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**RICHARD NELSON FRYE FESTSCHRIFT I.**

*Essays presented to*  
**RICHARD NELSON FRYE**  
*on his Seventieth Birthday*  
*by his Colleagues and Students*

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## Aḥmedi's History of the Ottoman Dynasty

As for the translation, while devoting great attention to giving a meaningful rendition into English, I have been mostly concerned with respecting the meaning of the Turkish text. Where the original text did not allow an understandable, literal translation, I have added my own elements in square brackets, which complete or enhance the meaning in English. It should also be mentioned that, in the Translation I have employed the proper names as they appear in the Transcription, e.g., İskender, Rûm, Kaṣtamoniyye, Lâz, and so on. A final transcriptional note: the representation of the vowels in the Persian headings reflects not the actual Persian pronunciation but the assumed Turkish way of pronouncing the Persian words. This is also true for all the other Persian and Arabic words and expressions that appear in the text.

In the Textual Variants, for some geographical and proper names, I have listed only the Arabic characters, copying them exactly from their manuscripts. I have assumed that these words, which, to the best of my knowledge, do not appear in any existing dictionaries, must be either mistakes made by the copyists, proper or geographical names which were misspelled or words which have been completely lost to us.

Finally, I should note that, in the Bibliography, I have given only those sources which were used in this Introduction, with the exceptions of Brockelmann's, Pantůčková's and Kortantamer's works, and only those dictionaries consulted in preparing the Index Verborum. This list, however, in no way includes everything written on Aḥmedi.

### Text in English Translation

#### (a) History of the Ottoman Sultans and Their Campaigns Against the Infidels

1. When an inspiration suddenly appeared in my heart, I wrote this history.<sup>35</sup>
2. All [those] remarks [were just] a preoccupation; they were an inspiration. The [only] solution for [this story] is that it be finished.
3. I mentioned the situations and characters of the rulers.
4. Some of them were infidels, and some were cruel. They had more tyranny than kindness.
5. Now listen to the interpretation of how the justice of the Mongol rulers was.
6. They did not mention the fact that Cingiz Hān openly oppressed the people.
7. Without making their hands bloody, they oppressed the people by means of law.
8. If oppression takes place by law and seizure, it seems facile, like justice, to the people.
9. Those remarks [sound full of] so many deficiencies to us. Now, let us tell [the story] which has no defects.
10. Because all of the cruel people have been mentioned, [now] let us come to those who were just.
11. Let us tell of those begs, from the first to the last, who were not only Muslim but just.
12. The duty of all of them is to fight against the infidels. Whatever they wear and eat is lawful.
13. We will make it the conclusion to this book so that the story will finish there.
14. I will write a *ğazāvet-nāme*<sup>36</sup> for you. Listen but don't interrupt me.
15. Do not say "why have the *ğāzīs*<sup>37</sup> been mentioned late, [and] why have they appeared at the end?"

#### (b) Apology for the Delay in Ġāzī Affairs

16. What comes at the end is better than what comes at the beginning. Those who have intelligence understand what I say.
17. God - through His generosity - has bestowed power, intelligence, life, and existence upon the human being.
18. Intelligence, undoubtedly, was more important than the other three; that is why it appeared after the others.

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<sup>35</sup>The first nine couplets of this text are about the history of the Mongol rulers, which is continued here from the previous chapter entitled "Zikr-i İnqırāz-ı Hılāfet ve Hūrūc-ı Cingiz Hān ve Tevārīḥ-i Mülūk-i Moğol." These couplets, then, constitute a transition from Mongolian to Ottoman history.

<sup>36</sup>Heroic poem of military exploits.

<sup>37</sup>One who fights on behalf of Islam, champion of Islam.

19. The Prophet [Mohammed] came after the others. He became the definitive [prophet], and was honored more than all the rest.
20. *Ḳurʿān* is the last of the four revealed books. It has canceled the validity of the others with [its] superiority.
21. Because the human being came [into the world] later than everything else, he became the leader of all.
22. The Padishah is the banner everywhere. Can the sovereign become less [valuable] than that banner?
23. The resplendent pearl is formed in the depths of the sea; the thorn, straw, and chip are all on the surface.
24. Tebbet<sup>38</sup> and *Ḳul huva'llāhu aḥad*<sup>39</sup> are the irrefutable proofs of this judgment.

