

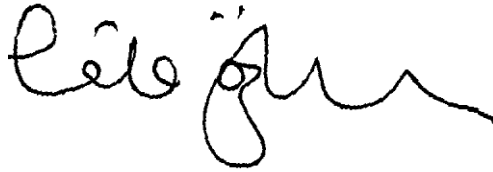
A study of the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* by the fifteenth-century
writer Aşıkpaşazade

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Department of the Languages and
Cultures of Near and Middle East
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Declaration for PhD thesis

I have read and understood regulation 17.9 of the Regulations for students of the School of Oriental and African Studies concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

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Signed:

Date: 31st July 2011

Acknowledgments

I dedicate this thesis to my parents. Nur içinde yat baba.

Abstract

This present thesis attempts to demonstrate that the work of the fifteenth-century writer and dervish Aşıkpaşazade (c.1400-after 1484) *Tevarih- i Al-i Osman* (hereafter *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*) is in need of re-evaluation from a modern historiographical perspective. This is because the value of Aşıkpaşazade to Ottoman historiography has usually been determined by either ideological influence identifiable in modern scholarship or by the adoption of a purely historical approach.

This thesis argues that neither approach is conducive to understanding Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* or its contribution to Ottoman historiography. It argues that Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is a valuable source for an understanding of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography but that its value has sometimes been over rated simply because its content suit a particular historical theory held by scholars. In contrary to the views of some scholars, it is demonstrated that Aşıkpaşazade does not provide a "warts-and-all" account of Ottoman history and that it is not historically sound to take Aşıkpaşazade at face value to either prove or disprove whether the early Ottomans were ghazis.

This thesis also aims to provide a detailed guide to the content of Aşıkpaşazade's history as there is a lack of recent scholarship in this area. The issues surrounding the content of Aşıkpaşazade's history are explored to not only determine the nature and logic of Aşıkpaşazade's history but to ask if the value attached to some of the themes included in his history by modern scholarship is conducive to an understanding of Aşıkpaşazade. This thesis argues that the importance attached to themes included by Aşıkpaşazade such

as ghaza and *istimâlet* (accommodating the needs of non-Muslims) reveals more about the views of scholars than about the value of such themes to an understanding of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography.

Table of contents

Declaration for PhD Thesis	p.2
Acknowledgements	p.3
Abstract	p.4-5
Introduction	pp.9-14
Chapter 1	
Aşıkpaşazade from a modern perspective	
1. Sources and textual traditions of fifteenth century Ottoman Historiography	pp.15-26
2. The approach of modern scholarship to the development of Ottoman Historiography	pp.27-47
3. A chronological portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade in secondary literature	pp.48-82
Chapter 2	
The historiographical issues surrounding the use of Aşıkpaşazade as a source	
1. The manuscripts and editions of Aşıkpaşazade's <i>History of the Ottoman Dynasty</i>	pp.83-88
2. Portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by modern Turkish scholarship: is the tag of nationalism relevant?	pp. 89-102
3. Aşıkpaşazade as a propagandist of the Ottoman dynasty	pp.103-119
Chapter 3	
The content and logic of Aşıkpaşazade's <i>History of the Ottoman Dynasty</i>	
1. The nature and structure of Aşıkpaşazade's <i>History of the Ottoman Dynasty</i>	pp.120-139
2. Aşıkpaşazade's sources for his <i>History of the Ottoman Dynasty</i>	pp.140-154

3. The use of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* pp.155-164
by Neşri

4. The themes identifiable in Aşıkpaşazade's
History of the Ottoman Dynasty:

i. Aşıkpaşazade's treatment of the Ottoman rulers pp. 165-181

ii. Aşıkpaşazade and the concept of *istimâlet* pp.182-193

iii. An evaluation of the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade's
History of the Ottoman Dynasty pp.194-205

Chapter 4

Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* as an
autobiographical source

1. An evaluation of the autobiographical references in
Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* pp. 206-215

Conclusion pp.216-224

Bibliography pp.225-231

Transcription

Texts in Ottoman Turkish have been transliterated into modern Turkish orthography and generally no diacritical marks are used except where texts are quoted from a specific edition, in which case the transcription system used there is followed.

Introduction

This present thesis has two aims. The first aim of this thesis is to assess the value of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* within the context of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography posing the question of whether Aşıkpaşazade should be used as a source to shed light on the ideological theories of modern scholarship. It is argued that it is not particularly useful to view Aşıkpaşazade from an ideological perspective and that his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is in need of re-evaluation from a modern perspective.

Within the aim of assessing the value of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*, this thesis asks whether Aşıkpaşazade's history should be treated as a purely historical source. It concludes that Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* has been utilised as a purely historical source by some scholars, normally to prove or disprove an ideological theory, but to do so undermines the nature and *raison d'être* of the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. This thesis demonstrates that Aşıkpaşazade's primary aim was to write a eulogistic account of Ottoman history where the Ottoman rulers were praised and presented as being beyond reproach. The accurate narration of historical events was important to Aşıkpaşazade but this did not take precedence over portraying the Ottoman rulers as just and preordained ghazis.

Aşıkpaşazade's history is also in need of re-evaluation because as this thesis demonstrates throughout, Aşıkpaşazade did not write un-santised "warts-and – all" account of Ottoman history. In addition it is demonstrated that, in contrast to the views of modern scholars, that Aşıkpaşazade did not represent the concerns of a wider group who were disgruntled with the restrictions that arose from financial reforms in the period of Mehmed II. This thesis seeks evidence for such a view but argues that Aşıkpaşazade was disgruntled with some of the financial reforms as an individual and did not consciously represent the interests of a wider group.

The second aim of this thesis is to provide a detailed guide to the content of Aşıkpaşazade's history as a lack of monograph exists on Aşıkpaşazade in

current scholarship. The second aim of this thesis is closely linked to the first aim of assessing the value of Aşıkpaşazade's history within the context of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography. This is because the detailed guide to the history of Aşıkpaşazade provided by the present thesis contains a discussion of the themes and concepts prevalent in Aşıkpaşazade that have been assessed from an ideological perspective by modern scholarship.

This thesis examines the adoption of themes by Aşıkpaşazade and poses the question of whether they should be viewed from a modern perspective. It is argued that it is not useful historically to provide a modern interpretation of fifteenth-century concepts if the aim is to prove or disprove a modern ideological theory such as Paul Wittek's "Ghazi thesis."

An evaluation of the work of Aşıkpaşazade is based upon the 1929 critical edition of Aşıkpaşazade, *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Aşıkpaşazāde*, (*The Old Ottoman Chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade*) by Friedrich Giese and supplemented by the edition by Kemal Yavuz and Yekta Saraç published in 2003.¹

This thesis has four chapters. The first chapter has three sections. The first section examines where Aşıkpaşazade fits in within the context of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography and goes on to define Aşıkpaşazade's place within the historiography of the period. This section also examines whether the issues surrounding history-writing in the fifteenth-century such as patronage and writers' links to the palace are as straightforward as presented by recent scholarship.

The second section of the first chapter takes a look at how the study of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography has developed over the last century or so, paying particular attention to ideological theories on the rise of the Ottomans and the reactions of scholars to these theories.

¹ Translation of any sections from Aşıkpaşazade throughout this thesis follows transliteration from the Yavuz and Saraç edition but translation is followed from the Giese edition where text differs from that of Yavuz and Saraç. The Yavuz and Saraç edition is usually a chapter behind the Giese edition in terms of numbering. Thus Chapter 149 in the Giese edition of Aşıkpaşazade is Chapter 148 in the Yavuz and Saraç edition.

The third section of the first chapter examines how modern scholarship has portrayed Aşıkpaşazade and asks whether the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade has been influenced by ideological theories on the Ottomans involving religion or nationalism and whether Aşıkpaşazade has been used a tool to refute or support such theories. This section demonstrates that the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade has been influenced, to an extent, by Köprülü's nationalistic theories on the rise of the Ottomans but particularly by Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" and the pursuit of some scholars to dis-prove Wittek's theory that the early Ottomans were ghazis.

The second chapter also has three sections. The first section outlines the manuscripts and editions of Aşıkpaşazade and outlines how Aşıkpaşazade has been a topic of academic interest for over a century.

The penultimate section of the second chapter explores whether the tag of Turkish nationalism is relevant to the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by Turkish scholars. It is argued that the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade has not been particularly nationalistic and that the illustrious Turkish background of Aşıkpaşazade has not been maximised as a tool by Turkish scholars who otherwise produced works with nationalistic connotations.

The final section of the second chapter questions whether Aşıkpaşazade can be considered to be a propagandist of the Ottoman dynasty by exploring secondary literature on the myths surrounding the rise of the early Ottomans. It is determined that because Aşıkpaşazade wrote a eulogistic account of the Ottomans he therefore can be considered to be a propagandist of his time and that this should not be deemed to be unusual, as has been considered the case by modern scholars, as Aşıkpaşazade's aim was to write a eulogising account of the Ottoman dynasty.

The third chapter of the thesis moves on to examine the issues surrounding the content and logic of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* and although each section has a specific aim, as outlined below, this chapter also generally examines the commonly held view by such scholars as İnalcık and Lowry amongst others, that Aşıkpaşazade wrote a "warts-and-all" un-sanitised

account of Ottoman history. The reasons why specific scholars have chosen to argue that Aşıkpaşazade wrote a “warts-and-all” account of Ottoman history and its connection to Wittek’s “Ghazi thesis” is also discussed.

The first of the four sections of this chapter defines the place of Aşıkpaşazade’s history from an Islamic and Ottoman historiographical perspective. This section stresses that Aşıkpaşazade’s motivation behind writing his history was eulogistic. This section also examines whether Aşıkpaşazade’s history was intended for oral consumption and determines that some of the characteristics of Aşıkpaşazade’s history indicate that it may have originally been written to be read out aloud.

The second section of the third chapter takes an in-depth look at the known sources used by Aşıkpaşazade for his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* and attempts to pinpoint for which parts of history he may have used particular sources. This section highlights that, possibly influenced by the source of Yahşi Fakih, that Aşıkpaşazade regarded the early Ottoman rulers as simple, modest and humble leaders.

The third section of the third chapter examines the reliance of Neşri, a writer who was a near-contemporary to Aşıkpaşazade, on Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* as a source. This section examines why Neşri has received more recognition than Aşıkpaşazade by modern scholars within the context of the development of literary tradition in the fifteenth-century.

The final section of the third chapter is divided into three sub-sections and takes an in-depth look at the themes within Aşıkpaşazade’s history and how these have been interpreted by modern scholarship. The first sub-section examines how Aşıkpaşazade has portrayed the Ottoman rulers and assesses the use of the theme of ghaza by Aşıkpaşazade in relation to the Ottoman rulers. This section reinforces the view that Aşıkpaşazade wrote an account of Ottoman history that viewed the Ottoman rulers as ghazis and as being beyond reproach. Aşıkpaşazade may have sometimes portrayed the Ottoman rulers in a realistic and humble manner but he never criticised them directly but chose to attribute blame to those around the sultan.

The second sub-section looks at the concept of *istimâlet* (the so-called policy of ‘accommodating’ non Muslim subjects) and asks whether the use of the concept by Aşıkpaşazade and his narration on the early Ottomans’ relations with Christians can be used to determine whether the early Ottomans were ghazis or not. This subsection concludes that to take Aşıkpaşazade’s accounts on early Ottoman-Christian relations at face value not only overvalues Aşıkpaşazade as a historical source but fails to appreciate that Aşıkpaşazade did not generally view non-Muslims in a positive light.

The third sub-section aims to determine the nature of the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade and to identify the main themes that appear in the poetry of Aşıkpaşazade. It argues that the predominant and consistent theme of the moralising poetry of Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dyansty* is that of ghaza and the portrayal of the Ottoman rulers as ghazis. The possibility that Aşıkpaşazade may have retrospectively incorporated the theme of ghaza into some of his poetry is also explored.

The fourth and final chapter of the thesis examines Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* from the perspective of an autobiographical source. This chapter aims to assess the autobiographical value of Aşıkpaşazade to the study of Ottoman history and argues that Aşıkpaşazade’s narration of events autobiographical events is historically valuable.

This chapter also examines the view prevalent in modern scholarship that a study of Aşıkpaşazade’s history reveals his polemical nature. This chapter argues that Aşıkpaşazade does indeed reveal a polemical nature but only in relation to three areas. The first area covers topics that affected him directly such as curtailing financial reforms. The second area covers behaviour that as a Muslim, Aşıkpaşazade may have disapproved of, such as the consumption of alcohol or the promotion of Christians with the Ottoman state. Thirdly, as an author of a eulogistic history, Aşıkpaşazade always criticised those around the ruler rather than criticising the ruler himself so as to not cast doubt on the integrity of the Ottoman dynasty. This chapter reinforces the view, in contrast to the views espoused by recent scholarship, that Aşıkpaşazade expressed

disgruntlement as an individual and did not represent the wider concerns of a wider group.

Chapter 1

Aşıkpaşazade from a modern perspective

Section 1 of 3

1. Sources and textual traditions of fifteenth-century Ottoman Historiography

Modern scholarship, with a few notable exceptions, has tended not to study fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography from a philological or interrelationship-of-manuscripts perspective over the last few decades. This thesis does not delve into Ottoman history from a philological point of view but considers the fifteenth century in which Aşıkpaşazade lived and wrote from a historiographical perspective with the view to providing a better understanding of the work of Aşıkpaşazade, *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.

Section one of Chapter one provides an overview of the general development of Ottoman historiography. Section two examines where Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* fits within the development of Ottoman historiography *vis-à-vis* a summary of how modern scholarship have portrayed Aşıkpaşazade. Section three examines the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by scholars and is intended to serve as a guide and to identify any trends with regard to the scholarly portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade over time.

Cem Mengüç has most recently contributed to the field of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography. Mengüç argues that the modern scholarly argument for two Ottoman histories having existed separately until the writer Neşri brought them together in 1495 should be re-examined.² Mengüç bases his argument on the notion that a single source or text could not be determined as the origin of all Ottoman historiography and that it is plausible that there were at least three versions of Ottoman history that existed at the time.³

These three versions are found in the following works. Şükrullah's (1388- d. after 1464) *Behetüttevarih*, a universal history in Arabic begun in 1456 and

² Mengüç, 2008: 9.

³ Ibid.

containing a section on the Ottomans. Enveri's *Düstürname* (-d. after 1465) an Islamic history dedicated to the Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha and containing a section called *Destan* which was a historical chronicle about the beylik of Aydin.⁴ The third work is the *Vienna Anonymous*, a version of the anonymous Ottoman histories that dates to 1472.⁵

It is predominately the research of İnalçık and Ménage that led to the theory of there being two lines of sources that determined the source material in some shape or form for the histories of the period. Neşri's history (ca.1490) represented the nodal point of Ottoman historiography because for the first time the two textual traditions came together and formed a source tradition that influenced later histories.⁶

In 1964 Ménage published a study on Neşri which highlighted Neşri's importance within the development of Ottoman historiography.⁷ Histories written after this point embody the elaborate style of the Persian histories (high *inşa*-style of writing) compared to the histories that came before.⁸ Neşri combined the two traditions by using as his main sources a text close to the Bodleian Chronicle and a recension of Aşıkpaşazade's history.⁹

According to Ménage it is clear that for their accounts of the origins of the Ottoman state and of events down to about 1420 the writers of the fifteenth century drew on two distinct textual traditions.¹⁰ Ménage correctly argues that the ultimate interdependence of the works in question is evident from their close verbal similarity at various points.¹¹

The first textual tradition comprises of the following writers. The first writer is the fourteenth century poet Ahmedi (c.1334-1412) who authored the *İskendername* which devotes a section to the Ottomans. The second writer is Şükrullah, author of *Behetüttevarih*. The third writer is Nişancı Mehmed Pasha (d.1481) a Grand

⁴ It was discovered for the first time by the Turkish historian Mükrimin Halil Yınanç and published in 1928 as *Düstürname-i Enveri*.

⁵ Mengüç, 2008: 174.

⁶ Ménage 1961: 2 and 55 and İnalçık, 1962: 153 and 161.

⁷ Ménage, 1964.

⁸ Ménage, 1961: 56.

⁹ Ménage: 1961: 55.

¹⁰ Ménage, 1961: 52.

¹¹ Ménage, 1961: 48

Vizier who wrote a history of the Ottomans to 1480, *Osmanlı Sultanları Tarihi*, in Turkish. The fourth writer is Ruhi (dates unknown) whose work has become known as the *Ruhi Tarihi*. This is a history of the Ottomans to 1510/11. The fifth writer is thought to have authored a lot of the earlier parts of the Bodleian chronicle also known as the Oxford Anonymous (ca.1485).¹²

The above writers reproduced with various degrees of loyalty the same tradition using a common written source (source A).¹³ Two versions of this source are said to have existed. The first version stopped in the middle of the reign of Bayezid I and is represented by Ahmedî only. In the second version the narrative extended to the end of the reign of Mehmed I and was used independently by Şükrullah and by the author of the Bodleian chronicle.¹⁴

It then became evident that the author of the Bodleian chronicle had added source information from the writer Yazıcıoğlu's *Oğuzname* (ca.1425) and his work then formed the foundation upon which Ruhi based his history of the Ottomans on.¹⁵

The second textual tradition is described as being of a more popular nature comprises of the works of Aşıkpaşazade, whose *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is the subject of this thesis, Oruç who wrote a history of the Ottomans to the year 1493 and the writer of the Anonymous Chronicles who utilised another source. Both Ménage and İnalçık independently argued that Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç and the Anonymous Chronicles used a common source (source B) covering the period from the emergence of Osman up until 1422.¹⁶

The two traditions developed independently of each other, each tradition being shaped and developed over time as writers of one of the two traditions independently used recensions of the same source making their own additions and redactions over time. This was until 1495 when the two traditions were

¹² Ménage, 1961: 52.

¹³ Ménage, 1961: 52.

¹⁴ Ménage, 1961: 53.

¹⁵ Ménage, 1961: 53.

¹⁶ İnalçık, 1962: 165 and Ménage, 1961: 53.

combined in one work by Neşri. According to İnalçık, Neşri combined the two textual traditions by using the works of Aşıkpaşazade and of Ruhi.¹⁷

Ménage and İnalçık stressed the role of the *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih which was incorporated into Aşıkpaşazade's history and of another chronicle, written shortly after the enthronement of Murad I in 1421 (and therefore covering events from the beginning until 1421-2). This was also used as a source for the early part of Aşıkpaşazade's history, both of them making up the common source for the literary tradition represented by source B.¹⁸

Ménage argued that source B was an early recension of the Anonymous Chronicles.¹⁹ Both İnalçık and Ménage were of the view that source A stemmed from a source relied upon by Ahmedi.²⁰ İnalçık argued that both A and B originated from an earlier source whereas Ménage refuted this claim and dated source A to c.1395 and source B to 1421.²¹ According to Mengüç it was this debate between İnalçık and Ménage which established a lost *menakibname* as a legendary origin of all Ottoman works.

In his thesis Mengüç states that he would not go into detail on this point.²² The possible existence of an ultimate source for the beginning of Ottoman historiography would be crucial for modern scholarship to consider, as mentioned by Ménage if only in passing in his thesis.²³ By reference to a lost *menakibname*, Ménage may have been referring to the *menakibname* of Yahşi Fakih (c.1389-1402) which was a major source for Aşıkpaşazade for the first part of his history, and which Ménage later demonstrated was a source unique to Aşıkpaşazade.²⁴

¹⁷ İnalçık, 1962: 165.

¹⁸ İnalçık, 1962: 153.

¹⁹ Ménage, 1961: 54. Quoted in Mengüç, 2008: 14.

²⁰ İnalçık, 1962:161 and Ménage, 1961: 54.

²¹ Ménage, 1961: 54.

²² Mengüç, 2008: 14.

²³ Ménage, 1961: 54 Ménage writing in 1961 did not provide further detail on the lost *menakibname*. This is perhaps why Mengüç did not delve further into the issue of the lost *menakibname*.

²⁴ Ménage, 1963: 50-54.

İnalcık incorrectly argued in 1962 that B was a recension of the original *menakibname* of Yahşi Fakih and therefore the common source for Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç and the anonymous histories until 1422. İnalcık based his theory on the similarity of some of the folk tale motifs that appear in all three histories.²⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç and the anonymous histories did utilise a common source until 1422 (an early chronicle) as can be seen through the common folk tales elements and historical themes that appear in the above histories such as the migration of Süleymanşah to Rum right through to the capture and execution of *Düzme* Mustafa the pretender to the throne who claimed to be the son of Bayezid I in 1422.²⁶ This common source however was not the *menakibname* of Yahşi Fakih.

In summarising the views of İnalcık on the issue, Mengüç states that only the possibility of the *menakibname* of Yahşi Fakih being the earliest text and thus the origin of Ottoman historiography was established.²⁷ This can be considered to be more than just a possibility. As even though the *menakibname* of Yahşi Fakih as incorporated in Aşıkpaşazade was not a source common to those works which form part of B, it still can be considered the earliest source of period. This is a fact not stressed by Mengüç. In addition, the *menakibname* of Yahşi Fakih was composed some eight years before Ahmedi wrote his *İskendername* in 1410.

The work of Yahşi Fakih has survived only through Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* and later through Neşri who relied heavily on Aşıkpaşazade as a source for his *Cihannüma*. Aşıkpaşazade is important historiographically in this respect because he is unique in preserving the memory of Yahşi Fakih's source which reflected the folk tale milieu of an earlier period (c. late 1300s/early 1400s), long before Neşri fused the two textual traditions and was regarded as representing the nodal point of Ottoman historiography in the early sixteenth century.

Mengüç disagrees with the view of İnalcık and Ménage that the fusing of the two textual traditions signalled a new phase in Ottoman historiography. In

²⁵ İnalcık, 1962: 153.

²⁶ Ménage, 1963: 52.

²⁷ Mengüç, 2008: 15. For the views of İnalcık, see 1962: 152.

contrast, Mengüç argues that it was the utilisation of the Anonymous histories²⁸ by writers such as Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç and Neşri and the adaptation of the texts that led to the initiation of a transition to a new period of historiography.²⁹

According to Mengüç, late fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography differs from that of the earlier period because it is more critical of the state and its treatment of its Muslim and Turkish population. Mengüç cites the writers of this period, such as Aşıkpaşazade, as criticising the policies of the period of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1463 and 1463-1474) as an example and argues that this criticism reflected the alienation of the old Turkish aristocracy.³⁰

Mengüç takes the view that the later historiography from the 1470s was more populist and embraced the content and form of the anonymous histories and did not shy away from being critical of rulers or tackling issues that eulogist and ruler-oriented historiography shied away from.³¹ According to Mengüç, Ahmedi, Şükrullah and Nişancı represent the eulogistic and ruler-oriented historiography and wrote histories that praised the Ottoman rulers in a majestic fashion. Whereas the later histories which shared the similarity of using the Anonymous Chronicles in some form presented the rulers in a more realistic manner.³²

According to Mengüç, the Anonymous Chronicles had become one of the central pillars of a shift from a eulogistic, ruler-oriented historiography to a critical revision. Therefore Mengüç refutes the view of modern day scholars such as Kafadar and İpşirli that the emergence of Ottoman historiography was a state sponsored and centralised phenomenon. Mengüç locates the origin of this view in İnalçık's article "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography."³³

²⁸ Mengüç uses the term anonymous histories whereas other scholars tend to use the Anonymous Chronicles. Such histories were entitled *tevarih* or *menakib*, probably by scribes or copyists. The terms histories and chronicles are used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

²⁹ Mengüç, 2008: 13.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Mengüç, 2008: 112.

³² Ibid. One of the examples in support of the above view Mengüç uses is in relation to the reign of Orhan. Mengüç cites Ahmedi as writing seventy-eight couplets in which Orhan is praised as a great Islamic warrior, Mengüç, 2008: 118. In contrast, Mengüç describes how the Vienna Anonymous does not include any praise of Orhan, Mengüç, 2008: 120.

³³ Mengüç, 2008: 37 and İnalçık, 1962: 152, 164-165.

In response to the above view, Mengüç argues that the involvement of the state in the writing of Ottoman histories was limited through examining the relationship between historians and patrons during the period in question. Besides well known patrons of Ottoman historiography of the fifteenth century such as Murad II (r.1438-1451) and Mehmed II, Mengüç cites members of the Ottoman aristocracy who also became patrons of Ottoman historiography.

Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha who served Mehmed II between 1453-1474 is used by Mengüç as an example of a patron who was not interested in directly influencing the writers who wrote for him.³⁴ Mengüç cites Bayezid II as the first Ottoman ruler who “tried to interfere with the content and form of Ottoman historiography.”³⁵

The reign of Bayezid II was a productive period for the writing of Ottoman histories, especially in prose. The capture of the Moldavian fortresses of Killia and Akkerman by the Ottomans in 1484 may have acted as an impetus for the history writing that followed. According to Ménage, it is no coincidence that the flurry of historical writing followed the Moldavian campaign.³⁶ Modern scholarship has also stressed that Bayezid II sought more than flattery and ordered the author of the Bodleian Chronicle to write in plain Turkish. This was because plain Turkish was the language generally used in Rum, so that the history of the dynasty could be a vehicle to strengthen popular loyalty which had been diluted by the revolt of Prince Cem,³⁷ the son of Mehmed II, which began in 1481 following the Conqueror’s death.

However, the term ‘interfere’ may be too strong for the purpose of the current discussion as Bayezid II ruled during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, at a time when the Ottoman ruling house believed it had the divine right to rule, had an illustrious genealogy stretching back to Noah and justified aggression against fellow Muslim states because it was believed the ruler was

³⁴ Mengüç, 2008: 37.

³⁵ Mengüç, 2008: 37.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ménage, 1961: 37.

of the “true faith” and the ultimate ghazi.³⁸ The Ottoman dynasty was at its height of centralisation and was continuing to expand, therefore why would it be considered to be interference for Bayezid II to wish to have a particular image or stance portrayed in the history books of the time?

Mengüç states that,

“The manner in which the early versions of Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç, Kemal and Neşri’s works, as well as the fethname texts, were composed, indicates that 15th Century Ottoman historiography was largely initiated by writers rather than authoritarian rulers and patrons who desired to read a specific type of history.”³⁹

Following through Mengüç’s argument, it is not clear what is inferred when he refers to the manner in which the above histories were composed. Two explanations seem plausible. Mengüç may be referring to the importance of the anonymous histories because the above writers utilised the anonymous histories in some shape or form, either advertently or inadvertently.

Neşri for example used the anonymous histories as a source inadvertently because he relied heavily on Aşıkpaşazade who is thought to have shared a common source with the anonymous histories.⁴⁰ The second explanation is that Mengüç was simply referring to the fact that writers such as Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç, Kemal and Neşri had no demonstrable royal patronage for their works.

Mengüç argues that the fact that anonymous histories were composed during the reign of Bayezid II (r.1481-1512) makes it clear that a large portion of Ottoman history was still being written by historians who remained outside his sphere of influence.⁴¹ However it may be too simplistic to read too much into the existence of anonymous histories in the latter half of the fifteenth century and assuming these had no ties to the palace.

³⁸ Imber, 1987: 7-27.

³⁹ Mengüç, 2008: 37.

⁴⁰ Ménage, 1961: 48. As previously stated, Ménage argued that the interdependence of the anonymous histories (referred to as Anonymous Chronicles by Ménage), Oruç, Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri on a common source was evident by the close verbal similarity at various points throughout the above histories.

⁴¹ Mengüç, 2008: 37.

It is known, as Mengüç himself states, that anonymous histories were written several decades before the reign of Bayezid II⁴². The *Ahval-i Sultan Mehmed* (*Tales of Sultan Mehmed*) is an example of this and is important because it reveals the existence of the anonymous tradition as far back as the fourteenth century. The *Tales of Sultan Mehmed* is an anonymous chronicle of the Ottoman civil war of 1402-1413 and is written from the perspective of the winner Mehmed I and stands beside Ahmedî's *İskendername* and the chronicle of Yahşî Fakih in terms of antiquity.⁴³

This work was composed at the hand of authors who sought to legitimise the outcome of the civil war in the court of Mehmed I especially as it had involved the fratricide of Mehmed's brothers Isa, Süleyman and Musa.⁴⁴

The defining of what would constitute a history being written outside of the sphere of palace influence is also not clear cut as the above example of the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed* shows. This was a work essentially composed within a palace environment but is also regarded as the beginning of the anonymous *tevarih* (histories) genre which Mengüç argues at least in the fifteenth century were composed outside the sphere of influence of the palace.

Another less than clear cut example is of the fourteenth-century poet Ahmedî who dedicated his *İskendername* to Süleyman Çelebi⁴⁵ the son of Bayezid I, and is known as the first member of the Ottoman dynasty who became a patron of Ottoman historiography.⁴⁶ However he is not regarded as being a formal patron because he did not personally commission the work.⁴⁷ It could be argued that the composition of Ahmedî's work is not atypical of the relationship between patron and writer in the fourteenth-century. It is known that Ahmedî was employed in the palace and was the tutor of Süleyman Çelebi and therefore was a palace employee. Whether Süleyman Çelebi officially patronised the writing of the *İskendername* or not, Ahmedî's close proximity to and access to

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Kastritsis, 2007: 4.

⁴⁴ Kastritsis, 2007: 5.

⁴⁵ Fodor suggested that Bayezid I may have been the patron who initiated the writing of *İskendername*. Fodor, 1984: 41.

⁴⁶ Mengüç, 2008: 37.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

the palace would have played a role in his decision to compose his work. Thus Mengüç's view fails adequately to acknowledge that even those writers who were not directly influenced in their composition still had existing and sometimes strong ties to the centre.

Aşıkpaşazade may also be considered to be another example of a writer whose ties to the palace and therefore its influence on the writing of his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is not clear cut. Aşıkpaşazade composed his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* independently of the palace but he was a member of the Istanbulite elite with close ties, both social and spiritual, with the palace and had been in close proximity to various Ottoman rulers on a number of occasions. Therefore the palace may have played an informal role in the composition of Aşıkpaşazade's history given socio-cultural environment Aşıkpaşazade was part of.

It is clear that Mengüç has reinvigorated the debate on the intertextuality of the Ottoman histories of the fifteenth period because he argues that it is not possible to determine a single origin for Ottoman historiography, either as source A or B. Whereas modern scholarship post-İnalcık and Ménage has not questioned the notion that Ottoman historiography emerged from two sources via two separate textual traditions. Mengüç has argued that the two textual traditions of A and B were not as distinct and independent as previously thought and therefore questions the assertion that Neşri was as pivotal in fusing the textual traditions of A and B as presented by modern scholarship.⁴⁸

Mengüç also argues that because the source material found in the poet Ahmedi's *İskendername* (which formed part of literary tradition A) also exists in some of the recensions of the anonymous histories (which formed part of literary tradition B) that İnalcık and Ménage's argument that source B was the more popular one is rendered invalid.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Mengüç, 2008: 15.

⁴⁹ Mengüç, 2008: 15 See Ménage, 1961: 53 and Ménage, 1962: 168. In contrast, İnalcık does not explicitly state that the histories represented by source A are of a more populist nature but instead stresses the populist nature of the *menakibname* genre as such tales appear in the histories of those writers who relied on source A. See İnalcık, 1962: 156-157.

According to Mengüç;

“In contrast to both İnalçık and Ménage’s views, it is possible to detect the source A within the body of source B to a large extent in the Topkapı Anonymous and Giese Anonymous. These sources were written at least a decade before Neşri.”⁵⁰

The above quote from Mengüç implies that the two textual traditions representing source A and B respectively, came together before Neşri. Mengüç however does not labour this point and makes the case that because these quotes from Ahmedi appear in source B this proves that the anonymous writers were acquainted with more than one version of the Ottoman history⁵¹

Mengüç also disputes İnalçık’s view that the verse sections of the anonymous histories from 1402 to 1424 probably originated from Hamzavi (dates unknown), an Ottoman poet.⁵² Mengüç bases this view on the conclusion reached by Babinger prior to both Ménage and İnalçık writing on this specific subject, which was that all the verse sections found in the Giese Anonymous and Topkapı Anonymous originate from Ahmedi.⁵³ Mengüç is unduly critical of Ménage for not considering the evidence of Ahmedi’s source forming source material for the writers of source B “as evidence of a substantial intertextual exchange.”⁵⁴

It is clear that Ménage did not examine in detail the extent to which Ahmedi may have been utilised as a source by other writers especially of the anonymous tradition. However, writing in 1961, Ménage was aware that this source had possibly influenced and formed part of other histories when discussing histories that came after Ahmedi’s *İskendername*:

“No historical work has survived from the next forty years or so, though chronicles compiled during this period (and perhaps containing

⁵⁰ Mengüç, 2008: 15.

⁵¹ Mengüç, 2008: 15. For examples of this see pages 16-17.

⁵² Mengüç, 2008: 16 and İnalçık, 1962: 154 and 155.

⁵³ Mengüç, 2008: 16 and Babinger, Istanbul, 2008: 398.

⁵⁴ Mengüç, 2008: 15.

fragments of the chronicle which Ahmedi used) have been incorporated in later works.”⁵⁵

To Mengüç, the utilisation of Ahmedi as a source by the *Topkapı Anonymous* and *Giese Anonymous* seemed to contradict the argument of İnalcık and Ménage that source A was more appealing to those connected to the palace whereas source B was favoured more by the less distinguished writers of popular Ottoman histories.⁵⁶ Mengüç’s view is logical to an extent and highlights that the source composition of A and B was not as clear cut as previously thought by scholars.

Also the importance of the use of Ahmedi as a source highlighted by Babinger has not really been taken into account by those scholars writing after him such as İnalcık and Ménage.⁵⁷ Even though Ahmedi (part of the source A literary tradition) was utilised as a source by some of the writers of some of the anonymous histories, the end product was of a less learned nature than Ahmedi’s *İskendername*. The anonymous histories as a genre usually contain a collection of tales amongst historical narrative, many of which have a basis in legend.⁵⁸ In contrast to the populist nature of the anonymous histories, Ahmedi was a theologian and poet who composed his work in romantic verse narrative (*mesnevi*) and his *İskendername* narrating the exploits of Alexander the Great can be considered to be a compendium of all the learning of his day⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ Ménage, 1961: 170.

⁵⁶ Mengüç, 2008: 15.

⁵⁷ Mengüç, 2008: 16.

⁵⁸ Ménage, 1961: 171.

⁵⁹ Ménage, 1961: 20.

2. The approach of modern scholarship to the development of Ottoman Historiography

The above section outlined the development of Ottoman historiography from a source content and literary tradition perspective. This section outlines the scholarly contributions to the field of early Ottoman history and historiography. The terms history and historiography are not mutually exclusive as history not only entails the study of the past but it can also influence our teaching and writing about the past.⁶⁰

Modern scholarship has drawn conclusions of a historical nature from Ottoman sources and scholarly output has shaped the way in which the historiography of the Ottomans has been studied. The “Ghazi thesis” of the late Wittek has influenced the direction of the course of Ottoman historiography. Wittek argued that the success of the Ottomans was primarily due to the religious zeal they displayed as ghazis.⁶¹ Modern scholarship has usually utilised the sources of fifteenth-century history such as the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* of Aşıkpaşazade to disprove Wittek’s theory.

The publication of Gibbons’s *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* in 1916 in which he asserted without knowledge of Ottoman Turkish that the Ottomans were a new race born out of an amalgamation of races⁶² acted as an impetus for a flurry of scholarly output on the Ottoman dynasty. Gibbon’s view that the Ottoman empire could not have emerged from purely Turco-Muslim roots and that the Ottomans administratively “borrowed” from the Byzantines⁶³ caused much upset in the world of Turkish scholarship. Subsequently the young Turkish literature scholar Mehmet Fuad Köprülü became associated with the Turkish national stance on the origins of the Ottomans.

⁶⁰ Robinson, 2003: xvi.

⁶¹ The theme of the early Ottomans as ghazis runs throughout Wittek, 1963. See in particular: 14-15 and 45.

⁶² Gibbons, 1916: 30-34.

⁶³ Ibid.

Gibbons's theories were also criticised by European scholars. The German scholar Friedrich Giese in 1924 also criticised Gibbons's theories and use of evidence and argued for the importance of the role of the *ahi* brotherhoods in the expansion of the early Ottoman state.⁶⁴

Köprülü first addressed Gibbons's theories on the rise of the Ottoman state in 1922⁶⁵ and then in 1935 with the publication of his *Les Origines de l'empire ottoman*. Köprülü described Gibbons's views as "a fantasy that does not accord at all with historical reality."⁶⁶ The reaction of Köprülü was indeed one barely masked by disdain because Gibbons had reached his conclusions as an academic without reference to any of the sources of the period.

However the reaction of Köprülü should also be seen in the context of the international political scene and the emergence of Turkish nationalism within the framework of the state. When Gibbons as a European published his *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* in 1916, this was at a time during the First World War (1914-1918) when the Ottoman dynasty had a semi-colonised, multi-ethnic structure and an economic, cultural and social infrastructure typical of a non-industrialised nation.⁶⁷

In comparison the developed European nations which had prior to the outbreak of the War completed the process of industrialisation possessed some kind of national identity.⁶⁸ Writing in 2007 the scholar Köroğlu argues against what he calls the dominant Turkish teleological approach which views modern Turkish culture as being shaped post-1923 when the Republic was formed under its founder Kemal Atatürk.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Kafadar, 1995: 34. Kafadar defines the *ahi* brotherhood as "organisations which comprised of urban artisanal and mercantile milieux conforming to a quasi-chivalric, quasi-Sufi code of behaviour and cooperation." Kafadar, 1995: 35.

⁶⁵ Köprülü, 1922: 281-311, 385-420, 457-86.

⁶⁶ *Les origines de l'empire ottoman*. Paris, 1935. Throughout this thesis the English edition of the 1935 publication will be used. Köprülü, *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*. Translated and Edited by Gary Leiser, 1992: 11.

⁶⁷ Köroğlu, 2007: xx.

⁶⁸ Ibid: xix.

⁶⁹ Köroğlu, 2007: xv.

In contrast to this view, Köroğlu demonstrates that there was a highly charged cultural movement against contemporary political events amongst Turkish writers and artists. Such individuals followed the lead of Gökalp (1875/6-1924) who emerged as the spokesman of Turkish nationalism. Köprülü in 1917 was amongst those writers who wrote for the 'new journal' *Yeni Mecmua* that aimed to bring together intellectuals of the same cause and to expand upon the theories of Gökalp.⁷⁰

It is within the context of emerging Turkish nationalism that the views of Köprülü should be viewed. By the time he wrote his *Les Origines de l'empire ottoman* in 1935, Turkish nationalism as defined by Atatürk had emerged and had become official doctrine. As Kafadar has pointed out, although such nationalists as Köprülü and others were not sympathetic to the later and "corrupt" Ottoman rulers, they proudly claimed the earlier history of Turkic invasions, settlement and state building.⁷¹

Köprülü advanced the theory that the Ottomans state was purely Turkish in nature and thereby also explicitly rejected Gibbons's claim that the Ottomans were not equipped culturally to create a state. Köprülü went onto illustrate with examples of how the origins of Ottoman administrative practice could be located within Seljukid and Ilkhanid influence.⁷² Köprülü stressed that the rise of the Ottoman state could not be explained unless the *uc* frontiers of the late thirteenth century were studied vis-à-vis the political history and social conditions in Anatolia at the time.⁷³

To Köprülü thirteenth century Anatolia should not be considered in isolation from the wider political developments of the time because he regarded the thirteenth century as the greatest political period of the Anatolian Seljuks. He considered political developments such as the establishment of the Greek states of Nicaea and Trebizond in Anatolia and the rise of the Mongols at the

⁷⁰ Köroğlu, 2007: 96.

⁷¹ Kafadar: 1995: 10.

⁷² Köprülü, 1992: 23-77.

⁷³ Köprülü, 1992: 27.

expense of the Seljuks as setting the scene for the Ottomans to emerge in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁷⁴

Crucially for modern scholarship, Köprülü argued that the early Ottomans were tribal in origin⁷⁵, a view that is still debated by scholars.⁷⁶ The following chapter examines whether the tag of nationalism is relevant or even useful when the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade is discussed within the context of Turkish scholarship.

The late Ottomanist and Austrian scholar Wittek was a contemporary of Köprülü and the contribution of both scholars to the study of the fifteenth century Ottoman historiography still has an impact on scholarly output today. This is particularly true of Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" as since its inception in the 1930s, it continues to shape, or has done so until recently, the study of early Ottoman historiography in the form of the scholarly reactions to his theory.

In the same way that Köprülü responded to Gibbons's view that the Ottoman state could not have been built by "Asiatics," Wittek responded to the view that the Ottomans were tribal in origin. Wittek found the rhetoric of tribalism unconvincing⁷⁷ and concentrated on the role of religion in the rise of the early Ottomans. According to Wittek the tribal theory of the origins of the Ottomans represented the official Turkish historiographical stance.⁷⁸

For Wittek, it was a religious bond and not a tribal one that linked the Ottoman people and provided the solidarity for territorial expansion. Wittek has made a number of notable contributions to the field of Ottoman history and philology⁷⁹ but is most remembered for, quoted on and associated with his so-called "Ghazi thesis" on which he worked during his teaching career in Brussels and

⁷⁴ Köprülü, 1992: 27.

⁷⁵ Köprülü, 1992: 44, 46 and 49-50.

⁷⁶ Lindner, 1983 took the view that the Ottomans were tribal in origin. Kafadar, 1995: 16-17 and Finkel, 2005: 42 discuss the issue of tribalism in relation to the early Ottomans.

⁷⁷ Kafadar, 1995: 10-11.

⁷⁸ Wittek, 1963: 5-6.

⁷⁹ For example, Wittek, "Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken (mit Auszügen aus Neşrî)." *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, 1921-22.

appeared in print during the 1930s. Describing life on the Turkish frontier characterised by fluidity, Wittek in 1937 wrote that,

“The Turkish host, driven by despair, lack of space, desire for booty and religious fanaticism pressed on with astonishing force into the western province of Asia Minor.”⁸⁰

As can be seen from the above, Wittek also cited factors other than religion for the expansion of the Turks into Byzantine territories in the thirteenth century that accord with some of the factors cited by Köprülü. Both scholars believed that the early Ottoman period could be best understood through the study of social morphology, cultural traditions and institutional structures of the Anatolian Turkish frontier in particular.⁸¹

It is interesting that the factors for Turkish expansion in this period cited by Wittek in the 1930s such as the desire for booty form current scholarly thinking on the issue⁸² but are not generally discussed with reference to Wittek, as since his death in 1978 he is cited and criticised for his “Ghazi thesis.” Wittek relied primarily on an inscription on a mosque in Bursa (now commonly referred to by scholars as the 1337 Bursa Inscription) and the *İskendername* of the poet Ahmedi to ‘prove’ that the early Ottomans were indeed *ghazis*.⁸³

It is even more interesting to note despite the criticism levelled at Wittek’s “Ghazi thesis” over the last couple of decades or so, since its publication in 1938 by the Royal Asiatic Society, the *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* has been reprinted several times and has rarely been out of print.⁸⁴ It may be the case that the former students of Wittek or those who knew him personally waited until his death to criticise his “Ghazi thesis” but not all scholars did. Giese, a contemporary to Wittek, proved to be his fiercest critic during his lifetime, a fact often overlooked by scholars who are critical of Wittek’s work today.

⁸⁰ Wittek, 1963: 32.

⁸¹ Kafadar, 36:1995.

⁸² Lowry, 2003: 55-64 and 131-143.

⁸³ Wittek, 1963: 14-15 for discussion on Ahmedi’s portrayal of the Ottomans as ghazis and 43-44 for reference to the 1337 Bursa Inscription.

⁸⁴ Heywood, 2002: 12.

In the 1930s Giese argued that Wittek's work in general did not represent an up to date academic standard.⁸⁵ The academic exchange between Giese and Wittek is examined further in the following chapter as it is significant with regard to the different manuscripts and recensions that exist of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.

It is also important to note that despite being a contemporary of Wittek, Köprülü never directly engaged in the debate as to whether the Ottomans were indeed ghazis in accordance with Wittek's theory. This may be because to Köprülü the argument that religion was the primary factor for Ottoman expansion and therefore military success underplays the ethnicity factor. In addition, the Holy War was not a topic Köprülü as a nationalist would have wanted to associate with at a time the secular Republic of Turkey was in its infancy.

Köprülü did however attribute religion a role in the expansion of the Ottoman state but was quick to stress the fluid nature of the frontier and its social composition highlighting the fact that,

"All kinds of people possessing different religious creeds wrapped in the garb of warrior-dervish, as well as vagabond dervish groups, all of whom, apparently came to fight for Islam but, in fact, were seeking a means of livelihood."⁸⁶

As mentioned, following the death of Wittek in 1978 scholars felt more at ease to criticise his "Ghazi thesis."⁸⁷ The criticism levied towards Wittek's view that

⁸⁵ Giese, 1936: 1.

⁸⁶ Köprülü, 1992: 83.

⁸⁷ Those scholars who fall within the Anti-Wittekan camp and openly contest Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" as a theory include R.P. Lindner, "Stimulus and Justification in Early Ottoman History," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 27, 1982: 207-224, R.C. Jennings, "Some Thoughts on the gazi-thesis," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76, 1986: 151-162, Colin Imber, "What Does Ghazi Actually mean?" in *The Balance of Truth, Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Lewis* (ed) Cigdem Balim-Harding and Colin Imber, 2000: 165-178 and Gyula Kaldy-Nagy, "The Holy War (jihad) in the First Centuries of the Ottoman Empire." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4, 1979-1980: 467-473. Those scholars who are viewed as falling within the Pro-Wittekan camp first and foremost includes Halil İnalcık who is regarded as re-formulating Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" to explain how the early Ottomans went from a tribal entity into ghazis. Halil,

the early Ottomans owed their success to their religious zeal has been placed on two main planks. The first is that the early Ottomans should not be considered ghazis because they did not display religious behaviour befitting ghazis and later fabricated their own dynastic myths to justify military campaigns against their Muslim neighbours such as the Mamluks. The second view is that Wittek was influenced ideologically in his formulations on the early Ottomans and that these can and should be located in his work.

Scholars have usually been assigned a place in the pro-Wittekan or anti-Wittekan camp. However in recent years the categorisation of a historian according to whether they adhere to or are critical of Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" may have lost its functionality. The exception is Darling's article "Contested Territory: Ottoman Holy War in Comparative Context" published in 2000. This publication clearly sits in the pro-Wittekan camp because it prioritises the historical practice of ghaza.⁸⁸ Aside from this exception, the usefulness of secondary scholarship being considered within the context of Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" may have lost its applicability.

This is especially true over the last decade as a new generation of scholars choose not to get drawn into the debate. Barkey writing in 2008 stresses the importance of the early Ottomans forging alliances and networks across different groups, Mengüç also writing in 2008 does not delve into the debate as to whether the early Ottomans were motivated by Islam.⁸⁹ In addition, Finkel chooses not to be drawn in on the Holy War debate.

İnalçık "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 1980: 71-79 and Cemal Kafadar who is viewed as rejuvenating İnalçık's theory, Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (1995). Elizabeth Zachariadou is also regarded as having modified Wittek's theory, Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Histoire et legendes des premiers Ottomans." *Turcica* 27, 1995: 45-89.

⁸⁸ Darling argues that ghaza was used and interpreted in different ways by different groups within society: "As an ideology, gaza was flexible enough to be represented as an Orthodox Islamic activity to/by the 'ulema,' an unorthodox activity to/by aspiring rulers. As such, it might have been the most powerful and inclusive unifying device available to conquerors on the frontier, more so than tribalism, origin, religion, language or culture." Quote from Linda Darling, "Contested Territory: Ottoman Holy War in Comparative Context." *Studica Islamica* 91, 2000: 157.

⁸⁹ Barkey, 2008 and Mengüç, 2008.

“Wherever the answers to questions about Ottoman success may lie, the struggle of the Ottomans against their Anatolian neighbours was hard fought over almost two centuries.”⁹⁰

This trend may indicate that the scholarly world has come full circle as Ménage who lectured at the University of London and who is regarded as laying the building blocks for all discussion relating to Ottoman historiography⁹¹ did not take a view on Wittek’s “Ghazi thesis” despite citing his other works throughout his doctoral thesis.⁹²

Former students of Wittek or those who had some association with him⁹³ may have chosen to criticise his “Ghazi thesis” following his death but the same cannot be said of Köprülü.

Köprülü’s former student İnalçık who is often described by scholars in the west as the “leading Ottomanist of his generation”⁹⁴ or “the doyen of Ottoman studies in this generation”⁹⁵ is influenced to an extent by his former teacher in his approach. Like Köprülü, İnalçık has emphasised the tribal origins of the Ottomans but has not been as vocal as Köprülü as arguing for the purely Turkish identity of the Ottoman state.⁹⁶ İnalçık’s contribution to the study of Ottoman historiography is not only noteworthy because of his work on the sources of the fifteenth century as discussed above but also because he is the first scholar to incorporate the views of Köprülü and Wittek into his work. According to İnalçık, following the Turcoman expansions in the thirteenth century into western Anatolia as a result of the Mongol invasions,

⁹⁰ Finkel, 2005: 6.

⁹¹ For example, Kafadar, 1995: 99.

⁹² Ménage, 1961: 224 and 241 are examples where Ménage discusses the works of Wittek within a philological framework. It is interesting to note that with the exception of Mengüç in 2008, the doctorate theses of Ménage which is an exceptional study of most of the histories of the fifteenth century has been surprisingly under utilised by modern scholarship.

⁹³ As mentioned. Heywood was a student of Wittek and Colin Imber’s PhD supervisor the late Susan Skilliter is described as a “one-time Wittek student and devotee.”⁹³ Heywood, 2006: 14.

⁹⁴ Kafadar, 1995: 45.

⁹⁵ Lowry, 2003: 8.

⁹⁶ For example in 1973 İnalçık described the Ottoman state as “a true Frontier Empire, a cosmopolitan state, treating all creeds and races as one, which was to unite the Orthodox Christian Balkans and Muslim Anatolia into a single state.” İnalçık, 1973: 7.

“A new Turkey emerged with great demographic potential and heightened Holy War ideology and this intensified by the organisation of small raiding groups under ghazi leaders, mostly of tribal origin.”⁹⁷

İnalcık clearly therefore reconciles the two very distinct approaches of Köprülü and Wittek. However Kafadar’s view that İnalcık was the first scholar to argue for the material flexibility of ghaza in terms of booty⁹⁸ is not necessarily true. As mentioned before, Wittek drew attention to the desire of booty as a factor in ghaza raids⁹⁹ but this has been greeted with a silent reception by modern scholarship.

Gibbons was responsible for acting as a catalyst for the output of secondary literature in the field almost a century ago. Over the last couple of decades in particular, some scholars predominantly within Western scholarly circles have long argued that the approach to the study of Ottoman history should be historiographical as opposed to historical. The view that historiography is a useful term because it means simply “writing about the past”¹⁰⁰ is a simple and logical one but becomes problematic when applied to a study of the early Ottoman period. Chase, the author of *Islamic Historiography* argues that it is a historiographic truism that the survival of historical sources is a matter of history itself.¹⁰¹

A historiographic truism the survival of the early Ottoman histories such as that of the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed*, Ahmedî and the extant chronicle of Yahşî Fakih within Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* may be, but they are sources created approximately over a century after the foundation of the Ottoman polity.

That there are no written historical sources from the first century of the Ottoman era when it came into being on the frontier in north-western Anatolia around

⁹⁷ İnalcık, 1980: 74-75.

⁹⁸ Kafadar, 1995: 58

⁹⁹ Wittek, 1963:72

¹⁰⁰ Robinson, 2003: xvi.

¹⁰¹ Robinson, 2003: xxv.

1300 with Islamic and Turcoman settlement on the one side and Greek Christian civilisation on the other,¹⁰² lies at the heart of the historiographical issues surrounding fifteenth century Ottoman history.

The study of such Ottoman histories can be problematic. They do clearly provide highly valuable historical snippets into various aspects of political and social life pertaining to a period considerably earlier than the one they were composed in but they are essentially works of a literary as well as historical genre.

