

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY**

**THE ORIGINS OF THE OTTOMAN STATE
THROUGH THE EYES OF AŐIKPAŐAZADE**

M. A. Thesis

MUSTAFA ALPER ÖZTÖRK

İSTANBUL, 2014

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
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**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OTTOMAN HISTORY GRADUATE PROGRAM**

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Hereby, I would like to commemorate my grandfather *-mekanı cennet olsun-*, who passed away one and a half years ago. His memory and his inner beauty is the most valuable heritage I can receive.

ÖZET

THE ORIGINS OF THE OTTOMAN STATE THROUGH THE EYES OF AŞIKPAŞAZADE

Mustafa Alper Öztürk

Osmanlı Tarihi Yüksek Lisans Programı

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Bu çalışma, kaynak zenginliği açısından Osmanlı Tarihinin en karanlık yüzyılı olan 14. yüzyılı konu almaktadır. Bu dönemde kaleme alınmış arşiv belgeleri son derece kısıtlı olup, en geniş bilgiyi elimizdeki kronikler ve menakıplar sayesinde edinmekteyiz. Doğrudan Osmanlı tarihini konu edinen bu erken kroniklerden elimize ulaşanların büyük bir çoğunluğu 15. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, hikayeci bir anlatım ile yazılmışlardır. Kroniklerin dili halk diline yakın olup, devrin popüler eğilimlerini yansıtmakta ve tarihi olaylar ile efsaneler birlikte yer almaktadırlar. Bu yapıtların ilki olan Aşıkpaşazade tarihi, bir özelliği ile diğerlerinden ayrılmaktadır. Aşıkpaşazade, evinde kaldığı Yahşi Fakîh'tan bulduğu menakıbı I. Bayezid devrinin başına veya sonuna kadar kaynak olarak kullanmıştır. Bu gerçek, Aşıkpaşazade'nin kaynak değerini artırmakta, ve bugün mevcut olmayan Yahşi Fakîh *Menakıbnamesi*'ne dolaylı yoldan ulaşmamızı mümkün kılmaktadır.

Çalışmanın birinci bölümünde, Aşıkpaşazade'nin hayatı ve büyüdüğü çevre üzerinde durulmuş ve kişiliğinin eserine nasıl yansımış olabileceğine değinilmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, 14. yüzyılda Anadolu'da yaygın olan Kendisi de derviş olan Aşıkpaşazade, 14. yüzyılda dervişlerin devletin kuruluşunda oynadıkları role birçok defa değinmiştir.

İkinci kısımda ise, Aşıkpaşazade'nin eserinde kullandığı bazı kavramlara değinilmiştir. Kullandığı kavramlar kendisinden önce ve sonraki diğer müelliflerde geçtiği şekliyle karşılaştırılarak kullanıldığı dönemi ne kadar yansıttığı anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır.

Üçüncü ve son bölümde is Aşıkpaşazade tarihinin ilk 67 bâbı (kısmı) Osmanlı Türkçesi'nden İngilizce'ye tercüme edilmiş ve Osmanlı Türkçesi'ne hakim olmayan tarih öğrencilerine ve diğer okuyuculara bu önemli eser sunulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi, Yahşi Fakîh Menakıbnamesi, 14. yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarihi.

ABSTRACT

THE ORIGINS OF THE OTTOMAN STATE THROUGH THE EYES OF AŞIKPAŞAZADE

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This study deals with the 14th century Ottoman history, which is the darkest period of the empire's history regarding the scarcity of the sources. Since the archival material drawn up in this period is very limited, most of what we know about the 14th century is based on the chronicles and the *menaqib*. Most of these early chronicles, which are solely about the Ottoman History, were written at the second half of the 15th century in a narrative style. Their language is close to the popular language and reflect the tendencies of the age, containing both the legends and the historical events. Aşıkpaşazade's history, the first among this histories dedicated solely to the Ottomans, is special in one way. Aşıkpaşazade found the *menaqib* of Yahşi Faqih when he stayed in his house and used it as a source in his account either until the beginning or the end of the reign of Bayezid I. This fact raises the importance Aşıkpaşazade's account as a historical source and allows us access to Yahşi Faqih's *Menaqibname* indirectly.

In the first chapter of this study, emphasis is put on the life of Aşıkpaşazade, the environment he grew up in and how his background could have reflected on his account. Aşıkpaşazade, who himself was a dervish, touches upon the role the dervishes played in the foundation of the Ottoman state several times in his account.

The second chapter mentions some terms used by Aşıkpaşazade. The terms he used are compared with the authors who wrote about the same period before and after him, in order to understand to what extent he reflects the realities of the era.

In the third and the final section, the first 67 chapters of Aşıkpaşazade's history is translated from Ottoman Turkish to English in order to present this valuable work to students of Ottoman history who can not benefit from Ottoman Turkish and to the other readers.

Keywords: Aşıkpaşazade's History, Yahşi Fakih's *Menaqibname*, Fourteenth Century Ottoman History

1. INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman State, which appeared on the stage of history at the end of the 13th century as a small principality, became a multicultural and multireligious empire by the second half of the 15th century. The foundation of the empire and its transformation process is still vague, because while we have a huge archive regarding the empire's history from the 16th century on, the sources are scarce for 15th century, and there are only a handful of sources for the 14th century. Although it's hard for the historian to compose a picture out of the few extant sources, we have the possibility to draw an outline through taking into consideration all the available data.

Regarding this, I have decided to write my thesis on a part of Aşıkpaşazade's history, namely the years between 1285-1402. Aşıkpaşazade states that he has related the part up until the end (or maybe the beginning, as his statement is vague) of Bayezid I's reign from the work of Yahşi Fakîh, who is the son of Orhan I's Imam, Ishak Fakîh. The reason I have chosen this subject is to gain an understanding of the spirit of the era, an age during which the institutionalization and centralization of the Ottoman state was still not complete. Since the historical content of Aşıkpaşazade's history and its authenticity is examined by a large number of historians, I have preferred to focus on the nature of the information given in Aşıkpaşazade.

This study is composed of three chapters. The first chapter will consist of Aşıkpaşazade's life, his chronicle in a general sense, his lineage and the reflection of his world view on his account. Since he is a dervish and his audience were the dervishes of the second half of the 15th century, his motives should be understood in order to read his account critically and separate historical fact from his personal opinions.

The second chapter will include examples from the content of Aşıkpaşazade's work and comparisons between Aşıkpaşazade and other non Ottoman sources addressing the same subjects. While some of these sources are contemporaries of Aşıkpaşazade, some of them were written at the end of the 14th century as first-hand accounts. These sources different comments on the same subjects would give us the chance to read them critically and use them as historical sources.

Finally, the third chapter consists of an English translation of Aşıkpaşazade's account up until 1402 is given in order to introduce this valuable chronicle to historians and readers who could not benefit from the original Ottoman Turkish version. Since only some parts of it have been translated in various books or articles previously, I feel that this translation will be helpful in opening the doors of the early Ottoman realm, as well as its literary style, to those who are interested in the subject. At the outset, I would like to give some information about the studies done on the text of Aşıkpaşazade so far:

There are five earlier publications of Aşıkpaşazade. The first is Ali Beğ's *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmândan 'Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi*.¹ This study is based on the *Müze-i Humayun* (Istanbul Archaeological Museum) manuscript and the Vatican manuscript. His edition contains the events from 1285 until 1502.

The second edition is that of Friedrich Giese and it is called *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Âşıkpaşazâde*.² In his edition, Friedrich Giese uses ten manuscripts and takes the Upsala and Mordtmann manuscripts as the basis, two recensions which end in 1485.

The third one is Nihal Atsız's *Âşıkpaşaoğlu Ahmed Âşıkî Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. He states that he didn't use a particular manuscript as his base and took parts from all the versions (both Ali Beğ's and Giese's editions) and combined them in a way that is the most accurate in his eyes.³ His edition covers events up until 1502.

The fourth one is *Âşık Paşazade Osmanogullarının Tarihi*,⁴ which is published by Kemal Yavuz and M. A. Yekta Saraç. The two manuscripts they used were Istanbul Archaeology Museum Library n. 1504 and Süleymaniye Library Yazma Bağışlar n. 4954. Their edition contains a useful simplification of the text and an excellent Index, both of which I benefited from in the translation that I have made in this study.

¹ Âlî Beğ: *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmândan 'Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi*. İstanbul (*Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni*), 1914.

² Friedrich Giese: *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Âşıkpaşazâde*. Osnabrück (Otto Zeller Verlag), 1929.

³ Nihal Atsız: *Âşıkpaşaoğlu Ahmed Âşıkî Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. İstanbul (Türkiye Yayınevi), 1949. See: p. 85.

⁴ Kemal Yavuz & M. A. Yekta Saraç: *Âşık Paşazade Osmanogullarının Tarihi*. İstanbul (Koç Kültür Sanat Tanıtım A. Ş.), 2003.

The most recent study on the text of Aşıkpaşazade is made by Necdet Öztürk in 2013, which is called *Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi* [Osmanlı Tarihi (1285-1502)].⁵ Besides the copies used by Giese and Ali Beğ, Öztürk took the Berlin manuscript as the basis for his edition. This manuscript was not utilized by Giese, who only became aware of its existence as he neared the completion of his study. I used Öztürk's book as the basis for my translation, the chapter numbers are the same and for the sake of comparison, I wrote the page numbers in his book at the end of each page that I have translated.

1.1 AŞIKPAŞAZADE'S LIFE

The information at our disposal points to Aşıkpaşazade having been born in 795/1392-1393 at Elvan Çelebi village, and his having spent his youth there in the company of the dervishes who were the occupants of its well known lodge.⁶ The zaviye of Elvan Çelebi at Mecidözü near Çorum was located in the area of Mehmed Çelebi's headquarters in his struggle against his brothers for the Ottoman throne in the years 1402-1412. Mehmed I ensured the support of the Babai origin dervishes in the surroundings which led to his victory against his brothers.⁷ Aşıkpaşazade relates that he became ill when he was on his way to join Mehmed I and stayed in the house of Yahşi Fakîh in Geyve, who was the son of Orhan's imam İshak Fakîh.⁸

Aşıkpaşazade continued to reside in the village of Elvan Çelebi among the dervishes until 1422, when Mihaloğlu took him to join Sultan Murad II.

Aşıkpaşazade states that he participated in all of Murad II's campaigns and whatever he writes about the Sultan comes from his personal observations.⁹ As if emphasizing this, he relates many raids which he personally took part in. He seems to have settled in İstanbul after its conquest by Sultan Mehmed II in 1453.

⁵ Necdet Öztürk: *Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi* [Osmanlı Tarihi (1285-1502)]. İstanbul (Bilge Kültür Sanat), 2013.

⁶ Halil İnalçık: "How to Read 'Ashık Pasha-Zade's History,'" in *Essays in Ottoman history*. İstanbul (Eren), 1998. pp. 31-50. See: p. 33 [Hereafter: İnalçık, 1998].

⁷ İnalçık, 1998: p. 32.

⁸ V. L. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography." in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, pp. 168-179. London: Oxford University Press, 1964. See: p. 175 [Hereafter: Ménage, 1964].

⁹ İnalçık, 1998: p. 33.

Since the last events in Aşıkpaşazade's chronicle occur in the year 908/1502 and he is known to have established a pious endowment November 1502, it may be inferred that Aşıkpaşazade died at the end of 1502.¹⁰

1.2 AŞIKPAŞAZADE'S *MENÂKIB-I ÂL-İ OSMAN* (HEROIC DEEDS OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY)

The first chronicle to survive, that is a coherent whole, devoted exclusively to the Ottomans and recognizably marked with the stamp of a personality, is that of Aşıkpaşazade. He wrote his history towards the end of his life while living in retirement in Istanbul.¹¹

Aşıkpaşazade's *Menâkib-ı Âl-i Osman* is written in prose. The events in his history start in 1285 and end in 1502. The language he uses reflects the characteristic traits of Old Anatolian Turkish (13th-15th century). His prose is made of short sentences and ornated with legends and phrases, which can be easily understood by the common people.¹² While Köprülü took the view that the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade was “*deficient, lacking in taste and without melody*” and Ménage said that the poems are very rough, Prochazka-Eisl states that it is unfair to judge the poetry of Apz by the standards of the later Ottoman classical Divan poetry.¹³ As the poems are not addressed to people with high education or to the government elites, the simplicity of his poems can be readily understood. This is natural, since the divan poetry starts to become dominant in the sixteenth century and is not really suitable for narration.

According to the only copy ('A' which Âlî Beğ used as his base) that which reaches 1502, there are more than 190 chapters.¹⁴ Giese ended his edition with the 170th chapter and indicated that he considered the text that followed, which is not divided into chapters and consists of 30 pages, to be a continuation of Aşıkpaşazade's history not authored by him; while Ménage argued that after Giese published his edition it was

¹⁰ İnalçık, 1998: p. 34.

¹¹ Ménage, 1964: p. 175.

¹² Öztürk, 2013: p. XXXVIII

¹³ Lale Özdemir: *Ottoman History Through The Eyes of Aşıkpaşazade*. İstanbul (The Isis Press), 2013. See: p. 150.

¹⁴ Öztürk, 2013: p. XXX

demonstrated that the appendix was indeed authored by Aşıkpaşazade.¹⁵ Since Aşıkpaşazade's history as a whole is elaborated more than once by several historians and linguists, my focus will be limited with the part he wrote until the end of the battle of Ankara in 1402, which is closer to the *menâkıb* genre.

Such *menâkıb* names were designed to be read aloud and listened to by groups during military campaigns, in *boza*-houses or in other meeting places.¹⁶ Most parts of it are in direct speech, and many of the short chapters have question and answer parts at the end, as if the author is responding to the doubts and questions of his listeners. It is a popular history and the author doesn't hide his prejudices. While he doesn't directly criticize the sultans, he does it through his criticisms of their officials.¹⁷

Ménage summarizes the nature of Aşıkpaşazade's complaints against the bureaucrats surrounding the sultans in the following passage:

In the good old days honest ghazis were not pestered by the central government; there was no penjik to tax private enterprise; there were no laws compelling the surrender of an earlier sound currency for a debased new one; and there were no nasty ic-oghlan coming out of the Palace to lord it over free-born Turks.¹⁸

Aşıkpaşazade begins his chronicle in the year of 881/1476 when Mehmed II left Istanbul for his campaign against Bogdan, down to the accession of Bayazıd II in the year of 886/1481. His history is continued with the events of Bayazıd II's reign down to the month of Safar in the year 908/August 1502.¹⁹

His main source for the fourteenth century is Yahşi Fakîh. In the beginning of his chronicle, Aşıkpaşazade states that:

This poor one was surrendered of consent in the corner of self-sacrifice, clad in the cloak of death and patience, seated in Constantinople. I had been enjoying the feast of prayers. Suddenly a crowd mentioned the history of the Ottoman dynasty and the heroic deeds surrounding them. And they have asked me about them. I have answered. Up to the reign of Bayezid Han Han,

¹⁵ Özdemir, 2013: p. 104.

¹⁶ İnalçık, 1998: p. 35.

¹⁷ Ménage, 1964: p. 175.

¹⁸ Cemal, Kafadar. *Between two worlds the construction of the Ottoman state*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. p. 114.

¹⁹ İnalçık, 1998: p. 36.

I have found these legends written from Yahşı Fakîh, who is the son of Ishak Fakîh, Orhan Gazi's *Imam* (prayer leader). I have shortened some incidents, conversations and *menağıbs* (heroic deeds) and have written it down.²⁰

Although this statement is unclear, this study covers the part of Aşıkpaşazade's chronicle until the end of the battle of Ankara, since the tone of Bayezid I's reign is similar to the earlier parts.

This said, Victor Ménage claims that Yahşı Fakîh's *Menağıb* extended into the reign of Bayezid I seems unlikely. Ménage claims that Aşıkpaşazade had at least two informants for the reign of Bayezid I, the first of whom is Timurtaşoğlu Umur Beg, who described to him the battle of Nicopolis and the Koca Naib who had been at Bayezid's side at the battle of Ankara.²¹

Most of the passages which narrate the foundation of the Ottoman Empire are of a character which corresponds closely to the *menâkıb* genre. In addition to the semi-legendary heroes such as Samsa Cavush and Köse Mihal, there are dervish tales like that of Geyikli Baba.²² Aşıkpaşazade's account is valuable for the region of Bithynia archeologically as well, since of the forty Christian castles that Aşıkpaşazade mentions, twenty have been newly identified as actually existing and at least sixteen were occupied in the thirteenth century.²³

1.3 AŞIKPAŞAZADE'S BACKGROUND AND ITS REFLECTION ON HIS ACCOUNT

Aşıkpaşazade gives his genealogy in his account as the following:

O Saint, This poor one, Dervish Ahmed Âşıkî, is the son of Sheikh Yahya who is the son of Sheikh Selman, who is the son of Sultan of Eminences, Âşık Paşa, who is the son of spiritual guide of horizons Muhlis Paşa, who is

²⁰ Öztürk, 2013: pp. 3-4.

²¹ V. L. Menage. "The Menağıb of Yakshsi Faqih" in *BSOAS*. Vol XXVI (London, 1963). pp. 50-54. See: p. 53, fn. 2 [Hereafter: Ménage, 1963].

²² Ménage, 1963: p. 52.

²³ Özdemir, 2013: p.106.

the son of the chief Saint of the age Baba Ilyas, who is the Caliph of descendant of the Prophet, Abu'l-Vefâ- may God glorify their greatness.²⁴

The author of an anonymous chronicle confirms his genealogy when speaking about its source on Ede Balı:

The source of this information is a very old dervish by the name of Ahmed 'Ashiki, a hundred years old. He survived down to the time of our Sultan (Bayezid II). His family line included such illustrious figures as Baba Ilyas, Mukhlis Paşa, 'Ashık Paşa and Elvan Çelebi.²⁵

For understanding Aşıkpaşazade's background better, I would like to give some information about the people he names in his lineage.

The first person Aşıkpaşazade mentions in his family tree is Abu'l Vefa. While there is not much information about Abu'l-Vefa, it is known that he is from Baghdad and died in 1107. He is the founder of the Wafa'iyya order.²⁶ Aşıkpaşazade points to this order's effect on the foundation of the empire several times. At the same time, the centre of the Wafa'iyya in the fourteenth century was the Elvan Chelebi Tekke in Çorum-Mecidözü, in which Aşıkpaşazade resided for a long time.²⁷

The second person he indicates in his lineage is Baba İlyas, an important Wafa'i shaykh who in 1240 incited nomadic Turkmen to revolt against the Anatolian Seljuks.²⁸ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, who specialized on this rebellion and the origin of these dervishes, writes the following about Baba İlyas and the Babai revolt:

The Baba'i revolt took its name from the two Turkmen Sufis, Baba İlyas-ı Khurasani and Baba Ishaq, who led a wide-ranging revolt against Seljuk political authorities with the support of nomadic Turkmen tribes with heterodox beliefs living scattered across Anatolia. Baba İlyas-ı Khurasani, whom his followers called "Baba Rasul Allah" (Baba Messenger of God), and his second-in-command Baba Ishaq, prepared the revolt with an intensely messianic propaganda and vanquished government forces several times. Baba İlyas and Baba Ishaq were the chiefs of the Wafaiyya *Tariqa*, at that time widespread in Anatolia. It was only with the help of western

²⁴ Öztürk, 2013: p. 3.

²⁵ İnalçık, 1998: p. 34.

²⁶ İnalçık, 1998: p. 43.

²⁷ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak: "Sufi Milieux and Political Authority in Turkish History," in *Perspectives and Reflections on Religious and Cultural Life in Medieval Anatolia*. İstanbul (The Isis Press), 2012. See: pp. 164-165 [Hereafter: Ocak, 2012].

²⁸ Ocak, 2012: p. 130

mercenaries that this revolt was finally subdued, and only after it had engulfed the southeast and central regions of Anatolia. Although heterodox beliefs informed the ideological outlook of the revolt, it was primarily motivated by social and economic causes and thus cannot be depicted as a conflict pitting orthodoxy against heterodoxy. The importance of the revolt lies in the fact that it prepared the ground for the rise of the Bektashi and Alevi currents. The above-mentioned Rum Abdal were shaykhs and dervishes influenced by this movement.²⁹

Muhlis Paşa (dates unknown), who is the son of Baba İlyas, ruled Konya for six months after the extinction of the Seljuk line and installed there as a ruler the son of one of the followers of Baba İlyas.³⁰

Aşık Paşa (d. 1333), who is the son of Muhlis Paşa, is a Turkish poet and mystic who inspired our dervish Ahmed to take the nickname “Aşıkî,” and is the great grandfather of Aşıkpaşazade. He was educated at Kırşehir, which was an important cultural centre then and is the author of the *Gharibname* (1330), a mystic-didactic masnawi.³¹

Despite the fact that Aşıkpaşazade doesn't refer to his great great uncle, Elvan Çelebi (d. 1360s) in his lineage, it would be useful here to give some information about him since Aşıkpaşazade grew up in the *zaviye* (dervish lodge) he founded. Elvan Çelebi wrote *Menâkıbü'l-kudsiyye* in 1358-59, the semi legendary autobiographic account which relates episodes from the life of Baba İlyas and the Babaî revolt against Seljuk authority. Buried in Amasya, the tomb of Elvan Çelebi became so popular a destination for pilgrims that the village was named after him and is still known as Elvan Çelebi.³² It could be said that a number of Wafâ'î *khalifas* from the milieu of Aşık Paşa, who was also from the family of Bâbâ İlyâs, were active in various regions of Anatolia including his.³³

Aşıkpaşazade states that he was asked by the saints (*'aziz*) to write down the history of the Ottoman dynasty and the heroic deeds surrounding them.³⁴ The word *'aziz* is used in the Turkish of that time as a term for dervishes. Thus, the audience which he had in

²⁹ Ocak, 2012: pp. 145-146.

³⁰ Özdemir, 2013: p. 163.

³¹ Fahir İz: “Ashik Pasha,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden & London (E. J. Brill & Luzac & Co.), 1960. See: pp. 698-699.

³² Özdemir, 2013: p. 164.

³³ Ocak, 2012: pp. 164-165.

³⁴ Öztürk, 2013: p. 3.

mind in writing his work was in the first place the dervishes, primarily those belonging to the *Wafa'iyya* order.³⁵ It means that rather than addressing the statesmen in a formal way, his aim was to bring together the stories he probably told the dervishes orally and draw them up as a single account. He also demonstrates how certain dervishes belonging to his order, such as Ede Balı, played a crucial role in the establishment and rise of the Ottoman dynasty.³⁶ In this subchapter, I will try to show how he portrays the spiritual support shown by the dervishes in the foundation process of the empire. The part I have studied contains many examples regarding this, some of which are below:

The first example is Osman's dream in Chapter 4.³⁷ Sheikh Ede Balı, who interprets Osman's dream and gives the good news of sovereignty to him and his lineage, asks for a village as a sign of gratitude and wants an object confirming it. Osman gives his sword to him and Aşıkpaşazade emphasizes that the sword is still belonging to the dervish's lineage. It could be clearly seen that Aşıkpaşazade is trying to show how important a role Sheikh Ede Balı played in the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. The archival evidence proves that Ede Balı received favors from Osman Beg as the khalifa of the *wafa'iyya* order and had a *zaviye* in Bilecik. As Aflaki's authentic stories show, the leaders or khalifas of the religious orders from Konya and Karaman used to visit the flourishing *udj* emirates and were warmly welcomed. It is apparent that Ede Balı, a *khalifa* of the *Wafa'iyya* shaykhs arrived and settled in the *udj* area, definitely before 1300, perhaps already under Ertughrul, 'Osman's father'.³⁸

In Chapter 14, Following the conquest of Karacahisar, the population of the town ask for the Friday sermon and the *kadı* (judge). Tursun Fakîh, who used to be the *imam* (prayer leader) of those people, tells their requests to Ede Balı, who is Osman's father in law. Osman Gâzi allows Tursun Fakîh to execute people's requests and appoints him as the *kadı*.³⁹ As Osman Gâzi does this despite Tursun Fakîh saying that they need the permission of the Sultan, this could be understood in a sense that Osman proclaimed his independence. While the date of this story sounds unrealistic (as early as January 25, 1289 - January 13, 1290), it is yet another example to show the efforts of Aşıkpaşazade

³⁵ İnalçık, 1998: p. 36.

³⁶ İnalçık, 1998: p. 36.

³⁷ Öztürk, 2013: p. 12.

³⁸ İnalçık, 1998: pp. 45-46.

³⁹ Öztürk, 2013: p. 29.

in showing the dervishes' and *Fakîhs* (expert in the canon law of Islam) importance in an event like this.

In Chapter 23, Osman Gâzi sends Orhan to conquer Bursa with his comrade in arms Köse Mihal and Turgut Alp, and his saints called Şeyh Mahmud and Ede Balı's nephew Ahi Hasan.⁴⁰ Here we can see how three of the founder elements that Aşıkpaşazade mentions together, the gâzis, the abdals and the ahis. He specifically mentions that Ahi Hasan (who is later mentioned in Chapter 29 to have dervish lodge in Bursa fortress near Beğ Sarayı)⁴¹ climbed the tower with the other ones during the conquest.⁴²

Again in Chapter 29, one of the poems summarizes the foundation of the Ottoman Empire whether in Aşıkpaşazade's or Yahşi Fakîh's imagination. When Orhan asks his brother Alâaddin Paşa to be the ruler, his brother says that Orhan would be a better paşa, and the saints there find his words reasonable. Alâaddin Paşa prefers to build a dervish lodge and asks his brother Orhan to bestow him the village Fodura in Kite plain. Orhan listens to his brother's advice and becomes the paşa, having the blessings of both his comrades and the saints. Aşıkpaşazade underlines that the Ottoman Dynasty is exempt from people's earthly desires, which portrays them very close to the dervishes.⁴³ In addition, it could be seen how important the dervishes' advises and blessings are in his words.

In Chapter 38, Turkut Alp tells Orhan Gazi about a dervish who goes up to the mountains time to time and walks with the deers. First, this dervish called Geyikli Baba rejects Orhan's invitation, indicating that he would come when the time is right. When he finally arrives, he plants a poplar tree in the gate of the fortress and says to Orhan: "*You have our blessing. Dervishes' prayers are with you and your lineage.*" Following it, Orhan Gâzi builds a dome and a dervish lodge for that dervish, which is called Geyik Baba Zâviyesi (dervish lodge) and a mosque beside it.⁴⁴ Whether the poplar tree story is true or not, official records testify that there was indeed a village called *Geyiklü Baba* or

⁴⁰ Öztürk, 2013: p. 41.

⁴¹ Öztürk, 2013: p. 51.