(c) The Beginning of the Story

25. One day the auspicious Sulṭān 'Alā'ü'd-dīn asked: "What is the situation of the *gāzīs* and the martyrs?"
26. He knew that campaign was the best way. For a *gāzī* it was easy to rally people around him.
27. The *gāzī* is the instrument of the true religion [= Islam]. Doubtlessly, his position will be pleasant.
28. The *gāzī* is the servant of God, who purifies this world from the filth of polytheism.
29. The *gāzī* is surely the sword of God. He is the protector and the refuge of the true believers.
30. If he becomes a martyr on behalf of God, do not think that he has died; this auspicious one is [still] alive.
31. They are [now] in the midst of plenty in the presence of God. They did not die, they are certainly alive.
32. For this reason, he had a desire to go on a campaign, so that they would bestow the name *gāzī* upon him.
33. Levying his troops, he set out together with *Gündüz Alp* [and] *Erṭuğrul*.
34. In addition, *Gök Alp* and several people from the *Oguz* [tribe] had become his comrades in that campaign.
35. He came to Sulṭān *Yügi* from *Ḳonya*. There the people came into his presence, kneeling down before him.
36. He honored and entertained the rich; he granted presents and bestowed gifts upon the poor.
37. He sent an army from there to the infidel regions, so that they would attack the cities [and] kill the unbelievers.
38. There, *Erṭuğrul* battled for a long time. Finally he became world-famous.
39. He attacked cities endlessly, and took booty and captives. The army destroyed the land of the infidels.
40. The Sultan stayed in that region for a period of time, until the infidels were defeated.
41. The Tatars were at peace with him when they heard that he was going against the infidels.
42. Having gotten an opportunity, [the Tatars] again pillaged cities. Breaking the oath, they again became hostile [to Sulṭān 'Alā'ü'd-dīn].
43. Because of this news, he had so many difficulties. He had to return.
44. The Sultan gave those regions to *Erṭuğrul*, so that he would expel the infidel year after year.
45. He went back to *Ḳonya*, after several conquests were bestowed upon him.
46. There, numerous people joined *Erṭuğrul*. Their affairs could only be improved through intelligence.
47. Opening his heart, he became one with those who joined him. He devoted his life to the way of God.
48. He marched and arrived in the region of *Sögüt*. He conquered that land by sword.
49. Shortly after that event, this world turned its face from him.
50. *Erṭuğrul* left this world for his proper place. His son, *'Oṣmān*, took his position.

(d) The Emirate of 'Oṣmān, the Attributes of His Service and His Character

51. 'Oṣmān had become such a great *gāzī* that wherever he went, he succeeded.

<sup>38</sup>One of the names of the 111th *sūre* of the *Ḳurʿān*.

<sup>39</sup>"Say, God is one" [*Ḳurʿān*: *Sūretü'l-ihlās* (112), 1].

### Aḥmedī's History of the Ottoman Dynasty

52. He sent companies of soldiers everywhere, so that they would attack the cities and kill the infidel.
53. That illustrious one conquered Bilecük, as well as Eynegöl and Köprihisār.
54. He did not stop; he sent soldiers everywhere. He conquered numerous provinces in a short time.
55. That famous one annihilated the infidel. He besieged Bursa and İznik.
56. Because God - may He be honored and glorified - had preordained it, before conquering these two, the appointed hour of death came.

#### (e) The Sultanate of Orḥān, the Son of 'Osmān

57. When he died Orḥān took his place. The saints said to him: "Conquer Khan!"
58. The army coming from all sides, he plundered the infidel day and night.
59. He enslaved the women [and] children, whoever he found; they crushed the rest, old and young.
60. The servants of faith flooded the infidel and after that, they changed the name from *gāzā*<sup>40</sup> to *aḳın*.<sup>41</sup>
61. They drove the infidel out from their own land. They eradicated the blasphemy.
62. The learned men came from everywhere; they constituted the law of God.
63. Wherever there were [any] remains of polytheism, [this] monotheism cleaned them up, [and] there was no longer [any] rust [in their hearts].
64. Since then, *gāzā* has become a sacred obligation. In short, no one was as successful as them in war.
65. The great *gāzī* conquered a few forts. They took many villages, cities and countries.
66. Having been a Padishah [by the help of] God, Orḥān became a supporter of and refuge to the true believers.
67. The flag of Islam became exalted [and] eternal. The verses of *Ḳur'ān* became manifest forever.
68. Orḥān was just and merciful. The justice of 'Ömer was forgotten after that of Orḥān.
69. Where there is the equity of the Ottomans, how can the justice of 'Ömer be mentioned.
70. He built up [many] mosques and *miḥrābs*,<sup>42</sup> [and] he established a number of shelters.
71. Wherever he sent an army, they burned the infidel.
72. Whatever he did became good; whatever he undertook hit the target.
73. Much silver and gold money came to him from everywhere, [along with] beautiful servants and fair-breasted concubines.
74. The flag of blasphemy fell down. They exhausted the begs of the infidel.
75. Those people became sovereigns in a very short time, even though they had been poor in the past.
76. That illustrious one, by the help of God, took Bursa [after] besieging it.
77. There, demolishing [all the] churches, he built up mosques, buildings, and shelters.
78. Now, there is prosperity in that region [and] abundance in the home.
79. After demanding İznik, he conquered [this city] with great difficulty.
80. He took it, and destroyed the infidel. Now, that land is a region that belongs to the true believers.
81. Look at how she [= İznik] has become a part of the Islamic world. Look at how she has become [a land] which is full of scientists and scholars.
82. Orḥān was a devout Muslim [and] a true believer. The scientists and scholars obtained support from him.
83. Sinān, who was in poverty, came before him.
84. While he was saying "el-faḳru kāde en yekūn,"<sup>43</sup> fortune became a guide to him in difficulty.
85. He [= Orḥān] made him "Paşa Sinān" for the sake of science and scholarship. [Sinān] acquired wealth, a high position, and dignity.
86. Orḥān was a brave leader. They used to call him Nerīmān-ı Zamān (= the Nerīmān of the time).
87. When he shot an arrow, destiny was changed. The dragon used to be afraid of his spear.
88. His sword was a depiction of death. You would think that it was [as fast as] wind, and the bodies were motionless.
89. When he took his iron club, Sām-ı Sūvār used to be afraid of him.

