

Enter the Mongols: A Study of the Ottoman Historiography in the 15th and 16th Centuries*

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15. ve 16. Yüzyıldaki Osmanlı Tarihlerinde Moğol Simgesi

Öz ■ Bu makale 15. ve 16. yy. Osmanlı tarihlerinde Moğollar ve Cengiz Han'ın nasıl değerlendirildiğini araştırmaktadır. Bu tarihlerin Osmanlı Devleti'nin ilk dönemini anlatan kısımlarında Osmanlılar için Moğollar ve Cengiz Han korkunç birer rakip ve düşman olarak gösterilir. Burada Osmanlılar'ın Selçuklular ile birlikte Moğollar'la savaşım onları mağlup ettiğini nakletme ve Osmanlı padişahlarını gazi olarak övmeye niyeti olduğunu tahmin edebiliriz. Buna karşı, dünya tarihi kısmındaki Moğol hanları büyük padişah olarak yüceltilir. Bu Reşidüddin, Cuveyni ve Vasaf gibi Moğol hanedanı hükümlerinde kitap yazan Fars tarihçilerinin etkisinden kaynaklanıyor olabilir. 16. yy.a gelindiğinde Osmanlı tarihçileri Gazan ve Cengiz Hanlar'ı "dini yenileyen" kişiler olarak övmeye başlamışlardır. Ayrıca Moğollar ve Osmanlılar'ın aynı soydan geldiklerini iddia etmeye başladılar. Örneğin, *Silsile-name*'de Osmanlılar'ın şeceresinden Cengiz'in şeceresini ayırırlar ve *Seyahat-name*'de Kırım Tatarları'nın Osmanlılar'ın akrabası olduğunu söyler. Osmanlı tarihlerindeki Moğol simgesi bir anlamda Osmanlılar'ın değişen kimliğini yansıtır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tarih Yazımı, Moğol, Klasik Dönem, Osmanlı Şeceresi, Osmanlı Kimliği

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Introduction

This paper discusses how Ottoman historiography represents the Mongols. After the Mongols entered the Muslim world in the 13th century and dominated Iran, Iraq, and Anatolia, the Ottomans were among those Muslim dynasties that had submitted to the Ilkhans by the first half of the 14th century.¹ Nevertheless, few Ottoman historians mention this submission. This might indicate that they felt it difficult to describe the Mongols. This study will examine how the Ottoman historians, who started to write their chronicles in the early 15th century, retrospectively described and evaluated the Mongols and their rulers. This question is of value because it reveals the historical consciousness and legitimation of the Ottomans.

Few studies have been devoted to this subject. The development of studies on the authority, legitimacy and historiography of Ottoman history has been delayed. Studies on “solid” historical facts (politics, diplomacy, the economy and bureaucratic system), usually based on archival materials, have been mainstream in Ottoman studies, whereas studies of historiographical narratives remained limited for a long time. There are, however, some pioneering studies: Cornell Fleischer mentioned an important account concerning the Mongols and Genghis Khan in Mustafa ‘Âli’s works, and Barbara Flemming indicated a genealogical relationship between the Ottoman dynasties and Genghis Khan. Most recently, Baki Tezcan scrutinised how 15th century Ottoman sources described the Mongols and proposed a novel perspective.² These studies, particularly Tezcan’s, are very suggestive, and I wish to explore this subject further from a different viewpoint.

Terminology and Sources

Before starting our main investigation, several problems need to be settled. The first one is the problem of terminology. The terms representing the Mongols

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- 1 Mâzandarâni, *Die Resâlâ-ye Falakiyyä des ‘Abdollah ibn Muḥammad ibn Kiyâ al-Mâzandarâni*, Walther Hinz ed. (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1952), p. 162. Togan described Anatolia’s situation under the Mongols at detail. Ahmet Zeki Velidi Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihi’ne Giriş* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi 1981), pp. 324-37.
 - 2 Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Barbara Flemming, “Political Genealogies in the Sixteenth Century”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 7-8 (1988), pp. 123-37; Baki Tezcan, “The Memory of the Mongols in Early Ottoman Historiography”, in H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı eds., *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 23-38.

in Ottoman sources are ambiguous and complicated. When the Ottoman historians mentioned the Mongols, they used various terms such as *Moğol* (Mongol), *Tâtâr* (Tatar), *Cengiz* (Genghis) and *İlhân* (Ilkhanate). Although these terms share a common meaning in the sense that they all refer to the empire founded by Genghis Khan in the first half of the thirteenth century (and related groups), a precise distinction could be difficult because these terms are not identical and sometimes ambiguous. This paper uses the term Mongol for the sake of convenience, and flexibly adapts the other terms depending on the sources.

Studying narratives of the early Ottoman historiography is always difficult: the style and writing of narrative sources are not identical, because they are composed from different original (often missing) sources, which sometimes contradict each other. Our subject has the same problem. To conduct our investigation properly, we need to classify Mongol-related sources into three types. Ottoman historians mentioned the Mongols in three parts of their histories, and since these types of discourse about the Mongols have different characteristics, this paper investigates them separately.

First, there are the Mongols of the early Ottoman history, particularly the semi-legendary account of the foundation of the Ottoman state covering the reigns of Süleyman Şah, Ertuğrul and Osman Gazi. Secondly, there is a section on Mongol dynasties in a universal/multi-dynastic history. Some Ottoman historians covered the period starting from Genesis to the Ottoman dynasty through the history of prophets and other dynasties. That type of historiography is usually called a “universal history” by modern scholars. Ahmedî’s *İskender-nâme*, Şükrullâh’s *Behcetü’t-tevârih* and Küçük Nişancı’s *Târih-i Nişancı*, for example, are classified as universal histories. A kind of multi-dynastic chronicle without the inclusion of the Genesis narrative was also composed. For example, Yazıcıoğlu ‘Alî’s *Tevârih-i Âl-i Selcûk* included the histories of the Oghuz Turks, the Seljuk dynasty, Ghazan Khan and the Anatolian emirates. Thirdly, we review the accounts of the religious and genealogical relationship with the Mongols. We can usually find these accounts in the introductory parts of the chronicles or in passing.

I. Mongols in the Foundation Legend of the Ottoman State

In the legends of the foundation of the Ottoman state, the Mongols had two roles: as destroyers of the Muslim world, and as antagonists of the Seljuks and the Ottomans.