⁴² Öztürk, 2013: p. 42.

⁴³ Öztürk, 2013: p. 53.

⁴⁴ Öztürk, 2013: pp. 64-65.

Babailer in the *Kaza* of Inegöl. Evidently, the village was settled by the babai dervishes as mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade.⁴⁵

When Orhan Gâzi asks Geyikli Baba whose disciple he is, he answers: “*I am the disciple of Baba İlyas. I am a member of Seyyid Ebulvefa order.*”

Aşıkpaşazade’s son in law, Seyyid Velayet’s words underline the role of the Wafa’iyya order in the rise of the Ottoman dynasty: “*Osman Han reached the throne of sultanate and the crown of sainthood through the divine favor at the (Shaykh Ede Balı’s) sublime dergah.*”⁴⁶

The cooperation of the dervishes and the Ottomans seems like a reciprocal situation. In addition to the spiritual support shown, these “*Abdalan-ı Rum*” in Aşıkpaşazade’s words, were warrior dervish-gâzîs who were connected with groups involved in the Babaî movement of 1240.⁴⁷ As generally seems to be the case in all the epic deeds [*menaqib*] of the Sufis, the Turkmen *babas* who directed the religious life of the active and warlike Turkmen were dervishes fighting themselves as well. Fuad Köprülü explains their difference from the other sufis in the Islamic world like this:

There was undoubtedly a very prominent and major difference between these fighting Turkish Sufis – who went to war with wooden swords against the unbelievers, crushed thousands of the enemy with a handful of disciples, seized fortresses, and spread Islam in the lands of unbelief with the power of the sword – and the Arab and Persian Sufis, who spent quiet and contemplative lives secluded in lodges.⁴⁸

Another important institution they contributed to the Ottomans is zâviye-imarets. Lowry explains these institutions role in the foundation of the empire as the following:

Wandering Muslim mendicants shared their heterodox and latitudinarian version of Islam with the Christian poor. As the Turkish scholar Ömer Lütfi Barkan pointed out over half a century ago, these dervishes, in addition to the not insignificant role they performed in the military, were, when not on

⁴⁵ İnalçık, 1998: pp. 46-47.

⁴⁶ İnalçık, 1998: pp. 47-48.

⁴⁷ Ocak, 2012: p. 79.

⁴⁸ Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: *Islam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion* (Edited by Gary Leiser). Salt Lake City (University of Utah Press), 1993. See: p. 27 [Hereafter: Köprülü, 1993].

campaign, performing double duty as the “missionaries” who introduced Islam to the Balkans.⁴⁹

It must have reached such an importance that the Konstantin Mihailovic, who becomes a janissary after being captured, calls it as the Muslims’ second temple:

Concerning the second temple, called gimarat, which means hospice: In this temple they distribute alms to the poor and also give them [something] to eat. Every Friday at noon they preach in that temple.⁵⁰

All these examples illuminate why the first three rulers, Osman, Orhan and Murad I established good relations with the Rum Abdal and donated income-generating land and lodges around Yenişehir, İnegöl and Bursa to the dervishes, about which Ömer Lütfi Barkan provided concrete information.⁵¹ When called upon, these dervishes participated as volunteers in the wars of conquest waged by the Ottomans in the neighbouring Byzantine lands, including those situated in Rûmeli (i.e., in Europe, especially the Balkans) from 1350 onwards.⁵²

⁴⁹ Heath W. Lowry: “Early Ottoman Period,” *Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey* (Edited by: Metin Heper & Sabri Sayarı). London, 2012. pp. 5-14 [Hereafter: Lowry, 2012], See: p. 9.

⁵⁰ Konstantin Mihailovic: *Memoirs of a Janissary* (Edited by Svatopluk Soucek & Translated by: Benjamin A. Stolz). Princeton (Markus Wiener Publishers), 2011. See: p. 17.

⁵¹ Ocak, 2012: p. 131.

⁵² Ocak, 2012: p. 132.

2. THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME TERMS USED IN AŞIKPAŞAZADE

The late 15th century chronicle Aşıkpaşazade's history is one of the earliest and few extant sources giving information about fourteenth century Ottoman history. While the fact that Aşıkpaşazade himself wasn't alive at that time made some authors claim that the attempts to fill the hole of earliest history of the Ottomans will result in the creation of more fables,⁵³ a close examination of his account is useful in understanding the mood of the era, as long as it is used critically.

This chapter aims to make some comparisons and enlighten some terms used by Aşıkpaşazade rather than putting forward an alternative emergence story. Through comparing some of Aşıkpaşazade's contemporaries and some authors who wrote their works in the fourteenth century, I would like to stress the points how Aşıkpaşazade can be used as a historical source.

⁵³ Colin Imber: "The Legend of Osman Gazi," *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)* (Edited by Elizabeth Zachariadou). Rethymnon (Crete University Press), 1993. pp. 67-75. See: p. 75.

2.1 LEGITIMACY IN AŞIKPAŞAZADE

As Zachariadou has pointed out, Aşıkpaşazade modifies the source he has gleaned from Yahşi Fakîh. The Ottoman genealogy was a later ‘myth’ so Aşıkpaşazade would have had to add that to the information he had in hand.⁵⁴ The fact that this Ottoman genealogy appears at the end of the fifteenth century is the result of the consciousness of the Ottomans having established a great empire.⁵⁵

Written in an era during which Ottoman Empire was established firmly, many Ottoman historians commented that proving the Ottoman dynasty’s legitimacy is one of the basic concerns of Aşıkpaşazade’s history. The first example of this legitimation is dated as early as the end of thirteenth century (January 25, 1289 - January 13, 1290), when the people of Karacahisar ask for a *kadı* From Tursun Fakîh. When Tursun Fakîh tells this to Osman and says that they need permission from the [Seljukid] sultan, Osman answers:

I conquered this city with my own sword. What does the Sultan have to do with this? Why would I get his permission? I was bestowed with holy war and sovereignty by the same God who bestowed him with sultanate. And if the indebtedness is caused by his banner, that banner wasn’t with me when I was fighting with the infidels. And if he says he belongs to the Seljuk dynasty, I would say I am the son of Gök Alp. And if he says I arrived at this province before them, I would say that my grandfather Süleyman Şah arrived even earlier.⁵⁶

When we take into consideration how early this claim was made, at a time when the military successes were limited and Osman’s emirate occupied a small area, we may link this to Aşıkpaşazade’s (probably rather Yahsi Fakîh’s) efforts in legitimizing the sovereignty of the Ottomans.

This said, Johann Schiltberger, who fell captive to the Ottomans after the Nicopolis war in 1396, has information in his account which shows that the competition between the Ottomans and other principalities was going on as late as the end of the 14th century. About Bayezid’s attack on his brother-in-law (Karaman), Schiltberger writes:

⁵⁴ Özdemir, 2013: p. 105.

⁵⁵ Halil İnalçık: “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography” in *Historians of the Middle East* (Edited by Bernard Lewis & P. M. Holt), pp. 152-167. London: Oxford University Press, 1964. See: p. 152.

⁵⁶ Öztürk, 2013: p. 29.

And when Karaman saw that Weyasit was entering the city, he attacked him with his warriors, and fought with him in the town, and if he had received the least assistance from the inhabitants he would have forced Weyasit out of the city; but when he saw that he had no assistance, he fled, but was taken before Weyasit, who said to him: “*Why wilt thou not be subject to me?*” Karaman answered, “*Because I am as great a lord as thyself.*”⁵⁷

The Karaman amir resists submitting to Bayezid, obviously because he doesn't see himself inferior to Bayezid. Schiltberger's remark that “*if he had received the least assistance from the inhabitants he would have forced Weyasit out of the city*” is a sign of the power Karaman possessed.

Another example is the genealogy shown us by Aşıkpaşazade. Following Bayezid's defeat against Timurlenk, Ottoman family trees are made up not only by Aşıkpaşazade, but also by authors before and after him. This family tree, which goes back to Oğuz, and starts from prophet Noah, seems like an attempt to legitimate Ottoman Dynasty's sovereignty and that they come from a well-established family. Paul Wittek summarizes this tendency as the following:

It is scarcely by chance that we cannot trace these two contradictory Oghuz traditions further back than the time of Murad II – that is, not earlier than the first half of the fifteenth century. In view of the literary development of that period we may assume that the Qayi tradition was brought up in the time of Murad II, when a first “romantic” movement sprang up and awakene an interest in the national Turkish antiquities. Already under Murad II this Qayi tradition was evidently taken up by the Ottoman court, for a coin issued by this sultan beard the tribal sign, the “thamga,” of the Qayi- a sign which afterwards became the token of the armoury of Constantinople.⁵⁸

The fact that this practice seems to be popular is proven by yet another example seen in the family tree of the famous march lord Gâzi Evrenos. Lowry writes:

While the earliest known surviving family tree, which is dated to 17th century, begins with the name of the dynasty's founder Hâcı-Gâzi Evrenos Beğ, the later family trees which appear to have been drawn up in the course of the 19th century, are replete with a mythological genealogy for the dynasty which ‘traces’ the family's origins to Central Asia and to certain Bozoklu/Bozavuklu Han who had seven sons, named respectively: Yüregir Han, Kusun Han, Varsak Han, Pranko/Prango or Gâzi İsa Beğ (listed as the

⁵⁷ Johann Schiltberger: *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*. London (Hakluyt Society), 1879. See: p. 9 [Hereafter: Schiltberger, 1879].

⁵⁸ Paul Wittek: *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. London (The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland), 1966. See: p. 11 [Hereafter: Wittek, 1966].

father of Hâcı-Gâzi Evrenos Beğ), Kuştemür Han, Uzar Han and Gündüz Alp Han. It would appear that over time (as had been the case with their Ottoman overlords) the descendants of Evrenos had felt the need to create a Central Asian Turkish identity for themselves and miraculously discovered a lineage which had been unknown to their predecessors as late as the closing decades of the 17th century.⁵⁹

The inconsistency could be noted by the fact that the 1456-1457 vâkfiye, which lists Evrenos' son İsa Beğ's endowments, goes like this: İsa Beğ, the son of the Great Emir, the Deceased, the Celebrated, Evraniz/Avraniz, the son of Branko/Pranko Lazart."⁶⁰ It could be logically assumed that "Bozavuklu Han" would not have a child named Pranko Lazart amongst all his other sons who have Turkic names.

2.2 GAZA IN AŞIKPAŞAZADE

Since the term "*gaza*" is used frequently in Aşıkpaşazade, I would like to examine the manner it is used. Some authors such as Wittek take it by its literal meaning (holy war on behalf of Islam), and analyze a chapter of Ahmedi, which explains who a Ghazi is, in this way:

Now that we realize the great importance of the oldest Ottoman historical source, the versified chronicle of Ahmedi, we can go on to see that Ahmedi gives us a very exact idea as to what the Ottomans felt about themselves and their state – that they were a community of the Ghazis, of champions of the Mohammedan religion; a community of Moslem march warriors, devoted to the struggle with the infidels in their neighbourhood.⁶¹

A passage in the same work of Ahmedi, the İskendernâme, contains the information which shows that *gaza* and *akın* were used in the same way:

“Kafir üzre akdılar a’vân-ı dîn
Andan itdiler gazâ adın akın”

“The helpers of religion flowed [over] the unbelievers
And that’s why they called *gaza* (Holy War) *akın* (raiding).”

⁵⁹ Heath W. Lowry: *Fourteenth Century Ottoman Realities*. İstanbul (Bahçeşehir University Press), 2012 See: pp. 10-13 [Hereafter: Lowry, [2012b](#)].

⁶⁰ Lowry, [2012b](#): p. 4.

⁶¹ Wittek, [1966](#): p. 14.

Imber argues that the term *gaza* here is nothing else than the *akın*.⁶² Lowry states that this was the political vocabulary of the early Ottoman state and that the Ottomans used a secular rather than a religious terminology to describe their conquests, whose fighters were chosen on the basis of ability rather than faith.⁶³ The examples below seem support this view:

Osman Gâzi arrived in Yenişehir. The infidels in the vicinity came and fought with him. He conquered all of their provinces. He made them prosperous with justice and equity. Gâzis became very cheerful. He granted every single one of them villages and places. He treated all of them according to their positions. Gâzis beside Osman Gâzi became stronger and they were looking forward to *gazâ* all the time.⁶⁴

This passage in Chapter 19 may be interpreted in the way that the reason for *gâzis* to gather around Osman Gâzi could be the booty that they received, and not the holy war. Since material gainings make the *gâzis* “stronger”, we can claim that their primary motivation was the booty that they would receive at the end of each raid.

Apparently, the words “*segirtmek*,” “*akın*” and “*gaza*” were used interchangeably. In an example from Chapter 10, Aşıkpaşazade writes:

Osman Gâzi became *sancak beği* (governor of a subdivision of a province) and mounted a horse. Köse Mihal was always with him. These *gâzis*’ servants were mostly Harmankaya infidels. One day Osman Gâzi told Mihal: “We think of raiding (*seğirdim edelim*) Tarakçı Yenicesi. What do you think?”⁶⁵

In this example from Chapter 46, Aşıkpaşazade writes:

When han was enthroned in Edrene with good luck, he sent his lala Şahin to raid (*akın vermek*) in the direction of Zağara and Filibe. Evrenez Gâzi

⁶² Heath W. Lowry: “Some Thoughts on the Meaning of *Gaza* and *Akın* in Early Ottoman Usage,” *The Ottoman Empire Myths, Realities and 'Black Holes': Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber* (Edited by: Eugenia Kermeli & Oktay Özel. İstanbul (The Isis Press), 2006. See: p. 47 [Hereafter: Lowry, 2006].

⁶³ Lowry, 2006: pp. 49-50.

⁶⁴ Öztürk, 2013: pp. 34-35.

⁶⁵ Öztürk 2013: p. 20.

arrived at İpsala and conquered it. They became frontier lords in the places they conquered.⁶⁶

I would like to give examples from different sources to compare the tone and understand the term's actual meaning and the primary motivation. The first example is from Ibn Battuta's travel account:

This amir was a generous and pious prince, and continually engaged in jihad [against the Christians]. He had war-galleys with which he used to make raids on the environs of Constantinople the Great and to seize prisoners and booty, then after spending it all in gifts and largesse he would go out again to the jihad. Eventually his pressure became so galling to the Greeks that they appealed to the Pope, who ordered the Christians of Genoa and France to attack him, and attack him they did.⁶⁷

This passage about the Menteşe amir gives an important clue about how to interpret *gâzâ* used by Aşıkpaşazade. Ibn Battuta goes one step further and uses an even stronger term; namely "*jihad*" in describing the amir's attack against the Christians. The sentence that follows reveals how he uses the term: "*He had war-galleys with which he used to make raids on the environs of Constantinople the Great and to seize prisoners and booty, then after spending it all in gifts and largesse he would go out again to the jihad*". An amir who goes out to '*jihad*' after spending all the largesse he had gained from the earlier '*jihad*' sounds more like a raider who seeks profit rather than a warrior who strives for his religion.

The second example is from the Byzantine Greek historian Chalkokondyles' account, where he narrates the foundation of the Ottoman state:

Chalkokondyles' description of Evrenos and his followers sheds light on the rather independent actions of the march lords and the raiders who move with them, which makes it a crucial passage as it shows the nature of the early Ottoman conquests:

After Yakub had reduced Argos to slavery (June 2, 1397, according to Byzantine short chronicle)⁶⁸ he led his army away. Subsequently Evrenos

⁶⁶ Öztürk 2013: p. 75.

⁶⁷ Ibn Battuta: *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354* (Edited by H. A. R. Gibb). Old Bakery, Banham, Norfolk (Archival Facsimiles Ltd), 1995. See: p. 446 [Hereafter: Battuta, 1995].

⁶⁸ Laonikos Chalkokondyles: A Translation and Commentary of the "Demonstrations of Histories" (Books I-III) (Edited by Nikolaos Nicoloudis). Athens (Historical Publications St. D. Basilopoulos) 1996. See: p. 260, fn. 98. [Hereafter: Chalkokondyles, 1996].

acquired great power. He invaded both the Peloponnese and the coastal area of Macedonia. He performed great and glorious deeds for the benefit of the royal house. He had not been appointed a general by the King but the Turks followed him wherever he led them because he was successful in war and made his troops rich wherever he campaigned. The “cavalry” of this nation are given neither any pay nor any authority by the King. They survive on raids and plunder. They immediately follow whoever leads them against the enemy. They ride and lead their horses wherever booty is. When they reach the enemy’s country they are given a signal by their general, mount their horses and gallop as fast as they can. I know that this is how the followers of Murad, Orhan’s son, and those who crossed over to Europe with Bayazid advanced, and this is how they chose to live. Some advanced very quickly and became very wealthy in a short time. They settled everywhere in Europe. They started from the city of Skoplje and settled in the lands of the Triballi (Serbians) and Mysians (Bulgarians), in Macedonia and later many of them in Thessaly.⁶⁹

While writing about the Colonization of the Balkans, Chalkokondyles emphasizes that the chance of acquiring booty and prisoners was crucial as the following:

Murad colonized the region of Therme and the River Axios, in Macedonia. He led a great number of Turks to that area and colonized it. He also colonized the plain of Zagora and the region of Philippopolis. The Chersonnese by the Hellespont had been colonized earlier by this brother Sulayman. Bayezid colonized Thessaly, the region of Triballi between Philippopolis and the Haemus, and the town called Sofia. He raided the country of the Triballi and Illyrians. These territories and largely inhabited by aliens. Subsequently more of them streamed into them in the same way, when they heard that the country was ripe for taking prisoners and booty and that no enemy would resist them there.⁷⁰

The last example is from Stefan Lazarevic’s memoirs, who is the son of Serbian ruler Prince Lazar and a vassal of Yıldırım Bayezid. Once again, the way Bayezid motivates the soldiers is based on the material gains they will receive in case they win the war, and not on beating the enemy on behalf of Islam.

Sigismund passed Danube with all of his army and attacked Nikopolis. Bayezid lifted the siege on Galata district of Constantinople, and marched against them like a burning fire. This ruler [Sigismund] had Germans and Sarmatians under his command as well. The remaining ones gathered to help and arrived with a countless crowd, passed over the Danube and

⁶⁹ Chalkokondyles, 1996: p. 231.

⁷⁰ Chalkokondyles, 1996: p. 233.

attacked Nicopolis (Niğbolu)... When the war started, the western army put pressure on the sultan's army. [Sultan] Yıldırım passed through his withdrawing forces and told them: "*Where would we run away if they win the war today? We would be in front of their swords, just like they were in front of ours a while ago. They would take your children and wives as captives, just like you have them now. We would better die today or prevail over them? Because if we are victorious today, I would reward you with countless things from their lands!*"⁷¹

2.3 ACCOMMODATION POLICY IN AŞIKPAŞAZADE

The way how the Ottomans succeeded in becoming an empire from a small principality is still debated. Since their drive was mainly westward in the 14th century and the lands they conquered were mostly Christian, they would have to do more than just fighting in order to settle successfully. Professor Halil İnalçık explains the way the Ottomans won over the population through the concept of *istimâlet*:

It is now a commonplace that in the early period of their expansion, the Ottomans pursued, primarily in order to facilitate conquest, or to make the indigenous population favorably disposed, a policy called *istimâlet*. It was intended to win over the population, peasants and townspeople, as well as military and clerics, by generous promises and concessions, sometimes going beyond the limits of the well-known, tolerant stipulations of Islamic law concerning non-Muslims who had submitted without resistance. Within this policy of *istimâlet*, the Ottomans, especially during the first transition period, maintained intact the laws and the customs, the status and privileges, that had existed in the pre-conquest times, and what is more unusual, they incorporated the existing military and clerical groups into their own administrative system without discrimination, so that in many cases former pronoiâ- holders and seigneurs in the Balkans were left on their fiefs as Ottoman timar-holders.⁷²

In this subchapter, I would like to give some examples from Aşıkpaşazade and his contemporaries about how the concept of *istimâlet* is applied:

⁷¹ Konstantin Kosteneçki: *Stefan Lazareviç: Yıldırım Bayezid'in Emrinde Bir Sırp Despotu* (Translated by Hüseyin Mevsim). İstanbul (Kitap Yayınevi), 2008. See: pp. 58-59.

⁷² Halil İnalçık: "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans" in *Turcica* 23: pp. 407-436. See: p. 409.

In chapter 23, Aşıkpaşazade writes about the capture of Atranoz:

Its tekfur heard that Turk is coming. He escaped to Alata Mountain and left his fortress empty. Orhan Gâzi followed him with gâzis and reached the mountain. They found the people who ran away with the tekfur. Tekfur escaped once again. He fell off from a rock while he was escaping. He was torn to pieces. They demolished the fortress of Atranoz. They showed goodwill (*istimâlet*) to its people and left them securely in their own places. Orhan carried out this holy war (*gazâ*). He moved straight to Bursa and lodged behind Bınarbaşı water.⁷³

In Chapter 39, Aşıkpaşazade writes about what Süleyman Paşa did in Karasi province:

There is a place called Akçe Limon near Bolayır. There are a lot of ships in that harbor. He set those ships on fire. He rode back to the fortress. They protected the ships in Cimbi port. They kept transferring men. As a result, they transferred most of the soldiers to their side. And they didn't hurt any of these infidels. They showed goodwill (*istimâlet*) to them and they lived securely. They tolerated their women and men. And they placed the seamen among the infidels in the ship. They stayed beside them and transferred many men. More than two thousand men gathered. In short, the infidels of this Cimbi fortress allied with these gâzis. They marched. One night they conquered the fortress called Ayaşolonya. Thus, it became the second fortress of the Muslims. They displayed goodwill (*istimâlet*) to the population of this fortress too. And they strengthened both of these fortresses. And many men came from Aydıncık with ships.⁷⁴

Other than the usage of the word *istimâlet* literally, it is possible to run into the usage of different terms which are still agreeing with the concept of *istimâlet*. One example is Chapter 34, where the term *adl ü dâd etmek* (to treat with justice and equity) is used:

Süleyman Paşa arrived at Tarakçı Yenicesi. They handed over the fortress by agreement and asked for quarter. Göynük and Mudurnu were conquered in the same way. Süleyman Paşa treated with such a justice and equity that those provinces' population said: "*It would be much better if they ruled us heretofore.*" And many villages converted to Islam after seeing these Turkish people.⁷⁵

In Chapter 32, Aşıkpaşazade's words about the conquest of Bursa points to the *istimâlet* policy:

The infidels sent a person they trusted to Orhan Gâzi: "*Let's make an agreement with us not to kill us. The ones who want to go shall go and the ones who want to stay shall stay. We will hand over the fortress to you.*" Orhan Gâzi accepted the offer. They said: "*Generosity is the most*

⁷³ Öztürk, 2013: p. 42.

⁷⁴ Öztürk, 2013: p. 42.

⁷⁵ Öztürk, 2013: pp. 60-61.

preferable form of holy war (gazâ)." Many people converted to Islam because of this generosity.⁷⁶

The Byzantine Greek historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles gives abundant examples about the tolerant and liberal approach showed by the Ottomans to non-Muslims:

Subsequently Murad campaigned against Dragas, Zarko's son. He invaded the lands crossed by the River Axios and forced him to pay tribute and follow him with a certain number of horsemen during his campaigns against his enemies. Later he forced Bogdan, the ruler of that territory, to pay homage also and follow him with his troops. He accomplished great deeds and showed a tolerance similar to that of Cyrus, the son of Cambyses. He behaved very moderately and liberally towards the rulers of the Triballi, the Mysians and particularly the Hellenes, who were his subjects.⁷⁷

About the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, Chalkokondyles writes that Osman's possession of a liberal mind and befriending the locals helped him to win over the population:

As to how the Ottomans who are a tribe of the Oghuz, attained this power, I have been informed that it happened in this way. There is a rich town in Mysia called Söğüt and a river beside it with the same name. This town used to be called Itaia. It is about two hundred and fifty stades from Black Sea. The Oghuz came and stayed in this place for quite some time. Ertogrul's son Osman did not govern very successfully but being of a liberal mind he did his best to use his resources so as to befriend the inhabitants of the town, and he won them over to his cause.⁷⁸

The last example of Chalkokondyles coincides very much the information given in the Ottoman chronicles, which may be a sign of his Turkish oral sources:

But I do know that the Ottoman kings honoured Söğüt by frequenting it and that they pay due respect to its inhabitants, having originally come from it.⁷⁹

"Capitulations of Jannina" are the terms of surrender offered by Sinan Paşa to the city of Jannina in 1430 in the wake of the conquest of Thessaloniki. Speros Vryonis states that it is the earliest recorded example of the terms granted by the Turkish conquerors to their subjects in the Balkans and gives the translation as the following:

This is the decree and greeting of Sinan Pasha . . . May you know that the great lord (the sultan) has sent us to take over the territory and castles of Ducas . . . And it is because of this that I write and tell you to submit

⁷⁶ Öztürk, 2013: p. 58.

⁷⁷ Chalkokondyles, 1996: p. 133.

⁷⁸ Chalkokondyles, 1996: pp. 101-103.

⁷⁹ Chalkokondyles, 1996: p. 103.

willingly and not be deceived in any way and heed the words of the Franks, because they do not in any way wish to help you, except that they would destroy you as they destroyed the inhabitants of Thessaloniki. And because of these things I swear to you . . . that you shall have no fear, either from enslavement, or from the taking of your children, or from the destruction of the churches, nor shall we build any mosques, but the bells of your churches shall ring as has been the custom.⁸⁰

The last example is from Ibn Battuta, who visited Anatolia in 1330-1331. He stresses that the Christians are under the protections of the Muslims following the conquests:

From al-Ladhiqiya we embarked on a large vessel belonging to the Genoese, the master of which was called Martalamin, and made for the country of the Turks, known as Bilad al-Rum. Why it is called after the Rum is because it used to be their land in olden times, and from it came the ancient Rum and the Yunanis [Greeks]. Later on it was conquered by the Muslims, but in it there are still large numbers of Christians under the protection of the Muslims, these latter being Turkmens.⁸¹

2.4 AŞIKPAŞAZADE AS A SOURCE FOR INNOVATIONS

The 14th century part of Aşıkpaşazade contains many examples which explain how the novelties were brought into being. It should be noted here that most of these innovations are ascribed to other people, who come and offer these to the ruler. Amongst these, I have decided to choose the example which describes the foundation of the Janissaries, since it is one of the key and most effective institutions of the empire for more than four centuries.