<sup>40</sup>Holy war on behalf of Islam.

<sup>41</sup>Flood; raid.

<sup>42</sup>Niche of a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca.

<sup>43</sup>Poverty is close to blasphemy.

Kemal Sılay

90. He had generosity, but Hâtemî...; he had endeavor, but Rüstemî...
91. He was compassionate to the true believer, a calamity to the infidel. He bestowed a thousand fears unto the infidel.
92. His compassion was a healing [power] to the true believer. His oppression was perdition to the infidel.
93. He caused clamor among the Lâz, [and] earthquakes in the cities of Ungurus.
- (f) Orhân's Sending of Süleymân Paşa to the Opposite Shore in Order to Fight on Behalf of Islam
94. Süleymân Paşa was the elder son [of Orhân]; he had all the qualities to be a leader.
95. He had both bravery and munificence; he had both governing and ruling [ability].
96. He had been endowed with good quality, to the extent that he was renowned for his kindness.
97. He always did his best, fighting on behalf of Islam until he died.
98. When he was giving an idea, he was like Âsâf; when he was fighting in the theater of war, he was the embellisher of the ranks.
99. What a virtue! He knew how to fight on behalf of Islam. He sacrificed his life for the sake of God.
100. He was both a şîrgür<sup>44</sup> and a şimşîr-zen;<sup>45</sup> he was both a hâsm-bend<sup>46</sup> and a leşker-şiken.<sup>47</sup>
101. Orhân sent him to the opposite shore, so that he would fight there for some time on behalf of Islam...
102. ... march with the soldier, [and] conquer countries, cities, and [other] lands.
103. Whatever he found in [the regions] of the infidel, he would destroy, [and] he would burn their homes.
104. He would kill those who did not accept [Islam] at his invitation, and would make the army of Islam victorious.
105. By the order of God and his father's judgment, he arrived in the region of infidels with the army.
106. There, he made several gazās for the faith [and] his name became suitable to be a gâzî.
107. Wherever he went, he became the victor; he conquered countries, cities, and fortresses.
108. There, he fought in such a manner that, in the west, the Fireng used to be routed.
109. Wherever that illustrious one reached, he conquered cities and countries.
110. Whatever he demanded, he obtained. Of course [finally], he became a great Sultan.
111. He was given fortresses, properties, and tribute. He took many taxes from the begs of the infidel.
112. Wherever he found a church, he demolished it. He destroyed the church-bell and burned the rope girdle.
113. He threw the blasphemy to the ground, [and] made it invisible, vivifying the "Lâ ilâhe illâ'llâh."<sup>48</sup>
114. He demolished many churches, and turned them into mosques; there was no polytheism [for him], he worshiped monotheism.
115. Several times he went on campaigns; he routed a great number of infidels.
116. He conquered these three, too: Vize, Mıgalkara, and Ipsala.
117. There, the infidel soldier was exhausted; there, the banner of blasphemy fell down.
118. Months and years passed quickly; cities and countries were full of "Allâh[u] Ekber"<sup>49</sup> [sounds].
119. Now, Mohammed is being thought of where Jesus used to be worshiped.
120. One day, the claw[s] of ecel<sup>50</sup> reached him; there is nothing we can do against the command of God, may He be honored and glorified.
121. Indeed, this world is a transient place; whoever comes here, [some day] must leave!
122. Her name is "Earth"; whatever she finds, she eats. Do not object to her; whatever she needs, she eats.

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<sup>44</sup>One who captures lions; brave.

<sup>45</sup>Swordsman; warrior.

<sup>46</sup>One who squeezes the enemy.

<sup>47</sup>One who breaks up armies.

<sup>48</sup>There is no god, but God.