1. Mongols as Destroyers

The many Ottoman historians began their historical accounts of the Ottoman dynasty by narrating the Mongols' cruelty and destruction. Ottoman historians generally wrote that Hulagu Khan invaded West Asia and executed the Caliph of the Abbasid dynasty. The Mongols also repelled the Seljuks and Ottomans from Central Asia to the west, that is to Anatolia. The *Giese Anonymous*, composed in the late 15th century, recorded:

Genghis Khan destroyed the city of Belh and repelled the members of the Seljuk dynasty from the region. And then he died, so his son Ögedei Khan ascended to the imperial throne (*Pâdişâh*). He went to, and ruined, Baghdad, and dethroned the Abbasid dynasty. The member of the Genghisid dynasty grasped their [Abbasid] country, and people around the world were thrown into turmoil. Sultan Alaeddin, a member of the Seljuk dynasty, escaped from Acem and came to the Rum region...³

Süleyman Şah was later also repelled by the Mongols from Mahan, a city in Iran, to Anatolia. The Mongols' repelling of the Seljuks and Ottomans is not based on historical facts. The Seljuks went into western Asia in the 11th century, long before the incursion of the Mongols in the 13th century. Many historians narrated this kind of account, including *Giese Anonymous*, Şükrullâh, Karamânî, Oruç and others.⁴ The existence of this account suggests that Ottoman historians believed that the Mongols brought disaster to the Muslims and early Ottomans.

3 "Cingiz Han Belh şehrini harâb itdükde Âl-i Selçük tâyifesini memleketlerinden çıkarup sonra kendü helâk olup oğlu Ögrey Han pâdişâh olup gelüp Bağdad'ı harâb idüp tahtı Âl-i Abbâsiler'den alup memleketlerin Cingiz Hâniler dutup âlem halkı karış murış olup Âl-i Selçük'den Sultan Alâeddin dahı Acem vilâyetinden kopup Rum vilâyetine gelüp." Anonymous, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, part I, Friedrich Giese (ed.) (Breslau: Selbstverlage, 1922), p. 104. Transliteration is based on Öztürk edition, p. 9.

4 Anonymous, *altosmanischen*, p. 4; Şükrullâh, *Behcetü't-tevârih*, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, no. 3059, f. 158b; Karamânî Mehmed Paşa: *Tevârihu's-selâtinî'l-'Osmân*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 3204, f.1b; Oruç, *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, Franz Babinger ed. (Hannover: H. Lafaire, 1925), p. 5. Also see Table, column 1.

2. Battles with the Mongols

Ertuğrul's encounter with a battle between Alaeddin and the Mongols

There were two battles with the Mongols in the foundation legend of the Ottoman state. When Ertuğrul was wandering around Anatolia after his father's demise, he encountered a battle between Alaeddin, the Sultan of Rum Seljuk and the Mongols, in which Alaeddin was almost defeated. Although Ertuğrul's comrades suggested helping the Mongols, Ertuğrul decided to help Alaeddin. This battle was briefly narrated by Bayâtî.⁵ There is also a later enlarged version by Neşrî.⁶ Neşrî narrates:

Sultan Alaeddin I intended to battle with some enemies. They (Ertuğrul and his companions) came nomadising and accidentally encountered the battle between Alaeddin and the Tatars. The Tatars made a surprise attack on Sultan Alaeddin and almost defeated him. Ertuğrul had a few hundred brave companions. He said: "Oh my comrades! We have encountered a battle. Take up the sword. A man should not overlook it like a woman. You know, we should help one of them. Will we help the winning one, or the losing one?" They [Ertuğrul's companions] said: "It is difficult to help the loser. We are a handful of men. It might be better to help the winner." Ertuğrul said: "That is not a brave response. One should help the loser."⁷

Ertuğrul took Alaeddin's side and they finally defeated the Tatars. After this battle, Alaeddin was very pleased and rewarded Ertuğrul with a banner, a sword and a robe.

5 Bayâtî, *Câm-ı Cem-Âyîn*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 1943, f. 13b.

6 Neşrî, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, vol.1, Faik R. Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen eds. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1955), p. 68. For the other sources, see table.

7 "Sultân Alâeddîn-i evvel ba'zı a'dasıyla muhârebe sadedindeydi. Bunlar göçmel gelür; ittifâk Sultân Alâeddîn'ün Tatar'ıyla cengine tuş geldiler. Şol hâlde ki, Tatar Sultân Alâeddîn'i buñaldup sıyıyorur. Ertugrul'un yanında birkaç yüz yarar yoldaş varıdı. Er-tugrul eyitdi: "Hey yârenler! cenge tuş geldük, yanımızda kılıç götürürüz. Avrat gibi geçüp gitmek erlik degüldür. Elbette şunlaruñ birine mu'avenet itmek gerek. Gâlibe mi mu'avenet idelüm, bu maglûba mı?" Eytidiler: Maglûba mu'avenet asîrdür, âdemimiz azdur ve de ki, yigine kuvvet dimişdür" didiler. Er-tugrul eyitdi: "Bu söz merdâne kelâmı degüldür. Erlik oldur ki, maglûba yardım idevüz." Neşrî, *Cihan-nümâ*, p. 62. Transliteration is based on Öztürk edition, pp. 32-33.

Osman and Alaeddin's victory against the Mongols who broke the peace

The second battle was the victory of the Ottomans and Alaeddin over the Mongols. Alaeddin made a peace treaty with the Mongols, but they broke the treaty and plundered the Muslims. Alaeddin and Ertuğrul then attacked and defeated the Mongols. This second battle seems to have been more popular among the Ottoman historians than first one; many Ottoman historians repeated this account, with slight differences (see Table, Column 3). This is a quote from the account of Şükru'llâh:

Suddenly, it is reported that the Tatar rose up again, broke the peace and pillaged the Muslims' region. When the Sultan heard this report, he thought he should release the Muslims from the evil tyrant. Soon he summoned Ertuğrul, gave him an honourable robe and army and dispatched him to the castle. Alaeddin himself went to the Tatar. It is said that Sultan Alaeddin ordered the army to make a tent with the Tatar's testicles in this campaign, and it was done. The Sultan was involved in the defeat of the tyrannical evil. Ertuğrul made an effort to destroy the infidels.⁸

In these two battles, the Ottomans and Seljuks defeated the Mongols together.⁹ We could say that neither battle was directly based on historical fact, because no contemporary authors, such as Ibn Bibî, mentioned any such thing occurring.¹⁰ The Seljuks' recognition of Mongol sovereignty was not frequently narrated in the Ottoman chronicles (see Table, Column 4: only seven chronicles included this detail), and the Ottomans' recognition was never mentioned.¹¹

8 ناکاه خبر رسید که تاتار باز یاغی شد و عهد بشکست و ولایت اهل اسلام را غارت کرد چون خبر سمع سلطان رسید واجب دید که مسلمان را از شر ظالم خلاص کند در حال ارطغرل را حاضر کرد و خلعت پوشایند و دیگر لشکر داد و بر سر قلعه کماشت و خود بسوی تاتار شد کوبند که سلطان علاء الدین دران سفر از پوست خایه تاتار سایوانی فرمود کردند سلطان بدفع شر ظالم مشغول شد و ادطغرل بقمع و قهر و قتل کافر جد نمود
Şükru'llâh, *Behcet*, f. 159a.