In Chapter 46, about the reign of Murad I, Aşıkpaşazade writes how the Janissaries were introduced in the Ottoman state:

One day a dânişmend (learned man) called Kara Rüstem came from Karaman province. Çandurlu Halil was chief military judge (kadı-asker) then. He visited him and said: “*Master! Why do you waste all these properties which should belong to the han?*” Chief military judge said: “*Which properties do you mean?*” Rüstem said: “*The captives who are captured by the gâzis. One fifth of these belongs to han according to the will of God. Why aren't they taken?*” Chief military judge was admitted to audience by the han. Han said: “*Do so if it is commanded by God.*” They summoned Kara Rüstem and said: “*Master! Execute God's command.*” Kara Rüstem settled in Gelibolu. He took twenty five akçe for every captive.

⁸⁰ Speros Vryonis: “Isidore Glabas and the Turkish Devshirme” in *Speculum*, Vol. 31 No. 3 (July 1956). pp. 433-443. See: p. 440 [Hereafter: Vryonis, 1956].

⁸¹ Battuta, 1995: p. 415.

This invention is the precaution of two learned men. One of them was Çandurlu Halil and one of them was Karamanlu Kara Rüstem. And they also told Gâzi Evrenez: “Take one fifth of the captives captured during the raid. If there are not five captives take twenty five akçe for every captive.” Evrenez appointed a judge upon this arrangement. Many boys were gathered. They brought them to the han. Halil Paşa said: “We should give them to Turks to teach them Turkish, then we should bring them and make them janissaries.” And it was done so. The number of janissaries increased from day to day. All of them converted to Islam. Turks benefited from their services for many years. Therafter they brought them to the gate, dressed them with white cap and named them *yeniçeri* (janissary). Janissaries were founded during his reign.⁸²

It doesn't seem like a coincidence that this story takes place during Murad I's reign. His reign is usually ascribed as the emergence of the Janissaries, Christian levies who are taken from their parents, converted to Islam and serve for the Ottomans. The mention of Evrenos' name here is of special importance, since he is one of the most important march lords of the age and probably the richest one in terms of slaves and booties. It is possible to say that this precaution was taken to limit the power and wealth of the march lords and elevate the Ottoman ruler from the position of “*primus inter pares*” (first among the equals) to an absolute ruler.

Another document which is supporting this innovation's appearance during the end of fourteenth century is a letter dated to 1395, which is ascribed to the Isidore Glabas, who was the Archbishop of Thessaloniki. Speros Vryonis Jr. mentions Isidore's letter in his article, which goes like the following:

What would a man not suffer were he to see a child, whom he had begotten and raised . . . carried off by the hands of foreigners, suddenly and by force, and forced to change over to alien customs and to become a vessel of barbaric garb, speech, impiety, and other contaminations, all in a moment?⁸³

The fact that this practice institutionalized rapidly is supported by Schiltberger's account, who fell captive to the Ottomans following the battle of Nicopolis. As a captured professional soldier, he started to serve Bayezid I until the battle of Ankara:

Then they took my companions and cut off their heads, and when it came to my turn, the king's son saw me and ordered that I should be left alive, and I was taken to the other boys, because none under twenty years of age were killed, and I was scarcely sixteen years old. Blood was spilled from morning until vespers, and when the king's counsellors saw that so much blood was spilled and that still it did not stop, they rose and fell upon their knees before the king, and entreated him for the sake of God that he would forget

⁸² Öztürk, 2013: pp. 75-76.

⁸³ Vryonis, 1956: pp. 436-437.

his rage, that he might not draw down upon himself the vengeance of God, as enough blood was already spilled. He consented, and ordered that they should stop, and that the rest of the people should be brought together, and from them he took his share and left the rest to his people who had made them prisoners. I was amongst those the king took for his share, and the people that were killed on that day were reckoned at ten thousand men.⁸⁴

Theodore Spandounes, who is from an aristocratic Byzantine refugee family from Constantinople, wrote a book on the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. Although even later than Aşıkpaşazade, I deem it useful here to give what he wrote about the foundation of the Janissaries:

This Murad was the first to institute the order of Janissaries ('Janizari') At first they were only 500 in number, though later, in the time of the second Murad ('Amurath'), they were increased to 8,000. They formed the guard of the Emperor of the Turks. The Sultan Selim raised their number to 10,000. It was the above-mentioned 500 who brought down Milos Kobilic; and from that day to this, if anyone goes to kiss the hand of a lord of Turkey, two of the guards hold his hands. Murad was buried in the place where the deed was done and a monument was raised on the spot where he died. His corpse was interred in Kossovo, though later, in the time of his son Bayezid, it was taken to Adrianople; and there a sepulchre was built and a hospital was endowed for charitable purposes by the Turkish rulers. His son Ildrim Bayezid succeeded him.⁸⁵

All of the four accounts (Aşıkpaşazade, Isidore Glabas, Schiltberger and Spandounes) point to the fact that the janissaries were found at the end of the 14th century, strengthening the fact that it was indeed found during Murad I's reign as Aşıkpaşazade states. This is one of the many examples in which Aşıkpaşazade appears to be a reliable historical source.

2.5 ARCHAIC NAMES IN AŞIKPAŞAZADE

The account of Aşıkpaşazade, especially the part this study examines, is rich in content when it comes to archaic names, both about places and the legendary names. As the later literary tradition doesn't contain really contain examples as rich as this, I feel it would be suitable here to give three examples.

Osman Gâzi gathered the Gâzis around him. They came to İkizce. At the point where over the Domalic Beli the two forces fought with one another. The battle was great. Osman Gâzi's brother Saru Yatı was martyred there. There is a pine tree at that spot. It is now known as the *Kandillü Çam* (Pine

⁸⁴ Schiltberger, 1879: pp. 5-6.

⁸⁵ Theodore Spandounes, *On the origin of the Ottoman Emperors* (Translated & Edited by Donald M. Nicol). Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1997. See: pp. 21-22.

tree with candle). People see a light there from time to time. The infidel called Kalanoz also fell in this battle. They notified Osman: “*That infidel is dead.*” Osman Gâzi said: “*Split that dog’s stomach. Dig the soil and bury him like a dog.*” They did what he ordered. That place is now accordingly known as: *İt Eşeni* (Dog Scratching). They took Saru Yatı and buried him in Söğüt next to his father.⁸⁶

See what Sultan Alâaddin did: He immediately turned towards Ereğli. The Tatar understood that the Sultan was coming after them and marched to meet him. They met in Biga Öyüğü. The battle lasted for two days and two nights. Finally the Tatar army was defeated. The Tatars were annihilated in an endless and incomprehensible fashion. But most of them were captured and castrated. They stitched their skins to each other, and covered them with felt. They made tents out of them as a warning. At this moment that place is called *Taşak Yazısı* (Testicle Plain).⁸⁷

There is a fortress on İncügez called Pulunya. Turks call them *Tanrı Yıkduğı* (Destroyed by God). Murad Han marched to it. The people of that province ran away and entered this fortress. They fought for many days but weren’t able to conquer it. Finally they went away. Han said: “*It seems God will destroy this.*” They camped in the place called Devletlü Kabağaç. Murad Han leaned his back against a huge tree and sat. In an instant his men came one after another and said: “*Han! That fortress is destroyed thanks to the omnipotence of God. It turned upside down.*” Han sent Şâhin. He arrived and brought many properties. He brought golden and silver trays, florins and akçes. They displayed good will to its population and left them in their places. They found many golden and silver helmets. Gâzis put them on their heads. *Üsküf* (knitted cap with a tassel worn by officers of the Janissaries) was founded at that time. For the tree he leaned his back against, Han said: “*This tree is Devletlü Kabağaç* (Fortunate Huge Tree).” The tree is named after Han’s words. That tree is extant but it has turned to a log. There is a well beside it.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Öztürk, 2013: p. 14.

⁸⁷ Öztürk, 2013: p. 16.

⁸⁸ Öztürk, 2013: p. 83.

3. HEROIC DEEDS (*MENAQIB*) OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God for blessing us with Islam and allowing us to be a part of the flock of the beloved of God, Muhammad - peace be upon him.

O Saint, This poor one, Dervish Ahmed Âşıkî, is the son of Sheikh Yahya who is the son of Sheikh Selman, who is the son of Sultan of Eminences, Âşık Paşa, who is the son of spiritual guide of horizons Muhlis Paşa, who is the son of the chief Saint of the age Baba Ilyas, who is the Caliph of descendant of the Prophet, Abu'l-Vefâ- *may God glorify their greatness.*

This poor one⁸⁹ was surrendered of consent in the corner of self-sacrifice, clad in the cloak of death and patience, seated in Constantinople. I had been enjoying the feast of prayers. Suddenly a crowd of saints mentioned the history of the Ottoman dynasty and the heroic deeds surrounding them. And they have asked me about them. I have answered. Up to the reign of Bayezid Han, I have found these legends written from Yahşi Fakîh, who is the son of Ishak Fakîh, Orhan Gazi's Imam. [3] I have shortened some incidents, conversations and *menaqıbs* (heroic deeds) and have written it down. The pen whispered to the white heart in the page of wilderness. As soon as I have heard this word, I became all ears to that tune. My heart was lost in amazement. Very soon, I have recited that:

Verse

**God, the Wise, the Everliving, the Almighty
The Creator of the Universe, the Omnipresent and All-seeing**

**O God, who gives existence to this being from nothing
And makes people admit His Unity**

**He who makes the human being poor and Sultan
Who judges their proof**

**O God, who sees the disgrace and covers it
The pardoner of sins, The Absolute Judge of all**

**Manifest the Divine perfection in my perception
I am a weak, humble servant [of Yours]**

⁸⁹ This term is widely used in Turkish folk literature to show modesty to the individual (or to the crowd) whom the literary work will be presented. First person singular will be used hereafter instead of the literary term.

**My life which has reached its limit now
I have attained eighty six years of age this year**

**I have seen many curiosities of this world
Innumerable, and all worth remembering**

**I have written down what I have seen in my age
I have continued until Gök Alp who is from Oğuz's lineage**

**I have written the heroic deeds of the Ottoman Dynasty
Perfect Sultans and Champions of Islam**

**I have decided to write about [their] genealogy
So that everyone can understand the origins of these [Ottoman] Sultans**

**I'm going to express
[the adventures] of these gâzis**

**Listen so that you can understand their majesty
Also their sovereignty and their might [4]**

**Where they came from and which country they have arrived in
In what manner they have captured the country they arrived**

**What those hans and shahs did to that country
How they became Sultans in the world**

**I'm going to reveal one per thousand
Listen to what your dervish is going to say**

**My lineage was born with this dynasty
Every one that is born among us saw this dynasty**

**We are the ones who pray externally and internally
We have avoided eternal damnation in the threshold of service**

**The Ottoman Dynasty favours upon me and my lineage
Through calling me Aşiki (one who belongs to the lineage of Aşık [Paşa])**

**We are the family of Aşık [Paşa] and we pray since days of yore
Be aware that prayer is the remedy for sin**

**First we should pray for this dynasty
Afterwards we should mention their heroic deeds (*menaqıbs*)**

**My prayer will certainly be accepted
It will be evident like the sun rises and shines**

**The opening word and first chapter
Will consist of names of the family**

Chapter 1

The Names of the Ottoman Dynasty

Osman Gâzi, who is the son of Ertuğrul Gâzi, who is the son of Süleyman Şah, who is the son of Kaya Alp, who is the son of Kızıl Boğa, who is the son of Bayıntur, who is the son of Aykulug, who is the son of Togar, who is the son of Kaynitun, who is the son of Sunkur, who is the son of Bakı, who is the son of Sogar, who is the son of Tok Temür, who is the son of Basuk, who is the son of Gök Alp, who is the son of Oğuz, who is the son of Kara Han, who is the son of Ay Kutluk, who is the son of Tuzak, who is the son of Kara Han, who is the son of Baysub, who is the son of Kamarı, who is the son of Kızıl Boğa, who is the son of Baybus, who is the son of Togar, who is the son of Sevinc, who is the son of Çar Boğa, who is the son of Kurtulmuş, who is the son of Karaca, who is the son of Amudı, who is the son of Karalu Oğlan, who is the son of Süleyman Şah, who is the son of Karahol, who is the son of Korluğa, who is the son of Yan Temür, who is the son of Turtmuş, who is the son of Çin, who is the son of Maçın, who is the son of Yâfes, who is the son of Noah - *peace be upon him*. [5]

Chapter 2

Describes Osman Gâzi and his descendants, the means of his sovereignty, the country from which they have come to the region of Rum (Asia Minor) and the reason for them to come hither

Süleyman Şah Gâzi is the grandfather of Osman Gâzi. He is the first one who has arrived in Asia Minor. The reason for his arrival is that from the days of Abbasid dynasty until the era of Süleyman Şah Arab troops were victorious in Asia Minor. The Byzantines were beaten. The Persians were beaten. The Persian Shahs have zealed because they descend from Yafes (Japhet, son of prophet Noah). They said “*the Arabs prevailed over us*”. They got into working spirit. They relied on nomadic [Turkish] households from the lineage of Japhet. Thereby they prevailed over Arabs. By means of the Arabs’ defeat, the land of the infidels became rebellious. The Persian Shahs took precautions against these nomadic people. They took the necessary measures. They drew forward Süleyman Şah Gâzi, who is amongst the great men of the nomadic households. They gave fifty thousand Turcoman and Tatar households to him as companion and said: “*Arrive in Asia Minor and fight on behalf of Islam.*” Süleyman Şah

accepted this. They came and went down from Erzurum to Erzincan. They marched for a few years and conquered the vicinities.

Süleyman Şah Gâzi showed a good deal of bravery. They were hurt because of the mountains and roof valleys of Asia Minor. The flocks belonging to the nomadic households were hurt due to walking up hill and down dale. They set out for Türkistan again. They did not return through the way where they came, they went up to Aleppo. Thereafter they reached in front of Caber fortress. In the meantime they arrived in the banks of Furat (Euphrates) river. They wanted to pass [it]. They told Süleyman Şah Gâzi: “*Han! How are we going to pass this river?*” Süleyman Şah spurred his horse to the river. In front of him there was a precipice. His horse slipped. Süleyman Şah fell to the river. His appointed hour of death arrived. He died. They got him out of the water. They buried him in front of Caber fortress. Now [6] that place is called Turkish tomb. That fortress is ruled by a band called Döger at the present time, which is again from the same lineage. Then these nomadic households scattered around. Some of them went to the desert. They are now called Şam [Damascus] Turkomans. Some of them returned to Asia Minor again. Some are Tatars and some are Turkomans. Tatars and Turkomans who are in Asia Minor at the present time descend from this tribe.

And some of them followed Suleyman Şah’s three sons, one of whom is Sunkur Tegin. And one of them is Gün Doğdu. And one of them is Ertuğrul Gazi. These three brothers turned to the road that they came from. They arrived at Pasin Ovası (plain) and Sürmelü Çukuru (pit) from the headwaters of the Euphrates.

Ertuğrul stayed there. He didn’t go with his brothers. He stayed together with four hundred nomadic households. Those two brothers went back to their motherland again. Ertuğrul stayed there for a while. He passed the summer in the mountains and wintered in winter quarters. After a long time Sultan Alâaddin went toward Asia Minor too. He conquered as much as possible. He became the Sultan. This [subject] has a lot of details. [That is why] I have shortened it. Therefore I am going to describe the heroic deeds (menâqıb) of the Ottoman Dynasty.

Ertuğrul Gâzi, having heard that Sultan Alâaddin from the family of the Seljuks had come to Asia Minor from Persia, said: “*Therefore it is necessary and proper for us to go to a country where they realize the worth of [brave] man. [7] And we also fight on behalf of Islam*”.

Ertuğrul Gâzi had three sons. One of them was Osman, One of them was Gündüz and one of them was Saru Yatı, who was also called Savcı. These turned towards Asia Minor. They arrived at Hasan Musıl province.

There are a lot of rumours about Ertuğrul Gâzi’s arrival in Asia Minor. The true word is what I mention. He [Ertuğrul] sent one of his sons, Saru Yatı, to Sultan Alâaddin and said: “*Show us a place to settle. We will arrive there and fight on behalf of Islam.*” Saru

Yatı brought the word of his father to Sultan Alâaddin. Sultan [Alâaddin] was cheerful because of their arrival. At that time, Karacahisar and Bilecük tekfurs (local Christian ruler in Asia Minor) were obedient to the Sultan and paid tribute to him. Söğüt, which is the province between those two fortresses, was assigned to them as winter quarters. They granted Domanic Dağı (Mountain) and Ermeni Beli (pass in a mountain ridge) to them for passing the summer. Saru Yatı arrived at his father and gave the news. Ertuğrul accepted [the offer]. They marched to Engüri [Ankara]. They settled down in their places.

There wasn't war during Ertuğrul Gâzi's time. They passed the summer in mountains and wintered in winter shelters. And at that time Germiyan's father Alişar was in the province of Sâhibin Karahisar. There was also a Tatar there named Çavdar. From time to time they would raid Karahisar and Bilecük provinces. With the arrival of Er Durrîl Gâzi, those infidel lands were protected from [the raids of] Tatars.

One day Ertuğrul Gâzi died in Söğüt. Osman Gâzi was deemed worthy to replace his father. As soon as Osman Gâzi replaced his father, he started feigning friendships (*müdarâ*) with the neighbouring infidels. He started to treat Germiyanlu as an enemy [8], because Germiyanlu constantly harassed the infidels of the province he arrived in. In contrast, Osman Gâzi started to raid distant places day and night. A lot of men gathered around him.

Verse

**Osman girded on the sword of religion
He made every tongue acknowledge the superiority of Islam**

**May he show Islam within the sphere
May Osman light up the world with the spiritual light**

**Since blasphemy and darkness prevailed over Asia Minor
They wished that Osman illuminates the world**

**The door of the opportunity of Islam was opened
Osman became the key to that lock**

**Muhammed is the chief of his community (Muslims)
Osman is the object of the miracles [9]**

Chapter 3

[OSMAN GÂZI]

Describes how Osman Gâzi began marching around day and night

There was an infidel called Aya Nikola in Eynegöl. When Osman [and his men] went to the mountains and winter shelters, he harassed them. Osman Gâzi complained to the Bilecik Tekfur about him and he told Bilecik Tekfur: “*What we request of you is that we may entrust our moveable goods to you when we go up to the summer pasturage.*” He accepted this request. Whenever Osman Gâzi went to the summer pasturage, he loaded everybody’s belongings on oxen, and sent them with many womenfolk. They would arrive at the castle and leave them there. Whenever they came back from the summer pasturage, they brought cheese, carpets, *kilims* (woven matting) and sheeps as gifts. They took their belongings back and departed. And those infidels trusted them a lot. But the Eynegöl infidels guarded against Osman Gâzi. And these ones (Ottomans) guarded against them in the same way.

However one day Osman Gâzi came from Ermeni Beli with seventy people to set Eynegöl on fire by night. These infidels had a spy, he informed the infidels. The infidels laid an ambush. Osman Gâzi had a martaloz (Christian spy) called Aratun. He arrived and informed that: “*They laid an ambush where Bel (the pass in mountain’s ridge) comes to and end*”. Gâzis took refuge in God. They directly marched to the ambush. All of them were foot soldiers. [10] There were many infidels. The battle was enormous. Osman’s brother, Saru Yati’s son became a martyr, whose name is Bay Hoca. He is buried where Ermeni Beli comes to an end, in the surroundings of Hamza Beğ Village. Next to his mausoleum there is a *kâruvansaray* (caravanserai, inn with a large courtyard) in ruins. They turned back from there. Osman Gâzi came back and went to the summer pasturage.

Verse

**This is Osman’s first military expedition on behalf of Islam
Let me tell you the second one, listen and be astounded**

**He comes to the fatherland and entreats to God a lot:
“*Let my soul endeavour with zeal.*”**

**He says: “*O God, give me the power of Islam.*”
He tells himself: “*Cry poor Osman.*”**

Chapter 4

Describes how Osman Gâzi had a dream and to whom he informed and what the dream's interpretation was

Osman Gâzi prayed and wept in an instant. Sleep prevailed. He laid down and made himself comfortable. He saw that there is a saintly sheikh among themselves. His many miracles became evident. And the whole folk were his followers. He made a name for himself as dervish and he had the quality of a dervish internally by all means. He had a lot of worldly goods, blessings and flocks. He was the master of candles and [spiritual] banner. His guesthouse was never destitute of those who came and went [travelers]. And Osman Gâzi also came at times. He was a guest of this saint.

Osman Gâzi slept. He sees [in his dream] that a moon rose from the saint's bosom, it comes and goes into Osman Gâzi's bosom. The moment this moon goes into Osman Gâzi's bosom, a tree comes into existence from his navel, its shadow puts the world in its shade. There are mountains under its shadow. And also [11] waters come up from the foot of the mountain. Some drink from this water, while others water their gardens and some pour fountains. Thereafter, when he woke from his sleep, he came and informed the sheikh. The Sheikh said: "*Son, Osman Gâzi! I give you the good news that God Almighty has given sovereignty to you and your lineage. May it be blessed.*" And he said: "*My daughter Mal Hatun shall be your legitimate spouse.*" Very soon he performed the ceremony and gave his daughter in marriage to Osman Gâzi.

Verse

**He says: "*Son, God's help in battle and opportunity are yours*"
The way to Islam is your blessing**

**Fortune is given to you and the throne shall not fall
Eternal in the past and eternal in the future the state is yours**

**The world shall be comfortable during the reign of your lineage
The prayers are for your lineage, they will remain untouched**

**May your candles illuminate the world
Dining tables should be set up, the feast is yours**

**To be remembered with goodness in both worlds
Your family is given the proof of rulership**

**Since fortune of state was awarded to you by God
The wheel of fortune within the world is yours**

**You are the source of present era's King Solomon
You have command over both the mankind and the genie**

Sheikh Ede Balı interpreted Osman Gâzi's dream and he gave good news of sovereignty to him and his lineage. The Sheikh had a disciple next to him. He was called the son of Dervish Turud.

That dervish said: "*O Osman Gâzi! Sovereignty has been granted to you. We need a sign of your gratitude.*"

Osman Gâzi replied: "*Whenever I become the ruler I will grant you a city.*"

The Dervish said: "*This little village is enough for us, we have given up the idea of a city.*" Osman Gâzi agreed.

The Dervish said: "*Now give us a document [confirming this].*" [12]

Osman Gâzi said: "*I don't know how to write, how can you ask me to write a document. Here I have a sword, inherited from my father and my grandfather. I shall give that to you. And there is also a mug, I shall give that to you as well. They shall both remain in your hands. And they should preserve this sign. And if God Almighty consents me to render this service, may my lineage see this sign and accept it forever.*" That sword is still in the hands of that dervish's lineage. Everybody belonging to Osman Gâzi's lineage bestowed favors upon the dervishes when they saw the sword and replaced its old sheath.

Ede Balı lived one hundred twenty five [years]. And he took two wives: One when he was young and one when he was old. The wife he took when he was old is the daughter of Tâceddin-i Kürdî. He married with Hayreddin's wife's sister. I have heard this legend (*menâqıb*) from Mahmud Paşa, the son of Ede Balı. At the time of Sultan Mehmed, who is the father of Sultan Murad [II]. And that Mahmud Paşa lived more than a hundred years.

Chapter 5

Describes what happened after Osman Gâzi's father-in-law [Sheikh Ede Balı] interpreted the dream and what he was engaged in

As soon as he heard this [dream's] interpretation, he tied the sword of zeal tightly to his heart's waist. He rode to Eynegöl one night. Next to it there was a little fortress called Kulaca. He sacked it and set it to fire. Also he killed the infidels of that place. [13] When morning came, the infidels of that province gathered. They sent word to the Karacahisar Tekfur: "*What are you waiting for? They are enslaving you and your lineage. They are also depriving us of this province and devastate it. They don't seem like they will leave the water and the lands of this place. If you don't remove them from this country immediately or don't destroy them, to regret later will be of no use.*" He [Karacahisar Tekfur] had a brother called Kalanoz. He gave him a lot of soldiers as companions. They joined together with the infidels of Eynegöl.

Osman Gâzi gathered the Gâzis around him. They came to İvizce. At the point where over the Domalic Beli the two forces fought with one another. The battle was great. Osman Gâzi's brother Saru Yatı was martyred there. There is a pine tree at that spot. It is now known as the *Kandillü Çam* (Pine tree with candle). People see a light there from time to time. The infidel called Kalanoz also fell in this battle. They notified Osman: "*That infidel is dead.*" Osman Gâzi said: "*Split that dog's stomach. Dig the soil and bury him like a dog.*" They did what he ordered. That place is now accordingly known as: *İt Eşeni* (Dog Scratching). They took Saru Yatı and buried him in Söğüt next to his father.

Verse

**They fought on behalf of Islam, God is great!
In every breath they said God is great!**

**The sword of Islam is swung against the infidels
The drums played: "*God is great!*"**

**God's heaven is under the shadow of the swords
The prophet informed this: "*God is great!*"**

**Bells, bell towers and churches were ruined
"*God is great*" became the tune of the religion**

This holy war occurred in the year six hundred eighty five [February 27, 1286 – February 17, 1287] according to the Muslim calendar, by the hands of Osman Gâzi. [14]

Chapter 6

Describes that Sultan Alâaddin heard what these infidels did with the Muslims

Now Sultan Alâaddin knew for certain that the infidels had attacked Osman Gâzi with a large force and martyred his brother Saru Yatı. They informed him as to which infidels had joined that army. Upon learning this Sultan [Alâaddin] said: *“It is now known that the Karacahisar Tekfur has turned against us.”* And he said: *“And that the Germiyanoglu also didn’t like those strangers (Ottomans). Those infidels’ actions are mostly because of his negligence. I know it well.”* He ordered: *“Gather your troops without delay.”* He said: *“How can those infidels act like this? Or is it because we don’t have the zeal of Islam?”* and many troops gathered. They attacked. They fell upon Karacahisar. Osman Gâzi also arrived after hearing [the news]. He attacked from one side as well. After one or two days of fighting, messengers arrived and informed the Sultan: *“Bayıncar Tatar arrived. He captured Ereğli, devastated it, killed its people and set it on fire.”*

Sultan Alâaddin summoned Osman Gâzi. He gave him all the arms he had brought for the siege of the fortress and said: *“O son, Osman Gâzi! You possess many signs of favor. No one in the world can stand against you and your lineage. My prayers, God’s favor, the saint’s blessings and Muhammad’s miracles are with you.”* [15] And he returned back to his province. Osman Gâzi continued the siege for a few days after the departure of Sultan [Alâaddin]. In the end he sacked and conquered the fortress. He also made its Tekfur prisoner. He made the gâzis rich. He granted the town’s houses to the gâzis and to other people. He transformed it into the abode of Islam.