<sup>49</sup>God is most great.

<sup>50</sup>The appointed hour of death.

### Aḥmedi's History of the Ottoman Dynasty

123. Remove the desire for this world from your heart. Ambition stays, [but then] disappears, from this station.
124. Why did you sin, putting a lot of desire [into your heart]? You do know that your life span is too short!
125. Think of those whom this world has destroyed; many disappeared under the earth.
126. If you [want to] examine every mote of the soil, you will find thousands of zūlf,<sup>51</sup> ḥāl,<sup>52</sup> ḥaṭṭ,<sup>53</sup> and leb.<sup>54</sup>
127. [God] adorns beautifully, embellishes beautifully, and creates beautifully. He builds [this world] up, and demolishes later.
128. This world was created by the command of God in order to show His kindness and His oppression.
129. He [=God] helps and elevates when kemāl<sup>55</sup> begins; it is [only] the deficiency and adversity which bring [you] to kemāl.
130. Orḥān moaned for his son; [however], sighs and wailing cannot do anything to bring the dead's life back.
131. This blue sky is sometimes uplifting, sometimes oppressive.
132. The sun and the moon moved day and night; days, weeks, months, and years came and passed.
133. Sometimes there was autumn, sometimes fresh spring; sometimes there was dark night, sometimes bright day.
134. When the hour of death had come from God, Orḥān left for the garden of heaven.
135. Holding the crown and the throne for thirty-nine years, he made [his] horse's trappings reach towards the rose garden of paradise.

#### (g) The Sultanate of Murād Beg Ġāzī which Lasted Thirty Years

136. Ġāzī Murād took his position. His aim was to fight on behalf of Islam.
137. He was a perfect Padishah and a wise [person]. He had precaution and intelligence.
138. He was modest, and he had a lot of endeavor. He was not harmful, but useful.
139. Even when he felt sorrow, he was glad. He was happy like a rose surrounded by the thorn.
140. Poor or abandoned, whoever came to him used to obtain a portion from his benefaction.
141. He became a protector of many destitute [people]; he made many poor people commanders.
142. He cut many people's heads off [and] threw them from the ground to the sky.
143. Leaving Çender because of destitution, Ḥalīl-i Çenderī entered into his presence.
144. [Ḥalīl-i Çenderī] was an ignorant [person]; he was deprived of any talent.
145. [Murād], seeing his difficult situation and poverty, made him a state officer with great kindness.
146. Ultimately, he made [Ḥalīl-i Çenderī] a vizier. What a vizierate! He became a great ruler.
147. What is called Sultan should be like this, so that his name will not be erased from the tablet of benevolence.
148. The Padishah should have such an understanding that, in his presence, there should be both dust and gold together.
149. The Sultan should have the goodness of hūmāy,<sup>56</sup> so that when a mendicant comes to him, the latter will be treated as a sovereign.
150. Because of the fact that fortune came to Ġāzī Murād, he was the adornment of the crown and throne.
151. He devoted himself to fighting on behalf of Islam forever; he gave merited punishment to the infidel.
152. He had strength, power and might; he was both young and heroic.
153. He was quite well known for his valiancy. He had also made a great effort in fighting on behalf of Islam.

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<sup>51</sup>Side lock of hair, lovelock.

<sup>52</sup>Mole on the body.

<sup>53</sup>Youthful beginnings of a beard.

<sup>54</sup>Lip.

<sup>55</sup>Perfection.

<sup>56</sup>A mythical bird, bird of paradise.

154. His brothers became his enemies. All of them were put out of action by him.  
155. They were all devastated by his sword [because] the kindness of God had become a refuge to him.  
156. It was he who first extended his hand to Rüm. He gave much trouble to Kaşar.  
157. He took Engüriyye in battle [and] invaded Sulţan Yügi through force.

(h) The Battle of the Kaşamāns with Murād Beg and the Crushing Defeat of the Army of Kaşamān

158. The Shah of Kaşamān fought with him; nevertheless, [Murād Beg] made [the Shah's] life unbearable for him.  
159. He asked for help and support from everywhere. Those who had power became a refuge for him.  
160. Every hero among the Tatars was a soldier and friend to him.  
161. The Varsak, Turğud, Türk, Rüm, and Şām were for him without exception.  
162. Having heard the news, Gāzī Murād marched in splendor to become famous.  
163. He did not ask for help from anybody; it was God who bestowed the conquest upon [Murād] because of his tevekkül.<sup>57</sup>  
164. He was [like] lightning; he flashed when he was fighting. He fought like a lion with the enemy.  
165. Lances were broken, sharp swords were turned into pieces. You would think that the Day of Resurrection had come.  
166. Both the Turks and Tatars, being destroyed became fodder for his sword.  
167. The Shah of Kaşamān ran away from him. [Gāzī Murād] became the owner of the sun, sky, and moon.  
168. Leaving all their belongings, they fled to save their dear lives.  
169. You know what the Kaşamānlu have! All were destroyed there.  
170. Many begs were killed there. Many young men fell [and] passed away.  
171. Because of the fact that this conquest was facilitated by God, he made his determination a definite resolution towards the infidel.