The definition of a literary text by Faroqhi, a social and economic historian of the pre-modern Ottoman era, is employed throughout this thesis. Literary texts in the broadest sense of the word denote texts either written for the edification and enjoyment of readers that might be known to the author or for the consumption of an anonymous public.¹⁰³

Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* and the other histories of the period should be viewed as historical texts written in the past within the context of literary artefacts vis-à-vis the reality to which they refer.¹⁰⁴ It is also important to note that within the current scholarly environment that has tended to judge the behaviour of the early Ottomans by today's standards, it may be futile to seek a clear distinction between the historical and literary genres of the fifteenth century with regard to the histories under discussion.¹⁰⁵

The British historian Heywood is one of the scholars who argue that it is necessary to adopt a historiographical rather than a historical approach to the subject of the writing of Ottoman history since its emergence as a separate academic discipline almost a century ago.¹⁰⁶ Heywood was the student of Wittek at the University of London. Following the death of Wittek in 1978, Heywood has produced scholarly output that attempts to locate the views of

¹⁰² Heywood, 1999: 231.

¹⁰³ Faroqhi, 1999: 144.

¹⁰⁴ Piterberg, 2003: 31.

¹⁰⁵ An example of a tendency to judge the behaviour in terms of the religiosity of the early Ottomans as to whether were ghazis or not can be seen in the approach of the American scholar Heath Lowry. Lowry, 2003: 55-94.

¹⁰⁶ Heywood, 1999: 231.

Wittek. Heywood argues that the view of Wittek that the driving force for the Ottomans' expansion and its subsequent success was due to the Holy War¹⁰⁷ should be located within the context of the intellectual and cultural milieu of Wittek between the two World Wars.¹⁰⁸

Ottoman contemporary mainstream historiography, according to Heywood, still applies the following periodisation to the history of the Ottoman state. The rise of the Ottoman Beylik and the beginning of expansion, the classical period where expansion was at its height and the end of expansion when the Ottomans accepted a peace treaty at Karlowitz in 1699. According to Heywood, this approach underestimates the fact that the Ottoman state was a frontier polity which from 1300 to 1700 possessed an active expansion frontier and also fails to appreciate the history of the Ottoman state from a 'microhistory' and macrohistory perspective.¹⁰⁹

Heywood also argues for a post-Wittekian approach to Ottoman historiography because Wittek is deemed as still being the most influential historian of the first century and a half of the Ottoman state.¹¹⁰

The British historian Imber shares a similar approach with his contemporary Heywood in that he also argues that fifteenth-century Ottoman history should be approached from a historiographical perspective. Both scholars take issue with Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" from an epistemological perspective.

Imber argues that it is unlikely that the Ottoman warriors of the fourteenth century saw their ghazi sultan or understood the Holy War in legalistic terms. Imber makes the argument that the first Ottoman ghazis were men of a popular type of Islam as opposed to the orthodox Islam of the Shari'ah.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Wittek, 1963: 45.

¹⁰⁸ See Heywood, 1988, 1989 and 1998.

¹⁰⁹ Heywood, 1999: 231-232: "In terms of microhistory we are looking at the Turkish (and possibly Ottoman) outflanking of the Byzantine frontier defences in Bithynia...In terms of macrohistory, as is less recognised, we are looking at one of the three great political faultlines which marked the interface between the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde, the two westernmost and mutually hostile sub-empires of the Mongols under the imperial authority of the successors of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan."

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Imber, 1987: 8.

Imber shows that the term *ghazi* had many nuances of usage in the fourteenth century, and took issue with Wittek's assertion that the Holy War was specifically a product of the conditions on the frontiers of Islam in contrast to the 'tolerant' views of the ulema of the hinterland.¹¹² Imber argues that Wittek misunderstood the usage of the term *ghazi* in the historical texts he used upon which to base his theory, a view which is abundantly clear through the following quote:

"It might, however, be permissible to state, as a general principle, that it is inadvisable to base a theory explaining the foundation of an Empire on a single word, especially if you do not know what the word means."¹¹³

Instead of joining the debate as to whether the behaviour of the early Ottomans would allow them to be classed as *ghazis*, Heywood has been the first scholar to provide some real context to the views of Wittek. Heywood concentrates on the intellectual background to Wittek's work and locates Wittek's historical writings within the context of certain Austrian attitudes to history and argues that the influence of extraneous but identifiable literary influences on Wittek's theories concerning the early history of the Ottoman state should be recognised.¹¹⁴

Heywood has also challenged the historical approach of Wittek with reference to his interpretation of the 1337 Bursa inscription which was one of the sources used by Wittek upon which to base his "Ghazi thesis." In his article "The 1337 Bursa Inscription and its Interpreters,"¹¹⁵ like other scholars who have done so¹¹⁶ since Wittek's reliance on it as a major source, Heywood assesses the historical assumptions derived from Wittek's reading of it.

¹¹² Imber, 2000: 166.

¹¹³ Imber, 2000: 178.

¹¹⁴ Heywood, 1989: 33. Heywood establishes a link between Wittek and the literary circle of George-Kreis on the one hand and the Ottoman empire on the other. See Heywood, 1989: 35-45.

¹¹⁵ Heywood, 2004: 215-232.

¹¹⁶ For example, Lowry, 2003: 33-45.

Heywood seeks to understand the reasons within an intellectual framework as to why Wittek never published his rendering of the 1337 Bursa inscription despite citing the inscription as the “oldest epigraphic document we have from an Ottoman ruler.”¹¹⁷ Despite attempting to understand the cultural milieu of Wittek when he served as a soldier in the First World War, Heywood has, it could be argued, been unduly criticised for his evaluation of Wittek’s work.¹¹⁸

Imber can be described as a more ardent proponent of the view that the study of early Ottoman history should be studied historiographically. Imber urges the modern historian to view the early Ottoman period as a ‘black hole’¹¹⁹ because this era of Ottoman history does not lend itself to be recreated. This stems from the lack of indigenous sources dating from the fourteenth century but also because there is no agreed chronology for the early Ottoman period.¹²⁰ According to Imber, “any attempt to fill this hole will simply result in the creation of more fables.”¹²¹ To Imber a study of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography is more complicated than Robinson’s definition of just “writing about the past.”¹²² Imber’s approach to Ottoman historiography has recently been summed up in the following words.

“Imber’s approach to this legacy has been one of rational enquiry tempered by a scepticism further attenuated by a healthy disdain both for fashionable trends and for all-embracing monistic (or nationalistic) historical explanations.”¹²³

Indeed the approach to the early Ottoman period is now more historiographical than ever before as scholars now utilise, albeit cautiously, the body of historical

¹¹⁷ Heywood, 2004: 219.

¹¹⁸ Lowry asserted that Heywood has approached Wittek as a demon who must be exorcised or explained as a piece of cultural history. Lowry, 2003: 11 and Imber argued that Heywood had challenged Wittek’s pedigree as a historian. Imber, 2000: 165. In contrast to these views, Heywood has praised the historical work of Wittek on a wide range of subjects throughout his career and seeks to understand the milieu of Wittek that led to the formulation of his theory that the early Ottomans were motivated by ghaza. See Heywood, 2004: 221 and Heywood, 1988: 8-10.

¹¹⁹ Imber, 1993: 75.

¹²⁰ Imber, 1990: 1.

¹²¹ Imber, 1993: 75.

¹²² Robinson, 2003: xvi.

¹²³ Heywood, 2006: 13.

literature that exists from the fifteenth century onwards. There is more regard for exploring the way the Ottomans viewed and wrote about themselves as opposed to attempting to create a solid chronology of events from the sources.¹²⁴

The author of *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play*, Piterberg, examines Ottoman historiography in the seventeenth century and identifies two current trends in modern scholarship. The first trend Piterberg identifies focuses on the need to establish the extent to which Ottoman historical texts are a reliable source of information for the reconstruction of extrinsic references. The second scholarly trend is to study historiography and the historians who produced it as a topic in and of itself and makes the occasion of history writing itself a historical topic.¹²⁵

Imber clearly falls within the former category as his publications over the last couple of decades testify to the fact that his approach to fifteenth century historiography is purely based on historical evidence and not on what he would define as “fashionable trends.” Imber is also the only historian to have recently provided a detailed chronology of the early Ottoman period.¹²⁶ It may even be argued that Imber embodies the historical approach of the injunction to ‘get the story straight’ and the avoidance of both conceptual over-determinism and imaginative excess at any price.¹²⁷ Imber’s work on the development of Ottoman dynastic myths throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to legitimise Ottoman rule and to justify war against fellow Muslims illustrates this point.

In his article “The Ottoman Dynastic Myth,” Imber provides historical context for the development of the myths within the context of how the Ottoman rulers perceived themselves. Imber attaches importance to the fact that the myths had no reality in historical fact.¹²⁸ Imber notes, without providing any specific examples, that modern historians have rejected much of what the texts of Oruç,

¹²⁴ Kafadar, 1995 can be considered to be an example of this approach.

¹²⁵ Piterberg, 2003: 31.

¹²⁶ Imber, 1990.

¹²⁷ White, 1999: 220.

¹²⁸ Imber, 1987: 7.

the Anonymous Chronicles and Aşıkpaşazade narrate in detail but that they still accept the broad outlines of their stories.

Imber describes the above histories as “canon” because they are generally taken to be representative of the early period by modern historians. Non-Ottoman histories of the period not composed in Turkish are defined as “apocrypha.” This is because modern historians have tended not to utilise them as historical sources.¹²⁹ Imber views such sources such as the *The Apocryphal King Lists* of Spandugino, an Italian-Greek who wrote an account of the Ottoman empire when he returned to Italy after a stay in Istanbul in the early sixteenth century, as useful historiographical tools.

With regard to whether the early Ottomans were ghazis, Spandugino’s explanation adds weight to Imber’s argument that the *raison d’être* of the early Ottomans was not to wage Holy War against infidels. This is because Spandugino defines the term ghazi as an epithet for Murad I as meaning “courageous and bold” as opposed to anything with a more religious connotation. Therefore to Imber, his work reflected the popular understanding of the term ghazi¹³⁰ even though Spandugino is like the Ottoman histories of the period in that they are not contemporaneous to the historical events they describe.

The approach of Imber to fifteenth century Ottoman historiography, as mentioned, has been characterised as “one of rational enquiry.”¹³¹ This approach has resulted in Imber taking a critical stance against those historians who he would argue have not followed the path of rational enquiry in the pursuance of a strictly historical approach. Imber’s criticism is usually expressed in the footnotes of articles or in book reviews,¹³² rather than in a more direct way evident in the first half of the twentieth century in the exchanges between such scholars as Wittek, Giese and Köprülü.

¹²⁹ Imber, 1994: 117.

¹³⁰ Imber, 1994: 119.

¹³¹ Heywood, 2006: 13.

¹³² Imber’s criticism of İnalcık can be found in the footnote of Imber, 1987: 7.

Imber is predominantly critical of some of the historical formulations of scholars such as İnalcık and Kafadar. In summarising the reasons why the Ottoman state chose to justify its rise to power and its religiosity in the form of Orthodox Islamic ideals through the propagation of myths, Imber argues that:

“[The myth]...became, in the end, so deeply embedded in Ottoman thought, and so carefully preserved in Ottoman history writing, that even in the 20th century, historians still present elements of the myth in the guise of historical fact.”¹³³

Imber states, in the footnote to the above assertion, that the tendency of modern historians to treat myth as historical fact is evident in the work of İnalcık's *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age* where İnalcık treats the story of Osman's marriage to the daughter of the dervish Edebali as a historical fact.¹³⁴ Imber takes issue with the fact that İnalcık regards the tale that appears in Aşıkpaşazade and other histories of the period as fact on two counts. First, that İnalcık did not appreciate that the story of Osman having a prophetic dream whilst staying in the house of the holy man Edebali was a myth that legitimised Ottoman rule because it showed that God had bestowed rulership on the Ottomans through the spiritual descent of Edebali as a dervish sheikh.

Secondly, İnalcık describes Edebali as “the most powerful man on the frontier,” which Imber interprets as İnalcık reinterpreting the myth to conform to Wittek's theory of the Ottoman empire as a “frontier state.”

As discussed above, Köprülü also stressed the importance of the frontier in the emergence of the Ottoman polity as has Heywood¹³⁵ since the publication of Imber's “The Ottoman Dynastic Myth” in 1987. Imber's association of İnalcık with Wittek may be due to the fact that İnalcık is the only Turkish scholar to have completely incorporated the “Ghazi thesis” of Wittek into his work.¹³⁶

¹³³ Imber, 1987: 7.

¹³⁴ İnalcık, 1973: 55.

¹³⁵ Heywood, 1999.

¹³⁶ Lowry, 2003: 7

The publication of Kafadar has caused a divergence of opinion amongst scholars. In his *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Kafadar provides a detailed account of the Ottoman histories of the fifteenth century. He deconstructs the historiography of the period in a rather vivid manner with an almost story-telling narrative and then reconstructs it. Kafadar achieves this through emphasising the role of the frontier in the formation of the social and political milieu leading up to the foundation of the Ottoman state. This is evident when Kafadar discusses the western Anatolian marches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Kafadar makes assumptions regarding the exposure of the people of the marches to some kind of oral lore and legend that embodied the struggles of the frontier including those of Battal Ghazi and Melik Danişmend.¹³⁷

Even though the lore that relates to such figures as Battal Ghazi has only survived in much later versions, Kafadar concludes that the legends were circulating at the time because of the discovery of Battal Ghazi's shrine in the twelfth century.¹³⁸ Kafadar has also devoted many pages in *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* to the argument, originating from Wittek, as to whether the early Ottomans can be considered to be ghazis or not.

Kafadar argues that scholars should not judge the early Ottomans by orthodox religious standards and that the "un-orthodox" behaviour, attributed to the early Ottomans by modern scholarship, does not equate to their actions having no historical value.¹³⁹

Kafadar has introduced a multi-dimensional approach to a discipline that has for the last twenty years or so tended to judge the historicity of the early Ottomans through their sometimes clearly contradictory behaviour. According to Kafadar the recent debate over the "Muslimness" of the ghazis obscures the historical reality of the unique culture and ethos of the frontier environment within which the Ottoman state was born.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Kafadar, 1995: 65.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Kafadar, 1995: 12.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Kafadar is primarily responding to the views of the American scholar Lindner within the above context of the “Muslimness” of the ghazis. In opposition to Wittek’s “Ghazi thesis,” Lindner argued that the early Ottomans could not have been ghazis for five main reasons which included recruiting Byzantines into their ranks and exerting no pressure on Christian subjects to convert to Islam.¹⁴¹ Lindner’s view does not allow for pragmatism on behalf of the early Ottomans, who may not have enjoyed such vast territorial expansion, had they alienated the non-Muslim populations by pursuing policies such as forced conversions in the early years.

In response to Lindner, Kafadar stresses the blurred boundaries and pragmatism of the early Ottomans and their predecessors. Kafadar argues that in contrary to the arguments of modern scholarship regarding the incompatibility of the ghaza spirit and tolerance towards infidels, that the compatibility between these two allegedly contradictory attitudes is a topos in the literature of the frontier.¹⁴² Kafadar cites examples of co-operation between the early Ottomans and infidels and essentially argues that it was normal for an attempt to be made to “gain the hearts and minds” of infidels as it was possible to achieve conversion to Islam in this way.¹⁴³

However the historicity of such cases of co-operation with and the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam as cited in the sources should perhaps not be taken at face value. Not only are such examples in Ottoman and pre-Ottoman sources not abundant. The pre-Ottoman literary sources including the *Battalname*, *Danişmendname* and the *Saltukname* do not really touch upon the concept of conversion. In addition, examples that appear in later sources such as that of Aşıkpaşazade and Oruç may have been later fabrications to provide a ‘historical’ justification for otherwise difficult to explain co-operation with non-Muslims.

¹⁴¹ Lindner, 1983: 2-10.

¹⁴² Kafadar, 1995:82.

¹⁴³ For examples of how the Ottomans won over Christians to converting to Islam. Kafadar, 1995: 82-86.

One of the examples of conversion and co-operation cited by Kafadar is that of Köse Mihal who according to both Aşıkpaşazade and Oruç converted to Islam after the Prophet appeared in his dream and became a comrade-in-arms and loyal companion of Osman. Imber has argued that the stories in relating to Köse Mihal are not based in fact and explains how Aşıkpaşazade took over the character first mentioned in Oruç and made him convincing for the purposes of his audience who would have listened to his tales.¹⁴⁴

The empathy that Kafadar has shown in assuming what the key political players of the early Ottoman period and its subsequent writers thought and felt has attracted praise from his contemporaries. Faroqhi, praises the efforts of Kafadar in uncovering statements which do not lie at the surface of the text and have only been alluded to by the authors of those chronicles, when an evaluation of fifteenth century chronicles is made.¹⁴⁵ Lowry cites Kafadar's *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* as the most important recent book length study to re-examine the emergence and growth of the Ottomans.¹⁴⁶ However the approach of Kafadar has not been one that all modern scholars can identify with.

It is noteworthy that Mengüç in his recent study of Ottoman historiography does not consider the scholarly contribution of Kafadar within the context of the current state of play of the field of Ottoman historiography. Despite Kafadar devoting several pages in his book to refuting the views of Lindner,¹⁴⁷ about the textual value of fifteenth century chronicles, Lindner in his recent work *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory* published in 2007 makes no reference to the work of Kafadar.¹⁴⁸ Imber dismisses Kafadar's contribution to Ottoman historiography as:

¹⁴⁴ Imber, 1993: 67-68.

¹⁴⁵ Faroqhi, 1999: 147.

¹⁴⁶ Lowry, 2003: 12.

¹⁴⁷ Kafadar, 2005: 89, 98-99, 102, 103-104 to cite only a few examples.

¹⁴⁸ Lindner, 2007.

“ A defence of Wittek’s famous “gazi-thesis” or more precisely, a defence of Inalcik’s modification of the “gazi-thesis” to accommodate it to the traditional view of the tribal origins of the Ottomans.”¹⁴⁹

The criticism of Imber is not surprising given that Kafadar is arguing for the notion that the early Ottomans could have been ghazis and of tribal origin. Also significant in terms of historical approach is the fact that Kafadar’s focus on the “liquidity and fluidity of culture” of the period assumes more than can be deduced from a reading of the sources and relies somewhat on assigning historical assumptions to the actions of the early Ottomans. An approach that clearly does not accord with Imber’s approach which is based on “rational enquiry.”¹⁵⁰

Kafadar has attempted to fill the “black hole” Imber argued that could not be filled.¹⁵¹ Kafadar has followed more of a sociological rather than a strictly historical evidential based approach and has argued that the behaviour of the early Ottomans should be characterised by more than a literal reading of the sources of the period. Kafadar’s argument that the ghaza ethos could fit with the more worldly aspirations of the early Ottomans such as the desire for booty whilst still maintaining religious commitment is a case in point and is typical of his approach.¹⁵²

Lowry’s argues that Imber’s criticism of Kafadar’s work is as much a defence of his own revisionist “black hole theory” as it is a critique of Kafadar.¹⁵³ This demonstrates that the divergence of scholarly opinion that exists with regard to fifteenth century historiography owes as much to the rationale of individual scholars as to the nature of the sources of the period. The reliance of scholars on fifteenth-century sources to ascertain whether the early Ottomans were ghazis or not, obscures the attitudes and values of writers such as Aşıkpaşazade on this and other issues. This is explored later in the thesis in relation to Aşıkpaşazade’s views on early Ottoman Ottoman-Christian relations.

¹⁴⁹ Imber, 1997: 211-212.

¹⁵⁰ Heywood, 2006: 13.

¹⁵¹ Imber, 1993: 75.

¹⁵² Kafadar, 1995: 37-8.

¹⁵³ Lowry, 2003: 12.

In his *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*, Lindner sums up the current and general consensus of modern scholarship towards the use of fifteenth-century histories:

“Too literal a reading of the sources can lead to an acceptance of the notion, once popular, that it was the spirit of the ghazis that propelled the Ottomans to power and success. Too lax a reading allows folktale and invention to enjoy the status of accepted historical fact.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Lindner, 2007: 7.

3. A chronological portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade in secondary literature

This section provides a summary of the scholarly output produced specifically on Aşıkpaşazade over the last century or so. The portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by scholar and in a chronological order is undertaken to serve as a guide and to identify any trends with regard to the scholarly portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade over time.

Ali (1914)¹⁵⁵. An assistant librarian at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul at the time he wrote, Ali produced an edition of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* based on the Istanbul Archaeological Museum manuscript and the Vatican manuscript of Aşıkpaşazade's history, called *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi (History of Aşıkpaşazade)*.¹⁵⁶ This manuscript represents the longest recension of his history in which the latest event is dated 1502.¹⁵⁷ Ali's work cannot be described as a critical edition as he only relied on the Istanbul manuscript, also consulting the Vatican one for his edition of the text. Ali's text was described by Ménage as "leaving everything to be desired" and was severely criticised after its publication.¹⁵⁸

It is not quite clear why Ali's text of Aşıkpaşazade is thought to have been deemed below standard in the first half of the twentieth century. İnalçık has recently described Ali's edition as not being satisfactory but fails to provide a justification for this.¹⁵⁹ Despite the criticism levelled at his work, it continues to be used by scholars internationally when they quote from Aşıkpaşazade.¹⁶⁰

Herbert Gibbons (1916). The author of *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* published in 1916,¹⁶¹ Gibbons did not consult Aşıkpaşazade as a source in the writing of his work. Despite this section being concerned with those scholars

¹⁵⁵ The dates in brackets denotes a specific date of publication or publications over a period of time.

¹⁵⁶ Ali, *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1914.

¹⁵⁷ Ménage, 1961: 222.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ İnalçık, 1995: 31.

¹⁶⁰ For example, Imber, 1994 and Ocak, 1993.

¹⁶¹ Gibbons, 1916.

who have written on Aşıkpaşazade, Gibbons is important for the development of the study of Ottoman historiography because his views as discussed prompted other scholars to respond to his historical formulations with their own, even though he did not actually consult any of the Turkish sources in question.

Frederich Giese (1929 and 1936). Giese published two works specifically relating to Aşıkpaşazade. Fifteen years after the publication of Ali's *History of Aşıkpaşazade*, Giese published a new edition of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* called *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Āşıkpaşazāde*¹⁶² (*The Old Ottoman Chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade*). This was a critical edition of Aşıkpaşazade, as is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Giese consulted ten manuscripts, which presented at least three recensions of Aşıkpaşazade's history. Giese took as the basis of his critical edition three manuscripts in which the last historical event was in 1485.¹⁶³ These were the Upsala, Mordtman and Berlin manuscripts. One of the unfortunate deficiencies of Giese's edition is that though Giese determined that the Berlin manuscript was reliable, he was too advanced in his edition to consult it as fully as might be wished for.

In 1936 Giese published his *Die Verschiedenen Textrezensionen des 'Āşıkpaşazāde bei seinen Nachfolgern und Ausschreibern*¹⁶⁴ (*The Different Text Recensions of Aşıkpaşazade by his Successors and Copyists*) primarily to defend the choice of manuscripts he relied upon in his 1929 edition of Aşıkpaşazade and to respond to the strong criticism of Wittek regarding his edition. Wittek was critical of Giese's edition and argued that it was possible to identify five recensions of which Giese represented the third. Wittek argued that the manuscripts required to identify five recensions were at Giese's disposal in the form of the manuscripts he had before him, but were not utilised. For example, according to Wittek, the Paris manuscript represented the main source or derived from the main source of Aşıkpaşazade but was ignored by Giese in preparing in his edition.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Giese, 1929.

¹⁶³ Ménage, 1961: 223.

¹⁶⁴ Giese, 1936.

¹⁶⁵ Wittek, 1923-1925: 151-164 and 1931: 698-707. Also see Ménage, 1961: 224.

Mehmet Fuat Köprülü (1930s). The late Köprülü can be considered to be one of the more prolific writers on Aşıkpaşazade. His work falls into two categories with regard to Aşıkpaşazade. He provides biographical information pertaining to the life of Aşıkpaşazade and assesses the usefulness of Aşıkpaşazade as a historical source to an understanding of life in the fifteenth century Ottoman state. In an article in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*,¹⁶⁶ Köprülü provides a brief introduction to the life of Aşıkpaşazade. Throughout the article Köprülü stresses Aşıkpaşazade's illustrious ancestry to the family of the famous poet Aşık Paşa (1272-1332) and states how Aşıkpaşazade used the pseudonym of *Âşıkî* because of this. Despite this familial connection, Aşıkpaşazade is described as a simple and modest sheikh and because of this was unable to achieve fame either as a historian or as a Sufi during his lifetime.¹⁶⁷

According to Köprülü, Aşıkpaşazade did not distinguish between legend and historical fact in his history but Köprülü nonetheless deems him to be useful because he not only provides his own views but also those of the dervish-ghazi elements at the time.¹⁶⁸ Köprülü had little patience for the tales and legends found in the fifteenth-century histories¹⁶⁹ but rates Aşıkpaşazade as a source for describing the social conditions on the frontier. According to Köprülü Aşıkpaşazade mentions the existence of four large independent organisations which have to be examined if the political and social history of the march Beyliks (the Ottoman emirate being one of them) is to be understood.¹⁷⁰

Köprülü identifies the following four frontier groups in Aşıkpaşazade: (1) *Ghazis and Alps*: according to Köprülü this is a Turkish group and the terms ghazi and alp are interchangeable. Amongst pre-Islamic Turks, alp was a title that meant "hero" or "warlike." Köprülü argues that it is within this context that the term ghazi was sometimes used after the Turks converted to Islam, namely within its pre-Islamic context.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ Köprülü, 1940a: 706-709.

¹⁶⁷ Köprülü, 1940a: 707.

¹⁶⁸ Köprülü, 1940a: 708.

¹⁶⁹ Köprülü, 1992: 1.

¹⁷⁰ Köprülü, 1992: 88.

¹⁷¹ Köprülü, 1992: 89.

(2) *Ahīs*: this is the second group mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade. Köprülü defines the *Ahīs* as a “brotherhood” and credits Aşıkpaşazade with mentioning the brotherhoods of Anatolia. According to Köprülü, Aşıkpaşazade was a simple and uneducated man who confused the meaning of the *ahī* organisation.¹⁷² Köprülü argues that Aşıkpaşazade should have regarded the *ahīs* and the *ghazis* as being the same.¹⁷³ Although not mentioned in Aşıkpaşazade, Köprülü argues that the distinction between *alps* and *ahīs* became blurred overtime.¹⁷⁴

(3) A third social group mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade is that of the *Bājiyān-i Rūm* (the sisters of Anatolia). Köprülü speculates whether this group could be connected to the Bektaşī Sufi order or alternatively whether the women in question were of Turkmen origin.¹⁷⁵

(4) The final group mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade is the *Abdālan- i Rūm*. Köprülü categorises this group as the heterodox dervishes of Anatolia. As with the previous groups, Köprülü seeks to locate the origins of this group within a Turkmen/Turkish context.

The impact of Turkish nationalism on the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade in Turkish scholarship is examined in the following chapter as it is interesting to note that despite being a dervish of illustrious descent, Aşıkpaşazade is regarded as ‘simple’ because the content of his history did not always conform to Köprülü’s ideal of Ottoman history as a continuation of Turkish history.

Joachim Hans Kissling (1936). Kissling's doctoral dissertation (Breslau) was a strictly philological study of the phonological and morphological characteristics of the Giese edition which was of considerable value in its time as the grammar of Old Ottoman was still in its infancy. The thesis examined the prose and poetry sections separately. Kissling's analysis concluded that the first third of the work contained a much heavier concentration of archaic features typical of Old Ottoman, a discovery which confirmed that the parts attributed to Yahşi

¹⁷² Köprülü, 1992: 94.

¹⁷³ Köprülü, 1992: 94.

¹⁷⁴ Köprülü, 1992: 95.

¹⁷⁵ Köprülü, 1992: 99.

Fakih reflected a more archaic language.¹⁷⁶ Kissling argued however that these features do not prove that Yahşi Fakih actually composed a chronicle in writing. Rather it may well be that these features were due to orally transmitted 'reports' which were selectively utilized and accordingly edited by Aşıkpaşazade, as the frequent repetition of *iẖtisâr etdüm* indicates. Indeed, as Kissling concluded, Aşıkpaşazade's language, despite displaying several features typical of classical Ottoman, nonetheless represents one of the last witnesses of the vernacular register of Old Ottoman (ausgesprochen altosmanische Sprache).

Ömer Lütfi Barkan (1942). The late Turkish scholar carried out extensive research on the role of dervish lodges (*zaviyeler*) and "colonizing dervishes" in the rise and expansion of the Ottoman state. In his 1942 publication Barkan makes reference to Aşıkpaşazade and the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* within the context of stressing the role and importance of dervish elements in the early years of the Ottoman state based on examples from Aşıkpaşazade's text.¹⁷⁷

As discussed above with reference to Köprülü, Barkan accepts Aşıkpaşazade's account of the existence of four distinct social groups on the frontier and highlights the importance of the role played by the alp (hero, warlike) figures in the creation of the Ottoman state.¹⁷⁸ Barkan cites the same example as Wittek of a tale in Aşıkpaşazade where Osman presents, on the occasion of the granting of a fief, his own sword and drinking cup, to a dervish.¹⁷⁹ Whereas to Wittek this carried the religious connotation of ghaza, to Barkan the gift which could be passed onto future generations of dervishes was more important than any written contract.¹⁸⁰

Barkan also interprets the featuring of Osman's father-in-law Ede Bali in Aşıkpaşazade as an indication of the importance the early Ottomans attached to the "colonializing dervishes" because he was an important Şeyh.¹⁸¹ Like Köprülü, who wrote before him, Barkan viewed the Ottoman state as a

¹⁷⁶ Kissling, 1936: 75.

¹⁷⁷ Barkan, 1942: 288.

¹⁷⁸ Barkan, 1942: 282.

¹⁷⁹ Barkan, 1942: 287.

¹⁸⁰ Barkan, 1942: 288.

¹⁸¹ Barkan, 1942: 288.

continuation of the pre-Turkish Seljuk state in terms of culture, religion and spirituality. It is within this context that Aşıkpaşazade is portrayed.

Nihal Atsız (1949) and (1970). In 1949, the historian-Turkologist Nihal Atsız published an edition of Aşıkpaşazade's history, *Tevârîh-i Âli Osman (History of Ottoman Dynasty)* within his *Osmanlı Tarihleri (Ottoman Histories)* which also included editions of other fifteenth century Ottoman historians.¹⁸² Atsız's edition is regarded as a conflation of the Ali 1914 edition based on the Constantinople/Istanbul manuscript which comes down to the year 1502, and the Giese 1929 edition.¹⁸³

Atsız consciously chose not to provide an apparatus of variant readings but to present a text which in his considered opinion represented what Aşıkpaşazade should have written, a version which as much as possible tries to make sense of the readings of the two editions, especially where they are only slightly at variance (hence the conflation). Atsız's edition was criticised by Ménage in the 1960s for not attempting to present a proper critical edition with a detailed discussion of the connections of the manuscripts.¹⁸⁴

Atsız was aware that Giese's edition suffered from the inability to consult fully the best (Berlin) of the three manuscripts on which it is based but does not indicate whether he made use of it himself. However despite this, Atsız's edition of Aşıkpaşazade is still used by primarily Turkish scholars when quoting Aşıkpaşazade.¹⁸⁵

In 1970, Atsız published his edition of Aşıkpaşazade as a book entitled *Âşıkpaşaoğlu Tarihi*¹⁸⁶ (*History of the Son of Âşık Paşa*). Atsız has been criticised for omitting all the chapters on the events of the reign of Bayezid II in his edition because he argued that Aşıkpaşazade would have been deceased

¹⁸² Atsız, Istanbul, 1949.

¹⁸³ Ménage, 1961: 225.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ See for example, İnalçık, 1993: 81.

¹⁸⁶ Atsız, 1970.

by 1481.¹⁸⁷ It is generally accepted however that Aşıkpaşazade wrote about events down to 1484, although the exact date of this death is unknown.¹⁸⁸

Paul Wittek (1920s-1965). Wittek scholar is best known for his “Ghazi thesis,” but also made an important philological contribution to the study of Aşıkpaşazade. Wittek, as mentioned, was very critical of the manuscripts Giese utilised for his 1929 edition but was also the first scholar to demonstrate the dependence of Neşri’s *Cihânnüma* (*Cosmorama*) on Aşıkpaşazade as a source.¹⁸⁹ Wittek’s view that all of the manuscripts of Aşıkpaşazade derived from a book which Aşıkpaşazade had compiled over the years,¹⁹⁰ has never been historically proven but is a view that has not been dismissed by modern scholarship.¹⁹¹

Wittek dismissed the claims of the fifteenth-century histories including that of Aşıkpaşazade that the Ottomans descended from the Oğuz as legend.¹⁹² Wittek’s complete dismissal of the Ottoman genealogy was also in part a reaction against Köprülü’s view that the Ottomans were tribal in origin.¹⁹³

In contrast, Wittek demonstrates an uncritical acceptance of the ethos-world of Aşıkpaşazade if it supports his “Ghazi thesis.” Wittek cites the example of a tale in Aşıkpaşazade where Osman presents, on the occasion of the granting of a fief, his own sword and drinking cup, to a dervish.¹⁹⁴ According to Wittek, despite this being a legendary tale, it demonstrated the survival of a ghazi ceremony from the past and that such customs were employed to express the peculiar character of a state whose ruler was a ghazi.¹⁹⁵

In an article written in 1965,¹⁹⁶ Wittek compares the tale of the capture of the Aydos Castle during Orhan’s reign by Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri. Wittek argues

¹⁸⁷ Atsız, 1949: 81 and see Ménage, 1961: 225 for criticism of Atsız.

¹⁸⁸ Imber, 1990: 258.

¹⁸⁹ Wittek, 1921-22: 77-150.

¹⁹⁰ Ménage, 1961: 224.

¹⁹¹ İnalçık, 1962: 154.

¹⁹² Wittek, 1963: 8.

¹⁹³ Wittek, 1963: 9.

¹⁹⁴ Wittek, 1963: 39.

¹⁹⁵ Wittek, 1963: 40.

¹⁹⁶ Wittek, 1965: 671.

that despite being more of a legend than a historical account, the tale clearly reveals information about the life of the ghazis. Aşıkpaşazade's version is the more authentic one according to Wittek as even though Neşri copied most of the tale from Aşıkpaşazade, he was not associated with the ghazis like Aşıkpaşazade was and knew nothing of the spirit of the frontier from the security of his city-dwelling life, like Aşıkpaşazade did.¹⁹⁷

Victor L. Ménage (1960s). Ménage has written more on Aşıkpaşazade than any other scholar but to the disadvantage of modern scholarship his doctoral thesis¹⁹⁸ remains unpublished and therefore under-utilised by scholars also writing on the subject.¹⁹⁹ Writing in 2008, Mengüç dedicated his doctoral thesis to Ménage stating that "I dedicate this PhD research to V. L. Ménage, since I believe that without his PhD research, completed in 1961, mine would have been a shot in the dark."²⁰⁰

Ménage's doctoral thesis includes a study of all of the fifteenth-century histories and contains several sections on Aşıkpaşazade. Ménage's work on Aşıkpaşazade can be categorised as follows; an outline of the manuscripts of Aşıkpaşazade, an assessment of the philological debate on Aşıkpaşazade²⁰¹ and overview of the genre and content of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.²⁰² It also contains autobiographical detail on the life of the dervish.²⁰³ Ménage did publish a short article on the development of Ottoman historiography in 1962²⁰⁴ but this twelve-page article outlining the beginnings of the historiography of the period is brief in content compared to the value of Ménage's two-volume doctoral thesis.

Crucially for a study of the development of Ottoman historiography as outlined above, Ménage defines the place of Aşıkpaşazade within the context of the interrelationship of the histories of the fifteenth-century and the development of

¹⁹⁷ Wittek, 1965: 671-672.

¹⁹⁸ Ménage, 1961.

¹⁹⁹ Several scholars who have also written on Aşıkpaşazade and have not consulted Ménage's thesis include Kafadar, Lindner and Lowry.

²⁰⁰ Ménage, 1961: 6.

²⁰¹ Ménage, 1961: 222-236.

²⁰² Ménage, 1961: 29, 222, 226-236.

²⁰³ Ménage, 1961: 217-233 and 440.

²⁰⁴ Ménage, 1962: 168-179.

textual tradition. Aşıkpaşazade is deemed to be important historiographically because he formed part of a group of writers that relied on a source that represented one of the textual traditions of the period until Neşri fused the two traditions writing at the turn of the sixteenth century. The author(s) of the Anonymous Chronicles and Oruç are the other writers that relied on the same source as Aşıkpaşazade.

Like his teacher Wittek who wrote before him, Ménage demonstrates the dependency of Neşri on Aşıkpaşazade as a source²⁰⁵ but was the first scholar to dedicate a publication to the chronicle of Yahşi Fakih²⁰⁶ the son of the imam of Orhan, upon whom Aşıkpaşazade relied heavily as a source for the earlier part of his history. Ménage argued in contrast to previous scholarship that the source of Yahşi Fakih was unique to Aşıkpaşazade and was not utilised by the other histories of the period²⁰⁷ with which Aşıkpaşazade did share a common source with until 1422.

According to Ménage, although as a historical source the work of Aşıkpaşazade is imprecise, it can be deemed to be of the highest value because writing in his old age he brought together memories and stories he had heard from his youth.²⁰⁸ It is interesting to note that Ménage does not enter into the religious or ethnic arguments accounting for the rise of the Ottomans or Aşıkpaşazade's role within this.

Halil İnalçık (1960s-1994). Like Ménage, İnalçık also highlights the importance of Aşıkpaşazade within the development of Ottoman historiography.²⁰⁹ İnalçık regards Aşıkpaşazade as a valuable historical source. Aşıkpaşazade is used by İnalçık as a historical source for the siege of Nicaea and the battle of Bapheus which the Ottomans won against the Byzantines in 1301.²¹⁰ Aşıkpaşazade is deemed to be unique because he provides information from Yahşi Fakih and

²⁰⁵ Ménage, 1961: 238-247.

²⁰⁶ Ménage, 1963: 50-54.

²⁰⁷ Ménage, 1963: 52.

²⁰⁸ Ménage, 1961: 229.

²⁰⁹ İnalçık, 1962: 154.

²¹⁰ İnalçık, 1993: 77-99.

therefore supplies information missing in the Anonymous Chronicles regarding the siege and the surrender of the 'district of Marmara' in particular.²¹¹

İnalcık is also the author of the most recent monographic article on Aşıkpaşazade.²¹² The article entitled *How to Read 'Āshık Pasha Zāde's History* does not actually advise the reader on how to read Aşıkpaşazade from a literary genre or content perspective but does provide some biographical information on the dervish based on archival sources.²¹³ The aim of the article is two-fold: to argue for the historicity of Osman's father-in-law, Ede Bali, based on Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* and to show that Aşıkpaşazade yearned for the simple days of the Ottoman state before the harsh fiscal reforms of Mehmed II which also affected him.²¹⁴

İnalcık is one of the first scholars to stress the "strong polemical character" of Aşıkpaşazade's history and argues that Aşıkpaşazade's work is heavily influenced by and reflects the vibrant conflicts between the elite and the state as a result of the radical measures in taxation and landholding introduced by the Conqueror.²¹⁵ Scholars writing after the publication of the article have also stressed the critical stance of Aşıkpaşazade towards certain individuals or state policies.²¹⁶

İnalcık argues that Aşıkpaşazade directed his resentment at no longer enjoying the financial privileges he once did at those who surrounded the sultan such as the vizier Rum Mehmed Pasha and that he praised the earlier rulers on their good acts as opposed to specifically criticising Mehmed II.²¹⁷

Later in the present thesis it is argued that despite displaying somewhat of a polemical character in his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*, his personal gripes aside, that Aşıkpaşazade did not write such a "warts-

²¹¹ İnalcık, 1993: 90.

²¹² İnalcık, 1995: 31-50.

²¹³ İnalcık, 1995: 31.

²¹⁴ İnalcık, 1995: 39.

²¹⁵ İnalcık, 1995: 36.

²¹⁶ Kafadar, 1995 and Faroqui, 1999.

²¹⁷ İnalcık, 1995: 36 and 38. According to İnalcık, Aşıkpaşazade held Rum Mehmed Pasha responsible for the sultan no longer lavishing gifts on the ulema and sheikhs.

and- all” account of Ottoman history. İnalçık’s scholarly output is significant in one other area also even though he does not make specific reference to Aşıkpaşazade. In 1991, İnalçık introduced the concept of *Istimâlet* into the field of Ottoman history.²¹⁸

İnalçık argued that this practice of being favourably disposed towards the non-Muslim people in territories that were captured played a vital role in the success of the early Ottoman state.²¹⁹

However İnalçık, who regards Aşıkpaşazade as valuable historical source for the fifteenth century, does not mention Aşıkpaşazade within the context of *Istimâlet* even though the writer provides detailed accounts on the early expansion of the Ottomans. Within Chapter 3 of the present thesis it is argued that the application of the concept of *istimâlet* is not as straightforward as has been presented by modern scholarship.

Franz Babinger (1978). In his 1978 publication, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*,²²⁰ Babinger made a few references to Aşıkpaşazade.²²¹ The first reference is in relation to the second Ottoman battle of Kosovo that took place in 1448 under Murad II (r. 1421-1437, 1438-1451). The Wallachians betrayed the Hungarian ruler John Hunyadi in the hope of avoiding the vengeance of Murad II and offered their services to the sultan.²²² According to Chalkokondylas, an Athenian historian, author of a Turco-Byzantine history from 1293 to 1463, Murad was not convinced of the loyalty of the Wallachians and had them butchered to the last man.²²³ Babinger points out that Aşıkpaşazade makes no reference of the slaughter of the Wallachians, even though he personally participated in the battle.²²⁴

²¹⁸ İnalçık, 1991: 409.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Babinger, 1978.

²²¹ The German edition of Babinger’s work published in 1959 was critically reviewed by İnalçık who argued that Babinger did not utilise some of the most important sources of the fifteenth century and that he did not seek to establish the real relationship and sequence of the actual historical developments. İnalçık, 1960: 408-427.

²²² Babinger, 1978: 56.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Babinger, 1978: 56.

Babinger's second mention of Aşıkpaşazade is within the context of the circumcision ceremonies of the two sons of Mehmed II, Mustafa and Bayezid in 1457.²²⁵ According to Babinger, the only independent account of the ceremony is that of Aşıkpaşazade. Aşıkpaşazade relates how he was given a piece of fabric containing a sweet-meat which he left for his servant.²²⁶

Babinger's third reference to Aşıkpaşazade revolves around the policy of the Conqueror to confiscate properties of religious/dervish figures, which İnalçık has also written on.²²⁷

There is no historical record of Babinger's assertion that Aşıkpaşazade "complained and protested to the grand vizier about this repression, though without results."²²⁸ Aşıkpaşazade did indeed make his frustration about the financial curtailment policies of Mehmed II known in his history, but only years after the event and not through any formal petition during the reign of the Conqueror.

Babinger's fourth reference to Aşıkpaşazade, describes Aşıkpaşazade's hatred of Rum Mehmed Pasha for his role in the financial policies introduced by Mehmed II.²²⁹ Babinger goes on to state that the frankness of Aşıkpaşazade throughout his history is unsurprising because his history was composed to be read to members of his dervish order and to the common people.²³⁰ Therefore Babinger argues that Aşıkpaşazade was vocal about certain events that harmed the common people and therefore roused his anger.²³¹

In contrast to the view of Babinger this present thesis argues that Aşıkpaşazade was primarily concerned with the effect of such policies on himself.

The present author argues that Aşıkpaşazade did not write a "warts-and-all" account of Ottoman history as modern scholarship has argued. The frankness

²²⁵ Babinger, 1978: 149.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ İnalçık, 1995.

²²⁸ Babinger, 1978: 414.

²²⁹ Babinger, 1978: 454.

²³⁰ Babinger, 1978: 455.

²³¹ Ibid.

displayed by Aşıkpaşazade about Ottoman policies and certain events that personally affected him does not equate to him being as frank about political events. The reference made by Babinger regarding Aşıkpaşazade's omission about the killing of Wallachians at Battle of Kosovo is a case in point.

Babinger's final reference to Aşıkpaşazade states that Aşıkpaşazade's history is stylistically similar to that of the Anonymous Chronicles of the period and was designed to be read out aloud.²³²

Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (1980). The Turkish scholar's work *XIII. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Baba Resûl (Babaîler) İsyanı ve Anadolu'nun Islâmlaşması Tarihindeki Yeri*²³³ focuses on the Türkmen (Turkmen) revolt led by Baba İlyās against Seljuk authority in 1240-1241. Ocak presents Aşıkpaşazade as a descendent of Baba İlyās, both in the familial and the spiritual sense. Aşıkpaşazade continued the family spiritual tradition and was a member of the same dervish order (*tarikât*), the Vefaî as his descendants. Chapter 4 examines whether or not through his history, Aşıkpaşazade sought to demonstrate how his order played an important role in the rise of the Ottoman dynasty.²³⁴

Ocak outlines the social and political context to the revolt and gives an insight into the heritage and history of the Vefaî Order. Ocak argues, in contrast to academic consensus, that the Babaî revolts as they came to be known were not revolts of a religious nature.²³⁵ Ocak argues that the poor financial and social conditions of the Türkmen led them to attempt to overtake the Seljukid sultanate and that the political leader of the revolt Baba İlyās and his followers used the widespread religious beliefs of the Türkmen to incite a revolt under a religious guise.²³⁶

Ocak provides examples from the history of Aşıkpaşazade, which he believes reflects the reality of the spiritual and religious nature of the frontier at the time. Aşıkpaşazade confirms to Ocak that a figure called Dede Garkın was the *halife*

²³² Babinger, 1978: 471.

²³³ Ocak, 1980.

²³⁴ İnalçık, 1995: 36.

²³⁵ Ocak, 1980: 179.

²³⁶ Ibid.

(spiritual successor) of Baba İlyās and that Baba İlyās was also a follower of the *Vefaî* Order.²³⁷ Ocak also argues that at no point did Baba İlyās form his own spiritual order and that Aşıkpaşazade attests to this by confirming that Baba İlyās was a member of the *Vefaî* Order.²³⁸ Ocak also uses Aşıkpaşazade as a source to shed light on the relationship between Baba İlyās and the supposed eponymous founder of the Bektaşî order, Hacı Bektaş (1209-1271).

According to Ocak, despite Aşıkpaşazade's claim to the contrary, it is wrongly believed that Hacı Bektaşî was the *halife* of Baba İlyās.²³⁹ Indeed Aşıkpaşazade had no sympathy for the Bektaşî order, probably because he viewed it as a rival to the *Vefaî* order he followed.²⁴⁰ Ocak also uses Aşıkpaşazade as a source to highlight the fact that Hacı Bektaşî had no role whatsoever in the Babai revolt.²⁴¹

Ocak adopts an uncritical acceptance of the contents of Aşıkpaşazade's History of the Ottoman Dynasty with regard to its historical value. This uncritical acceptance also includes the four social organisations identifiable in Aşıkpaşazade that Köprülü argued were a reflection of the historical reality at the time.²⁴²

Rudi P. Lindner (1983 and 2007). The American historian is famously known for associating Ottoman historiography with an onion.²⁴³ In his *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (1983) Lindner argued that the only information that can be relied upon in "court chronicles" is provided by

²³⁷ Ocak, 1980: 99.

²³⁸ Ocak, 1980: 149.

²³⁹ Ocak, 1980: 167.

²⁴⁰ Chapter 169, Aşıkpaşazade states that it is lie that Hacı Bektaş was associated with the janisseries. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 201. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2007: 486.

²⁴¹ Ocak, 1980: 168.

²⁴² Köprülü, 1992: 88-99. The four groups were as follows; *Ghazis and Alps, Ahîs, Bâjiyân-i Rûm* and *Abdâlan- i Rûm*. Ocak, 1980: 169.

²⁴³ In response to Lindner's "onion theory," Kafadar applies the metaphor of "garlic" to the histories of the fifteenth century "because it recognises a plurality of voices without assigning them....the monopoly over a "core reality." Kafadar, 1995: 102-103.

“The incongruous, the unexpected statement,” which may portray “an older tradition truer to past life than to present ideology.....Passages which conflict with that orthodoxy should a fortiori reflect an earlier memory.”²⁴⁴

According to Lindner, the histories of the fifteenth century were court chronicles and represented state ideology and it is only with the hidden advantage of writers’ sloppy editing or the inclusion of information by accident that earlier and truer memories are revealed.²⁴⁵ To Lindner therefore the earlier the historical information the more likely it is to represent a historical truism.

With regard to Aşıkpaşazade, Lindner argues that those unique earlier sections that are thought to have originated from the *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih, “represent a layer of the Ottoman historiographical onion considerably closer to the core than the other versions.”²⁴⁶

Lindner therefore makes the assumption that these sections are closer to the truth because they are earlier and have not been contaminated by Aşıkpaşazade’s own preferences.²⁴⁷

Lindner seems to overlook the possibility that the son of the imam of Orhan from whom Aşıkpaşazade had sight of the *menakib*, may have had his own ideological preferences or pressures he had to conform to. In addition, Aşıkpaşazade made no attempt to hide the fact that he had utilised a source from Yahşi Fakih thus it is hardly an accidental inclusion into this history.

Lindner is also the only non-Turkish scholar of recent times who argued that the early Ottomans were tribal in origin. Lindner argued that Osman’s technique, the only one familiar to him, was to create a new tribe.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ Lindner, 1983: 19. Also see Kafadar, 1995: 98-99 who has quoted from Lindner.

²⁴⁵ Kafadar, 1995: 99.

²⁴⁶ Lindner, 1983: 22.

²⁴⁷ See Kafadar, 1995: 98-99 for an analysis of the Lindner’s “onion theory.”

²⁴⁸ Lindner, 1983: 51.

A mellowing of Lindner's approach to Aşıkpaşazade in his book entitled *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*²⁴⁹ published fourteen years after his *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* is identifiable. In his 1983 publication, a critical acceptance of Aşıkpaşazade's history is identifiable as Lindner placed more emphasis on the historical value of information from the time of Yahşi Fakih and of his father, the imam to Orhan (c.1320s/1330s) than on the period in which Aşıkpaşazade was writing (c.1480).

However in *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*, not only does Lindner make no reference to the symbolic value of an onion or to the Ottomans being of tribal descent, he also devotes several pages to translating passages from Aşıkpaşazade, regardless of whether he regards them as being historical fact or legend. Lindner's aim is to unearth some of the gloss of the Ottoman chronicles²⁵⁰ to try to understand the origins of the Ottoman enterprise both geographically as well as historically.

Lindner's approach is to place the history of Aşıkpaşazade and its content within the appropriate context of the time. With regard to the capture of Karacahisar from the Byzantines which is narrated by Aşıkpaşazade, Lindner regards the narrative as fiction but rather than rejecting the story as senseless, places it within a context that is still of value.

Essentially the context is one of geography and an understanding of what is known of the *Beylik* (emirate) of Germiyan's relations with its neighbours during the later Seljuk period.²⁵¹ As another example of this approach, Lindner attempts to place Aşıkpaşazade's narrative on the arrival of the Ottomans into Anatolia at around the turn of the fourteenth century into a historical context, arguing that the early Ottomans may have been connected to the region of Khwarezm in the Oxus basin.²⁵²

Keith Hopwood (1999). The late British Byzantinist scholar emphasised the diverse and multi-faceted nature of the *uj* frontier. Hopwood argues that the

²⁴⁹ Lindner, 2007.

²⁵⁰ Lindner, 2007: 117.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Lindner, 2007: 31.

frontier zone was not only crucial for forming the Byzantine identity but also in transforming that culture into a Turkish society.²⁵³ Hopwood stresses the culturally blurred and pragmatic nature of the frontier, citing examples of Byzantine and Turkish political and financial co-operation under the Seljuks.²⁵⁴ It is within the context of the fluid nature of the frontier that Hopwood refers to Aşıkpaşazade.

Hopwood argues for the historicity of the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri,²⁵⁵ who relied heavily on Aşıkpaşazade as a source. Hopwood describes how the areas between cities were the preserve of the *akritai/uc beğleri* (frontier lords) and that small castles were held in fief by independent lords. Hopwood goes on to argue that the second half of the thirteenth century saw financial support withdrawn by the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (r. 1259-1282) and that Aşıkpaşazade reveals how the remaining emirs had to fend for themselves by making their own terms with the invader.²⁵⁶

Hopwood also takes the view that Aşıkpaşazade can be used to understand the historical process of the formation of an emirate on the frontier.²⁵⁷ According to Hopwood, with reference to the career of Osman, Aşıkpaşazade reveals how the formation of an emirate depends on the sedentarisation of the Türkmen and their relations with the *akritai/uc beğleri*. Hopwood argues that an emirate only truly develops once it has started capturing towns and that this can be witnessed for the Ottomans through the capture of Yenişehir, Bursa and of the Germiyan *Beylik* with the capture of Kütahya.²⁵⁸

Hopwood cites the good relations of Osman with his Byzantine counterpart, the lord of Bilecik as one of the reasons for Ottoman success. Hopwood's final reference to Aşıkpaşazade is in the context of the "cultural intermingling" on the frontier. According to Hopwood, by the first decade of the fourteenth century,

²⁵³ Hopwood, 1999: 153.

