sources. F. Köprülü's narration ("Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Etnik Menşei", p. 289-90) can be given as examples.

27 Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Bitinya'da Gayrimüslim Nüfus", Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389, İstanbul 1997, p. 8-22.

28 D. Nicol, Bizans'ın Son Yüzyılları (1291-1453), traslated by B. Umur, İstanbul 1999, p. 135 vd.

29 F. M. Emecen, İlk Osmanlılar, p. 175-185.

30 H. İnalcık, "Bafeus", p. 306.

31 For Melangeia see. Zachariadou, "İlk Osmanlılara dair Tarih ve Efsaneler", p. 368-369.

32 D. Nicol, Bizansın Son Yüzyılları, p. 150-151, 156.

33 Âşıkpaşazade, Tarih, (Atsız neşri) p. 105-111. These information are compared to Byzantine sources. For this see. E. Zachariadou, "Same article", p. 368-373.

34 For extended information see. D. Nicol, ibid, p. 180-181.

35 O. Turan, Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye, p. 645-650.

36 For general info see. F. Köprülü, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu, Ankara 1972.

37 F. M. Emecen, İlk Osmanlılar, p. 75-86.

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