(i) The Departure of Murād Beg Gāzī to the Opposite Shore for the Service of the Military Expedition on Behalf of Islam and for the Conquest of Countries

172. Wherever he went, he obtained victory. His sword worked on the shield.  
173. His arrow's spearhead became death. Wherever it fell, it brought annihilation.  
174. This adequate, illustrious one took [many] countries, just like Sām-ı Süvār had conquered the Kaf.<sup>58</sup>  
175. He had no expectations from fighting except to obtain God's pleasure.  
176. Finally he attained victory against the infidel. He turned the land of infidels upside-down.  
177. Showing humility is a devotion to the worship of God. The virtue of obedience to God is useless without it.  
178. The person finds prosperity from his obedience to God. May he not have anything in his heart except God.  
179. If you have [any] trace of worldly desires in your heart, don't think that [your] worship is blessed; it has become evil!  
180. He who has thought about worldly desires has not found anything useful. Destroy the desires for this world in your heart, so that [your] affairs will go well.  
181. Strive, take everything against God away from the heart, if you don't want [your] affairs to be inauspicious.  
182. Let me tell a story on these remarks; let me read verses from the Kur'an for you.

(j) The Story about the Inauspiciousness of Deficient Belief<sup>59</sup>

183. The holy war became an obligatory act for the Jews. This is a loan that will be paid [dearly].  
184. The army of İmlik was their adversary. All of them were infidels and atheists.  
185. However, all were brave swordsmen, archers, and leşkersiken.  
186. They did not go on that campaign because of fear; they did not sacrifice themselves for the sake of God's command.

<sup>57</sup>A putting one's trust in God.

<sup>58</sup>Mythical mountain.

<sup>59</sup>This story, told in couplets 183-222, was adapted from the Kur'an: Sūretü'l-bakara (2), 246-251.

### Aḥmedī's History of the Ottoman Dynasty

187. God made them weak in face of the enemy. They all became contemptible and depressed.
188. They decimated them by fighting; they enslaved all the women and children.
189. They didn't leave a thing. They pillaged everything. They also drove all of them away from their lands.
190. Because that calamity had come to the children of Israel, [the Jews] suffered many troubles.
191. They realized that the divine wrath called down upon them was the result of their unfaithfulness to God.
192. The women and children were taken captive. There was no longer anyone to be their chief.
193. They were without a leader. They were all feeble and debilitated.
194. There was a messenger among them whom they used to call by the name of Urmiyā.
195. They said to him: "Help us! Appoint someone as leader...
196. ...so that we will gather together around him when we [want] to take revenge on the adversary!"
197. Urmiyā said: "Should there be a leader, you will probably fight."
198. They said: "Why shouldn't we fight? The children and women are lost, the land was taken!"
199. He who says he is for war should not be happy; because [of it], the land, children, and women have been taken away.
200. If any desire other than believing in God comes to [one's mind], it becomes polytheism; how can it be good [in the presence of] God?
201. They did not say: "Let us sacrifice our lives in battle for the sake of God's order!..."
202. ...Life belongs to Him, let us give it up in His way; let us strengthen the love for Him in our hearts!"
203. Life is so prosperous, life is so happy, because they are going to sacrifice it for the sake of God.
204. According to true belief, there should be only God in the heart. Whatever is there other than God should be destroyed.
205. For he who does not believe in God, in his eyes, let this world look like a thorn. One who mentions God should not have any inclination towards worldly desires.
206. God made Ṭālūt their leader, so that they would fight with the enemy.
207. They marched towards them in order to attack, hurling themselves at the enemy.
208. On a hot day, they stopped off at a river. All of them [were] afflicted and extremely thirsty.
209. Getting endurance from God, they became accustomed to not having water.
210. A divine inspiration proclaimed that no one should drink that water; [everybody] should stop [but] pass by that river.
211. Whoever [wants] to drink, should only have a handful [of water]. One who behaves in that way will be a true believer.
212. One who does not go there will be an advantage in the struggle.
213. However, all were not entirely sincere believers; children [and] adults took [and] drank the water.
214. There, all of them became sick, unwell, wretched and miserable.
215. Those who drank too much withered away; those who had a little stayed healthy.
216. There was no sincerity in their belief; necessarily, they suffered calamity.
217. In all, three hundred and thirteen persons stayed [alive], but all of them [were] sincere and true believers.
218. They marched, wishing for victory from God. By all means their affairs became good.
219. There, Ṭālūt killed Cālūt; the 'Imlikīs were destroyed one by one.
220. The belief of those who drank too much was deficient; necessarily, their sorrow became great.
221. The belief of those who drank little was not weak; that is why their affairs went well.
222. In this manner, I have told you [the story]. [How about the Ottoman house?] The behavior of the Ottomans is well known!
223. Because the sincere belief of the Ottomans became distinguished, they found a special attachment in the presence of God.
224. Wherever they went, they found the way. They conquered countries, defeated peoples.
225. Had there been [any] defect in their belief, their affairs would have been beleaguered by damage.
226. Oh ye who knows the history, tell me if you know rightly!
227. Ever since the community of Moḥammed [=the Muslims] emerged, they have been the people of Ḥalīl.