Verse

**Those who receive favor from God
Have a lot of blessings**

**Eat and feed the people with blessings perfect man
Understand that it is the thing that will stay with you whatever you do**

**Everybody is born with their own destiny
What is lost and what is ended leaves lasting fame**

This holy war occurred in the year six hundred eighty seven [February 6, 1288 – January 26, 1289] according to the Muslim calendar.

Chapter 7

Describes what Sultân Alâaddin did with the Tatar after returning to his province

See what Sultan Alâaddin did: He immediately turned towards Ereğli. The Tatar understood that the Sultan was coming after them and marched to meet him. They met in Biga Öyüğü. The battle lasted for two days and two nights. Finally the Tatar army was defeated. The Tatars were annihilated in an endless and incomprehensible fashion. But most of them were captured and castrated. They stitched their skins to each other, and covered them with felt. They made tents out of them as a warning. At this moment that place is called the *Taşak Yazısı* (Testicle Plain). [16]

Verse

**Whoever stamped his name on this world
They left either a bitter or a sweet flavor**

**Its sign is in the tongues and in the provinces
They left foundations which became spoiled in shape**

**Hw pass away but his name lasts in the world
Some name is given to them**

**Believe this word, I swear it is so
The one who lies has a black face**

**The conquest of Karacahisar occurred in the year six hundred eighty seven
[February 6, 1288 - January 24, 1289] according to the Muslim calendar, by the
hands of Osman Gâzi.**

Chapter 8

**Describes what Osman Gâzi sent to Sultan Alâaddin after the conquest of the
fortress and what he received from the Sultan**

Osman Gâzi held the fortress' tekfur captive after conquering it. He sent the tekfur with his brother's son Ak Temür to the Sultan, together with a lot of gifts and blessings. Ak Temür took these gifts and brought them to Sultan Alâaddin. Sultan's cheerfulness increased. He gave many gifts to Ak Temür. He gave Osman Gâzi a banner, good horses and arms for the *gazâ* (holy war). Ak Temür brought the sancak. It was late afternoon. The drum was beaten at once. Osman Gâzi stood up when the drum was

beaten. Until now the Ottoman Dynasty have stood up when the drum is beaten during a campaign.

Question: Other rulers do not have this custom. Why does it exist in the Ottoman Dynasty? [17]

Answer: It has two meanings. Firstly they are gâzis (holy warriors). When the drum is beaten, it notifies gazâ; it means “*get ready for gazâ.*” These [gâzis] stand up, saying: “*We are ready for gazâ for God’s approval.*” Secondly, these are possessors of candle, dining table and banner. And they are possessors of moral qualities who feed people with bread. Just as this is the custom of Halîlürrahman, they beat drums in the late afternoon so that people shall come and eat. Therefore, whatever deeds the Ottoman dynasty do, they do it according to custom.

Verse

**We heard that Osman has a code of laws
Your justice and generosity give pleasure to your friends**

**Hümâ (bird of paradise) flew under their shadow
Every falcon is their prey**

**It is obligatory for the people
to pray for the Ottoman dynasty**

**Know that power, wisdom and measure is needed
Appreciation of science guides to success**

**Intimate and proper friend is needed
Either he is young or old**

Chapter 9

Describes that Osman Gâzi took the necessary measures about whom he would make friends and comrades with, the people who are in his region and how he lives with them

He (Osman) summoned his brother Gündüz. He said: “*In what way do you think we can conquer these provinces and gather troops around us?*” His brother said: “*We shall*

attack the provinces in our region and devastate them.” Osman [18] Gâzi said: *“This is not a good idea. Because if we devastate the provinces surrounding us, our city Karahisar would not flourish. Our first opinion and measure is that we should establish feigned friendships with our neighbours.”* As a matter of fact him and Bilecük tekfur always got along with each other. Whenever they went to the summer pasturage, they entrusted their goods in the Bilecük fortress. When they return they sent cheeses in *tulums* (bags made of skin), clotted cream to eat with bread, good carpets and rugs. But they didn’t send them with men. They sent them with their women. They [The infidels] trusted Osman Gâzi explicitly.

They were very good friends with the Harmankaya *Beğ* (ruler), Köse Mihal too. A dispute between these two didn’t occur anytime. But the house of Osman fought with the Germiyanoglu from time to time. And these infidels were relieved because they knew that the Germiyanoglu and Osman had hostility between them.

After this, Osman Gâzi established a market in the Hamam neighbourhood of Eskişehir. The infidels from around came and transacted business. The people of the Germiyanoglu also came time to time. One day, infidel merchants came from Bilecük and merchants also came from Germiyan. The infidels of Bilecük are good at producing ceramics. They brought them to sell in the market. One of the Germiyanlus bought a mug from an infidel [19] and didn’t give anything back. This infidel came and complained to Osman Gâzi. Osman Gâzi summoned the person who bought that mug. He may even had him beaten. And he got the infidel’s due. He prohibited harshly that *“Nobody should ever hurt the Bilecik infidels.”* He showed them justice. It was in such a degree that the wives of Bilecik infidels came to Eskişehir’s market, shopped what they wished and left securely. These Bilecik infidels trusted Osman Gâzi to such a degree that they said: *“This Turk is very honest to us.”*

Verse

**Cheat the enemy until he lends a hand
If you find an opportunity don’t hesitate to chop off his head**

**Feed him, let him drink the sweet wine
So that you will find the strength against him easily**

**O saint, don’t walk unwarily not to be deceived
Regret wouldn’t help you when you are weary**

Chapter 10

Describes how Harmankaya infidels were acquainted with Osman Gâzi and what they did with him

Osman Gâzi became sancak beği (governor of a subdivision of a province) and mounted a horse. Köse Mihal was always with him. These gâzis' servants were mostly Harmankaya infidels. One day Osman Gâzi told Mihal: *"We think of raiding Tarakcı Yenicesi. [20] What do you think?"* Mihal says: *"My Han! Now we shall pass over Sorkun and Sarukaya and Beştaş so that we can pass over Sakarı Suyu. Gâzis are already coming to us from that side. And it will facilitate our attack to Mudurnu province. That province is prosperous. Samsa Çavuş is close to that province. We should notify to him so that he can inform us whenever there is an opportunity [for a raid]."*

And they did it like that. They arrived and stopped in Beştaş's dervish lodge. They asked its Sheikh: *"Is the water passable?"* Sheikh says: *"It is passable to gâzis by the grace of God."* They stopped feeding the horses, mounted on them and reached to the waterfront. They found Samsa Çavuş ready and prepared by the waterfront. He took them straight to Sorkun. And that province's infidels were acquainted with Samsa Çavuş. As soon as they saw him and the troops, they submitted to them. Their men and women greeted them. There was a distinguished infidel amongst them. They summoned him. He came. He made a solemn oath to Osman Gâzi that they accept whatever Samsa Çavuş says.

Question: What kind of a person is Samsa Çavuş?

Answer: He is such a person that he also has a large congregation. And he has a brother who is capable of comradeship called Sülemiş. At the time Ertuğrul Gâzi arrived in Söğüt, they were together with him. They didn't stay in that place because Eynegöl infidels hurt them. They decided to settle in Mudurnu province. [21] They established feigned friendships with the province's infidels. That is why Osman Gâzi entrusted that province to them.

And shortly thereafter Osman Gâzi raided. They attacked the province of Göynük. They also attacked Tarakcı Yenicesi. They came back and went up to Göl Falanoz. They went up from Harmankaya to Karacahisar again. Mihal was guiding them in the front. But they didn't take captives. They seized a lot of booty. They didn't take captives in order to in order to transform the local population into their subjects.

Verse

**The reason for this was that the gazis had heard so from Osman
Some of them took gold, some silver and some horses**

**Some of them married the girl they liked
Gâzis had the opportunity at that time**

**Gâzis came increasingly to the side of Osman
God's grace and blessing started to increase constantly**

**The sun of happiness rose up from eternity
Look, gâzis became the mirror**

Since Osman Gâzi started to go on so many *gazâs*, the infidels around began to guard against him. Osman Gâzi respected Bilecük infidels greatly. They asked: “*Why are these Bilecik infidels so respectable in your eyes?*” He answered: “*Because they are our neighbours. We came to this province as strangers. They made us feel welcome. Now it is necessary for us to respect them.*”

Verse

**It is necessary to be friends with the neighbour
Protect your neighbour so that they wouldn't bite like a snake**

**Whoever you become friends with, be cautious
The ones who lose their head on the road are the ones who are incautious**

**Whose religion is false in the heart, whose word is a lie
Isn't worth being a friend, especially if he is an infidel [22]**

Chapter 11

**Describes how Köse Mihal holds a wedding, and gives his
daughter to Göl Falanoz oğlu's beg**

He did a lot of preparations to hold a celebrated wedding. The arrangements for the wedding were completed. He sent out invitations to the infidels and to the tekfurs of the surrounding areas. And he also invited Osman. He sent news to the tekfurs: “*Come and become familiar with the Turk if you are unsure of his intentions and the power he possesses.*” They arrived on the fixed day. They brought many presents to the bride. Osman Gâzi came after all of them. He brought quality carpets and rugs and sheep in flocks. And they admired Osman Gâzi's presents a lot.

In short, the wedding lasted three days. These tekfurs were amazed by Osman Gâzi's generosity. But they didn't find an opportunity to seize him. Osman Gâzi had a friendly chat with the Bilecük tekfur. They had an invisible acquaintance beforehand. They had not seen each other face to face before. They knew one another as Osman Gâzi entrusted all of his goods to the Bilecük fortress [when he went up to the summer pasturage]. The Bilecük tekfur intended to hold a wedding.

Verse

**Mihal held a wedding, look what he had done
He built the foundation for gâzis' might**

**Many tekfurs attended the wedding
All of them took the necessary measures against Osman**

**Some said: "*We should capture him without delay*"
Bilecük tekfur took another precaution**

**Namely, to capture him during the wedding ceremony they held
On the contrary, his precaution resulted in his captivity [23]**

Chapter 12

Describes the wedding Bilecük tekfur held

The one who is going to wed the Yarhisar tekfur's daughter invited Mihal. They became acquainted with one another. They completed all the wedding preparations. First he sent out invitations to tekfurs in the surrounding areas. Even before the invitation arrived to Osman Gâzi, he [Osman] sent flocks of sheep to the Bilecük tekfur. And he said: "*My brother shall feed the ones who arrive for the wedding with this. If God wills, I am going to bring my own presents when I arrive. If I don't have a present worthy of my brother, I will bring a present which is worthy of me.*"

In short, these are the things he sent before they invited him [to the wedding]. Because Osman made promises at Mihal's wedding. The Tekfur sent Mihal to Osman Gâzi to invite him. And he also sent much gold and silver. When Mihal arrived at Osman Gâzis, he informed him about the tekfurs' alliance and what their intentions are. He told him: "*Don't act unwarily*" and invited him to the wedding. Osman Gâzi gave Mihal many presents in return for his invitation.

Osman Gâzi said: "*My brother Mihal Beğ! Send my compliments to the tekfur. Now we need to migrate to the summer pasturage. And both my mother-in-law and my wife would like to become acquainted with my brother's mother. Now my brother [24] knows*

well how our relations with the Germiyanoglu are. They have always accepted to store our goods, they should be kind enough to do so again this year. We shall send my and my mother's goods to the fortress again."

Mihal told Osman Gâzi's words to the tekfur. Tekfur rejoiced at it greatly. He accepted his [Osman Gâzi's] word with all his heart. He (Tekfur) sent Mihal again. One day was fixed for Osman's arrival. And he also said: "*Our women are accustomed to the open plains. Bilecük is a narrow place. They shouldn't hold the wedding there.*" Tekfur agreed to his word. He held the wedding at Çakır Bınarı. And at the fixed date Osman Gâzi loaded his oxen. He handed them over to the women as always. They rode and entered the fortress in the evening darkness. One or two trains of oxen entered the fortress. Men with drawn swords emerged from the felt loads the oxen carried. They cut the doorkeepers to pieces. Few people were left in the fortress. Most of them went to the wedding. The fortress was conquered.

Let's see what Osman Gâzi does on this side. He gave the gâzis headscarves and dressed them in womens clothes. He sent word to the tekfur. He said: "*They shall put our women in a separate place so that our women wouldn't feel embarrassed after seeing the tekfurs.*" The Tekfur felt relieved after hearing these words. He said: "*the Turk's men and women are easily caught by me.*" He had a separate place prepared. Osman Gâzi [25] agreed with the ones who bring the oxen in this manner: He would arrive at the tekfur at the time they enter the fortress. And Osman Gâzi arrived in the evening, since they didn't bring their wives openly. Tekfur welcomed them and placed them with respect. Even before the tekfur reached his chamber, Osman mounted his horse. Mihal also mounted his horse.

They told the Tekfur: "*Hey, Turk ran away.*" Tekfur was half tipsy. He mounted [his horse]. He pursued the Turk. Osman Gâzi came. There is a stream called Kaldırayuk, near Bilecik. He halted when he arrived there. When the tekfur arrived there, he was captured. Osman Gâzi had the tekfur decapitated. He returned. He went down to Yarhisar in the morning. He captured its tekfur. They even captured the bride as well. They took most of the people who came to the wedding captives. They sent Turgut Alp to Eynegöl without delay and told him: "*Don't let Aya Nikola, the Eynegöl tekfur, hear the news and run away.*" Turgut Alp arrived. He besieged Eynegöl. Osman Gâzi brought everything they captured to Bilecük. They had their business settled. They came to Eynegöl afterwards. He looted it as soon as he arrived. When the gâzis heard there is going to be a looting, they entered the fortress in the twinkling of an eye. They cut its tekfur to pieces. They killed the local men and took the women captive because these infidels had been responsible for the martyrdom of many Muslims. [26]

Verse

**See what Osman's trick resulted in
He played with his life and he took many lives at the same time**

**The infidels set traps for him
He grasped their legs and held them fast**

**The infidels sunk the well to make gâzis fall in it
[But in the end] The infidels fell and the gâzis strived**

**Darkness covered up the infidels' eyes
Gâzis met the light of Osman**

Chapter 13

This chapter describes that they took the bride, who is the daughter of Yarhisar tekfur, to whom they married her and who he is

Osman Gâzi married her to his son Orhan Gâzi, she is called Lülüfer Hatun. Orhan Gâzi had become a young man at that time. He [already] had a son whom he had sent to the summer pasturage. And they took these four separate fortresses, but they treated their subjects with justice and equity. And all of the villages in the area came to their proper place and settled peacefully. They may even became better off than they were under the infidels. People started to come from other provinces when they heard about the tranquillity the infidels were offered.

In short, Osman Gâzi wanted to hold a wedding and marry the girl to his son. And he did just that. This Lülüfer Hatun has a dervish lodge at the foot of the Bursa fortress, near the Kapluca gate. That lady built the Lülüfer Suyu Bridge as well. That stream is named after that bridge. And Murad Han Gâzi is her son. Süleyman Paşa is her son as well. Both of their father is Orhan Gâzi. When the lady died, she was buried together with Orhan Gâzi in the Bursa fortress. [27]

Verse

**What a prosperity God bestowed upon the lady
The dawn broke from her astrological sign**

**Murad Han was born from that astrological sign
Süleyman Paşa came out of that veil (*nikab*) as well**

**This lady gave birth to the sultans similar to Phoenix
Her candle illuminated the world**

**The world was filled with musky scents
Dew of the rose leaf became visible**

**Since the jewelry mine became apparent
Suitors gathered from both close and distant [places]**

**Aşiki wrote the mine of the *menaqıb* (heroic deeds)
I found its master long time ago**

Also by him

**Osman conquered Bilecük o friend!
[He also conquered] Yarhisar with everything in it**

**He made all of its property and goods his possession
It was granted by Divine favor**

**Understand that these [infidels] are not obedient to *haraç* (land tax paid by non-
Muslims)**

They are habitually deceitful in their deeds

**Gâzi Osman cheated them
He knew that they are perfidious**

**Gâzi Osman did what is right
He would do it to the infidels again**

Also by him

**Eynegöl is conquered, the infidel is destroyed
The Gâzis took numerous goods and blessings**

**They devastated the land of blasphemy
In its place they brought a visible light**

**Now see that Osman came to the world
God facilitated everything he undertook**

**And this conquest occurred in the year six hundred ninety nine [September 28,
1299 - September 15, 1300] according to the Muslim calendar.**

Chapter 14

Describes in what manner Osman Gâzi had the Friday prayer conducted and how it occurred in every city

When he conquered Karacahisar, the houses of the city were abandoned. And many men came from the province of Germiyan and other provinces; they asked for houses from Osman Gâzi. Osman Gâzi granted [them the houses]. And it flourished in a short time. And there were many churches, which were transformed into *mescids* (small prayer houses) by them. A market was established as well. And these people were in agreement that: “*We shall perform the Friday prayer and ask for a kadı (judge).*” [28]

There was a saintly person called Tursun Fakîh. He used to be the imam of those folk. They mentioned to him about their situation. He came and related it to Osman Gâzi’s father-in-law Ede Balı. Osman Gâzi arrived even before he finished speaking. He inquired and was informed as to their wishes.

Osman Gâzi said: “*You do whatever you need to do.*”

Tursun Fakîh said: “*My Han! We need permission from the Sultan.*”

Osman Gâzi said: “*I conquered this city with my own sword. What does the Sultan have to do with this? Why would I get his permission? I was bestowed with holy war and sovereignty by the same God who bestowed him with sultanate. And if indebtedness is caused by his banner, that banner wasn’t with me when I was fighting with the infidels. And if he says he belongs to the Seljuk dynasty, I would say I am the son of Gök Alp. And if he says I arrived at this province before them, I would say that my grandfather Süleyman Şah arrived even earlier.*” The people agreed with him after hearing these views. They gave the rank of kadı (judge) and the office of preacher immediately to the saintly Tursun Fakîh. The first Friday sermon was delivered in Karacahisar. But the *bayram* (religious festival) sermon was delivered in Eskişehir. Bayram prayer was performed there.

Verse

**The sermon was read in the name of Gâzi Osman
Osman Han Gâzi, who is the son of Ertuğrul**

**He is the one who destroys the perversely obstinate infidels
Osman Han is the leader of the Muslim troops**

**His justice and generosity spread throughout the world
Osman who is blessed thanks to his munificence**

**He devastated idols and places of idolatry
Osman made the religion of Islam flourish and prosper**

**Heralds shout out the salâ (a chant from the minarets on occasions of the Friday
namaz, a call to a funeral service, and similar sacred occasions)
They say that: “Osman, who gives you prosperity has arrived.”**

**The tent of state was established from eternity
Understand that the lineage of Osman will be everlasting**

**The first sermon in the name of Osman was delivered in the year six hundred
eighty eight [January 25, 1289 January 13, 1290] according to the Muslim
calendar. [29]**

Chapter 15

Describes Osman Gâzi's code of law

The people started to ask for a code of law since a *kadı* and *subaşı* (police superintendent) had been appointed, the market had been established and the Friday delivered [in the name of Osman] as well. A person came from Germiyan. He said: “*Sell me this market's dues.*” The people said: “*Go to our Han.*” That person went to Osman Gâzi and told him his intention. He said: “*My Han! Sell me this market's dues.*”

Osman Gâzi asked: “*What are market dues?*”

That person replied: “*I take an akçe (small silver coin, asper) from everybody who comes to the market.*”

Osman Gâzi asked: “*O man! Do you purchase anything from the people who come to this market, why would you ask for an akçe from them?*”

That person replied: “*My Han! This is the custom. The rulers in all of the other provinces take it.*”

Osman Gâzi asked: “*Is it God's commandment and the Prophet's word or do these rulers make it up themselves?*”

That person replied: “*It is a custom my Han, it existed aforesite.*”

Osman Gâzi became very angry and said: *“If a person earns something, it is his own property. I didn’t contribute in any way to his property, why would I ask him to give me akçe. O man! Go [away]. If you mention this to me [again] I am going to hurt you.”*

And the people said: *“Our Han! It is a custom, they give a small fee to those who watch over this marketplace.”*

Osman Gâzi said: *“Since you say so now, whoever brings a load should pay two akçes. Whoever doesn’t sell anything shouldn’t pay anything. [30] And whoever violates this law of mine, may God ruin his religion and his world. To whomever I bestow a timar (fief), nobody shall deprive him of it without cause. And when he dies they shall grant it to his son. And they shall still grant it even if he is very small. His servants shall go on campaign for him until he is mature enough to attend the campaigns himself. And may God curse whoever violates this law. And may God curse if anybody imposes another law than this one on my lineage.”*

Verse

**Osman imposed that law
So that God who possesses everything will be pleased with him**

**The Sultan said: *“The property belongs to God”*
He is the one who takes and gives justice**

**We are merely intermediaries
People saw evidence from the intermediary**

**Tell me who stayed in the world eternally
Where are the ones who said I am han and sultan**

**The sea sanked many ships
This ocean is endless**

**There is no trail, the caravans are lost
Only Süleyman (Solomon) made a name and left [this world]**

**They shouldn’t curse when they mention your name
If you beg, God’s mercy will be granted to you**

**The ones who come to world left many signs
Osman left signs of justice and generosity**

Chapter 16

Describes to whom he granted the *tımars* (fiefs) of the province he conquered

He granted the sancak of Karacahisar, which is [also] called İnönü, to his son Orhan. He granted the office of *subaşı* to his brother Gündüz. He granted Yarhisar to Hasan Alp. He is a useful comrade as well. Also he had accompanied him. He granted Eynegöl to Turgut Alp. It is still called by that saint's name. There are villages in the neighborhood of Eynegöl which are called Turgut ili (province of Turgut). He granted the *tımar* revenues of Bilecük to his father-in-law Ede Balı. He placed his wife with her father (Ede Balı) in Bilecük. He (Osman Gâzi) arrived in Yenişehir. He built houses for the gâzis who accompanied him. He settled there. They named that place Yenişehir. [31]

He (Osman Gâzi) left one of his sons, Alâaddin Paşa, beside him (Ede Balı). Orhan Gâzi and his father raided all around. They even went down to İznik. They arrived in Köprühisar a good many times. They conquered and sacked it afterwards. Thereafter they arrived in the province of Marmara. Its infidels submitted to them. Osman Gâzi left them in their own places. They came to Yenişehir again. The Gâzis rested their horses for several days. Then they raided the province of İznik. They closed the city's gate. They fought well for a good many days. They put men in the fortress. They took the province. They bestowed *tımars* upon *tımar* soldiers (cavalrymen). They went back to Yenişehir. They decided on settling there.

Chapter 17

Describes that Bursa tekfur, and several [other] tekfurs; Adranos tekfur, Bedenos tekfur, Kestel tekfur, Kite tekfur, gathered together and allied

They said: “*Let's march on the Turk, get him out of the way. We don't leave his name so that we would be sure of his suffering.*” They gathered a lot of troops. They marched. Osman Gâzi took refuge in God and confronted them immediately. [32] Together with the gâzis who are ready, they met with the infidels in Koyunhisarı. They have reached Dinboz during fighting. When they arrived there, the infidels halted in front of the mountain. The massacre was great. They martyred Osman Gâzi's brother's son, Gündüz's son Ay Doğdu in Dinboz. He is buried on the road which goes to Koyunhisarı. They encircled his grave with stones. Whenever a horse gets sick in that province, they take it to his grave. They turn it around three times. God heals it.

Thereafter the infidels were defeated. Adranos tekfur routed. Kestul tekfur fell in battle. Bursa tekfur entered the fortress. Kite tekfur was opposed to Osman Gâzi. He also

routed. Osman Gâzi followed him. Tekfur arrived to Ulubat. Osman Gâzi arrived [too]. He passed the Bridge of Ulubat. He camped on the bridge head. He sent news (message?): *“Give me my weak ones (captives). Otherwise I will turn around the lake and devastate your province.”* Ulubat tekfur said: *“Let’s take an oath. Neither you nor anybody from your lineage shall not pass this bridge. And I shall give your weak ones (captives).”* Osman Gâzi accepted. Since then the Ottoman Dynasty haven’t passed the Bridge of Ulubat, they passed with boat via the river instead. They handed the captives. They brought them. They tore the Kite fortress down to pieces (?). They conquered the fortress and placed men (soldiers?) inside. They protected province.

Verse

**Osman reconstructed everywhere he took
Osman showed some his wrath and others his generosity**

**He first devastates and then makes prosperous
Thus Osman became an accomplished architect [33]**

Chapter 18

Describes how Osman Gâzi built a tower against Bursa fortress

Osman Gâzi understood that he can’t conquer that fortress by war and that he needs to be patient. He arrived and decided to build a tower. He built a tower on Kapluca side opposite the fortress. He placed his brother’s son Ak Temür there, who was an extremely brave and fearless man. And he placed many useful comrades together with him. He built another tower on the mountain side. He [Osman Gâzi] had a servant (slave) called Balancuk. He was a brave guy as well. He placed him in this [the second] tower. He built these two towers in a year. But he secured their villages and made them prosperous. Not even a single infidel found the chance to take his finger out of the fortress.

Verse

**Balaban wouldn’t let a crow fly from the fortress
Baras Tekfur didn’t find the chance to flee from trouble**

**Temür doesn’t stand still day and night
The infidel got into trouble and distress**

Gâzis subdued conquered the province from these two sides. They harassed [the people of] the fortress for many years. While these [the infidels] were imprisoned there, let's see what Osman Gâzi is busy with on this side.

Chapter 19

Osman Gâzi arrived in Yenişehir. The infidels in the vicinity came and fought with him. He conquered all of their provinces. He made them prosperous with justice and equity. Gâzis became very cheerful. He granted every single one of them villages and places. [34] He treated all of them according to their positions. The Gâzis beside Osman Gâzi became stronger and they were looking forward to gazâ all the time.

Verse

**O brother, Osman mâde gazas
Blood was shed, many heads were chopped off**

**Ay Doğdu was martyred there
Many comrades died together with him**

**They captured Daranos tekfur there
The war intensified thereupon**

**Baras tekfur fled and entered the fortress
And Kite tekfur was treacherous**

**His fortress was destroyed and his property was taken
Tekfur became miser and treacherous**

**Everybody who left his name in the world
Also left a bitter sweet mark**

**Osman was fighting the holy war, he was just and equal
He made the people pray for his lineage**

**Âşıkî wrote this *menaqib* (heroic deeds)
From Orhan's Imam's son**

Chapter 20

Describes in what way Mekece and Akhisar and Geyve and Leblebüci fortress and Çadırlu were conquered

Gâzis saw that they became victorious in everywhere they marched to. One day they came and told Osman Gâzi: *“Our Han! Thank God that the infidel is defeated and Muslims are victorious. Especially because we have a gâzi han as zealous as you. It is not appropriate to sit still from now on.”*

Osman Gâzi said: *“Let’s summon Mihal, invite him to Islam and make him a Muslim. Thereafter we can march wherever you want with the order of God. And if he doesn’t become a Muslim, we attack and devastate his province.”* They sent men to Mihal very soon. They said: *“We have an important campaign. Come without delay, we are ready.”*

[35]

After hearing this, Mihal finished his business and arrived without delay. He gave good horses, fine swords and other things as gifts [brought to a superior]. As soon as he kissed the hand, he said: *“My han! Make me a Muslim from now on.”* They offered him the [true] faith immediately. He accepted Islam with all his heart and soul and became a true Muslim after abandoning that false belief. And they rewarded him with a robe of honour and a banner. [Osman Gâzi] assigned him to accompany his son Orhan Gâzi. He placed him in Karacahisar with this son.

