

Tamerlane's Place of Abode and Activities after Ankara War in Kütahya

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Abstract: Tamerlane who won the Ankara war against the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I in July 28, 1402 did not immediately left Anatolia and stayed there for approximately one year. He continued his pillage attacks and conquests in various cities of Anatolia during this period. Kütahya was one of the cities where he stayed. This article focused on why the Asia's conqueror came to Kütahya, how long he stayed there and what kind celebrations were performed in Kütahya. Finally, his military and diplomatic activities and his relationships with scholars were stated.

Key words: Tamerlane · Bayezid I · Kütahya · Ankara war

INTRODUCTION

It is known that Tamerlane was born in the Rat-Year (April 9th, 1336). He was first started to be known in 1360 and came to the throne by gaining ascendancy over Transoxiana in 1370. He, in his emperor capacity, started conquest actions that would last until his death and almost all of which would end in victory. He organized campaign to Khwarezm four times between the years 1371 and 1379 and finally captured it. He gained ascendancy over Khorasan with campaigns started in 1380. He invaded Iran in 1386-1388 by benefiting from the dissolution of Iran. He fought twice, one in 1391 and the other is in 1395, with Toktamış, the Emperor of The Golden Horde and prevailed over him and so he thwacked The Golden Horde. He conquered Mazandaran and South Iran regions with series of campaigns lasting five years between the years 1392 and 1397. At the same time he captured Arbil, Mosul, Mardin and Diyarbakır. He arrived in Erzurum but he had to come back due to a campaign planned over Toktamış. He organized a campaign over India and it resulted in a victory and he returned from India with enormous pillages. In 1399 some campaigns were reorganized towards west. With this campaigns called seven year campaigns Syria was invaded in 1401 [1, 2]. The next year he attacked the Ottomans. The battle took place at the field of Çubuk and resulted in Tamerlane's victory. Tamerlane went back to his country from Anatolia after some loot lasting one year. Tamerlane got sick and died on 19th February 1405 [3] during a campaign over China [4].

Tamerlane, who was famous for his militancy and cruelty and spent his life at battle fields, was interested in building development in his country at the times after wars. He collected intellectuals and artists in Samarkand [5, 6]. Mohammad Jazarî, Ibn Arabşah, Pîr İlyas from Amasya, Siraceddin Mohammed Halabî, Sa'd al-Din Taftazânî and Seyyid Şerif Curcânî were just some of the scholars he took to his country. Tamerlane enthusiastically watched especially the intellectual arguments between Taftazânî and Curcânî. Samarkand, even in Tamerlane's Period, started to host people who came from different Islamic countries and wanted to learn from these two scholars.

This is the summary of the operations of Tamerlane during his thirty five year reign. This article focuses on the actions and activities of Tamerlane during his approximately one month stay in Kütahya after Ankara War (1402). Although there is some information, directly or indirectly, both through original resources of the mentioned period and through the new researches, this information is dispersed. Moreover, some is shallow. So it is difficult to portrait the period clearly. This

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article, therefore, aims to state and portrait the actions of Tamerlane during his stay in Kütahya in an organized way. In this context, this article tries to clarify why Tamerlane came to Kütahya after beating Bayezid I, how long he stayed and what activities he did in Kütahya.