²⁵⁴ One of the examples cited by Hopwood is of the Byzantine emir Basil Giagoupes and his wife Tamara, who as Orthodox Christians chose to live and serve under a Muslim state, rather than to go into exile with their co-religionists. Hopwood, 1999: 154.

²⁵⁵ Hopwood, 1999: 159.

²⁵⁶ Hopwood, 1999: 155. Unfortunately Hopwood does not cite any specific examples on this matter from the text of Aşıkpaşazade.

²⁵⁷ Hopwood, 1999: 159.

²⁵⁸ Hopwood, 1999: 159.

both the Byzantines and the Turks had similar stories about their past and were now telling similar stories about the present. Hopwood likens the tale told by the Byzantine writer Pachymeres of the beautiful widow of the emir Menteşe he encountered and whose castle he sacked after she rejected him to the tale told by Aşıkpaşazade of the capture of Aydos Castle.²⁵⁹ The tale relates to the daughter of a Byzantine castellan becoming enamoured with Ghazi Rahman during the reign of Orhan. The maiden subsequently helps the Ottoman army capture her father's castle.

Hopwood is under no illusion that both tales are variants of mutual folktale motif but instead of dismissing them, he places them within the framework of understanding life on the frontier at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Hopwood openly argues for the historical value of Aşıkpaşazade for the early period of Ottoman rule, where Yahşi Fakih was probably the source of information, and does not allow the fact that Aşıkpaşazade relayed tales to hinder the use of his history as a historical source.

Colin Heywood (1988 and 1998.) The historian Heywood has attempted to locate Paul Wittek's historical writings, with particular reference to Wittek's portrayal of the early Ottomans as ghazis, within the context of certain Austrian attitudes to history. Heywood concluded that there were purely literary influences at play which influenced Wittek to portray the Ottomans in the romanticised and idealist way in which he did.²⁶⁰

It is within the context of discussing Wittek's scholarly output that Heywood makes two brief references to Aşıkpaşazade in his publications. As a background to setting the scene for discussion of Austrian literary influences on Wittek, Heywood gives a brief introduction to the early Ottoman sources in his article "Wittek and the Austrian Tradition."²⁶¹

Heywood questions whether the absence of highly civilised accounts in the Ottoman literature of the early period is an indication of the relative cultural backwardness and goes on to describe Aşıkpaşazade's history as "the naïve

²⁵⁹ Hopwood, 1999: 159.

²⁶⁰ Heywood, 1989: 33 and 49-50 in particular.

²⁶¹ Heywood, 1988: 7-25.

folk-pieties of Aşıkpaşazade.”²⁶² Heywood clearly approaches the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade with caution if the above reference is to be taken literally.

Heywood’s second and final reference to Aşıkpaşazade is in another article, “A Subterranean History: Paul Wittek (1894-1978) and the Early Ottoman State” that is dedicated to understanding Wittek as a historian. Heywood praises Wittek for his critical study on the textual recensions of Aşıkpaşazade.²⁶³

Colin Imber (1980s-1990s). Imber is well known for his scrupulousness towards the sources and an unwillingness to compromise or dilute his work in the interests of the current intellectual fashion.²⁶⁴ It is within this framework that Imber has approached Aşıkpaşazade as a historical source to help establish the sketchy chronology of the early period of Ottoman history.²⁶⁵

Imber has utilised Aşıkpaşazade as a source extensively over the course of the last couple of decades and displays a very clear critical acceptance of the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade in elucidating the nature of the early Ottoman state. Imber essentially argues that the legend and myth apparent in the history of Aşıkpaşazade has to be sifted through to gain a glimpse of historicity. With reference to the rule of Osman, Imber states that historical personages such as Turgut Alp and Köse Mihal whom Aşıkpaşazade portrays as comrades of Osman to the general acceptance of modern scholars, have no basis in historical fact.²⁶⁶ Imber argues that the most elementary textual analysis shows that any “facts” about Osman ghazi and his followers are actually fictitious.²⁶⁷ It is not surprising that as one of fiercest critics of Wittek’s “Ghazi thesis,” that Imber argues that “it would be unwise to accept unreservedly any theory of Ottoman origins.”²⁶⁸

²⁶² Heywood, 1988: 20.

²⁶³ Wittek: 1921-22: 77-150.

²⁶⁴ Heywood, 2006: 15.

²⁶⁵ Imber, 1990: 258. Imber describes Aşıkpaşazade as a Turkish chronicler, author of a history of the Ottomans down to 1484.

²⁶⁶ Imber, 1993: 67.

²⁶⁷ Imber, 1993: 73.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

Imber regards Aşıkpaşazade as a propagandist of the Ottoman dynasty. Imber classes Aşıkpaşazade's account of the capture of Aydos Castle by the ghazis as a folk-tale motif that has counterparts in non-ghazi literature. Imber also views accounts narrated by Aşıkpaşazade as being mythic. These include accounts that narrate the genealogy, the religious authority and the divine beginnings of the Ottomans. Hence the title of the publication within which Imber's views on this appear: "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth."²⁶⁹

In his article "Paul Wittek's De la Défaite D'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople,"²⁷⁰ Imber critiques Wittek's publication²⁷¹ and cites examples where he argues that Wittek took what Aşıkpaşazade has narrated on a number of topics connected with the early Ottoman rulers too literally.

According to Wittek, the Ottoman empire was a ghazi state whose "perpetual task" was Holy War against the Christians. Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) however abandoned the spirit of ghaza and instead dreamt of "reviving the Roman empire" and uniting Islam and Christianity under his rule.²⁷² He directed most of his campaigns against fellow Muslim states in Anatolia and furthermore he married a Serbian princess Olivera and because of this and contact with the Serbian court, his own court became "Latinised."²⁷³

According to Wittek therefore, Bayezid's defeat on the battleground of Ankara in 1402 where his Muslim troops deserted him was because he has abandoned the ideal of Holy War.²⁷⁴ Imber argues that despite the fact that Aşıkpaşazade is critical of those around Bayezid and tells stories of corruption relating to his reign, that "nowhere does he accuse him of abandoning the Holy War."²⁷⁵

Imber also argues that the source that narrates the un-Islamic habits of Bayezid used by Aşıkpaşazade, such as the drinking and the influence of his Serbian

²⁶⁹ Imber, 1987: 7-27.

²⁷⁰ Imber, 1986: 65-81.

²⁷¹ Wittek's "De la Défaite D'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople" was first published in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, vol. 12, 1938.

²⁷² Imber, 1986: 65.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Imber, 1986: 65.

²⁷⁵ Imber, 1986: 67.

wife, dates from over twenty years after the Battle of Ankara and therefore is not a historical reflection of the time.²⁷⁶ Imber also dismisses the corrupting influence that Ali Çandarlı the vizier to Bayezid exerted on him as narrated by Aşıkpaşazade. Imber argues that it was normal for chroniclers such as Aşıkpaşazade to target the Çandarlı family for criticism after the execution of Halil Paşa the last of the Çandarlı viziers, in 1453.

Imber concludes that Wittek took the denigrating references made by Aşıkpaşazade to be the literal truth whereas in reality they were the result of anti-Çandarlı propaganda that dates from after 1453.²⁷⁷ Imber clearly embodies the approach of being critically receptive to the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade and views a large content of Aşıkpaşazade's text as either being ahistorical or projecting current propagandist views to an earlier period of Ottoman history.

Irène Mélikoff (1992). Writing several decades after Köprülü, Mélikoff mirrors his views on the value of Aşıkpaşazade. In her 1992 publication *Sur les traces du soufisme turc: recherches sur l'Islam populaire en Anatolie*,²⁷⁸ Mélikoff, like Köprülü, also accepts Aşıkpaşazade's account of the four social groups active on the frontier during the formative years of the Ottoman emirate.²⁷⁹ Mélikoff stresses Aşıkpaşazade's view that the founder of the Bektaşî order was not Hacı Bektaş but his spiritual wife Kadıncık Ana and her disciple Adbal Musa.²⁸⁰ Mélikoff uses Aşıkpaşazade and other histories of the period as pivotal sources in examining the nature of popular Islam in the fourteenth century. According to Mélikoff, Aşıkpaşazade and other writers such as Oruç demonstrate the close relations between the early Ottomans and the *Ahīs* and the *Abdālan- i Rūm*.²⁸¹

Elizabeth Zachariadou (1997 and 1995). Zachariadou highlights the use of Aşıkpaşazade as a valuable source for the rise and early conquests of the early Ottomans. In her article published in 1993 which examines the relationship and rivalry between the Ottoman *Beylik* and that of the Karasi *Beylik* (emirate),

²⁷⁶ Imber, 1986: 70.

²⁷⁷ Imber, 1986: 70-71.

²⁷⁸ Mélikoff, 1992: 127-174.

²⁷⁹ Mélikoff, 1992: 132. As previously mentioned the four groups were as follows: *Ghazis and Alps, Ahīs, Bājiyān-i Rūm* and *Abdālan- i Rūm*.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Mélikoff, 1992: 134.

Zachariadou cites Aşıkpaşazade as a source for how the Ottomans came to capture the Karasi Beylik.²⁸² According to Zachariadou if other sources of the period are to be taken into account, the date provided by Aşıkpaşazade for the capture of Karasi cannot be correct.²⁸³ In her article “Histoires et Légendes des premiers Ottomans,”²⁸⁴ Zachariadou assesses in detail the extent to which the *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih would have formed part of the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* of Aşıkpaşazade.

It is not known exactly when Yahşi Fakih lived but it is thought that he wrote his chronicle after the Battle of Ankara in 1402 and was alive in 1413 when Aşıkpaşazade stayed with him. According to Zachariadou, Yahşi Fakih is a source of information from about fifty years before the appearance of the Ottomans to some point in the reign of Bayezid I.²⁸⁵

Zachariadou argues that, as a source for the early period, the information provided by Yahşi Fakih used as a source by Aşıkpaşazade for his history is historically valuable in some respects and purely legend in other respects. Yahşi Fakih's *menakib* would have supplied the information for the first military expeditions such as the capturing of Bilecik and the Turkish incursions on the east bank of the Sakarya River.²⁸⁶

However Yahşi Fakih would have told stories of a legendary nature that would have made their way into Aşıkpaşazade's history too.²⁸⁷ Zachariadou cites tales and folk-tale motifs such as the appearance of the Prophet Muhammed during the capture of the citadel of Aydos and the history of the white poplar planted at the palace of Bursa. Such tales Yahşi Fakih would have told to dervishes in his vicinity.²⁸⁸ The sources utilised by Aşıkpaşazade which primarily included Yahşi Fakih is examined in greater depth in the following chapter.

²⁸² Zachariadou, 1997: 248.

²⁸³ Zachariadou, 1997: 248-249.

²⁸⁴ Zachariadou, 1995: 45-90.

²⁸⁵ Zachariadou, 1995: 45 and 49.

²⁸⁶ Zachariadou, 1995: 49.

²⁸⁷ Zachariadou, 1995: 49.

²⁸⁸ Zachariadou, 1995: 49.

It is noteworthy that Zachariadou displays a neutral stance towards Aşıkpaşazade in terms of reception and evaluates the stories told by Aşıkpaşazade through Yahşi Fakih within the context of the social milieu of the time. As an example, Zachariadou argues that stories of numerous military campaigns which resemble stories are historically true.²⁸⁹

Cemal Kafadar (1995). Kafadar views Aşıkpaşazade as a valuable source in understanding how the early Ottomans viewed themselves within the framework of understanding the development of Ottoman historiography. Kafadar views the later chronicles such as those of Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç and several anonymous Chronicles as constituting the largest body of historical information and misinformation about early Ottoman history.²⁹⁰

In contrast to the majority of modern scholars, Kafadar argues that the beliefs, values and actions of the early Ottomans should not be framed in terms of being ahistorical. This is why Kafadar has been viewed by scholars such as Imber as uncritically accepting the accounts of fifteenth century histories in the form of reviving Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" and also incorporating İnalcık's theory of the tribal origins of the Ottomans.²⁹¹

To Kafadar, the debate in modern scholarship about the "Muslimness" of the early Ottomans, largely a response to Wittek's "Ghazi thesis," obscures the reality of the culture of the march environment.²⁹² Kafadar argues in response to Wittek's critics against the view that later chroniclers such as Aşıkpaşazade tried to whitewash the pagan founders of the Ottoman state with a Sunni orthodox brush. Kafadar argues, without reference to specific examples, that Aşıkpaşazade reveals un-Islamic tendencies of the early Ottomans, which is in contrary to the view that he tried to cover up any un-orthodox Islamic behaviour.²⁹³ As previously discussed. Kafadar also argues against Lindner's

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Kafadar, 1995: 96.

²⁹¹ Imber put forward this view in his review of Kafadar's *Between Two Worlds*. Imber, 1997: 211-212.

²⁹² Kafadar, 1995: 12.

²⁹³ Kafadar, 1995: 54.

view that the sections in Aşıkpaşazade that originated from Yahşi Fakih were closer to the truth as they stemmed from an earlier period.²⁹⁴

Kafadar argues that “garlic” is a better metaphor for Ottoman historiography because it recognises a plurality of voices.²⁹⁵ It is not exactly clear how the “garlic” metaphor works in practice in relation to Aşıkpaşazade except for Kafadar highlighting the different versions by Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri of the taking of Aydos castle. Aşıkpaşazade’s account “bristles with an insider’s understanding of the ghazi mentality” whereas Neşri’s version of events “reveals a predictable lack of appreciation for such traditions.”²⁹⁶

To Kafadar, Aşıkpaşazade is a ghazi who is nostalgic for the good old days when both their ruler and the court was simple.²⁹⁷

According to Kafadar, the Anonymous Chronicles and Aşıkpaşazade to a lesser extent as sources most associated with the ghazi-dervish milieu are critical of policies and individuals who led their rulers astray from their original path.²⁹⁸

Kafadar takes Aşıkpaşazade at his word regarding the criticisms levied at the Çandarlı family and regarding Bayezid’s defeat to Timur at the Battle of Ankara.²⁹⁹ In describing the stance of the chronicles of the period, Kafadar states in relation to the defeat of Bayezid in what can be described as a Wittekian tone,

“Having been steered by cunning ulema toward a new political orientation that abandoned the frontier spirit, he could not maintain the realm of his ancestors, the glorious ghazis.”³⁰⁰

Giesela Procházka-Eisl (1995). In her article *Die Lyrischen Einschübe in der Altosmanischen Chronik des Aşıkpaşzāde*, Procházka-Eisl provides an insight into the poetry (verse) found in the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* of

²⁹⁴ Kafadar, 1995: 98-102.

²⁹⁵ Kafadar, 1995: 102.

²⁹⁶ Kafadar, 1995: 103.

²⁹⁷ Kafadar, 1995: 110.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Kafadar, 1995: 111-112.

³⁰⁰ Kafadar, 1995: 112.

Aşıkpaşazade.³⁰¹ Prochāzka-Eisl writes solely on the poetry of Aşıkpaşazade and portrays it in a positive light despite criticism by other scholars that it his poetry is weak artistically or filled with mistakes and not of an enjoyable nature.³⁰² Prochāzka-Eisl states that the style of the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade is generally homogenous so it can be assumed that it was written by one hand.

Prochāzka-Eisl finds no value in the argument that Aşıkpaşazade did not compose his own poetry and argues that there is no evidence to support this view so it should be assumed that he did in fact compose his own poems.³⁰³ Prochāzka-Eisl argues that technically the verse of Aşıkpaşazade is flawed but that the profound and elaborate should not be expected from Aşıkpaşazade as his sections of poem are simplistic and superficial but of great value.³⁰⁴

Feridün Emecen (1997). The scholar describes Aşıkpaşazade's history in his article, "Osmanlı'nın Batı Anadolu Türkmen Beylikleri Fetih Siyaseti: Saruhan Beyliği Örneği"³⁰⁵ as one of the fifteenth-century chronicles that despite being composed after earlier historical events and being imperfect in nature, as still being of value.³⁰⁶ Emecen argues that the territorial expansion policy of the Ottomans was based on the concept of ghaza or cihad.³⁰⁷ Emecen argues that histories such as those of Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri illustrate that the Ottoman emirate was developing into a centralised state, had a regular army and was famous for its ghaza.³⁰⁸ The re-capture of Ankara by Murad I (1362-89)³⁰⁹ after he killed his brothers in a civil war is provided as an example of the above. Emecen is a clear example of a scholar who uncritically accepts the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade as a reflection of the historical reality at the time.

Özkul Çobanoğlu (1999). In his 1999 publication, "Sözlü Kültürden Yazılı Kültür Ortamına Geçiş Bağlamında Erken Dönem Osmanlı Tarihlerinden

³⁰¹ Prochāzka-Eisl, 1995: 93-122.

³⁰² Prochāzka-Eisl, 1995: 93.

³⁰³ Prochāzka-Eisl, 1995: 93-94.

³⁰⁴ Prochāzka-Eisl, 1995: 104.

³⁰⁵ Emecen, 1997: 34-40.

³⁰⁶ Emecen, 1997: 35.

³⁰⁷ Emecen, 1997: 34.

³⁰⁸ Emecen, 1997: 37.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

Âşıkpaşazâde'nin Epik Karakteri Üzerinde Tespitler,"³¹⁰ Çobanoğlu argues that the characteristics of epic folk can be applied to the history of Aşıkpaşazade and that the tradition of oral culture had an influence on the composition of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.³¹¹

Çobanoğlu assesses the text of Aşıkpaşazade to determine how far the epic laws of folk narrative developed by the late folklorist Axel Olrik can be applied to it.³¹² Of the fifteen laws of folk narrative identified by Olrik, Çobanoğlu is of the view that all are in some way applicable to Aşıkpaşazade. The laws of folk narrative are examined further in the third chapter in relation to the structure of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. Çobanoğlu concludes his article by stating that the early Ottoman histories, including Aşıkpaşazade's have not been studied adequately from a folk epic perspective.³¹³

Suraiya Faroqhi (1999). In *Approaching Ottoman History*,³¹⁴ Faroqhi refers to Aşıkpaşazade within the context of being one of the interrelated texts of the fifteenth century that merit special scholarly attention.³¹⁵

According to Faroqhi, writers such as Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç and Neşri warrant special attention because the time lag between the events described and the chronicles being written meant that writers had to rely on older written chronicles such as that of Yahşi Fakih.³¹⁶ Faroqhi does not make it clear that it is in fact only Aşıkpaşazade that relied on Yahşi Fakih and that Neşri as a result of relying on Aşıkpaşazade as a source did so indirectly. According to Faroqhi, the time lapse between the events described and the writing of the above histories "facilitated the refashioning of events into a useable past."³¹⁷ Faroqhi's view that some of the content in the fifteenth century histories was intended as indirect criticism of Mehmed II (r.1451-1481) does apply to Aşıkpaşazade as is examined in Chapter 3. Faroqhi argues that a discussion of the attitudes of

³¹⁰ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 65-82.

³¹¹ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 65-66.

³¹² Çobanoğlu, 1999: 68.

³¹³ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 82.

³¹⁴ Faroqhi, 1999.

³¹⁵ Faroqhi, 1999: 145.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Faroqhi, 1999: 145.

Aşıkpaşazade could be pursued further. The examination of the attitudes of Aşıkpaşazade is undertaken in this thesis.

Faroqhi cites Aşıkpaşazade's criticism of Rum Mehmed Pasha, the Greek vizier who Aşıkpaşazade believed was trying to sabotage the Ottoman settlement of Istanbul, as an illustration of Aşıkpaşazade's blunt criticism. Faroqhi states that even though he was no longer held back by career considerations, Aşıkpaşazade directed his most trenchant remarks in the chapters on the early rulers and at the rulers' servitors rather than at the rulers themselves.³¹⁸

Chapter 3 examines the views of Aşıkpaşazade more closely and it certainly is the case that Aşıkpaşazade chose to criticise those around the sultan rather than the sultan himself. However it is argued that an examination of Aşıkpaşazade's attitudes reveals that he chose to be vocal and critical on those issues that affected him personally.

Heath Lowry (2003 and 2006.) Lowry is the author of *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*³¹⁹ published in 2003 and his later article "Some Thoughts on the Meaning of Gaza and Akın in Early Ottoman Usage."³²⁰ According to Lowry, it was the prospect of booty and slaves that inspired the early Ottomans, not the desire to undertake ghaza.³²¹ It is within the context of disproving Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" that Lowry considers the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* of Aşıkpaşazade.³²²

Lowry regards Aşıkpaşazade's account as a reflection of the historical reality of the fifteenth century and therefore adopts an uncritical acceptance of the text of Aşıkpaşazade.³²³ Lowry argues that the accounts found in Aşıkpaşazade such as the capture of Bursa where the Ottomans are portrayed as accommodating the Christians, proves that ghaza could not have been a consideration for the

³¹⁸ Faroqhi, 1999: 144.

³¹⁹ Lowry, 2003.

³²⁰ Lowry, 2006: 47-50.

³²¹ Lowry, 2003: 56-58, 68-70 and 2006: 47 and 50.

³²² See Lowry, 2003: 50 and 56-57 as an example.

³²³ See Lowry, 2003: 56-58 and 68-70.

early Ottomans.³²⁴ To Lowry, Aşıkpaşazade's history illustrates that the 'act of showing goodwill' (*istimâlet*) to Christians was a reality on the ground.³²⁵

The concept of *istimâlet* is explored further in Chapter 3. It is argued that Lowry's careful selection of certain sections from Aşıkpaşazade rests upon two considerations: his aim to prove that *istimâlet* was a historical reality and that therefore, Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" was not. Lowry chooses not to give any weight in terms of historical reality to Aşıkpaşazade's portrayal of the Ottoman rulers as ghazis, even if to consider how Aşıkpaşazade may have been retrospectively portraying the Ottomans rulers as such.

Gabriel Piterberg (2003). Piterberg is the author *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* that focuses on sixteenth-century Ottoman historiography with the assassination of Osman II (1618-1622) as the pivotal event that shaped the course of historiography.³²⁶ Piterberg leads up to his discussion of sixteenth-century historiography by outlining the emergence of Ottoman historiography in the fifteenth century.³²⁷

According to Piterberg, Aşıkpaşazade was a dervish-ghazi who represented the socio-political group that "once were." To Piterberg, Aşıkpaşazade embodies the historical consciousness and tradition of the ghazi-dervish milieu.³²⁸

Aşıkpaşazade represented a historiography that was filled with bitterness, hostility and nostalgia. The nostalgia was for the good, old, simple days of fraternity and idealism.³²⁹ Piterberg took the view that Aşıkpaşazade was part of a group that had been marginalised as a result of the harsh fiscal policies of Mehmed II. As a consequence of this, he reaped his harsh judgement on those who served the rulers.³³⁰ Chapter 3 explores Aşıkpaşazade's disapproval of some of the Ottoman officials such as Ali Pasha and Rum Mehmed Pasha. It is argued that Aşıkpaşazade did not necessarily view himself as the

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Lowry, 2003: 68-70.

³²⁶ Piterberg, 2003: 1-26.

³²⁷ Piterberg, 2003: 30-36.

³²⁸ Piterberg, 2003: 34-35.

³²⁹ Piterberg, 2003: 35.

³³⁰ Piterberg, 2003: 34-35.

representative of a disgruntled dervish-gazi group but as a disgruntled individual.

Caroline Finkel (2005). Finkel is the author of *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923*.³³¹ Like İnalcık, Faroqhi and Piterberg, Finkel also focuses on the criticism that Aşıkpaşazade directs towards the servitors of the rulers of the Ottoman dynasty.³³² Finkel cites Aşıkpaşazade as branding Bayezid I (r.1389-1402) a debauchee and blaming his Serbian wife for encouraging him to drink.³³³

Finkel uses Imber as her source for this information on Aşıkpaşazade but does not state that this is actually Wittek's view of Aşıkpaşazade's portrayal of Bayezid I, not Imber's.³³⁴ Indeed Imber argues that the criticism of Aşıkpaşazade towards Ali Pasha was actually directed at Mehmed II as retrospective criticism.³³⁵ In addition, Imber takes the view that the critical accounts of Bayezid I did not actually begin to circulate for at least twenty years after the Battle of Ankara in 1402 which saw his defeat. Therefore the damaging accounts of Bayezid I may have developed at a later time to justify his defeat at the hands of Timur.³³⁶

Finkel also points to the personal loss of Aşıkpaşazade when Mehmed II introduced the taxes on properties in Istanbul and identifies Aşıkpaşazade's motive for criticising Rum Mehmed Pasha within this context.³³⁷ It is argued later in the present thesis that it was indeed the personal ramifications of harsh financial reforms that led Aşıkpaşazade to attack such figures as Rum Mehmed Pasha.

Kemal Yavuz and Yekta Saraç (2003). Yavuz and Saraç published an edition of Aşıkpaşazade's history, *Âşık Paşazâde Osmanogullarının Tarihi, Tevârih-i Âl-i*

³³¹ Finkel, 2005.

³³² Finkel, 2005: 29, 78-79.

³³³ Finkel, 2005: 29.

³³⁴ See Imber, 1986: 64-65.

³³⁵ Imber, 1986: 70-71.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Finkel, 2005: 79.

Osmân in 2003.³³⁸ Yavuz and Saraç based their edition on two manuscripts that they discovered in Istanbul.³³⁹ The first manuscript is one found in the Süleymaniye Library (no.4954) and the second was located in the library of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (no.1504).³⁴⁰ Yavuz and Saraç decided to use the manuscript of Aşıkpaşazade's history from the Süleymaniye Library because it had not been utilised until now.³⁴¹ With regard to the manuscript of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Yavuz and Saraç take the view that it is a reliable manuscript.³⁴²

According to Yavuz and Saraç, it is more appropriate to classify the work of Aşıkpaşazade as "tales with a basis in reality." as opposed to 'tales and history.'³⁴³ Aşıkpaşazade is portrayed as eulogising the Ottoman rulers and depicting them as ghazis because of the spiritual affinity between his family and the Ottoman dynasty.³⁴⁴ Aşıkpaşazade's great grandfather Âşık Pasha is described as being both a scholar and source of inspiration in the time of Osman and Orhan.³⁴⁵

It could be argued that Yavuz and Saraç adopt an uncritical acceptance of the text of Aşıkpaşazade to an extent because they do not explore any of the drawbacks to relying on Aşıkpaşazade as a historical account. Yavuz and Saraç view the history of Aşıkpaşazade as being of a literary genre that allows valuable historical insights into the period of the time.³⁴⁶

Aşıkpaşazade is portrayed as providing information on cultural traditions such as marriage and the practice of circumcision. Yavuz and Saraç take the view that Aşıkpaşazade's narrative is lively and uses language reminiscent of the Dede Korkut epic tales.³⁴⁷

³³⁸ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003.

³³⁹ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 24-25.

³⁴⁰ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 25.

³⁴¹ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 24.

³⁴² Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 25.

³⁴³ "Gerçeklere bağlı tarihi hikâyeler bile denebilir." Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 36.

³⁴⁴ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 28.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 35.

³⁴⁷ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 35.

Cem Mengüç (2008). In his doctoral thesis *A Study of 15th-century Ottoman Historiography*³⁴⁸ Aşıkpaşazade is one of several fifteenth-century writers that Mengüç discusses within the context of historiography. Mengüç questions the view that Neşri was the first historian who recognised the relevance of the different versions of histories that were in circulation. According to Mengüç the writers of anonymous histories were aware of one of the textual traditions, at least a decade before Neşri.³⁴⁹

It is within the framework of stressing the independence of writers in the fifteenth century and refuting the view that the palace influenced history writing that Mengüç views Aşıkpaşazade. To Mengüç, Aşıkpaşazade embraced the content and form of the anonymous histories even though they did not comply with the ideological preferences of the palace.³⁵⁰

Mengüç points to the manner in which the early versions of Aşıkpaşazade and other histories were composed. He argues that the fact that writers such as Aşıkpaşazade were not directly influenced through palace patronage shows that Ottoman historiography was largely initiated by writers and not the state.³⁵¹

Aşıkpaşazade may not have had an official patron but his portrayal of the Ottoman dynasty is a panegyric and eulogistic one. Aşıkpaşazade presents the Ottoman rulers as beyond reproach. In the event that Aşıkpaşazade voices criticism of those around the sultan, he either does so because he is personally affected or he has to explain away an awkward historical event, like the defeat of Bayezid I by Timur. Despite not writing for the palace, Aşıkpaşazade believed that he and his descendants shared a spiritual affinity with the Ottomans. Therefore it is difficult to see how the content of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* would have been any different had he enjoyed royal patronage.

Mengüç is correct in asserting that several versions of Aşıkpaşazade's history appear to have been in circulation from 1482 and that Aşıkpaşazade was

³⁴⁸ Mengüç, 2008.

³⁴⁹ Mengüç, 2008: 15.

³⁵⁰ Mengüç, 2008: 10.

³⁵¹ Mengüç, 2008: 37.

therefore not composing in connection or response to any official request by Bayezid II (1481-1512) after his victories in Killia and Akkerman.³⁵² However Bayezid's victory found its way into one of the versions of Aşıkpaşazade's history. Aşıkpaşazade portrays the conquests of Killia and Akkerman as those of a ghazi.³⁵³

Mengüç is unique in his portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade in that he regards Aşıkpaşazade as being xenophobic because he blames non-Muslims for the corruption in the Ottoman state.³⁵⁴ Aşıkpaşazade clearly displays a hostile attitude towards infidels in his history as is examined in Chapter 3.

However the tag of xenophobia is misplaced if we consider that one of the viziers of Mehmed II, Mahmud Pasha whom Aşıkpaşazade praises on a number of occasions,³⁵⁵ was in fact of Byzanto-Serbian origin and therefore of infidel origin like Rum Mehmed Pasha who was of Greek origin and criticised by Aşıkpaşazade.³⁵⁶

Mustafa Isen (2010). In his book *Tezkireden Biyografiye*,³⁵⁷ Isen refers to the fact that both Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri provide a biography of the dervishes and religious scholars that served the Ottoman rulers.³⁵⁸

Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (2010). Authors of *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*,³⁵⁹ Boyar and Fleet state that according to Aşıkpaşazade, Osman as the first ruler took commerce seriously.³⁶⁰ According to Boyar and Fleet, although Aşıkpaşazade was writing considerably later than the events he

³⁵² Mengüç, 2008: 57.

³⁵³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 187-188. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 469-470.

³⁵⁴ Mengüç, 2008: 137.

³⁵⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 142 and 162-164. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 424 and 445-446.

³⁵⁶ For a list of the ethnic origins of the viziers who served the Ottoman rulers, see Lowry, 2003: 120-122.

³⁵⁷ Isen, 2010.

³⁵⁸ Isen, 2010: 9.

³⁵⁹ Boyar and Fleet, 2010.

³⁶⁰ Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 15.

describes, his accounts represent something of perceived Ottoman economic policy in the early period of their rule.³⁶¹

Boyar and Fleet use the example of Osman setting up a market place in Eskişehir as economic policy. Osman is depicted by Aşıkpaşazade as conducting just commerce because he supports the rights of an infidel when a customer from the Germiyan emirate buys a jug but does not pay for it.³⁶²

Boyar and Fleet describe the Ottoman rulers as adept at political manipulation and diplomatic manoeuvring through their dealings with the Byzantines.³⁶³ Aşıkpaşazade is viewed as narrating this through Osman's good relations with the infidel of Bilecik. Boyar and Fleet argue that such relations were more pragmatic than sincere. Aşıkpaşazade's history is cited as reflecting the policy of 'dissimulation,' because he understood that it was acceptable for an enemy to be cheated if it ensured victory in the end.³⁶⁴

Boyar and Fleet tend to adopt an uncritical acceptance of the fifteenth century reality as described by Aşıkpaşazade. However the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade is not adopted in order to agree with or refute an ideological take on the Ottoman period.

In conclusion, the study of Aşıkpaşazade has generally, but with notable exceptions such as Hopwood, Boyar and Fleet and Ménage, generated scholarly output that uses Aşıkpaşazade as a source to either support or refute an ideological perspective.

It is noteworthy that since the mid-twentieth century, those scholars who have uncritically accepted the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade have done so because they support an ideological preoccupation of modern scholarship. In the beginning to mid-twentieth century, Aşıkpaşazade was used to support the Turkish nationalist cause (Köprülü) or in contrast, used to portray the early Ottomans as

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 15.

³⁶³ Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 18.

³⁶⁴ Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 18.

ghazis (Wittek). Almost a century later and the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade is still usually linked to refuting Wittek's "Ghazi thesis."

Mengüç is an exception to this as he does not discuss the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade within the context of Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" or Köprülü's emphasis on the Turkish nature of the Ottoman state. However he introduces a new twist to the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by using a modern ideology to label Aşıkpaşazade with. Aşıkpaşazade is portrayed as being xenophobic.

Turkish scholars following in the footsteps of Köprülü have tended to view Aşıkpaşazade as supporting the Turkish identity of the Ottoman polity based on the existence of Turkish social groups on the frontier as narrated by Aşıkpaşazade.

Wittek uncritically accepted the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade that supported his theory of the early Ottomans as ghazis. Following the death of Wittek, scholars such as Imber who refute the "Ghazi thesis" have utilised Aşıkpaşazade to argue that Wittek took the meaning of the contents of Aşıkpaşazade too literally.

Aşıkpaşazade as a source for fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography has been held up to close scrutiny by scholars such as Heywood, Lowry and Imber because Wittek utilised Aşıkpaşazade as one of his sources to prove that the early Ottomans were fighting for the faith. Therefore those scholars, who adopt a critical acceptance of Aşıkpaşazade, have done so to disprove Wittek's "Ghazi thesis."

In the same manner in which Wittek used Aşıkpaşazade to argue for the ghaza nature of the early Ottoman state, Lowry chooses sections of Aşıkpaşazade that prove that the early Ottomans co-operated with the Christians in order to disprove Wittek's "Ghazi thesis." The debate on the Muslimness of the Ottomans had led Kafadar to argue that the early Ottomans should not be judged by their behaviour and that Aşıkpaşazade is a valuable source into the dervish-ghazi mentality.

A clear trend in modern scholarship since the publication of İnalçık's article in 1995 has been to present Aşıkpaşazade as a dervish-ghazi who criticises the servitors of the Ottoman state because he yearns for the days of old before the dervish-ghazi elements who helped to build the Ottoman state were marginalised.

Aşıkpaşazade was clearly a dervish-ghazi as Chapter 4 examines but he was also a member of the Ottoman elite and became personally affected by the fiscal policies of Mehmed II. Modern scholarship has attached a great deal of importance to the polemical nature of Aşıkpaşazade and overlooked the fact, that with the exception of having to blame others such as Ali Pasha to explain away difficult events, Aşıkpaşazade had his personal axe to grind when he sat down to write his history.

Chapter 2

The historiographical issues surrounding the use of Aşıkpaşazade as a source

Section 1 of 3.

1. The manuscripts and the editions of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*

Section one examines the manuscripts and editions of Aşıkpaşazade. Section two discusses whether the tag of Turkish nationalism is applicable to the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade and determines that it is not. Section three considers whether Aşıkpaşazade can be categorised as a propagandist of the Ottoman dynasty. Aşıkpaşazade's aim was to write a history eulogising the Ottoman dynasty therefore he can be considered to be a propagandist to some degree. It is demonstrated that the ideological parameters within which scholars operate to an extent determine whether they regard Aşıkpaşazade to be a propagandist or not.

The 1929 critical edition of Aşıkpaşazade by Friedrich Giese, *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Āşıkpaşazāde* (The Old Ottoman Chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade) is used as the edition upon which this study of Aşıkpaşazade is based. The decision to use the edition of Giese as opposed to the other available editions stems from the fact that Giese consulted more manuscripts than any other author and was therefore able to utilise more recensions of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. As has already been pointed out, Ali who published his edition in 1914 used the Archaeological Museum and the Vatican manuscripts whereas Atsız's 1949 edition was based on both the Ali and Giese editions.³⁶⁵ In 1959, the German scholar Richard Franz Kreutel published what has been described as a translation of Aşıkpaşazade³⁶⁶ and it is noteworthy that Kreutel's translation of Aşıkpaşazade has not been utilised by modern scholarship as a source on Aşıkpaşazade.

In 2003, Yavuz and Saraç published an edition of Aşıkpaşazade's history, *Âşık Paşazāde Osmanogullarının Tarihi, Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân*.³⁶⁷ Yavuz and Saraç

³⁶⁵ Ménage, 1961: 225.

³⁶⁶ Imber, 1987: 9.

³⁶⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç, 2003.

based their edition on two manuscripts that they discovered in Istanbul.³⁶⁸ The first manuscript is one found in the Süleymaniye Library (no.4954) and the second was located in the library of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (no.1504).³⁶⁹ Yavuz and Saraç decided to use the manuscript of Aşıkpaşazade's history from the Süleymaniye Library because it had not been utilised until now.³⁷⁰ With regard to the manuscript of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Yavuz and Saraç take the view that it is a reliable manuscript.³⁷¹ The edition of Yavuz and Saraç supplements that of Giese throughout this thesis and with the exception of the sequence of chapters in terms of numbering; both editions agree on the content of the text of Aşıkpaşazade.

Twelve manuscripts of Aşıkpaşazade's work were known to Giese when he prepared his edition. Some of the manuscripts were complete while others were fragmentary. Giese lists and describes the manuscripts he used or was aware of, in the Introduction to his edition.³⁷² Giese's edition contains one hundred and seventy chapters of Aşıkpaşazade's work and the date of the last historical event is 1485. The twelve manuscripts are as follows:

1. Vatican Library (V). The account reaches to the year 1502. It had previously been owned by Queen Christina of Sweden and was acquired by the Vatican in 1689. According to Giese, it is a poor manuscript, abundant with errors and omissions. The date of copying appears as 1589 and it is the only dated manuscript.
2. Vienna (W). This is a fragment that reaches to Chapter 26 of Aşıkpaşazade. According to Giese, it is close to the manuscripts used by Ali, the Vatican and Istanbul manuscripts.
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library (O). This is a fragment that reaches to Chapter 30 of Aşıkpaşazade. According to Giese, its readings are close to that of

³⁶⁸ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 24-25.

³⁶⁹ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 25.

³⁷⁰ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 24.

³⁷¹ Aşıkpaşazade ,Yavuz and Saraç, 2003: 25.

³⁷² Giese, 1929: 1-13 and see also Ménage, 466-469.

the Mordtmann manuscript but it lacks the poetry and several of the chapter headings.

4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (P). This is a fragment that reaches to Chapter 60 of Aşıkpaşazade. Giese describes its text as being closest to the Upsala manuscript.
5. Istanbul, Archeological Museum (A). This manuscript was used by Ali as the primary manuscript for his text. Ali doesn't give a sufficient description of its contents.³⁷³ This manuscript was not available to Giese but it seems he benefited from the text through consulting Ali's edition published in 1914. This is also the manuscript consulted by İnalçık for his article, *How to Read 'Āshık Pasha Zāde's History*.³⁷⁴
6. Mordtmann (M). This is a complete manuscript. It was known to Ali but never utilised by him.³⁷⁵ This manuscript is a copy and was owned by J.H Mordtmann. According to Giese, this manuscript is the best one after the Upsala and Berlin manuscripts, which are both incomplete.
7. Berlin (B). This manuscript only came to Giese's attention when his edition had just gone to print. In addition, Ménage argues that Giese admitted that he would have preferred the Berlin manuscript had it been available when he prepared his edition. However the Berlin and Mordtmann manuscripts agree so closely that the variants were few and far between.³⁷⁶
8. Dresden (D). This manuscript has a big gap in chapters compared to other manuscripts, Chapters 76-156 of Aşıkpaşazade's text are missing. According to Giese, this is a good manuscript and is close to the Mordtmann manuscript.

³⁷³ Ménage, 1961: 467.

³⁷⁴ İnalçık, 1995.

³⁷⁵ Ménage, 1961: 467.

³⁷⁶ Ménage, 1961: 468.

9. Dietrichstein (D1). According to Giese, this manuscript is textually poor but is significant on the issue of the recensions after the death of Mehmed II (after Chapter 155).
10. Paris (P1). This is a complete manuscript but contains additions and many variations in detail. Wittek was of the view that this manuscript represented the main source or derived from the main source used by Aşıkpaşazade. However Giese didn't take on board the view of Wittek because he regarded this manuscript as a later, worked-over version of Aşıkpaşazade's history.³⁷⁷
11. Upsala (U). This manuscript was only recognised as being of Aşıkpaşazade's history following its examination by Babinger.³⁷⁸ Giese used this manuscript as the edition for his manuscript because he deemed it to be a reliable manuscript.
12. Cairo (R). Giese was unable to make use of this manuscript and assumed it represented a separate recension but according to Ménage this manuscript seemed to belong to the same recension as the Vienna and Istanbul manuscripts.³⁷⁹

Ménage lists three manuscripts of Aşıkpaşazade that have appeared since the publication of Giese's edition in 1929.³⁸⁰ With regard to the recensions of Aşıkpaşazade, all the complete manuscripts are in agreement on the order of the chapters up to Chapter 155 of Aşıkpaşazade.

This chapter which is dated 1478 describes Mehmed II's last campaign against Scutari, in Albania.³⁸¹ However Giese's edition contains one hundred and seventy chapters and then continues with thirty pages (not numbered by chapter) that can be found in Ali's edition and which Giese makes clear are not

³⁷⁷ Wittek, 1923-1925: 151-164. Also see Ménage, 1961: 224.

³⁷⁸ Ménage, 1961: 469.

³⁷⁹ Ménage, 1961: 469

³⁸⁰ Ménage, 1961: 470-471.

³⁸¹ Giese, 1929: 171 and see Ménage, 1961:

part of Aşıkpaşazade's original compilation.³⁸² Ali's edition continues after Giese's in terms of the number of chapters and includes a series of chapters with summary-type information on the viziers, the characters of the sultans and the ulema.³⁸³ Giese only included one hundred and seventy chapters in his edition because he took 1484 as the year in which Aşıkpaşazade was still composing his history and the recension he took to be the original version, which was also followed by Neşri, ended in 1485.³⁸⁴

As touched upon, Giese was criticised by Wittek³⁸⁵ who argued that Giese should have chosen a recension that went beyond 1485 because he took the view that Aşıkpaşazade began to write in 1484.³⁸⁶ Wittek drew the conclusion that the recensions identifiable all stem from a book that Aşıkpaşazade had made additions and alterations in. Wittek argues that the earlier recensions would have been dictated from Aşıkpaşazade's book but that the last recension which goes up to the year 1502 best preserved the text of Aşıkpaşazade because it had been copied from the book of Aşıkpaşazade.³⁸⁷ Therefore Wittek argued that Giese's edition did not supersede the edition of Ali.³⁸⁸

In his monograph on Aşıkpaşazade, which it seems was written to respond to the criticism of Wittek, Giese investigated whether the accounts of later historians revealed that they had used Aşıkpaşazade's history, and if so, in which recension.³⁸⁹ Giese's aim was to show that Aşıkpaşazade would have died before the period covered by the later chapters Ali included in his edition and that therefore Aşıkpaşazade could not have authored them.

Wittek argued that Aşıkpaşazade had in his possession a 'book' that via dictation recensions were created from. However the view that a later recension is more likely to be authentic because it was copied from an original 'book'

³⁸² Giese, 1929: 202-233.

³⁸³ Ali's edition has a total of two hundred and thirteen chapters. Ali, 1914.

³⁸⁴ Ménage, 1961: 475.

³⁸⁵ Wittek, 1923-1925: 151-164 and 1931: 698-707. Also see Ménage, 1961: 224.

³⁸⁶ Ménage, 1961: 476.

³⁸⁷ Ménage, 1961: 477.

³⁸⁸ Ménage, 1961: 478.

³⁸⁹ Giese, 1936: 1-46.

cannot be determined. This is because it is not known whether an *autograph* of Aşıkpaşazade's history existed, let alone survived.

What is interesting however and has not been taken into account by modern scholarship, including Ménage, is Giese's view that the work of *Heşt Bihişt* Persian Idris Bitlisi, was dependent on the text of Aşıkpaşazade.³⁹⁰ Bitlisi was ordered by Bayezid II to write a great history in Persian that was worthy of the Ottoman dynasty.³⁹¹

Giese provides several examples of the similarities between the *Heşt Bihişt* of Idris Bitlisi on their account of the reign of Mehmed II until the chapter where most of the manuscripts are in agreement. This is Chapter 155 which details the military expedition against İskenderiye in Albania.³⁹² This is significant purely because the work of Giese demonstrates the reliance of a later historian on Aşıkpaşazade, other than Neşri, on whom modern scholarship have tended to focus in terms of dependency on Aşıkpaşazade. At the end of his monograph, Giese concluded that Wittek's attempts to save the edition of Ali were in vain and the final chapters in Ali were later additions to the history of Aşıkpaşazade.³⁹³ Giese's prediction has only been partially realised in that modern scholarship continues to use both his and the Ali edition upon which to base their assessment of Aşıkpaşazade on, in addition to Atsız's 1949 edition.

³⁹⁰ Giese, 1936: 4.

³⁹¹ İnalçık, 1962: 166.

³⁹² Giese, 1936: 24.

³⁹³ Giese, 1936: 18.

Chapter 2

Section 2 of 3

2. Portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by modern Turkish scholarship: is the tag of nationalism relevant?

This section argues that the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade carried nationalistic overtones in the first half of the twentieth century with regard to the utilisation of some of the themes present in Aşıkpaşazade that have been used by Turkish scholars to argue for a particular ideological stance. The Turkish nationalist vision and its incarnation, the history thesis, was a strategy to instil pride in Turkishness, to denounce the competing claims of the Greeks and Armenians over Anatolia and to legitimise the secularist nature of the new regime by banishing the Ottoman past to oblivion.³⁹⁴

In terms of the output by Turkish scholars over the last few decades, it is difficult to pinpoint a specific nationalistic influence where the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade is concerned. However, this is not to say that the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade has been free of any ideological connotations. There are three main reasons why the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade carries ideological connotations. First, Mengüç has recently labelled Aşıkpaşazade as xenophobic, applying a modern concept to the fifteenth century. Secondly, some Turkish scholars still continue to espouse the views of earlier scholars such as those of Köprülü that were 'nationalistic' in some sense. Finally, Aşıkpaşazade is still portrayed by current Turkish scholarship within the context of Wittek's "Ghazi thesis."

It is also clear that the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade within Turkey generally, but not without exception, adopts a more accepting and less critical stance of the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade and the world which he depicts, compared to work produced outside Turkey. A more accepting environment of Aşıkpaşazade could be perceived to be natural in the country from which Aşıkpaşazade originated. The uncritical acceptance of Aşıkpaşazade's history reflects perhaps a 'softer' form of Turkish nationalism given the Republican premium placed on Aşıkpaşazade as an illustrious early Ottoman source and perhaps also because Aşıkpaşazade himself was descended from an illustrious Turkish and religious

³⁹⁴ Sofos and Özkırımlı, 2009: 56.

family. This section shall examine the evidence for this premise but also argues that it is difficult to place such a view within a current identifiable nationalistic context.

The views of the scholar Köprülü (1890-1966) have already been discussed within the framework of how he viewed the origins of the Ottoman state. To Köprülü the Ottoman period was simply a continuation of Turkish culture with particular reference to Seljukid culture:

“As I have said on numerous occasions, if Ottoman history is viewed and analysed in the context of Turkish history in general, that is, as a continuation of the history of the Anatolian Seljuks and the different Anatolian Beyliks, only then will it be possible to elucidate a great many problems which have remained obscure up until now.”³⁹⁵

Köprülü readily accepted Aşıkpaşazade’s mention of the four social organisations that existed on the Turkish frontier at the turn of the fourteenth century.³⁹⁶ Aşıkpaşazade list of the four groups appears in the last chapter of the Giese edition (chapter 169), a chapter before the appendix and at which point Giese doubted whether the chapters that followed Chapter 170, were indeed Aşıkpaşazade’s.

Köprülü viewed these organisations as being Turkish in nature. Köprülü’s emphasis on the Turkish and often pre-Islamic history of Anatolia, was in accordance with one of the aims of the Turkish Historical Thesis of the new Turkish republic, which sought to distance itself from the demise of institutionalised Islam in the Ottoman dynasty by focusing on the Turks’ pre-Ottoman and Pre-Islamic past.³⁹⁷ This view supported Köprülü’s opinion that the Ottoman period was a natural seamless continuation of Turkish history. Köprülü is at pains to stress the Turkish nature of the terms employed by Aşıkpaşazade. *Ghāziyān-ı Rūm* is the term used by Aşıkpaşazade to denote the ghazis of Anatolia but Köprülü insists that this expression used by Aşıkpaşazade in fact is

³⁹⁵ Köprülü, 1992: 23.

³⁹⁶ Köprülü, 1992: 88-101.

³⁹⁷ Sofos and Özkırımlı, 2009: 57.

synonymous with the term *alp*, the Turkish term for 'hero or warlike'.³⁹⁸ This is a clear example of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* being used for nationalistic purposes. Köprülü also claims that Aşıkpaşazade supports his claim that the Ottomans were tribal in origin and did not descend from the Mongols but from the Oğuz Turks.³⁹⁹

To put the ideological views of Köprülü into context, Köprülü is viewed in Turkey as following in the footsteps of Gökalp, who is regarded as the founding father of Turkish nationalism, in terms of making an ideological contribution to a study of the Turks and implementing Western positivism.⁴⁰⁰

Turkish scholars who have criticised Köprülü's views have been accused of not understanding the contribution that he made to a scientific approach to the study of Turks.⁴⁰¹ Köprülü was instrumental in establishing a national historiography with regard to the study of the history of the Turks in Turkey. Köprülü was a successful academic-turned-politician who descended from the famous Köprülü family who took office as viziers to Ottoman rulers from the seventeenth century. Köprülü wrote at a time when the emerging Turkish nationalism of the republican era busily occupied itself with redefining the role of the Turks in world history, in which he was a pivotal figure, and was not entirely sympathetic to the later and "corrupt" phase of the Ottoman empire.⁴⁰²

Again it is not surprising that Köprülü chose to literally ignore Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" that was espoused in the 1930s. Wittek formulated his views on the origins of the Ottomans at a time when the new secular republic was looking forward within the context of Kemalism and not backwards to its Islamic dynastic past.

Aşıkpaşazade is portrayed by Köprülü as showing that the Ottoman period in some respects was a continuation of Turkish history but despite mentioning the

³⁹⁸ Köprülü, 1992: 92.

³⁹⁹ Köprülü, 1992: 72.

⁴⁰⁰ Erdican, 1974: vii.

⁴⁰¹ Berktaş, 1983: 13. Berktaş employs such an approach to his contemporaries who have criticised Köprülü.

⁴⁰² Kafadar, 10: 1995.

illustrious family of the dervish writer,⁴⁰³ it would not be necessarily true to assume that Köprülü viewed Aşıkpaşazade as unique in his own right. His nationalistic portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade only went so far. Köprülü regarded chroniclers such as Aşıkpaşazade as the authors of “a kind of extension of early popular epics...based on oral traditions or on purposely fabricated tales.”⁴⁰⁴

Köprülü dismisses the legends surrounding the origins of the Ottoman state⁴⁰⁵ but as demonstrated uses sections of Aşıkpaşazade’s history that suit his nationalistic cause. When not regarded as useful in describing the social conditions on the frontier, Aşıkpaşazade is otherwise regarded by Köprülü as being a simple and uneducated man and described as someone who sometimes confused the meaning of the terms he included in his history and could not differentiate between historical fact and legend⁴⁰⁶ Köprülü cites the dream topos that appears in fifteenth-century histories and which sees Osman’s sovereignty foretold in a dream as an example.⁴⁰⁷

Köprülü’s views are readily identifiable in the work of Turkish scholars who wrote after Köprülü. Scholars such as İnalçık, Kafadar and Ocak also portray Aşıkpaşazade in a similar fashion to Köprülü,⁴⁰⁸ in terms of accepting Aşıkpaşazade’s accounts of the frontier, but have not tended to be as critical as Köprülü with regard to Aşıkpaşazade’s calibre as a historian.⁴⁰⁹

Ocak writing in 1980 also displayed an uncritical acceptance of the four social organisations identifiable in Aşıkpaşazade that Köprülü argued were a reflection of the historical reality at the time.⁴¹⁰ Ocak also adopts the view that the Ottoman state was a continuation of the Seljukid state because the Turkish

⁴⁰³ Köprülü, 1992: 93.