9 Tezcan scrutinised the second battle and showed a more nuanced interpretation that the Âşıkpaşazâde's accounts of this battle that might lead to a Mongol-friendly feeling. Tezcan, "The Memory of the Mongols", pp. 23-38.

10 Although Togan tried to reconcile the account in the early Ottoman history with the facts, it seems to be speculative. Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihi'ne Giriş*, pp. 324-37.

11 A document included in *Münşeâtü's-selâtin* (Feridûn Ahmed, İstanbul, 1264-65, vol. 1, pp. 55-56) implies that Osman Gazi paid tribute to Ghazan Khan, though this document might have been a forgery. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I* (Münich: Societatea Academică Română, 1967), pp. 44, 60.

Table: Mongols in the Ottoman Sources

Author, work and date of composition	1) Destruction by Mongols	2) Battle with Mongols 1 (encounter)	3) Battle with Mongols 2 (after breaking the peace)	4) Mongols as dominators	5) Evaluation in the Mongol sections in universal/multi-dynastic histories	6) Tribal roots/genealogy of Mongols	7) Others
Alımedî, <i>İskender-nâme</i> 1410			28		Praising converted Mongol rulers (62b–63a)		
Yazıcıoğlu Ali, <i>Tārīh-i Âl-i Selçuk</i> 1424							
Şikrullâh, <i>Behşerî-i-tenârib</i> 1459	158b		159a			Similar to Turks (2b)	
Enverî, <i>Dişür-nâme</i> 1465							
Karamânî, <i>Tevârih-i-selâtin-i-Osmân</i> 1480	1b		2b				Ertuğrul's father fights with Mongols (20), Osman fights with Mongols (23)
Bayâtî, <i>Çâm-i Cerm-Âyîn</i> 1482		13b					
Anonymous (Oxford), <i>Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân</i> , 1480s			377	377			
Oruç, <i>Frâhismâşihî</i> later half of 15 th century	5		10 (not mentioning end of battle)				
Kemâl, <i>Selâtin-nâme</i> c.1490	22–23		29–30				
Konvî, <i>Târīh-i Âl-i 'Osmân</i> end of 15 th century							
Anonymous, <i>al-İsmâşihî</i> end of 15 th century	4		5 (not mentioning end of battle)				
Âşkepaşazâde, <i>Âşkepaşazâde Târīhî</i> end of 15 th century			14a–15b				Narname other battle with Mongols (40a–41a)
Neşrî, <i>Kitâb-ı Cibân-nimâ</i> 1485–1494	158	1:62	1:68	1:69, 71			
Rühî, <i>Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân</i> early 16 th century			16b	16b–17a			
Kemâlpasazâde, <i>Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân</i> early 16 th century	44	44–47	55–56				

Birtisi, <i>Heft Bhišt</i> early 16 th century	33b	31a–31b	32a	Religious buildings built by Chazan (50a–51a)
<i>Silsile-nāme</i> (Hazine 1590, oldest manuscript) reign of Beyzâit I				
Hadidi, <i>Tevârîh-i Âl-i ‘Osmân</i> 1523–1530/1				
Marrakçî Nasuh, <i>Tevârîh-i Âl-i ‘Osmân</i> mid-16 th century	546a	546a–47a	547b–48a	548a–48b
<i>Silsile-nāme</i> (Ayasofya 3259, widely accepted version) reign of Süleyman I				Ottomans and Genghisids branch out from Oghuz Khan
Kiçik Nisancı, <i>Târîh-i Nişancer</i> after 1562	87			Religious buildings built by Chazan (99)
Lütfî Paşa, <i>Tevârîh-i Âl-i ‘Osmân</i> 1553–1563	153			Recognise Chazan as “the renewer of religion” (147)
Lâri, <i>Mir’ârîl-vedâr</i> c.1566	389b		390a	Chazan supporting religion (304a)
Hoca Sa’de’-din, <i>Tâcüt-tevârîh</i> 1575	14	14–15	18	17
Za’im, <i>Çami’ü’l-tevârîh</i> c.1578				Oghuz tribe (197a)
Lokmân, <i>Hüner-nāme</i> 1578			35b	46b
Çenâbi, <i>Târîh-i Çenâbi</i> c.1588				
‘Osmân, <i>Tevârîh-i Celâid-i Mir’âr-i Çihân</i> 1591				Ottoman, Genghisid and Ak-koyunlu branch out from Gök Alp (12–30)
<i>Silsile-nāme</i> (Hazine 1324, with miniature) reign of Mehmed III				Miniatures of Mongol rul- ers in greater medallions
Abû’l-Abbâs, <i>Abhârü’l-düvel</i> 1598/9				Türk (206b)
‘Âli, <i>Kâmilü’l-Abhâr</i> end of 16 th century			5.23	5.21
Evlîyâ Çelebi, <i>Sağâhat-nāme</i> middle of 17 th century				Descendants of Oghuz Khan Cousin of Ottroman Brothers of Osman go to Crimea

By neglecting the Mongol sovereignty, these sources invented victories against infidel Mongols and might have contributed to the image of the Ottomans as ideal gazis.