## Kemal Sılay

228. Since war on behalf of Islam has been the sacred duty to this people, who has fought like them?  
229. Taking a number of the infidels' countries and cities, they killed their rulers.  
230. Keep in mind that the One who said "Ümmetü ta'lû velâ tu'lâ"<sup>60</sup> declared that for this people!  
231. In short, Gâzî Murâd was a true and devout believer.  
232. He has built up shelters, mosques, and mausoleums; [after all these], there is no grief for him to die.  
233. While he was in this world, he prepared himself for the next world, where everybody [=the elite, and the common people] will be tranquil.  
234. While he was alive he used to help people. He passed away, [but] his benefaction still reaches [us]!  
235. He conquered the land of Rûm. He made their begs his servants.  
236. Finally, he coveted the Lâz; necessarily, a battle began between them.  
237. The fire-worshippers and the Christians, everyone between here and the west, sent innumerable soldiers to the Lâz [as auxiliaries]...

### (k) The Battle of Auspicious Sulţan Murâd Beg with the Lâz Unbelievers, and His Martyrdom, and the Defeat of the Infidel

238. ...so that, they would fight with Gâzî Murâd, and destroy his existence.  
239. Gâzî Hân fought with them, to the extent that they could find no way out.  
240. Such a battle had broken out between [them] that it went down in history with time.  
241. Wherever one looked, there were [only] heads; wherever one went, there were [only] bodies!  
242. The soil and the stone had been mixed with blood; every dried tear had become ruby-colored.  
243. The theater [of the battle] was full of heads and bodies in layers; the horse was walking on the corpses.  
244. Becoming worn out in that battle from violence, the infidel miserably ran away.  
245. The cavalry ran after the enemy. The Sultan stayed behind with some slaves.  
246. That leader waited there, so that when the army came back they would be able to find him.  
247. Apparently, there was an infidel lying with [his body] covered with blood from head to toe.  
248. He had hidden himself among the bodies, but was seeing Gâzî Murâd clearly.  
249. As fate would have it, he was lying, he [suddenly] stood up, [and] leaping, stabbed the Sultan with a khanjar.  
250. At the same time, the auspicious Sultan - who was a gâzî - certainly became a martyr.  
251. There is no prevention, that is the way of destiny. The human cannot be eternal!  
252. He was a gâzî, he sacrificed himself for the sake of God. He is certainly a martyr!  
253. Ask for help from his spirit, so that you will be able to meet the conquest by the help of his victories.

### (l) The Sultanate of the Auspicious Sulţan Bâyezîd, the Son of Gâzî Murâd

254. Because the martyr Sultan passed away [in the holy war], Sultan Bâyezîd took his position.  
255. He became just like [his] father and ancestors; he became perfectly successful in all affairs.  
256. That famous one used to like the scholars and scientists; he used to bestow [gifts] abundantly, respect heartily.  
257. He used to tolerate those who were religious. He used to treat those who were devout with warmth.  
258. He made Şeyh Efendi, who was poor when he had come to him, a leader to all people.  
259. That sovereign gave him an important rank, countries, fortresses, cities, and lands.  
260. He took Sîvâs and Tokât from the Rûm. Conquering Cânîk he arrived in Sâmsûn.  
261. Since that one was also conquered by him, he returned to his country.  
262. That Sultan conquered all the cities and regions as far as the frontiers of Anţaliye.  
263. He also took Alaşar, Şaruĥân, Aydın, Menteşe, and Germiyân.  
264. Even Kaştoniyye was conquered by him, because that is the way the state affairs should be, according to him.  
265. Because he arrived in the cities of Karamân, he took Konya and Lârende, too.

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<sup>60</sup>My people will ascend, and nothing can rise above them.