THE ARRIVAL OF TAMERLANE AFTER ANKARA WAR IN KÜTAHYA

The Anatolian campaign of Tamerlane in 1402 was perhaps the most important one among his campaigns. As is known, there had been some correspondences between Tamerlane and Bayezid I before this campaign and ambassadors had been sent [7, 8]; however, they couldn't reach an agreement. A series of requests of Tamerlane from Ottoman Emperor like giving back Kemah Castle to Erzincan Mandator Mutaharten, giving grant asylum to Qara Yusuf and Ahmed Celayirî, sending one of the Ottoman princes to Tamerlane and giving back the lands of the Germiyan, Aydın, Saruhan, Candar, Teke, Menteşe and Hamidoğulları to their previous owners [9, 1] were rejected by Ottoman emperor. So Tamerlane intended to attack Bayezid in March 1402; he went to Ankara via Erzurum, Erzincan and Kayseri. He laid a siege to Ankara, but he heard Bayezid's coming and gave up siege and settled in Çubuk district. Finally, the two armies encountered on July 28th and Tamerlane beat Bayezid. Bayezid was taken prisoner at the end of the war [7, 10]. The victory was announced to all provinces of Tamerlane with a "fetihnâme", a special letter of Ottoman Princes announcing their conquest [8, 11]. Moreover some Christian countries were even informed about this victory with letters [5, 12, 13].

Tamerlane stayed in Ankara for about eight days [14]. During his stay he sent some military forces to various places of Anatolia for loot [8, 7, 14]. After he collected pillage from the local people, he left Ankara and arrived in Sivrihisar in six days. He organized celebratory ceremonies lasting a few days there. Then he first arrived in Seyitgazi after three days journey and finally he arrived in Kütahya via Afyonkarahisar [7]. He didn't hurt the people in Kütahya, but levied ransom.

It isn't exactly known when Tamerlane arrived in Kütahya. However, it can be understood that he arrived in Kütahya around the end of August when his stay in Ankara and travel to Kütahya are considered. Yezdi states that Tamerlane stayed in Kütahya for a month [8]. According to him, Tamerlane sent a letter, dated 29th September, 1402, announcing his victory to Egypt Sultan. In this letter sent with Bedreddin Ahmed, son of Mohammed Cezeî, Tamerlane wanted them to perform a khutba in his name in Egypt and Syria and to release captive Atlamış [8]. The date of the letter is important since it shows that Tamerlane was still in Kütahya around the end of September. The expression in Hodja Sadeddin's work "... the rest of summer was spent here" [15] supports Yezdi at the aspect of the length of Tamerlane in Kütahya.

Tamerlane's short stay in Ankara and short bivouacking in Sivrihisar and arriving in Kütahya after the war was doubtlessly a strategic movement. Ottoman was still a danger for him, because Ottoman forces were not exactly destroyed and majority of them were in Europe and the rest were in Anatolia [16]. Kütahya was a place where Tamerlane could be prepared for a possible attack. It was also suitable for relaxing of the army. Moreover, the military forces sent for pillage to Aegean, Marmara and Mediterranean regions could easily be directed from Kütahya, because Kütahya had a central position for the pillage units. In addition to these, Kütahya had a nice weather for summer and its fruit was delicious [8]. So Tamerlane liked Kütahya [15]. Therefore, Tamerlane stayed longer in Kütahya than the places he had stayed before Kütahya. But he had to leave Kütahya in order to complete another chain of his pillages and finally spent the winter in Menteşe province [17].

TAMERLANE'S ACTIVITIES DURING HIS STAY IN KÜTAHYA

As mentioned above, Tamerlane's stay in Kütahya included only one month of his approximately one year Anatolia adventure. In this period he both was interested in resting and entertainments and continuously followed military and diplomatic actions. In the meantime he didn't neglect protectorship of the ulema, the educated class of Muslim legal scholars engaged in the several fields of Islamic studies, as he did all the places he conquered. His that kind of actions were discussed under three titles.

Victory Celebrations: Tamerlane didn't organize any celebrations in Ankara after his victory. The celebrations in Sivrihisar were very short. The real celebration started in Kütahya [18]. According to Şâmî tables were filled with wineglasses, all kinds of fruit and meat. Beautiful cupbearer girls were serving at the tables [7].