⁴⁰⁴ Köprülü, 1992: 20.

⁴⁰⁵ Köprülü, 1992: 23.

⁴⁰⁶ Köprülü, 1940a: 708.

⁴⁰⁷ Köprülü, 1992: 6-7.

⁴⁰⁸ See, İnalçık 1973, Ocak, 1990 and 1997, Kafadar, 1995 and Yavuz-Saraç, 2003: 23 for examples of how such Turkish scholars also follow in Köprülü’s footsteps in terms of viewing the Ottomans as tribal in origin and in accepting Aşıkpaşazade’s description of the frontier.

⁴⁰⁹ For examples for a more positive outlook on Aşıkpaşazade, see Kafadar, 1995: 99-104.

⁴¹⁰ Ocak, 1980: 169.

beyliks were formed after the dissolution of the Seljukid state.⁴¹¹ This view assumes a natural seamless transition from Seljuk state to Turkish *beylik* to Ottoman *beylik*, given that the Ottoman *beylik* was one of the *beyliks* to rise at this time. Like Köprülü and with reference to Köprülü, Ocak also stresses the existence of the abdal dervish elements in the Ottoman *beylik*.⁴¹² Ocak clearly pursues a classic Turkish scholarly approach to the study of the Seljuk and early Ottoman period. However, he utilised most of the fifteenth-century histories as sources⁴¹³ and although he mentions the fact that Aşıkpaşazade descends from Baba İlyas, he does not over-emphasise any aspect of Aşıkpaşazade's spiritual heritage of familial connections. Ocak simply uses Aşıkpaşazade as a source to elucidate various aspects of life on the frontier.

With regard to the scholar Nihal Atsız (1905-1975) it is at first glance easy to assume that the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by Atsız would include strong nationalistic overtones. However this is not the case. Atsız, a literature teacher for many years in Turkey, was clearly a nationalist in the very right-wing sense of the term and was a student of Zeki Velidi, who was a right-wing historian and influential in the conservative circles of the University of Istanbul.

Atsız was arrested and charged on a number of occasions for exhibiting racist and Turanist ideas, which included arguing for the expulsion of the Jews from Thrace, and was tried in 1944 where he openly admitted to being a racist.⁴¹⁴

The fictional works of Atsız also display the same ideological tendencies of arguing for the supremacy of the Turkish nation above others. In his novels *Bozkurtların Ölümü* and *Bozkurtların Dirilişi*, which describe life under the first Göktürk state, Atsız attests to the supremacy of the central Asian Turks whilst denigrating their Chinese counterparts.⁴¹⁵ The research carried out by the scholar Saraçoğlu in identifying and assessing the influence of Atsız's political

⁴¹¹ Ocak, 1980: 172.

⁴¹² Ocak, 1980: 173.

⁴¹³ Ocak, 1980: for examples of use of Neşri see, 95, for an example of the use of Oruç's history, 43 and for other non-Ottoman examples of sources see 74.

⁴¹⁴ Saraçoğlu, 2004: 13.

⁴¹⁵ Saraçoğlu, 2004: 14.

views on the *Ülkücü* (Idealist) movement normally associated with The Nationalist Action Party (MHP) in Turkey is noteworthy.⁴¹⁶

Saraçoğlu argues that despite there not being a formal or official link between Atsız and the *Ülkücü* movement, that the former's continual Turkist and even explicitly racist ideas provided the *Ülkücüs* with the necessary ideational content to develop a separate and marginal identity.⁴¹⁷

Despite Atsız's fascination with Turkish supremacy, he produced scholarly output on Aşıkpaşazade as one of several fifteenth-century writers.

Aşıkpaşazade as a writer who shows the Ottomans of Turkic origin as heroes as a Ottoman Turkish individual who came from an renowned family with illustrious spiritual and literary connections may be one of the reasons why Atsız chose to include Aşıkpaşazade in his book where he provides an edition of the histories of five Ottoman writers.⁴¹⁸ In his edition Atsız does present all fifteenth-century histories on the Ottomans except for Bitlisi who wrote in Persian and Neşri.

In his introduction to his 1949 *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, Atsız argues that scholarly attention on Turkish history ranging from its inscriptions, poems and archival materials is sorely needed.⁴¹⁹ It is not surprising that given his political views that as a literature teacher Atsız would choose to compile editions of fifteenth-century Ottoman histories as he regarded them solely within the context of Turkish history.⁴²⁰

However Atsız does not single out Aşıkpaşazade for praise in relation to his illustrious Turkish background, which it could be argued is easy to achieve given that the poet Aşık Paşa (1272-1333) was Aşıkpaşazade's great grandfather and that he descended from Baba İlyas the spiritual leader. Despite this, Atsız definitely does not make an argument for Turkish supremacy using

⁴¹⁶ Saraçoğlu, 2004: 1-32.

⁴¹⁷ Saraçoğlu, 2004: 11

⁴¹⁸ Atsız, 1949. The fifteenth century Ottomans writers that Atsız has compiled an edition of are; the poet Ahmedi, Şükrullah, Aşıkpaşazade, Karamanlı Nişancı Mehmed Pasha and Bayatlı Mehmed.

⁴¹⁹ Atsız, 1949: 1.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

Aşıkpaşazade as an example. Even though he wrote about several writers of the fifteenth century, Atsız does not include an edition of Neşri within his *Osmanlı Tarihleri* nor does he mention the fact that Neşri's utilisation of Aşıkpaşazade as a source, made Aşıkpaşazade more mainstream as later writers in turn utilised his history, ensuring that Aşıkpaşazade exerted an indirect influence on Ottoman history writing.

Atsız was clearly a nationalist and in today's world would perhaps be regarded as a fascist. Apart from publishing Aşıkpaşazade's history in plain Turkish within the context of pushing the agenda for Turkish histories to be published in general, no other motive seems apparent with regard to the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade.

It is important to set the scene generally and to provide some context for the views of İncalcık as a shift to a softer form of nationalism can be witnessed in his publications. This is because İncalcık has been viewed by other scholars such as Lowry and Imber as embodying both the tribal origins theory of Köprülü coupled with Wittek's "Ghazi thesis."⁴²¹ İncalcık did not focus solely on the ethnic factor of the Ottoman state as his predecessors did but gave the role of religion an equal footing in his publications. Indeed, if the approach used to identify the extraneous influences on Wittek is used on İncalcık, an interview he gave in 1989 whilst teaching in Chicago suffices as evidence of why İncalcık chose to combine the theories of Köprülü and Wittek.

İncalcık identifies himself as a nationalist and tells his interviewer Nancy Gallagher that his years at teaching school instilled in him a sense of purpose, especially nationalism.⁴²² When asked which academics had influenced him in his thinking, İncalcık cites both Köprülü and Wittek. İncalcık states that Köprülü was an influence on him for the study of the medieval period but that during his time in London which began in 1949, where İncalcık worked at the British Museum and The National Archives, that he became good friends with Wittek.⁴²³

⁴²¹ Lowry, 2003: 9 and Imber, 1997: 211-212.

⁴²² Gallagher, 1994: 153.

⁴²³ Gallagher, 1994: 158.

The following quote from İnalcık summarises his thoughts on Wittek and puts forward his own view as to why Wittek has been harshly criticised for his historical formulations on the origins of the Ottoman state:

“His [Wittek’s] work is epoch-making. Unfortunately, now the young generation- I don’t know what is the motivation- almost all of them are attacking Paul Wittek as old-fashioned. even ridiculing his believing in the ghazi ideology as the most important and dynamic factor in the emergence of the Ottoman state, minimising his method and contribution. I believe all this is unfair...It is true Wittek was a merciless critic, so most people disliked him because of his frankness and strictness. We were close friends.”⁴²⁴

The embracing of a “classical period” in Ottoman history by İnalcık has also attracted critics who argue that this approach carries nationalistic overtones. According to Howard, the author of *The Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature*,⁴²⁵ Kemalist Turkish historiography, alone of the post-Ottoman nationalist historiographies, annexed the Ottoman past to its nationalist narrative, embracing it as its own classical era.⁴²⁶ Howard argues that İnalcık’s *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600* is the brilliant culmination of the Kemalist reconciliation with the classical Ottoman past.⁴²⁷ Howard views İnalcık’s chapters on fanaticism and Islamic mysticism as inspiring a sense of nostalgia but also as an “ironic allusion to the situation of the Republic of Turkey in the year of its golden anniversary.”⁴²⁸

Howard’s concluding remarks on İnalcık are that the above work published in English in 1973 did not escape the nationalist stamp because the model for all sources tended to be government sources and seen from the perspective of the state, either Ottoman or Republican.⁴²⁹

Contrary to the views of Howard, the Ottoman state arose from what is today geographically Turkey and İnalcık was writing several decades following the official state view that the Ottoman Islamic past should be banished to

⁴²⁴ Gallagher, 1994: 157-158.

⁴²⁵ Howard, 2007: 137-166.

⁴²⁶ Howard, 2007: 146.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Howard, 2007: 146.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

oblivion.⁴³⁰ Therefore it is more natural that the nation state that was most closely associated with the imperial Ottoman past would link the two historiographies together, rather than any of the nation states who in the first half of the twentieth century became nations in their own right. Copeaux stresses the complexity of Turkish historical discourse within the transition from empire to state and traces the process of the establishment of Turkish historiography, since the first congress of history (1931-1932) to the present day.⁴³¹

Again in contrast to the views of Howard, an examination of İnalcık's publications reveals that his 1994 publication, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* is more supportive of Köprülü's theory of the Turkish origins of the state,⁴³² than his 1973 publication cited above as İnalcık could be criticised more for the employment of the traditional model of rise, prosperity and decline which was still a popular academic approach in the 1970s rather than arguing for the existence of nationalistic overtones because government documents were used as sources. It could be suggested that the more nationalistic tone displayed by İnalcık much later in his career (1990s onwards) coincided with his return to Turkey after decades teaching abroad in the states.⁴³³

İnalcık introduced the concept of *istimâlet*, which he argued was employed by the Ottomans to win over the non-Muslim population of captured territories who had submitted without resistance by generous promises and concessions, sometimes going beyond the limits of the well-known, tolerant stipulations of Islamic Law.⁴³⁴ From a modern perspective it could be argued that İnalcık in hindsight employed the perspective of *Istimâlet* to portray the early Ottomans in

⁴³⁰ Sofos and Özkırımlı, 2009: 56.

⁴³¹ Copeaux, 1997: 228-229.

⁴³² İnalcık, 1973: 7, "a true "frontier empire," a cosmopolitan state, treating all creeds and races as one, which was to unite the Orthodox Christian Balkans and Muslim Anatolia in a single state." Whereas İnalcık, 1995: 11 reads as follows; "The Ottoman state came into existence around 1300 as a small frontier principality which devoted itself to the gaza, Holy War, on the frontiers of the Seljukid Sultanate in Asia Minor. Its initial gazi frontier character influenced the state's historical existence for six centuries."

⁴³³ İnalcık came back to Turkey to take up a position as Professor at the University of Bilkent in Ankara.

⁴³⁴ İnalcık, 1991: 409.

a fair and just light thereby distancing them from the negative image of Turks that he had encountered during his own lifetime.⁴³⁵

It is noteworthy that İnalçık only ever referred to the concept of *istimâlet* in an article published in 1991, a year before he returned to Turkey, and never illustrated the concept at work with examples from histories such as that of Aşıkpaşazade. Indeed as is discussed in the following chapter, Aşıkpaşazade only used the term twice throughout his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. If the concept of *istimâlet* did have a nationalistic connotation, it was certainly short lived. The third chapter examines whether the concept of *istimâlet* applies to the content of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.

With specific reference to Aşıkpaşazade, İnalçık prioritises the role of Neşri in terms of the development of Ottoman historiography because he fused the two textual traditions by using the works of Aşıkpaşazade and of Ruhi.⁴³⁶ As previously mentioned the indirect influence of Aşıkpaşazade on the development of Ottoman history writing because Neşri used him heavily as a source is often not given the scholarly attention it deserves. In his article devoted solely to Aşıkpaşazade,⁴³⁷ İnalçık stresses the role Ede Bali, believed to have been the father-in-law of Osman, played spiritually in the rise of the Ottoman state and the role Aşıkpaşazade's own family also played.⁴³⁸

İnalçık argues for the historicity of Ede Bali as a *halife* of the *Vefaî* order that Aşıkpaşazade and his family followed. İnalçık states that sections of Aşıkpaşazade demonstrate that Ede Bali played a key role in the establishment of the Ottoman state. Being consulted for his opinion during the career of Osman is provided as an example of this.⁴³⁹ İnalçık is more concerned with establishing that Ede Bali was in fact a historical personage and was instrumental in providing the early Ottomans with spiritual support than with over-stressing Aşıkpaşazade's connection with the *Vefaî* order. İnalçık is keen

⁴³⁵ Gallagher, 1994: 154. In the interview referred to above, İnalçık tells his interviewer, that "we had to find convincing arguments to establish a positive image in the world after the war."

⁴³⁶ İnalçık, 1962: 165.

⁴³⁷ İnalçık 1995: 139-156.

⁴³⁸ İnalçık 1995: 144.

⁴³⁹ İnalçık 1995: 152.

to portray Aşıkpaşazade as a dervish-ghazi who yearned for the early and simple days of the Ottomans when Osman was comparable to a shepherd or dervish and detested the centralised and curtailing policies of Mehmed II.⁴⁴⁰ It is difficult to pinpoint a nationalistic tone with regard to this.

Kafadar, as mentioned previously, has been regarded by Imber as defending Wittek's "Ghazi thesis," or more precisely, defending İnalcık's modification of the "Ghazi thesis" to accommodate it to the traditional view of the tribal origins of the Ottomans.⁴⁴¹ Faroqhi who has reviewed Kafadar's *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* in a very favourable light also adopts this view.

"Kafadar may be regarded as a proponent of the thesis that the ghaza and its attendant ideology were, in fact, the decisive factors in securing the cohesion of the early Ottoman polity."⁴⁴²

Kafadar's book is full of descriptions of the early Ottomans as both ghazis and of being of tribal origin. This can be seen in relation to his narrative on the early conquests of Osman and Orhan.⁴⁴³ Kafadar's work cannot be said to carry the tag of nationalism with regard to his discussions of life on the frontier. Unlike Köprülü and Ocak, Kafadar highlights the ethnically diverse nature of the frontier and states that when Aşık Paşa the grandfather of Aşıkpaşazade died, his brother Elvan Çelebi (d. 1360?), and by extension Aşıkpaşazade's great uncle, stated that the Armenians, Jews and Christians all mourned for him, asking where their sheikh was.⁴⁴⁴

This view of Kafadar is also identifiable in Faroqhi's review of his book. According to Faroqhi, Kafadar makes it clear that he intervenes in the debate [about the origins of the Ottomans] as a Turkish scholar whose cosmopolitan experiences have given him a scepticism of the many claims of rival

⁴⁴⁰ İnalcık 1995: 147.

⁴⁴¹ Imber, 1997: 211-212.

⁴⁴² Faroqhi, 1996: 452.

⁴⁴³ Kafadar, 1995: 16-17.

⁴⁴⁴ Kafadar, 1995: 74.

nationalisms.⁴⁴⁵ Indeed Kafadar argues that the use of ethnic tags, such as Turk, are not always helpful when studying history unless scholars are prepared to study the different meanings of the term over time.⁴⁴⁶

Kafadar's portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade reflects his view that in the fifteenth century there were several competing historiographies at play.⁴⁴⁷ Kafadar provides a narrative on the life of Aşıkpaşazade which contains several assumptions which it could be argued are more sociological than historical. Aşıkpaşazade joining the side of Mehmed I when he was still a prince during the civil war against his brothers, is viewed as a case of chance because both Mehmed and Aşıkpaşazade were based in the same area.⁴⁴⁸

Kafadar assumes that Aşıkpaşazade was disappointed because he fell ill and could not join Mehmed's army and that

“Whatever disappointment this turn of fate led to must have been alleviated by the fact that he thus became a guest of an old man by the name of Yahşi Fakih.”⁴⁴⁹

Kafadar goes on to assume that Aşıkpaşazade found his community in Amasya overbearing upon his return after his adventures.⁴⁵⁰ These examples suffice to demonstrate that Kafadar ascribed thinking reflexes to Aşıkpaşazade that are not to found in Aşıkpaşazade's history if approached purely as a historical source. Kafadar also displays a degree of uncritical acceptance of the text of Aşıkpaşazade because he argues that the behaviour of the early Ottomans should not be regarded as ahistorical both in response to the critics of Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" and generally.⁴⁵¹

To Kafadar, Aşıkpaşazade's account of the *hutbe* (Friday prayer) being read for the first time in Osman's name and the appointment of officials such as a *kadi*

⁴⁴⁵ Faroqhi, 1996: 452.

⁴⁴⁶ Kafadar, 1995: 26.

⁴⁴⁷ Kafadar, 1995: 98.

⁴⁴⁸ Kafadar, 1995: 101.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Kafadar, 1995: 101.

⁴⁵¹ Kafadar, 1995: 12.

(judge) in Karacahisar does not necessarily reflect the reality in Karacahisar. However according to Kafadar, sheikhs, kadis, priests and scribes would have offered their services to the Ottomans as their conquests progressed. This is a half-way house example of uncritically accepting an account of Aşıkpaşazade to project a historical assumption retrospectively back to the historical players of the time.

Like İnalcık, Kafadar views the critical streak that Aşıkpaşazade sometimes displays as reflecting the views of the frontier warriors being opposed to the centralised state.⁴⁵² A nationalistic influence of the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by Kafadar is not detectable. It is clear however that one of the main outputs of Kafadar's book is to respond to the critics of Wittek.⁴⁵³ In supporting Wittek's "Ghazi thesis", Kafadar does not take into account any of the extraneous influences that contributed to the formation of Wittek's romanticised view of the early Ottomans. Despite sifting through the effect Turkish nationalism has on the portrayal of the Ottomans, he does not take into account that Wittek's views have been regarded as an application of nationalist political theory to a particular period of Ottoman history.⁴⁵⁴

The views of Mengüç on Aşıkpaşazade demonstrate as a conclusion to this section that although the tag of nationalism with regard to the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade is not valid, his portrayal is not free of all ideological connotations. In describing some of the views of Aşıkpaşazade, Mengüç uses a modern term and projects it back to medieval times.

Mengüç regards Aşıkpaşazade as being xenophobic because he blames non-Muslims for the corruption in the Ottoman state.⁴⁵⁵ The fact that Aşıkpaşazade attributes the beginnings of corrupt behaviour to Çandarlı Halil who during the reign of Bayezid was a respected member of the court, but not of Muslim origin, displays a xenophobic attitude according to Mengüç. Aşıkpaşazade omitted reference to the drinking habits of Bayezid I and stated that cheating became

⁴⁵² Kafadar, 1995: 100.

⁴⁵³ Kafadar, 1995: 47-59 for example.

⁴⁵⁴ Imber, 1986: 294.

⁴⁵⁵ Mengüç, 2008: 137.

part and parcel of state craft with the entry of non-Muslims into Ottoman office.⁴⁵⁶

In particular Mengüç argues that Aşıkpaşazade is xenophobic towards Ali Paşa who Bayezid wanted to punish for his corruption because he loved luxury and practised *haram* (unlawful) things.⁴⁵⁷

It is clearly the case that Aşıkpaşazade omitted historical events that revealed Ottoman co-operation with the Byzantines. There is a fifteen year gap in the chronology of Aşıkpaşazade which corresponds to the period when Orhan married a Byzantine and adopted a very pragmatic stance towards the Byzantine emperor who was his father-in-law.⁴⁵⁸ It is not surprising that Aşıkpaşazade does not mention cases of such extreme co-operation with the infidels.

It is more likely that Aşıkpaşazade, a Muslim with strong spiritual ties, criticised such officials on religious grounds with regard to the drinking of alcohol and unlawful habits, not on the grounds of race. Aşıkpaşazade simply did not criticise those around the sultan as neither strong criticism of Bayezid nor criticism of Mehmed II- if indeed Aşıkpaşazade was projecting back criticism from his era to an earlier one.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Mengüç, 2008: 137.

⁴⁵⁸ Zachariadou, 1995: 52.

Chapter 2

Section 3 of 3

The portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade as a propagandist of the Ottoman dynasty

It is logical that as the author of a history of the Ottoman dynasty Aşıkpaşazade would engage in the eulogisation of the Ottomans. The casting of rulers in a positive light is a common literary tool employed by writers over time regardless of cultural background. The term propagandist as used here denotes a form of communication that is aimed at influencing the attitudes of a community toward some cause or position. The form of communication is Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* and the community is his audience. Can Aşıkpaşazade be deemed to have portrayed the Ottomans in a particular way which would cast him in a propagandist light or did Aşıkpaşazade simply provide an account of Ottoman history?

It is demonstrated that Aşıkpaşazade saw his role as being a propagandist of the Ottoman rulers, they were beyond reproach and that is how Aşıkpaşazade portrayed them. The depiction of Aşıkpaşazade as a propagandist or not by modern scholarship has sometimes depended on ideological preference or a motivation to disprove an ideology.

It is a generally accepted consensus in the world of modern scholarship that Aşıkpaşazade incorporated myths and tales into his history at a time when the Ottoman state had developed into a fully fledged empire and wanted to tie up loose ends with regard to the portrayal of its ancestry, pedigree and religiousness.⁴⁵⁹

Aşıkpaşazade chose to author a history of the Ottomans after the capture of Constantinople and at a time when the Ottomans had set their sights further afield on domains held by fellow Muslims. The Ottomans subsequently applied a very specific retrospective slant on the history of their origins. This was at a time when the Ottomans not only wanted to justify war against fellow Muslims such as the Karamanids and Dhul-Qadirids but also to ensure that their origins and genealogy would be told in such a way as to ensure their political legitimacy

⁴⁵⁹ Imber, 1987: 7-27.

would not be questioned. The legitimising myths of a propagandist nature did not appear overnight and were developed, edited and redacted by writers over the fifteenth century sometimes from tales from a past era to retrospectively fill the Ottoman past with myths befitting of their current majesty and grandeur.

Ottoman Genealogy

Genealogically Aşıkpaşazade depicts the House of Osman as ancestors of the legendary Oğuz/Kayı Turk tribes. In Chapter 1, Aşıkpaşazade cites 50 names, one per generation, from Bayezid II (1481-1512) to Noah and gives the longer of the two variants of genealogies in existence at the time he was writing.⁴⁶⁰ Aşıkpaşazade presents Oğuz Khan as the founder of the Oğuz tribes as Noah's grandson through a long lineage.⁴⁶¹ Aşıkpaşazade lists Süleyman Şah as Osman Beg's grandfather which ties into how the Ottomans came to be based in north-western Anatolia through a Seljuk connection.

Aşıkpaşazade is not unique in incorporating a genealogy of Oğuz origin for the Ottomans into their histories. A reference to the Oğuz first surfaces in the work *İskendername* of the thirteenth-century poet Ahmedi where he makes reference to "many people from the Oğuz" in the following of Osman Beg's father, Ertuğrul.⁴⁶² From Şükrullah onwards with the exception of the *İbnülemin Anonymous*, all histories of the period agree that the Ottomans were of Oğuz/Kayı origin.⁴⁶³ Şükrullah is the source that later histories used and Mengüç has argued against the view that the genealogy composed by Aşıkpaşazade is completely different from that of Şükrullah's. Mengüç states that a comparison of Şükrullah's and Bayatlı's genealogy composed for Prince Cem in 1473, which is the fullest one that has survived, shows that Aşıkpaşazade's and other histories' genealogies are nothing more than a variation first encountered in Şükrullah.⁴⁶⁴ The Ottoman genealogy emerged in the reign of Murad II (1421-51) following the crushing defeat of the Ottomans by

⁴⁶⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4-5. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 273.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Imber, 1987: 17.

⁴⁶³ Mengüç, 2008: 73.

⁴⁶⁴ Mengüç, 2008: 74.

Timur and the civil war between the Ottoman princes which lasted over ten years and saw Mehmed I (1413-1421) triumph over his brother Musa.

In addition as noted by modern scholarship, the Oğuz genealogy came about at a time when the Muslim sovereigns of Anatolia and Azerbaijan, who were rivals of the Ottomans, were all Turkish and had compiled their genealogies from source material not dissimilar to that used by the Ottomans. The Ottoman genealogy presented the Ottomans as being superior by descent to their neighbouring rivals.⁴⁶⁵ With the ultimate religious connection stretching back to the beginning of time through Noah and the legendary Oğuz/Kayı Turkish tribe the Ottomans attempted to demonstrate their ancestral superiority.

It is no coincidence that it was Yazıcıoğlu, employed in the Ottoman bureaucracy during the reign of Murad II (1421-1451) in the 1420s, to whom the creation of the Oğuz Khan association with the Ottomans is attributed. This would have been a politically trying time for Murad II as he attempted to put the instability of the civil wars and crushing defeat of Timur that led to his father's death behind him. It is known that Yazıcıoğlu in fact based his genealogy on one already in existence which Rashid al-Din had composed for the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan Khan.⁴⁶⁶ According to Imber,

“ It became [the myth], in the end, so deeply embedded in Ottoman thought, and so carefully preserved in Ottoman history writing, that even in the 20th century, historians still present elements of the myth in the guise of historical fact.”⁴⁶⁷

Imber states that by the late sixteenth century the elaborate myth possessed by the Ottoman dynasty legitimised its rule in the eyes of its own subjects and justified its wars against neighbouring sovereigns, both Christian and Muslim. According to Imber, the propagation of the myth, of which many strands existed, became vital to the existence of the state because the sultans drew their moral authority from it. The strands of the myth had formed into a semi-official account

⁴⁶⁵ Imber, 2002: 123.

⁴⁶⁶ Imber discusses the development of the Ottoman genealogy in Imber, 1987: 7-27. For the contribution of Yazıcıoğlu to the development of the myth see: 16-19.

⁴⁶⁷ Imber, 1987: 7.

of the origins of the dynasty, which explained and justified its rise to power as destiny in terms of the religious and political ideas of orthodox Islam.⁴⁶⁸

If Aşıkpaşazade can be deemed to be a propagandist, he certainly was not alone. Both Imber and other scholars such as Mengüç trace the emergence of the mythic Ottoman dynasty myth to Yazıcıoğlu and to Şükrullah. Aşıkpaşazade was simply following the lead of other writers and incorporated the genealogy of the Ottomans that was circulating at the time of his writing. The Ottomans drew moral and political legitimacy from the myths that circulated and Aşıkpaşazade played a role in their perpetuation.

Aşıkpaşazade can be described as a propagandist by modern standards for the inclusion of this myth into his history but such a view does not allow for the fact that Aşıkpaşazade may have actually believed the content of his source material. According to Mengüç, when explaining the origins of the Ottomans, twentieth century Ottomanists have been specifically interested in the truth value of the statements in the histories of the fifteenth century.⁴⁶⁹

Mengüç attributes this to ethnocentric and nationalistic tendencies of the twentieth century and cites the views of Herbert Gibbons, Mehmet Fuad Köprülü and Paul Wittek as examples.⁴⁷⁰ Mengüç also demonstrates how the Ottoman palace did not play an influential role in dictating the composition and content of Ottoman histories composed towards the end of the fifteenth century.⁴⁷¹

Mengüç however makes no reference to Ottomanists of more recent decades such as Imber who adopts a strictly historical approach or Kafadar who adopts a less historical approach than Imber. Mengüç's choice not to discuss contemporary historians or Ottomanists may be due to the fact that it is more difficult to place the views and approach of, particularly Western, post-World War II scholars within the context of ideology.

⁴⁶⁸ Imber, 1987: 7.

⁴⁶⁹ Mengüç, 2008: 73.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Mengüç, 2008: 37.

For European historians of the first half of the twentieth century, such as Gibbons and Wittek who imposed a kind of nationalistic slant on their views in a period when colony became nation state, it is not impossible that the mainstream historical approach of the nineteenth century was still influential.

It was conventional for historians to identify truth with fact and to regard fiction as the opposite of truth, hence as hindrance to the understanding of reality rather than a way of apprehending it.⁴⁷² White a historian who specialises in literary criticism stresses that historiography as a distinct scholarly discipline in the West developed against a background of a profound hostility to all forms of myth.⁴⁷³ This may be one of the reasons why modern scholars have turned to a historiographical analysis of the Ottomans sources because the sources themselves are not myth free.

Imber's view that there is no textual evidence⁴⁷⁴ to support the genealogy of the Ottomans as it appears in Aşıkpaşazade and other histories of the period can be regarded as purely historical. The views of Köprülü on the subject of genealogies are not all dissimilar to those of Imber, if the trouble is taken to look beyond what may be considered a nationalistic viewpoint by Köprülü. Back in 1934, Köprülü argued that,

“the early Ottoman historians who eulogised the Ottoman dynasty not only invented wholly fictitious genealogies for the Ottoman sultans, who in fact were not related to the family of any ruler, but also tried to explain, through a series of legends, the founding of the Ottoman state by means of supernatural causes in order to show that it was completely miraculous.”⁴⁷⁵

Köprülü goes on to state that he found it difficult to understand how modern historiography could accept miracles or supernatural causes⁴⁷⁶ and throughout

⁴⁷² White, 1999: 214.

⁴⁷³ White, 1999: 217.

⁴⁷⁴ Imber, 1994: 135.

⁴⁷⁵ Köprülü, 1992: 23.

⁴⁷⁶ Köprülü, 1992: 23.

his *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire* espouses an example-based study of history.

However this is where the similarity between the views of Imber and Köprülü ends. The lynch pin of Köprülü's theory is that the study of Ottoman history has to be undertaken within the context of Turkish history in general as a continuation of the history of Anatolia including that of the Seljuks.⁴⁷⁷ Despite taking the view that histories of the fifteenth century fabricated the genealogies of the Ottoman state, Köprülü argues that the Ottomans descend from the Oğuz tribe, which forms a pivotal part of the 'fictitious' genealogies. Köprülü's reasoning is that the early Ottomans descended from the Oğuz/ Kayı Turks who had come to Anatolia and established themselves in north-western Anatolia during the initial Seljuk conquests.⁴⁷⁸

Wittek, responding directly to the views of Köprülü on the Oğuz/Kayı link to the Ottomans, rejects the view that the Ottomans were ancestors of the Oğuz/Kayı tribes. More to the point, Wittek completely rejects the view advanced by Köprülü that the Ottomans were tribal in origin.⁴⁷⁹ This view of Wittek cannot be isolated from Wittek's theory that the ideological influence at work was religious and not tribal.

In the same vein that Köprülü did not attribute religion a primary factor in the rise of the Ottomans, Wittek took the view that the tradition of Ottoman descent was developed in the fifteenth century and therefore did not form part of any earlier sources. The thirty-one generations of the genealogy were only inserted into fifteenth-century histories and not in circulation before. Therefore according to Wittek the genealogy containing the generations from the Oğuz can be deemed to be legend because it was inserted into later sources and not used before, thereby not providing consistency.⁴⁸⁰

Historians writing in the second half of the twentieth century have not regarded the Ottoman genealogy in such black and white terms as their predecessors.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Köprülü, 1992: 109.

⁴⁷⁹ Wittek, 1963: 13.

⁴⁸⁰ Wittek, 1963: 13.

Ménage abstained from any involvement in the ideological battlefields that existed before and after him where the study of early Ottoman history was concerned. At the time he wrote his doctoral thesis, Gibbons had described the Ottomans as a new race that was inferior⁴⁸¹ and Köprülü had responded to the theories of Gibbons by stressing the Turkish ancestry and identity of the early Ottomans. Ménage made no specific mention of the Ottoman genealogy but stated that the Ottomans had to justify expansion and diplomatic exchange with Muslim states, particularly the Fatimids.⁴⁸²

Ménage went on to explain how there were well known tales connected with the emergence of the Ottoman state which predated its existence and cites the dream motif as an example⁴⁸³ and which is discussed shortly. Ménage's view was that the tales and stories incorporated by Aşıkpaşazade into his work should not be seen as a hindrance to its historical value because the genre of his work did not lend itself to being completely historical.⁴⁸⁴

For Ménage, the question of whether Aşıkpaşazade was a propagandist of the Ottoman dynasty would not have been discussed within the context of the strict separation of historical fact from tales or legend. For Ménage the miracles and tales that appear in Aşıkpaşazade formed part and parcel of the eulogisation of the Ottoman state that Aşıkpaşazade undertook.

It is apparent that other scholars of the modern era are non committal on the issue of the family tree of the Ottomans or have chosen to leave the debate to scholars such as Imber. In all of his publications Heywood who masterfully analyses Wittek's intellectual contribution to the field of Ottoman history does not take a view on the genealogy of the Ottomans.

Kafadar who views the formation of the Ottoman state from the point of view of its key players and later from the perspective of writers such as Aşıkpaşazade, does not fully enter into the debate of the Ottoman genealogy. Kafadar stresses the general pragmatism of writers who eulogised the Ottomans and gives

⁴⁸¹ Gibbons, 1916: 30-34.

⁴⁸² Ménage, 1961: 20.

⁴⁸³ Ménage, 1961: 25.

⁴⁸⁴ Ménage, 1961: 226.

examples of how genealogies could be reshaped or embellished⁴⁸⁵ but does not refer to the genealogy within the context of how it appears in Aşıkpaşazade.

The Ottomans' arrival into Anatolia

Where modern scholarship is more vocal and specifically refers to Aşıkpaşazade concerns the legends of how the eponymous founder of the Ottomans Osman came to receive divine sanction to rule and the issue of how the Ottomans arrived in Anatolia.

Taking the latter in hand first, in Chapter 2, Aşıkpaşazade narrates how the early Ottomans came to be in Anatolia (Rum is the term used by Aşıkpaşazade). The following main points can be surmised from a reading of the chapter.

The grandfather of Osman the founder of the Ottoman *Beylik* is an individual called Süleyman Şah. He was a nomadic leader who was sent to perform ghaza in Rum with his followers. Süleyman Şah Ghazi entered the land of the Rum from Erzincan and carried out heroic acts. Süleyman Şah Ghazi and his nomads set out back to Turkistan because the environmental conditions (mountains and valleys) did not suit their nomadic lifestyle. Süleyman Şah Ghazi fell off his horse and died while crossing the Euphrates. They buried him before Ca'ber castle. That place is now called the "Tomb of the Turk."

The nomads scattered into different directions and some followed Süleyman Şah Ghazi's three sons: Ertuğrul, Gündoğdu and Süngür Tekin . Ertuğrul Ghazi parts from his brothers and goes it alone with his nomads. Sultan Alaeddin of Ertuğrul Ghazi's lineage had come to Rum from Persia and had become its ruler. Ertuğrul thought it was necessary to go to where the Sultan was and to perform ghaza. Ertuğrul Ghazi had three sons, Osman, Gündüz and Saru Yatı. Ertuğrul Ghazi sends one of his sons to Sultan Alaeddin to ask for a place for them to settle so that they can perform ghaza. The sultan agreed and assigns

⁴⁸⁵ Kafadar: 1995: 30. Kafadar cites the example how the blessings of Hacı Bektaş, the patron saint of the Bektaşî order is transferred from the Seljuks to the Ottomans in fifteenth-century histories.

them Söğüd as a homeland. Ertuğrul Ghazi dies a few years later and Osman Ghazi takes his father's place.⁴⁸⁶

If the account of the arrival of the Ottomans into Anatolia by Aşıkpaşazade is compared to the account of the Anonymous Chronicles, the following difference is apparent. The anonymous account is more descriptive whereas Aşıkpaşazade gets straight to the point⁴⁸⁷ The anonymous account tells of the Oğuz characters and their piousness and goes on to relay the devastation caused by Cengiz Khan and his soldiers.⁴⁸⁸

According to Lindner, both the anonymous account and that of Aşıkpaşazade agree that the early Ottomans were nomads who entered Anatolia because of the pressure caused by the Mongol invasions, experienced difficulties there, sought a better location for themselves and then finally split into smaller units, one of which sought service from a Seljuk sultan.⁴⁸⁹

Modern scholarship has received Aşıkpaşazade's version of events on the arrival of the early Ottomans into Anatolia with differing views. To Köprülü who refuted any Mongolian connection to the Ottomans, Aşıkpaşazade is not a propagandist. Aşıkpaşazade's account confirms Köprülü's theory that the Ottomans arrived in the eleventh century with their forbearers the Seljuks. Aşıkpaşazade does not refer specifically to the Kayı tribe; Aşıkpaşazade however does refer to the Ottomans as being from the Oğuz which Köprülü uses, along with other histories of the period, to support his theory.⁴⁹⁰ Wittek, as already noted, did not believe that the assertion that the Ottomans originated from a tribal structure was in the slightest sense historical.⁴⁹¹

While some modern scholars have simply recited the Ottoman tradition of the Ottomans entering into Anatolia and have not questioned its historicity,⁴⁹² others

⁴⁸⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 5-8. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 273-275.

⁴⁸⁷ "The reason for Suleyman Shah coming to Rum is this." Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 5. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 273.

⁴⁸⁸ Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 8.

⁴⁸⁹ Lindner, 2007: 24.

⁴⁹⁰ Köprülü, 1992: 72.

⁴⁹¹ Wittek, 1963: 13.

⁴⁹² Finkel, 2005: 7.

like Kafadar have provided an overview of the social and cultural conditions of the pre-Ottoman frontier but again have not been drawn in to the debate of historicity.⁴⁹³

In contrast, Imber has described the account that appears in Aşıkpaşazade and the Anonymous Chronicles of how the Ottomans arrived in Anatolia as “wholly fictitious.”⁴⁹⁴ Imber describes Süleyman Şah, the personage depicted by Aşıkpaşazade as Osman’s grandfather in the Ottoman genealogy as “certainly legendary.”⁴⁹⁵ Colin Imber adduces as evidence for this view the existence of an alternative genealogy where Gündüz Alp and not Şüleyman Şah appears as the father of Ertuğrul.⁴⁹⁶

It was the historian Neşri who, using Aşıkpaşazade as his main source, established Süleyman Şah as the official name for Osman’s grandfather, laying to rest the use of Gündüz Alp.⁴⁹⁷ The issue of whether Süleyman Şah was a historical personage or not, is one of the few areas of Ottoman historiography where Imber and Wittek see eye to eye. Wittek also argued that Süleyman Şah was not a historical personage particularly because the poet Ahmedi began his account with Ertuğrul and made no reference to Süleyman Şah.⁴⁹⁸

Aşıkpaşazade is certainly regarded by Imber and Wittek as a propagandist of the Ottoman empire where the tradition of the arrival of the Ottomans into Anatolia is concerned. It is also interesting to note that Köprülü who used Aşıkpaşazade’s reference to the Oğuz in his genealogy as part of his justification for his Kayı tribe theory, made no mention of Süleyman Şah in his *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire* at all. The existence or not of Süleyman Şah may not have been deemed as importance as the Oğuz link, which was proved to the satisfaction of Köprülü through its inclusion in Aşıkpaşazade and other histories of the fifteenth century. To Köprülü, making the Turkish link between the Ottomans and the Oğuz tribe as their descendants was more significant

⁴⁹³ Kafadar, 1995: 62-90.

⁴⁹⁴ Imber, 1987: 19.

⁴⁹⁵ Imber, 1987:18.

⁴⁹⁶ This tradition first appears in the *Düsturname* of Enveri written in 1465.

⁴⁹⁸ Wittek, 1963: 15.

than establishing the historicity of a more marginal player like Osman's grandfather.

Lindner has recently attempted to bring a new interpretation to Aşıkpaşazade's account of how the Ottomans arrived in Anatolia. Lindner describes Aşıkpaşazade's insistence that while there are many tales of the Ottomans coming to Anatolia, that his is the true one, as disturbing.⁴⁹⁹ In contrast to Lindner's view, it could be argued that it was normal, and not disturbing, for writers such as Aşıkpaşazade whose history most likely originated from oral tradition to insist to their audience that their account was the truest. This not only acted as a literary device in order to gain the trust of the audience but bolstered the credibility of the writer.

Lindner goes on to explore whether Aşıkpaşazade's version of events that a group of nomads came to Anatolia and were eventually given a homeland by sultan Alaeddin can be deemed to be true.⁵⁰⁰ Lindner argues that Köprülü's assertion that the Ottomans arrived in Anatolia in the eleventh century with the Seljuks would render Aşıkpaşazade's story to be a fabrication.

Lindner introduces the possibility, not previously debated much by modern scholarship, that the early Ottomans may have been linked to the Khwarezmians of the Khwarezm region of the Oxus basin. The Oxus basin is located in Central Asia. Lindner argues that following the death of Jalal al-Din, the Khwarezmshah ruler (c.1230) and the defeat of his army by the Mongols, the Seljuk sultan Alaeddin employed some troops and granted them military tenures in Erzurum. Following an attack on their pastures the troops sought other assignments, some leaving the service of the Seljuks to join the Ayyubids who were also defeated by the Seljuks in 1240.⁵⁰¹

Lindner concludes by stating that "the context of these events seems an entirely plausible one for the arrival of the forefathers of Osman."⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹ Lindner, 2007: 30.

⁵⁰⁰ Lindner, 2007: 30.

⁵⁰¹ Lindner, 2007: 32.

⁵⁰² Lindner, 2007: 32.

Indeed Lindner has recently described the views of Wittek and Imber on the traditional account of how the Ottomans arrived in Anatolia, which would include Aşıkpaşazade's, as 'negative.'⁵⁰³ Lindner also takes a moment to remind the world of modern scholarship that,

“A passage in Aşıkpaşazade is not farther from the events than we are from the time of Thomas Jefferson; at best, it is no farther than we are from the presidency of Harry Truman.”⁵⁰⁴

Following Aşıkpaşazade's account that Ertuğrul had received the patronage of the Seljuks who bestowed upon him a homeland for the Ottomans, Aşıkpaşazade's narrative continues. In Chapter 2, Aşıkpaşazade continues with the narrative of how Sultan Alaeddin bestows gifts upon Osman Beg after his father Ertuğrul had passed away, because he was pleased with the progress Osman Beg was making with ghaza.⁵⁰⁵

In Chapter 8, Sultan Alaeddin sends Osman Beg a standard, horse, drum and robe after Osman sends word to the Sultan confirming that he had just captured a citadel from the infidels.⁵⁰⁶ The only clue from a reading of Aşıkpaşazade that indicates that Osman Beg might be intended as the successor to Sultan Alaeddin is in Chapter 9, when Aşıkpaşazade informs the reader that upon receipt of the gifts from the Seljuk Sultan, Osman Beg stands up and the drum procession which is a call for ghaza to begin starts.⁵⁰⁷

According to Imber, the gift of the drum, standard, horse and sword from Sultan Alaeddin to Osman Beg indicates that he intended to appoint him as an heir.⁵⁰⁸ Scholars have also stated how the playing of the drums, *nevbet*, as Aşıkpaşazade describes is a practice employed at the imperial palace usually when news of a military victory had arrived.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰³ Lindner, 2007: 27-28.

⁵⁰⁴ Lindner, 2007:31.

⁵⁰⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 5-8. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 273-275.

⁵⁰⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 13-14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 281.

⁵⁰⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 281.

⁵⁰⁸ Imber, 1987: 26.

⁵⁰⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 281.

The above story could be interpreted as Alaeddin's recognition of Osman as the leader of ghaza on the frontier.⁵¹⁰ The granting of the ghaza story as told by Aşıkpaşazade does not appear in any of the Anonymous Chronicles. Mengüç's view is that the absence of the story in the Vienna Anonymous, Topkapı Anonymous and Giese Anonymous indicates that the story of granting ghaza originated from an alternative source.⁵¹¹

The following chapter examines in more detail how Aşıkpaşazade relied on a couple of main primary sources for his history, one of which was a common source shared by a recension of the Anonymous Chronicles. The other source that Aşıkpaşazade relied on was from the son of the imam of Orhan beg, Yahşi Fakih. It is known that the information that originated from Yahşi Fakih was in a large part a compilation of stories relating to semi-legendary figures.⁵¹²

The story of receiving ghaza may not have originated only from Yahşi Fakih, given that the same story also appears in the *Behcetuttevarih* of Şükrullah.⁵¹³ This proves that the story was already in circulation before Aşıkpaşazade wrote his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* in the 1480s and therefore not unique to Aşıkpaşazade as a source.

Aşıkpaşazade is unique in that he portrays Osman as defying Seljuk authority and declaring himself independent from the Seljuks during sultan Alaeddin's lifetime, on the grounds that his lineage was nobler than the Seljuks' and that God has bestowed rulership on him through ghaza.⁵¹⁴

In Chapter 14 Aşıkpaşazade describes how Osman Ghazi repopulates Karacahisar after its capture by giving empty houses to those from the beylik of Germiyan. Churches are converted into mosques and the town is beautified.

⁵¹⁰ Mengüç, 2008: 93.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Ménage, 1961: 27.

⁵¹³ Şükrullah, *Behcetuttevarih*. Atsız ed. 1949: 52.

⁵¹⁴ Imber, 1987: 15.

Osman Ghazi overhears Tursun Fakih, a respected imam of the ulema,⁵¹⁵ tell Osman Ghazi's father-in-law Edebali of what he has heard regarding the town. Osman Ghazi tells Tursun Fakih to undertake whatever is necessary. Tursun Fakih then tells Osman Ghazi that permission is needed from the Sultan. Osman Ghazi replies saying that he took the town with his own sword with no contribution from the Sultan, so why would he seek permission from him? God has granted him a sultanate but has bequeathed upon me ghaza and a dynasty.⁵¹⁶

This story appears neither in any of the Anonymous Chronicles nor in the *Behcetuttevarih* of Şükrullah, but is adopted by Neşri who relied heavily on Aşıkpaşazade as a source and then becomes the official version in circulation.⁵¹⁷ The above story as told by Aşıkpaşazade attracts the same reaction from scholars that the story of the Ottomans arriving into Anatolia has. Both tales are interconnected and are viewed as intended to legitimise Ottoman rule. In line with this, Imber classifies the story as myth.⁵¹⁸

It is surprisingly however that Köprülü makes no reference to the story by Aşıkpaşazade especially given that he believed that the Ottomans arrived into Anatolia with the Seljuks in the eleventh century and stresses the link between the Ottomans and Seljuks more than other scholars have.

Köprülü's choosing not to comment on Aşıkpaşazade's story of the Ottomans gaining independence from the Seljuks may be connected to the fact that Köprülü did not assign historical value to stories associated with the emergence of the Ottoman state, which he called legends.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁵ There is no reference in Aşıkpaşazade to the effect that Tursun Fakih belonged to the Vefaî order. He is described as belonging to the ulema. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 212, Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 485.

⁵¹⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 20. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 289-290.

⁵¹⁷ Imber, 1987: 15.

⁵¹⁸ Imber, 1987: 15.

⁵¹⁹ Köprülü, 1992: 23.

Dream of Osman Ghazi

The Oğuz genealogy justified the Ottoman claim to secular rulership but the sultans still required a spiritual as well as a secular legitimacy. Therefore the myths of the empire's origins also came to show that God had foreordained the rule of the Ottoman dynasty.⁵²⁰ The inclusion of the dream motif within the genre of folk stories or tales was not unique to the Ottomans and was common to Islamic literature that pre-dated the Ottomans.

Modern scholars do not dispute the fact that it is a topos of medieval literature used to legitimate the origin of dynasties.⁵²¹ *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* the work of the thirteenth century historian Juzjani tells the story of a dream where a tree springs from a man's navel and spreads its shadow over the earth.⁵²² As a second example, Sebuk-Tegin the father of Mahmud of Ghazna, the conqueror of India, has a dream an hour before the birth of his son. In his dream, a tree grows and from his house and casts its shadow over the entire world. An interpreter of dreams explained that this meant his son would be a conqueror.⁵²³ Why was the dream motif employed in Islamic history and literature and by Aşıkpaşazade?

Robinson, the author of *Islamic Historiography*, has a simple but effective answer:

“God did not need to operate in a spectacular fashion, he might quietly reveal His will in dreams and these were extremely useful to Muslim historians.”⁵²⁴

Or as Imber puts it, in popular belief, God can speak directly to man through dreams.⁵²⁵ The stories that include the dream motif and feature either Ertuğrul or Osman as their subject, surface around a century and a half after both men had died. As Mengüç has pointed out, fifteenth-century Ottoman historians are divided into two camps where the stories of the dreams are concerned. In one

⁵²⁰ Imber, 1987: 21.

⁵²¹ For example, see İnalçık, 1995: 39 Imber, 1987: 21.

⁵²² Köprülü, 1992: 7.

⁵²³ Köprülü, 1992: 7.

⁵²⁴ Robinson, 2003: 151.

⁵²⁵ Imber, 1987: 21.

camp, are the historians who do not include the dream motif in their account of the origins of the Ottoman state such as Ahmedî, Şükrullah and Enverî.

In the second camp, are Nişancı, Bayatlı, Vienna Anonymous, Aşıkpaşazade, Oruç and Neşri who do use the dream motif.⁵²⁶ It is with Enverî that such a dream motif is first encountered in fifteenth-century Ottoman histories. Except that in Enverî's version, the dream is not seen by Ertuğrul or Osman but by Ayaz bin Osman, the husband of Turunç Hatun through whom the Ottomans were linked to their Oğuz origins.⁵²⁷ Ayaz bin Osman dreams that he is dead and that a tree springs from his corpse. His dream is later interpreted as meaning that one of his sons would become a ruler of the world.⁵²⁸

The dream motif is used by fifteenth-century writers to imply a religious blessing.⁵²⁹ The dream motif is used to convince the audience that a message is delivered from God that foretells the sovereignty of the Ottomans as interpreted through a religious person such as a dervish.

In Chapter 4 of Aşıkpaşazade, Osman Ghazi falls asleep after crying over the death of his brother Sarı Yati who had been martyred by the Christians. The narration of Osman crying may have been included by Aşıkpaşazade to stress the human side of the ruler. Osman Ghazi was the guest of the worldly dervish, Edebali, and he dreamt that a crescent arose from the breast of Edebali and entered the chest of Osman Ghazi. A tree then grows from the navel of Osman Ghazi and its shadow eclipses the entire world. Mountains and water springs from the root of the tree, while people drink, water their gardens and build fountains.⁵³⁰ When Osman Ghazi awakes and tells the Şeyh Edebali of his dream, he interprets the dream as meaning that God has granted sovereignty to him and his offspring. Şeyh Edebali then betroths his daughter to Osman.⁵³¹

⁵²⁶ Mengüç, 2008: 85.

⁵²⁷ Mengüç, 2008: 86.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Mengüç, 2008: 85.

⁵³⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 9-11. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 276-278.

⁵³¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 9-11. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2007: 276-278.

According to Mengüç, the dream sequence foretelling Osman's sovereignty that appears in the fifteenth-century histories consists of four components. An encounter with the Qur'an, a vision attributed to the divine realm, a religious blessing coming from a religious authority/person as an interpretation of the dream, and a verbal pact between the interpreter (the religious authority and the dreamer).⁵³²

Aşıkpaşazade was the first writer of the period to incorporate the tree motif into his dream sequence and it was his account that later appeared in the histories of Oruç and Neşri.⁵³³ According to Imber, its adoption by Neşri assured its place in literary historiography.⁵³⁴ Aşıkpaşazade does not fulfil the first of Mengüç's four-part dream component. The Qur'an makes no appearance in Chapter 4 that narrates Osman's dream. It is telling that Aşıkpaşazade ignores the Qur'an component of the dream even though it was in circulation before he wrote. To Aşıkpaşazade the presence of Ede Bali who was the religious figure who interprets the dream was sufficient. Neşri incorporates the motif of the holy book into his *Cihannüma* whereas Aşıkpaşazade chooses not to.

In conclusion, a strict historical approach, as can be seen in the meticulous scrutiny that Imber employs towards the fifteenth-century histories, would clearly render Aşıkpaşazade a propagandist. Imber has demonstrated how Aşıkpaşazade told many tall tales in the form of myths that afforded the Ottoman dynasty with political, religious and moral legitimacy and authority.⁵³⁵ It is also interesting that scholars such as Wittek and Köprülü who attribute the rise of the Ottomans to concepts that carry an ideological connotation also regard Aşıkpaşazade as a propagandist when the myth in question does not suit their cause. Aşıkpaşazade was a propagandist. It fell within his remit as a writer composing a eulogistic and didactic account to show the Ottoman rulers in the best light possible. Therefore to judge Aşıkpaşazade by modern standards blurs the reality of how he chose to portray the Ottomans in the fifteenth century.