II. The Section on the Mongols in the Universal/Multi-dynastic Histories

1. Praise for the Converted Mongol Rulers

How did Ottoman historians describe the Mongols in their universal/multi-dynastic histories? The oldest-extant Ottoman historiography, *İskender-nâme*, a Turkish-versified universal history written by Ahmedî,¹² includes an independent section on the Mongols based on the works of Ilkhanid historians Juwaynî and Rashîd al-dîn.¹³ Ahmedî accused the first Mongol rulers, including Genghis Khan, of being the destroyers of Islam.¹⁴ However, Ahmedî dramatically changed his narrative after Mongol rulers converted to Islam. According to Ahmedî, Gaykhatu Khan, the “first” Mongol ruler who converted to Islam, stood for justice (*‘adl*), made his land prosperous and abolished the tyranny of his grandfather. Arghun Khan also stood for justice, removed tyranny from his land and engaged in holy war (*gazâ*). Ghazan Khan was generous (*sâhî*) and committed to holy war (*cihâd*).

12 Though *İskender-nâme* was originally written as the “Alexander Romance”, it could be also categorised as a kind of universal history, including sections of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, the Umayyad dynasty, the Abbasid dynasty, the Mongol dynasty and the Ottoman dynasty.

13 İsmail Ünver, “Aḥmedî ve İskender-nâmesi”, Aḥmedî, *İskender-nâme: İnceleme-Tipki basım*, İsmail Ünver ed. (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1983), p. 19. *İskender-nâme* includes curious information concerning the Mongol rulers, which Rashîd al-dîn and Juwaynî did not narrate. For example, the first converter of Mongol rulers is portrayed as Geykhatu; the succession of rulers is hap-hazard; Oljeitu Khan is portrayed as female; and a Muhammad, not found in other sources, is mentioned as one of the rulers. This means Ahmedî might have had an informant.

14 At the same time, Ahmedî approved of Genghis’ practical capability: he said that Genghis Khan was capable (*kârdân*) and knew the rituals (*âyîn*) of feasting and battle strategy (*hîle*). Ahmedî’s ambivalent attitude towards the Mongols is well represented by the following verse:
Concerning the justice of the Mongol Sultans: / Hear now the explanation of what it was.
They did not mention the fact that / Cengiz Han clearly oppressed the people.
They [the Mongols] oppressed them with the law, / but they did not paint their hands with blood.
Lawful oppression and confiscation are / Amenable to the people as a form of justice
For us there are many deficiencies in those accounts. / Let us speak now without (such) defects.
Translated by Silay, in Tâce’d-dîn İbrâhîm bin Hızır Ahmedî, *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and their Holy Rides against the Infidels*, Kemal Silay ed. (Boston: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures Harvard University), 2004, p. 3.

Abu Said, the last ruler of the Ilkhanid dynasty, was described as brilliant (*cemâl*) and perfect (*kemâl*). Ahmedî thus highly praised the converted Mongol rulers.¹⁵

Yazıcıoğlu composed *Tevârih-i Âl-i Selcûk* in 1424, mainly on the basis of the works of İbn-i Bîbî, Râwandî and Rashîd al-dîn. İbn-i Bîbî, Yazıcıoğlu's main source, often mentioned the destruction caused by the Ilkhanid dynasty, not accusingly but in a matter-of-fact way.¹⁶ In his work, he described the rulers of the Ilkhanid dynasty as a kind of superior overlords who mediated the conflicts between members of the Rum Seljukid dynasty and helped them suppress revolts. İbn-i Bîbî also mentioned the Ilkhanid khans using good epithets and invocations,¹⁷ and regarded Ghazan Khan as a great ruler, using the title "Pâdişâh-ı İslâm";¹⁸ Yazıcıoğlu followed his example. Given that İbn-i Bîbî was recommended to write his history by Juwaynî, who served the Ilkhanid dynasty as a historian and politician, İbn-i Bîbî (Yazıcıoğlu also) could not be anti-Mongol.¹⁹

In the early 16th century, İdrîs Bitlîsî was commissioned to compose the history of the Ottomans by Beyazıt II. His *Heşt Bihîşt* was written in Persian *belles-lettres* and enjoyed a high reputation among the Ottoman men of letters. *Heşt Bihîşt*, a history of the Ottoman Empire, included a short section on the history of the Mongols and the Ilkhanid dynasty.²⁰ In this section, although pagan Khans were described as tyrants and idol-worshippers, Bitlîsî praised the Khans after Ahmad, the first converted Ilkhanid ruler. In particular, the religious buildings commissioned by Ghazan Khan (twelve madrasas, one masjid and one great mosque in Tabriz) were eulogised. Since praise of the religious buildings erected by Mongol rulers was a common motif in the Persian historiography, Bitlîsî might have been following that tradition. In fact, he mentioned the histories of

15 Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, f. 62b-63a.

16 İbn-i Bîbî, *El Evâmîrül-'Alâ'îye Fi'l-'Umûri'l-'Alâ'îye 1 (tıpkıbasım)*, Adnan S. Erzi ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1956), pp. 515, 534, 637, 616-17, 647, 667. İbn-i Bîbî criticised Cimri and Karamanid, who rose up against Rum Seljuk rather than against the Mongols.

17 İbn-i Bîbî, *Evâmir*, pp. 657, 666, 674, 679, 705, 722, 738, 741.

18 This title was often used by Rashîd-al-dîn, who served Ghazan Khan and Oljeitu Khan.

19 Juwaynî even praised Hulagu Khan, even though he never converted to Islam. Boyle indicated that Juwaynî had an ambivalent attitude against Ilkhanate rulers: he allusively accused the Mongols' destruction, whereas he extolled the Mongol rulers and regarded the fall of the Abbasid dynasty as divine destiny. John A. Boyle, "Translator's Introduction", 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juwaynî, *The history of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, John A. Boyle trans. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), pp. xxix-xxxv.

20 Bitlîsî, *Heşt Bihîşt*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Hazine 1655, f. 50a-51a.

Wassâf, Juwaynî and Yazdî, as his sources.²¹ Interestingly, the high officials of the Ottoman court denounced Bitlîsî's praise of Iran's rulers,²² but he never withdrew his praise in the later edition of his work.²³

Târîh-i Nişancı by Küçük Nişancı, a concise universal history written in the middle of the 16th century, does not include an independent chapter for the Mongol dynasties, but this work explains the exploits of the Ilkhanid rulers in a short section.²⁴ Küçük Nişancı shared Bitlîsî's opinion of the Mongols: he enumerated the same number of Ghazan-ordered buildings as in Bitlîsî's account. It is plausible that he referred to *Heşt Bihişt*, even if he did not directly mention Bitlîsî. Given that *Târîh-i Nişancı* was a kind of a "best seller" among the Ottoman literati,²⁵ we can suggest that praising the Mongol kings after their conversion was standard in Ottoman public discourse.