Bayezid I was invited to the celebration. Tamerlane wanted Bayezid to sup wine just as he drunk the upsetting water of the defeat in the war, to feel relaxed unlike the war days, to learn war and entertainment, generosity, glory, mercy, violence, happiness and freedom. Bayezid was brought to entertainment meeting. He was serviced wine, complimented and presented some presents [7]. The two state owners sat on the same sofa as required by custom. They listened to melodies and songs together. They chatted about different subjects from time to time. Sometimes friendship and sympathy dominated between them. During their chat Tamerlane promised that he would give back Bayezid's country. In the meanwhile he wanted one of Bayezid's daughters to his grandson Ebu Bekir Mirza [15]. Consequently the desire of Tamerlane became real. Moreover Tamerlane married off Bayezid's daughter named Pasha Melek to Emir Celaleddin Islam's son named Şemseddin Mohammed [19].

There isn't sharp information in sources about how long the celebrations lasted, but it can easily be understood that it was longer and more crowded compared to the short celebrations in Sivrihisar. These kinds of entertainments traditional to eastern states were among the necessary activities for the relaxation and motivation of the army and its commanders. One of the important features of the celebrations – as seen in Kütahya sample – was their being during wars.

Military and Diplomatic Actions: Tamerlane's emirs were busy with pillage actions in various places in Anatolia during Tamerlane's stay in Kütahya [7, 8, 19, 1, 18]. Emir Sultan Hüseyin, Emir Süleymanşah, Emir Rüstem Togay Boğa and Emir Iskender were sent to Konya, Akşehir and Antalya; Emir Şahrüh was sent to Gölhisar and Korkuteli; Seyyid Hodja Şeyh Ali was sent to Aydın province; Mahmud Han, Emir Şah Melik, Hacı Seyfeddin, Şeyh Ali Siblay and Şeyh Hacı Süldüz were sent to Hocaeli, Bozdoğan and Menteşe. These emirs pillaged the places they were sent, collected ransom money from people. All these pillages were sent to Tamerlane in Kütahya.

Meanwhile, Emir Mohammed Sultan, together with Emir Ebu Bekir, Emir Cihanşah, Emir Şeyh Nureddin and Emir Sevincik, attacked Bursa in order to capture Süleyman Çelebi, son of Bayezid I. When the units consisting of thirty thousand cavalymen arrived in Bursa, Süleyman Çelebi, with his two brothers, had already gone to Rumelia. Some of the people of Bursa went to Uludağ and some of them escaped towards seaside in order to protect themselves from the pillagers. However it didn't work [19]. During this disorder Emir Şeyh Nureddin captured Ottoman treasury in the castle that Süleyman Çelebi didn't have time to take [17]. The treasury consisting of goods, money, precious pearls, rubies and cloth was determined and recorded by Şerafeddin Ali Semnani and Seyfeddin Tunı. Emir Nureddin burned the city after pillage [8]. Reputedly, the smoke rising from the city was seen from the surrounding cities like Çanakkale and Istanbul [20]. At the same time a unit consisting of ten thousand soldiers under the command of Emir Ebu Bekir attacked Iznik and pillaged there while Emir Sevincik moved along the Marmara shores and destroyed all the cities there [8, 21].

While Tamerlane was in Kütahya, he sent Bedreddin Ahmed, son of Mohammed Cezerî, to Egypt Sultan in order to transmit his orders. He also sent two of his ambassadors to Istanbul and wanted them to pay the taxes which used to be paid to Bayezid before, to him. Moreover, he called in Süleyman Çelebi who was staying at Anatolian Castle and wanted ransom money from him [8, 21].

Mohammed Cezerî, Molla Fenârî, Şemseddin Mohammed Buhârî, the daughter of Ahmed Celayirî, who had got engaged to Prince Mustafa previously, were taken prisoner during the destruction and pillaging of Bursa. The Serbian wife and two daughters of Bayezid I were also captured in Yenişehir [14]. Mohammed Sultan charged Emir Şeyh Nureddin in order to deliver captured treasury, the prisoners mentioned above and the conquest news of Bursa to Tamerlane. Şeyh Nureddin delivered the escrows to his lord.