And there was also a gâzi, he was called Saltuk Alp. They also placed him. And he placed one of his son with his mother in Bilecük. He took refuge in God. He marched straight to Leblebüci fortress. The Tekfur greeted him and pledged his obedience. He left him in the same place. And that infidel had a son. He took his son together with him. They went straight to Lefke. The Çadırlu tekfur and Lefke tekfur greeted him with obedience. They handed over their provinces. They became useful comrades alongside Osman Gâzi.

Thereafter Samsa Çavuş arrived. He said: *“My han! Give me this province so that they can not become our enemies again.”* Osman Gâzi said: *“I won’t give parts of this province, since I won’t remove them from their province. And there was a fortress beside the mouth of Yenişehir Suyu (River), he bestowed it upon Samsa Çavuş. Even now that place is called Çavuş Köyü.”*

Thereafter they arrived in Mekece. They submitted to him. Its tekfur came to Akhisar together with them. The Akhisar tekfur gathered a lot of troops and confronted them. The fighting was intense. In the end the infidel was routed and fled. He didn’t enter the fortress. Gâzis sacked [the fortress]. Its tekfur fled and entered Karaçepiş fortress. That fortress is beside the Sakarı [river] in a very steep place. [36]

They marched for a few days. Then they returned and arrived in Geyve. Its infidel left it empty and went away. There is a deserted place called Kuru Deresi, he settled there. They informed Osman Gâzi. He said: “*Hey! What are you waiting for?*” and they marched. They found the deserted place and got down to work in the twinkling of an eye. They captured the tekfur and brought him to Osman Gâzi. They seized his property as booty.

Thereafter they arrived in Tekür Bınarı. They conquered it as well. They stayed in that province more than a month. They gave the obedient places to tımar soldiers. They made the folk believe that they will be safe. They made all of the province secure. It remains so even today.

Verse

**See how Osman, who is from Gök Alp’s lineage set out
Saints prayed for him and he became a governor**

**His sword’s noise was heard all over the world
Its sound made the infidel fight**

**When Gâzi Osman went into action
You would feel that thunder has struck**

**All [his] enemies flee like birds
They knew that hunting falcon had set out**

**He goes up higher than the bird’s flight
He set out from Muhammad’s ascent to heaven**

Chapter 21

**Describes how when Orhan Gâzi was in Karacahisar Tatar Çavdar came from
Germiyan and raided Karacahisar’s marketplace**

And at this time they still exist and they are called Çavdarlu at that province. When Osman Gâzi went to the gazâ of Lefke this Çavdar Tatar raided Karacahisar’s market. They notified Orhan Gâzi: “*The Tatar has attacked the market.*” [37] Orhan Gâzi was getting his horses shod in Eskişehir. As soon as he heard this, he mounted on his horse and rode. There was a fortress in ruins called Oynaşisarı between the mountains. He confronted Tatar at that place. He gave no respite to Tatar and seized him. He made him spill out what he sacked. He captured many Tatars and brought them to Karacahisar. He

didn't let him go until his father came. Osman Gâzi arrived. They seized Çavdar Tatar's son as well. They brought him. When Osman Gâzi saw them he said: "*O son! He is a neighbour. Although he is cruel, he is a Muslim after all. We should bind him with an oath together with his beğ. We should let him go to his province.*" And they did so. Since then until the reign of Yıldırım there didn't exist an enmity in any kind between these two.

Chapter 22

Describes why Osman Gâzi sent his son Orhan to Akyazı and Kocaili

One day Osman Gâzi told his son Orhan: "*Although we took an oath with this Tatar, he still keeps on being a Tatar [doing the same things]. Come and go to Karaçepüş and Karatekin with these gâzis. I hope God Almighty will allow you to conquer it.*" Orhan Gâzi said: "*My han! I will accept anything you order me to do.*" He [Osman] gave Akçe Koca, Konur Alp, Gâzi Abdurrahman and Köse Mihal as companion to him [Orhan] because they are capable comrades. And he said: "*Gâzis! Let me see how much effort you will spend for your Faith.*" This was the first campaign led single-handedly by Orhan.

Verse

**Thus Gâzi Orhan Han mounted his horse
His appearance was honored like him**

**His birth sign was seen by Ahmed
Look at the mirror from the eye of your heart**

**Orhan has become a tower for the light of Islam
Now the mirror is falling upon two titles [38]**

As his father prayed for him and he fastened the sword of zeal to his waist, he intended to go on a holy war (gazâ). He first marched to Karaçepüş where his father had been before. A day's journey remained until they reached the fortress. Meanwhile they divided the gâzis into three squads. One of the squads, which Orhan Gâzi led, marched to the fortress. One squad advanced beyond the fortress by nightfall. And one squad entered the river beside the fortress. Orhan Gâzi attacked the fortress.

They fought for several days. [The people in] The fortress saw that they were weak. The [Gâzis] stopped fighting and fled. The infidels saw that the Turks were running away and got out of the fortress. They found a Turk in front of the fortress and captured him. They brought him to the tekfur of the fortress. The [Tekfur] asked: "*Are there more Turks?*" The Turk answered: "*No. All of them have run away.*" The Tekfur became extremely cheerful upon hearing this. He sent spies. They arrived and saw that there

weren't any Turks left. When the tekfur heard this he opened the gates of the fortress. He said: "*I should catch the Turks, they seem to be weak. I shouldn't allow them to get beyond the river.*" He rode his horse. The ambush beside the fortress took the gate. The Turks above also appeared. The Tekfur said: "*There are more Turks.*" He came back. The Turks in front of the fortress caught him and brought him in front of the fortress. They conquered the fortress and allocated its property to the gâzis. They took the cavalry soldiers out. They strengthened the fortress. They took the tekfur. [39] There is a fortress below called Ap Suyu, they brought him there. They took the fortress by agreement.

They garrisoned these two fortresses and made them stronger. They granted Karaçepüş to Konur Alp. And they granted Ap Suyu to Akçe Koca. Orhan Gâzi returned. He took the tekfur and his cavalry with him and brought them to Akhisar. He left the infidels of that province securely in their own places. Yet Konur Alp raided Akyazı time to time. Akçe Koca paused in the small castle in Beşköprü, under which Ayan Gölü passes. He raided the places in the forest.

In short, Orhan Gâzi strengthened this frontier and he sent these captive infidels to his father Osman Gâzi. He marched to Karatekin himself. He sent word to the ruler of the fortress: "*Give me this fortress, I will let you stay here in case I shall be the ruler. My purpose is [to conquer] İznik.*" His words sounded hard to the infidel. Orhan Gâzi said: "*Gâzis! In the name of Islam and according to the will of God, we shall march and sack this fortress.*"

Verse

**Orhan ordered that this fortress should be sacked
He ordered the fight for this fortress**

**The opportunity is ours we should conquer this fortress
It is proper for the gâzis to fight for this fortress**

**They demolished the gate of the fortress at once
As if it was the Hayber fortress**

**The gâzis took all of its property
This fortress was a treasure of booty**

**They captured the tekfur together with his daughter
The fortress resembled to a mansion of angels**

**The captives are beautiful, kind and elegant
This fortress allowed the gâzis to gain a lot**

They killed the tekfur. Orhan Gâzi sent the tekfur's daughter to his father along with many properties. And Orhan Gâzi bought these captives. He made an agreement and left them in the fortress. He placed Samsa Çavuş in the fortress. [40] Orhan Gâzi came back to Yenişehir beside his father. They sent men to Karaçepüş and Karatekin, as if they were sent to İznik. From time to time they went and sacked İznik's gardens.

In short, they kept harassing İznik. And on one side Konur Alp was busy with Akyazı. On the other side Akçe Koca was busy with İznikmid. These frontiers were frequented by them. These gâzis strived to conquer these places, they didn't sleep during night and they were always on horseback in the daytime. They remained alert.

Verse

**Konur Alp put his sword on Bolu
He conquered Düzbazar in Akyazı**

**He encountered with the infidel in Uzunca Bel
He fought well for two days and two nights**

**He sent the infidels back and expelled them from there
Konur Alp came back to Düzbazar**

**[Akçe] Koca started raiding Akova
Gazi Rahman didn't allow people sleep at nights**

**The infidels of Istanbul appear time to time
O friend! They are killed by the gâzis**

These men fight in these frontiers to convert these regions to Islam. In time these regions would be called by their names.

Chapter 23

**Describes how Osman Gâzi sends his son Orhan to Bursa
and how Bursa is conquered**

They heard that the infidels of Bursa were distressed by hunger. They were looking for a reason to hand over the fortress. They are helpless. And they will surrender only to the ruler. Osman Gâzi told Orhan: "*Son! You go to Atranoz first, that infidel's father caused the death of Bay Hoca during the Dinboz war.*" He assigned Köse Mihal and Turgut Alp to Orhan as companions. And there is a saint, who is called Şeyh Mahmud. [41] He wanted him and Ede Balı's brother's son Ahi Hasan to go together with them. They

went straight to Atranoz. Its tekfur heard that the Turks were coming. He escaped to Alata Mountain and left his fortress empty. Orhan Gâzi followed him with gâzis and reached the mountain. They found the people who had run away with the tekfur. The Tekfur escaped once again. He fell off from a rock while he was escaping. He was torn to pieces. They demolished the fortress of Atranoz. They showed goodwill to its people and left them securely in their own places. Orhan carried out this holy war (gazâ). He moved straight against Bursa and made camp behind the Bınarbaşı stream.

Verse

**Now see what Gâzi Orhan is going to do
That zealous hero and that sea of seas**

**The infidels would be ruined when he moved
Even the legendary Rüstem couldn't face him**

**Since the residents of the Bursa fortress saw him like that
It became a garden for Orhan**

**He didn't fight there
Neither a head was split nor blood shed**

**That gâzi conquered Bursa easily
The *menaqib* I have written is proof of this**

Orhan Gâzi sent Mihal immediately. He told the Bursa tekfur: "*Hand over the fortress.*" The Bursa tekfur said: "*We should make an agreement so that nobody would get hurt. We shall hand over the fortress.*" Mihal came and told Orhan Gâzi this news. Orhan Gâzi also accepted this agreement. The tekfur sent word to him: "*He should send me some useful men so that Turks wouldn't hurt the infidels who leave this fortress.*" Mihal said: "*What would you give to make those men come?*" The Tekfur said: "*I will pay for whatever they do.*" Mihal made peace for thirty thousand florins. The Bursa tekfur accepted it eagerly. [42]

Verse

**The Bursa tekfur sent the cash
He handed over the fortress and he was saved**

**The Bursa tekfur left his treasure and went away
He put on a rope and a rug**

**He said: "*I need my head*"
"*O Turks! You forced me to leave my country*"**

In short, when the tekfur left the fortress, the gates were flocked by people. Muslims started to move in from everywhere. Ahi Hasan climbed the tower with many others. They assigned men to the Bursa tekfur to bring him to Gemleyük. Thereafter they sent him to İstanbul. They secured the conditions of the remaining population of the fortress. They didn't touch anybody's property. Orhan shared out the Bursa tekfur's treasure to the gâzis. They found a lot of property. He gave it all to them. The gâzis made a fortune.

The Tekfur had a minister called Saroz. He didn't leave. He was the reason of the handing over of the fortress. He also had a lot of property. He brought many properties willingly. Orhan Gâzi bestowed it upon the gâzis too. And they found many infidels dead.

Orhan Gâzi asked this minister: "*Why did you bother to surrender the fortress?*"

Saroz replied: "*There are many reasons why we handed over the fortress. First of all, we saw that your state flourished day to day. And [the fortune of] our vile state reversed. We knew it for certain. Secondly, your father attacked us. His state conquered our villages. They were obedient [to him]. And they stopped thinking of us. We understood that they were living comfortably, that's why they don't think of us. We also desired that comfort. Thirdly, our tekfur piled up a lot of wealth which wasn't useful. Therefore he didn't find the object to exchange the property with. He didn't buy the object once. The seller wasn't found when we were in need. [43] The fortress became a prison for us. Furthermore, when a ruler is weak his state collapses soon. In addition, we listened to this useless Kite tekfur. Finally, the world is always changing. We are experiencing this change now.*" Orhan asked: "*What about these deaths?*" [Saroz] answered: "*They starved to death.*"

Verse

**When God shows generosity and help
All your wishes would be acceptable**

**Whatever you do will be easy for you
Everybody will lend their assistance to you**

**The Ottoman Dynasty is favored by God
Anybody who shows hostility against this would be weak**

**Baras tekfur is weak in the hands of Orhan
Tekfur deserves to be abased**

**O God! Help the Ottoman Dynasty
And let their reign last until the end of the world**

**The Han's army shall be victorious
Because this dynasty is generous**

This conquest occurred in the year seven hundred twenty six [December 8, 1325 – November 26, 1326] according to the Muslim calendar, by the hands of Orhan Gâzi.

Question: Was Osman Gâzi alive or not during these conquests?

Answer: The truth is that he was alive, since he is the one who sent his son.

Question: Why didn't Osman Gâzi go himself?

Answer: Because Osman Gazi had two other sons as well. However, he was desirous of seeing Orhan Gazi gain superiority [over his brothers] during his own lifetime. Furthermore there was a problem with Osman's leg.

Verse

**Those who want their son to be fortunate
Father come now and show your son the way**

**Your son should take your advice
If he listens to your advice he wouldn't be worse**

**Those who don't listen to the advice of their fathers
Would be useless among the people [44]**

Chapter 24

Describes what Osman Gâzi bequeathed his son Orhan

First he said: *"My son Orhan! When I die, bury me under the Gümüşlü Kubbe in Bursa. Furthermore, if somebody tells you something different than God's orders, do not accept it. And if you don't know what God's orders are, ask somebody who knows."*

Verse

**What is the benefit of literacy
Only those who know how to read are men**

**Whether you are literate or not brother
The important thing is your heart's intention**

“In addition, please the ones that are obedient to you. Finally, favor your comrades and always be kind to them, your favors determine their actions.

Chapter 25

Describes what happened to Konur Alp, Gâzi Rahman and Akca Koca on this side

Konur Alp conquered Akyazı, Konrapa, Bolu and Mudurnu and gained their full control. He came to Karaçepiş and Absuyu again. He left Gazi Rahman there and went away. Akca Koca placed soldiers in Kandırı and Ermen. Their intention was to reach Samandıra. In short, they were fighting the infidels day and night. From time to time they were attacking and dissembling the infidels [45]

One day, the Samandıra tekfur's son died. These infidels gathered around his corpse. The Gâzis found the opportunity they were waiting for. They caught the infidels unawares when they were outside the fortress and captured their tekfur.

The Samandıra fortress was conquered. They sent its tekfur to the Aydos fortress. They said: *“Come and take this tekfur and give us your fortress.”* The infidels said: *“Behead him, cook his flesh and eat it.”* Finally the tekfur said: *“Take me to Istanbul and sell me there.”* They sent word to Orhan Gâzi: *“Should we sell this tekfur or kill him?”* Orhan Gâzi said: *“Sell him so that the gâzis will have money in their pockets.”* They arrived in İstanbul and gave them the news. The infidels of İstanbul said: *“We neither sell men nor buy them.”* They sent the soldiers who were already gathered. They attacked the infidels suddenly and annihilated them. A lot of people died.

In short, the İznikmid tekfur bought the Samandıra tekfur. Akca Koca came and made Samandıra his fortress. He started fighting İstanbul and Aydos tekfurs all the time. Akca Koca and gâzis were on the horseback all the time. Therefore the İstanbul tekfur always had war. That's why they wanted to expel the Turks from Aydos fortress. Akca Koca had secured the villages in the vicinities.

Chapter 26

Describes the way the Aydos fortress was conquered

Its [Aydos] tekfur had a daughter. One night she saw Prophet Muhammed –*peace be upon him*- in her dream. This girl sees herself in a pit. A beautiful and charming person comes and takes her out of the pit. He takes off her clothes and throws them away. He washes her body and [46] dresses her with silk clothes. She wakes up with fear. She finds the dream strange. Yet the person she saw in her dream fascinates her. His image haunts her eye and her soul day and night.

Verse

**The eye of her soul saw that lover
She gave her existence to that lover**

**Only that lover was left in the city of the heart
The thoughts were distracted and wisdom was on the wind**

**O saints! Don't be astonished at her
She didn't see him, only the eye of her soul did**

**Âşıkî [says] there are two meanings given to love
One is seen from outside and one is about the lover**

Since she saw that dream, she said to herself: “*What happened to me? He took me out of this pit and dressed me with different clothes. He also took me away. It seems that my condition is going to change.*” While she was walking thinking about this situation constantly, Turks arrived unexpectedly and attacked this fortress. The ones in the fortress also started fighting. This girl said: “*I should also go and fight.*” She looked outside from the tower. She instantly saw that the saint she saw in her dream is the chief of that army.

The girl said: “*Hey! Now I understand the situation.*” At once she arrived home. She wrote a letter in Greek and expressed what she saw in her dream. In addition she said that: “*Now leave the fortress.*” She determined a night and said: “*Send some of the people whom you have faith in. Come on such and such night. I will let you conquer the fortress.*” She folded the letter and stuck it to a stone. It seemed as if she was fighting. She threw the stone. The stone fell in front of Gâzi Rahman. Gâzi Rahman saw that a letter was attached to the stone. He took it and delivered it to Akca Koca instantly.

They found somebody who spoke Greek. They found out what is written in the letter and believed it. Akca Koca said: “*Gâzis! Whoever will put his heart to this purpose;*

[47] *he will sacrifice his head in the path of God. And I will also be with him.*” He came forward. Gâzi Rahman said: *“I am ready.”* Konur Alp said: *“We should do another thing.”* They asked: *“What is that?”* He said: *“Let’s burn the fortress we are sitting on.”* They accepted. They set Samandira on fire at once and went away themselves. The infidels of Aydos fortress became extremely happy. They started to live in luxury and comfort.

On this side the time the girl determined arrived. That night Gâzi Rahman arrived in the place the girl told them with many gâzis. The girl herself was expecting them in the predetermined place. Since she saw Gâzi Rahman, she quickly fastened a rope to her body and hung it down. Their leader Gâzi Rahman held the rope easily. He climbed the rope like a spider and reached the fortress in the twinkling of an eye. He met the girl and they went to the gate of the fortress. Gazi Rahman killed the gatekeeper. They opened the gate and let the gâzis who came together with them in. They went straight to the tekfur’s palace. The tekfur had a cheerful night and he was sleeping drunk. They killed that filthy weak guy. Akca Koca arrived with the gâzis in the morning. They conquered the fortress.

Verse

**See that soldiers burnt down Samandira
See what these soldiers did**

**They shed blood and risked their heads
See these gâzis who become chiefs**

**They came to the world and left the world true
See these true [people] who are straight like an arrow**

**The arrow will wound wherever it goes
See the chief who uses that arrow and the bow**

**What makes that person shoot the arrow is the zeal inside him
See the object of honors that person has [48]**

Chapter 27

Describes what they did to the tekfur and his daughter

When the fortress was conquered by the grace of God, they gave the tekfur together with his daughter to Gâzi Rahman, to deliver them to Orhan Gâzi. Gâzi Rahman arrived and found Orhan in Yenişehir. He told him the news. He delivered the tekfur, his

daughter and their property to Orhan Gâzi. Orhan Gâzi gave the girl to Gâzi Rahman. He also gave him some of the property that he brought.

At the present time there is a person called Karaca Rahman who descends from Gâzi Rahman. He did many things for İstanbul. When kids cried in İstanbul during his time, their parents frightened them in this way: “*Don’t cry! Karaca Rahman is coming.*” O saints! I swear that I have written this *menaqib* myself, and I have written it because I know all of these stories. Don’t think that this is idle talk.

Verse

**When this life reached eighty six years
And Bayezid Han reached Boğdan**

**The banners were opened and big drums were played
When he went away with good fortune**

**The attack of his state was felt everywhere
When he marched out of Istanbul**

**I have taken out a notebook to write down the *menaqib*
I have mentioned whatever I have seen**

**On the friday that he set out for holy war
Seven sermons were read in the name of the eighth Han Bayezid**

**I have held the pencil to write down the heroic deeds
Listen to what Âşıkî says [49]**

Chapter 28

Describes what the gâzis are busy with on this side

Orhan Gâzi’s mother died. And his grandfather Ede Balı died one month before his daughter. They buried both of them in Bilecük fortress. Osman Gâzi died three months later. But Osman Gâzi died in Söğüt. They preserved his body. Orhan Gâzi was in Bursa at that time. He received the news. He mounted on the horse and arrived at once. He fulfilled his father’s last will and sent his corpse to Bursa. He buried Osman Gâzi under the dome (Gümüşlü Kubbe) he asked for. Osman Gâzi buried his father in law (Ede Balı) and his wife Malhun with his own hands.

Verse

**They went to a journey
They were alone and wore different clothes**

**They were on an eight legged horse
There is a guard in front of them who says**

*“They are on a long journey they won’t return soon
Years, days and nights will pass”*

**This is your destination, you will see where it ends
They died before Aşıkî [50]**

Chapter 29

[ORHAN GÂZİ]

Describes what Orhan Gâzi did after Osman Gâzi died

When Orhan Gâzi knew that his father left the world and moved to the eternal palace, he met with his brother Alâaddin Paşa and they did what was needed to be done. At that time there was Ahi Hasan, who had a dervish lodge in Bursa fortress near Beğ Sarayı. All the saints of that time congregated. They inspected whether Osman had properties or not to give it to these two brothers. There are the conquered provinces but there is no akçe (asper) or gold. Osman Gâzi had a new robe of honor, a flank armor, a saltcellar, a spoon rack, a kind of high boot, several quality horses and some flocks of sheep. The sheeps walking around Bursa at this time descend from those sheeps. In addition he had several wild mares in Sultanönü. And he had a number of saddles. These things mentioned are all that he had.

Orhan Gâzi asked his brother: “*What are you going to say?*”

His brother Alâaddin Paşa said: “*This country belongs to God. It needs a ruler to heard it. He should supervise the condition of this country and manage it successfully. He should also have the necessary means to be the ruler. These horses [51] and sheep should belong to the ruler for the feast. Now we can distribute what we have as inheritance.*”

Orhan Gâzi told his brother Alâaddin Paşa: “*Come now and be that shepherd.*”

Alâaddin Paşa said: “*Brother! Our father’s prayer and favor is with you. That is why he gave these soldiers to you as companion when he was alive. You should be the shepherd therefore.*” The saints who were gathered there decided that what he said is reasonable and accepted it.

Orhan Gâzi turned and said: “*Be my general now.*” Alâaddin Paşa didn’t accept it. He said: “*There is a village in Kite plain called Fodura, give that to me.*” Orhan accepted this. He gave that village to him. Alâaddin Paşa built a dervish lodge in Kükürtlü. And he built a small mosque in Bursa close to the entrance of the hot spring. He built another small mosque in the fortress. He settled there. Some of his descendants have been in the same place until today.

Verse

**Things improved when they unified
They enjoyed themselves in many summer and winter**

**They strove to establish the order of Islam
They shed blood and chopped off heads**

**They wounded many people and were also wounded themselves
Many say “*Where are our brothers?*”**

**They neither sold the captives nor bought them
They didn’t fight for acquiring slaves**

Also by him

**The world is a transitory place
Whatever you do will be demolished**

**The shape of the comers won’t stay the same
The sun which rises will descend at night**

**Don’t get stuck under the shadow of this shape
It plays with you to win the game**

**O brother! The things that you do
Will take you either to hell or to heaven**

**Be exempt from both of them and turn your face to God
Everything is created to worship God [52]**

Also by him

**Orhan took his brother’s advice
He had the blessings of his comrades**

**He also received the blessings of all saints
Orhan asked for all of their blessings**

**It is the legacy of the Ottoman Dynasty to receive the blessings
They are exempt from people’s earthly desires**

**Âşık Paşa prayed for Orhan
Together with all the descendants of Gök Alp**

Chapter 30

Describes what Orhan Gâzi did after he became the ruler

He strengthened the village which he granted to his brother. Meanwhile, Akca Koca left the world and moved to the eternal palace. His grave is on a mountain in Kandıra district. Thereafter Konur Alp died too. Orhan Gâzi bestowed the banner of that district

upon his son Süleyman Paşa. He bestowed the banner of İnönü upon his son Murad Han Gâzi, who was his younger son.

Orhan Gâzi arrived at İznikimid with his own army. He told Gâzi Rahman all the matters regarding the conquest of İznikimid.

They marched from Bursa to Yenişehir as soon as the troops are gathered. They went down to Geyve and found his son Süleyman Paşa in Ap Suyu, next to Ayan Gölü. The gâzis in Aydos came and met Orhan. They assembled and marched to İznikimid. The ruler of the fortress was a lady. She had a relationship with the tekfur of Istanbul. She was called Yalakonya and she was the owner of Yalak Ovası. The fortress in the stream belonged to her. She had a brother called Kalayon. The fortress on the hill above belonged to him. Turks call it Koyunhisarı at the present time. [53] Turks marched on their fortress. An arrow shot Yalakonya's breast during the fight. She died silently.

Orhan Gâzi arrived at İznikimid. The lady who was the ruler of the fortress said: *"I won't fight with these Turks. If they kill somebody among us, that person would be gone and of no use to the ones who are left. And if we kill somebody among them there will be a vendetta and we would have to fight until the end of time."*

This lady had a useful servant. She sent him and he said: *"Let's make an agreement, you don't harm us and we hand over the fortress to you."* Orhan Gâzi accepted this and said: *"That lady should take whatever she has and hand over the fortress to me."* The lady sent news: *"I will go out at night, but protect me from the Turks."* They did what she wanted. And they allowed the infidels to decide whether to stay or to leave. They brought ships to the port and loaded their goods. Orhan Gâzi said: *"Be careful not to take even the smallest belonging of these infidels so that we won't betray our promise."* They carried out the agreement as promised. Thereafter Orhan Gâzi entered the fortress. And all of the gâzis of Aydos came to İznikimid and settled there.