⁵³² Mengüç, 2008: 87.

⁵³³ Imber, 1987: 21.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ Imber, 1987: 7-27.

Chapter 3

The Content and Logic of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*

Section 1 of 4

i The Nature and Structure of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*

Aşıkpaşazade leaves no doubt as to the nature of his history. He states that:

I have noted those events of my time
I covered events from the Oğuz as far as Gök Alp.
I have written the tales of the House of Osman
Perfect campaigns of the khans and sultans
I said I would narrate the genealogy and generation
So you can understand the origins of these khans
Let me explain what has happened
I can elucidate the ghazis.⁵³⁶

According to Aşıkpaşazade, his history consisted of two main components; dates (*tevarih*) and tales (*menakib*). In support of the former, Aşıkpaşazade writes that he has noted those events of his time and said he would narrate the genealogy and generation so the origins of the khans could be understood. Whereas in support of the latter, Aşıkpaşazade states that he has written the tales of the House of Osman.⁵³⁷

Despite Aşıkpaşazade calling his work *tevarih*, this should not be taken to mean 'histories' as understood in modern times but more in the sense of 'chronology' and therefore chronicles.⁵³⁸ Aşıkpaşazade combined describing and noting historical events with telling tales but his inclusion of *menakib* into his history despite being a literary tool was always to stress the sanctity of the Ottoman dynasty.

⁵³⁶ Devrümde olanı defter itdüm
Oğuz'dan olan Gök Alp'a gitdüm
Yazdum menâkıb-ı Âl-i 'Osmân
Guzât-ı kâmil ü han u sultan
Didüm ki diyen neseb ü neslin
Kim anlayasın bu hanlar aslın
Neden oldı anı Beyân ideyüm
Bu gâzileri ki 'ayân ideyüm. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Ménage, 1961: 226.

Therefore Aşıkpaşazade's history was a literary product of his period that aimed to provide a historical account of the Ottomans using the sources available to him. The tales that originated from Yahşi Fakih that relate to the period of Osman and Orhan can be considered an example of this as is demonstrated below. Aşıkpaşazade's history despite containing some fanciful tales and myths was not an exception to the literary style of Muslim medieval histories but was in fact the norm.

Robinson identifies certain characteristics of Muslim medieval histories that can also be seen to apply to the work of Aşıkpaşazade. The first is perhaps the most obvious characteristic of Medieval Muslim histories, which is the central role ascribed to God in narrative. As Robinson points out, historians were part of a world of traditional roles and clear hierarchies and in a polity where a sultan claimed a divine right to rule, power was effective from the top down.⁵³⁹

For Muslims, the silent engine propelling human history was God's will.⁵⁴⁰ God's will plays a pivotal role in Aşıkpaşazade's history. On a basic level Aşıkpaşazade highlights the need for prayer as a remedy for sin⁵⁴¹ and makes it clear that he prays to God so that the beauty of God may be granted to the dynasty of Osman.⁵⁴² Prayer (both outwardly and inwardly) for the Ottoman dynasty is important because the granting of salvation is dependent on Aşıkpaşazade's and others service to the Ottomans.⁵⁴³ However the references Aşıkpaşazade makes throughout his history to prayer and to the avoidance of sin should not be regarded as random narrative. These references formed part of the moralising content of Aşıkpaşazade's history. Bad things happened when God was displeased and the result of this can be seen in the defeat of Bayezid I at the Battle of Ankara where Bayezid I was taken hostage. Aşıkpaşazade

⁵³⁹ Robinson, 2003: 129.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Bil du'â olur güneh 'ilâcı. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 273.

⁵⁴² Bu Âl-i 'Osmân'a ol Hak Cemâli. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 60. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 338.

⁵⁴³ Zâhir ü bâtin du'âcılaruz

Hizmet işiginde nâcîlerüz. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272.

writes that Ali Paşa was the reason for the Ottomans committing sin.⁵⁴⁴ “The reason for the Ottoman dynasty committing sin is because of Ali Pasha. He is the master of trickery.”⁵⁴⁵

The Ottomans ruled by divine right according to Aşıkpaşazade so when a ruler, or those around him were unjust, the whole populace suffered. Medieval Muslim histories stressed that just rulers enjoyed God’s favour and witnessed peace and prosperity.⁵⁴⁶ Aşıkpaşazade however never voiced direct criticism of a ruler.

The second characteristic described by Robinson that is typical of pre-modern Muslim historiography is the tendency of an author to illustrate rather than to explain.⁵⁴⁷ Robinson argues that some of the literary features used by Medieval Muslim historians’ show that they illustrated a point rather than explained it. Dreams and miracles are described as the prominent features of this tradition.⁵⁴⁸

Robinson cites the example of angels intervening in warfare to help Muslim armies win and also cites the writer Usāma b. Munqidh (d.1188) who recounts how a man sliding down a mountain side was miraculously saved by a man who appeared out of nowhere.⁵⁴⁹ Aşıkpaşazade also narrates dreams and miracles. The employment of the dream as a narrative device can be seen through Osman’s dream which foretells divine rule⁵⁵⁰ and a Byzantine maiden having a dream of the Prophet which ensures she helps the Ottomans capture the Castle of Aydos. Aşıkpaşazade does use the telling of miracles as a literary device as much as other writers of the period have,⁵⁵¹ but the planting of a sacred tree by a dervish at Bursa which brought the Ottomans luck is a milder example of a

⁵⁴⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 22. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 343.

⁵⁴⁵ “Âl-i ‘Osmân’un günah itmesine evvel sebep ‘Ali Paşa olmuştur. Zirâ anun yanına hîle ider ve hîle bilür.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 22. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 343.

⁵⁴⁶ Robinson, 2003: 130.

⁵⁴⁷ Robinson, 2003: 149.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ Robinson, 2003: 149.

⁵⁵⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 9-11. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 267-268.

⁵⁵¹ Oruç included more fanciful miracles in his history such as Köse Mihal having a vision of the Prophet and miraculous crossing to Rumeli of Süleyman Paşa. Ménage, 1961: 226-227.

miracle.⁵⁵² Such dreams and miracles as narrated by Aşıkpaşazade clearly illustrate rather than explain as explanations are not provided for such events that take place except for within the context of the Ottomans being destined to rule or being good ghazis. It was not for the reader/listener to question the narrative but to take it as it was told. Histories such as that of Aşıkpaşazade, were originally intended to be read out loud and were listened to by groups during military campaigns.⁵⁵³ In his introduction to his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*, Aşıkpaşazade describes how he was at a gathering with fellow dervishes. It may be possible, although there is no textual evidence to support this, that given the illustrious background of Aşıkpaşazade's family that he read his history to like minded dervishes rather than to large groups of soldiers.

The aim of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* was clearly to eulogise the Ottoman dynasty. Aşıkpaşazade makes this abundantly clear in the opening pages of his work. Aşıkpaşazade's motivation for writing was to narrate from where the Ottomans marched and what regions they reached and how they captured the lands they came to. Through narrating the conquests of the Ottoman rulers, Aşıkpaşazade wanted to show what the sultans achieved with the lands they conquered and how they became the sultans of the world.⁵⁵⁴ These aims of Aşıkpaşazade formed his primary objective in writing his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. His secondary objective was to highlight the spiritual affinity of his own family to that of the Ottomans. Both Aşıkpaşazade's family and the Ottomans had spiritual descendents according to Aşıkpaşazade; one through Baba İlyas and the other through Ede-Bali.⁵⁵⁵ Throughout his history and at regular intervals Aşıkpaşazade stresses the prayers and blessings his own descendants have reaped on the Ottomans over the years as can be seen through the following excerpt.

⁵⁵² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 42-44. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 318-321.

⁵⁵³ İnalçık, 1995: 143.

⁵⁵⁴ Kandan yürüyüp ne ile vardı

Vardığı eli ya nice aldı

Netdi ol ele o han u şahlar

Kim oldu cihanda padişahlar. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272.

⁵⁵⁵ Ménage, 1961: 227.

My ancestors were born in these lands
Everybody born witnessed this dynasty⁵⁵⁶

Aşık Paşa prayed for Orhan
And everyone from the line of Gök Alp⁵⁵⁷

Ménage analysed and depicted the work of Aşıkpaşazade within the framework of *Quellen- kritik* arguing that in calling his work the dates and tales of the Ottoman house, Aşıkpaşazade alluded unconsciously to the basic ingredients of which it consists.⁵⁵⁸ This was not unique to Aşıkpaşazade as all of the chronicles of the period, including that of Oruç and the Anonymous Chronicles, derived from two basic types of record: tables of dates and popular stories.⁵⁵⁹

Tables of dates or as they are more widely known, Royal Calendars were brought to the attention of modern scholarship through Osman Turan's publication in 1954 of the Karaman and Ottoman sections that originated from two almanacs that dated to 1445 and 1446.⁵⁶⁰ Royal Calendars are believed to have been composed by court astrologers.⁵⁶¹ These calendars consisted of annalistic notes of basic political and social information such as the note of a death, accession, conquest and of natural disasters. Such calendars were already in existence in the fourteenth century and continued to be compiled throughout the fifteenth century.⁵⁶²

According to Ménage the calendars were expanded upon with narrative and therefore formed the framework for fifteenth-century histories such as that of the Anonymous Chronicles.⁵⁶³ It is not possible to determine if Aşıkpaşazade indeed used a calendar or calendars upon which to build his narrative but there are three indications that this may have been the case. The first is that

⁵⁵⁶ Kim neseb ü neslüm bu âl-ıla togdı
Hem toganumuz bu âlı gördi. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272.

⁵⁵⁷ Aşık Paşa du'â Orhan'a itdi
Bile Gök Alp nesli cümlesinden. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 35. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 309.

⁵⁵⁸ Ménage, 1961: 30.

⁵⁵⁹ Ménage, 1961: 21.

⁵⁶⁰ Mengüç, 2008: 22. Also see Turan, *İstanbulun Fathinden Önce Yazılmış Tarihi Takvimler*, 1954.

⁵⁶¹ Ménage, 1961: 82.

⁵⁶² Ménage, 1961: 21.

⁵⁶³ Ménage, 1961: 22.

Aşıkpaşazade provides a date at the end of chapters (*bāb*) where he narrated a historical event such as the conquest of a town or an accession. It may be the case that such dates for historical events were taken from calendars. At the end of Chapter 5 in which the father-in-law of Osman ghazi interprets the dream Osman saw, which foresaw the sovereignty of the Ottomans, Aşıkpaşazade also describes how Osman ghazi undertook ghaza in the area of İnegöl. Aşıkpaşazade states that the ghaza took place in the Islamic year 1282/1283.⁵⁶⁴ At the end of Chapter 14 which narrates how the Friday prayer was called in the name of Osman ghazi for the first time, Aşıkpaşazade states that this was first carried out in 1290/1291 (Giese edition).⁵⁶⁵

Secondly, Aşıkpaşazade clearly made an effort to provide dates for all of the events he narrated and the often incorrect dating evident in his history may stem from the use of a calendar. Ménage describes how the dating of such calendars could be up to six years out and that such errors are often identifiable in Neşri and the anonymous histories and that retrospective dating by compilers contributed to the inaccuracy of the dating in Ottoman histories.⁵⁶⁶ Thirdly, it would not be impossible to assume that Aşıkpaşazade may have found himself in close proximity to the court or to court officials on several occasions throughout his long lifetime thereby rendering access to such calendars a possibility.

The second component of fifteenth-century histories was stories or tales of some form which served to enliven the calendars by providing discursive tales.⁵⁶⁷ Ménage argues that the milieu within which the tales flourished, which consisted of the blend of fact and fancy, does not lend to a rigid classification of such tales.⁵⁶⁸ Despite this view, Ménage identifies three types of tales that were incorporated to some extent, in fifteenth-century histories. All three types of tale can be found in Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.

⁵⁶⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 12. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 279.

⁵⁶⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 21. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 290. The date is 1299/1300 in the Yavuz and Saraç edition.

⁵⁶⁶ Ménage, 1961: 24.

⁵⁶⁷ Ménage, 1961: 25.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

The first type is folk-tales which as a genre pre-dates Ottoman times and were current in a wider geographical area than Anatolia.⁵⁶⁹ An example of such a folk-tale in Aşıkpaşazade can be found in Chapter 4 which narrates how Osman ghazi has a dream that a moon arises out of the breast of Ede Bali, his future father-in-law, and travels into his own body. The moment that the moon enters the breast of Osman ghazi, a tree springs from his body and its shadow covers the world.⁵⁷⁰ The tree motif in dreams is not uncommon and is also told by the fifteenth-century writer Enveri in whose dream the Arab general İlyas who Enveri represents as the father of Oğuz khan.⁵⁷¹

According to Ménage, the second type of tale is still of a semi-legendary nature but has more of a solid basis in fact.⁵⁷² These tales are continuations of the Battal ghazi and Danismend ghazi genre which are based around the stories of the exploits of warriors and because of the re-telling of the stories over the years have required a fairy-tale element.⁵⁷³ This type of tale can also be found in Aşıkpaşazade and probably originated from the lost *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih who provided Aşıkpaşazade with a lot of information for the earlier part of his history in the form of stories, as is discussed later in this chapter.

The companions of Osman and his son Orhan fall into this category. In Chapter 26 Ghazi Rahman is instrumental in helping Orhan capture the citadel of Aydos and in the following chapter subsequently marries the Byzantine maiden who helps the Ottomans capture her father's citadel.⁵⁷⁴ The narrative relating to the companion of Osman, Köse Mihal who is thought to be a legendary figure,⁵⁷⁵ can also be considered to fall within this category. The figure of Köse Mihal may have been invented as a companion to Osman to provide a noble pedigree for the Mihaloğulları family of marcher lords. Aşıkpaşazade does not give Köse Mihal, a convert to Islam, a fairy-tale type character, as he did Ghazi Rahman

⁵⁶⁹ Ménage, 1961: 25.

⁵⁷⁰ 'Osmân gâzi kim uyudı, düşinde görür kim bu azîzün koynından bir ay togar, gelür 'Osmân gâzi'nün koynına girür. Bu ay kim Osmân gâzi'nün koynına girdügi demde göbeginden bir ağaç biter, kölgesi 'alemi tutar. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 9-10. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 49.

⁵⁷¹ Ménage, 1961: 26.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Ménage, 1961: 26.

⁵⁷⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 31-33. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 303-305.

⁵⁷⁵ Imber, 1993: 74.

above, but ensures that Köse Mihal is always on hand to advise Osman to be one step ahead of the infidels and is portrayed as a constant ally to Osman.

Chapter 10 where Osman ghazi asks the advice of Köse Mihal about whether he should execute ghaza on the infidels of Harmankaya can be considered to be an example of this. According to Aşıkpaşazade, Osman ghazi and Köse Mihal always used to ride together⁵⁷⁶ and they also never quarrelled.⁵⁷⁷

The tale from Aşıkpaşazade that narrates the capture of the citadel of Bilecek is also a semi-legendary tale. This takes place in Chapter 12, where Osman smuggles his men into the citadel hidden in baggage-carts. According to Ménage, this tale has many counterparts in Muslim literature.⁵⁷⁸

Köse Mihal is again one of the heroes of the narrative. The *tekmur* (lord) of Bilecik is encouraged by Köse Mihal to invite Osman ghazi to his daughter's wedding so that might see the might of Osman ghazi and be afraid. However the *tekmur* harboured bad intentions and intended to attack the Ottomans.

Aşıkpaşazade narrates as follows:

“Mihal came to Osman ghazi. He told him of the secret intentions of the *tekmur*. Do not be caught off guard he said and invited the ghazi to the wedding. Osman ghazi then gave Mihal a lot of gifts for bearing the wedding invitation. Mihal took this message to the *tekmur*. The *tekmur* was very pleased. He accepted the words wholeheartedly.”⁵⁷⁹

Aşıkpaşazade continues to narrate how Osman ghazi attends the wedding after ensuring the *tekmur* has changed venue so he could have a tactical advantage over him. Aşıkpaşazade ensures that Osman ghazi and his loyal companion have the last laugh:

“Osman ghazi dressed up a lot of ghazis as women and covered their heads...The *tekmur* [thinking that the ghazis dressed as women were

⁵⁷⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 15. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 283.

⁵⁷⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 282.

⁵⁷⁸ Ménage, 1961: 27.

⁵⁷⁹ ‘Osmân gâzi’nün bu habarın gelüp teküre habar virdi. Tekür dahı gâyet sevindi, cân-ıla sözini kabûl itdi.

Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 17-18. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 285-286.

indeed women] was glad to hear this. “I have the Turks, both men and women, in my power,” he said...The tekfur came out to greet them. He seated them with respect. Osman ghazi got on his horse before the tekfur even reached his quarters. Mihal also jumped on his horse. “Hey the Turk has escaped” they cried to the tekfur. The tekfur was quite drunk. He got on his horse and went after the Turk....Osman ghazi cut the head of the tekfur....Because the infidels had caused the death of many a Muslim, all the infidel men were killed and their women taken as slaves.”⁵⁸⁰

This may have been a tale that Aşıkpaşazade gleaned from Yahşi Fakih as it relates to the early period. This is an example of a tale that is expanded upon by Aşıkpaşazade in terms of topos and motif. Aşıkpaşazade builds on the well known motif of a castle being captured and weaves in motifs that bring the story alive within the context of his lifetime. Such identifiable motifs include alcohol and within this Aşıkpaşazade’s disapproval of the drinking of the tekfur, trickery to ensure conquest and the granting of gifts to reflect that Osman already had appropriate status within society as he was able to send gifts of quality to the tekfur.⁵⁸¹

The third type of tale according to Ménage is the *ghazā-nāme*. In this type of tale, the ‘hero’ is the entire Muslim army or the sultan as their representative.⁵⁸² Chapter 32 which narrates the surrender of Iznik to Orhan because the inhabitants of Iznik had been surrounded on all sides and were besieged by hunger can be considered an example of this type of tale. However the tale reads more like historical narrative, albeit in an exaggerated fashion, on the capture of a town. It does not contain the folk tale motifs that ran through the tales described in the first two categories.

⁵⁸⁰ Ve bir nice gāzileri baş bezleriyle ‘avrat tonına koydı...Tekür bu söze gāyetde ferah oldı. Eydür: “Türkün er ‘avratı âsânlığ-ıla eyü elüme girdi” dir..... Tekür dahı karşuladı, ta’zîm-ilen kondurdu. Dahı odasına varmadın hemân-dem ‘Osmân bindi Mihâl dahı bile bindi. Tekür’e “Hay Türk kaçdı” didiler. Tekür dahı serhoşça-y-ıdı. Bindî, ol dahı Türkün ardına düşdi....‘Osmân gāzi Tekürün başını kesdürdi....Irkeğini kırdılar, dişisini esîr itdiler. Anun-ıçun ki çok Müslüman kırılıp şehîd olmaga bu kâfirler sebab olmış-ıdı.

Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 18. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 286.

⁵⁸¹ According to Hopwood, the arrival of a trusted messenger, bearing an invitation, was also an occasion for the ritual of the exchange of gifts to take place as was the case between Osman and Köse Mihal. Hopwood, 1992: 154.

⁵⁸² Ménage, 1961: 27.

In this chapter, Orhan saves the infidels, who sometimes fought against their tekfur, and ensures his ghazis are married to the beautiful women of Iznik and are provided with homes once they marry. Orhan not only expands his territories, saves the people of Iznik from further hunger but ensures the prosperity of the ghazis.⁵⁸³ This tale is an example of one where modern scholarship has argued for its historicity. According to İnalçık, this account actually refers to the Battle of Bapheus recorded by Pachymeres the Byzantine historian (d.after 1310).⁵⁸⁴

It has been established that Aşıkpaşazade told some tall tales when he completed his history at the age of eighty-six. At the same time though he was at pains to narrate events that were historical especially those of a political nature. This included accessions of rulers, battles and deaths of rulers, the kind of information that might have been readily available in date form in a table of dates. At frequent intervals Aşıkpaşazade informed his audience that the account he told was the truth. In Chapter 2 which gives an account of why Osman's father migrated to Rum, Aşıkpaşazade states that; "There is a lot of hearsay about the reasons why Ertuğrul came to Rum. The truest account is what I recount."⁵⁸⁵ Again when describing Orhan's capture of Bursa, Aşıkpaşazade writes that, "The ghazi captured Bursa with ease. The tales that I wrote are proof."⁵⁸⁶ This indicates that Aşıkpaşazade either believed that he was providing a more reliable account of events or he was trying to convince his audience that such was the case, or both.

Aşıkpaşazade's history provides clues that it was originally intended to be read aloud and therefore has a basis in oral tradition. This equates to the 'publication' of the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. As Faroqhi has pointed out, publication before the age of printing could mean a number of things including writers

⁵⁸³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 38-39. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 312-313.

⁵⁸⁴ Ménage, 1961: 29. See also İnalçık, 1993: 78-80.

⁵⁸⁵ Ertogrul gâzi'nün Rûm'a gelmesine bir nice rivâyet vardır. Esahh bu fakir zikr itdüğümdür. ⁵⁸⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 8. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 274.

⁵⁸⁶ Asân aldı vü Bursa'yı ol gâzi
Menâkıbı ki yazdum oldı bürhân. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 28.
Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 300.

meeting in assemblies, gatherings (*meclis*) or showing their manuscripts to colleagues informally.⁵⁸⁷

There are four characteristics of Aşıkpaşazade's history which suggest that it was originally intended to be read out aloud. The first is that in several places in Aşıkpaşazade's text a reference to Aşıkpaşazade urging his audience to 'listen' to his history rather than to 'read it' can be found. At the beginning of his history Aşıkpaşazade asks his audience with reference to the Ottoman dynasty to "Listen while I explain the grandeur that inspires awe."⁵⁸⁸ Later on in Chapter 27 and throughout his history at regular intervals, Aşıkpaşazade asks his audience to "Listen to what 'Âşîkî has to say."⁵⁸⁹

The next characteristic that may indicate that Aşıkpaşazade's history was intended for oral consumption is that narrative is cast in direct speech. This can be demonstrated through the following examples. A common narrative feature is that of "'Âşîkî prays to God".⁵⁹⁰ Also when asking Koca Nayib one of the guards of Bayezid I a question about his treatment after being taken hostage by Timur in 1402, he says "I asked him. How did Timur keep Bayezid Han hostage?"⁵⁹¹

A final illustration of this can be seen in the autobiographical excerpts of Aşıkpaşazade when he informs his audience that he witnessed or participated in an event. With reference to the Belgrade campaign of Murad II (r.1438-1451), Aşıkpaşazade states that, "I was also present."⁵⁹² However this characteristic of Aşıkpaşazade's history is limited in demonstrating intention of oral consumption as direct speech is also evident in written works that are not of oral origin and

⁵⁸⁷ Faroqhi, 1999: 144.

⁵⁸⁸ Hem saltanatını vü şevketini
Dinle ki diyem ü heybetini. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 33. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 306.

⁵⁸⁹ Kulak tut sen 'Âşîkî didüğünde. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272.

⁵⁹⁰ 'Âşîkî dile Hak'dan. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 60. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 338.

⁵⁹¹ Bunları fakir andan teftiş idüp sordum: "Bâyezîd hanı nice saklarlardı diyü."
Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 71. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 352.

⁵⁹² Fakîr dahî ol seferde bile-idüm. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 113.
Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 398.

the use of vernacular speech, evident in Aşıkpaşazade, is not synonymous with direct speech.

The third characteristic which indicates that Aşıkpaşazade originally read his history out loud is that it was written in a lively dramatic style, with Aşıkpaşazade encouraging his audience to pray for the sultans.⁵⁹³

In the first poem of his history, Aşıkpaşazade asks his audience to pray for the Ottomans twice.⁵⁹⁴ Finally, Aşıkpaşazade's History of the Ottoman Dynasty is sprinkled with questions interposed or a predicament raised that Aşıkpaşazade answers before he proceeds onto the next chapter.⁵⁹⁵ At least twenty-five of these question and answer sequences appear in Aşıkpaşazade. It is important to note that this was a literary device of oral tradition whose aim was to justify the actions of the Ottomans and to ensure that the sanctity of the rulers remained intact regardless of the event that had just been narrated.

Such question and answer sequences should therefore be regarded as moralising statements. In Chapter 94, Aşıkpaşazade touches on the thorny issue of fratricide. He introduces a question which asks what sultan Murad II did with his remaining siblings whilst in the process of consolidating his reign. The answer is a factual one where Aşıkpaşazade explains that Murad had their "eyes shut to the world" and in the poem following the prose of the chapter justifies the act of fratricide by explaining that the world has many forms and that it cannot please everybody.⁵⁹⁶

Aşıkpaşazade also uses the question and answer format to portray Orhan as a true ghazi because he introduces the custom of the playing of drums when there is a call to ghaza and also because this custom is in accordance with God's will.⁵⁹⁷ This particular example shows that in addition to the moralising function of such literary devices that the legitimisation of Ottoman rule was also

⁵⁹³ Ménage, 1961: 227.

⁵⁹⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272 and 273.

⁵⁹⁵ Ménage, 1961: 227-228.

⁵⁹⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 94-95. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 378-379.

⁵⁹⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 281.

a preoccupation for Aşıkpaşazade. It is highly unlikely that the account relating to Orhan is historically true but its inclusion into Aşıkpaşazade came at a time when the Ottomans had developed their own dynastic myths in order to justify their rule in everyway.⁵⁹⁸

Çobanoğlu has analysed the text of Aşıkpaşazade to determine the extent to which the *Epic Laws of Folk Narrative* as introduced by the folklorist Olrik in 1908, in an article by the same name, apply to his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.⁵⁹⁹ Olrik's aim was to delineate some of the principal laws governing the composition of folk narrative.⁶⁰⁰ Çobanoğlu considers how far Aşıkpaşazade can be classified as a sage in accordance with Olrik's laws of folk narrative. To Olrik, the term sage was all encompassing and included those who narrated folktale, myth and folk songs.⁶⁰¹ Çobanoğlu's analysis of whether such laws apply to Aşıkpaşazade is important. This is because it reveals whether the folktale laws of narrative that have been applied to European folktales over the centuries apply to Aşıkpaşazade, who wrote as an Ottoman in the fifteenth century.

One of the laws of folk narrative is that the sage does not begin with sudden action and does not end abruptly. According to Olrik, the sage begins by moving from calm to excitement and after the concluding event, in which a principal character usually has a catastrophe, the sage ends by moving from excitement to calm.⁶⁰² According to Çobanoğlu, the fact that Aşıkpaşazade introduces himself and gives his own genealogy at the beginning of his history accords with Olrik's requirement of this law of the sage not going into sudden action.⁶⁰³

Aşıkpaşazade's listing of the genealogy of the Ottoman dynasty is also regarded as an example of action being built up gradually and not being present from the beginning. Çobanoğlu cites the example of Aşıkpaşazade's narration of the reasons why the Ottoman came into the country of Rum as the beginning

⁵⁹⁸ See Imber, 1987: 7-27.

⁵⁹⁹ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 65-82. Olrik, 1965: 129-141.

⁶⁰⁰ Olrik, 1965: 129.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Olrik, 1965: 131-132.

⁶⁰³ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 70.

of excitement.⁶⁰⁴ According to Aşıkpaşazade, Süleyman Şah the grandfather of Osman dies when he falls off his horse crossing the Fırat River.⁶⁰⁵ This is an example of a catastrophe that is usually evident in folk narrative. The movement from the excitement to calm again is categorised by Ertuğrul, the father of Osman, pursuing the mission of getting to Rum. Çobanoğlu cites the death of Ertuğrul as a catastrophe and Osman succeeding his father as the transition from excitement to calm.⁶⁰⁶

However this law of folk narrative does not always apply to Aşıkpaşazade's history. In the chapter following the death of Süleyman Şah, the brother of Osman, Sarı Yatı dies.⁶⁰⁷ A calm phase of narrative that leads in to the death of Osman's brother is not identifiable. This is because the chapter narrates the trouble Osman ghazi is experiencing with a local lord Aya Nikola and narrates the beginning of a campaign of ghaza by Osman ghazi.⁶⁰⁸ Therefore a period of calm before the catastrophe is not evident. In addition the chapter ends with the death of Sarı Yatı so there isn't much of an opportunity to revert back to a calm phase.

One of the fifteen laws of folk narrative that clearly applies to Aşıkpaşazade, is the law of repetition. The adoption of repetition achieves emphasis in narrative but repetition is almost always characterised by the lack of detail.⁶⁰⁹ Çobanoğlu provides examples of Aşıkpaşazade repeating the genealogy of the Ottomans on a number of occasions throughout his history.⁶¹⁰ In addition, the repetition of different motifs and topoi by Aşıkpaşazade is noteworthy because of the extent to which repetition takes place.

A survey of the first half of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* (approximately eighty-five chapters) shows that the appearance of the theme of ghaza and by extension ghazis appears at least twenty-one times.⁶¹¹ This is

⁶⁰⁴ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 70-71.

⁶⁰⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 7. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 274.

⁶⁰⁶ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 71.

⁶⁰⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 9. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 276.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ Olrik, 1965 ed: 132-133.

⁶¹⁰ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 71.

⁶¹¹ Chapters 11 12, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 43, 50, 51, 61 and 62 are some examples of such chapters. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929.

where Aşıkpaşazade discusses a ghaza raid or a consequence of ghaza such as the granting of booty or the marrying of ghazis to infidel women. The inclusion of the motif of ghaza or ghazi in chapter titles appears much more frequently and is not included in this figure as it was common place for Aşıkpaşazade to refer to the rulers of the Ottoman dynasty as ghazis and to their comrade-in-arms also.

The second half of Aşıkpaşazade's history which can be taken to start in the middle of the reign of Murad II also reveals the repetition of the theme of ghaza. The repetition of ghaza is at around the same level for the first half of the history and is the most common repetition found in Aşıkpaşazade.⁶¹² However as is discussed further in a later section, more references to ghaza or ghazis appear in the reigns of Osman and Orhan. In accordance with the law of repetition developed by Olrik, the ghaza motif is usually not characterised by detail.

Aşıkpaşazade makes passing references to ghazis in the prose of a chapter that otherwise narrates has a 'factual' narrative of the capture or 'Islamisation/bureaucratisation of a newly captured region. Despite sometimes including brief references to ghazi/ghaza, this is the most consistent theme of Aşıkpaşazade's history. The aim of Aşıkpaşazade was to portray the Ottoman rulers as ghazis. Aşıkpaşazade also adds a section of poem at the end of a chapter depicting the Ottomans as ghazis to a chapter otherwise not overflowing with references to ghazis in its prose.

Chapter 18 describes how Osman ghazi and his ghazis surrounded the castle of Bursa after failing to take it by force and by doing so ensured that the people of the city were imprisoned in their own town and therefore suffered hunger because supplies could not enter the city. The chapter shows that with two exceptions that it is a more 'fact'-based account of the siege of Bursa. There is a reference to the ghazis surrounding the castle from both sides and to a reference in the poem of the chapter to the infidels being caused great distress by the siege.⁶¹³

⁶¹² Chapters 95, 96, 127 and 129 are some examples of such chapters. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929.

⁶¹³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 23. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 293.

Chapter 114 which narrates the raids of Murad II into the province of Mora in the Balkans, bears no reference to the ghazis but to *akıncıs* (Turkish raiders) and how they were awarded booty after killing the infidels. The poem of the chapter states that it is God's will that the Ottomans captured the province of Mora. It is interesting that despite the repetition of the motif of ghaza throughout Aşıkpaşazade's history that the terms ghazi and *akıncıs* seem to be used interchangeably.⁶¹⁴ In addition, Aşıkpaşazade does not tend to use the term ghazi when describing the military raids of the Ottomans against fellow Muslims,⁶¹⁵ despite always blaming the other side, as it would probably have been hard to justify a ghaza against fellow Muslims.

Another motif which appears sporadically but is repeated nonetheless is trickery. Aşıkpaşazade uses this motif to describe how the Ottoman rulers would use trickery against their enemies, Muslim or not. Aşıkpaşazade therefore uses this motif as a defensive one because it is only used against those who wish harm on the Ottomans thereby rendering trickery fair play. The use of trickery as a motif has already been explored in relation to the capture of Bilecik.⁶¹⁶ The motif also appears when Murad II uses his allies to trick his uncle Mustafa to come out hiding and then has him killed.⁶¹⁷

Aşıkpaşazade's history has an abrupt and allusive style. According to Ménage, this renders it one of the most difficult of all the Ottoman histories of the period.⁶¹⁸ The transition from prose describing a military conquest or raid to the verse at the end of a chapter which is usually written in language that can be described as mystical with religious overtones is not always smooth. This is explored later in the section dedicated to the poems in Aşıkpaşazade's history.

⁶¹⁴ As discussed this forms part of Imber's rejection of the theory that the early Ottomans were ghazis. See Imber, 2000: 164-178.

⁶¹⁵ Chapters 64 narrates Bayezid I's conquests of the Karaman emirate and Chapter 65 describes how the emirate of Kastamonu was taken by Bayezid I. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 24-25. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 343-344.

⁶¹⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 17-18. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 285-286.

⁶¹⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 89-90. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 371-372.

⁶¹⁸ Ménage, 1961: 223.

Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is written in prose and is divided into 170 chapters⁶¹⁹ that cover the period up to 1485. Giese inserted an appendix of chapters after the 170th chapter. He clearly indicated that this was the end of his edition and 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 was not authored by him.⁶²⁰ Giese took the view that contents of the appendix differed significantly from the Dietrichstein manuscript and therefore could not have formed part of Aşıkpaşazade's original history.⁶²¹

The chapters relating to the reign of Bayezid II were the ones whose authorship was disputed. The appendix covers an additional period of up to 1491. Ménage argues that after Giese published his edition it was demonstrated that the appendix was indeed authored by Aşıkpaşazade.⁶²² The division of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* into chapters (*babs*) is indicative of it having originated from the oral tradition.⁶²³ In contrast to this view, it is worth pointing out that the text of the anonymous histories is not structured with chapters at all and contains a similar language and style to Aşıkpaşazade's history therefore indicating that its original composition was oral also.⁶²⁴

Aşıkpaşazade's history is structured so that each chapter normally deals with a single historical event or a few chapters where the consequences of a single historical are narrated. For instance, the capture of the castle of Aydos is covered in Chapter 26 but Chapter 27 narrates how the maiden of the castle was married to Ghazi Rahman.⁶²⁵ Both chapters are interlinked because both narrate the same series of events but Aşıkpaşazade separates out the capture

⁶¹⁹ This is based on the Giese edition of Aşıkpaşazade. The number of chapters varies in the different recensions and therefore editions. Ali's edition contains 213 chapters whereas Atsız's edition contains 161 chapters.

⁶²⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 1-3 and Appendix: 204-233.

⁶²¹ Procházka-Eisl, 1995: 2.

⁶²² Ménage, 1961: 224.

⁶²³ Çobanoğlu, 1999: 71.

⁶²⁴ Neither the Giese Ottoman or the Azamat modern Turkish edition of the Anonymous histories Giese edition contain chapters. See Giese Anonymous. 1922 and Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992

⁶²⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 31-33. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 303-307.

of the castle which was a political event from the more social event of the marriage of Ghazi Rahman.

As a further example one might mention, Chapter 90 narrates how Murad II set out from Edirne to Iznik to meet with his uncle Mustafa. Murad meets with and kills the contender to the throne Mustafa in this chapter.⁶²⁶ In the following chapter, Chapter 91, Aşıkpaşazade describes how that now he has eradicated Mustafa that Murad can go about consolidating his rule.⁶²⁷

Events are narrated in chronological order from Chapter 1 that lists the genealogy of the Ottomans right through to Chapter 165 which describes Bayezid II's (1481-1512) attack on an Anatolian province. Aşıkpaşazade's primary preoccupation was to eulogise the Ottomans using their conquests upon which to base the eulogisation. The remaining chapters of Aşıkpaşazade including the appendix contain a list of the religious men of the period,⁶²⁸ a list of the viziers that served each sultan from Osman to Bayezid II⁶²⁹ and chapters on the good deeds of the Ottoman rulers.⁶³⁰

The chapters of Aşıkpaşazade's history usually contain verses of poetry that appear at the end. These poems are mostly in *hezej* metre although their prosody is very rough.⁶³¹ Aşıkpaşazade does not tend to use syllabic metre for his poetry and therefore his poetry does not follow the primary rules of syllabic metre. For example, the verse in Aşıkpaşazade does not contain a fixed number of syllables per line regardless of the number of stresses present. In addition, in poetry that adopts the syllabic metre, the lines of verse are defined

⁶²⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 90-92. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 375-376.

⁶²⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 92-94. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 376-377.

⁶²⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 212-213. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 484-485. This list appears in Chapter 170 of the Yavuz and Saraç edition and the appendix of the Giese edition.

⁶²⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 196-197. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 477-478.

⁶³⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 209-210. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 482-483. The account of the good deeds of the Ottoman rulers appears in Chapter 169 of the Yavuz and Saraç edition and appendix of the Giese edition.

⁶³¹ Ménage, 1961: 222.

by the number of syllables contained in the line, a characteristic not present in the poetry of Aşıkpaşazade.⁶³²

The Giese edition of Aşıkpaşazade contains two hundred and three poems in total. Some chapters usually contain one or two poems and exceptionally a few chapters do not have a poem. Chapter 21 does not have a section of verse. The chapter is short and narrates how neighbouring Muslims attacked the marketplace of Karacahisar in the reign of Osman.⁶³³ Aşıkpaşazade may not have chosen to include a poem because the narrative was not considered significant enough or perhaps he did not wish to publicise a case of the Ottomans falling out with their fellow Muslim neighbours.

The sections of poem in Aşıkpaşazade usually contain eulogising and moralising statements, sometimes of a religious nature, about the Ottoman rulers in relation to the historical event that has just been narrated. After Mehmed II had added Albania to his list of conquests in 1478, Aşıkpaşazade writes that “God bequeathed this conquest onto the Ghazi Şah Han.”⁶³⁴ The theme of ghaza also appears in poems. The poem at the end of Chapter 32 that describes the capture of Iznik by Orhan is dedicated to describing the booty that his ghazis received as a result of Orhan’s ghaza.⁶³⁵

Modern scholarship has benefited from Aşıkpaşazade’s history despite the inclusion of ahistorical information that clearly attempts to portray the superiority of the Ottomans for the political reasons of the time.⁶³⁶ From an archaeological perspective, Aşıkpaşazade has been deemed to be a valuable source for Bithynia. 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.⁶³⁷

⁶³² For a discussion of the syllabic metre (hece ölçüsü) in Ottoman poetry, see Dilçin, 1983: 39-41.

⁶³³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 25. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 296.

⁶³⁴ Anı Hak viridi Gâzi Şâh Han’a. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 182. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 463.

⁶³⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 39. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 313-314.

⁶³⁶ See Imber, 1987: 7-27.

⁶³⁷ Blackburne, MA thesis: 2000. Also see Lefort, 1993: 112-113.

In addition, Aşıkpaşazade's history has been utilised to help establish the chronology of the early Ottoman period. In his history of the period from 1300-1481, Imber cites eighteen examples from Aşıkpaşazade that help to elucidate the patchy chronology and events of the period. Aşıkpaşazade's account of Mehmed II's first act as sultan upon entering his palace in Edirne in 1451 as ordering the execution of his only surviving brother is deemed to be historically valuable.⁶³⁸ Aşıkpaşazade's account of the military campaign in Skopje,⁶³⁹ his account of events during the Bosnian campaign⁶⁴⁰ and details he provides of the Albanian campaign including of internal politics⁶⁴¹ are only a few examples and are deemed to be historically valuable. It is argued later in this present thesis that modern scholarship is on shakier ground accepting the motifs and topoi that Aşıkpaşazade uses to represent the historical reality of the fifteenth century, unless a consideration of how the Ottomans viewed themselves is undertaken.

⁶³⁸ Imber, 1990: 145.

⁶³⁹ Imber, 1990: 175.

⁶⁴⁰ Imber, 1990: 183.

⁶⁴¹ Imber, 1990: 242.

Chapter 3

Section 2 of 4

Aşıkpaşazade's sources for his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*

The sources of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* fall into four general categories. The first is the only written source that Aşıkpaşazade attests to having relied upon. This is the lost *menakib* of the son of the imam of Orhan Yahşi Fakih in whose house Aşıkpaşazade stayed in 1413.

The second source is not mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade but is the common source that the Anonymous Chronicles, Oruç and Aşıkpaşazade are said to have relied upon. This source covered the period from the emergence of Osman up to 1422.

The third category comprises of witness accounts Aşıkpaşazade gleaned through speaking to individuals active in Ottoman service or close to the court. The fourth and final category consists of Aşıkpaşazade's own first-hand accounts based on his participation in military campaigns and information he may have heard and gathered during his retirement in Istanbul. A discussion of this category is undertaken in the final chapter which focuses on the autobiographical value of Aşıkpaşazade's history.

Yahşi Fakih's *menakib* is significant to the study of Ottoman historiography and therefore to Aşıkpaşazade's history. It is a source unique to Aşıkpaşazade which contains information relating to the turn of the fifteenth century. Ménage took the view that the common source Aşıkpaşazade is thought to have shared with the Anonymous Chronicles and Oruç primarily narrates events in Rumeli, whereas Yahşi Fakih's *menakib* is mainly concerned with events in Anatolia.⁶⁴²

According to Ménage, the references to the companions of Osman and Orhan such as Ghazi Rahman, Köse Mihal and Samsa Çavuş who helped the Ottomans in their early conquests appear only in Aşıkpaşazade.⁶⁴³ These observations stand true for Köse Mihal and Samsa Çavuş but not for Ghazi

⁶⁴² Ménage, 1961: 495.

⁶⁴³ Ménage, 1961: 495.

Rahman who despite making only one appearance in the Anonymous Chronicles, appears nonetheless.⁶⁴⁴

Again in contrast to Ménage's view, other allies of the early period also appear in the Anonymous Chronicles. Both Konur Alp and Akça Koca are mentioned in the Anonymous Chronicles within the same context as Aşıkpaşazade; helping Orhan to expand his territories by capturing Bolu and Mudurnu in Anatolia.⁶⁴⁵

What is important here is the fact that some information thought to have originated from Yahşi Fakih's *menakib* also appears in the Anonymous Chronicles, thereby indicating that some of the tales regarding some of the allies of Osman and Orhan were already in circulation and did not originate from Yahşi Fakih as argued by Ménage. On the issue of historicity, Imber has already established that most of the allies of Osman reign that appear in Aşıkpaşazade are ahistorical.⁶⁴⁶ It may be that the fabrication of such figures was intended to serve the needs of the early fifteenth century rather than those of Aşıkpaşazade when he wrote much later in the century because such figures were not invented by Aşıkpaşazade.

Aşıkpaşazade explains how he came by the source of Yahşi Fakih in Chapter 70 of his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.

At that time I stayed behind in the village. I was taken ill at the house of the son of the imam of Orhan, Yahşi Fakih.
I stayed at Geyve. I conveyed the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* up to the time of Bayezid the Thunderbolt from the son of the imam.⁶⁴⁷

Aşıkpaşazade does not indicate which parts of his history originate from Yahşi Fakih. It is also not known when in the reign of Bayezid I the source of Yahşi Fakih ends. It is assumed that it was composed not long after the succession of

⁶⁴⁴ Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 16. The mention of Ghazi Rahman takes place in a verse at the start of the reign of Orhan. He is named as one of Orhan's allies who aided him in his territorial conquests.

⁶⁴⁵ For example, Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 16 and Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 25. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 296.

⁶⁴⁶ Imber, 1993: 67-75.

⁶⁴⁷ Ol vakt du'âcı fakir köyde kaldum. Orhan'un imâmı oğlu Yahşi Fakih evinde hasta oldum Geyve'de; anda kaldum. Menâkıb-ı Âl-ı 'Osmân'ı tâ Yıldırım han'a gelince ol imam oğlndan nakl itdüm kim habar virürin. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 75. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 356.

Murad II in 1421.⁶⁴⁸ As Zachariadou has pointed out, Aşıkpaşazade modifies the source he has gleaned from Yahşi Fakih. The Ottoman genealogy was a later 'myth' so Aşıkpaşazade would have had to have added that to the information he had in hand.⁶⁴⁹ Aşıkpaşazade did not write down the information that he heard from Yahşi Fakih until several decades had lapsed. Even if human error, the lapse of memory and the deliberate omission or embellishment of fact is allowed for, the *menakib* provides information much closer to the founding years of the Ottoman emirate than other fifteenth-century sources. It is also possible that the father of Yahşi Fakih, the imam of Orhan, Ishak Fakih would also have been a source for his son's *menakib*.

The mixture of local legend and history would be precisely what would be expected of the *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih.⁶⁵⁰ The early parts of Aşıkpaşazade's history would have relied on Yahşi Fakih as a source. The following themes are particularly visible if the chapters from Aşıkpaşazade on the first three rulers and therefore by implication, those ones Yahşi Fakih would have been source material for are examined.

The transformation of infidel cities into Muslim ones is a theme identifiable in Yahşi Fakih. Churches are converted into mosques and *kadis* (judges) are appointed.⁶⁵¹ Following the capture of Karacahisar, Osman converts churches into mosques and sets up a market place and brings the people of the town together.⁶⁵² This process of Islamisation also takes place after the capture of Kocaeli, Bolu and Konraba in the Marmara region.⁶⁵³

The Ottoman rulers are presented as simple people and leaders of ghaza. They mingled with their soldiers and the common people.⁶⁵⁴ Undoubtedly the Ottoman state became more centralised as time went on so that the early days of the Ottoman polity would seem simple in contrast to the reign of Mehmed II after the capture of Constantinople. However it is not clear whether the details

⁶⁴⁸ Zachariadou, 1995: 49.

⁶⁴⁹ Zachariadou, 1995: 49.

⁶⁵⁰ Ménage, 1961: 495.

⁶⁵¹ Zachariadou, 1995: 80.

⁶⁵² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 20. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 289.

⁶⁵³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 36. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 310.

⁶⁵⁴ Zachariadou, 1995: 77.

of accounts of simple rulers are from Yahşi Fakih or from Aşıkpaşazade, yearning for the days of old when the state considered its subjects and did not introduce property and other such taxes.⁶⁵⁵

The chapter that narrates what Orhan ghazi did after the death of his father Osman ghazi captures the simplicity of the early Ottomans. At the very least if not a historical account, it captures the social and economic conditions at the time when the Byzantines held the cities and the Turks were in the countryside. In addition, Aşıkpaşazade may have wished to present the early days as havens of simplicity.

“When he [Orhan] knew that his father had abandoned the abode of mortality and had entered the abode of eternity, he came together with his brother ‘Alaeddin to determine the estate. At that time, there was a certain Ahi Hasan who was the head of a dervish lodge with the Bursa citadel, close to the palace. All the notables of the day gathered there, wondering if Osman had left any property and how his legacy would be split between the two brothers. The legacy consisted of the following items: the land that he had conquered. but there was no gold or silver, one kaftan, one suit of flank armour, one mess kit, that contained a salt cellar and a spoon rack, one pair of high boots, several good horses, several herds of sheep; the royal sheep you see pasturing nowadays in the Bursa region descend from these, several herds of horses at Sultan Önü and several pairs of saddle blankets. He had no other belongings and so nothing else was left behind.”⁶⁵⁶

In another example in Chapter 24 that reflects the simplicity of the early Ottomans, Aşıkpaşazade describes how Osman cannot read or write and hints that those who make verbal pacts are more honest.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁵ For details on the property tax (*mukâta’a*) that personally affected Aşıkpaşazade, see İnalçık, 1995: 145-147.

⁶⁵⁶ Orhan gâzi gördi kim atasını bu fenâ sarâyını terk idüp ol bekâ sarayına rihlet itdi. Karındaşı ‘Alâ’addîn Paş-y-ıla bir araya geldiler, emr-i hâl ne-y-ise gördiler. Ol zamânda bir Ahi Hasan var-ıdı ki anun tekyesi de var. Bursa hisârında Beg sarâyına yakın yirde. Ve dahı ol zamânda olan ‘azîzler bilece cem’ oldılar. ‘Osmân’un mâlı var mı yok mı teftiş itdiler kim mîrâs olına. Gördiler kim bu iki karındaş arasında hemîn bu feth olınan vilâyet görünür. Ancak altın ve akça ve hazîne yok. Hemân ‘Osmân’nun bir sırtak tegelesi var ve bir yançugı ve tuzlagı ve kaşuklığı ve bir sokman edügi ve bir nice eyü atları ve birkaç sürü-y-ile koyunları var. Şimdiki hînde Bursa nevâhisinde yörüyen beglik koyun kim var yörür asıl ol koyundandur ve birkaç ögrek yundları dahı var-ıdı. Sultanöni’nde. Bir niçe çift eyer depüngisi dahı bulındı. Bu mezkûrâtdan gayrı nesne bulunmadı. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 34. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 307.

⁶⁵⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 30. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 302.

Another theme that is clearly identifiable in the early parts of Aşıkpaşazade's history is the close relations that the early rulers had with dervishes. The Aşıkpaşazade/ Yahşi Fakih narrative indicates that the dervishes in the early fourteenth century had easy access to the Ottoman rulers and that dervishes were respected and revered. Yahşi Fakih and his father would have been members of the circle close to the ruler Orhan⁶⁵⁸ and would presumably have known the dervishes of the area. As Kafadar has pointed out, the family of Yahşi Fakih would have been aware of the Aşıkpaşazade's great grandfather Aşık Paşa and his great uncle Elvan Çelebi.⁶⁵⁹ It might be argued that Aşıkpaşazade exaggerated the friendliness of the early rulers with the dervishes because he was a dervish himself of the Vefaî order.

The inclusion into Aşıkpaşazade's history of two dervish-related tales are thought to have originated from Yahşi Fakih.⁶⁶⁰ In Chapter 38 Aşıkpaşazade publicises the Vefaî order that he and his descendants belonged to. The aim of Aşıkpaşazade is to show that the rulers did not consider themselves superior to their subjects and that they valued the prayers of the dervishes. Aşıkpaşazade is also stressing that those who belonged to the *Vefaî* order have been praying for the Ottomans since the beginning.

Orhan asked to meet Geyiklü Baba, the dervish who is considered to be a holy man and of the Vefaî order. The dervish refused to go to Orhan and would also not accept Orhan as a guest. The dervish of his own accord plants a white poplar tree at the foot of the palace and bestows prayers upon the Ottoman dynasty. Orhan in return offers the dervish the region of Inegöl but the dervish refuses but accepts a small piece of land nonetheless.⁶⁶¹

Another tale that is thought to have originated from Yahşi Fakih is that of the capture of Aydos castle which has already been discussed. However the

⁶⁵⁸ Zachariadou, 1995: 50.

⁶⁵⁹ Kafadar, 1995: 101.

⁶⁶⁰ Zachariadou, 1995: 50.

⁶⁶¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 42-44. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 318-321.

appearance of the Prophet to the maiden of the infidel Aydos castle in a dream⁶⁶² is the type of tale that dervishes would have been familiar with.

Tales of the dramatic nature of the capture of the castles of Aydos and Bilecik and the planting of the white poplar tree do not appear in the later sections of Aşıkpaşazade thereby rendering it likely that such tales would have been in circulation in the socio-milieu of Yahşi Fakih. This to not to assume however that careful editing was not at play when Aşıkpaşazade utilised the *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih.

Modern scholarship has argued that Aşıkpaşazade was more critical than other writers of the period and that he did not write a sanitised account of Ottoman history.⁶⁶³ However it is noteworthy that a fifteen year gap (1337-1354) exists in the chronology of Aşıkpaşazade/ Yahşi Fakih.⁶⁶⁴ This period corresponds exactly to the period in which the early Ottomans under Orhan began to enjoy diplomatic relations with the Byzantines. There is no reference to the raids of the Ottomans into Thrace that began in 1337 and no mention of the fact that the Byzantines sought Ottoman help during their civil war between 1344-46. There is also no reference to the marriage of Orhan to Theodora, the daughter of the Byzantine ruler John Kantakouzenos, during this period. It is also remarkable that Aşıkpaşazade, who was not adverse to the inclusion of miracles and tales into his history, did not mention the earthquake in 1354 which allowed the Ottomans to take Gelibolu.⁶⁶⁵ Telling tales of such close relations with the infidels did not suit Aşıkpaşazade but it is noteworthy that other histories of the period such as Oruç and the Anonymous Chronicles also do not include accounts of the close co-operation of Orhan with the Byzantines.