Tamerlane felt the necessity to move to Domaniç, which is close to Bursa, while Mohammed Sultan was in Bursa because the situation of Prince Mustafa wasn't clear, so there was still a danger [18]. Tamerlane was informed about a group of thieves disturbing the soldiers when he arrived in Domaniç. Most of the thieves were killed with the order of

Tamerlane. The ones who could escape hid in the caves and the mountains. However the soldiers captured those thieves and killed them. During these events Emir Mohammed Sultan and Emir Cihanşah arrived in Domaniç after the conquest of Bursa and met with Tamerlane. Mohammed Sultan presented the presents brought from Bursa [7].

While Tamerlane was in Domaniç some ambassadors came from Istanbul. They brought their emperor's adherence and friendship messages and a lot of presents. Moreover they indicated that their emperor was ready to pay tax. Tamerlane accepted the ambassadors and hosted them. He determined the amount of the tax, gave them clothes and sent them back to their hometowns. Isfendiyar Chieftain came from Sinop with one thousand horses and declared his adherence to Tamerlane. Tamerlane accepted him and gave him some presents like crown, belt, clothes and gold. Before he left Domaniç, he appointed Mohammed Sultan to the right wing of the army and put Emir Cihanşah under his command in order to destroy his enemies and conquer new places [7].

After his stay in Domaniç, Tamerlane set out with his army in order to move Uşak- Denizli destination. He arrived in Balak via Tıraşlığ, Saranyos and Tığırtaş. He stayed there for sometime. At that time an ambassador of Süleyman Çelebi, son of Bayezid I named Şeyh Ramazan, came with presents. Şeyh Ramazan delivered his Prince's adherence message to Tamerlane. Tamerlane was pleased to hear this message and said to the ambassador "... *everything passed and we lived the things in our fate. I forgave all people. If the son of Bayezid I comes, I will treat and respect him just as we did to his father. Tell him to come without hesitation and so the hostility between us disappears*". He sent coif, belt, clothes, horses and money to Süleyman Çelebi with this ambassador [7]. Before Tamerlane left here, he had Rumelia Commander of Commanders Hodja Firuz, who had previously been captured in Altıntaş, killed [22].

While Tamerlane was in Kütahya, Karamanoğlu Mehmet and Ali Chieftains who had supported Tamerlane before were rescued from prison [23] and brought to Kütahya. Tamerlane treated well them and gave them presents [8]. He appointed Mehmet Chieftain to the head of Karamanoğlu territory and gave him Kırşehir, Sivrihisar and Beypazarı in addition to his old lands [24, 25, 13]. Consequently, this territory became more powerful [26]. Tamerlane gave back the lands of Candar, Menteşe, Saruhan and Germiyan territories that declared their adherence when he was in the southern Anatolia.

While Tamerlane was in Kütahya, he found the treasures in the castle of Timurtaş Pasha who was the Commander of Commanders of Germiyan and Ankara district. The treasure consisting of precious jewelleryes was very rich. Tamerlane got angry with the Pasha who had such a rich treasure. Tamerlane said to him "*Instead of collecting these possessions and goods you should have collected soldiers and used them for the sake of your lord. If viziers start to save money and goods and neglect raising soldiers they cause the state to collapse. Their late precautions can't prevent the collapse of the state.*" Timurtaş Pasha replied: "*Our Sultan isn't an arriviste and new sultan so they don't depend on their chieftains and viziers' money and he isn't greedy.*" After his reply, Tamerlane got angry and said that he was going to release him and his children but he had changed his mind after these barbed comments [15, 21, 27]. Then Tamerlane gave out the treasure to his soldiers.

Relationships With Scholars: Tamerlane was an illiterate sultan, but he could speak the Mongolian language well and could understand Turkish and Persian. He heeded scholars and artists. He enjoyed talking to and discussing with scholars. He was especially interested in history, so he had strong history knowledge. Ibn Haldun appreciated his history knowledge during Tamerlane's Syria campaign [28, 29].