Orhan Gâzi brought his son Süleyman Paşa to İznikimid. He turned churches into mescids (small prayerhouses). And he turned one church into a medrese (Muslim theological school). That medrese still exists at the present time. There was a brave man called Kara Mürsel. They granted that place to him and allocated the province as fiefs. They placed soldiers holding fiefs along the border to prevent those who left İstanbul from attacking the province. They also allocated Yalak Ova as fief. [54] They gathered the gâzis who are with Akca Koca in this province. They granted Eremen Bazarı to Yahşilü. They granted the province of Kandıra to Akbaş. Their descendants live there at the present time. Fazlullah Kadı, who is a descendant of Akca Koca, has a dervish lodge in Gegibüze. I (this humble one) explained the truth about the conquest of the provinces of Koca-ili, Akyazı, Konrapa and Bolu.

Verse

**Many came to this world and left it
He falsely alleged “It’s mine”**

**He was completely forgotten including his name
Another liar took his place**

**Beware not to claim “It’s mine”
The proud one repented ultimately**

Chapter 31

**Describes what Orhan *Gâzi* wore and the things he introduced, which didn’t exist
during his father’s reign**

Verse

**Making established order in the world
Do you know why they established the order**

**Either they or others will benefit from it
They establish the order with this intention**

**Whatever you establish will remain in this world
Where are the ones who established it?**

Ali Paşa told his brother Orhan *Gâzi*: “*Han! Thank God I have seen your rule. Someday your army will increase from day to day. You have put a sign on your soldiers which other soldiers don’t have.*”

Orhan *Gâzi* said: “*Brother! I will accept whatever you say.*” His brother said: “*The rulers in the surroundings wear red cap. Your slaves should wear white cap.*” They wore white caps in Bilecük. Orhan *Gâzi* wore it. All of his subjects also wore it. Thereafter, Orhan *Gâzi* decided to increase the number of the soldiers from that province. [55]

His brother said: “*Ask kadı’s (governor of a kaza) advice about it.*”

Çandırılı Karaca Halil was the *kadı* (religious judge) of Bilecük at that time. Osman *Gâzi* granted him the rank of *kadı*. He became the *kadı* of Bursa after İznik. He became *kadı-asker* (a.k.a. *kazasker*, chief military judge) during the reign of *Gâzi Hünkar*, son of Orhan. He also became *vizier* and *beğlerbeği* (governor-general). And the remaining details will be mentioned in the following sections, *if God wills*.

He descended from Ede Balı and Orhan consulted him. He said: “*Recruit foot soldiers from the provinces.*” At that time many men bribed the kadi and said: “*Add me to the list of foot soldiers.*” And they were dressed with white caps.

Question: Why is it called puppy foot soldier?

Answer: Enroute to a campaign during the reign of Sultan Murad Han, who is the son of Sultan Mehmed, a foot soldier stole a puppy. The owner of the puppy found the puppy. He told the foot soldier: “*How can you steal the puppy, are you the one who gave birth to it?*” and cursed him: “*Oh puppy foot soldier!*” There was a lot of fighting afterwards. People call him puppy foot soldier because of this. He was so called after stealing the dog.

The Turban with thick coils was introduced at the time of Orhan. They reproached the notables who come to the Council of State without turbans with thick coils as: “*You have come to the Council of State, where is your turban?*”

Verse

**The world looks different in every instant
The dreamer is happy with that difference**

**He thinks that it is the purpose
He either opens the veil or wraps himself up completely**

**Permission and respect are like this in the world
Some of them attack like dogs and some of them protect themselves [56]**

They wore turban with thick coils in the council of state. When they went on a campaign they wore caps. And they wore *şevkele* under the cap.

Question: What is *şevkele*?

Answer: *Şevkele* is a *takke* (skullcap), the front part of which is short and the rear part is long. It is covered with leather inside. There are a lot of bizarre things in the Ottoman Dynasty. I have shortened it. At that time it was necessary to do so. Now the customs have brought this. Previously, there were expert combs and respectable beards. When the ruler became angry with somebody, they shaved his beard and mounted him on a donkey. At the present time it has become the custom to mount on a donkey and go around on it. They shave their beards of their own will. This shaving custom is inherited from Europe. Canonically unclean dervishes took it from Europe. At the present time it has particularly become permissible. Women have haircuts and men shave their beards.

Chapter 32

Describes how İznik was conquered

They conquered Karatekin. It was like an attack on İznik. The *gâzis* inside Karatekin fortress kept the gates of İznik shut. The population was extremely distressed by hunger because their villages were allocated to fief soldiers as fief. As the infidels of these villages were not hurt by no means, they didn't supply provisions to the [people inside] fortress. [57] Time to time they even went to war together with the Muslims. They told the people of İznik: "*Come destitute people! Live comfortably like us.*" The people of this city didn't even leave the fortress for fishing. Some infidels inside the fortress informed the *gâzis* that they were distressed by hunger. Turks conquered all the surroundings of that province at that time and those places were disposed by the fief soldiers.

They informed Orhan *Gâzi* about the condition of the infidels. He marched on İznik together with good fortune. The infidels sent a person they trusted to Orhan *Gâzi*: "*Let's make an agreement with us not to kill us. The ones who want to go shall go and the ones who want to stay shall stay. We will hand over the fortress to you.*" Orhan *Gâzi* accepted the offer. They said: "*Generosity is the most preferable form of holy war (gazâ).*" Many people converted to Islam because of this generosity. And they took its tekfur out of İstanbul gate. He left with his subjects. Most of the population and the cavalry soldiers didn't leave. Orhan *Gâzi* assigned soldiers beside the tekfur to take him to the ship. He went wherever he wished to go.

The Tekfur left through the gate. On the other side Orhan *Gâzi* entered from Yenişehir gate. There is a garden inside the gate called Abkulos, which is a very beautiful place. They took Orhan *Gâzi* straight to there. The infidels of this city welcomed him with the crowd. It was as if their ruler died and his son was replacing him. Many women came too. Orhan *Gâzi* asked: "*Where are their men?*" They said: "*They are dead, some because of war and some because of hunger.*" And there were many beautiful ones among them. Orhan *Gâzi* ordered the *gâzis*: "*Take these widows as your lawful wife according to God's will.*" [58] And they did so. The city had tall and prosperous houses. These were bestowed upon the *gâzis* who had married. Both the women and the houses were ready, who wouldn't accept such a deal?

Verse

**Beloved Greek women walked elegantly
The *Gâzis*' heart burnt like candles**

**When they entered the garden
The *Gâzis* said that these are angels**

**Rosy cheeks and ruby lips
Those silver legs and that excellent chin**

**Friends, girls with the light of angels arrived
The hearts and spirits who saw it became slaves**

**Since they move like the cypress on meadow
The hearts follow its shadow**

**The shadow of her dream took my soul and my heart
Her lovelock perfumed with ambergris drove me mad**

**Girls with dimples flash glances
Both young and old people sacrifice themselves after this**

**These musky girls make their brains drunk
These Greek girls hunt their minds**

**They act coyly to us and sing in Greek
You would think that they play the reed flute and other instruments**

**When the *gâzis* saw them like that
Orhan *Gâzi* married them to the *gâzis***

**Together with houses and cash
Which allowed *gâzis* to create friendships**

This conquest occurred in the year seven hundred thirty one [October 15, 1330 – October 3, 1331] according to the Muslim calendar, by the hands of Orhan *Gâzi*.

Chapter 33

Describes what Orhan *Gâzi* did in İznik and with whom he had conversation

He converted a big church to a Friday Mosque. And he converted a monastery to a medrese (Muslim theological school). He built a soup kitchen outside the Yenişehir gate. [59] He had a saint called Hacı Hasan beside him, who is the disciple of his grandfather Ede Balı. He appointed him as the sheikh. His descendants have the sheikhdom until now. The door of the soup kitchen was opened and the food was cooked. On the first night Orhan *Gâzi* distributed the food with his own auspicious hands. He also lit the candles on the first night. And he appointed Mevlânâ Dâvud-ı Kayserî to the medrese. Thereafter he appointed Tâcüddin-i Kürd, who was the disciple of Sirâcüddin-i Urmevi in Konya. Kara Hoca was appointed to the office of preacher. And Orhan was seated on the throne in İznik for a long time.

Verse

**The sermon of Orhan Gâzi was read
Osman, the son of Ertuğrul, generation of gâzis (champion of Islam)**

**They became the rose on the sky of Islam
When Orhan Gâzi rose like a sun**

**He wore white cap for holy war
Orhan Gâzi's face is white and his deeds are good**

**Whatever Orhan Gâzi wears will look good on him
Orhan Gâzi lived at the time of Âşık Paşa**

Chapter 34

**Describes what Orhan Gâzi was busy with after the conquest of İznik and to whom
he allocated the fiefs**

He granted İznikimid to his son Süleyman Paşa. He sent him to Yenice and Göynük and Mudurnu. He granted his other son, Murad Han Gâzi the province of Bursa. He named it Beğ Sancağı. He granted Karacahisar to his cousin Gündüz. Orhan Gâzi himself controlled all the provinces. He sent his son Süleyman Paşa to Tarakçı Yenicesi. All of those provinces heard about the justice of Orhan Gâzi. They treated every province they conquered with justice and equity. Even those provinces which were not conquered were aware of how they acted.

Süleyman Paşa arrived at Tarakçı Yenicesi. They handed over the fortress by agreement and asked for quarter. Göynük and Mudurnu were conquered in the same way. Süleyman Paşa treated with such a justice and equity that those provinces' population said: "*It would be much better if they ruled us heretofore.*" [60] And many villages converted to Islam after seeing these Turkish people. All the properties in that province are possessed according to the will of Süleyman Paşa.

Chapter 35

Describes why Orhan Gâzi conquered Karasi province

Karasioğlu Iclan Beğ died at that time. He had a son named Tursun Beğ, who came together with Orhan. His other son was beside his father. The people of the province didn't want the son who was beside his father. They sent message to the son who was beside Orhan. Karasioğlu had a vizier who was called Hacı İlbeği. News came from him and the notables of the province. The son beside Orhan Gâzi said: "*Han! Let's march on*

the province. Balıkesri, Bergama, Edremid and its surroundings shall be yours. Give me Kızılca Tuzla and Mahrem as alms.”

Orhan Gâzi conquered Ulubat and left its tekfur in his place. He marched straight from the head of the lake and conquered Bilüyüz and Ablayund. Then he marched on Kirmasti. The ruler of that fortress was a lady. She was called Kalemastorya in Greek. And she had a brother called Mihalic. Orhan Gâzi marched on that province. This lady welcomed him with her brother. They brought many gifts. Orhan Gâzi left them in their places. They held the Ulubat tekfur because he didn't keep his promise. They didn't give him quarter and killed him at that moment. [61]

Verse

**The Wise God made an agreement with the mankind
My words are also with the people**

**He said that if you obey me you will go to heaven
Don't walk with devilish lies**

**O my friend! God's promise is the agreement
Made with angels and animals and humans**

**Know from whom people learnt to make an agreement
This is the way to make an agreement with the people**

Chapter 36

Describes what Orhan Gâzi did in Karasi province

When they arrived at Balıkesri, the son there escaped and took refuge in Bergama fortress. They marched on him. The brother who was beside Orhan Gâzi went to talk to his brother who was in the fortress. They shot him with arrow when he was unguarded. He fell and died. Orhan Gâzi was hurt by the fact that they did this in such a free and easy way. Orhan Gâzi called them and ordered that: “*Know that from now on this province will be ruled by Orhan Gâzi safely.*” And the people of this province were obedient. The notables of the province came and they decided on the distribution of the fiefs.

This conquest occurred in the year seven hundred thirty five [September 1, 1334 – August 20, 1335] according to the Muslim calendar, by the hands of Orhan Gâzi.

Verse

**The precaution of Karasi was put forward
Its account book was written and Orhan held it**

**Karasi threw away the power of this circle
Because Orhan played the king and checkmated them.**

**Trench was left to the elephant in the world
Death mounted on the horse and threw its lasso**

**The account book of Karasi was rolled up and burnt
Gâzi had the new book written [62]**

Chapter 37

**Describes how Orhan Gâzi conquered this province, to whom he granted the fiefs
and what happened to that son in the fortress**

God Almighty granted Orhan Gâzi the right of minting coins and of mention in the sermon in Karasi province and he became its ruler. Karasioğlu got out of Bergama fortress by agreement. They sent him to Bursa. He lived two years more. Finally he was stricken by the plague and died. Orhan Gâzi called his older son Süleyman Paşa. He granted him the Karasi province as a fief. He returned to Bursa as ruler.

Verse

**Fate showed yet another manifestation
This made mankind beautiful**

**The light of happiness manifested
The pencils wrote good news on the page**

**Karasi province was filled with saints
You would think they are Cüneyd or ibn-i Edhem**

Chapter 38

Describes what Süleyman Paşa did in this province

First let's see what Orhan Gâzi does in Bursa. He arrived with prosperity and built a dervish lodge. And he started inspecting the dervishes of that province. Many dervishes settled in Keşiş Dağı which is in the Eynegöl neighborhood. There was a certain dervish among them. He used to leave other dervishes and walk with deers in the mountains. Turkut Alp always had friendly conversations with him. [63]

Turkut Alp was old at that time. When he heard that Orhan inspected the dervishes, he sent a message to Orhan Gâzi: *"Many dervishes settled next to my villages. There is a dervish among them. From time to time he goes up to the mountains and wanders with his deers. He is a sacred person."* Orhan Gâzi said: *"Whose disciple is he? Go and ask him."* They arrived and asked. Dervish said: *"I am the disciple of Baba İlyas. I am a member of Seyyid Ebulvefa order."*

They told what he said to Orhan Gâzi. He ordered: *"Go and bring the dervish."* They went and invited him. He didn't come. The Dervish sent word: *"That ruler should not come."* They arrived and informed Orhan Gâzi. Orhan Gâzi sent men again: *"Why doesn't he come and why doesn't he accept me?"* The Dervish answered: *"These dervishes have eyes and they watch around. They arrive on the right time so that their prayers can be accepted."*

After many days he cut off a poplar tree. He got it on his shoulder and came straight to the Bursa fortress. He arrived at the ruler's palace. He began planting this poplar tree inside the Havlı gate. They entered and notified the han: *"That dervish arrived. He brought a poplar tree. He plants it inside the gate."* Orhan got out. He saw that the tree was planted. He told the han before he asked: *"You have our blessing. Dervishes' prayers are with you and your lineage."* He prayed at the same moment. He didn't stay and returned to his dwelling. That poplar tree still exists. It has grown a lot inside the palace gate. And every new ruler removes the dead parts of that tree. [64]

Thereafter Orhan Gâzi arrived at that dervish's dwelling. He told the dervish: *"This Eynegöl neighborhood should be yours."* Dervish said: *"This land and property belongs to God. He bestows it upon the ones who are versed in it. We are not versed in it."* They asked: *"Then who are these able people?"* Dervish said: *"God Almighty bestowed earthly property upon hans like you. He granted commodity to people qualified in transactions so that his subjects fulfil their needs. And the ones like us earn their bread in every new day."* Orhan said: *"Dervish please accept my offer."* The Dervish said: *"The place near the small hill on the opposite of us should be the courtyard of the dervishes."* Orhan Gâzi accepted this. He received the dervish's blessing and returned.

Verse

**My hope is having the blessing of the ones who are versed in praying
Prayer is what God orders us to do**

**Many breaths are effective in the world
These are the prayers of the saints and the prophets**

**God said “*If you wish I will accept it.*”
My heart hoped for this word from that cry**

Orhan Gâzi built a dome for that dervish. And he built a dervish lodge and a mosque beside it. At the present time its congregation pray for the rulers five times a day and mention them. And the dervish lodge is called Geyik Baba Zâviyesi.

Chapter 39

**Describes what Süleyman Paşa did in Karasi province and with whom he had
conversation**

One day, when Süleyman Paşa was making an excursion in the province, he arrived at Temâşâlıg in Aydınçuk. He saw strange buildings in Temâşâlıg. He observed it for a while. And he didn't tell anything to anybody. There was a brave man called Ece Beğ. [65] He was mentioned as a fearless person. He said: “*Han! What is it that you are thinking about.*” Süleyman Paşa said: “*I am thinking of crossing this sea. I should cross it in such a way that the infidels wouldn't be aware of it.*” Ece Beğ and Gâzi Fâzıl said: “*The two of us can cross if our han orders.*”

Süleyman Paşa said: “*From where will you cross?*” They said: “*There are some places here which are close enough to cross.*” They rode and arrived at the place called Virancahisar. It is below Görece, across from Cimbi which is next to the sea. Ece Beğ and Gâzi Fâzıl quickly built a raft. They boarded and landed on the vicinity of Cimbi fortress at night. They captured an infidel while they were walking in its vineyards. They put him in the raft. They brought him to Süleyman Paşa in the morning. Süleyman Paşa rewarded this infidel with robe and made him rich. He told this infidel: “*Is there a place to enter your fortress in such a way that the infidels wouldn't hear and see us when we get inside?*” This infidel said: “*I will take you to the fortress and let you in without anybody seeing you.*”

Meanwhile, they built several more rafts. Süleyman Paşa took seventy or eighty distinguished gâzis with him. They boarded the raft and crossed to the other shore at

night. This infidel took them straight to the manure pit of Cimbi fortress. These Muslims got in the fortress at once. The majority of the infidels of the fortress were in provincial vineyards and threshing fields since it was the time of harvest. [66]

In short, they conquered the fortress but they didn't hurt the infidels. On the contrary they showed generosity to the infidels. Yet they captured several certain infidels among them. There were ships in the port of this fortress. They placed them in those ships and took them to the soldiers across from the fortress. In short, they transferred more than two hundred men that day. Ece Beğ mounted on the horses of the fortress.

There is a place called Akçe Limon near Bolayır. There were a lot of ships in that harbor. He set those ships on fire. He rode back to the fortress. They protected the ships in Cimbi's port. They kept transferring men. As a result, they transferred most of the soldiers to the other side. And they didn't hurt any of these infidels. They showed goodwill to them and they lived securely. They tolerated their women and men. And they placed the seamen among the infidels on the ships. They stayed beside them and transferred many men. More than two thousand men gathered.

In short, the infidels of this Cimbi fortress allied with these gâzis. They marched. One night they conquered the fortress called Ayaşolonya. Thus, it became the second fortress of the Muslims. They displayed goodwill to the population of this fortress too. And they strengthened both of these fortresses. And many men came from Aydınçık with ships.

Süleyman Paşa said: *“Take the cavalry infidels' families out of these fortresses, send them to Karasi province so that they can not do any harm.”* They did as he wished. They strengthened these fortresses for one or two months. And they constantly brought people from everywhere who wanted to come.

One day the infidels of Gelibolu gathered to march on them. The gâzis met them. There was a firm fight. The Gâzis annihilated the infidels. They closed the gate of the fortress. They assigned Gâzi Fâzıl to Ya'kub Ece as companion and sent them to Gelibolu. They harassed the infidels of Gelibolu day and night. They didn't even allow their ships to arrive at the port. And many useful gâzis were given to these two gâzis as companion. And they were placed in Gelibolu border. They settled in Bolayır. [67]

Verse

**Gâzis passed to the infidel land easily
They made many infidel palaces empty**

**When Süleyman crossed to Rum-ili
Sweet fruit drinks started to pour from the kettle of the gâzis**

**They acquired much silver and gold
Depression was gone and everybody became bewildered**

This conquest occurred in the year seven hundred fifty eight [December 25, 1356 – December 13, 1357] according to the Muslim calendar.

Chapter 40

Describes the measures Süleyman Paşa took when he crossed to Rum-ili, what he was busy with and what he was thinking

He sent message to his father Orhan Gâzi: “*Rum-ili is conquered thanks to the favor shown by my glorious han. The infidels are very weak. Now it should be known that we need many Muslims to flourish the fortresses and provinces on this side. We should place them in the fortresses we conquered. And send us capable gâzi comrades.*”

Orhan Gâzi was pleased with the news. Many nomadic Arab households arrived at this Karasi province. They drove them to Rum-ili at once. They settled in the neighborhood of Gelibolu for a while.

Süleyman Paşa marched and reached the edge of Tekür Dağı. He conquered some of the fortresses by dissimulation and some by looting. He chose Od Gönlek fortress as the frontier (*uc*) base of operations. They marched on Hayrabolu province. Meanwhile, the population of Karasi province kept coming from day to day. The ones who came settled and were busy with gâza (holy war?). In short, Muslims were supported by the favor of God Almighty. Wherever they marched and persevered, the infidels weren't able to stay in front of them (struggle with them?). [68]

Verse

**Süleyman came to the world, Süleyman
He won't let the infidel devils survive**

**He caused a tumult in the infidel lands
Today is the time of the Turks**

**To escape from Süleyman, this devil
must come to Süleyman and convert to the true faith (Islam)**

**Or he will spend his life in prison
His diabolism is what is left to him**

Chapter 41

Describes how they conquered Konurhisari

The tekfur of Konurhisari was called Kalakonya. He was a very brave infidel. He didn't get off the horse after Turks crossed to Rum-ili. And on this side Ya'kub Ece was besieging Gelibolu. Those infidels kept tempting the gâzis. From time to time they even captured them.

One day, Süleyman Paşa cautioned the gâzis. There were some capable Christian spies (martaloz). They searched this infidel who got out of the fortress. His intent was to capture men from the vicinity of Gelibolu. They notified Süleyman Paşa. They surrounded the fortress of the infidel to catch him unawares in case he escaped to his fortress and laid ambushes in many places. This infidel captured a Turk and began to return to his fortress.

Gâzi Fâzıl pursued this infidel on this side. The infidel ran away to enter the fortress and got caught. There were many infidels beside him, the gâzis killed them. They brought the tekfur opposite the fortress. The tekfur didn't have anybody left to defend the fortress. The people of the fortress handed over the fortress to Süleyman Paşa. [69] They showed no mercy to the tekfur and beheaded him. They sent the ruler those things which would be of use to him. And they allocated to the gâzis the things that they deserved. They placed İlbeği in the fortress.

On this side, the Gelibolu tekfur saw that Turks were conquering everywhere in the surrounding area. He handed over [his fortress] by agreement. The conquest of the aforementioned places was completed in one year. They granted that province to Ya'kub Ece together with Gâzi Fâzıl as a fief. That province became the abode of Islam. At the present time Gâzi Fâzıl is buried in the vicinity of Eceovası. The place of his tomb is known. Ya'kub Ece's tomb is also in the same place, *God knows what is true.*

Verse

**He who opens the gates opened the gate
Fazıl and Ece became his gates**

**Rum became the palace and the treasure
Now Süleyman needs to place the gatekeepers**

Chapter 42

Describes what Gazi Evrenez and Hacı İlbeyi did and also what Süleyman Paşa did

They granted Koğrı to Hacı İlbeyi. They gave Gazi Evrenez as companion to him because he is a capable comrade. They were sent to raid the province of Dimetoka and other provinces. They came to the vicinity of Koğrı. Süleyman Paşa raided Hayrabolu and Çorlu provinces and came back to Gelibolu.

One day, while they were hunting, they shot a beast with arrow. This beast ran away. Süleyman Paşa pursued it. The foot of his horse fell in a hole. The horse fell down. Süleyman Paşa passed away. [70]

And these events occurred in the year seven hundred fifty eight [December 25, 1356 – December 13, 1357] according to the Muslim calendar.

Some people say that: “*Orhan Gâzi died in that year too.*” The truth is that Süleyman Paşa had died two months earlier.

Verse

**The world is an old road to pass
Life passes fast as if it is a wind**

**Don't claim “This country is mine”
Understand that this tongue tells the lie**

**See that there are tears in the beginning and in the end
Ask the cry how it can be gossip**

**Süleyman and Davud [Prophets Solomon and David] passed from this world
Tell how all of what they did are forgotten [71]**

Chapter 43

[MURAD HÜDÂVENDİGÂR]

Describes what Murad Han Gâzi did after his brother passed away

Murad Han marched and set out on a journey to Rum-ili. He came directly to Bursa. He gathered many troops from Karasi province and his own province. Çandırlı Halil was the kadı (governor) of Bilecük, İznik and Bursa at that time. Murad Han knew him well and appointed him as kadiasker (chief military judge). He took along his lala (tutor) Şahin. He gathered many troops and passed through Gelibolu. He marched straight to Banatoz fortress. The infidels didn't fight, they surrendered the fortress. He left the infidels in their places.

Thereafter he marched straight to the Çorlu fortress. The infidels of Çorlu weren't obedient. He gave order for looting. Its infidels fought intensively. Finally, its tekfur was shot in the eye by an arrow. They were defeated. The Gâzis entered the fortress. They gathered many booties and demolished the fortress.

Thereafter they arrived at Misini fortress. Its tekfur met them and brought one of his sons together with him. He also brought the key of the fortress. Sultan Murad Han Gâzi made a night's halt in the fortress. Its tekfur gave him many gifts. [72] The Han granted all of them to the gâzis. Thereafter they arrived at Birgoz. Its infidels fled and left the fortress empty. Gâzis set the fortress on fire and burnt it.

Verse

**The Human mind is astonishing in this world
Some of them are mature and at ease and some are deficient**

**Grace and rage is blended in these people
Getting angry fast is a proof of the ignorant one**

**Whoever is accompanied by the grace of God
Has faith manifested in his heart**

**Hurrying up is not useful for anybody
Patience facilitates the deeds of brave people**

**O brother! Patience and hurry has a time and place
Find the person who is versed in it to stop doubting**

Chapter 44

Describes what Hacı İlbeği and Gâzi Evrenez did

Hacı İlbeği conquered a small fortress near the banks of Meric. He stayed in the fortress during the day; he harassed the infidels of that province at night until the morning. One day, Dimetoka tekfur went out to capture Hacı İlbeği. Hacı İlbeği spied on him. He caught the tekfur unawares and captured him. He marched to the fortress. They came close. They held the tekfur and arrived below the walls of the fortress. They agreed not to kill him and released him with his son and his daughter. They were allowed to go wherever they wanted. They also kept their promise and handed over the fortress. Hacı İlbeği conquered Dimetoka fortress. And on this side, Gâzi Evrenez conquered Keşan fortress and he was besieging İpsala. [73]

Verse

**Gâzis had good luck at that time
They were blessed by the grace of God**

**Know that they turned their steps towards the way of God
Many mountains and rocks were passed**

**They are prosperous both in this world and in eternity
And in every journey God allows the gâzis to make**

**Both for İlbeğ and Gâzi Evranez
The prayers you say are accepted**

Chapter 45

Describes how Murad Han Gâzi entered Edrene

Sultan Murad Gâzi came to Eski from Birgoz. He found that fortress empty too. And he conquered these several fortresses. The infidels of this empty fortress were reunited in Edrene. The Han gave troops to his lala (tutor) Şahin and sent him to Edrene. Lala marched and the infidels confronted them with a huge army. They fought and the infidels were defeated. They ran away and entered Edrene fortress. Gâzis sent a lot of heads to the han. Hacı İlbeği and Gâzi Evrenez came. They went in front of the han and led him to Edrene. The Meric river was overflowing at that time. The Edrene tekfur got on a boat at night and fled downriver to İnöz. The situation was learned in the morning. They opened the gates of the city. It was conquered. They allocated the city's revenues according to the custom.