Aḥmedi's History of the Ottoman Dynasty

266. There was no city or land in that region which he did not take. That illustrious one conquered all of them.
267. He arrived in the country and established his authority. He greatly constituted, in the state, justice and equity.
268. Because the people obtained that justice from him, they were all, children and adults, busy with working.
269. There was not any place in all of Rūm which was not developed with his justice.
270. In the country, there was no desert or mountain left which was not turned into either a sown field, a garden, or an orchard.
271. For some time, he was openly ascetic; his [only] action was to worship night and day.
272. He never handled a glass of wine; he listened to neither *çeng*<sup>61</sup> nor *ney*.<sup>62</sup>
273. The Ottoman Sultan was the 'Ömer of justice; he knew that the *kādīs*<sup>63</sup> are tyrannic.
274. They are the takers of bribes, [and] abusers of the Islamic law; they don't know what "cause and effect" is.
275. For him it was not necessary to be interested in this world; [however the *kādīs*] say "wrong" to the right, [and] "right" to the wrong!
276. Gathering them all together, he called them to account; whatever they had taken, he made them return.
277. He punished them with whatever was necessary; badness is the convenient [way] to the one who acts badly.
278. He made [them] straighten up, to some extent, by the struggle; [but] how can they have honesty?
- (m) The Announcement of Sulṭān Berḳūk's Death to Bāyezīd Beg**
279. After this, some time passed; night and day went and came back again.
280. With the command of God - may He be honored and glorified - the appointed hour of death came to the Sultan of Mıṣr.
281. Hearing this, he attempted to go to Şām; he said that Mıṣr belonged to him.
282. He did not say, 'He died, I am going to die, too; I am going to die, just like he died!'
283. If you need [any] clue about your mortality, look at the death of your neighbors.
284. They said to Nūṣırvān: "Oh Shah, we've got some good news for you. The enemy, 'such and such', died, becoming devastated."
285. He said: "If I don't die, it is going to be good news for me; I don't want to die, just like he died..."
286. ...The good news is for what? I will die, too; like he died, I will be annihilated, too!"
287. The death of the enemy is a messenger for you; you will go there too!
288. Saying "that is the opportunity," he set out. He arrived in Mildenī with the army.
289. After besieging for some time, he conquered it; and then he turned his rein to the country.
290. He arrived in order to stay during the winter, [and then] in summer, equipped with arms, to go to the conquest of Şām.
291. What he had done was [just] a precaution; he could not realize that it was a predestination.
292. Human precaution does not work where there is God's predestination.
293. Whatever is predestined, it necessarily happens. Therefore, take this precaution no matter what happens!
294. In the meantime, Temūr marched towards Rūm. The state became full of instigation, fear, and languor.
295. Because Temūr did not have any justice, necessarily, he had a lot of cruelty and oppression.
296. It was certainly such a savageness that, even to mention it is a kind of wildness; the only solution is not to talk about it!

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<sup>61</sup>The simple form of the present-day harp which goes back to primitive times; although it was very popular among the Turks, it was abandoned in the eighteenth century.

<sup>62</sup>A reed flute played especially in Mevlevi music; today it is still one of the fundamental instruments of classical Turkish music.

<sup>63</sup>Judge of Islamic canon law and, in Ottoman history, governor of a *qaṣā*.

Kemal Sılay

297. That sovereign passed away among this languor. Many cities and countries were annihilated and burned.

(n) The Sultanate of Auspicious Martyr Sultan Emīr Süleymān  
-May God Glorify His Tomb-

298. Mīr Süleymān became the Sultan after him. It is clear like the sun; no need for evidence!  
299. There, he will be the doer of justice. He will be either Nūşinrevān or 'Ömer.  
300. You should clearly keep in mind that Cevne and Hindūstān have a grain [of value] compared to his grace.  
301. If his ring seals the wax, he enslaves a hundred Hātīm to a poor man.  
302. There is no end to his character's beauty. There is never a limit to his goodness.  
303. Hearing of his beauty's quality, Jupiter (=Müşterī) became desirous (=müşterī) for his love by sacrificing himself.  
304. When the sun sees his horse's shoe, envyingly, he says: "Yā leytenī küntü tūrāb."<sup>64</sup>  
305. Although [he has] an army, wealth, treasure, and power, he does not desire to conquer a country.  
306. Compared to his grace, the world is only as big as a mosquito's wing.  
307. If he had desired to conquer a country without having a battle, the east and west would have been taken by him.  
308. He is generous [and] compassionate. He is the owner of big-heartedness; "ni'me'l-fetā."<sup>65</sup>  
309. His personality is free from haughtiness; as well, he is far from immorality.  
310. There is no limit to his beautiful characteristics; therefore, [I don't know] how to describe him.  
311. Nobody knows who the limitless one is, or is able to relate his description fully.  
312. If the life span shows mercy to [us], - by the grace of God - in the future...  
313. ...we are going to write a book [and] explain in it what Mīr Süleymān has done.  
314. I have mentioned those sultans to you, from beginning to end, [saying] their names, [and describing] their characteristics.  
315. It does not matter if this Sultan's name has appeared last, because he is earlier than all of them for his degree.  
316. First came thousands of prophets; finally Mohammed arrived, the crown of saints!  
317. Necessarily, He became the Hātēm<sup>66</sup> of all [the predecessors], because God has created the universe for the sake of Him!  
318. Even though the tree [grows] first and later [comes] the fruit, in terms of degree, the fruit is more profitable than the tree.  
319. The existence came from God to those trees, so that the abundance of munificence would be able to give the fruit.  
320. First the Torah, the Psalms, and the Gospels came down; and then the Qur'ān, which is entirely a spiritual light.  
321. Undoubtedly, the Rose [=Prophet Mohammed] has become better than the Violet [=all the other prophets]; necessarily, [the Rose] comes after [the Violet].  
322. Listen, let me tell you why the Tebbet was written before the Sūre-i İhlās.  
323. For this reason, the people of the world should know that, undoubtedly, the last one is better than the first.  
324. Since the reason of existence was this Sultan, he obtained fame coming after all the others.  
325. I have completed this poem for his sake, with praise.  
326. Aḥmedī has been in the service of him, [and] has devoted himself and the universe to his way.  
327. Necessarily, he [=Aḥmedī] has attained felicity and greatness. What a beautiful sultanate, what a noble Sultan!  
328. One who acts without thinking is stupid; one who esteems [worldly] things is astray.  
329. Whoever is a protector and an enlightened one in this world, may languor not enter into his good fortune.