It is clear that Aşıkpaşazade did not write a 'warts-and-all' account of all aspects of Ottoman history, as he clearly did not want to mention or narrate any events that revealed co-operation between the Ottoman ghazis and the infidels. It may at first sight seem to be a contradiction in terms that Aşıkpaşazade mentions

⁶⁶² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 31-33. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 303-305.

⁶⁶³ See İnalçık, 1995: 144-147, Faroqhi, 1999: 148-199 and Lowry, 2003: 143.

⁶⁶⁴ Zachariadou, 1995: 52.

⁶⁶⁵ Zachariadou, 1995: 52-53.

and narrates in detail the marriage of Bayezid I to an infidel Serbian bride.⁶⁶⁶ However the bride is used as part of the equation that caused the downfall of Bayezid therefore her inclusion in Aşıkpaşazade's history served a moralising purpose.

Not all of the information from Yahşi Fakih's *menakib* was of an ahistorical or folk-tale nature. Yahşi Fakih through Aşıkpaşazade has provided valuable information on the raids of Osman and Orhan which includes a raid in the region of Sakarya and the capture of Geyve, Lefke and Akhisar.⁶⁶⁷

Aşıkpaşazade has also shed light on the transition of toponyms from Byzantine to Turkish in Yahşi Fakih's local area near Bithynia.⁶⁶⁸ However errors in the dating of events are identifiable in Aşıkpaşazade. These may have stemmed from Yahşi Fakih for the early years of the Ottoman state. An example of this is the date attributed to the annexation of the emirate of Karasi. Aşıkpaşazade provides this as 1335, probably from Yahşi Fakih, but the actual date of the conquest didn't occur until some point between 1344-46.⁶⁶⁹

The second source utilised but not mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade is the common source that he, the Anonymous Chronicles and Oruç used. A comparison of Aşıkpaşazade and the Anonymous Chronicles demonstrates the reliance on a common source. Until 1422, Aşıkpaşazade has relied on a source that was common to both him and the Anonymous Chronicles.⁶⁷⁰

Aşıkpaşazade and the Anonymous Chronicles both narrate Ottoman history in a chronological order and include the same events that took place during the reigns of the rulers such as the civil war between the Ottoman princes in the

⁶⁶⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 22-24. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 113-115.

⁶⁶⁷ Zachariadou, 1995: 51.

⁶⁶⁸ Zachariadou cites the example of Belokoma becoming Bilecik and Angelokoma becoming Aynagöl. Zachariadou, 1995: 68.

⁶⁶⁹ Zachariadou, 1995: 52.

⁶⁷⁰ Ménage, 1961: 228.

early fifteenth century⁶⁷¹ and the role of Orhan's comrades in helping him expand the Ottoman territories.⁶⁷²

Presentational differences between the Anonymous Chronicles and Aşıkpaşazade are identifiable which may stem from the influence of the sources not common to them both or may be due to stylistic preferences of the Anonymous Chronicles and Aşıkpaşazade respectively as writers. The Anonymous Chronicles tends to only use chapter headings at the start of the reign of each ruler (for example, The reign of Osman Ghazi) and does not divide up the individual historical events of each ruler's reign into separate chapters. In contrast, Aşıkpaşazade sections the reign of each ruler into several chapters describing individual historical events. In addition, the Anonymous Chronicles adopts the use of poetry as a literary device far less than Aşıkpaşazade.⁶⁷³

The close verbal similarity that exists between Aşıkpaşazade and the Anonymous Chronicles does not exist between Aşıkpaşazade and Oruç.⁶⁷⁴ Aşıkpaşazade and the Anonymous Chronicles' last resemblance is evident in their description of the revolt of Düzme Mustafa at the beginning of the reign of Murad II.⁶⁷⁵ After this point it is the Anonymous Chronicles that change their style and what were discursive accounts in chronological order with stories provided occasionally, become short entries reminiscent of the bare style of Royal Calendars.⁶⁷⁶

The following comparison of a chapter from Aşıkpaşazade with the corresponding one from the Anonymous Chronicles reveals a verbal similarity. After Bayezid I had committed suicide, although Aşıkpaşazade sanitises this reference, the account of Timur returning back to his own country is narrated as follows in Chapter 67.

⁶⁷¹ Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 51-55. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 63-68. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 354-359.

⁶⁷² Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 16. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 31-32. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 305-306.

⁶⁷³ The Giese edition of the Anonymous Chronicles contains approximately fifty-four poems, compared to Aşıkpaşazade's two hundred and three poems.

⁶⁷⁴ Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: XXXIV.

⁶⁷⁵ Ménage, 1961: 190.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

“Timur left, he went towards his own country. He took the Tatar army with him. He gave Kırşehir, Sivrihisar and Beypazar to the ruler of Karaman. He gave the province of Kastamonu, Çankırı and Kalacık back to Isfendiyar Bey.”⁶⁷⁷

The account of the same incident is narrated in the Anonymous Chronicles as follows:

“Timur left, he went towards his own country. He took the Tatar army with him. He gave Kırşehir, Sivrihisar and Beypazar to the son of Karaman. He gave the province of Kastamonu, Çankırı and Kalacık back to Isfendiyar Bey. He also abandoned the province of Karaman. The date of this adventure was 804 Hicri.”⁶⁷⁸

The following account also shows verbal similarity to a great extent.

Aşıkpaşazade narrates how Osman Ghazi divided up his lands whilst still alive amongst his family. Such an account would seem to be unconnected to Aşıkpaşazade personally but it is not. Ede Bali is presented as being a sheikh of the Vefaî order which is the order Aşıkpaşazade belonged to. Whether Edebali was a historical figure or not,⁶⁷⁹ Aşıkpaşazade publicises his own order at regular intervals in his history. However the inclusion of Ede Bali into the Anonymous account shows that the tradition/fact of Ede Bali being Osman’s father-in-law was already in circulation in the popular literary circles at the time. If such accounts are not historical then it was not only Aşıkpaşazade but also other histories such as the Anonymous Chronicles who were also indulging in the telling of tall tales.

“[Osman ghazi] bequeathed the chief administrative unit of Karacahisar which they call İnönü to his son Orhan. And he gave the military fief to his brother Gündüz. He gave Yarhisarı to Hasan Alp, who was a good comrade as well. He had come there with him.. Inegöl was given to

⁶⁷⁷ Kaçan kim Temür göçdi, kendü vilâyetine teveccüh itdi. Tatarun cemî ‘işini sürdi ve Kırşehir’ni ve Siverihisar’l ve Beg Bâzarı’nı Karamanoglı’na viridi ve dahı Kastamonı, Kangırı’yı ve Kal’acug’l girü Isfendiyâr’a viridi. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 27. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 352.

⁶⁷⁸ Kaçan kim Temür göçdi, kendü vilâyetine teveccüh itdi. Tatarun cemî ‘işini sürdi ve Kırşehir’ni ve Siverihisar’l ve Beg Bâzarı’nı Karamanoglı’na viridi ve dahı Kastamonı, Kangırı’yı ve Kal’acug’l girü Isfendiyâr’a viridi. Hem Karaman vilâyetinden çıktı gitdi. Bu mâceranun tarihi hicretün 804 ünde vâkı oldı. Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: XXXI.

⁶⁷⁹ For the contrasting views on the subject of whether Ede Bali was indeed a historical personage, see İnalçık, 1995 and Imber, 1993.

Turgut Alp. That ghazi's memory still lives on. They called the villages in the region surrounding Inegöl the province of Turgut. [Osman ghazi] bequeathed upon his father-in-law the fief of Bilecik."⁶⁸⁰

This following is the account of the same event in the Anonymous Chronicles.

"[Osman ghazi] bequeathed the chief administrative unit of Karacahisar which they call İnönü to his son Orhan. And he gave the military fief to Alp Gündüz, who had come together with Süleyman Shah from the Persian provinces. Inegöl was given to Turgut Alp. The memory of the dervishes lives on in those provinces. That is where they are buried. They call those villages the province of Turgut. [Osman ghazi] bequeathed upon his father-in-law the fief of Bilecik."⁶⁸¹

Ménage is correct in his view that after 1422 the Anonymous Chronicles and Aşıkpaşazade cease to utilise a common source.⁶⁸² After this date, the style of the Anonymous Chronicles changes and becomes much less detailed than before. This change may be due to the reliance of Calendar entries as a source for the period following 1422. The following two examples illustrate this point.

First, the Anonymous Chronicles narrate the accession of Mehmed II in a factual and brief manner. In contrast, Aşıkpaşazade devotes a couple of pages to describing how the Karaman leader opposed the new sultan and describes how peace ensued when the Karamanid renounced his old ways. The Anonymous Chronicles in three sentences simply state how peace was achieved after Mehmed II marched against the Karamans and that once peace was achieved, that Mehmed II returned to Edirne.⁶⁸³

⁶⁸⁰ Karacahisâr sancagı kim ana İnöni derler, oğlu Orhan'a viridi ve sübaşılığını karındaşı Gündüz'e viridi. Yarhisâr'l Hasan Alp'a viridi. Bu dahı bir yarar yoldaş-ıdı, kendü-y-ile bile gelmiş-idi. Eynegöl'l Turkut Alp'a viridi. Şimdiki hinde dahı adı anılır ol 'azizün. Eynegöl yöresinde köyleri var kim ana Turkutlil derler. Ve kayınatası Edebalı'ya Bilecük'ün hâsılın tîmâr viridi. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 21. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 290.

⁶⁸¹ Karacahisâr sancagı kim ana İnöni derler, ol araya değin oğlu Orhan'a viridi. Ve sübaşılığını karındaşı Alp Gündüz'e viridi, Süleyman Şah ile bile gelmişti Acem vilâyetinden. Ve Eynegöl'l Turkut Alp'a viridi. Şimdi ol 'azizlerün adları anılır ol vilâyetlerde. Köyler vardur, ana Turgut ili dirler. Anların mezarı anda bellidür. Ve kayınatası Edebalı'ya Bilecük' hâsılın viridi.

⁶⁸² Ménage, 1961: 52.

⁶⁸³ Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 77. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 21. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 413-414.

As a second example that illustrates the factual and less descriptive nature of the Anonymous Chronicles, compared to Aşıkpaşazade, after 1422 is the reign of Bayezid II in 1481. Both Aşıkpaşazade and the Anonymous Chronicles narrate that Bayezid II came to the throne in Istanbul. Both histories respectively describe how Bayezid II decides to march against his brother Cem who had contested Bayezid's right to the throne.⁶⁸⁴ The Anonymous Chronicles narrates that Cem continued to flee from capture by Bayezid and then swiftly moves onto describe Bayezid's military campaign into Moldavia.⁶⁸⁵ Whereas Aşıkpaşazade devotes four chapters to discussing how Cem was pursued by Bayezid II before he turns his attention to Bayezid's Moldovian campaign.⁶⁸⁶ The Anonymous Chronicles briefly mentions how the Karaman emirate provided support to Cem⁶⁸⁷ but Aşıkpaşazade provides detail on how Cem fled to Konya and then took his mother to Mecca on pilgrimage with him and how he enjoyed the continued support of the Karaman emirate.⁶⁸⁸ This shows that the Anonymous Chronicles was no longer using a detailed source of information.

A Stylistic difference is also apparent in the chapters that discuss Cem's opposition to Bayezid. Aşıkpaşazade includes a question and answer sequence that introduces the topic of Cem.⁶⁸⁹ Aşıkpaşazade is asked the question of what happened to his brother Cem when Bayezid ascended to the throne. Aşıkpaşazade's response is that he will elucidate the topic.⁶⁹⁰ Aşıkpaşazade may have employed the use of the answer and question sequence as a literary device to ease his audience into the difficult topic of how fratricide was a reality

⁶⁸⁴ "Sultan Bâyezîd dahi İstanbul'dan denizi geçüp çeriler cem' idüp Sultan Cem üzerine hücum idüp Ahmed Paşa dahi yolda yitişüp ol gün Sultan Bâyezîd ile beraber turdılar." Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 118. "Sultan Bâyezîd Han'a da haber oldu. İki bin Mikdârı yiniçeri göndürdi. Deniz tarafından vardılar." Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 183. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 465.

⁶⁸⁵ Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 119.

⁶⁸⁶ Chapters 158- 161. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 183-186. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 465-469.

⁶⁸⁷ Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 119.

⁶⁸⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 185. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 467.

⁶⁸⁹ Chapter 158. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 183. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 465.

⁶⁹⁰ "Sultan Bâyezîd Han-ı Gâzi'nün tahta geçdüğünü yazdun; yâ karındaşı Cem n'oldugun dîmedün?. Cevâb: Beyân ideyüm ve hem bu bâb dahi anı beyân ider. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 183. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 465.

in the Ottoman dynasty. Whereas the Anonymous Chronicles include little detail. In conclusion, Aşıkpaşazade remains consistently detailed throughout his history whereas the Anonymous Chronicles ceases to provide detail on events after 1422. Aşıkpaşazade's continuing to provide a detailed account of Ottoman history after 1422 is due to the fact that he had other sources at his disposal including witness accounts, as discussed below, and information he gleaned himself from being present at key events in Ottoman history.

The third category of source for Aşıkpaşazade comprises of witness accounts that Aşıkpaşazade would have normally been related to him by the individual who was party to a particular event. Aşıkpaşazade does name some of his informants but it is inconceivable to think that he would have only had a couple of people who relayed information or tales to him over the span of a long eventful lifetime. Umur Bey who was also known as Kara Timurtaşoğlu and Koca Nayib are the two main oral sources that Aşıkpaşazade's acknowledges. Koca Nayib provided information on the captivity of Bayezid I which Aşıkpaşazade narrates in a single chapter (Chapter 67). Umur Bey provides information on some of the raids and of the reign of Bayezid I but this also appears in a single chapter (Chapter 60).

Aşıkpaşazade names his source for the Battle of Nicopolis where Bayezid I defeated the crusading army in 1396 and his battle with the Hungarians in 1391 as Umur Bey. Umur Bey is also the source for Bayezid I's siege of Istanbul. Aşıkpaşazade states that both battles took place in 1391. He was correct in his dating for the Hungarian battle but not for the Battle of Nicopolis which took place five years later.

In Chapter 60, Umur Bey informs Aşıkpaşazade how Bayezid set out from Bursa, went through Gelibolu and reached Edirne. His ultimate aim was to execute ghaza in the country of Hungary. However a spy from Istanbul was captured and he carried a note warning the enemy that the Turks were preparing for battle. Upon Bayezid I hearing this, he and his army set out for Istanbul and surrounded it from land and sea. Using Umur Bey as a source, Aşıkpaşazade continues to narrate how the folk of Istanbul were caused much distress by the siege of the Turks but that Bayezid had to retreat because he

got news that the Hungarian infidels had passed through the Dardanelles and were marching onto Bucharest. With the help of God, the Ottomans defeated the Hungarians.⁶⁹¹

With respect to the naming of his source, Aşıkpaşazade states that,

There was a Kara Timurtaşoğlu also known as Umur Bey. He narrated this ghaza to me. He said that “we took at least two thousand slaves” [as booty].⁶⁹²

The second named oral source of Aşıkpaşazade is the viceroy of Bursa, Koca Nayib. Betraying the oral origins of his history, Aşıkpaşazade is asked by his audience how he came by the source for the Battle of Ankara given that he wasn't present. The account in Aşıkpaşazade narrates as follows:

“Question: Hey dervish! You were not present with the others. From whom do you transmit this from?

Answer: Bursa had a viceroy. They called him Koca Nayib. He was one of the guardsmen of Bayezid khan. When they captured the khan, he was also with him at the time. He was also present when Bayezid khan passed away at Akşehir.

I asked him, how did Timur keep Bayezid khan hostage? He replied that, in a cart between two horses. Whenever they moved, he made him walk in front of him. When they would camp for the night they would make him camp in the front of his tent, he said.

The Koca Nayib I mentioned took service under Mehmed I. Mehmed gave him the *dizdarlık* of the castle of Amasya. When he became old, Murad II bought him to Bursa and gave him the position of viceroy.

Whatever I have narrated. I narrate from him. However, I left a fair amount (most of this story) unsaid. Otherwise our story would be too long.”⁶⁹³

⁶⁹¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 60-61. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 338-339.

⁶⁹² Kara Temürtaşoğlu var-ıdı, ana Umur Bey dirler-ıdı. Bu gazâyı fakîre ol habar virdi. “Bizüm kendü halkumuz içinde esîr iki binden ziyâde-y-ıdı,” dir. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 61. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 339.

⁶⁹³ Sü’âl: İy dervîş sen hûd ol cengde cismünde bile degüldün ya bu kısıyı kimden nakl idersin?

Cevâb: Bursa’nun bir nâyibi var-ıdı. Adını Koca Nâyib dirler-ıdı. Ol kişi Bâyezîd han’un hâs solaklarından-ıdı. Ol vakt kim ol hanı tutdılar, anda bile-y-miş. Bâyezîd han kim Akşehir’de Allah rahmetine vâsıl olıcak anda bile-y-miş.

It is interesting that Aşıkpaşazade uses the length of the chapter on Bayezid's captivity as a literary device. This is a long and wordy chapter that narrates a turn for the worst for the Ottoman state. Aşıkpaşazade quite cleverly narrates the story from his source Koca Nayib and he is therefore relinquished of being the bearer of bad news.

The events that he names Umur Bey and Koca Nayib as sources for are significant for the study of Ottoman history. The Battle of Ankara resulted in the death of Bayezid I and not only caused a long civil war but set the Ottomans back territorially. Bayezid's military victory against the Hungarians and his daring siege of Istanbul show that Bayezid was less inclined to diplomacy and was intent on expanding the Ottoman realm further into Europe.

In conclusion, for the reign of the first four rulers, but predominantly for the reigns of Osman and Orhan, Aşıkpaşazade used the *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih as a source for his History of the Ottoman Dynasty where he felt the inclusion of information served a purpose.

Aşıkpaşazade also named two informants who provided him with detail on military campaigns that are historical, even if all the detail in the narrative is not. Despite having a detailed source on the captivity of Bayezid I by Timur, Aşıkpaşazade does not mention the suicide of Bayezid I by simply saying that he had passed away. In contrast the Anonymous Chronicles state that "Bayezid saw to himself and passed to the mercy of God."⁶⁹⁴ This is another example of where Aşıkpaşazade has not written an un-sanitised account. Aşıkpaşazade

Bunların fakir andan teftiş idüp sordum: "Bâyezîd han'ı nice sakarlardı diyü." Ol eydür: " Temür bir taht-ı revân düzdürmiş idi. Kafes gibi iki at arasında berkitmişlerdi. Her vakt kim Temür göçerdi, Bâyezîd han'ı ol taht-ı revân-ıla kendünün önice yörüdürdi ve konsalar kendü çadırı öninde kondururdu," didi.

Ol Koca Nâyib didüğüm ki dirin Amasiyye'ye sultân Mehmed'e vardı. Sultân Mehmed dahı ana Amasiyye hisârının dizdarlığın virmiş idi.

Kaçan ki pîr olıcak sultan Murâd anı Bursa'ya getürtdi. Bursa nâyibliğın virdi. Fakîr ki andan nakl itdüm ve anun hikâyetinün ekserin dimedüm. Anun-ıçun kim söz tavîl olur. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 60-61. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 68-69.

⁶⁹⁴ "Kendü kaydın gördi, Allah rahmetine vâsıl oldu." Giese Anonymous, trans. Azamat: 1992: 49.

omitted the mention of the suicide, a sin in Islam, as it would taint the morality of the Ottomans.

Chapter 3

Section 3 of 4

The use of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* by Neşri

Neşri relied heavily on Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* as a source when he wrote his *Cihannüma*. Neşri followed the text of Aşıkpaşazade so closely that Giese was able to use the Vienna manuscript of Neşri as a valuable control when he prepared his edition of Aşıkpaşazade in 1929.⁶⁹⁵

Neşri has traditionally been afforded with more credit for the development of fifteenth-century historiography than Aşıkpaşazade. This section argues that Neşri's utilisation of Aşıkpaşazade may have ensured that Aşıkpaşazade became more of a mainstream source as writers later utilised Neşri. More importantly, it is demonstrated that Aşıkpaşazade has not received the recognition he deserves historiographically regarding Neşri's use of his history.

Mehmed Neşri (d. before 1520) was the author of *Cihannüma*, (*Cosmorama*) a universal history (c.1490) that included a section on Turkish history which covered to 1485. This section starts with the history of the Turks from the Oğuz tribes and briefly touches on the Seljuk period. However the section is predominantly devoted to the Ottomans.⁶⁹⁶ The universal history consisted of six sections. The last section was the sixth section Neşri apparently separated from the other sections in order to present to Bayezid II during the early part of his reign (1481-1512). The five other sections of the *Cihannüma* have not survived.⁶⁹⁷

The only definite fact known about the life of Neşri is that he was present in the Ottoman camp near Gebze on the night that Mehmed II died in 1481. Neşri was apparently sleeping nearby when he was woken with the news that the sultan had died. Neşri does not reveal in which capacity he was at the camp.⁶⁹⁸ The

⁶⁹⁵ Ménage, 1961: 223.

⁶⁹⁶ Only thirty-four pages of four hundred and thirty-six pages covers the pre-Ottoman period.

Neşri, Köymen ed. 1983, Vol.I and Neşri, Köymen ed. 1984, Vol.II.

⁶⁹⁷ Ménage, 1961: 239.

⁶⁹⁸ Ménage, 1961: 239-240.

fact that his tent was near that of the mint master (*sahib-i ayar*) indicates he must have had some standing within Ottoman society.

Neşri is regarded as bringing together the two textual traditions of the fifteenth century. It is argued that Neşri interwove as sources for his *Cihannüma*, a text close to the Bodleian Anonymous Chronicle and a recension of Aşıkpaşazade's history.⁶⁹⁹ Neşri is viewed as the first historian of the fifteenth century to fuse together the two separate strands of literary sources and is therefore regarded as significant historiographically because for the first time the two textual traditions became interwoven.⁷⁰⁰ Neşri's narrative of events was also preferred to the narrative of Aşıkpaşazade.

Sa'deddin writing in the late sixteenth century chose to reproduce the accounts of Neşri despite also having access to Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.⁷⁰¹

The granting of a pivotal role by modern scholarship to Neşri in the development of Ottoman historiography may have contributed to his almost verbatim reliance on the history of Aşıkpaşazade being overlooked by scholars.⁷⁰² Mengüç recently disputed the view that Neşri was the pivotal point in the development of Ottoman historiography because he argues that the two textual traditions were fused at least a decade before Neşri wrote by anonymous writers.⁷⁰³ The proportioning of more credence to the anonymous literary genre in terms of fusing the two textual traditions is a new approach and deserves more scholarly attention.

⁶⁹⁹ Ménage, 1961: 55.

⁷⁰⁰ Ménage stresses the significance of Neşri with regard to the two literary traditions. Ménage, 1961: 2 and 55. Also see İnalçık, 1962: 152- 167.

⁷⁰¹ Wittek, 1965: 672.

⁷⁰² For example, Kafadar devotes several pages to both Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri as fifteenth-century sources. He stresses that Neşri had access to different traditions, one running through the history of Aşıkpaşazade. However the only example of Neşri's reliance on Aşıkpaşazade he provides is the comparison of the accounts of the taking of Aydos castle by the two writers, which Wittek published in an article in 1965. Kafadar, 1995: 102-109. See Wittek, 1965: 662-672. As another example, Lindner praises the homogenizing and editorial work of Neşri for producing a more or less seamless version of the fifteenth century Ottoman period from different texts. He cites Aşıkpaşazade as an example but provides no examples of how Neşri relied on Aşıkpaşazade as a source or to what extent. Lindner, 2007: 29.

⁷⁰³ Mengüç, 2008: 15.

Neşri's conscious editing and use of the sources he had at hand to produce a coherent account of the Ottoman period can also be seen in his use of the chronology of the period. Despite using the narrative of Aşıkpaşazade, Neşri's dating for historical events differs.⁷⁰⁴ This may be because Neşri relied on a Royal Calendar for his dating or he may have assumed that the dating in his other source was more reliable.

Neşri's use of Aşıkpaşazade as a source for his history ensured that Aşıkpaşazade continued to be used as a source indirectly through the utilisation of Neşri's *Cihannüma* by those who wrote after him. Giese demonstrated how Idris Bitlisi and Sa'addedin relied on Neşri partly for their histories and therefore indirectly on Aşıkpaşazade.⁷⁰⁵ The use of Neşri as a source by Kemalpaşazade, the author of *Tevârîh-Âl-i Osman*, and his familiarity with Neşri's *Cihannüma* were also highlighted by Ménage in 1961.⁷⁰⁶

Despite this, modern scholarship has tended to view Aşıkpaşazade's contribution to Ottoman historiography with only passing mention of Neşri's use of his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* as a source.⁷⁰⁷

Witteck was the first scholar to identify the use of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* as a source for Neşri's *Cihannüma*.⁷⁰⁸ Wittek closely compared the text of Neşri's history as represented by the Vienna manuscript to the text of Aşıkpaşazade's history based on the Istanbul edition of Ali and the *Codex Hanivaldanus*.⁷⁰⁹ The *Codex Hanivaldanus* was a lost manuscript of Neşri's *Cihannüma* that is known through the *Historiae Musulmanae*, a history commissioned by the imperial ambassador Leunclavius of Frankfurt in 1591.

⁷⁰⁴ In Chapters 61-63 in Aşıkpaşazade which take place during the reign of Bayezid I, Aşıkpaşazade gives the dating as 1390. Neşri on the other hand gives 1394 for the equivalent of Chapters 61 and 62 in Aşıkpaşazade and 1395 for the equivalent of Chapter 63. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 61-62. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 340-343. Neşri, Köymen ed. 1983: 152-155. Vol. I.

⁷⁰⁵ Giese, 1936: 38-49.

⁷⁰⁶ Ménage, 1961:286.

⁷⁰⁷ Lindner, 2007: 29.

⁷⁰⁸ Wittek, 1921-22: 77-150.

⁷⁰⁹ Wittek, 1921-22: 77-150. Ménage discusses Wittek's analysis of the above manuscripts. Ménage, 1961: 567-572.

Wittek also compared the *Codex Hanivaldanus* as represented through the *Historiae Musulmanae* to the two manuscripts of Neşri and Aşıkpaşazade.⁷¹⁰

Wittek concluded that there existed an earlier recension of Aşıkpaşazade's history based on an examination of the Istanbul edition of Aşıkpaşazade. An examination of the *Historiae Musulmanae* proved to Wittek that Neşri must have utilised the above recension of Aşıkpaşazade which had been edited by Ali. The presence of the *Codex Hanivaldanus* and relevant parts of Neşri's history as based on Aşıkpaşazade were identifiable.⁷¹¹

Giese disagreed with Wittek's textual choice of Aşıkpaşazade for his comparison. Giese argued that a comparison of the histories of Sa'deddin and Idris Bitlisi, who both relied on Neşri as a source, showed that they did not rely on the Istanbul edition of Aşıkpaşazade which ended in 1502, as Wittek stated.⁷¹²

However Giese did not dispute the fact that Neşri relied on Aşıkpaşazade as a source. In his introduction to his 1929 edition of Aşıkpaşazade, Giese stated that the text of Aşıkpaşazade used by Neşri, ended with the campaign of Ali Bey in Moldavia in 1485.⁷¹³

In 1965 Wittek published an article comparing the accounts of Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri respectively on the capture of the castle of Aydos.⁷¹⁴ The article should be read with Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" in mind. Aşıkpaşazade is portrayed by Wittek as a ghazi.⁷¹⁵ It is within this context that Wittek compares the two accounts. According to Wittek, Neşri used the text of Aşıkpaşazade to such an extent that on the whole he reproduced the text of Aşıkpaşazade with hardly any changes.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹¹ Ménage, 1961: 567.

⁷¹² Giese, 1936: 18.

⁷¹³ Giese, 1929: 22. See also Ménage, 1961: 567.

⁷¹⁴ Wittek, 1965: 662-672.

⁷¹⁵ Wittek, 1965: 663.

⁷¹⁶ Wittek, 1965: 665.

Wittek argues that the story of the capture of the castle of Aydos is the great exception to this general rule.⁷¹⁷ Neşri is portrayed by Wittek as not understanding the spirit of ghaza because he was a town-dwelling member of the ulema.⁷¹⁸ To Wittek, Neşri transforms what is essentially an account of the bravery of the ghazis into a love story. In Aşıkpaşazade's version the Byzantine maiden of the castle sees the Prophet in her dream whereas Neşri substitutes the Prophet for a youth.⁷¹⁹ Wittek treats this as an unfortunate substitution and attributes it to Neşri not comprehending how the Prophet could be the head of the ghazis.⁷²⁰

Wittek states that the castle would not have been captured had it not been for the maiden's dream where the apparition of the Prophet appeared as the appearance of the prophet in her dream entices her to conversion to Islam.⁷²¹ According to Wittek, it was clear Neşri did not appreciate what it was like to be a ghazi when he substituted the youth for the Prophet.

“Evidently, Neşri does not understand that when ghazis go into battle, the Prophet walks or rides at their head, just as he is present at each Friday service..In Aşıkpaşazade, as soon as the girl perceives the holy man of her dream at the head of the ghazis, she knows with whom she has to side.”⁷²²

Wittek's comparison of the capture of the Aydos castle by both writers is useful because despite making alterations to the story told by Aşıkpaşazade, Neşri does maintain the general outline. Like Aşıkpaşazade, Neşri narrates how the castle was besieged by the Ottomans, the writing of a letter to the hero of the conquest by the maiden⁷²³ and how upon seeing her loved one the maiden tied a rope to her waist and lowered herself down the walls of the castle to let in the Ottomans.⁷²⁴

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.

⁷¹⁸ Wittek, 1965: 672.

⁷¹⁹ Wittek, 1965: 669.

⁷²⁰ Wittek, 1965: 672.

⁷²¹ Wittek, 1965: 669.

⁷²² Wittek, 1965: 669.

⁷²³ In Neşri, the hero of the story who wins the heart of the maiden is Abdurrahman. Whereas in Aşıkpaşazade it is Ghazi Rahman.

⁷²⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 33-34. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 303-305. Neşri, Köymen ed. 1983: 70-72, Vol.I.

However Wittek's comparison of Aşıkpaşazade's and Neşri's accounts reveals an ideological portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by Wittek. If read in between the lines, Wittek implies that Aşıkpaşazade's account is the superior one. This is not because Aşıkpaşazade's account is closer in time or more historical; it is because Aşıkpaşazade is first and foremost a ghazi.⁷²⁵ It is this perception of Aşıkpaşazade, true or not, that leads the comparison of the two accounts.

It is difficult to quantify the extent to which Neşri relied on Aşıkpaşazade as a source even though he copied word for word some of the chapters that appear in Aşıkpaşazade. Ménage took the view that Neşri's reliance on the Bodleian Chronicle, his other source, was evident throughout his *Cihannüma*.⁷²⁶

An examination of the *Cihannüma* reveals how closely Neşri followed the text of Aşıkpaşazade. Neşri does not acknowledge Aşıkpaşazade as a source and is careful to omit all autobiographical references to Aşıkpaşazade in his *Cihannüma*. Neşri impersonalises the autobiographical references of Aşıkpaşazade and still incorporates the narrative of Aşıkpaşazade. There are two exceptions to this.

Neşri does not utilise the introductory chapter of Aşıkpaşazade into his history. In the introductory chapter Aşıkpaşazade provides his own genealogy and narrates how he came to write his history.⁷²⁷ The second example of Neşri not using Aşıkpaşazade as a source is Chapter 70⁷²⁸ where Mehmed I confronts Musa who posed a threat to his sovereignty.

Neşri may have found it difficult to impersonalise and therefore utilise Aşıkpaşazade's introductory chapter given the large extent of the autobiographical content and probably found it easier to not use the chapter a source at all. In addition to this, for Chapter 70, it is thought that Neşri was using another source for his history.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁵ Wittek, 1965: 663.

⁷²⁶ Ménage, 1961: 574.

⁷²⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 3-5. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 271-273.

⁷²⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 74-75 Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 355-356.

⁷²⁹ Ménage, 1961: 571.

In Chapter 113 Aşıkpaşazade describes how he took part in raids in Belgrade in the reign of Murad II. He narrates how he captured slaves and sold them on for a hundred akçe in Üsküb'.⁷³⁰ Aşıkpaşazade also narrates the death of the son of his companion, the son of Timurtaşoğlu Umur bey, Osman Çelebi and then goes onto describe how he partook in raids.

“At that time the son of Timurtaşoğlu Umur bey, Osman Çelebi was martyred at the ghaza of Varna. I had returned from Mecca with Ishak Bey and was at Üsküb. At times I found myself present at these adventures. In short, one day there was a skirmish within the army. Ishak Bey immediately mounted his horse as did all the ghazis.”⁷³¹

Neşri uses Aşıkpaşazade as a source for the raids into Belgrade but impersonalises the account of Aşıkpaşazade to erase any autobiographical information of Aşıkpaşazade from the account.

“At that time the son of Timurtaşoğlu Umur bey, Osman Çelebi was martyred at the ghaza of Varna. In short, one day there was a skirmish within the army. Ishak Bey immediately mounted his horse, as did the entire army.”⁷³²

The above quotes show that Neşri uses Aşıkpaşazade verbatim in some places but not only omits any reference to Aşıkpaşazade but uses the term ‘army’ instead of ‘ghazi.’ Neşri is believed to have been a member of the ulema because of a reference made by Hacı Khalifa calling Neşri a *müderri*.⁷³³ Neşri makes no reference to participating in any raids or personally taking part in

⁷³⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 114-115 Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 399-400.

⁷³¹ “Ol zamânda Temürtaşoğlu Umur begoglu Osmân çelebi'ydi ki ol Varna gazâsında şehîd oldu. Fakîr dahî ol zamânda Üsküb'e Ishâk beg –ile Mekke'den bile gelmişdüm. Gâh gâh bu mâcerâlarda bile bulınurdum...Bir gün 'asker içinde bir gavgâ belürdi. Ishâk beg ol sâ'at at arkkasına geldi. Cemî'l gâziler bile bindiler.”.Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 115. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 399.

⁷³² “O zaman Germiyan Sancağı Beyi oğlu Umur Beyoğlu Osman Bey idi ki, sonar Varna gazâsında şehid oldu. Kısacası bir gün ordu içinde ansızın bir kavga belirdi. Ishak Bey derhal atına bindi; bütün ordu atlandı.” Neşri, Köymen ed. 1984:105, Vol.II.

⁷³³ Ménage, 1961: 238 and 248.

battle like Aşıkpaşazade is known to have.⁷³⁴ Therefore it is logical that Neşri substitutes 'army' for 'ghazi.'

Narrating the circumcision banquet that Mehmed II hosted for his sons which Aşıkpaşazade was present at, is another example of Neşri using the valuable first-hand information by Aşıkpaşazade without acknowledging his source.⁷³⁵

Like Aşıkpaşazade, Neşri also includes the story of the dervish Geyiklü Baba who plants a white poplar tree at the foot of Orhan's palace in Bursa.⁷³⁶ Not surprisingly Neşri excludes any mention of the Vefaî order which Aşıkpaşazade includes in his own account to establish affinity between his own order and the Ottoman dynasty by using Geyiklü Baba as an intermediary.

Neşri also relies on Aşıkpaşazade for the source of Koca Nayib, who had been Aşıkpaşazade's informant for Bayezid I's time in captivity.⁷³⁷ Neşri omits any reference to how he came by the source, when he mentions Koca Nayib.

"The truth of these events is verified by one of the bodyguards of Bayezid Koca Nayib of Bursa who was with him when he was captured and until he died at Akşehir."⁷³⁸

Unlike Aşıkpaşazade who, as previously mentioned, does not refer to the suicide of Bayezid I, Neşri -writing only a few years after Aşıkpaşazade- felt at ease to do so.⁷³⁹ It is difficult to understand why Neşri would have included the suicide given that he was thought to have been part of the ulema and was thought to have presented his history to Bayezid II. This is especially surprising

⁷³⁴ Imber, 1990: 146.

⁷³⁵ Chapter 128, Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 139-141. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 421-423. Neşri, Köymen ed. 1984: 148-149. Vol. II.

⁷³⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 43. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 318. Neşri, Köymen ed. 1983, 82-83. Vol. I.

⁷³⁷ Chapter 67, Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 70-71. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 351-352.

⁷³⁸ "Bu vakaların doğruluğu, o zaman Bayezid han'ın solaklarından olan Bursa Koca Nâib'den işitilmiştir. Bayezid han yakalandığı vakit, orada han ile birlikte imiş ve Bayezid han Akşehir'de Allah'ın rahmetine kavuşuncaya kadar da birlikte imiş." Neşri, Köymen ed. 1984: 169. Vol. II.

⁷³⁹ Neşri, Köymen ed. 1984: 171. Vol. II.

given that in other sections of his *Cihannüma*, he paints a more orthodox Muslim picture of the past compared to Aşıkpaşazade.

For example, in the dream sequence of Osman Aşıkpaşazade includes a depiction of a rising moon and the sprouting tree in his narrative.⁷⁴⁰ However in Neşri's version of events, Ertuğrul spends the entire night reading the Qur'an after finding it on the window sill.⁷⁴¹ The Qur'an motif is missing from Aşıkpaşazade. In addition, Neşri does not include the character of Ede Bali, Osman's future father-in-law and sheikh of the Vefaî order as the intermediary between Osman and God. Neşri's account sees Osman receive his prophecy of divine right to rule directly from God.⁷⁴²

In addition to the suicide of Bayezid I, Neşri includes other information that Aşıkpaşazade omits. He cites Mal Hatun the future wife of Osman as rejecting him when they first meet.⁷⁴³ He also mentions the possible fratricide of Osman's uncle Dündar by Osman.⁷⁴⁴ Neşri may have incorporated additional information taken from another source not known to Aşıkpaşazade but it is more likely that Neşri chose to include the above information whereas Aşıkpaşazade did not. Neşri was writing only a decade or so after Aşıkpaşazade therefore the moral conventions that would have inhibited Aşıkpaşazade from including such negative information in his history, would surely still have been in place during the lifetime of Neşri, who was a near-contemporary to Aşıkpaşazade.

In conclusion, Neşri came to represent the pivotal point in fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography and was utilised by historians writing after him. However his unacknowledged, and almost verbatim, utilisation of Aşıkpaşazade ensured that Aşıkpaşazade did not achieve recognition for being one of the main sources of Neşri's *Cihannüma*. Like Aşıkpaşazade, Neşri also describes how Osman used to cook food for the dervish community.⁷⁴⁵ The content of

⁷⁴⁰ Chapter 4, Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 9-11. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 276-278.

⁷⁴¹ Neşri, Köymen ed. 1983: 42-43. Vol. I.

⁷⁴² Neşri, Köymen ed. 1983: 43. Vol. I.

⁷⁴³ Neşri, Köymen ed. 1983: 43. Vol. I.

⁷⁴⁴ Neşri, Unat and Köymen ed. 1995: f.30.a. Vol. I.

⁷⁴⁵ Chapter 166, Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 193. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 251. Neşri, Köymen ed. 1983: 42. Vol. I.

Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is similar to Neşri's *Cihannüma* because of the close following of his text by Neşri. However Neşri was the historian of choice for historians that followed and until recently Neşri was regarded more important historiographically because it was believed he was the first historian to fuse the two textual traditions.

The themes and topoi identifiable in Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*:

i. Aşıkpaşazade's treatment of the Ottoman rulers

This section examines how Aşıkpaşazade has portrayed some of the Ottoman rulers. It adopts a comparative approach examining the portrayal of Osman, Orhan, Murad I, Bayezid I and Mehmed II. The aim of this section is to identify how Aşıkpaşazade has portrayed the Ottoman dynasty over the course of time.

Mengüç has argued that early historians such as Ahmedî, Şükrullah, Enveri and Nişancı wrote histories that described the Ottoman rulers in majestic terms with decorative and colourful narrative. In contrast, later historians such as Aşıkpaşazade and the writers of Anonymous Chronicles depict rulers in a more realistic manner.⁷⁴⁶

It is argued in this section that although Aşıkpaşazade does sometimes portray the Ottoman rulers in a realistic light, he does not attribute flaws to the rulers themselves but to those around him. Throughout his history Aşıkpaşazade aims to highlight the sanctity of Ottoman sovereignty and he omits information that would directly cast any aspersions on the character of any of the rulers. It is also demonstrated that the theme of ghaza is consistently portrayed regardless of the Ottoman ruler under discussion.

The criticism that Aşıkpaşazade levies onto those figures around the sultan such as Ali Pasha in the reign of Bayezid I and Rum Mehmed Pasha in the reign of Mehmed II has been deemed by modern scholarship to be intended for the rulers themselves often retrospectively.⁷⁴⁷ This means that criticism intended for Bayezid I found an outlet during the reign of Mehmed II where Aşıkpaşazade could criticise from a safe distance writing decades after

⁷⁴⁶ Mengüç, 2008: 112.

⁷⁴⁷ İnalçık, 1995: 144-147, Faroqhi, 1999: 148-199 and Zachariadou, 1995: 49.

Bayazid's reign.⁷⁴⁸ The criticism levelled at those around the rulers and indirectly at the rulers themselves, provide an insight into the personal views of Aşıkpaşazade. Nonetheless the aim of Aşıkpaşazade is to provide a eulogising account of the Ottoman dynasty and to present the rulers as ghazis.

Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* includes twenty-eight chapters on the reign of Osman, fourteen chapters on the reign of Orhan and fifteen chapters on the reign of Murad I. In addition his history includes ten chapters on the reign of Bayezid I (r.1389-1402), eight chapters on the reign of Mehmed I (r.1413-1421) and thirty-six chapters on the reign of Murad II (r.1421-1437 and 1438-1451). There also thirty-six chapters on Mehmed II (r.1451- 1481) and eleven chapters on Bayezid II (r.1481-1512). However three of the chapters on the reign of Bayezid II (chapters, 168, 169 and 170) are general ones that cover the deeds and attributes of the rulers of the Ottoman dynasty and its viziers including mention of some of the monuments they built.⁷⁴⁹

Osman. Approximately 15% of Aşıkpaşazade's history is devoted to the reign of Osman.⁷⁵⁰ The portrayal of Osman is that of a humble and modest man with some hero-like qualities. Aşıkpaşazade uses the titles 'ghazi' and 'han' interchangeably for Osman. Osman was a ruler that Aşıkpaşazade coming from a ghazi-dervish background himself, could relate to.⁷⁵¹ The portrayal of Osman as a simple ruler who took the trouble to mingle with his subjects is seen in the excerpt below.

“Osman Ghazi's benevolent trait (*haslet*) was once a month to cook for the dervishes and provide them with clothing and to give alms to widows.”⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁸ Imber, 1986: 64-81.

⁷⁴⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 196-203. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 477-487.

⁷⁵⁰ Twenty-five pages of the one hundred and ninety three of the Giese edition. This figure is based on the 170 Chapters of the Giese edition. This figure does not take account of the general chapters that are found in the appendix of the Giese edition.

⁷⁵¹ Kafadar discusses the “personal and ideological connections” of Aşıkpaşazade to the ghazi milieu. Kafadar, 1995: 100.

⁷⁵² “‘Osmân-ı gâzi han'un [hasleti] her ayda bir kerre ta'âm bişirüp fakîrlere yidürmek ve giyesiler giydürmek idi. Ve tul kadınlara sadaka itmekdi.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 193. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 482.

Three competing factors in the portrayal of Osman are at play. First is the appearance of the dream motif. This was probably a later mythic insertion to justify Ottoman sovereignty much later in the fifteenth century. This was at a time when the Ottomans had to justify warfare against fellow Muslim dynasties and to justify its aggression against the Safavids.⁷⁵³ Aşıkpaşazade's story-telling skills are evident when he narrates that Osman's brother Sarı Yatı was killed in a battle. Aşıkpaşazade portrays Osman as being a humble man who also grieves and it is only when he sleeps that he sees the fruits of his prayers. Osman then prays to God for courage and wants to cry. He does cry in the end and then falls asleep. He then has a dream that blesses his leadership. Ede Bali then interprets the dream and foretells of the sovereignty of the Ottomans.⁷⁵⁴

Aşıkpaşazade succeeds in portraying Osman as the grieving human, as a blessed leader and one that has his sovereignty sanctified by God through a prediction by a holy man who also has links to the Vefaî order that Aşıkpaşazade belonged to.

Secondly, Osman is portrayed as being a true ghazi. Aşıkpaşazade used the terms ghazi and *akıncı* interchangeably⁷⁵⁵ therefore it may be the case that Aşıkpaşazade was describing raids in the early Ottoman period but depicted them as ghaza when he wrote. The consistent incorporation of the theme of ghaza at the very least reveals Aşıkpaşazade's view of what the Holy War should be.

Thirdly, Osman declares independence from the Seljuks, this is also probably mythical,⁷⁵⁶ and once Edebalı has interpreted his dream, "he [Osman] immediately wrapped the sword of mission to the waist of his heart."⁷⁵⁷

Aşıkpaşazade uses the verse sections of the chapters to reinforce the image of

⁷⁵³ Imber, 1987: 7-22.

⁷⁵⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 9-10. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 325-326.

⁷⁵⁵ For a discussion on this, see Imber, 1986: 165-178.

⁷⁵⁶ Zachariadou, 1995: 51.

⁷⁵⁷ Hemân-dem bu ta'bîri kim işitdi def'î himmet kılıcını gönlinün biline muhkem bağladı. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 11. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 278.

Osman as a ghazi. Aşıkpaşazade narrates how Osman was born to perform ghaza and how Osman unified the ghazis.⁷⁵⁸

The *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih also provided source material in the form of detail for the reign of Osman. Information found in Aşıkpaşazade but not the Anonymous Chronicles probably originated from Yahşi Fakih. Examples of information not found in the Anonymous Chronicles are as follows.

Aşıkpaşazade narrates how Osman became aware of serving a greater religious cause,⁷⁵⁹ was concerned about the well-being of local non-Muslims under his rule⁷⁶⁰ and how he established market place law.⁷⁶¹

Osman ghazi's social and political circle was small. In addition to his comrades-in-arms such as Köse Mihal, Osman was close to the dervishes around him. Aşıkpaşazade gives a pivotal role to the dervishes in Osman's reign and depicts them as giving valuable advice to Osman on state affairs. At the forefront is Ede Bali who interprets Osman's dream and then Tursun Fakih who advises Osman when he declares independence from the Seljuks.⁷⁶²

Aşıkpaşazade's only criticism of Osman was that he enjoyed good relations with some of his Christian neighbours.⁷⁶³ However the following quote attributed to Osman by Aşıkpaşazade should not be taken at face value, "the first thing which should be done is to get on well with our neighbours and be their friends."⁷⁶⁴ *Müdârâ* should be interpreted as a friendship in accordance with need that is feigned or superficial. Recent scholarship has called it, 'the policy of dissimulation.'⁷⁶⁵ It was perfectly acceptable for Aşıkpaşazade to include this devious policy in his history as it was always the infidels who harboured bad intentions and set out to trick the Ottomans first. As was the case with *tekfur* of

⁷⁵⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 16. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 284.

⁷⁵⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 10. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 327. See also Mengüç, 2008:116.

⁷⁶⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 16-18. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 334-336. See also Mengüç, 2008:116.

⁷⁶¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 21. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 340-341. See also Mengüç, 2008:116.

⁷⁶² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 16. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 284.

⁷⁶³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 282.

⁷⁶⁴ "Evvel re'y ü tedbîr budur kim konşılarumuz-ıla müdârâ döstlikların idevüz."

Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 282.

⁷⁶⁵ Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 19.

Bilecik who intended to trick Osman but he was one step ahead and did not fall into the tekfur's trap.⁷⁶⁶

There is some detail found in the *Cihannüma* of Neşri on Osman, who relied heavily upon Aşıkpaşazade as a source that is not found in Aşıkpaşazade. He therefore had access to information other than the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* by Aşıkpaşazade but tended to follow the text of Aşıkpaşazade.

Neşri mentions that Mal Hatun, the first wife of Osman, originally refused to marry him and also provides detail about the leadership dispute between Osman and his uncle Dündar.⁷⁶⁷ It may be the case that Aşıkpaşazade deliberately omitted any account of Mal Hatun's refusal to marry Osman because it would clearly not show Osman in a good light. However with regard to the case of possible fratricide of Dündar by his nephew Osman, Aşıkpaşazade is not the only writer to omit such narrative. The Anonymous Chronicles and Oruç also do not mention this.⁷⁶⁸ It is difficult to argue that Aşıkpaşazade followed the moral convention of the time because Neşri was a near-contemporary and would have been bound by the same moral standards but still included such detail. Aşıkpaşazade narrates fratricide later on in the reign of Murad II proving that he was not averse to including the topic of fratricide. Aşıkpaşazade's portrayal of the early rulers was that of simple and humble men. A discussion of fratricide or family strife would have been contrary to such a depiction.

Orhan. Approximately 9% of the text of Aşıkpaşazade covers the reign of Orhan.⁷⁶⁹ Aşıkpaşazade's portrayal of Orhan, like Osman, is one of a ghazi. Aşıkpaşazade uses the biblical analogy that rulers are shepherds and subjects their flocks to stress that Orhan was also a simple ruler.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 17-18. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 285-287.

⁷⁶⁷ Neşri, *Cihannüma*, ed. Unat and Köymen. 1995: f.24b. See also Mengüç, 2008:102-103. Kafadar, 1995: 105-109 on a discussion of the dispute between Osman and his uncle Dündar.

⁷⁶⁸ Kafadar, 1995: 106.

⁷⁶⁹ Seventeen pages of the one hundred and ninety three of the Giese edition.

⁷⁷⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 34-35. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 360-361.

Aşıkpaşazade also uses the analogy of Orhan representing the rose of Islam to stress the ghazi nature of Orhan.⁷⁷¹

However in Orhan's reign what Mengüç has termed as the "secular achievements"⁷⁷² of ghaza become apparent. It is in the reign of Orhan that Aşıkpaşazade describes how through ghaza Orhan's ghazis achieve fulfilment in different ways. The capture of Iznik which is told over three chapters (Chapters 32-34) is a good example of this.⁷⁷³

The excellent organisational skills of Aşıkpaşazade again come into play and following the execution of ghaza, a clear systematic formula is followed.⁷⁷⁴ Ghazis usually achieve three types of fulfilment. First, they are awarded booty. Secondly, they are given a home and normally find a woman from the conquered area which to share it with, so they also find wives.⁷⁷⁵ Thirdly, they partake in the Islamisation of the conquered area. This is achieved through the ghazis marrying local women and moving into the conquered areas.

In Orhan's reign close relations with the dervishes of the area continue. Orhan builds an Islamic complex for the dervish Geyiklü Baba of the Vefaî order after he plants a white poplar tree at the foot of his palace.⁷⁷⁶ Orhan is depicted as continuing the generosity of his father towards the local dervishes by building new soup kitchens so that the dervishes could come and eat everyday.⁷⁷⁷

Orhan increased the territories of the Ottomans under his reign. He took Iznik, Izmit and the Karasi area. He also built on the bureaucracy of the Ottoman polity by introducing new laws and traditions.⁷⁷⁸ As mentioned, Aşıkpaşazade

⁷⁷¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 40. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 315.

⁷⁷² Mengüç, 2008: 124.

⁷⁷³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 38-41. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 312-315.

⁷⁷⁴ Mengüç, 2008: 112.

⁷⁷⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 38-40. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 312-314.

⁷⁷⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 45. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 319

⁷⁷⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 193. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 482.

⁷⁷⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 37-38. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 309-310.

chooses to have a gap of fifteen years in the chronology of his history rather than to detail Orhan's relations with the Byzantines.⁷⁷⁹ Aşıkpaşazade clearly regarded co-operation with the infidels as in-comprehensible even if Orhan extended the Ottoman territories as a result of 'cordial' relations with the Byzantines. Mengüç has described Aşıkpaşazade as being xenophobic⁷⁸⁰ but the reality was that Aşıkpaşazade was a religious man who witnessed the territorial expansion of the Ottomans against the Byzantines so he therefore regards them as enemies. Aşıkpaşazade does not allude to the gap in chronology and presumes the reader/listener may not notice.