This conquest occurred in the year seven hundred sixty one [November 23, 1359 – November 10, 1360] according to the Muslim calendar, by the hands of Sultan Murad Han Gâzi, who is the son of Orhan Gâzi Han.

Verse

**Murad Han who did many conquests conquered this place
He became the ruler like his lineage**

**God made this family the helper of the Faith
They shed blood to manifest Islam**

**Know that these rulers are the people of Muhammed (Muslims)
They give life to the countries in ruin**

**The love shown to this dynasty is the source of life
The person who doesn't like this dynasty is a wastrel [74]**

Chapter 46

Describes what Murad Han Gâzi did in Edrene

When the Han was enthroned in Edrene with good fortune, he sent Lala Şahin to raid in the direction of Zağara and Filibe. Evrenez Gâzi arrived at İpsala and conquered it. They became frontier lords (*ucbeys*) in the places they had conquered.

One day a *dânişmend* (learned man) called Kara Rüstem came from Karaman province. Çandurlu Halil was chief military judge (*kadı-asker*) then. He visited him and said: “*Efendi* (Master, Sir)! *Why do you waste all these properties which should belong to the Han?*” The Chief military judge said: “*Which properties do you mean?*” Rüstem said: “*The captives who are captured by the gâzis. One fifth of these belong to the Han according to the will of God. Why aren't they taken?*” The Chief military judge was admitted to an audience with the han. The Han said: “*Do so if it is commanded by God.*” They summoned Kara Rüstem and said: “*Lord! Execute God's command.*” Kara Rüstem settled in Gelibolu. He took twenty five akçe for every captive. This invention is the precaution of two learned men. One of them was Çandurlu Halil and one of them was Karamanlu Kara Rüstem.

And they also told Gâzi Evrenez to: “*Take one fifth of the captives captured during the raids. If there are not five captives take twenty five akçe for every captive.*” Evrenez appointed a judge to enforce this arrangement. Many captives were gathered. They brought them to the Han. Halil Paşa said: “*We should give them to Turks to teach them Turkish, then we should bring them and make them janissaries.*” And it was done so.

The number of janissaries increased from day to day. [75] All of them converted to Islam. Turks benefited from their services for many years. Therafter they brought them to the gate, dressed them with white cap and named them yeniçeri (janissary). Janissaries were founded during his reign.

Verse

**A Janissary is necessary in the gate
So that they keep an eye on the ruler every moment**

**Know that the boys are the property of the ruler
Other soldiers do not exist in his presence**

Chapter 47

Describes that Murad Han Gâzi turned towards Bursa and what he did there

Murad Han appointed Lala [Şahin] as the governor-general of Rum-ili. And he appointed Evrenez as the lord (ucbey) of these frontiers. İlbeği passed away. Therafter the Han marched to Gelibolu. He gave Halil the rank of a paşa (general). Halil became the vizier and they started to call him Hayreddin. They crossed at Gelibolu and arrived at Biga. Murad Han Gâzi said: “*May God Almighty grant this place to us.*” They halted and went to Bursa. They spent the winter in Bursa. Lala conquered Zağara and Eski. Evrenez conquered Gümülcine.

Chapter 48

Describes how Biga was conquered

One day Murad Han Gâzi heard that Serbian infidels gathered troops and they wanted to come to Edrene. The Han summoned troops as soon as he heard this [76] and marched toward Biga. He said: “*O gâzis! We should conquer these infidels, God willing. Afterwards we will attack other infidels.*” The Gâzis agreed to the Han’s words. They sent message to Gelibolu: “*Send us all of the ships you have. The ships of Aydıncuk should also come.*”

In short, many strong ships arrived. They placed soldiers in these ships and marched. They said: “*We will sack them from the land and the sea.*” They attacked and conquered. They killed the boorish infidels and enslaved their women and boys. The Gâzis were flooded with booty. They turned their churches into mosques. And they granted their houses to the Muslims.

This conquest occurred in the year seven hundred sixty six [September 28, 1364 – September 17, 1365] according to the Muslim calendar.

And these people settled there for a long time and lived pleasantly. But one night the infidels attacked Biga suddenly and did many bad things. They demolished Biga. They arrived and rebuilt Biga as it exists today.

Chapter 49

Describes that Serbian infidels arrived at Edrene

Serbian infidels gathered and they marched toward Edirne. Lala Şahin met them with the gâzis who were prepared. Drums were beaten in the darkness of the evening. They shouted “*Allah*” and attacked the infidels. The infidels were resting. They panicked as soon as they heard the drums. Their horses ran away. [77] The infidels killed each other. Most of them fell into the Meric river and drowned. A few infidels were saved. Some of them were killed by gâzis on the road. At the present time that place is called Sırf Sınduğı (Where Serbians were routed). The infidels were perished.

When the Han heard that the infidels were defeated, he returned to Bursa with good fortune. He had his sons circumcised. He built a soup kitchen and a dervish lodge for a dervish called Postîn-pûş. And he built a Friday mosque in Bilecük. He built a mosque for himself in the palace gate of Bursa fortress. And he built a theological school on a soup kitchen in Kapluca, *God knows what is true.*

Chapter 50

Describes how Germiyanoğlu became the father in law of Murad Han Gâzi

Germiyanoğlu realized that he was becoming very old. He summoned his son Ya‘kub Beğ and said: “*Son, if you want to keep controlling this province, ally with the Osmanlis.*” And he also said: “*Marry one of my daughters to his son Bayezid.*” He ordered that İshak Fakîh should be sent as envoy. They sent him. He rode and came to Murad Han Gâzi. He brought quality horses as gifts. Gold and silver were scarce those days. White fabrics were woven in Tonuzlu. They wore them as robes. They sewed robes of honor out of it.

İshak Fakîh arrived. He brought the fabrics of Tonuzlu as gifts. And he said: “*Marry our girl to your son Bayezid Han.* [78] *We are going to give several fortresses with my daughter as trousseau.*” Murad Han Gâzi accepted. Germiyanoğlu gave the fortresses of Kûtâhiyye, Simav, Eğrigöz and Tavşanlı as trousseau to his daughter. They reached an agreement.

Chapter 51

Describes that Murad Han Gâzi held a wedding for his son Yıldırım Han and married him to Germiyoğlu's daughter Sultan Hatun

The arrangements for the wedding were planned perfectly. Thereafter they sent invitations to the rulers of the surrounding provinces; Karamanoğlu, Hamidoğlu, Menteşeoğlu, Saruhanoğlu, İsfendiyar in Kastamonu and the sultan of Egypt. They invited all of the aforementioned. They also invited the sancak beğs (governor of a subdivision of a province) in their own provinces. And they invited Evrenez Gâzi and asked him to come. Thereafter they started the wedding. Envoys from the surrounding provinces arrived with presents for the bride. They brought quality horses, file of animals, camels and many curious gifts. Every comer presented their gift according to the custom and sat with respect to their rank. [79]

The envoy of the sultan of Egypt came. He also presented the gifts he brought. They placed him above all the other envoys. He sat. The permission was granted after all of these [envoys] arrived and sat. His own sancak beğs (governors) came. They presented their gifts according to their ranks. Then Evrenez Gazi's gifts which were presented. First he offered one hundred slaves and one hundred male and female concubines. Ten boys had silver trays with florins filled in them. And the other ten had ten golden trays, filled with jewels. The remaining eighty had silver mugs and ewers filled with sherbet.

In short, none of these slaves were empty-handed. The envoys who came from the surrounding provinces were so amazed at seeing that a servant (*kul*) of this ruler arrived with gifts like these, that they bit their fingers. And let's see what Murad Han Gâzi did. He allocated the slaves and concubines Evrenez brought to the envoys who came from the surrounding provinces. He also gave gold and silver jewelries. And he granted all the quality horses the envoys brought to his servant Evrenez. And he gave back to Evrenez some of the florins that he brought. And he allocated the remaining to the ulema (doctors of Muslim theology) and to the poor. And he didn't take anything for himself. Many people arrived at the wedding penniless and left rich.

Verse

**O brother! Murad Han held this wedding
Dining tables were spread and many foods were distributed**

**Many kinds of food were served for one month
The poor, the rich and the rabble ate them**

**The people wore many honorific robes
The poor, the vagabond and the treacherous were also dressed**

**The cauldron was boiled and many sheeps were cooked
Even the servants started asking for roasted ox meat**

**Much gold and silver was distributed
The stingy and the trickster ones became like masters**

**All of the people were content
Nobody left sad and there wasn't any fighting**

**Âşıkî, That Gâzi Hünkar held such a wedding that
the loaf sugars were distributed all around**

**I have prayed since then until today
O comrade! I will go on praying until death. [80]**

Chapter 52

Describes whom they sent to bring the bride and the people who came from there

On this side they sent the kadı (religious judge) of Bursa, Koca Efendi, who is amongst the holy men, the paşa from the palace servants (Janissary guard) Ak Sunkur Ağa, whose descendants are still in the same position, Temür Han Çavuş, who is the son of Çavuşbaşı Süle Çavuş, and one thousand capable cavalymen who were a part of the palace servants. And they also sent the wife of the governor, Bayezid Han's nurse and Ak Sunkur's wife.

In short, one or two thousand men went to receive the bride. They rode and arrived at Kütâhiyye. Germiyanoglu held the wedding in Kütâhiyye. The father in law and mother in law of the children were treated with respect and they were hosted very well. They also showed respect to the ones who brought them. When things were completed, the girl was commended to the care of Ak Sunkur's wife and Bayezid Han's nurse. Germiyanoglu sent Çaşnigirbaşı Paşacuk Ağa to lead the horse of the bride. And he assigned his wife to help and attend the bride. They placed soldiers in the fortresses which Germiyanoglu had granted to his daughter as her dowry. They took the bride and brought her to Bursa. He asked for Paşacuk Ağa from his father in law. Bayezid didn't let him go and assigned him as his own çaşnigirbaşı (taster to a prince). His son Elvan Beğ became çaşnigirbaşı too. Three sons of Elvan also became çaşnigirbaşıs. Their generation established themselves in the Ottoman palace.

Verse

**The world is the country of sorrow and joy
The world laughed at many rulers**

**Those who come and live happily in the world
Their desires remain as dreams**

**Did the whole world attain its desire?
Most of them didn't reach it**

**The custom is that they cry both when they are born and when they die
Know that this age is arranged so**

**He thinks that he laughs, it is a false dream
Every laugh would end up with depression [81]**

This wedding and the delivery of Kütâhiyye occurred in the year seven hundred eighty three [March 28, 1381 – March 16, 1382] according to the Muslim calendar.

Chapter 53

Describes how Murad Han Gâzi conquered Hamid province

Hamidoğlu's envoy arrived at that wedding. They reached an agreement with him regarding that Hamidoğlu Hüseyin Beğ would sell his province to Murad Han Gâzi. Upon that agreement, Murad Han Gâzi marched to Kütâhiyye. Hamidoğlu understood that he was marching towards him and sent a messenger. He said: "*I am keeping my word. Akşehir and Beğşehir and Seydişehir and Yalavac and Karaağac and Ispartı are sold according to the legal deed.*" Murad Han Gâzi sent his men. He conquered the province he bought. He possessed it. He placed his own slaves in the fortresses. He allocated the surroundings as fief with his own royal warrant.

And this conquest occurred between the years seven hundred eighty three and seven hundred eighty four [March 28, 1381 – March 5, 1383] according to the Muslim calendar.

Chapter 54

Describes that Murad Han Gâzi gathered troops and what he did with them

He marched to Gelibolu with this army. Thereafter he marched to Mıgalkara. Gâzi Evrenez and Lala Şâhin arrived with their Rum-ili army. They gave Evrenez to [Lala] Şâhin as companion. They marched to Fire and conquered it. On this side Murad Han Gâzi came and attacked Çatalca fortress. [82] The infidels submitted to them and started paying tribute. Thereafter he sent a message summoning Şâhin. He arrived and met the ruler. There is a fortress on İncügez called Pulunya. Turks call them Tanrı Yıkduğı (Destroyed by God). Murad Han marched to it. The people of that province ran away and entered this fortress. They fought for many days but weren't able to conquer it. Finally they went away.

Han said: *"It seems God will destroy this."* They camped in the place called Devletlü Kabağaç. Murad Han leaned his back against a huge tree and sat. In an instant his men came one after another and said: *"Han! That fortress is destroyed thanks to the omnipotence of God. It turned upside down."* Han sent Şâhin. He arrived and brought back many valuable goods. He brought golden and silver trays, florins and akçes. They displayed good will to its population and left them in their places. They found many golden and silver helmets. Gâzis put them on their heads. Üsküf (knitted cap with a tassel worn by officers of the Janissaries) was founded at that time. For the tree he leaned his back against, the Han said: *"This tree is Devletlü Kabağaç (Fortunate Huge Tree)."* The tree is named after Han's words. That tree is extant but it has turned into a stump. There is a well beside it.

Verse

**This Holy breath (*nefes*) is the mark of the rulers
This Holy breath allows the Han to command the Council**

**This Holy breath comes out of the mouth
This Holy breath makes the interpreter spread the news**

**This Holy breath is the prayer which comes out of the mouth
This Holy breath is accepted and allow people to attain their desire**

**Many spiritual interpretations are written out of this Holy breath
They are understood from the Holy breath and pronounced afterwards**

**See what this Holy breath of the ruler caused
Contemporaries say it destroys the fortresses**

Chapter 55

Describes what the ruler did when he arrived at Edrene

Murad Han Gâzi ordered his vizier Hayreddin Paşa: “*Go and conquer those provinces with Evrenez.*” Evrenez was sitting in Gümülcine which he had chosen as his frontier base (*uc*). [83] Meanwhile, he conquered Bürü, İsketye and Marulya. He always sent their tribute to the ruler. They raided other places too. They placed Delü Balaban in the vicinity of Sirez. He was sitting over that fortress.

Şâhin arrived at Kavala, Dırama, Zihna, Sirez and took these provinces one by one with agreements. They acted according to the imperial law. They sent the ruler’s share. They granted gâzis what they deserve. Thereafter they marched to Karaferye. It was conquered including all its surrounding settlements. They allocated its provinces to fief soldiers. They imposed a tribute on its infidels. Thereafter they came back to the ruler with good luck. This time they granted Sirez to Evrenez Gâzi as his frontier base (*uc*).

Verse

**Hayreddin Paşa conquered countries
All of those countries were at ease and comfortable**

**He served this Ottoman Dynasty well
Provinces and countries admired his service**

**Since the Paşa is accepted beside the han
He should be accepted by all countries**

**As it is known that Hayreddin is the vizier
Every country was put in order and received gifts**

**These arrangements were executed by Hayreddin
Know that he was accepted by every country**

**Order opens door in many places
Now these countries are put in order**

**The vizier needs to have order and basic principles
So that every country would see the blessing of the true religion**

Chapter 56

Describes how Lala Şâhin died, and they granted the position of beğlerbeği (governor-general) to Kara Temürtaş and what he did

First they sent him to the nomads in Saruhan province. He exiled them to Sirez. Thereafter he marched to Arnavud province and Manasdır. [84] Since he had a large army when he arrived, Manasdır was obedient to him. Tribute was levied on them. Thereafter they came and attacked Selânîk province, as far as Karlı-ili.

And this conquest occurred in the year seven hundred eighty seven [February 12, 1385 – February 1, 1386] according to the Muslim calendar. I shall also describe that [later].

Verse

**This wheel (fate) wants to turn another time
Show us what is going to happen through foresight**

**Swords shall be wielded and blood will be shed
Bayonets shall be lancets in the soldiers**

**Gâzis shall become martyrs and the infidels shall be killed
A useless traitor killed the Han in the battle**

**The luck in the world will turn this time
See what the star is going to do to you**

Chapter 57

Describes how Murad Han Gâzi fought with the Serbian king

First, Laz (Serbian king) sent an envoy to the Han: *“Let us meet in Kösöva. Bring your sons together with you. I have a son. I will bring him with me. Come now, we will either fight or make peace. We will consent to God’s preordaining.”* He sent many gifts to the Han. And he wrote the letter as: *“Han, my brother.”* And he also said: *“Come with the necessary preparations and I will also be prepared to meet you.”* Murad Han Gâzi took his two sons together with him. One of them was Bayezid Han who controlled Kütâhiyye and Hamid ili province. And the other one was Ya’kub Çelebi who controlled Karasi province. Murad Han Gâzi ordered: *“The rulers of all provinces shall gather quality soldiers. They shall prepare and come when ready. [85]*

Verse

**Banners were opened and drums were played
These rulers kept an eye on each other**

**They intended to march for holy war (gazâ)
They kept their words**

**The Gâzis prayed on the horses
The Han prayed to God**

**He told God: “*The religion of Islam is yours
And obedience to God is mine*”**

***And if I am drowned in the sea of rebellion
Favor and grace is yours”***

**He prayed and met the infidels
Two armies took positions against each other**

The infidels marched towards the army of Islam as soon as they saw them. Bayezid Han stood on the right flank. Ya‘kub Çelebi stood on the left flank. Gâzis cried: “*Allahu ekber* (God is most great)” and marched against the infidels. Prayers were offered up and the struggle intensified. Bayezid on the right flank and Ya‘kub Çelebi on the left flank fought well. The Serbian king appeared on Ya‘kub Çelebi’s side. The infidel soldiers of that side were routed.

And on this side an infidel called Miloş Köpile walked up to the Han dragging his spear and his hat in his hand. Gâzis followed him to make sure he did not attack the ruler. That infidel said: “*Go away, I have come to kiss his hand. And I am going to announce the good news. They captured the Serbian king with his son. There they come.*” The Gâzis moved back. When that accursed got close, he stuck the spear into the ruler. They pitched a tent over the Han at once. They placed Bayezid under the banner. [86]

On this side Ya‘kub Çelebi defeated the enemy. They came and told Ya‘kub Çelebi: “*Come, your father asks for you.*” They did to him what had been done to his father as soon as he arrived at the tent. They brought the Serbian king with his son. They killed them too. That night there was distress among the soldiers. In the morning people acknowledged Bayezid Han as the ruler. He came and acceded to the throne. He headed towards Edrene.

And this event occurred in the year seven hundred ninety one [December 31, 1388 – December 19, 1389] according to the Muslim calendar.

Verse

**The world has changed its manner again
Clever people stroll through it for pleasure**

**The breeze blew on the world
Many speakers became dumb**

**See that Âşıkî came to the theater
He is speechless after observing the art**

**The Creator honored his art
Human was the recipient of honor in this society [87]**

Chapter 58

[YILDIRIM BAYEZİD]

Describes what Bayezid Han did after he acceded to the throne

They sent soldiers to Serbian province and they conquered Kıratova mine with its surroundings and all the other mines. They sent Paşa Yiğit Beğ to Üsküb. He is the master of İshak Beğ and he is like a father to him. And they sent Firuz Beğ to Vidin. In short, they controlled most of the Serbian province. Finally they came to Edrene. They sent the corpse of Gâzi Murad Han to Bursa.

Karamanoğlu raided the Hamid province when Bayezid Han was in Rum-ili. They placed Evrenez back in Sirez. He conquered Vodana and Çitroz. On this side Firuz Beğ passed through Vidin and raided Eflak. He acquired a lot of booty. And on this side Paşa Yiğit Beğ was busy with the Bosna province. They brought a lot of captives and money to Bayezid Han who was in Edrene. Thereafter Bayezid Han came to Bursa. He was busy with building pious foundations. He built a mosque. He built a theological school, a hospital and a dervish lodge for Ebû İshâkıyye across from it. He placed Kara Temürtaş in Edrene since he was the beğlerbeği. They sent message to him and he arrived at Bursa. [88]

Verse

**The mines of the Serbian king were conquered
So that a ruler can use it**

**The infidel was ruling over these mines
Now a Han rules over them**

**He is the one who uses the treasures in the path of God
Bayezid Han is the expert of favors**

**Justice and generosity suits the Ottoman Dynasty
That's why God (who possesses everything) favorss this dynasty**

Chapter 59

Describes how Bayezid Han arrived at Alaşehir and conquered it

Alaşehir fortress was between the lands of Islam. Its ruler was an infidel. He feigned friendship with Aydınoğlu and they got along with each other. Bayezid Han said: “*We are going for holy war in Alaşehir*” and he marched. Before reaching the province he summoned people on the road and ordered that: “*They shouldn't take any belongings of*

anybody by force. If somebody doesn't accept this ban, it will be his own responsibility and he will be executed." The infidels closed the gates of the city as soon as the ruler arrived. They started fighting. The Han ordered pillage. The infidels heard it and asked for quarter. It was conquered by agreement. They acted according to the imperial law.

Aydinoğlu submitted to the ruler. They granted him several parts of his province. They placed slaves (janissaries) in his fortresses. Bayezid Han was mentioned in the Friday sermon and coin was minted in his name. Bayezid Han's royal monogram was used in fief warrants. Aydınoğlu was in Ayasuluk, they brought him to Tire. Han granted Ayasuluk to his slave. Aydınoğlu's pious foundations were allowed to remain at his disposal. He consented to staying in that province until he dies. They agreed on it. Bayezid Han marched to Saruhan province. It was conquered in the same way.

After a short time had passed those rulers (begs) died. The Han added Saruhan province to Karasi province and granted both of them to his son Ertuğrul. He granted Aydın province to his son Süleyman. Thereafter he marched to Menteşe province. Menteşeoğlu ran away and went to Temür. [89] Some of the cavalries and governors of his province betrayed him. All of them ranged themselves with Bayezid Han. He once again confirmed the old fief holders in their places.

Question: Did Bayezid Han conquer these provinces by force or by justice?

Answer: He conquered all of them in a friendly way. As the former rulers tyrannized the population, the people welcomed Bayezid Han in every province he entered. Some rulers decided to be obedient to him after seeing the abundant justice he possessed.

And this conquest occurred in the year seven hundred ninety two [December 20, 1389 – December 8, 1390] according to the Muslim calendar.

Verse

**The moving of the people never stopped
Like the gossips of the people**

**These people never stop gossiping
The rulers particularly fight a lot**

**They appropriate the land which eats the human being
This land is like the hungry wolf, it takes away all the power**

**Life mounted on the horse of sleepiness
It will find death in its halting place**

**Âşıkî pray to God so that
Divine perfection reflects upon the Ottoman Dynasty**

Chapter 60

Describes the reason of Bayezid Han's arrival at İstanbul and what he did there

Han passed through Gelibolu with a great army and arrived at Edrene. His intention was to go on a holy war (gazâ) against the province of Hungary. On this side they captured a spy of İstanbul. He had a letter in his hand. He was intending to go to Hungary and inform them that : *“The Turk is marching against you.”* They brought the spy to the Han. The spy told the truth: *“They sent other men before I was sent.”* The Beğlerbeği (governor-general) Kara Temürtaş said: *“O my illustrious ruler! This İstanbul tekfur is a very seditious infidel. It is essential for you to attack İstanbul as soon as possible. Also, why is there an infidel city lying between our provinces? You conquered Alaşehir. You also need to conquer this one.”* The Han accepted his advice. [90]

They arrived at İstanbul and besieged it from the sea and from the land. They set up catapults in many places on the land. They didn't know how to make cannons at that time. [The use of] cannon became abundant during the reign of Sultan Murad and his son Sultan Mehmed Gâzi Han.

In short, they beseiged the fortress of İstanbul. Suddenly the news arrived: *“The Hungarian [ruler] had crossed over the Danube river. He marched straight to Sofya.”* The Han set fire to the catapults. He marched and met the enemy around Alacahisar. When the infidels saw the Muslim army, they divided their forces into two in order to take the Muslim army in the middle. The Muslim army was also divided to two before this. The Han lay in wait in ambush. The Gâzis attacked and marched on the infidels. The infidels who were divided in two wings attacked the gâzis who marched in the middle as soon as they arrived. The Han was ready in ambush. He marched on the infidel army. When the infidels saw that Muslim army had laid an ambush, they got afraid and started fleeing. The gâzis in the forefront of the attack captured the king. By the grace of God, they killed the infidel soldiers in such a way that they got bored of it and took them as captives.

Kara Temürtaş had a son called Umur Beğ. He told me about this holy war (gazâ). He said: *“There were more than two thousand captives taken by our folk.”* In short, there wasn't anybody in Rum-ili and Anatoli who didn't have a captive. Gâzis acquired a lot of booty. The king of Hungary fled with a few infidels. He saved his life. [91]

Verse

**Bayezid Han fought the holy war here
The remaining infidels were scared to death**

Bosnia province and Serbian king were levied tributes

Also know that many gâzis went to Albania

He told the ruler of Wallachia: “Come fast and be my servant.”

He decided to attack İstanbul again

This holy war occurred in the year seven hundred ninety three [December 9, 1390 – November 28, 1391] according to the Muslim calendar, by the hands of Sultan Bayezid.

Chapter 61

Describes what Bayezid Han did when he came to İstanbul again

He gathered a great army. He came and climbed to Yorus through Koca-ili. He sent Yahşi Beğ. He conquered Şili fortress by agreement. The Han passed through Yorus. He built a fortress on top of Boğazkesen. It was called Güzelcehisar. When the fortress was completed, he placed men in the fortress and strengthened it. He sent a message to the İstanbul tekfur: “*Empty the fortress at once and hand it over to me. Otherwise I will march on you.*”

When the tekfur heard this, he sent one hundred fish with an envoy to the Han. They filled the lungs and intestines of the fish with gold and silver. Ali Paşa and the other paşas received them. In return for the fish, the Paşa arrived with chest and pouch, since he is a respectable envoy and he arrived for making peace. They brought the necessary things to make an agreement and keep them quiet. Ali Paşa arrived before the ruler. He conveyed the servile flattery shown by the İstanbul tekfur. [92]

In short, he convinced the ruler. The ruler’s kadı would reside in İstanbul. There would be a [Muslim] quarter and a small mosque. The Tekfur would pay ten thousand florins annually as tribute. The agreement was made on these terms. He exiled the population of Tarakçı Yenicesi fortress and Göynük fortress to İstanbul. He established that quarter and built that small mosque. And he appointed a kadı (religious judge). That kadı was responsible for the transactions between the Muslims. The infidels didn’t rule over the Muslims. When Bayezid Han was imperiled by Temür, the tekfur exiled the inhabitants of that quarter and destroyed the small mosque. At the present time, people who used to live in that quarter live in a village in Tekür Dağı which is called Göynüklü.