In his Persian universal history the *Mir'âtü'l-edvâr Lârî* regarded that Ghazan Khan strengthened religion.²⁶ Mustafa 'Âlî praised Genghis Khan, even if Genghis did not convert, as we will see in section III. The other three universal historians, Za'im, Cenâbî and Abû'l-'abbâs, described the Mongols without such evaluations (see Table, Column 5).

In their accounts on the Mongol dynasties in the universal/multi-dynastic histories, Ottoman historians generally treated the Mongol rulers honourably, particularly after they converted to Islam.²⁷ The reason for their pro-Mongol narratives is supposedly that the Ottoman authors of the universal/multi-dynastic

21 Koji İmazawa, "İdris-i Bitlisî'nin Heşt Bihişt'inin İki Tip Nüshası Üzerine Bir İnceleme", *Belleten*, 69/256 (2005), p. 890. Ménage also suggests that Bitlîsî was influenced by Juwaynî. V. L. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography", *Historians of the Middle East*, Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt eds. (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 176.

22 Koji İmazawa, "İdris-i Bitlisî'nin", p. 892.

23 The second edition of *Heşt Bihişt*, composed during the reign of Selim I, does not change this pro-Mongol attitude.

24 Küçük Nişancı, *Târîh-i Nişancı* (İstanbul, 1279), p. 99.

25 Özcan, Abdülkadir, "Historiography in the Reign of Süleyman the Magnificent", in *The Ottoman Empire in the Reign of Süleyman the Magnificent*, vol. 2, Tülay Duran ed., (Ankara: Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul Research Center 1988), pp. 173-75.

26 Lârî, *Mir'âtü'l-edvâr*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya, no. 2085, f. 304a.

27 Lane indicated some Persian historians praised them even before their conversion. George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 21.

histories relied on the Persian historiography, such as the works of Juwaynî, Rashîd al-dîn and Wassâf, who composed their works under the Mongol dynasties.

This tendency contrasts with the anti-Mongol narratives in the foundation legend of the Ottoman state, which we have already discussed in the first section. Interestingly, the universal/multi-dynastic historians described Mongols as destroyers and enemies in the foundation legend of the Ottoman state. This contradiction and inconsistency between the two narratives remains untouched.

2. Downgrading Praise for the Mongol Rulers: Enverî

Not all universal/multi-dynastic historians in the Ottoman Empire accepted the Persian historians' praise of Mongol rulers without hesitation. Here it is worth discussing the example of Enverî, who was critical of the Mongol rulers. Enverî wrote his Turkish universal history in verse (entitled *Düstûr-nâme*) in 1465, and dedicated it to the grand vizier Mahmud Paşa. He wrote his work based mainly on the concise Persian universal chronicle *Nizâm al-Tawârikh* (written in 1175) of Bayḍâwî, a historian under the Ilkhanids.

The section on the Mongols in *Nizâm al-Tawârikh* includes the reigns of Hulagu Khan (r. 1256-1265) and Abaqa Khan (r. 1265-1281), whom Bayḍâwî had served. Bayḍâwî openly praised both Khans as brave (*dalîr*) and shrewd (*sâhib-i rây*)²⁸ and never denounced Hulagu with the fall of the Abbasid dynasty. In his account of the ruin of Abbasid dynasty, without any accusations he simply mentioned that Hulagu captured Caliph Mustasim in a matter-of-fact way.

Despite Enverî's extensive use of *Nizâm al-Tawârikh* as his main source, Enverî did not directly accept Bayḍâwî's assessment of the Mongol rulers. The section on the Mongols in *Düstûr-nâme* covers the period from Genghis Khan to Abu Said, and also includes an account of Timur's career. In this section, he mentions Hulagu as "accursed (*mel'ûn*)", a negative cliché for non-Muslims and does not praise him as Bayḍâwî did. He also blames Timur for the destructions carried out under his rule.²⁹

28 Bayḍâwî, *Nizâm al-Tawârikh*, M.H. Muḥaddith ed. (Tehran, 1381), pp. 132-33.

29 Enverî, *Fatih Devri Kaynaklarından Düstûrnâme-i Enverî*, by Necdet Öztürk ed. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), f. 58a-62a. Feridun Emecen indicated that the Ottoman historians often criticised Timur, who defeated Bayazid I at the Battle of Ankara and almost destroyed the Ottoman Empire. Feridun Emecen, *İlk Osmanlılar ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), p. 166.

III. Religious and Genealogical Relationships: Legitimation utilising the Mongols

1. The Religious Relationship

Abû Dâ'ûd's *Sunan*, one of the six canonical hadith collections, includes a famous hadith: "The renewer of religion (*man yujaddidu*) will appear to Umma at the turn of each century."³⁰

Some Ottoman historians tried to define who deserved to be the renewer of religion. On the basis of this hadith, Bitlîsî claimed that Osman Gazi was the renewer of religion because he was enthroned in 699 (1299),³¹ although Bitlîsî did not connect this hadith with the Mongols.

Lütfî Paşa, a historian and grand vizier under the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, developed a further interpretation of this hadith. In the preface of his *Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, Lütfî enumerated the renewers of religion in each century: the Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, Umar (r. 717-720), in the 2nd century; the Caliph of the Abbasid dynasty, Harun al-Rashid (r. 786-809), in the 3rd century; the Caliph of the Abbasid dynasty, Qadir (r. 991-1031), in the 4th century; and the Sultan of the Seljuk dynasty, Muhammad (r. 1105-1117), in the 5th century. After them, Ghazan Khan was mentioned as the renewer of religion in the 6th century.³²

The one who would renew religion in the 6th century was Şah Ghazan Khan, son of Argun Khan, son of Hulagu Khan, son of Tolui Khan, son of Genghis Khan of Genghisid lineage. Ghazan Khan accepted Islam by abandoning his ancestors' beliefs and the sun of the religion of the apostle acquires a firmness. Many churches and temples had been built in the Muslim regions from the rise of his ancestor, Genghis Khan, until his [Ghazan's] conversion to Islam. He ordered these buildings to be destroyed. Those taxes that had been imposed on the Muslims by infidel Mongols and other non-Islamic deviations were removed. All Muslims

30 إن الله يبعث لهذه الأمة على رأس كل مائة سنة من يجدد لها دينها Abû Dâ'ûd, *Sunan Abi Dâ'ûd*, ed. 'I. 'U. Da'âs and 'Âdil al-Sayyid (Beyrut, 1969-74), vol. 4, p. 480.