The acquisition of new territories meant that the ruler had to have others around him that also fought for the cause of ghaza. In Aşıkpaşazade's depiction of Orhan he shares the limelight with others. His son Süleyman Pasha the commander of the Thracian conquests, also appears in the chapters on Orhan's reign. Five of the chapters on Orhan's reign (Chapters 37-41)⁷⁸¹ feature the military raids and conquests of Süleyman Pasha. Süleyman is depicted as a true ghazi and servant of Islam. "Süleyman has come into the world, Süleyman. He shows no mercy to the infidels."⁷⁸²

Aşıkpaşazade also refers to the heroism of other figures such as Hacı İlbeyi and Ghazi Evrenos who also participated in the military raids.⁷⁸³ Even in the chapter that narrates the capture of the castle of Aydos, Orhan shares the limelight with Ghazi Rahman who marries the maiden of the castle.⁷⁸⁴ Perhaps to ensure that Orhan is not completely sidelined, Aşıkpaşazade omits the names of the local commanders responsible for the conquests of Kocaeli, Konur Apa and Bolu. Aşıkpaşazade implies that they were taken anonymously. Whereas a version of the Anonymous Chronicles includes the names of those said to be responsible

⁷⁷⁹ Zachariadou, 1995: 52.

⁷⁸⁰ Mengüç, 2008: 137.

⁷⁸¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 42-47. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 317-323.

⁷⁸² Süleymân geldi dünyâya Süleymân ki kâfir divlerine virmez amân. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 46. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 321.

⁷⁸³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 47. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 323. See also Mengüç, 2008: 122.

⁷⁸⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 31-33. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 303-305.

for the conquests.⁷⁸⁵ The possibility that Aşıkpaşazade did not have access to such information is unlikely given that he narrates all the conquests during Orhan's period in detail.

In conclusion, Aşıkpaşazade portrays Orhan as a ruler who is still humble. The death of Orhan two months after his son Süleyman Paşa died in an accident is illustrative of this as Aşıkpaşazade alludes to the fact that it may have been from grief.⁷⁸⁶ However Orhan is also portrayed as a ruler who is willing to share power with allies to expand the realms of the Ottoman polity.

Murad I. Approximately 5% of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is devoted to the reign of Murad I.⁷⁸⁷ Murad was the first Ottoman ruler to be martyred. He was knifed to death by a Serbian at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 after the Ottoman army had won the battle. Ménage viewed Murad as the saintliest of all the Ottoman rulers in terms of portrayal by Aşıkpaşazade.⁷⁸⁸ This view is not borne out upon examination of the chapters on Murad I in Aşıkpaşazade, especially if we consider that Aşıkpaşazade only devoted 5% of his history to Murad who died as a martyr and gave more coverage to Bayezid I who committed the sin of suicide. Within the context of ghaza, which is the central theme of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*, he could have potentially devoted many pages to the martyrdom of Murad. The narrative of the battle is fact-based.⁷⁸⁹ It is only in the poem of the chapter before, which describes Murad preparing for the battle, that a description of him as a true ghazi is given.

In the name of God they marched to battle
The ghazis came together and realised their promise [of ghaza]
The ghazis prayed on horseback
The sultan prayed fervently to God
To God: "the faith of Islam is yours
Submission to you without fault is my aim."⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁵ Mengüç, 2008: 123.

⁷⁸⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 47. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 323.

⁷⁸⁷ Ten pages out of the one hundred and ninety three of the Giese edition.

⁷⁸⁸ Ménage, 1961: 227.

⁷⁸⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:57. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 335.

⁷⁹⁰ Yörüdiler gazayâ niyyet idüp

Bulışmada vü oldu şimdi sözler

Gâziler kıldı at üzre namâzı. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:57. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 335.

Aşıkpaşazade uses the event of Murad bringing down one of the walls of Polanya (Bulanya) to praise the supernatural powers of Murad and of the other Ottoman rulers too.⁷⁹¹

Aşıkpaşazade does praise Murad for the conquest of Edirne⁷⁹² and for marrying his son Bayezid to a Germiyan bride⁷⁹³ but his portrayal is no more favourable than any of the other rulers. Aşıkpaşazade also continues the trend of omitting information that might taint the religious image of the sultan. Aşıkpaşazade cites the establishment of the slave tax during the reign of Murad but unlike the anonymous tradition, does not criticise its introduction. Nor does Aşıkpaşazade include the story of Akbıyık Dede who accused Murad's advisors of hoarding money and for committing illegal acts.⁷⁹⁴

Bayezid I. Approximately 7% of the text of Aşıkpaşazade covers the reign of Bayezid I.⁷⁹⁵ Wittek took the view that the defeat of Bayezid I at the Battle of Ankara in 1402 was a consequence of the abandonment of the Holy War. Wittek accused Bayezid of abandoning the ghazi spirit because he directed military campaigns against fellow Muslim states, married a Serbian princess and had close contact with the Serbian court.⁷⁹⁶ Imber has demonstrated how Wittek took at face value criticisms of Bayezid found in fifteenth-century histories, including those of Aşıkpaşazade.⁷⁹⁷

Aşıkpaşazade fulfilled an ideological function for Wittek, namely, to support his theory of the early Ottomans being ghazis. However an examination of Aşıkpaşazade's text reveals Bayezid portrayed as effortlessly trying to expand

O han itdi Hak-ıla çok niyâzı

Didi Hakkâ dîn-i Islâm senündür

İtâ'at hazrete toğrı benümdür. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:57. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 335.

⁷⁹¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:55-56. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 332.

⁷⁹² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:49. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 326.

⁷⁹³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:53-54. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 330-331.

⁷⁹⁴ Mengüç, 2008: 127.

⁷⁹⁵ Fourteen pages out of the one hundred and ninety three of the Giese edition.

⁷⁹⁶ Imber, 1986: 64-65.

⁷⁹⁷ Imber, 1986: 64-81.

the realms of the Ottoman state. Chapter 59 describes Bayezid's conquest of Alaşehir. Chapter 60 continues with Bayezid's siege of Istanbul, Chapter 61 narrates Bayezid's return to siege Istanbul and Chapter 62 narrates the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396 where Bayezid defeats a crusading army. Chapters 64-66 continue the theme of conquest as Bayezid starts his military attacks on Anatolian states.⁷⁹⁸

This is an accurate portrayal of Bayezid. He crossed between the Asian and European sections of his state, crushed opposition in Anatolia and made headway in Europe, dominating Serbia and Bulgaria. By 1400, the Ottoman state had grown from a small state in north-western Anatolia to one that was imposing with territories across Anatolia and the Balkans.⁷⁹⁹

The scholarly debate on the "Ghazi thesis" has led to the positive sections of the portrayal of Bayezid by Aşıkpaşazade not being given much scholarly attention.⁸⁰⁰ Imber argues that Wittek has misunderstood the context of Aşıkpaşazade but does not refer to the positive portrayal of Bayezid I by Aşıkpaşazade.⁸⁰¹

Despite clearly narrating how Bayezid seized lands from fellow Muslims, Aşıkpaşazade nonetheless portrays Bayezid as being a just and fair ruler to whom the conquered people submitted peacefully. Bayezid I is portrayed as only venturing to attack the emirate of Karaman after receiving complaints of the unjustness of the Karaman ruler.⁸⁰² In addition, Amasya is portrayed as being given to Bayezid by the wish of its ruler.⁸⁰³ Aşıkpaşazade also likens Bayezid to the prophet Süleyman who was well known for his just nature.⁸⁰⁴

⁷⁹⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:21-28. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 338-345.

⁷⁹⁹ Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 23.

⁸⁰⁰ There has been a lack of discussion on the positive attributes of Bayezid I in modern scholarship in relation to portrayal by Aşıkpaşazade. For example, Kafadar, 1995, Faroqhi, 1999 and Lowry 2003.

⁸⁰¹ Imber, 1986: 64-70.

⁸⁰² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:44-45. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 343-344.

⁸⁰³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 66. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 117.

⁸⁰⁴ "Süleymân 'adl idüp tutdı cihânı. Süleymân mislidür han 'âdil olsa." Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 65. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 344.

When the emirates of Aydınoğlu, Germiyan and Menteşeoğlu took refuge under Timur's protection, Aşıkpaşazade ridicules them. Aşıkpaşazade describes how the Germiyan ruler escaped from Ottoman custody and reached Timur in the company of bear trainers and Menteşeoğlu escaped in disguise and had his beard torn off.⁸⁰⁵

After the battle of Ankara Timur is described by Aşıkpaşazade as being one of the most unjust rulers ever. Aşıkpaşazade does not mention the suicide and gives the impression that Bayezid died because he did not want to return to the East with Timur.⁸⁰⁶ In addition to not mentioning the suicide, Aşıkpaşazade does not refer to Bayezid's humiliation during his captivity or his illogical behaviour that other histories of the period refer to.⁸⁰⁷ Again when describing the attributes of Bayezid, Aşıkpaşazade makes no reference to the messy end of Bayezid's life, but ends his account saying "Bayezid built more soup kitchens than his father and grandfather and every Friday he distributed alms."⁸⁰⁸

It is the criticism that Aşıkpaşazade aims at the Serbian bride of Bayezid and at his vizier Ali Paşa that has been interpreted by Wittek to imply that Bayezid had become Latinised and more inclined towards the Roman empire than pushing forward the boundaries of Islam.⁸⁰⁹ Aşıkpaşazade clearly chooses to blame Bayezid's vizier and his Christian bride when he writes that, "Ali Paşa and the infidel girl are shown as the reasons for the drinking [of wine] of sultan Bayezid."⁸¹⁰ Imber has pointed out that nowhere in his history does Aşıkpaşazade accuse Bayezid of abandoning the Holy War.⁸¹¹ Both Kafadar and Imber have argued that the criticism laid at the door of Bayezid for allowing infidels to lead him astray was actually aimed at Mehmed II.⁸¹² Aşıkpaşazade became disgruntled because of the introduction of the property tax in Istanbul

⁸⁰⁵ Chapter 67. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 66-67. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 347-348. See also Mengüç, 2008: 143.

⁸⁰⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 72. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 352.

⁸⁰⁷ Mengüç, 2008: 145.

⁸⁰⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 193. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 482.

⁸⁰⁹ Imber, 1986: 294.

⁸¹⁰ "Şarâb içmegine Han Bâyezîd'ün 'Alî Pasa kâfir kızı bulundu."

Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 23. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 341.

⁸¹¹ Imber, 1986: 69.

⁸¹² Kafadar, 1995: 97 and Imber, 1986: 70-71.

after the conquest and this forms the reason for his hatred of Rum Mehmed Pasha who Aşıkpaşazade narrates as being responsible for the taxes.

It is evident that there is less interaction between the ruler and dervishes in the reign of Bayezid. No chapter appears to depict how a particular dervish bestowed blessings on the Ottoman dynasty in exchange for some land or some kind of welfare.

The lack of such narrative could imply that Bayezid did not receive the same level of blessings or spiritual protection *himmet* from the dervish community as previous rulers and then calamity came upon him. However such an omission could be due to the unavailability of source material. The folk-tale type of source that Yahşi Fakih might have provided for earlier reigns stopped at some point in the reign of Bayezid I.

In conclusion, Bayezid I is portrayed as a ghazi. Aşıkpaşazade does indeed imply that Bayezid is led astray by his Serbian bride Olivia and his vizier Ali Pasha. However there is no textual evidence to suggest that this implied that Bayezid abandoned the cause of ghaza. There is also no evidence from the history of Aşıkpaşazade that as somebody from a ghazi-dervish background he was frustrated at the increasing centralisation of the state. The exception being the financial reforms that came with the centralisation of the state.

Mehmed II. Approximately 27% of Aşıkpaşazade's history narrates the reign of Mehmed II. This is not surprising given that Aşıkpaşazade lived through all the reign of Mehmed II, mainly based in Istanbul where he would have been close to the political happenings of the state. Aşıkpaşazade states that he personally witnessed the ghaza campaigns and adventures of Sultan Mehmed Ghazi. Aşıkpaşazade wrote down what he had seen and witnessed because otherwise he would not have done justice to the actions of the sultan.⁸¹³

⁸¹³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 123. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 412.

Aşıkpaşazade starts his narrative on Mehmed by urging him to finish with the Karaman emirate once and for all.⁸¹⁴ Aşıkpaşazade quickly passes over the act of fratricide of Mehmed II against his sibling when he came to power.

“He [Mehmed] had a small brother, from the daughter of Isfendiyyar. He sent him to his place in heaven.”⁸¹⁵

It is not long before Aşıkpaşazade mentions the property tax of *mukāṭa’a* introduced by Mehmed II.⁸¹⁶ Aşıkpaşazade criticised this tax which personally affected him. It is the criticism of Aşıkpaşazade on this tax and the introduction of other financial policies which has led modern scholarship to argue that he did not write a sanitised account of Ottoman history.

According to İnalcık, “Aşıkpaşazade’s work is deeply influenced by and reflects the violent conflicts between the elite and the state, which arose as a result of the Conqueror’s radical measures in taxation and landholding during his reign.”⁸¹⁷

Aşıkpaşazade is more critical of Bayezid I being led astray by Ali Pasha than he is of the introduction of the property tax. Aşıkpaşazade makes six negative references to Ali Pasha and in comparison, three in relation to Rum Mehmed Pasha who introduced the tax. Chapter 62 describes how Ali Pasha introduced corruption into the Ottoman state and how he taught Bayezid un-Islamic ways such as drinking.

Rum Mehmed Pasha on the other hand is not only accused of introducing the property tax, but also in Chapter 143, is held responsible for plotting the dismissal of the vizier Mahmud Pasha, also of Christian origin, but whom Aşıkpaşazade greatly respected.⁸¹⁸ Rum Mahmud Pasha is also accused of

⁸¹⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 129. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 411.

⁸¹⁵ “Ve kiçicük karındaşı var-ıdı. Isfendiyyâr kızından; anı dahı makâmına göndürdi.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 130. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 4

⁸¹⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 133-135. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 415.

⁸¹⁷ İnalcık, 1995: 144.

⁸¹⁸ Chapter 143, Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 164. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 446.

introducing the forced deportation (*sürgün*) of Turkish families to Istanbul and other regions and of plotting against the Muslims of the state. This criticism could be deemed to be excessive but clearly shows that when Aşıkpaşazade was personally and adversely affected, his own preoccupations became just as significant as those that could potentially cause harm to the sultan. For example, in the form of Ali Pasha.

In arguing that Aşıkpaşazade displays a polemical character,⁸¹⁹ modern scholarship has not appreciated the disproportionately harsh criticism Aşıkpaşazade displays with regard to the property tax.

Aşıkpaşazade continues the standard narrative that he had also afforded previous rulers. On the one hand military conquests are described. Mehmed's conquest of Trabzon and his defeat of the leader of the Akkoyunlu emirate, Uzun Hasan,⁸²⁰ the conquest of Bosnia⁸²¹ and his capture of Constantinople are narrated.⁸²² The theme of using the poems of chapters to describe the rulers as ghazis and to praise his soldiers as ghazis also continues in the reign of Mehmed II.⁸²³ Aşıkpaşazade also continues his reminder that conquests are made possible by God's will. In relation to the conquest of İskenderiye in Albania, in a section of verse, Aşıkpaşazade rhetorically reminds Mehmed that it was made possible by the will of God, because God wanted him to conquer it.⁸²⁴

Aşıkpaşazade vents his anger on the vizier of Mehmed II, Rum Mehmed Pasha for introducing the *mukāta'a* tax and for convincing Mehmed to ensure that wealthier families also had to be forcefully deported (*sürgün*) to regions in need of regeneration. Aşıkpaşazade writes that "yet another wretched Rum has

⁸¹⁹ For example, Faroqhi, 1999: 149.

⁸²⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 179. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 429.

⁸²¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 157-160. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 439-442.

⁸²² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 133-135. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 415.

⁸²³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 148. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 461.

⁸²⁴ "Anı Hak viridi gāzi şâh han'a." Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 182. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 463.

reached the station of vizier; it is the case that he has entered this faith [of Islam] like a thief.”⁸²⁵ The *mukāta’a* was a rent payable to the treasury by those who owned Byzantine houses and plots after the conquest of Istanbul.⁸²⁶

Mahmud Pasha is deemed to be a good vizier in contrast to Rum Mehmed Pasha and convinces Mehmed II to abolish the *mukāta’a* tax and the city began to prosper again.⁸²⁷ However Aşıkpaşazade held Rum Mehmed Pasha responsible for its re-introduction.

“He was the son of an infidel and became very close to the sultan and one of his viziers. The infidels from the old [Byzantine] families were his father’s friends. They warned him saying, “look these Turks have succeeded in reconstructing this city [of ours] and populating it. You have to do something. Since you are now a favourite of the sultan you can do something which would prevent these people from the regeneration and settlement so that the city will remain in our hands as before. The vizier replied. “let us bring back the *mukāta’a*.”⁸²⁸

In the above quote Aşıkpaşazade may have been describing the alienation of the Turkish aristocracy and the rise of those of Christian origin in offices of the state. The introduction of the property tax should not be viewed in isolation to other financial reforms. It was during the reign of Mehmed II that over a thousand villages were confiscated from mainly dervish elements.⁸²⁹

To put the criticism of Aşıkpaşazade of Rum Mehmed Pasha into context, Mehmed wanted to raise revenue to increase his military forces. At the same

⁸²⁵ “Bir ‘aceb Rûm vezîr oldı gine, Şöyle bil kim ogrı girdi bu dîne.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 162. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 444.

⁸²⁶ İnalçık, 1995: 145.

⁸²⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 133. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 415.

⁸²⁷ İnalçık, 1995: 145.

⁸²⁸ Pâdişâha bir vezîr geldi kim ol bir kâfirün oğlıydı, Pâdişâha gâyetde mukarreb oldı.. Ve bu İstanbul’un eski kâfirleri bu vezîrün atası dostlarıdı, yanına girdiler kim: “Hey ne’ylersin.” Didiler. “Bu Türkler girü bu şehri ma’mûr itdiler.” Didiler. “Bu senün gayretün kanı! Atan deden yurdunı ve bizüm atalarumuz dedelerümüz yurdlarını ve yurdlarımızı bu Türkler alıdılar, gözlerümüze karşı tasarruf iderler. İmdi sen hûd Pâdişâhun mukarrebisin.” Didiler. “Cehd eyle kim bu halka bir re’y ü tedbîr-ile kim bu halk bu şehrin ‘imâretinden el çekerler ve girü evvelki gibi bu şehir bizüm elümüzde kala.” Didiler. Vezîr dahı eydür: “Buna şol mukāta’a evvelde komışlardı, anı pâdişâha diyüp girü konduralum.” Didi. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 133-134. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 416.

⁸²⁹ Kafadar, 1995: 97.

time he also tried to reduce the power of any groups that could offer resistance to the state. This included the ulema and old aristocratic families.⁸³⁰

Aşıkpaşazade may have been frustrated at the marginalisation of ghazi-dervish groups as somebody who was close to and part of the ghazi-dervish milieu. Aşıkpaşazade expected some reward for the spiritual protection he reaped on the rulers.

The most likely explanation for Aşıkpaşazade's critical tone during the reign of Mehmed II was due to the fact he was affected personally by the new fiscal policies. Aşıkpaşazade had profited considerably financially from the capture of Constantinople. Aşıkpaşazade owned several houses and in addition to this, shops and depots in the district of Galata.⁸³¹ Aşıkpaşazade would obviously have to pay the *mukāta'a* tax on several properties. This is in contrast to the days when Aşıkpaşazade was rewarded for being a dervish of an illustrious background. Aşıkpaşazade narrates how he was at the siege of Belgrade under Murad II and was rewarded with booty. Aşıkpaşazade bartered for a horse from the sultan in order to transport the slaves' home that he had acquired as a form of booty. Murad II granted his wish.⁸³²

The view that the attitudes of Aşıkpaşazade should be studied further⁸³³ is relevant and is currently being undertaken in this thesis. The criticisms of Aşıkpaşazade do reflect the increased centralisation of the state as can be seen in the introduction of taxes that were not applicable before. Aşıkpaşazade always omitted narrative that would taint the ghazi image of the rulers. He also understandably blamed those around the ruler. It was inconceivable for Aşıkpaşazade to direct his anger at Mehmed II so he criticised Rum Mehmed Pasha instead. With the exception of Kafadar and İnalçık, modern scholarship has often overlooked the possibility that Aşıkpaşazade was a disgruntled old man because the Ottoman dynasty no longer rewarded him in return for his prayers. It is important to stress that Aşıkpaşazade was a disgruntled individual

⁸³⁰ İnalçık, 1995: 145.

⁸³¹ İnalçık, 1995: 141.

⁸³² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 113. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 356.

⁸³³ Faroqhi, 1999: 149.

and no where in his history does he claim to fight for the rights of others, except when he is protecting the image of the Ottoman rulers when eulogising them.

Aşıkpaşazade always portrayed the Ottoman rulers as ghazis. This is the predominant theme of his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. The portrayal of Osman as the ultimate hero of the Ottoman enterprise, despite having much less coverage than Mehmed II, by Aşıkpaşazade was perhaps retrospectively engineered by Aşıkpaşazade to portray the image of a humble and sharing ruler. The abundance of source material for the period of Osman from the *menakib* of Yahşi Fakih may also have played a role in the idealistic portrayal of Osman.

In his history Aşıkpaşazade cleverly warns Osman of the perils of befriending Christian neighbours⁸³⁴ and a couple of centuries later Aşıkpaşazade is proved right when the nemesis appears in the form of Rum Mehmed Pasha.⁸³⁵

⁸³⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 282.

⁸³⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 133-134. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 416.

ii. Aşıkpaşazade and the concept of *istimâlet*.

The last section undertook a comparative portrayal of the Ottoman rulers by Aşıkpaşazade and this section argues that the concept of *istimâlet* is not generally borne out based on an examination of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. Having stated the above, a determination of the applicability of a concept that has been analysed of late by scholars such as Lowry solely within the context of whether the early Ottomans were ghazis is problematic. It is problematic because the concept of *istimâlet* has only been examined by Lowry to refute Wittek's "Ghazi thesis." As a result of this, the complex and tricky nature of the early Ottomans' relations with their neighbours has been undermined. In addition, the actual meaning of *istimâlet* is merely to "lean or to incline towards" but has been interpreted as being a policy of accommodation by modern scholarship.

Using the text of Aşıkpaşazade, Lowry argues that the concept of *istimâlet* was a reality in the years of early Ottoman expansion.

To Lowry the existence of *istimâlet*, "a policy of accommodation," proved that the early Ottomans could not be ghazis.⁸³⁶ According to Lowry, Aşıkpaşazade provides an insight into the heroic deeds of the Ottoman state prior to the time at which they were sanitised by the sixteenth-century imperial chroniclers.⁸³⁷ The determination of whether the early Ottomans were indeed ghazis in any shape or form is beyond the scope of this thesis but it is argued that Lowry's use of Aşıkpaşazade for the early period is selective.

Lowry main argument is that the early Ottomans could not have been ghazis because they did not adopt the policy of forced conversion and employed Christians within their ranks. Lowry cites the example of a percentage of the Ottoman ruling class in the fifteenth-century Balkans still being Christian as

⁸³⁶ Lowry, 2003: 92.

⁸³⁷ Lowry, 2003: 92.

evidence.⁸³⁸ Lowry uses the concept of *istimâlet* to refute Wittek's "Ghazi thesis." Lowry argues that,

"A thesis which posits the reasons for Ottoman success as emerging from a dedication to spreading Islam at the expense of Christians is impossible to sustain if the ruling elite of the state thus formed is composed of admixture of Muslim and Christian administrators."⁸³⁹

There are elements of the *istimâlet* policy that can be seen to apply to Ottoman rule. Recent scholarship has described the process of allowing Balkan states to continue as vassals post-conquest as being illustrative of the process of *istimâlet*.⁸⁴⁰ The Ottomans clearly co-operated with the Christians when it suited their interests. Orhan married the daughter of John Kantakouzenos, who became Byzantine co-emperor in 1347. This was clearly a strategic alliance which Aşıkpaşazade clearly chose to omit from his history. The fact that the Ottomans co-operated with Christians is not in dispute.⁸⁴¹

It is demonstrated that the continued prevalence of the theme of *Istimâlet* in modern scholarship owes more to its ideological implications than it does to the 'reality' as narrated by Aşıkpaşazade.

In an article published in 1991, İnalçık introduced the theme of *Istimâlet* into the study of Ottoman history. İnalçık introduces the concept as follows:

"In the early period of their expansion, the Ottomans pursued, primarily in order to facilitate conquest, or to make the indigenous population favourably disposed a policy called *istimâlet*."⁸⁴²

İnalçık also provides the rationale of the early Ottomans pursuing the policy of *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

⁸³⁸ Ibid.

⁸³⁹ Lowry, 2003: 92.

⁸⁴⁰ Barkey, 2008: 87.

⁸⁴¹ Zachariadou, 1995: 52.

⁸⁴² İnalçık, 1991: 409.

stipulations of Islamic Law concerning non-Muslims who had submitted without resistance.”⁸⁴³

The above describes the theory of *istimâlet*, but in practice it entailed the continuation, especially in the early years of the Ottoman domain, of the laws and customs, the status and privileges that had existed before the Ottoman conquests.⁸⁴⁴

Since İnalcık introduced the concept of *istimâlet* two decades ago, he has not since then included a discussion of the concept in any of his publications. His *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Toplum ve Ekonomi*⁸⁴⁵ published in 1993 brought together fifteen of his articles from over the span of his long career. *Istimâlet* is not mentioned. In addition, İnalcık has not demonstrated the concept in reference to Aşıkpaşazade. Neither was *istimâlet* mentioned by İnalcık when he was interviewed three years before he introduced the concept. İnalcık mentions the role of small peasant family labour within the Ottoman agrarian system as revealing the nature of the Ottoman social and political structure.⁸⁴⁶ There is no mention of *istimâlet*.

Lowry argues that İnalcık did not fully discuss the ramifications of *istimâlet* because it contradicted İnalcık’s view on the early Ottomans being ghazis.⁸⁴⁷ The abandonment of the concept of *Istimâlet* by İnalcık so soon after its conception is unusual. It is clear however that modern scholarship far from abandoning the concept ensures it is regularly revived.⁸⁴⁸

It is noteworthy that Aşıkpaşazade did use the term *Istimâlet* in his history but only twice.⁸⁴⁹ The first usage occurs in Chapter 24 and the second in Chapter 38. To Aşıkpaşazade, the concept of *Istimâlet* was a principle that was linked to

⁸⁴³ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁴ İnalcık 1991: 409.

⁸⁴⁵ İnalcık, 1993.

⁸⁴⁶ Gallagher, 1994: 163.

⁸⁴⁷ Lowry, 2003: 92. See also İnalcık, 1980: 71-79.

⁸⁴⁸ See for example, Lowry, 2003: 91-92, 99, 103, 106, 109-110 and 112 and Barkey, 2008: 87.

⁸⁴⁹ Chapter 24. Aşıkpaşazade uses the term *istimâlet* in relation to the surrender of Bursa. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 38. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 299. Chapter 38 narrates the capture of the province of Karasi. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 43. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 320.

the concept of granting mercy for those that had surrendered without force. With reference to the surrender of Bursa, Aşıkpaşazade writes that. “They granted the inhabitants *istimâlet* and ensured the principle of showing mercy was in place.”⁸⁵⁰

Lowry fails to cite the most readily identifiable example of the so-called policy of *istimâlet* in the history of Aşıkpaşazade. Within the opening pages of his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*, Aşıkpaşazade narrates how Osman ghazi was against the idea of laying ruin to conquered areas, after the conquest of Karahisar, because then there would be no prosperity and regeneration. Osman goes on to make it clear that he had to feign friendship (*müdara*) with his infidel neighbours.⁸⁵¹

This can be deemed to be an example of Osman accommodating the Christian subjects who came under his rule. However the adoption of such a policy does not necessarily imply that Islam was not important to the early Ottomans.

As Kafadar has argued, the critics of Wittek assume that the Ottomans had to be orthodox ghazis in order to be considered as ghazis⁸⁵² and that no thought is given to what they, the early Ottomans, thought to be Islam.⁸⁵³ The view that the early Ottomans had to have been orthodox Muslims in order to spread the word of Islam undermines the heterodox practices that were still current in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Anatolia. Mélikoff cites the possible substrates of shamanism or other beliefs professed by the Turks such as the belief in reincarnation or metempsychosis as examples.⁸⁵⁴ It is logical that such beliefs did not find their way into Aşıkpaşazade as it would have undermined his portrayal of the Ottomans as ghazis.

In addition to arguments regarding the religiosity of the Ottomans, common sense prevails that there would be no benefit to Osman laying ruin to newly

⁸⁵⁰ “Halkına istimâlet virüp emn ü emân-ıla yirlü yirine kodılar.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 38. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 299.

⁸⁵¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 282.

⁸⁵² Kafadar, 1995: 52.

⁸⁵³ Kafadar, 1995: 53.

⁸⁵⁴ Mélikoff, 1992: 131.

conquered territories thereby rendering towns un-inhabitable and stemming the flow of revenue.

Aşıkpaşazade is quick to warn Osman of the perils of trusting infidels:

“It is necessary to befriend your neighbour
Beware of your neighbour so he does not become an enemy like a snake
Take precautions against anybody you befriend
Those who did not take precautions lost their head along the way
He whose faith is wrong in his heart and his word a lie
A friend cannot be made of an infidel.”⁸⁵⁵

It is within the above context of not trusting the infidels and ‘feigned friendship’ that Aşıkpaşazade narrates Osman leaving the moveable goods he did not require in the hands of his Christian neighbour, the *tekfur* of Bilecik.⁸⁵⁶ To Lowry, this was an illustration of *istimâlet* at play.⁸⁵⁷ If the narrative of Aşıkpaşazade is followed through, it is clear that Aşıkpaşazade has a different message to relay. Osman trusted the *tekfur* of Bilecik. When asked why he afforded the *tekfur* with respect, he replies that,

“They are our neighbours, when we arrived here, we were in a bad way, and they treated us well. The proper thing to do is to show them respect and kindness.”⁸⁵⁸

Aşıkpaşazade’s message is that the infidels are not to be trusted and by extension that accommodating them does not work. Aşıkpaşazade then sets up the scenario for this to be played out as the *tekfur* of Bilecik plots against Osman and plans his demise.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁵ “Vâcibdür döstlik itmek konşı-y-ılan
Sakin kim konşını olmaya yılan
Kime kim döstlik itsen it hazer sen
Hazersüzdür başı yollarda kalan
Hâssa kim kâfir olsa döst idinmez
Dilinde dîni bâtil kavli yalan.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 16. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 284.

⁸⁵⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 18. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 286.

⁸⁵⁷ Lowry, 2003: 68.

⁸⁵⁸ “Konşularumuzdur. Biz bu vilâyete garîb geldük, bunlar bizi hış tutdılar. İmdi bize dahı vâcibdür kim bunlara hurmet idevüz.” Didi. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 16. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 284.

⁸⁵⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 18. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 286.

Lowry cites the inclusion of Osman's ally and comrade-in-arms Christian Köse Mihal in Aşıkpaşazade as an example of *istimalet*. However through this example and others Lowry cites in relation to the history of Aşıkpaşazade, he seems to fail to appreciate the motives and rationale that lies behind much of Aşıkpaşazade's narrative.

Köse Mihal was a Christian who according to Aşıkpaşazade forged a close friendship with Osman. Köse Mihal aided Osman in the early conquests such as of Harmankaya⁸⁶⁰ and Bilecik.⁸⁶¹ According to Lowry, the actual surrender of Bursa is also attributed to Köse Mihal by Aşıkpaşazade.⁸⁶² Orhan, who was charged with the conquest of Bursa by his father Osman, did, according to Aşıkpaşazade, ask Köse Mihal to act as a messenger and to ask the Byzantine vizier Saroz to surrender.⁸⁶³ However it was Orhan who is depicted by Aşıkpaşazade as negotiated the surrender and engaging a dialogue with Saroz regarding the surrender of the city, not Köse Mihal. Saroz chose to remain behind and not leave with the rest of the population to Constantinople. When Orhan asks Saroz why he finally surrendered. Saroz replied as follows.

"We surrendered for a number of reasons. The first is that we have witnessed your state grow bigger by the day. Whereas our good for nothing state was increasingly unlucky. The second [reason] is that your father attacked us and took our villages. They submitted to you. We understand that they are now comfortable....the third [reason] is that our tekfur accrued a lot of property but there was no benefit to this...this castle became a prison for us. The fourth [reason] is that our ruler was lustful and incapable."⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁶⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 15-16. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 283-284.

⁸⁶¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 17-18. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 285-287.

⁸⁶² Lowry, 2003: 56.

⁸⁶³ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 29-30. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 299-300.

⁸⁶⁴ "Bir niçe sebeb vardır bunalmamuza ve hisârı virdüğümüze," didi. "Biri budur kim sizün devletünüz yevmen-fe-yevmen ziyâde oldu, gördük ve bizüm şom devletünüz dutup mün'akis oldu. Ve bir dahı kim baban üzerümüze havâle yaptı gitdi. Anun devleti köylerümüzi dahı zabt itdi. Niçe ansunlar, râhat oldılar. Ve bir dahı bu kim tekürümüz mâl yıgdi, mâl fâyide virmedi. Bu hisâr bize habs oldu. Ve bir dahı bu kim pâdişâh zebûn ola vilâyet tîz harâb olurmuş." Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 29. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 301.

Lowry adopts the view that Saroz chose to remain behind and become an Ottoman because he would be better off financially.⁸⁶⁵ To Lowry, allowing a Christian to join their ranks was evidence that the Ottomans were pursuing a policy of *istimâlet*.⁸⁶⁶ Subsequently, Aşıkpaşazade's inclusion of this in his history proved that not only could the early Ottomans not be ghazis, but that they accommodated non-Muslim subjects.

Lowry takes at face value Aşıkpaşazade's narrative on Köse Mihal and the surrender of Bursa but he ignores the key messages of Aşıkpaşazade that do not support his view of the policy of *istimâlet*. Köse Mihal, if indeed he was a historical personage,⁸⁶⁷ converted to Islam. This is the all-encompassing point for Aşıkpaşazade. This was a clear-cut case of the triumph of Islam. Aşıkpaşazade depicts Osman as inviting Köse Mihal to convert to Islam. Köse Mihal accepts the invitation and goes to kiss Osman's hand as a sign of respect.⁸⁶⁸ Aşıkpaşazade also provides the date of Köse Mihal's conversion as 1305.⁸⁶⁹ This is significant as Aşıkpaşazade only generally provided dates for conquests, accessions and deaths of rulers. Therefore he regarded the conversion of Köse Mihal as important because he was no longer an infidel but 'one of them.'

With regard to the surrender of Bursa, Aşıkpaşazade also has a key message to portray. Saroz's speech may have indicated that he would be better off under Ottoman rule but it also painted a picture of Osman being the better ruler. In contrast to the incompetents of the *tekmur* of Bursa, Osman is depicted as the better ruler.

"The tekfur Baras was in an unenviable position at the hands of Osman
It befits a tekfur to suffer degrading humiliation."⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁵ Lowry, 2003: 57.

⁸⁶⁶ Lowry, 2003: 92.

⁸⁶⁷ See Imber for the view that the figure of Köse Mihal was in fact legend. Imber, 1993.

⁸⁶⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 24-25. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 294-295.

⁸⁶⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 25. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 295.

⁸⁷⁰ "Baras tekfür zebûn Orhan elinde
Yaraşur tekfüre kim çeke zillet." Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 30. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 301.

Osman was a just ruler but more importantly to Aşıkpaşazade, he took Bursa as a ghazi. “The ghazi captured Bursa with ease. The tales that I wrote are proof.”⁸⁷¹

Lowry takes Aşıkpaşazade at his word for the narrative on Köse Mihal and the capture of Bursa, but does not refer to the motif of ghaza that runs through Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. Even if it is the case that Aşıkpaşazade over-compensates with the ghaza motif to ensure that looking back the Ottoman rulers were considered to be suitable ghazis, Aşıkpaşazade’s motivations for doing so should be examined.

Lowry acknowledges that the “polemical passages” of Aşıkpaşazade which reflect the conflict between the state and the traditional ruling elite need to be weeded out in order to get to what Aşıkpaşazade is really trying to say. Lowry refers to the term “polemical passages” with reference to İnalcık.⁸⁷²

As mentioned earlier, İnalcık provides evidence in relation to the harsh fiscal policies of Mehmed II and how it would have affected Aşıkpaşazade.⁸⁷³ İnalcık states that in order to criticise the policies of Mehmed II that Aşıkpaşazade chose the sultan’s forbearers as examples, praising empathically their good acts and deeds.⁸⁷⁴ It may be within this context that Lowry views Aşıkpaşazade’s portrayal of the early Ottoman rulers. Essentially Aşıkpaşazade portrayed Osman and Orhan as being ghazis by applying a retrospective gloss.⁸⁷⁵

Lowry argues that the early Ottomans were not ghazis but does not discuss Aşıkpaşazade’s portrayal of ghaza in-depth and yet treats as historical fact

⁸⁷¹ Asân aldı vü Bursa’yı ol gâzi. Menâkıbı ki yazdum oldı bürhân.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 30. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 300.

⁸⁷² Lowry, 2003: 56.

⁸⁷³ İnalcık, 1995: 144-147.

⁸⁷⁴ İnalcık, 1995: 144.

⁸⁷⁵ Examples include a reference to Murad II performing ghaza in Chapter 94. Giese ed. 1929: 90. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 378. Chapter 165 refers to Bayezid II executing ghaza. Giese ed. 1929: 190. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 474. Chapter 124 refers to God putting the “order of the Shariah into the hands of the han [Mehmed II].” “Şeriatin nizamını hanın elinde koydu.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 134. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 417.

Aşıkpaşazade's accounts of the early conquests and those who participated in them. According to Lowry, Aşıkpaşazade depicted Osman and Orhan as ghazis but that this meant nothing more than fighting where necessary, with the aim of gaining booty and slaves, not with the vigour of the proselytizing zealot. Lowry goes on to argue that the aim of conquests was not to spread Islam among its Christian neighbours.⁸⁷⁶ After citing the example of Saroz joining the Ottoman ranks Lowry argues that the common goal that brought together different ethnicities and religions under the Ottoman banner was the desire for plunder and wealth.⁸⁷⁷

There is no denying that booty was an important reward of ghaza as portrayed by Aşıkpaşazade. Ghaza led to the fulfilment of the ghazis in different ways, one of which was booty.⁸⁷⁸ Despite Aşıkpaşazade providing ample examples of ghazis being rewarded with booty,⁸⁷⁹ different groups were also involved in the early conquests and conversions to Islam too.

Aşıkpaşazade lists the social groups on the frontier who would have had a role in spreading the word of Islam and whose presence was a reflection of the religious reality on the frontier.⁸⁸⁰ These groups would have included dervishes and others who may not have been soldiers physically fighting for the prospect of booty and may have tried to win Christians around to converting. One might argue that this could also be regarded as the early Ottomans 'accommodating' Christians too.

Lowry's view is that the aim of the conquests was not to spread Islam amongst Christian populations. Even if Aşıkpaşazade exaggerated the extent to which the Ottoman rulers were ghazis, captured regions were Islamicised.⁸⁸¹ It is a structural formula in Aşıkpaşazade that the next step after a conquest is almost

⁸⁷⁶ Lowry, 2003: 69.

⁸⁷⁷ Lowry, 2003: 56-57.

⁸⁷⁸ See Chapters 32-34 for the fulfilment of ghazis that follows a particular sequence. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 38-40. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 312-314.

⁸⁷⁹ Examples include; Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 38-39. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 313-314 and Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 112. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 398.

⁸⁸⁰ These groups were the *Ghazis and Alps, Ahīs, Bājiyān-i Rūm* and *Abdālan- i Rūm*.

⁸⁸¹ See Imber: 1990 for a detailed chronological account of Ottoman conquests from 1300-1481.

always the narrating of the Islamisation of the region. This can take place either within the context of ghaza or as a separate process after conquest.

In Chapter 48 which narrates the conquest of Biga under Murad II, Aşıkpaşazade writes that.

“They took as slaves the women and children. The ghazis found plenty of booty. Then they turned the churches into mosques and gave their [the infidels’] homes to the Muslims.”⁸⁸²

In Chapter 14, an earlier chapter on Osman, Aşıkpaşazade describes how churches were converted into mosques. Chapter 136 is most illustrative of how the process of Islamisation of a newly conquered area was a re-occurring theme in Aşıkpaşazade. After the conquest of Trabzon by Mehmed II, Aşıkpaşazade states that,

“Following previous practice after the capture of every castle, the same was implemented in Trabzon. Mosques and theological colleges were built. Muslims from other regions were settled [in Trabzon] and the freehold of houses left empty by the infidels was given to Muslims. The castle was refortified.”⁸⁸³

Even if it is argued that religion played no role in the conquests of the early Ottoman and that Aşıkpaşazade, writing in his old age, painted a rosy picture of the early years, how can the Islamisation of conquered areas, which was a historical reality, be explained?

With reference to the policy of *istimâlet* in Bursa, aside from Osman ensuring that the inhabitants could leave for Constantinople unscathed,⁸⁸⁴ there is no further information in Aşıkpaşazade provided on Bursa that suggests that *istimâlet* was an ongoing reality at the time of the conquest in 1326.

⁸⁸² “Dişilerinve oğlancukların esîr itdiler. Gâziler ganîmete gark oldılar ve ba’de kiliselerin ve mescidler itdiler ve evlerin dahı Müslümânlar meskenler idindiler.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 51. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 327.

⁸⁸³ “Padişah daha once fethettiği her hisarda yaptığını Trabzon’da da yaptı. İçinde mescit ve medrese yapıdı. Başka yerlerden Müslümanların evlerini sürüp getirdiler ve boş kalan kâfirlerin evlerini gelen Müslümanlara mülküyle verdiler. Hisari sağlamlaştırdılar.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 153. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 435.

⁸⁸⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 28. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 299.

Lowry also ignores Aşıkpaşazade's narrative where the ghazis lay ruin to a conquered region and where there is no concern for the welfare, or accommodation, of the local Christians.

Chapter 153 describes the ghaza of the Karaboğdan region under Mehmed II. Aşıkpaşazade describes how the infidel soldiers were killed. Aşıkpaşazade goes on to reveal the fate of the inhabitants of the area.

“They took many slaves and the ghazis were everywhere in the province and did not leave anywhere prosperous. They laid ruin to everywhere and made the local girls their women.”⁸⁸⁵

Lowry again takes Aşıkpaşazade at face value in Chapter 13 on the narration of the capture of Yarhisar in the reign of Osman. Lowry takes the view that Osman allowing the Christian villagers to stay in their own homes and ensuring the prosperity of the region demonstrated the policy of *istimâlet*.⁸⁸⁶

Aşıkpaşazade's narrative does accord with Lowry's use of the pursuance of *istimâlet*, but if Aşıkpaşazade's history is taken at face value, then his attitudes need to be explored in relation to and not separately to his narrative on *istimâlet*. In Chapter 13, Aşıkpaşazade does write that “the infidels were better off now than under their own rule.”⁸⁸⁷ However a few lines later, Aşıkpaşazade writes that,

“Osman ghazi tricked them [the infidels]
But he knew that they were perfidious
Whatever Osman ghazi did was right
He would do it to the infidels again”⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁵ “Ve hem nicelerin dahı esîr itdiler ve cemî ol vilâyetde gâzilerün elleri irdügi yirde şinlik ve âbandânlık komadılar; yıkup harâb itdiler. Yıkıldılar ve yakıldılar, harâb itdiler...Ve cemîle mahbûbelerin gâziler bağırlarına basdılar.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 179. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 461.

⁸⁸⁶ Lowry, 2003: 69.

⁸⁸⁷ “Vakıtları kâfir zamânından dahı eyü oldı.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 19. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 287.

⁸⁸⁸ “Gâzi ‘Osmân ki itdi hîle buna
Gâzi ‘Osmân ne itdiyse hak itdi
Yine eder kâfirlere tekrâr.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 20. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 288.

Again Aşıkpaşazade is warning against friendship with the infidels and implying that Osman's intentions cannot be considered to be sincere towards the infidels given how perfidious and untrustworthy they were.

In conclusion, Lowry's aim was to disprove Wittek's "Ghazi thesis." Lowry chose to view the passages from Aşıkpaşazade that 'proved' the early Ottomans 'met half way' and accommodated the Christians as a historical reality. In doing so, he dismissed all of the references to ghaza, despite it being a very obvious theme in Aşıkpaşazade, true or not.⁸⁸⁹ More importantly, he avoided any evaluation of the views and attitudes of Aşıkpaşazade towards the infidels within the context of *istimâlet*. Despite the obvious distrust and dislike of the Christians by Aşıkpaşazade, he repeated the point, as can be seen from the above example, that the aim of the early Ottomans was never to befriend the Christian population under their rule but to ensure the prosperity of newly captured regions.

To take the contents of Aşıkpaşazade at face value overestimates its historical value. Aşıkpaşazade's portrayal of Ottoman co-operation with the 'infidels' is, as demonstrated, biased. In addition it is not historically sound to base the existence of a theory on examples in Aşıkpaşazade where the key players are fictional as is the case of Köse Mihal.

⁸⁸⁹ According to Imber, Aşıkpaşazade uses ghazi both as a title of the Ottoman Sultans and in the general sense of 'warrior.' He also uses ghaza in the general sense of 'war or campaign.' Imber, 2000: 176.

iii. An evaluation of the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*

The previous section explored the concept of *istimâlet* in Aşıkpaşazade's history. It concluded that although examples of *istimâlet* are identifiable in Aşıkpaşazade, they need to be viewed in conjunction with not only his attitudes but his inclusion of the motif of ghaza in his history.

This section examines the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* and aims to determine if any kind of categorisation of the poetry is possible. Köprülü took the view that the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade was "deficient, lacking in taste and without melody."⁸⁹⁰ Kissling described the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade as "very weak artistic products."⁸⁹¹ The prosody of the poems in Aşıkpaşazade has also been described as being "very rough."⁸⁹² However, as Prochazka-Eisl has pointed out, it is unfair to judge the poetry of Aşıkpaşazade by the standards of Divan poetry.⁸⁹³

Aşıkpaşazade tends to cast the narrative of the prose of his chapters in direct speech and writes in what has been described as "simple, unaffected Turkish."⁸⁹⁴ According to Kissling, the language in the poetry sections tends to be more archaic than the language in the prose.⁸⁹⁵ The poetry in Aşıkpaşazade can be described as moralising because it expresses and conveys moral judgements. Two hundred and three sections of poetry appear in total in the Giese edition. The form and style of the poems appear to be homogenous, so it can be assumed that they were composed by the same author.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁰ "Kusurlu, zevksiz ve ahenksizdir," Köprülü, 1983: 709.

⁸⁹¹ Kissling, 1936: 66.

⁸⁹² Ménage, 1961: 222.

⁸⁹³ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 94.

⁸⁹⁴ Ménage, 1961: 10.

⁸⁹⁵ Kissling, 1936: 66.

⁸⁹⁶ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 94.

Aşıkpaşazade's *mahlas* (pen-name) of 'Âşıkî appears in roughly one third of the sections of poems.⁸⁹⁷ However because of the homogenous nature of the verse, there is no reason to assume that those that did not carry his *mahlas* were not written by Aşıkpaşazade.⁸⁹⁸

In 90%⁸⁹⁹ of cases where Aşıkpaşazade has used his pen-name of 'Âşıkî, it does not fit with the meter of the poem in question.⁹⁰⁰ 'Âşıkî usually appears at the beginning of the final couplet of a poem (verse). Unlike chroniclers like Ahmedî who composed in the Persian *mesnevi* (*mathnawi*) form of rhyming couplets, Aşıkpaşazade only used the *mesnevi* rhyming for sections of verse in the Introduction, Chapter 32 and pages 211 and 213 of Giese's appendix. He mostly employed the aa ba type of rhyme in his verses.⁹⁰¹

In general, the verse in Aşıkpaşazade does not fit with the syllabic meter and does not follow the criteria for syllabic verse.⁹⁰² As an example, Aşıkpaşazade's verse does not have an equal number of syllables in each poem.⁹⁰³ The following examples demonstrate that Aşıkpaşazade's verse do not incorporate the syllabic rhyming meter, particularly with reference to verse that can be deemed to be autobiographical. As an example, the word 'Âşıkî does not fit in with the *hezej* (syllabic) rhyming meter.⁹⁰⁴ In Chapter 19 that describes the ghaza raids of Osman, in the last two *Beyts* of the chapter, Aşıkpaşazade writes that,

“In return for his ghaza, Osman ghazi introduced justice
He appointed prayers for his descendants
I 'Âşıkî had this idea of writing these tales
From the son of Orhan's imam.”⁹⁰⁵

⁸⁹⁷ Approximately 28%. Fifty five times based on Giese's edition of Aşıkpaşazade.

⁸⁹⁸ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 95.

⁸⁹⁹ Forty nine times based on Giese's edition of Aşıkpaşazade.

⁹⁰⁰ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 95.

⁹⁰¹ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 96.

⁹⁰² See Dilçin, 1983: 39-41 for the criteria of syllabic rhyming metre.

⁹⁰³ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁴ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 95.

⁹⁰⁵ “Kodı Osmân gazâyı ‘adl u bezli
Neseb ü nesline du’â komışdur
‘Âşıkî bu menâkıb yazmağına
İmâmı Orhan oğlından komışdur.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 24.
Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 294.

Another example of a poem that breaks with the rhyming scheme when it reaches an autobiographical excerpt is the poem that in appears in Chapter 13 which narrates the marriage of Orhan to Lülüfer.

“When the mine of jewels became apparent
“The treasure (the seekers of) came from near and afar
‘Âşıkî wrote this treasure-mine of tales
I had met his master long ago thanks to God.”⁹⁰⁶

The inconsistency of the rhyming of the poems where Aşıkpaşazade mentions himself could mean that he edited poems he had learnt from Yahşi Fakih. As he clearly states in the poem of Chapter 19, cited above, his tales originated from the son of the imam of Orhan, who was Yahşi Fakih. This means that Aşıkpaşazade may have added to already existing poems therefore breaking the rhyming scheme of the poems.

Prochazka-Eisl describes the style of Aşıkpaşazade’s poetry as clumsy because he adopts ‘visual’ rhymes such as “etdi-gitdi-dutdi.”⁹⁰⁷ The use of such rhymes are legitimate in the use of Aşıkpaşazade’s poetry but are repeated often therefore leaving the impression of a clumsy and repetitive style.⁹⁰⁸ This rhyming is one of the rhetorical rules of all Islamic poetry. An example of the use of such rhyming can be seen in the following poem of Chapter 36:

“Sürüldü tedbîri Karasi gitdi
Yazıldı defteri Orhan’i tutdu
Bu çarhun ferzini atdı Karasi
Çün Orhan şâhı sürdi mât itdi
Cihânda kende pile kaldı tolaşdı
Ecel atın binüp kemendin atdı
Dürüldi Karasi defteri yandı

⁹⁰⁶ “Cevâhir ma’dini çün zâhir oldı
Tâlibler cem’ olur yakın ırakdan
‘Âşıkî yazdı ma’din-i menâkib
Bunun üstadını buldumdı çokdan.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 19.
Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 288.

⁹⁰⁷ “Did-went-captured/took.” Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 96.

⁹⁰⁸ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 96.

Most of the 170 chapters of Aşıkpaşazade have a poem attached to them. The poem usually comes at the end of a chapter describing a ‘historical’ event. However there are exceptions to this rule. Chapter 23 contains four poems and Chapter 16 contains no verse at all. These are exceptions to the average of one, or sometimes two sections of poetry per chapter.

Prochazka-Eisl identifies three categories that the verse in Aşıkpaşazade can roughly be categorised into. The first category is poems that are of a laudatory nature and aim to praise and legitimise the sovereignty of the Ottoman dynasty. The second category is narrative poems which carry over historical narrative from the prose of the chapter. The third category is didactic poems with general moralising or religious content.⁹¹⁰

In addition to the three categories identified by Prochazka-Eisl, a fourth category can be identified. These are poems that are autobiographical and provide detail on the life of Aşıkpaşazade that is in addition to the basic literary tool of including his *mahlas* (pen-name) of ‘Âşıkî. These poems are examined in the final chapter which assesses the value of Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* from an autobiographical perspective.

According to Prochazka-Eisl, more than a quarter of the two hundred and three poems in Aşıkpaşazade can be categorised as those that aim to praise the Ottomans and by doing so to legitimise their rule.⁹¹¹ In contrast to this estimation of Prochazka-Eisl, at least 40% of the poems in Aşıkpaşazade’s history can be placed into this category . It could be argued that Prochazka-Eisl’s figure underestimates the number of poems that solely praise either a particular ruler or the Ottoman dynasty given that 15% more sections of poem that fall into this category can be identified. In addition, the figure of a quarter of all poems, cited by Prochazka-Eisl does not account for those ‘poems’ which clearly fit into more than one category.

⁹⁰⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 42. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 317.

⁹¹⁰ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 107.

⁹¹¹ Ibid.