<sup>64</sup>Would that I were dust [Qur'ān: Sūretü'n-nebe' (78), 40].

<sup>65</sup>He is the most generous one.

<sup>66</sup>The last.

Ahmedî's History of the Ottoman Dynasty

330. May his protection always turn up in the world. May his sublimity's degree reach to the sky.  
331. Let the autumn not come to his life span's garden. Let the world not bring anybody to his position.  
332. This world does need him; he is the soul of this universe.  
333. We have told the history in this manner. One who hears about it will clearly understand.  
334. Let us again talk about the story of İskender; let us tell what happened at the end.

Text in Transcription

A 65b, B 288b, C 265b, D 209a, E 240a, F 259a, G 234b, H 251a, I 268a, J256a

(a) Tevārîh-i Mülük-i Âl-i 'Osmân ve Gazv-i İşân bâ-Küffâr

1. Bu tevârîhi çün eyledüm beyân  
Gönlüme bir nesne düşdi nāgehân
2. Dağı sözler vesvese ' ol ilhâmdur  
Çâresi nedür anuñ itmâmdur
3. Ol melikler ki ' anları zıkr eyledüm  
Hâletin ü sîretini söyledüm B 289a, C 266a
4. Kimi kâfirdi kimi ehl-i sitem  
Kahrıdı anlarda bîş u luğf kem
5. Ol Moğol sulţânlarınıñ 'adlini H251b  
Niceyidi işit imdi şerhini
6. İtmediler anı kim Cingiz Hân  
Zulmden halka ider idi 'ayân
7. Zılm itdiler veli kânûnıla  
Ellerin boyamadılar hûnıla
8. Zılm kim kânûn u zabtıla ola  
'Adl gibi halka ol âsân gele
9. Vardur ol sözlerde bize çok zelev  
İdelüm şimdi ' anı ki ' anda yok hâlel F259b
10. Çün añıldı ol kamu ehl-i sitem G235a  
Zıkre getürelüm ehl-i 'adli hem
11. Añalum ol begleri kim serteser J256b  
Hem Müsülmân idiler hem dâdger
12. Kamusunuñ işi kâfirle cidâl E240b  
Geydügi vü yidügi mâlı helâl
13. Bu kitâba idelüm anı hitâm I268b  
Ki ' anuñıla ola bu nâme tamâm
14. Bir gazâvet-nâme düzeyim saña D209b  
İşid illâ 'itirâz itme baña
15. Gâziler soñra nişe ' añıldı dime  
Anlar aşğa neçün geldi dime

(b) İsti'zâr-ı Te'hür-i Kazıyye-i Gâziyân

16. Soñra gelen ön gelenden yig olur B289b  
Fikri olan bunu kim direm bilür
17. Virdi Hağ insâna feyz itdükde cüd C266b  
Kudret ü 'aql u hayât u hem vücüd
18. 'Aql ol üçden yigrekdi bigümân  
Lâcirem soñra ' oldı añlardan 'ayân
19. Soñra geldi enbiyâdan ol Resül H252a  
Hâtim oldı vü kamudan eşref ol
20. Dört kitâbuñ soñı Kur'ândur gelen  
Fazlıla ' oldur anlara nâsih olan
21. Kamudan çün soñra geldi âdemî F260a  
Fazlıla oldı kamunuñ hâtimi