31 Bitlîsî, *Heşt Bibişt*, f. 46b. Bitlîsî, however, mistakenly attributed this Hadith to *Sahib*.

32 Lütfî Paşa, *Lütfî Paşa ve Tevârih-i Al-i Osman*, Kayhan Atik ed. (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi 2001), p.147. Imber mentioned Lütfî's account from the viewpoint of legitimising the Ottoman rulership with hadith. Colin Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth", *Turcica*, 19 (1987), p. 150.

who lived from the West to the East were pleased by Ghazan's conversion and his removal of non-Islamic deviations.³³

Lütfî continued his accounts of each century's renewer:³⁴ the renewer of religion in the 7th century was Osman Gazi; in the 8th century it was Mehmed II; and finally in the 9th century it was Selim I, also praised as the victor over Şah Ismail (it is evident that Lütfî utilised this rhetoric for the rivalry with the Safavids, contemporary antagonists of the Ottomans). To strengthen the Ottomans' position, Lütfî regarded Ghazan Khan as the predecessor of the Ottoman rulers from a religious point of view. The concept of "the renewer of religion" was not unique in Ottoman historiography: the term was also used in the historiography of the Shaybanid, Mughal and Ak-Koyunlu dynasties. Ghazan Khan also called himself "the renewer of religion".³⁵ Lütfî introduced this concept, which had been popular rhetoric in the Muslim dynasties, into his chronicle.

The adaptation of this hadith continued after Lütfî. Mustafa Âlî, the famous historian of the late 16th century, gives an interesting account:

33 "Altıncı yüzün dînin ihyâ idüb yeñileyen, Cengiziler neslinden Şâh Gazân Hân bin Argün Hân bin Hulagu Hân bin Tuli Hân bin Cengiz Hân idi kim, atası ve dedeleri dînin terk idüb dîn-i İslâma gelüb ve Rasûlu'llâh -salla'llâhü 'aleyhi ve sellem'in- dîni güneşi tâbân olub dedesi Cengiz Hân'ın zuhûrundan kendusi İslâm'a gelinceye değin ne kadar kiliseler ve buthâneler ki, İslâm vilâyetlerinde yapılmış idi, emr idüb temâmet yıkdurub harâb itdürdi. Ve müslümanlar üzerine konulan harâcı ve sâyir bid'atları ki, kâfirler ihdâs itmiş idi, giderüb temâmet magribde ve maş- rıkdâ olan müslümanlar külliyyen Gazân Hân'ın İslâm'a gelüb ve bu kadar bid'atları ref itdüğüne ferahlar ve sürûrlar hâsıl itdiler." Lütfî, *Lütfî Paşa ve Tevarih*, p. 147.

34 Needless to say, the centuries Lütfî mentioned did not precisely accord with the lifetimes of the aforementioned men. It might have been more important for Lütfî to enumerate a list of the renewers rather than to maintain chronological precision.

35 Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman", *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, Gille Veinstein ed. (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), p. 161, 176; *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 281; Anne Falby Broadbridge, "Mamluk Ideological and Diplomatic Relations with Mongol and Turkic Rulers of the Near East and Central Asia (658-807/1260/1405)" (PhD dissertation, the University of Chicago, 2001), p. 19. According to Ella Landau-Tasserion, mujaddids were normally selected among religious people in Arabic literature, if caliphs were sometimes selected. Ella Landau-Tasserion, "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the mujaddid Tradition", *Studia Islamica*, 70 (1989), pp. 84-85. It is plausible that the idea of "mujaddid king" was created under Iranian-Turkic dynasties.

[Osman Gazi] was born in the region of Rum in 654 [1256/7] and ascended to the throne in 700, when he was 43 years old, because most emperors (*Padişâhlar*), who are such laudable descendants of world-conquerors, are enthroned at the turn of each century. For instance, the historian Mîr-Khwând wrote that Genghis Khan ascended to the throne in 599 [1202/3]. Likewise, Neşrî, who was the author of *Cihân-nümâ*, historian Rûhî, especially Tevkiî Mehmed [Küçük Nişancı], [Hoca] Sa'de'd-dîn and Şeh-nameci Seyyid Lokmân, a contemporary, all agreed that [Osman's enthronement happened in] 699 [1299/1300]. According to my investigation, however, both of them happened at the beginning of the century; otherwise it would contradict with the holy hadith: "God send the renewer of religion to Umma at the turn of the centuries."³⁶

Âlî said that many Ottoman historians believed the foundation of the Ottoman state was in Hijri 699. However, according to him this account was wrong, given that Abû Dâ'ûd's hadith wrote that the renewer of religion should appear at the turn of the century. Osman Gazi should therefore have been enthroned in 700. Âlî also claimed that Genghis Khan should have been enthroned in 600 as the renewer of religion. Âlî enshrined both Osman Gazi and Genghis Khan from the perspective of Islamic values, despite the fact that the latter never converted to Islam.³⁷

Âlî also praised Genghis Khan from another point of view. He recognised three world conquerors, Alexander, Genghis, and Timur as *Sâhib-kirân*, or Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction. According to Âlî, Selim I would have been

36 "Vilâdetleri vilâyet-i Rûm'da Hicreti'n sene seb'a ve hamsûn ve sitte-mie târihinde vâkı' olub, tahta cülûslarında sinn-i şerifleri kırküşde bulunub, re's-i seb'a-mie'de vâkı'dir. Bu delîle ekşeriya bu maqûle evlâd-ı emcâdı 'âlem-gîr olan pâdişâhlara 'ibreten li'n-nâzırın re's-i miede vâkı' olub, cümleden Cengîz Hân cülûsını Mîr-Hond müverrih sene tis'a ve tis'in ve hamse-mie'de yazdığı üzre 'Osman Hân cülûsını Târih-i Cihân-nümâ müellifi Mevlânâ Neşrî ve müverrih Mevlânâ Rûhi-yi Edirnevî, huşûşâ Tevki'î Muhammed bin Ramazân ve efdalül-'ülemâ' Mevlânâ Sa'dü'd-Dîn bin Hasan Cân ve anlarıñ mu'âşırları Şeh-nâme-güy-ı Hâkânî Seyyid Lokmân, bi'l-ittifâk sene tis'a ve tis'in ve sitte-mie'de yazmışlardır. Fe-ammâ bu haķîr terebu'nda ikisi de re's-i mie'de vâkı'dir. Zîrâ ki "İnna'llâhe yeb'aşü li-hâzihi'l-ümme'ti bi-ra'si külli mietin men yüceddidü lehâ dînehâ" hadîs-i şerifi hilâf-ı mâni'dir." Âlî, *Künhül-Ahbâr*, vol. 5 (İstanbul, 1277), p. 25. Transliteration is based on Uğur edition, pp. 41-42.