A basic example of a verse that aims to praise or eulogise the Ottomans can be seen through the following example from Chapter 164. The prose of the chapter narrates some of the Anatolian conquests of Bayezid II and the verse is one of a general nature that praises Bayezid II.

“This khan saved the oppressed from cruelty
All those that have faith pray for him
Know that his Han's order is like the breath of Jesus.
These lands that were left for dead but found life (again)
The reign of Bayezid khan can be likened
to the time of Süleyman the Prophet.”⁹¹²

A second example of a poem that falls into the first category of praising the ruler and justifying rule is the poem of Chapter 40. The prose describes the ghaza exploits of Süleyman Pasha undertaken in the reign of Orhan.

“Süleymân has came into the world, Süleymân
Who showed no mercy to the infidels
He left the country of the infidels in an outcry
It is now the reign of the Turk
In order to escape from the hand of Süleymân
You have to submit to him and convert
Otherwise their life would be in prison
His devilishness has remained by itself this way.”⁹¹³

At least 30% of the poems of the eulogising poems that fall into the first category either praise the Ottoman dynasty in general or Aşıkpaşazade includes general praise for the dynasty within a poem that praises a particular

⁹¹² “Zâlimden halâs itdi mazlûmı han
Du’âlar itdi cümle ehl-i î mân
Bu han’un hükm- i îsâ-nefesin bil
Bu iklim ölmüş-idi buldılar cân
Bâyezîd han devri neye benzer.
Nebîler içre san geldi Süleymân.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:190.
Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 473.

⁹¹³ “Süleymân geldi dünyâya Süleymân
Ki kâfir divlerine virmez amân
Bırakdı velvele küffâr-iline
Şu dîv kurtıla Süleymân elinden
Gelüp Süleymân’a getüre î mân
V’egerni cümle ‘ömri habsde kaldı
Hemân dîvligidür kendüye kalan.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:48. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 321-322.

ruler. The poem of Chapter 118 is an example of Aşıkpaşazade praising the Ottoman dynasty as opposed to a particular ruler.

“The sons of Osman are constantly waging ghaza
The infidels of the lands have been converted to Islam
They only showed mercy to those who begged for it
Not to those who tried to escape
This family became world-class ghazis
Even [the Prophet] Süleyman envied this dynasty.”⁹¹⁴

The poem of Chapter 29 combines praise for Orhan and general praise for the Ottoman dynasty. Aşıkpaşazade also brings in his own lineage by stating that his great grandfather ‘Âşık Paşa also prayed for the Ottomans.

Aşıkpaşazade also includes information regarding the genealogy of the Ottomans which is said to have only developed in the latter half of the fifteenth century.⁹¹⁵ Therefore such detail might have been added to an already existing poem or it may date in its entirety from the period when the Ottoman dynastic myth began to circulate.

“It's a legacy for everyone to pray for the dynasty of Osman
Prayer provides legacy for the Ottoman dynasty
Since they are free of the people's worldly concerns
‘Âşık Paşa prayed for Orhan
Including everybody from the line of Gök Alp”⁹¹⁶

The theme of ghaza and the ghazis as a leitmotif appear consistently in the poems that fall into the first category of poems of a eulogising nature. The

⁹¹⁴ “Gazâlar kim idüpdür Âl-i ‘Osmân
Vilâyet kâfirin itdi Müslümân
Kaçanı komadılar yağılarda
Dileyene dahı virdiler amân
Bu âl kim ‘âlem içre gâzi oldı
Bu âlün müştakı oldı Süleymân.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:122.
Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 405.

⁹¹⁵ Imber, 1987: 7-27.

⁹¹⁶ “Mîrâsdur du’â almak Âl-i ‘Osmân
Fâriqlardur bu halkun dünyesinden
‘Âşık Paşa du’â Orhan’a itdi
Bile Gök Alp nesli cümlesinden.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:34. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 309.

Ottomans led the path to ghaza.⁹¹⁷ Aşıkpaşazade's central focus is always the sultan and his dynasty but he does not neglect the role of the ghazis. This may be because Aşıkpaşazade, as explored in the next chapter, himself participated in ghazi raids and his audience was probably made up of soldiers on campaign⁹¹⁸ who he considered to be ghazis. 20% of poems that fall into the first category make some reference to ghazis, either to their role in conquest or their reward in the form of booty or property or marriage to infidel maidens.⁹¹⁹ In Chapter 44 Aşıkpaşazade narrates how the ghazis prosper and how good fortune awaits the ghazis in this life and the next one.⁹²⁰

Aşıkpaşazade's concern to include the ghazis can be seen in Chapter 57 where the ghazis prayed on horseback on the battlefield of Kosovo under their leader Murad I.⁹²¹

A further theme can be identified within the first category that praises the Ottomans. Aşıkpaşazade uses poetry as a device to praise or criticise those around the sultan. The poem of Chapter 55 which praises the vizier of Murad I, Hayreddin Pasha can be considered to be an example of this.

“Hayreddin Pasha conquered climes
Every clime found peace and quite and became comfortable
He performed good service for the Ottomans
His service [to the Ottomans] was appreciated by every land and clime
He was accepted next to the Han as a Pasha
Every clime should recognize this
When it became known that Hayreddin was now vizier
Orders were issued and gifts bestowed in every clime
It was Hayreddin who arranged this for every clime
And every clime welcomed that
Bribery used to open many a door
This clime now was subjected to order.”⁹²²

⁹¹⁷ Chapter 57 where Murad I leads the ghazis in battle at the Battle of Kosovo can be considered to be an example of this. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:57. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 335.

⁹¹⁸ İnalçık, 1995: 143-144.

⁹¹⁹ Chapters 32-43. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 38-39. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 312-313.

⁹²⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 49. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 325.

⁹²¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:57. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 335.

⁹²² “Paşâdur Hayreddin feth itdi iklîm
Dölendi râhat oldı bil her iklîm
Bu Âl- i ‘Osmân a hûş hizmet itdi
Begendi hizmetini il ü iklîm

Aşıkpaşazade also uses poetry to criticise those around the ruler. He criticises Ali Pasha, the vizier of Bayezid I for leading the ruler astray⁹²³ and Mehmed Rum Pasha, the vizier of Mehmed II, for wanting to ruin the prosperity of the state by introducing taxes.⁹²⁴

The second category of poetry identified by Prochazka-Eisl and found in Aşıkpaşazade is sections of poems that carries over historical narrative from the prose of the chapter. Such examples are few and far between in Aşıkpaşazade and account for only approximately 5% of the poems in Aşıkpaşazade.⁹²⁵

In this category Prochazka-Eisl also includes poems that generically portray the ghazis of a particular conquest as ghazis.⁹²⁶ In contrast to this view, it has demonstrated above that these poems belong in the first category. They are general poems praising the role of ghazis after a conquest and do not carry the historical narrative forward.

As an illustration of this point, the example cited by Prochazka-Eisl of the poem in Chapter 5 that appears after the account of the first conquests of Osman, because of its generic nature could easily follow any account of a conquest that appears in Aşıkpaşazade.

Paşa oldu kabûl çün han yanında
Ki lâzımdur kabûl ide her iklîm
Bilindi Hayreddin kim ol vezîrdür
Düzildi tertîb ü bahşîş her iklîm
Bu tertîb tasnîfin Hayreddin itdi
Kabûl itdi anı bil cümle iklîm
Niçe yirlerde rişvet kapu açar
Bu şimdi tertîbe bağladı iklîm.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:56. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 333.

⁹²³ Chapter 63. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:23. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 341.

⁹²⁴ Chapter 142. Giese ed. 1929:123. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 444.

⁹²⁵ Approximately ten section of poems out of the two hundred and three found in the Giese edition of Aşıkpaşazade. Examples include Chapter 67 which narrates how the Anatolian Beys deflected to Timur. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:67-68. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 346-448. Chapter 51 which describes the wedding of Bayezid I to the daughter of the ruler of Germiyan. Giese ed. 1929:53-54. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 329-330. Chapter 105 which narrates how Murad II captured Selanik. Giese ed. 1929:166. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 391.

⁹²⁶ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 117.

“They performed ghaza in the name of God
With every breath they said “Allahu Akbar”
The sword of Islam swung against the infidel
The drums were beaten to the sound of “Allahu Akbar.”⁹²⁷

Chapter 67 is exceptional in terms of length for the history of Aşıkpaşazade. The average length of a chapter of Aşıkpaşazade’s history is normally one to two pages one. Chapter 67 spreads over six pages.⁹²⁸ The chapter revolves around the demise of Bayezid at the hands of Timur. Aşıkpaşazade devotes most of the chapter explaining how Bayezid was betrayed by those around him. After Aşıkpaşazade has cited Koca Nayib as his source for Bayezid’s time as a hostage, he narrates the following poem.

“The atrocities committed by Timur, an infidel would not even commit
If you knew how mankind has suffered at his hands, including men
women and children
He slaughtered the people of the Sharia;
It is not known what his shackle was
He destroyed lodges, masjids and madrasas
He spent that winter in the province of Aydın.”⁹²⁹

The third category of poems Prochazka-Eisl identifies in Aşıkpaşazade includes poems that have moralising or religious content.⁹³⁰ Around 45% of the poems that appear in Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* can be placed into this category.⁹³¹

⁹²⁷ “Gazâ kim itdiler Allahu Ekber
Didiler her nefes Allahu ekber
Salındı sey-i Islâm kâfir üzre
Urıldı nevbet-i Allahu ekber.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:12. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 279. Section of poem also quoted in Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 117.

⁹²⁸ Six pages in the Giese edition of Aşıkpaşazade. Giese ed. 1929:66-72.

⁹²⁹ “Kâfir itmez Temür itdügi işi
Ki neler çekdi irkek- ile dişi
Şerî’at ehlini turmaz kırardı
Bilinmez ne-y-idi tutduğı tuşu
Hânekâh mescid ü medrese yıkdı
Geçürdi Aydın ilinde o kışı.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:71. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 352.

⁹³⁰ Prochazka-Eisl, 1995: 107.

It is noteworthy that more poems of a general moralising or religious content appear after Chapter 67 which narrates the defeat of Bayezid to Timur and his captivity. This may be because Aşıkpaşazade felt the need to provide more moralising content to minimise the impact of the fate of the Ottoman state after the Battle of Ankara in 1402. Although Aşıkpaşazade did not mention the suicide of Bayezid I the inclusion of more moralising statements after this event could act as a warning or deterrent to those who ruled after Bayezid. Alternatively, the source material he had gleaned from Yahşi Fakih had ended⁹³² and the moralising poetry that followed was perhaps more in Aşıkpaşazade's own style.

The moralising poems are similar to those that depict the activities or rewards of the ghazis in that they are general and could slot into the end of any chapter narrating a conquest. The functions of the poems that fall into this category are simple. Aşıkpaşazade reminds his readers/listeners that everything that happens by God's decree.

The poems also contain a warning that that life on earth is temporary and that it is the afterlife that is important. If the motif of the poems can be considered to be the moralising statements, then the leitmotif is prayer, the fear of retribution and the will of God.

The following verse from Chapter 38 of Aşıkpaşazade is a good illustration of all these three leitmotifs.

“My hope is to receive prayer from the people of prayer
What God commands us to do is to pray
It helps all the souls of this world
Prayer is from saints and prophets
God said: you plead for something and I will accept it
From this utterance my soul was happy for this world.”⁹³³

⁹³¹ Approximately ninety of the two hundred and three section of poems found in the Giese edition of Aşıkpaşazade. This figure allows for those sections of poems that potentially fit into more than one category also.

⁹³² It is estimated that the material Yahşi Fakih provided ended at some point in the reign of Bayezid I (1389-1402). Zachariadou, 1995: 49.

⁹³³ “Ümîdüm du’âdur ehl-i du’âdan
Du’ âdur bize emr olan Hudâ’dan

The verse in Chapter 64 warns against harbouring feelings of enmity

“Do not carry enmity in you heart
It will ruin you even if there is just a single hair [of it].”⁹³⁴

The section of poem in Chapter 67 is also didactic. It narrates the period after Timur took Bayezid I captive.

“They [Timur and those allies of Bayezid who have betrayed him]
Have acted in accordance with their carnal soul
‘Âşıkî do not go [down that path], do not agree with this selfishness.”⁹³⁵

The verse in Chapter 101 also demonstrates the didactic function of Aşıkpaşazade’s history.

“‘Âşıkî wrote these tales so it can act as a deterrent
When did a bird settle on a branch and did not fly away?”⁹³⁶

In conclusion, the vast majority of poems that appear in Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* can either be considered to be generic moralising or eulogising poems. There is no evidence to suggest that the poetry in Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* was not his own. The eulogising poems aimed to praise the ruler and his dynasty. Despite this, Aşıkpaşazade did not neglect to praise the ghazis who went on campaign for their sultan. It could be argued that the incorporation of the theme of the ghazis and ghaza as a leitmotif into the verse by Aşıkpaşazade may have been retrospective. Aşıkpaşazade’s poetry is of a moralising and eulogistic nature

Mü’essirdir nice nefes cihânda
Du’ âdur evliyâdan enbiyâdan
Didi Hak kim dilen makbûl ideyin
Bu Kavlı umdı cânım ol nidâdan.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:43.
Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 319.

⁹³⁴ ‘Âşıkî koma gönlünde ‘adâvet
Bozar îmâmünî ger bir kıl olsa.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:60. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 344.

⁹³⁵ Bunların uydurğı nefes-i hevâdur
‘Âşıkî sen var uyma bu garaza. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:71. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 351.

⁹³⁶ ‘Âşıkî yaz menâkıbı ‘ibret olsun
Kaçan kondı budaga uçmadı kuş.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:103.
Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 388.

and it may have been that the many references to the ghazis or ghaza may have been added to the poetry later on in his lifetime when the notion of ghaza met the legitimising needs of the Ottoman dynasty.⁹³⁷ This is not to imply that Aşıkpaşazade did not believe the Ottoman rulers not to be ghazis but that he may have added more references to ghaza/ghazis to his poetry at a time when the Ottomans stressed their divine right to rule. The possibility that Aşıkpaşazade may have 're-worked' some of his poems may partly account for the fact that the transition from the prose of Aşıkpaşazade's history to the verse can be unsmooth and abrupt but does not detract from the fact that Aşıkpaşazade authored his own poetry.

The generic moralising poems in Aşıkpaşazade stressed the role of God's will and reveal an insight into the religious persona of Aşıkpaşazade. Aşıkpaşazade stressed that the lifetime on earth was temporary and transient because everything of importance happened in the afterlife, thereby ensuring that air of deterrence ran through moralising poems.

⁹³⁷ See Imber, 1987.

Chapter 4

Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* as an autobiographical source

Section 1 of 1.

1. An evaluation of the autobiographical references in Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*

The *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* of Aşıkpaşazade cannot be utilised as a strictly historical source. To do so, would be to not only undermine the literary genre of his history but to misunderstand the motivation of Aşıkpaşazade for writing his history. The aim of Aşıkpaşazade was to narrate the tales and genealogy of the Ottoman dynasty.⁹³⁸ Aşıkpaşazade combined story telling with the narration of historical accounts where the Ottoman ruler in question was always portrayed as a ghazi.

In its pursuit to prove or disprove the historical value of Aşıkpaşazade, modern scholarship often neglects the highly valuable autobiographical nature of the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.⁹³⁹ Whereas Aşıkpaşazade was always at pains to portray the Ottoman rulers as ghazis, the narrative in relation to himself can be considered to be neutral. Despite not always getting the chronology of events he described right, Aşıkpaşazade reveals a wealth of information about the life he pursued as a dervish from a well known family.

Aşıkpaşazade was born in Amasya around 1400. It is thought that he may have been born at the family *tekke* of Elvan Çelebi.⁹⁴⁰ Aşıkpaşazade is described as a ghazi.⁹⁴¹ Yet Aşıkpaşazade was no ordinary ghazi. He was a descendant of a long line of sheikhs that claimed spiritual affinity with the Ottoman dynasty. Aşıkpaşazade describes in Chapter 29 how his great grandfather Aşık Pasha

⁹³⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272.

⁹³⁹ Kafadar has provided a socio-historical account of Aşıkpaşazade's life in that he attempts to gauge how Aşıkpaşazade might have felt in relation to a particular event. For example, joining the army of Mehmed I. Kafadar, 1995: 100-105. Also see Wittek, 165.

⁹⁴⁰ Ménage, 1961: 220.

⁹⁴¹ Kafadar, 1995: 102-103.

also prayed for the Ottomans⁹⁴² and he states throughout his history how he prays for the Ottoman dynasty.⁹⁴³

According to İnalçık, Aşıkpaşazade claims spiritual affinity with the Ottoman dynasty through Ede Bali, the father-in-law of Osman, who was a spiritual leader of the Vefaî order.⁹⁴⁴ It is interesting that Aşıkpaşazade does not specifically state that Ede Bali was of the Vefaî order. Aşıkpaşazade may have assumed that all dervishes mentioned in relation to the Ottoman rulers would automatically be considered to be of the Vefaî order. In Chapter 169 Aşıkpaşazade states that Ertuğrul came to Anatolia with Baba İlyas.⁹⁴⁵ This is where Aşıkpaşazade establishes the spiritual affinity between his family and the Ottoman dynasty and does not make frequent reference to Ede Bali belonging to the Vefaî order in his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.

Aşıkpaşazade's family supported the Ottoman rulers with their prayers and spiritual protection in return for a share of the spoils and gratitude in the form of material possessions. It is not known how Aşıkpaşazade's descendants might have benefited materially from the Ottomans but Aşıkpaşazade makes it abundantly clear that he himself benefited from his association with the Ottomans. This was usually as a direct consequence of Aşıkpaşazade participating in a raid or ghaza and reaping the rewards of booty.

In Chapter 112 Aşıkpaşazade asks Murad II for a horse on which to carry the slave he had captured and money for expenses on the way home.⁹⁴⁶ Chapter 113 sees Aşıkpaşazade take five slaves in battle and sells them on for nine hundred *akçe* in Üsküb.⁹⁴⁷ In Chapter 112 Aşıkpaşazade considered himself

⁹⁴² “‘Âşık Paşa du’â Orhan’a itdi.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 35. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 309.

⁹⁴³ See as examples of this, Chapter 129. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 143.

Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 425. Chapter 162. Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 188. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 470. Chapter 164.

Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 190. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 473.

⁹⁴⁴ İnalçık, 1995: 144.

⁹⁴⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 201. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 484.

⁹⁴⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 113. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 398.

⁹⁴⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 115. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 399.

worthy enough to approach Murad II directly to ask for additional booty.⁹⁴⁸ The booty afforded to Aşıkpaşazade is not significant, a horse, but reveals that Aşıkpaşazade felt he was of sufficient standing in Ottoman society to be able to approach the ruler for material possessions.

In the reign of Mehmed II however the usefulness of this relationship began to wane and saw a reversal as Aşıkpaşazade was affected by the financial reforms of the sultan.⁹⁴⁹ It is assumed from Aşıkpaşazade's criticism of Rum Mehmed Pasha that he was personally affected by the introduction of the property tax because he owned several properties in Istanbul that taxes would be levied on.

Aşıkpaşazade begins his History of the Ottoman Dynasty with his own genealogy.

“Dear fellows, I am dervish Ahmed Âşıkî, son of sheikh Yahya, son of sheikh Selman, son of the Sultan of Purport Âşık Pasha, son of The Guide of the Horizons Muhlis Pasha, son of the ‘Pole of the Age’ Baba İlyas, who was the successor of Seyyid Ebü’ l-Vefâ. May God enlighten their graves.”⁹⁵⁰

Of Aşıkpaşazade's father and grandfather nothing is known but his remote ancestors are famous figures in Ottoman hagiography.⁹⁵¹ The legendary familial connections of Aşıkpaşazade surely were a major factor in Aşıkpaşazade feeling suitably qualified to record the tales of the Ottoman dynasty.

Aşıkpaşazade refers to Baba İlyas as *Kutb al-devran* (Pole of the age). Baba İlyas the ancestor of Aşıkpaşazade was to shape the spiritual destiny of his family for centuries to come as he was seen as the spiritual successor of the mystic personage Seyyid Abu'l-Vefâ (d.1107-8) who was reputed to have migrated from Khorasan to Anatolia.

⁹⁴⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 113. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 398.

⁹⁴⁹ İnalçık, 1995: 144-147.

⁹⁵⁰ “İy azîz fakir ki Derviş Ahmed ‘Âşıkî’yam ibni Şeyh Yahyâ ve ibni Şeyh Selmân ve ibni sultanü'l-me’âlî ‘Âşık Paşa’yam ve ibni mürşidü'l-âfâk Muhlis Paşa ve ibni kutbu'd-devrân Baba İlyâs halîfe-i seyyid-i Ebu'l- Vefâ nevvallahu kubûraham.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 3. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 271.

⁹⁵¹ Ménage, 1961: 217.

Baba İlyas is considered instrumental in leading the Turkmen against the Seljuk sultan of Konya, Kay-Khosrev II in 1240-1241 along with his disciple Baba İshak.⁹⁵² It is noteworthy that despite the spiritual ties of Baba İlyas, that the revolt is not viewed by modern scholarship as being of a religious nature.⁹⁵³

The son of Baba İlyas, Muhlis Pasha (dates unknown) was remembered in Karaman as a saintly personage who had ruled Konya for six months after the extinction of the Seljuk line and who installed there as ruler the son of one of the followers of Baba İlyas.⁹⁵⁴

More historical information is available on Aşıkpaşazade's great grandfather Aşık Pasha in comparison to the lack of information on Muhlis Pasha and Baba İlyas. However, Köprülü highlights the unreliable and contradictory nature of historical sources relating to the life of Aşık Pasha.⁹⁵⁵

Aşık Pasha (1272-1332) is from Kırşehir where he is buried. He is the author of *Garibnâme*, a didactic but quite popular exposition of Sufi beliefs and one of the earliest works of Anatolian Turkish literature. Aşık Pasha was apparently instructed in his learning of the sciences by sheikh Süleyman-i Kırşehri and through his participation in the politics of the age, Aşık Pasha was employed by the famous Anatolian governor Timurtaş.⁹⁵⁶ Due to the unsuccessful revolt of Timurtaş, Aşık Pasha fell out of favour and had to flee and was eventually imprisoned.⁹⁵⁷ Despite the turbulent lifetime of Aşık Pasha, the splendour of his tomb is noted as being sufficient to show that he was a personage of consequence in his day.⁹⁵⁸

The great great uncle of Aşıkpaşazade, Elvan Çelebi (d. 1360s) also achieved recognition as a spiritual personage in his lifetime. 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. Elvan Çelebi wrote the

⁹⁵² Ménage, 1961: 217.

⁹⁵³ Ocak, 1980: 179.

⁹⁵⁴ Ménage, 1961: 217.

⁹⁵⁵ Köprülü, 1940: 701.

⁹⁵⁶ Hüsameddin, 1927: 181.

⁹⁵⁷ Köprülü, 1940: 701.

⁹⁵⁸ Ménage, 1961: 218.

Menâkıbü'l- Kudsiye in 1358-59 which relates episodes from the life of Baba İlyas and the Babaî revolt against Seljuk authority.⁹⁵⁹

Considering the spiritual lineage of Aşıkpaşazade, it is not surprising that he felt suitably qualified to write a history of the Ottoman dynasty. Perhaps in recognition of his great grandfather, Aşık Pasha, Aşıkpaşazade refers to himself as *Aşıkî* or *fakîr* throughout his history. Aşıkpaşazade's opening statement of his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* refers to how in his retirement in Istanbul he was present at a gathering where Ottoman history was under discussion. Aşıkpaşazade was asked a question and this seems to have inspired him to write his history.

“As for this poor one having worn the mantle of abandonment and patience I resigned myself to the corner of abandonment and the cell of submission to resignation in Istanbul. I partook of the bounty of the feast table of prayer and found myself blessed. Suddenly a group of companions recounted the histories and tales of the Ottoman dynasty. They also asked a question of this humble servant.”⁹⁶⁰

Aşıkpaşazade answers that the tales of Yahşi Fakih up to Bayazid I were his source and that he edited some of the sayings and legends and put them in the language of writing.⁹⁶¹ Aşıkpaşazade also adds that he was eighty-six years at the time of writing.⁹⁶² Aşıkpaşazade notes that, “I have seen many ghazas of this world. Things that cannot be accounted for or understood.”⁹⁶³

An examination of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* reveals seven autobiographical references where Aşıkpaşazade can be placed at a historical or political event of significance and provides information to this effect. In approximately 48 of the 204 sections of section of poems in Giese, (20% of the total number of poems) Aşıkpaşazade also mentions himself or his

⁹⁵⁹ Kafadar, 1995: 73.

⁹⁶⁰ “Fakîr dahî gûşe-i fergâtda teslîm-i rızâ küncinde fenâ ve sabır hırkasın geyüp oturmuş-ıdum Kostantiyye'de ve du'â sofrası-y-ılan mütena'im olmuşıdum. Nâgâh bir cemâ'at azîzlerden Âl-i 'Osmân'un tevârihinden ve menâkıbından zıkr itdiler.”

Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 3. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 271.

⁹⁶¹ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 3. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 271.

⁹⁶² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272.

⁹⁶³ “Gördüm bu cihân gazâsını çok
Gelmez hisâba anılmazı yok.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 272.

descendants. The didactic function of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* was discussed in the previous chapter. The prose of Aşıkpaşazade that contains autobiographical references on Aşıkpaşazade is not didactic but contains narrative on where Aşıkpaşazade has personally participated in an event.

The first autobiographical reference that shows Aşıkpaşazade taking part in Ottoman campaigns occurs in Chapter 70. Aşıkpaşazade had joined the army of Mehmed I as a teenager when it set out from Bursa in 1413 to cross the Bosphorus to confront his brother Musa. However Aşıkpaşazade falls ill and has to remain behind at the house of Yahşi Fakih, the son of the imam of Orhan.⁹⁶⁴

The second autobiographical reference can be found in Chapter 84, nine years after Aşıkpaşazade had stayed at the house of Yahşi Fakih. Aşıkpaşazade was on home territory in Amasya at the Elvan Çelebi *tekke* when he was called upon to assist Murad II in the fight against Mustafa the pretender.⁹⁶⁵ Aşıkpaşazade narrates how Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey who had been Musa's governor was released from prison at Tokat and how he stopped at the *tekke* on the way to Murad II to collect Aşıkpaşazade.⁹⁶⁶ According to Ménage, Mihaloğlu Memmed bey was released so that his prestige could be used to withdraw the beys of Rumeli from their allegiance to Mustafa the Pretender. Aşıkpaşazade subsequently witnesses the defection of the beys to the side of Murad II in Ulubad.⁹⁶⁷ It is noteworthy that Mihaloğlu who was from one of the greatest families of the marches values Aşıkpaşazade to the degree that he personally ensures his participation in the campaign. Mihaloğlu may have believed that the prayers of Aşıkpaşazade would bring him luck if he was aware that Aşıkpaşazade as a well connected dervish bestowed prayers upon the Ottoman dynasty.

⁹⁶⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 75. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 356.

⁹⁶⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 86-87. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 369-370.

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 87. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 370.

The third autobiographical reference is found in Chapter 112 in relation to the raids into Belgrade of 1438-39 where Aşıkpaşazade was present. Aşıkpaşazade takes part in the raids and again is rewarded with booty.⁹⁶⁸

Scholars take the view that Aşıkpaşazade went on pilgrimage (*Haj*) at some point between 1436 and 1438.⁹⁶⁹ Again in the reign of Murad II, Chapter 113 reveals the fourth autobiographical reference. Aşıkpaşazade was at *Haj* with Ishak bey, a bey of the frontier, and how upon his return attached himself to the retinue of Ishak Bey. Aşıkpaşazade went on raids with Ishak Bey in Rumeli and as well as killing infidels, took slaves to later sell on at a good price.⁹⁷⁰

The fifth autobiographical reference which connects Aşıkpaşazade to a historical event is found in Chapter 120 which narrates the second Battle of Kosovo that took place under Murad II in 1448. Aşıkpaşazade provides an eye witness account of how Murad II participated in the battle.

“The sultan dismounted from his horse as soon as he saw the army of the infidel. He performed perfect ablution and then carried out his prayers (iki rekat). He rubbed his face into the soil and prayed to God that he would protect the community of Muhammed. After he had finished his entreaties, he mounted his horse for the sake of ghaza, and he advanced attacking the infidels.”⁹⁷¹

Both Aşıkpaşazade and a fellow dervish Dede Akbıyık were rewarded with booty at the Battle of Kosovo in the form of horses.⁹⁷²

⁹⁶⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 87. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 398.

⁹⁶⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 29 and Ménage, 1961: 221.

⁹⁷⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 115. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 399.

⁹⁷¹ “Hünkâr kim kâfir leşkerini göricek derhâl atından indi. Arı abdest alup iki rek’at namaz kıldı ve yüzin topraga sürdi. Hak ta’âlâyâ niyâz itdi ve eyitdi: senden dilerem kim bu ümmet-i Muhammed’i sen sakla..Kaçan kim niyâzdan fârig olıcak hemân-dem “Niyet-i gazâ diyüben bindi, küffârün üzerine hücum idüp yörüdi.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 124. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 407.

⁹⁷² Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 125. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 408.

It is evident from the autobiographical sections found in Aşıkpaşazade that he spent several years of the reign of Murad II on active duty, participating in ghaza raids.

The sixth autobiographical reference takes place during the reign of Mehmed II where Aşıkpaşazade finds himself at the circumcision banquet in Edirne in 1457 which the ruler hosted for his two sons, Bayezid and Mustafa. Aşıkpaşazade is seated with the ulema and describes how Mehmed II rewarded all of the dervishes present.⁹⁷³ This was before Mehmed II introduced the fiscal reforms that personally affected Aşıkpaşazade and perhaps with a retrospective meaning, he writes that, “In these days of prosperity and of the order of the sultanate, many dervishes came poor and left rich.”⁹⁷⁴ Retrospectively, it might be argued that Aşıkpaşazade wanted to stress that once upon a time the ruler did reward dervishes handsomely before he listened to the advice of his servitors, Rum Mehmed Pasha, and changed.

The seventh autobiographical reference is in Chapter 129 and clearly establishes the fact that Aşıkpaşazade expected reward from the Ottoman dynasty. Aşıkpaşazade is back in Üsküb having returned from the Morea campaign and presents himself to Mehmed II in hope of some reward. He was not disappointed and was rewarded abundantly.⁹⁷⁵

It is at this point that the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* by Aşıkpaşazade ceases to provide autobiographical information that places Aşıkpaşazade at historical events.

Aşıkpaşazade does not specifically mention the financial burden he would face as a result of the property tax which was introduced on Byzantine properties after the fall of Constantinople. However by the time he had reached old age, eighty-six as revealed by the verse in the Introduction,⁹⁷⁶ Aşıkpaşazade was not

⁹⁷³ Chapter 128, Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 139-141. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2007: 421-422.

⁹⁷⁴ “Pâdisâh bu ‘azîzlere ihsânlar ve hil’atler buyurdı. Niçeler fakir geldi gâî gitdi bu Pâdisâhun eyyâm-i devletinde ve nizâm-i saltanatında.” Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 140. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2007:422.

⁹⁷⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 143. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003:424.

⁹⁷⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 4. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003:272.

only something of a business entrepreneur in Istanbul owning several shops, he also owned a few houses that had formally belonged to the Byzantines as the sources inform us.⁹⁷⁷ Therefore his hostility to Rum Mehmed Pasha is understandable as he targets the servitor of the ruler rather than the ruler himself.⁹⁷⁸ Aşıkpaşazade criticised Rum Mehmed Pasha because his policies personally affected him. Mengüç adduces this as evidence of xenophobic attitudes.⁹⁷⁹ Xenophobia does not seem to be at play as Aşıkpaşazade is complimentary about Mahmud Pasha, another vizier of Mehmed II who was also of Christian origin.

With regard to the spiritual persona of Aşıkpaşazade, scholars have tended to focus on proving or disproving the Ede Bali link to the Ottoman Dynasty and therefore to the Vefaî order.⁹⁸⁰ Writing in 1961, Ménage stressed that in addition to his natural genealogy, as a sheikh Aşıkpaşazade could claim a spiritual one also.

This is recorded in a work written by a disciple of Aşıkpaşazade's son-in-law Seyyid Vilayet who was a disciple of Aşıkpaşazade and married his only daughter Rabi'a in either 1469 or 1470.⁹⁸¹ Aşıkpaşazade's sheikh was Abdullatif Makdisi and his sheikh was Zeyneddin Khwafi.⁹⁸² The spiritual line continues with twenty names to Ali and then to the Prophet. According to Ménage, this is the accepted genealogy for the Zeyni branch of the Suhrawardiya Order. Sheikh Zeyneddin (1356-1435) was a historical personage and was the founder of the Zeyni branch. He never travelled to Anatolia and his teachings were brought to Ottoman lands by Sheikh Abdullatif (1384-1452).⁹⁸³ Aşıkpaşazade does not mention his association with the Zeyni branch of the Suhrawardiya Order and is only known for his association with the Vefaî order.

In conclusion, Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is a valuable autobiographical source. The eye witness accounts that Aşıkpaşazade describe

⁹⁷⁷ İnalçık, 1995: 141-142.

⁹⁷⁸ Chapter 142. Giese ed. 1929:123. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 444.

⁹⁷⁹ Mengüç, 2008: 57.

⁹⁸⁰ See Imber, 1993 and İnalçık, 1995.

⁹⁸¹ Ménage, 1961: 219.

⁹⁸² Ibid.

⁹⁸³ Ménage, 1961:218- 219.

have allowed the patchy and fragile chronology of the fifteenth century to be pieced together.⁹⁸⁴ At the very least, the autobiographical excerpts from Aşıkpaşazade that narrate his participation in a campaign or raid provides an insiders account on the military history of the time. An examination of the autobiographical references also reveals the mutual relationship that Aşıkpaşazade enjoyed with the Ottoman dynasty until the point when the property tax was levied in the reign of Mehmed II. Aşıkpaşazade served the Ottomans in battle personally as a ghazi but also spiritually through prayer. As a consequence of the spiritual protection that he afforded the Ottoman dynasty and his personal involvement in battle, Aşıkpaşazade expected to be recompensed for his troubles. Indeed Aşıkpaşazade was always rewarded materially after a battle and did not hesitate, or so he narrates, to personally request goods from the ruler at the time.

Aşıkpaşazade was from a ghazi-dervish milieu but he was no average dervish. Through his familial connections and his ties to the Ottoman rulers and the prominent families who were in Ottoman service, Aşıkpaşazade can be deemed to be a member of the Ottoman elite. Coming from a ghazi-dervish background, Aşıkpaşazade witnessed first-hand the centralisation of the Ottoman state. Dervishes no longer planted sacred poplar plants at the foot of the palace in the reign of Mehmed II, as was the case in the reign of Orhan. However Aşıkpaşazade became disgruntled and therefore polemical because changes in the Ottoman state began to affect him. It is not surprising that Osman and Orhan are depicted as cooking for and being generous towards the dervish community⁹⁸⁵ compared to the reign of Mehmed II where dervishes were marginalised.

⁹⁸⁴ See Imber, 1990.

⁹⁸⁵ Chapter 166, Giese ed. 1929:193. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 482.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was two-fold: The first aim of this thesis was to assess the value of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* within the context of fifteenth-century Ottoman historiography posing the question of whether Aşıkpaşazade should be used as a source to shed light on the ideological theories of modern scholarship. This thesis concludes that Aşıkpaşazade has indeed been portrayed within an ideological context and that modern scholarship, until recently, has used Aşıkpaşazade as a historical source to bring light to modern theories on the rise of the Ottomans. This thesis demonstrated that this approach is not useful because it fails to appreciate the nature of Aşıkpaşazade's history and does not adequately acknowledge the attitudes of Aşıkpaşazade on various issues.

The second aim of this thesis was to provide a detailed guide to the content of Aşıkpaşazade's history and by doing so to examine the concepts and themes that Aşıkpaşazade included in his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. This thesis undertook an evaluation of the themes Aşıkpaşazade adopted to portray the Ottomans in a particular way such as ghaza and *istimâlet* and concluded that the narration of such themes by Aşıkpaşazade has been taken at face value and used selectively by modern scholarship to usually disprove the theory that the early Ottomans were ghazis. Within the context of the content of Aşıkpaşazade's history, this thesis proves that modern scholarship has erroneously argued that Aşıkpaşazade wrote an un-sanitised account of Ottoman history.

Through fulfilling the above aims, this thesis concludes that Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* is in need of re-evaluation from a modern perspective. Aşıkpaşazade wrote a eulogistic history of the Ottomans and adopted a moralising tone in his poetry where he reminded the reader of the transient nature of this world and the need to answer for sins in the next world. His overall aim was to present the Ottoman rulers as ghazis. Whether the early Ottomans were indeed ghazis as presented by Aşıkpaşazade or not, has not been a major consideration for this thesis. The fact that Aşıkpaşazade chose to

portray the Ottomans as ghazis and that modern scholarship has selectively chosen parts of the text of Aşıkpaşazade to support or refute an ideological theory such as Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" has been given consideration.

It has been demonstrated that the utilisation of Aşıkpaşazade as a source by Köprülü and Wittek within the context of ethnic and religious ideologies respectively almost a century ago still affects the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade. It is Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" more than Köprülü's Turkish stance on the rise of the Ottomans that has affected and continues to affect the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by modern scholarship. Köprülü presented the early Ottoman period as a continuation of the Seljuk and Ilkhanid states and stressed the Turkish nature of the early Ottoman state in terms of its institutions and customs.⁹⁸⁶

This thesis demonstrated that the current portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade does not carry the tag of Turkish nationalism and concludes that Turkish nationalism is not a useful denominator by which to measure the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by Turkish scholars. Turkish scholars writing after Köprülü such as Ocak and Emecen have continued his views of life on the frontier within the context of Turkish social groups⁹⁸⁷ as narrated by Aşıkpaşazade but have not attributed much importance to Aşıkpaşazade himself as a Turkish dervish from an illustrious spiritual background.⁹⁸⁸

However modern scholarship has until very recently used Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* to refute Wittek's theory that the success of the early Ottomans was due to the execution of the Holy War.⁹⁸⁹ Here one might argue a contradictory approach is detectable in modern scholarship because Aşıkpaşazade's history is regarded as being useful for shedding light on the perceived lack of religiosity of the Ottomans but his portrayal of the Ottomans as ghazis is largely regarded as retrospective gloss to fit in with the dynastic myths of his period.⁹⁹⁰ With the exception of providing some clarity and

⁹⁸⁶ Köprülü, 1992: 23-77.

⁹⁸⁷ Köprülü, 1992: 89.

⁹⁸⁸ Emecen: 1993 and Ocak, 1980 are two examples.

⁹⁸⁹ Wittek, 1963: 14-15 and 45.

⁹⁹⁰ See Imber, 1987: 7-27.

information on some of the political and military events of the fifteenth century, Aşıkpaşazade is clearly regarded as telling tall tales.⁹⁹¹

Aşıkpaşazade may have retrospectively applied the motif of ghaza throughout his history when he wrote to fit in with the other dynastic myths circulating at the end of the fifteenth century.⁹⁹² This is especially the case for the verse in Aşıkpaşazade which tends to be of a moralising and didactic nature. If Aşıkpaşazade did retrospectively apply more text on the theme of ghaza, it does not detract from the fact that Aşıkpaşazade believed that the Ottoman rulers were ghazis and chose to present them as such. The general view adopted by critics of Wittek that the Ottomans were not ghazis in any shape or form, whether in an orthodox or less orthodox manner, sits uncomfortably with the reality that the Ottomans undertook a very successful process of Islamisation.

In his pursuit to present the Ottoman sultans as having the divine right to rule and therefore being beyond reproach, Aşıkpaşazade may have over-used the theme of ghaza in his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* but the reality is that the Ottoman rulers expanded their territories as Muslims. Whether the early Ottomans were indeed ghazis has not only been a topic much exhausted by modern scholarship but is difficult to determine because scholars have tended to judge the religiosity of the Ottomans by modern standards.⁹⁹³

One of the most recent examples of a scholar taking the history of Aşıkpaşazade at face value to dis-prove Wittek's "Ghazi thesis" is that of Lowry. Lowry used Aşıkpaşazade to prove that the concept of *istimâlet* was a reality in the early Ottoman period.⁹⁹⁴ Lowry adopts the view that Aşıkpaşazade's accounts of Ottoman co-operation with the infidels during early conquests proves that the early Ottomans were not ghazis. Lowry fails to appreciate that Aşıkpaşazade is not the most reliable source upon which to base such a theory. This thesis has demonstrated that the label of xenophobia applied to

⁹⁹¹ Imber, 1990. For use of Aşıkpaşazade to elucidate sketchy chronology of early period and see Imber, 1987, 1993 and 2000 in relation to the ahistorical content of Aşıkpaşazade.

⁹⁹² See Imber, 1987.

⁹⁹³ Lowry, 2003 is an example of this approach.

⁹⁹⁴ Lowry, 2003: 68-69.

Aşıkpaşazade by Mengüç,⁹⁹⁵ is not applicable but that nonetheless Aşıkpaşazade did display a hostile attitude towards non-Muslims and co-operation with non-Muslims was always viewed by Aşıkpaşazade as a means to an end and an act of necessity to expand the Ottoman realms.

Lowry does not take account of the calculating view of Aşıkpaşazade towards infidels but also dismisses Aşıkpaşazade's portrayal of the ghazis as being retrospective gloss but in contrast treats Aşıkpaşazade's narration on *istimâlet* as historical fact. This is a clear example of the history of Aşıkpaşazade being used selectively by modern scholarship to disprove Wittek's "Ghazi thesis."

Lowry also bases his theory of *istimâlet* on the Ottoman co-operation with such characters as Köse Mihal who later is depicted by Aşıkpaşazade as converting to Islam. This is also an example where Lowry and others place too much value on Aşıkpaşazade as a historical source.⁹⁹⁶ Writing in 2008, Barkey devotes a significant role to Köse Mihal as one of Osman's allies within the framework of brokerage across different groups. According to Barkey, a network analysis of the relationships that Osman and Orhan entered into demonstrates the manner in which a variety of structural gaps were bridged through social relations.⁹⁹⁷ For example, Osman had close friendships with those he went to war with, which included Köse Mihal. Through building ties with different ethnic, religious and social groups, Osman "was connected to others who were part of a large network of alternative communities."⁹⁹⁸ However, Barkey makes no reference to the possibility that Köse Mihal, as argued by Imber in 1993, may not have been a historical personage.⁹⁹⁹

The present author agrees with the view that the continued focus on the religious ethos of the Ottomans completely misses the point. It was not that the Ottomans did not understand the differences between cultures and religions, it was rather that once they became 'brokers' and brought together diverse

⁹⁹⁵ Mengüç, 2008: 137.

⁹⁹⁶ Imber, 1993: 67-68 in relation to Köse Mihal being ahistorical.

⁹⁹⁷ Barkey, 2008: 48.

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁹ Barkey, 2008: 48.

peoples, they understood the need to work across boundaries.¹⁰⁰⁰ It is no longer historically useful to pursue an analysis of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* based on Wittek's "Ghazi thesis."¹⁰⁰¹

In providing a detailed guide to Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*, it has been determined that as a strictly historical source, it is not exceptional. This is because the literary genre of Aşıkpaşazade's history, does not lend itself to strict historical analysis. Aşıkpaşazade first and foremost wrote a eulogising account of the Ottoman dynasty where the Ottoman Sultans are presented as being beyond reproach.

Even if the messages of a polemical nature are sifted through¹⁰⁰² it is not easy to determine the historicity of the themes that Aşıkpaşazade incorporates into his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*. Is it the case that when Aşıkpaşazade referred to the Ottoman rulers as ghazis and every campaign as ghaza that his intention was to portray the reality of the period or was it to retrospectively paint the early Ottomans with the brush of ghaza? Imber has demonstrated that the usage of ghaza/ghazi by Aşıkpaşazade is also generic and that the term ghazi is used interchangeably with the term *akıncı* (raider) that did not carry a religious connotation.¹⁰⁰³

The main and consistent theme of Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* was to describe how a particular ruler conquered a particular region as a ghazi. The end result was that the historical or pseudo-historical accounts portraying the Ottoman ruler as a ghazi became stereotypical stories of redemption and conquest. It should also be remembered that Aşıkpaşazade was a dervish-ghazi to whom conquering the lands and subjugating the infidels to Ottoman rule was the norm. If a determination of the level of historical content in Aşıkpaşazade's portrayal of the Ottomans as ghazis is left to one

¹⁰⁰⁰ According to Barkey, the early Ottomans can be described as 'brokers' because they brokered different relationships with different groups according to strategic need. Barkey, 2008: 59.

¹⁰⁰¹ Scholars such as Hopwood, Boyar and Fleet and Kafadar¹⁰⁰¹ have started the process of re-examining the contribution of Aşıkpaşazade to Ottoman historiography without placing emphasis on whether Aşıkpaşazade proves or disproves an ideology. See Hopwood, 1999, Kafadar, 1995 and Boyar and Fleet: 2010.

¹⁰⁰² Lowry, 2003: 56.

¹⁰⁰³ Imber, 2000: 166-177.

side, portraying the rulers as such came naturally to Aşıkpaşazade because he could personally relate to what it was like to participate in a ghazi raid and to reap the benefits of booty and spoils.

In contrary to the views of modern scholarship, this thesis has demonstrated that Aşıkpaşazade's portrayal of the early Ottoman rulers was consistent. All rulers were all portrayed as ghazis. Osman and Orhan were portrayed as more humble and modest than other rulers. Aşıkpaşazade may have either been using source material from Yahşi Fakih for the early years or may have been painting a humble and more modest picture of the Ottoman state in contrast to the centralisation that had become the norm in the period of Mehmed II.

With regard to the treatment of the Ottoman rulers by Aşıkpaşazade, the present author found no evidence to support Ménage's view that Aşıkpaşazade portrayed Murad I as the saintliest of all Ottoman rulers.¹⁰⁰⁴ In fact, Aşıkpaşazade devoted considerably little space to a discussion of Murad I despite the fact he had been martyred and could claim prime place as a ghazi.

In addition, Aşıkpaşazade did not portray Bayezid I in a negative light as Wittek claimed.¹⁰⁰⁵ Modern scholarship has ignored the positive portrayal of Bayezid I by Aşıkpaşazade. The reality is that Aşıkpaşazade consistently portrayed Bayezid I as a just and fair ruler.¹⁰⁰⁶ The criticism Aşıkpaşazade levied on those around Bayezid I, whom Aşıkpaşazade narrated as exerting a corrupting influence on the ruler, has been shown by Imber to be of later origin, and retrospectively applied, and not relating to the period of Bayezid I.¹⁰⁰⁷

The present author's view that it is no longer historically useful to view Aşıkpaşazade's *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* within the context of Wittek's "Ghazi thesis," also applies to the portrayal of Ottoman rulers, particularly Bayezid I. It is time Bayezid I lost his image as the "black sheep" of the early Ottoman period. A close study of Aşıkpaşazade reveals a very positive image of

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ménage, 1961: 227.

¹⁰⁰⁵ See Imber, 1986: 64-65 for a discussion of Wittek's views on this issue.

¹⁰⁰⁶ For an example of this see, Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929:44-45. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 343-344.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Imber, 1986: 65-81.

the ruler, a portrayal that generally speaking scholars have ignored. The fact that Aşıkpaşazade likens Bayezid to the prophet Süleyman who was well known for his just nature, has not been noted by scholars writing on the early period of Ottoman history.¹⁰⁰⁸

This thesis has also demonstrated that Aşıkpaşazade did not write a “warts-and-all” account of Ottoman history in contrast to current scholarly consensus.¹⁰⁰⁹ There are several examples that illustrate this point. First, there is a gap in the chronology of Aşıkpaşazade where he omits the co-operation of Orhan with the Byzantines.¹⁰¹⁰ Other histories of the period also omit the pragmatic relations that Orhan enjoyed with the Byzantines, therefore Aşıkpaşazade is not unique with regard to this omission. However throughout his history, Aşıkpaşazade omits or fails to mention other events that clearly show he did not write an un-sanitised account of Ottoman history.

Secondly, Aşıkpaşazade cites the establishment of the slave tax during the reign of Murad but unlike the anonymous tradition, does not criticise its introduction. Thirdly, Aşıkpaşazade does not include the story of Akbıyık Dede who accused Murad’s advisors of hoarding money and for committing illegal acts.¹⁰¹¹ As a fourth example, Aşıkpaşazade unlike Neşri does not mention that Mal Hatun, the first wife of Osman, originally refused to marry him. As a fifth example of an omission, Aşıkpaşazade does not refer to the leadership dispute between Osman and his uncle Dündar like Neşri did.¹⁰¹² Finally, from a religious perspective, Aşıkpaşazade’s most understandable omission was in relation to the suicide of Bayezid I as he probably regarded the narration of such a sin incomprehensible. However Neşri does not omit the detail of suicide, again demonstrating that Aşıkpaşazade did not write an un-sanitised account.

¹⁰⁰⁸ “Süleymân ‘adl idüp tutdı cihânı. Süleymân mislidür han ‘âdil olsa.”

Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 65. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 344.

¹⁰⁰⁹ For example, Faroqhi, 1999 and Lowry, 2003.

¹⁰¹⁰ Zachariadou, 1995: 49.

¹⁰¹¹ Mengüç, 2008: 127.

¹⁰¹² Neşri, *Cihannüma*, ed. Unat and Köymen. 1995: f.24b. See also Mengüç, 2008:102-103. Kafadar, 1995: 105-109 on a discussion of the dispute between Osman and his uncle Dündar.

It has been argued throughout this thesis that Aşıkpaşazade was more vocal and provided a less sanitised account where his own attitudes are concerned. Aşıkpaşazade was not only vocal in his distrust of the infidels;¹⁰¹³ he became critical when a change in the taxing system directly affected him.¹⁰¹⁴

With the exception of Mengüç who categorised Aşıkpaşazade's views on early Ottoman-Christian relations within the context of xenophobia,¹⁰¹⁵ there have been no studies on the attitudes of Aşıkpaşazade that take into account or sift through Aşıkpaşazade's views towards infidels. A lack of scholarship in this area is not surprising as scholars have tended to focus on one of two areas. Aşıkpaşazade has either been viewed as being part of the Ottoman elite that opposed the harsh fiscal reforms of Mehmed II and his attitudes have been analysed as such accordingly.¹⁰¹⁶ Alternatively, the attitudes of Aşıkpaşazade that display criticism towards certain statesmen such as Ali Pasha or Rum Mehmed Pasha have been studied.¹⁰¹⁷

As demonstrated in this thesis, the following quote attributed to Osman by Aşıkpaşazade should not be taken at face value, "the first thing which should be done is to get on well with our neighbours and be their friends."¹⁰¹⁸ The concept of *Müdârâ* is evident throughout Aşıkpaşazade's History of the Ottoman Dynasty and should be interpreted as a friendship in accordance with need that is feigned or superficial. Recent scholarship has called it, 'the policy of dissimulation.'¹⁰¹⁹ It was perfectly acceptable for Aşıkpaşazade to advocate this devious policy in his history as he always took the view that it was the infidels who harboured bad intentions and set out to trick the Ottomans first. To Aşıkpaşazade, the Ottomans had to always be on the defensive against the infidels and had to trick them before they fell victim to trickery themselves. The capture of the citadel of Bilecik is a case in point.

¹⁰¹³ For example, Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 20. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 288.

¹⁰¹⁴ See İnalçık, 1995.

¹⁰¹⁵ Mengüç, 2008: 57.

¹⁰¹⁶ See İnalçık, 1995, Kafadar 1995 and Faroqhi, 1999 as examples.

¹⁰¹⁷ See Imber, 1986 and Wittek, 1938 as examples.

¹⁰¹⁸ "Evvel re'y ü tedbîr budur kim konşılarumuz-ıla müdârâ döstlikların idevüz."

Aşıkpaşazade, Giese ed. 1929: 14. Aşıkpaşazade, Yavuz and Saraç ed. 2003: 282.

¹⁰¹⁹ Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 19.

Aşıkpaşazade did not represent a group where his gripes against the property tax were concerned; he was a disgruntled individual who no longer enjoyed the lifestyle that the Ottoman dynasty had once afforded him in return for his prayers. The criticism of Aşıkpaşazade of Rum Mehmed Pasha does not equate to “much resentment from various corners” as Kafadar implies.¹⁰²⁰ There is no evidence in Aşıkpaşazade’s *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* to support the view that he represented or was vocal about any concerns other than his own.

¹⁰²⁰ Kafadar, 1995: 97.

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