And this conquest occurred between the years seven hundred ninety three and seven hundred ninety four [December 9, 1390 – November 16, 1392] according to the Muslim calendar, by the hands of Sultan Bayezid Han.

Verse

**The wheel [of destiny] turns and glances
It makes some people Rüstem and some people Hamza**

**It turns around every hour and embroiders a thousand
It takes their crown from their head and twinkles**

**It makes some people lose their self-control
They fly in the wilderness of the sky**

**Some people set their heart and spirit on this perfection
The owner of perfection tortures them and acts coyly**

**Some people strive for money night and day
Some tear out their hair and shave their beard**

**All humans have one ancestor
So why do their fights last so long?**

Chapter 62

Describes what Bayezid Han was busy with thereafter

He marched and conquered Nigebolu and Silisre. He returned from there and went to the region of Mora. He settled when he arrived at Karafirye and sent raiders (akıncı) all around. [93] They destroyed and conquered many places. Thereafter he built a soup kitchen in Karafirye. Subsequently he arrived at Edrene and built another soup kitchen there.

Verse

**A thousand dreams in the heart investigate the desires
Some of these become true and some are only pronounced**

**Some of these dreams are executed when they are pronounced
Which induces the exile of the clans**

**It takes people out of their provinces and makes them leave their homelands
It makes people sad and feasts turn into lamentation**

Chapter 63

Describes what Bayezid Han did with the Despot

When the Serbian king went away Bayezid Han said: “*This province is mine.*” Vilkoğlu sent an envoy to Bayezid Han with many gifts. And he said: “*May your throne be blessed.*” And he wrote a letter from his mother’s mouth. His mother had a beautiful sister. She was Laz’s (Serbian king) own daughter. They agreed to marry her to Bayezid Han. He said to Bayezid Han: “*Take your servant, she should serve you from now on.*” They said: “*Send the girl.*” They sent her. The girl came and they came together with Bayezid Han. The intention was carried out. Thereafter the girl served according to her custom. She said: “*I wish from the Han to give Semendire as alms to my sister who is your servant.*” The Han accepted. He granted Güğercinlik with it. But he didn’t grant Nigeoburnı. And this agreement was firmly applied; until the time of the Temür peril. [94] Bayezid Han learnt the means of conversation (how to drink) from the Serbian king’s daughter, by the help of Ali Paşa.

Verse

**Wine and kebab gathering was set up
Infidel’s daughter came and bowl was passed**

**Ali Paşa said: “Look at her.”
What kind of a gathering was made throughout this conversation**

**Ali Paşa and the Infidel’s daughter were the reasons of
Bayezid Han’s wine drinking**

**The Ottoman Dynasty didn’t drink until him
Although they performed many interactions with the infidels**

An anecdote from the Ottoman Dynasty:

They are a faithful family. They didn’t do any illegal actions [against Islam]. If the ulemâ declares something as a sin, The Ottoman Dynasty evaded it. There was a kadı in Orhan’s time and there were ulemâ (religious scholars) in Sultan Murad’s time. And they (ulemâ) didn’t do any mischief until Çandırlu Halil’s time. When Çandırlu Halil and Türk Rüstem –who was called Mevlânâ (Master) Rüstem- came, they started cheating. When Halil’s son Ali Paşa became the vizier, the number of the learned men increased.

This Ottoman Dynasty was a [spiritually] strict family. When they [Çandırlu Halil and Türk Rüstem] arrived, they started cheating at fatwas (opinion on legal matter furnished by a mufti on application). They erased the fear of God. In this province nobody

shopped with old money or nobody went to other provinces. These happened during the era of Ali Paşa. This Ali Paşa is a self indulgent person. His trainers were also self indulgent. The mischiefs made by the kadıs were apparent.

Bayezid Han ordered: *“Bring the kadıs.”* They brought many kadıs and put them in a house in Yenişehir. Han said: *“Go and set fire to that house. The kadıs shall burn with it.”* Ali Paşa was bewildered. The Han had a court buffoon called Mashara Arab. Ali Paşa summoned him and said: *“If you save these kadıs I will grant you a lot of properties.”* Mashara Arab rode [his horse] and came to the Han. He said: *“O Han! Send me to İstanbul as an envoy.”* The Han said: *“What are you going to do there you unfortunate?”* Arab said: *“I will go and ask for the monks from the tekfur.”* [95] The Han said: *“What are you going to do with the monks?”* Arab said: *“We should kill the kadıs and monks should be the kadıs.”* The Han said: *“O dog Arab! I would grant the rank of kadı to my subjects instead of the monks.”* Arab said: *“Your subjects are illiterate. Monks took pains for many years and they studied.”* Bayezid Han said: *“O Arab! How will this end.”* The Arab said: *“O Han paşas know their condition.”*

Bayezid Han summoned Ali Paşa. The Han said: *“Ali! Are all of these kadıs educated?”* Ali Paşa said: *“Han, how could an illiterate person become a kadı?”* The Han said: *“Why are they misbehaving if they are educated?”* Ali Paşa said: *“O Han! Their shares are little.”* At the present time the kadıs take twenty akçes out of one thousand as tax. It is the favor of Ali Paşa which allowed the kadıs to have such a large share. They should tolerate the paşas and kadı-askers.

Verse

**While world dominion is in the hands of the rulers
The handle of it is in the hands of the learned men**

**He hangs the ropes of deceit in their hearts
He sets up traps in the roads of the Muslims**

**Especially if he becomes a devout learned man
He will cheat a lot in the lands of these rulers**

In short, Ali Paşa was the reason for the sins of the Ottoman Dynasty, since he brought many Persian learned men who cheated.

Anecdote: When the learned man goes astray, he becomes a dervish. When the dervish goes astray, he becomes a devil.

Chapter 64

Describes what Bayezid Han did with Karamanoğlu

He attacked Hamid province at that time. He came back. The Han arrived at Bursa. [96] The population of Hamid province complained to the Han: “*O Han! We have become enfeebled because of Karamanoğlu. He is tyrannizing us.*” Bayezid Han became enthusiastic and said: “*I will make him act with equity by the grace of God Almighty.*” He gathered a great army at once. They moved around Teke-ili and went to Karaman. All of a sudden, he met Germiyanoğlu Ya‘kub Beğ according to the will of God. He should be obedient as he is Bayezid’s son in law. The Han captured Ya‘kub, his vizier, the ruler of his fortress and the subaşı. He imprisoned two of them in İpsele fortress. [Thereafter] he marched to Karaman. Karamanoğlu ran away and took refuge in Taş.

Bayezid Han arrived at Konya and camped there. They shut the doors of the city. It was the harvest time. Winnowed wheat and barley were heaped in the square of Konya. Troops arrived at the fortress and said: “*Come and sell us wheat and barley, so that we shall feed our horses.*” They sent several men to understand whether they tell the truth or not. Their men arrived and told this to the ruler. The Han sent one or two slaves (kul) and said: “*They shall not torture anybody. The owner of the barley shall sell as much as he wants.*” They sold their barley and got the money in return. The Han assigned men to take them to their fortress. The city’s population opened the gates of the city after seeing their justice. It was conquered. News reached to the surroundings area that: “*The han who arrived possesses great amount of justice.*” When they heard it, men arrived at the Han and said: “*Come and take care of our cities.*” [97] They handed over Aksaray, Niğde, Kayseri and Karahisar of Develü with all of their surroundings.

Karamonoğlu sent an envoy. He said: “*I hope that you forgive me for everything that happened until now.*” They drew the borderline on Çeharşenbe Suyu and left the remaining lands to Karamanoğlu. The Han placed his slaves on this side and returned to Bursa with good luck.

Verse

**Every just ruler is a saint
It is not a shame for the whole world to be his slave**

**Süleyman (prophet Solomon) dominated the world with justice
The ruler who acts with justice is similar to Süleyman**

**Hostility destroys the city of affection
Hostility destroys the flourished country**

**Âşıkî, don’t allow for hostility in your heart
Even the smallest of it would spoil your faith**

Chapter 65

Describes how Bayezid Han arrived at Kastamonu

He marched through Bursa, arrived at Taraklı Borlu and conquered there. Thereafter he arrived at Kastamonu. İsfendiyar fled to Sinob. Thereafter he sent an envoy to Bayezid Han: *“I was hoping that the han would accept me in his service. At least he should give me the place I sit as alms.”* Bayezid Han accepted his request. They drew the borderline under Kivrımlı Yol and granted it to İsfendiyar. The rest of the province was at Bayezid Han’s disposal. He came back to Bursa.

This conquest occurred between the years seven hundred ninety seven and seven hundred ninety eight [October 27, 1394 – October 4, 1396] according to the Muslim calendar, by the hands of Sultan Bayezid. [98]

Verse

**See what this turning wheel causes
It is upside down in Karaman Karataş**

**Bayezid conquered his province and granted it to janisaries
The cavalrymen became idle**

**Silifke was flooded with teardrops
Lungs were drowned in blood because of grief**

**The presence is just a breath
This presence made you weep**

Chapter 66

Describes how Bayezid Han conquered Amâsiyye and Sivaz

Its actual owner handed over Amâsiyye to Bayezid Han. Meanwhile, That scoundrel, Kadı Burhâneddin insulted the ruler of Amâsiyye. Kadı Burhâneddin died when it was under Bayezid Han’s control. His son was little. And he had married his daughter to Dulkadiroğlu Nasrüddin Beğ. They sent Burhâneddin’s son to Nasrüddin. That’s why the notables of the province sent men to Bayezid Han and asked him to come. Bayezid Han rode to Sivaz. The notables of the province greeted him. The imperial law was put into effect. Bayezid Han granted Sivaz to his son Emir Süleyman.

He moved to Erzincan from there. Its ruler Tahraten submitted to him. The Han left him in his own place but sent his wife, his son and his daughter to Bursa. He marched and arrived at Malâtiyye. He conquered Malâtiyye and Derende and Bihisni. In short, he conquered that province. He didn’t stay there and returned to Bursa. He sent Tahraten back to Erzincan and detained his family in Bursa.

Verse

**How can I hope for friendship
From somebody who separates me from my lover**

**I won't be at ease in this world
I am awaiting their arrival by the side of the road in summer and winter**

**My son, my daughter and my wife are separated from me
How can I find pleasure in my actions**

**You are the reason of this division
How could you hope for honesty from me**

**Bayezid don't hope for the friendship of Tahraten
Because he says: "*You separated me from my companion.*" [99]**

Also by him

**The world has never been a single form
The ones who played with the world didn't win the game**

**This wide plain has made many things apparent
The black soil didn't cause as much as it**

**Don't be proud at this gracefulness
There are griefs that you have as yet not experienced**

This conquest occurred in the year seven hundred ninety eight [October 16, 1395 – October 4, 1396] according to the Muslim calendar, *God knows what is true.*

Chapter 67

**Describes how the Sarhan Beğlü arrived at Filibe province
and why he was exiled to that place**

This Sarhan province had a nomadic population. They spent the winter in Menemen plain. There was salt prohibition in that province. They didn't accept this prohibition and told this to Bayezid Han. The ruler sent a message to his son Ertuğrul: "*You shall subdue all of these nomadic settlements and your capable slaves shall exile them to the province of Filibe.*" Ertuğrul carried out the command of his father. He did more than he was asked to do and gathered up these nomadic households. They brought them to the province of Filibe and settled them there. At the present time, they are the people who

are called Sarhan Beğli in Filibe. Paşa Yiğit Beğ was the chief of those people. He arrived with them at that time.

Verse

**It is legal for the rulers to exile people
So that a province can flourish**

**And if people are hurt during the journey
That is the command of God and they can do nothing**

**If they are obedient to the divine dispensation
Good things will fall to their lot**

Question: Bayezid Han conquered Malâtiyye? From whom did he conquer those provinces?

Answer: He conquered Malâtiyye from the Turkoman, and Divrik from the Kurds. And he conquered Behisni from the Turkoman. These were not very old rulers. [100] They got hold of these provinces after Erten and they ruled over them. When Bayezid Han conquered those provinces their rulers ran away to the Arabs. When Bayezid Han was faced with the Temür peril, they came back to their places via the help of the sultan of Egypt. Egyptians are ruling over them since then.

Question: What happened to those who ran away from Anatolia from Bayezid Han?

Answer: Some of them arrived at Temür. Tahraten, Germiyanoğlu, Düzme Aydınoğlu and Menteşeoğlu arrived there together with the envoy of İsfendiyar. All of them arrived with a different appearance (disguise). Germiyanoğlu fled from İpsili fortress with his vizier. He joined an exhibitor of monkeys and bears and arrived at Temür. Menteşeoğlu had his hair and beard shaved and arrived as a dervish. Aydınoğlu arrived as a peddler. The envoy of İsfendiyar and Tahraten arrived with their comrades dressed as servants. They arrived at Temür's court and presented their condition. They also pleaded to Temür and said: "*O royal one! Show us mercy, we are so oppressed.*" The ones who provoked most were Tahraten and Germiyanoğlu, as one of them escaped from prison and the other one was separated from his son, his daughter and his wife. Their words were effective.

Verse

**You didn't just complain and say hurtful words
You also resulted in the death of many**

**You helped the destruction of Temür
Many innocent people left their fatherland**

**They said: “*He acquired incomparable booty
We wish we stopped mourning*”**

***Son, daughter, people and brother left the country
Our people started wearing rags because they cannot find anything else”***

**They forgot their presence
They prayed to God for salvation**

**They said: “*We didn’t commit a sin
Even a single hair of ours was not rebellious to him*”**

***He didn’t let us keep a black coin
Beggars give us food to eat***

***We are in a lot of trouble
And we lost face to tell our situation.” [101]***

Also by him

**A thousand registers appeared again
God’s preordaining was written as the final truth**

**Cruelty and corruption covered the world
Obedient ones started commanding everyone**

**Clean and dirty were mixed and couldn’t be distinguished from each other
Çağatay the dog was ready for eating**

**Stones touched each other and people fled
Oxen were loaded as if they were mules**

**People can’t find even old clothes to take with them
The only thing they found was an old rush mat**

**Since Temür the accursed was haughty
Many gold and silver were called copper**

Answer: Temür replied to the beğs (rulers): “*O beğs! This Yıldırım Han fights on behalf of Islam. You tell me: ‘We are innocent.’ Hans don’t hurt anybody without a reason. And he has a lot of reasons. Firstly, he asked for money from you. Secondly, he said: ‘Come and pay homage to me.’ Thirdly, he said: ‘Give me soldiers when I engage in holy war.’ Now, if you don’t do any of these, custom dictates that they will hurt you. I don’t know whether*”

you lie or tell the truth. If you tell the truth, rulers should not act like that. And if you lie, you aren't worthy of blaming the Han. I should send an envoy and see what that Han will say.

On this side Germiyanoğlu said: *“O Han! Our situation is not free from two things. We are either true or false. If we are true, generosity and favor is yours. If we are false, custom dictates that rulers can conquer the province.”* Afterwards they said: *“According to Germiyanoğlu's word we need an envoy.”* [102] Preparations were made to send the envoy. Temür heard that Sultan Ahmed and Kara Yusuf had escaped from prison in Damascus and arrived at Yıldırım Han's court. Temür decided not to send his envoy until he learned about the condition of these rulers and whether or not they were on the side of Yıldırım Han. [He heard that] they only stayed for a short time and then left. Thereafter Temür sent his envoy.

Question: Why didn't he send the envoy when those rulers were there?

Answer: Temür thought that those rulers would tempt Yıldırım Han to attack him when they arrived. He understood that what he thought didn't happen and sent the envoy at once. The envoy arrived. He gave Yıldırım Han the letter and presented him the gifts. Bayezid Han didn't take notice of either the letter or the gifts. And he wrote a sealed answer. He gave it to Temür's envoy and sent it.

When the envoy left Bayezid Han told his viziers: *“Hurry and get ready, I will march on Temür. I wouldn't allow him to get out of his province.”* The Paşas said: *“Our illustrious ruler! There is no need to cause trouble to our soldiers. We should let him come and enter our province. We shall destroy them in such a way that we will be the ones who send their news to their countries.”* All the beğs decided that this precaution is suitable and approved it. They didn't allow Bayezid Han to apply his own opinion. They started gathering troops at once. [103]

Thereafter Temür started marching. Bayezid Han summoned Vilkoğlu to come. And he gathered his Rumeli troops. They got ready. Temür arrived at Sivaz on this side. He started attacking the fortress. He destroyed its sewers and its towers. He conquered the fortress and captured its population. The Egyptian army arrived at Haleb (Aleppo) after seeing their condition. Temür marched to Damascus as soon as he heard this. He arrived at Aleppo. They fought in Mecnun Tabak plain near Aleppo. The Egyptian army wasn't able to compete with Temür because of the treachery of the Turkoman. The Sultan fled to Egypt.

Temür arrived at Aleppo. People didn't hand over the fortress. Many men were killed. Finally, he conquered it by an unseen cruelty. Temür was the most wicked person. Thereafter he arrived at Hama and treated it even worse than Aleppo. Afterwards he arrived at Hamus and saw some tombs there. He asked: *“Whose tombs are these?”* They

said: “*They are Prophet Muhammad’s –May God commend and salute him-companions and disciples. One of them is Halid bin el-Velid who conquered this province. And one of them is Kâ‘būlahbar. And one of them is Ömer bin Ümeyye. All of these tombs you see belong to Prophet Muhammad’s companions and disciples.*” Having heard this fact, he didn’t enslave the population of Hamus. But he imposed taxes on its population. He acquired innumerable properties. Thereafter he arrived at Ba‘albek and sacked it. Afterwards he rode and arrived at Damascus. They didn’t open the gates of the fortress. An intensive struggle lasted for a few days. Many men were killed on both sides. [104] Finally Temür sacked the city. He had the tomb of Yezid found. He had the bones taken out and burnt. And he filled the grave with dirt. His wrath towards Damascus was mostly caused by the fact that Yezid’s grave was close to that city.

Thereafter he rode and arrived at Karabağ. He spent the winter there. He marched to Anatolia with the arrival of summer. First he came to Erzincan. İsfendiyar met him and went to Sarukamış with Temür. One night he disappeared and came back to Kastamonu without permission. Temür marched in the direction of Engüri.

On this side Bayezid Han made the registered soldiers from his own province and from other provinces ready according to his former orders. And he made serahor (master of the horse) ready, even from İstanbul. Serahor was introduced by Bayezid Han in Asia Minor, via his vizier Ali Paşa.

Bayezid Han took his three sons with him. Emir Süleyman arrived with [the soldiers of] Aydın province, Karasi province and Saruhan province. Mustafa arrived with [the soldiers of] Hamid province and Teke province. And Sultan Mehmed arrived with all soldiers of Asia Minor from Amâsiyye. Sultan gathered these soldiers. Tatar and the other soldiers marched with him. Both of the armies arrived at Engüri. Temür, who brings misfortune, also arrived. Temür took his place on Thursday morning. Bayezid Han took his place in the late afternoon, they advanced against each other. Temür dug a ditch. Friday morning arrived. They sat and performed the Friday prayer. Bayezid Han untied the banners at once. Big drums were played. Troops were lined up for battle. The tatar betrayed as soon as two armies faced one another. They were of Temür’s lineage, Erzincan beğ Taharten is the son of Ertana’s brother. [105] And Germiyan troops turned back to Germiyan ođlu. In short, the troops of every province sided with their beğs (rulers), who were with Temür.

Vilkođlu fought well with his infidel soldiers. Having seen that everybody else found the easy way, Vilkođlu also found the easy way for himself. Bayezid Han’s son Mustafa abandoned his horse and disappeared. Paşas took Emir Süleyman and left through a gap in the line. Sultan Mehmed took his Amâsiyye troops and went to Amâsiyye. Bayezid Han was left alone with his Janissaries.

One of his slaves (Janissaries) called Solak Karaca said: “*O Bayezid Han! Where are your sons in whom you trusted? Where are your sancakbeğis (governor of a subdivision*

of a province)? Or where are your drunk viziers? They displayed such a pleasant comradeship. You didn't spend the money and put it in the treasure, saying 'It's the livelihood of my sons'." These words sounded bitter to Bayezid Han. He said: "Do you ask a favor from me?" He rode his horse and went outwards through his Janissaries. He had a few foot soldiers and many guardsmen with him. They began storming the regiments of the Çağatay army. Germiyanoglu saw this and said: "Hey! The one who is fighting is Bayezid Han himself. What are you waiting for?" They arrived at once and surrounded his horse from all sides. They captured him and brought him to Temür. But they didn't throw him down from his horse.

Temür called and said: "Don't throw him down from his horse. Put your arm through me." He was sitting in the tent. They took him by the arms and said: "Han! Ride a horse." Temür said: "Hey harlots! Where will I ride the horse to? It's not proper for the rulers to move." [106] He walked to the door of the tent. They took Bayezid Han down from his horse with reverence. Temür met him. They talked. Thereafter both of them sat down on a carpet. Temür said: "Soldiers shall stop fighting from now on." But everybody raided for their own profit. They didn't make a distinction as legitimate or illegitimate and kept collecting booty.

Verse

**Two cripples resulted in the malice
And the devil enjoys himself over the malice**

**Asia Minor and Damascus were burnt because of the fire of this malice
Many things happened during this disorder**

**Although these things were manufactured by the Creator
These two cripples were the reason here**

**They followed their own lusts
Âşıkî don't adapt yourself to this grudge**

Question: O dervish! You weren't even born at the time of that war. From whom do you relate this event?

Answer: There was a *nâyib* (substitute judge) in Bursa called Koca Nâyib. And he was one of the guardsmen of Bayezid Han. He was there with the Han when they captured him. He was also with him when Bayezid Han passed away in Akşehir. I asked him how they kept Bayezid Han. He said: "Temür had a palanquin made, like a cage between two horses. Whenever they moved, Temür had Bayezid Han walking in front of him. And when they halted Bayezid Han was placed in front of Temür's own tent." This person whom I call Koca Nâyib arrived at Sultan Mehmed. Sultan Mehmed

appointed him as the warden of Amâsiyye castle. When he got old, Sultan Murad brought him to Bursa and made him the substitute judge of Bursa. I relate this from what he told me. And I didn't tell most of his story because it would take too long. [107]

Verse

**Even the infidels wouldn't do what Temür did
Both men and women suffered a lot**

**He didn't hesitate to kill Muslims
His object wasn't known**

**He destroyed hânkah (dervish monastery), mescit (small mosque), medrese
(theological school)**

He passed that winter in Aydın province

**Temür tyrannized a lot in this world
People hadn't seen a tyranny comparable to his**

**All of the provinces he stepped in were destroyed
Both the young and the old lost their teeth**

And he returned all of the provinces to their former beğs (rulers). He granted the country of Osman to the Tatar. Bayezid Han heard this. Temür saluted Bayezid Han from time to time when he went on a campaign. One day Bayezid Han told Temür: "*Temür Beğ! I wish for something from you.*" Temür said: "*Tell me, I will accept your wish.*" Bayezid Han said: "*Don't leave the Tatars in this country. Take them together with you. Don't let them stay here.*" Temür said: "*I accept. I am going to send you back to your country when I arrive at Semerkand. Tatars will take you to your country.*"

When Bayezid learned that he would be taken to Semerkand, he committed suicide. When Temür moved, he turned back in the direction of his own country. He exiled all the Tatars. He granted Kırşehir and Sivrihisar and Beğbazarı to Karamanoğlu. And he granted Kastamonu, Kankırı and Kal'acuk back to İsfendiyar, all of which had been conquered by Bayezid Han.

Temür hoped that one of the sons of Bayezid Han would come to him so that he could grant Bayezid Han's territory to him. When he saw that nobody came, he granted it to Karamanoğlu. And he left Karaman province and went away.

And this event occurred in the year eight hundred four [August 11, 1401 – July 31, 1402] according to the Muslim calendar. [108]

4. EVALUATION

This study has tried to illuminate the darkest century of the Ottoman era, namely the 14th century. Although Aşıkpaşazade's reliability for the 14th century is questioned because he wrote his account at the second half of the 15th century, it is clear that he used an earlier source, namely Yahşi Fakîh's *Menaqibnâme*, since archival material and other sources confirm some of the events he narrated. It must be emphasized that if his account and the *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman* (Histories of the Ottoman Dynasty) genre in general didn't exist, our comments about the 14th century would be extremely limited.

Being a dervish himself, Aşıkpaşazade makes a lot of reference to the dervishes in his history. I have tried to demonstrate Aşıkpaşazade's life and his lineage in order to understand his motivation in writing his account. In addition, I have tried to explain the features of these dervishes and their environment. While Aşıkpaşazade could be blamed for exaggerating the importance of dervishes in his account, the archival evidence points to the fact that they were indeed very active especially until the introduction of the Janissaries. Other than the dervishes' support in colonizing the newly conquered areas, they seem to have played a crucial role in the conquests by participating in the raids.

I have tried to analyze the similarities and differences between Aşıkpaşazade and other chronicles, memoirs and travel accounts. The first-hand accounts have complemented Aşıkpaşazade's history and they have been helpful in separating Aşıkpaşazade's personal thoughts and tendencies from the facts. An example is the gaza concept, which is used frequently by Aşıkpaşazade. While he tries to depict the Ottoman rulers as fighting on behalf of Islam at the expense of the Christians, a close perusal of his source and its comparison with other sources show that Muslims and Christians both coexisted and cooperated in the early Ottoman era.

In the translation of the text, I have tried to preserve Aşıkpaşazade's original tone as much as possible. I translated the poems as well to keep the integrity of his work, since he sometimes summarizes or editorializes through the poems.

In addition to its value as a historical source, Aşıkpaşazade's account is very important for the language of the age and for the insights it provides into the era's folk culture. It

is possible to see the dominance of oral culture in his history, which could still be noticed in the culture of Turkey today.

While I started working on this thesis, my aim was to understand the foundation of the Ottoman Empire by focusing on Aşıkpaşazade's history and comparing it with other sources. I can state that it has been useful in comprehending the transformation of the small Ottoman principality to a mighty empire.

To conclude my remarks, I hope this study succeeded in opening the doors of early Ottoman history and the style used by its author Aşıkpaşazade to those who can not benefit from Ottoman Turkish and Turkish.

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