As mentioned in introduction of the research, Tamerlane used to take (or send) the scholars of the conquered countries to his own country. He generally performed it with approval of the scholars but not by force. But sometimes he would choose exile method. For instance, he sent Sheikh Pir Ilyas to Şirvan with this method [15], but he didn't force Ibn Haldun he met in Damascus [16]. He also behaved in the same way to Mohammed Cezerî, Molla Fenârî and Şemseddin Mohammed Buhârî after the invasion of Bursa.

According to Hodja Sadeddin, Tamerlane believed that the meeting with these scholars would bring him luck and so he was very respectful to the scholars. At a meeting he invited Cezerî to stay with him and he set the others free about staying with him. But they chose to go back to Bursa since they believed that the Ottoman country would someday be safe,

developed and peaceful again. But Cezerî was sent to Khorasan. He stayed there until Tamerlane died and was interested in writing books, teaching Quran and raising students [15].

There are some records in literary works saying that Tamerlane had a close relationship with the famous scholar and poet Ahmedî who was thought to be born in Amasya but accepted as being from the Germiyan after the Ankara War; even they were close friends [30-33]. Among those, Âşık Çelebi and Hasan Çelebi talked about an encomium (poem) – it hasn't been found yet – presented to Tamerlane. The story is related to the famous bath story between Tamerlane and Ahmedî; it is also referred to Nasreddin Hodja.

According to this story, which is thought to have taken place in Germiyan, one day Tamerlane invites Ahmedî to an unknown Turkish bath to accompany him. Ahmedî accepts this invitation. In the bath Tamerlane, as a joke, wants Ahmedî to tell the value of the servants in the bath. Ahmedî says that one of the servants costs much money and the other one costs a world full of gold and silver. This time Tamerlane asks him to tell the value of Tamerlane himself. Ahmedî says he costs eighty akçe, the chief monetary unit of the Ottoman Empire. Tamerlane gets angry and he says just my loincloth costs eighty akçe. Ahmedî bravely replies that he said its value not his. Tamerlane doesn't get angry because of his answer. On the contrary he likes his brave answer and gives him rewards [34].

Some literature researchers [35, 36] are suspicious about the relation between Tamerlane and Ahmedî, because there aren't any clues that show Ahmedî's close relation with Tamerlane in any works of Ahmedî. Moreover Kortantamer claims that there is a possibility of confusing Ahmedî with the Germiyan poet Ahmed-i Dâî. It is seen that this subject cannot be clarified until new information is found. However, it is certain that Ahmedî didn't like Tamerlane. He clearly expressed his feelings in his poem written for Ankara war [37, 38]. According to Ahmedî Tamerlane was a cruel sultan. Ahmedî's ideas affected other historians of XV century [39].

CONCLUSION

Tamerlane's stay in Kütahya started three or five weeks later after Ankara war and lasted about one month. He preferred this city whose climate was nice in summer both for its suitability for resting and its strategic position for military activities. He not only organized victory celebrations in Kütahya but also sent pillage units to neighbour cities. Meanwhile he sent ambassadors to Egypt, Ottoman and Byzantine Empire. He met with some scholars captured in Bursa, put Timurtaş Pasha in prison and captured his treasure. He also accepted with pleasure the captured properties brought by pillaging.

The one month period stay in Kütahya was advantageous at all aspects: an ambassador of Süleyman Çelebi, son of Bayezid I, named Şeyh Ramazan came with presents. Şeyh Ramazan delivered his Prince's adherence message to Tamerlane. Some ambassadors came from Byzantine. They brought their emperor's adherence and friendship messages and a lot of presents. Moreover they indicated that their emperor was ready to pay tax. Isfendiyar Chieftain came from Sinop and declared his adherence to Tamerlane. Karamanoğlu Mehmet and Ali Chieftains, who were rescued from prison in Bursa and brought to Kütahya, were given a few cities in addition to their old lands and they were supported against the Ottomans and consequently this territory became more powerful. Tamerlane who used to take (or send) the scholars of the conquered countries to his own country sent Mohammed Cezerî to Khorasan by convincing him.

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