37 We have a few examples of praising Genghis Khan from the perspective of Islamic values: Shabânkârâ'i, an Ilkhanate, a historian of the first half of 14th century, claimed that Genghis was not Muslim but blessed by God. Shabânkârâ'i, *Majma' al-ansâb*, vol. 2, M.H. Muḥaddith ed., Tehran, 1363-81, p. 24, 227. Indicated by Beatrice F. Manz, "Mongol History rewritten and relived", *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 89-90 (2000), p. 141.

Sâhib-kirân too, had he lived longer. This means that ‘Âlî claimed the Ottoman rulers were no match for Genghis Khan.³⁸

2. The Genealogical Relationship

Mongols as the Same Tribe

We could only find faint evidence of implying Ottoman-Mongol kinship in the foundation legend of the Ottoman state. Several Ottoman historians, including ‘Âşikpaşazâde, Hadîdî and Küçük Nişancı, wrote that Süleyman Şah immigrated to Anatolia with the Tatars and the Turks.³⁹ This account implies that the early Ottomans had a close relationship with the Tatars.

The Ottoman-Mongol kinship is more clearly mentioned in the Ottoman universal chronicles. The Ottoman dynasty reportedly originated from Oghuz tribes. It was also widely believed in the post-Mongol Persian historiography that also the Mongols belonged to the Oghuz lineage. Persian historians such as Rashîd al-dîn tried to connect the genealogy of Genghisids to the descendants of Oghuz Khan.⁴⁰ Yazıcıoğlu, one of the first Ottoman historians, followed Rashîd al-dîn and wrote his history as the history of the Oghuz dynasties. He explained the Mongols’ similarity to the Turks:

The appearance, language and dialect [of the Mongols and Turks] are similar, though they have different body compositions, characters and appearance due to their local water and air. So it is said that the Oghuzs looked like the Mongols in

38 ‘Âlî, *Künhül-Abbâr*, vol. 5, p. 17, indicated by Fleischer, *Bureaucrat*, pp. 279-80. It is known that *Sâhib-kirân* was often used for some Ottoman rulers (Beyazıt II, Selim I and Süleyman I) in the long list of praiseworthy titles (M. Dressler, “Inventing Orthodoxy: Competing Claims for Authority and Legitimacy in the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict”, Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski eds., *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 161). Importantly, ‘Âlî intentionally debated who deserved to be *Sâhib-kirân*. Kaya Şahin showed that Celalzade Mustafa told the same story of *Sâhib-kirân*. Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-century Ottoman World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015 (paperback ed.)), p. 62. Thus, Celalzade might have influenced ‘Âlî.

39 ‘Âşikpaşazâde, *‘Âşikpaşazâde Tarihi [Osmanlı Tarihi (1285-1502)]*, Necdet Öztürk ed. (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2013), f. 6a; Hadîdî, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, Necdet Öztürk ed. (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları), 1991, p. 23; Küçük Nişancı, *Târih-i Nişancı*, p. 87.

40 Nobuhiro Uno, “Shushi no kousei ni okeru oguzu kagan setsuwa no imi”, *Tôyôshi Kenkyû: The Journal of Oriental Researches*, 61/1 (2002), pp. 36-44.

Turkistan. Their dialect was also similar to that of the Mongols. After they came to Iran, Rum and Sham, their appearance became the face of Tajik and their language acquired a frequency and softness.⁴¹

After Yazıciöğlü and until the first half of 16th century, however, we could not find any other historian claiming the Mongols as part of Oghuz tribe. This situation changed in the latter half of the 16th century. Some universal histories written in this period regarded Mongols, like the Ottoman Dynasty, as Oghuz. Three historians have mentioned this kinship: Lârî, Za'ım and 'Âlî.⁴² Why did these historians accept the Mongols as Oghuz tribes? We cannot show concrete evidence for now, but we can again suggest some influence of the Persian historiography. It is known that many Persian histories claiming that the Mongols belonged to the Oghuz tribe were translated into Ottoman-Turkish in the second half of the 16th century. For instance the famous *Târîkh-i Guzîda* of Mustawfî, *Nigâristân* of Gaffârî, *Nizâm al-Tawârikh* of Baydâwî, and *Rawdat al-Şafâ* of Mîr-Khwând were translated into the Ottoman Turkish. Ottoman historians in this period might be more influenced by such Persian historiography in translation than those of former periods.⁴³

41 “egerçi eşkâl ve luğât ve lehçeleri biri birine yakındır amma her birinün âb u hevâsı muktezâsınca her tâ'ifenün mizâcı ve tabî'atları ve şekl ve lehçeleri biri birinden mütefâvitdür. Şöyle ki: Râviler rivâyet iderler ki Oğuz kavmi Türkîstân'da-y-iken şekilleri Moğol çehre-y-idi ve lehçeleri dağı anlara yakîn-idi. Çün İran-zemîn ve Rûm ve Şâm'a geldiler, şekilleri Tâcîk, çeñre ve dilleri revân ve yumşak oldu dirler.” Yazıciöğlü, *Târîh*, Revan 1391, f. 2b. Transliteration depends on Öztürk edition, p. 5.

42 Lârî, *Mir'âtül-edvâr*, f. 273b; Za'ım, *Câmi'üt-tevârih*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan, no. 1382, f. 197a; 'Âlî, *Füsül-i Hall-ü-Akd, Usûl-i Harc-ü-Nakd*, Ebubekir S. Yücel, ed. (M.A. thesis Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1990), p. 43.

43 Here it is worth noting a non-Ottoman source. Esterâbâdî's *Bezm u Rezm* is a Persian versed work dedicated to Kadi Burhaneddin in 1397/8, and mentioned Ottomans as “Mongols”. Azîz b. Erdeşîr Esterâbâdî, *Bezm u Rezm* (İstanbul, 1928), p. 382. Togan interpreted this account as showing that Ottomans were regarded as Mongols because Ottomans supported a Mongol commander, Sülemiş, who revolted against Ghazan Khan. Ahmet Zeki Velidi Togan, “The Composition of the History of the Mongols by Rashîd al-dîn”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 7/1 (1962), p. 61. In contrast, Köprülü suggested Esterâbâdî used “Mongol” as a term of abuse. Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Etnik Menşei Mes'eleleri”, *Bellekten*, 7/28 (1943), p. 290.

Mongols in the Ottoman Genealogy

Some Ottoman historians not only regarded the Mongols as the same tribe as that of the Ottomans, but also directly integrated the Mongols into the Ottoman genealogy.

The first source is the genealogical book of the Ottoman dynasty, *Silsile-nâme*.⁴⁴ In the oldest manuscript of this work, composed in the reign of Bayezid II, the Ottoman genealogical line does not cross with any other branch after Japheth.⁴⁵ In the later manuscripts composed after the reign of Süleyman I, however, the Ottoman line comes from a two-branch stem from Oghuz Khan. One of these branches made the upper line that connected the Ottomans and the second was the lower line that connected the Mongols.⁴⁶ The manuscripts of the illustrated version of *Silsile-nâme* also painted portraits of famous prophets and kings in the miniature medallions, which were made after the reign of Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603). In this type of *Silsile-nâme*, portraits of Mongol rulers were depicted larger than those of the kings of the other dynasties, and as large as the portraits of the Ottoman rulers.⁴⁷ Evidently Mongol rulers were respected in the Ottoman illustrated *Silsile-nâmes*.

The second source Bayburtlu 'Osmân's *Tevârih-i Cedid-i Mir'ât-ı Cihân* was written in the late 16th century. This history included very strange but interesting information on our subject. This chronicle shows that the Ottomans were closely related to the Mongols from a genealogical point of view (see Figure). The genealogical information starts with Noah. Whereas the line of the Seljuks branches out from that of the Ottomans in the early period, the lines of the Mongols and Ak-koyunlus connected with the Ottomans at a later period.⁴⁸ This author thought the Ottomans were nearer to the Mongols than to the Seljuks, and this Mongol-orientated genealogy might have resonated with *Silsile-nâmes*'.

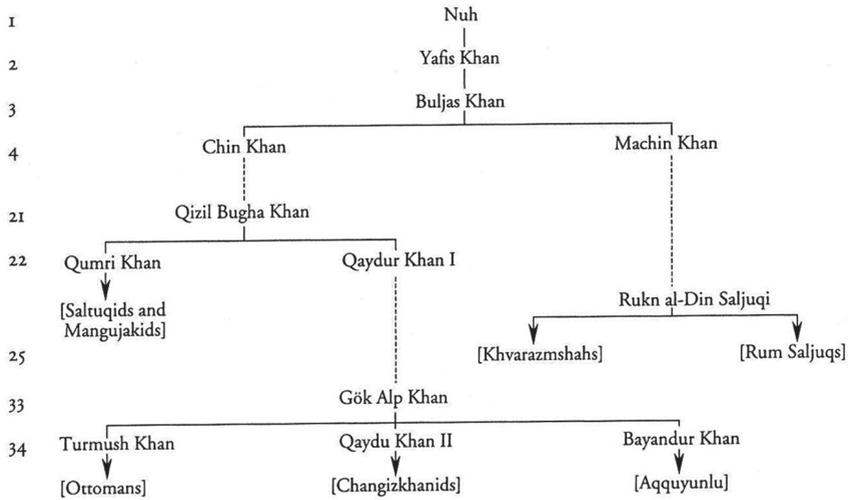
44 Flemming briefly indicated the importance of *Silsile-nâme* for Mongol-Ottoman genealogical studies. Barbara Flemming, "Political Genealogies", p. 130.

45 Anonymous, *Silsile-nâme*, Hazine, no. 1590, f. 27b.

46 Anonymous, *Silsile-nâme*, Ayasofya, no. 3259, f. 46.

47 Anonymous, *Silsile-nâme*, Hazine, no. 1324, f. 26a-27a. In this version, the Ottoman genealogical line was not connected to Mongol rulers, supposedly due to the width of the paper.

48 Bayburtlu 'Osmân, *Tevârih-i Cedid-i Mir'ât-ı Cihân*, Atsız ed. (İstanbul: Küçükaydın Matbaası, 1961), pp. 12-30.



[Figure] The Ottoman genealogical tree in Bayburtlu 'Osmân, *Tevârih-i Cedid-i Mir'ât-ı Cibân*. John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press 1999), p.180.

Kinship with the Crimean Khanate

It is important to consider the relationship between the Ottoman and the Crimean Khanate dynasties. The Crimean Khanate, descendants of Golden Horde, was established on the northern shore of Black Sea in the middle of 15th century. After Mehmed II's conquest of Kaffa in 1475, the Crimean Khanate became a vassal state under the protection of the Ottoman Empire. It was an important military ally and often sent cavalry troops as a vanguard or outrider for Ottoman campaigns.

The Crimean Khanate was regarded not only as a military ally, but also as having special ties with the Ottoman dynasty. The royal family of the Crimean Khanate was respected and enjoyed priority in Ottoman court protocol: they had secondary priority in the oath of allegiance (*bi'at*) ceremony,⁴⁹ the Islamic custom for the newly enthroned Sultan, and for paying a courtesy visit to the Sultan on the occasion of religious feasts (*Bayram*).⁵⁰ In addition, an unofficial tradition

49 Nakîbü'l-eshrâf, a superintendent of Prophet's descendants, had first priority for making an oath. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988 (4th ed.), p. 88.

50 The Ottoman ruler's teacher had first priority for making a courtesy visit. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 204.

narrated that one of the members of the Crimean dynasty would succeed to the Ottoman throne after the Ottoman dynasty ceased to exist.⁵¹

The Ottoman's favouring of the Crimean Khanate clearly originated from their Genghisid roots.⁵² We have found no sources directly mentioning any genealogical relationship between the Ottomans and the Crimeans;⁵³ however, there is one interesting account written in the 17th century, the original information for which could extend even further back in time. The famous traveller Evliyâ Çelebi wrote that after Süleyman Şah, the grandfather of Osman Gazi, drowned near Aleppo, his fourth son⁵⁴ went to Crimea.

The fourth child [of Süleyman Şah] is Bay Toğar Khan. After his father Süleyman Şah drowned, he went to Crimea, where his cousins live, from a deep mountain with his 300 minions. He did a lot of honourable deeds and was finally buried in the graveyard of Eski Yurt in Crimea.⁵⁵

51 Feridun Emecen, "Osmanlı Hanedanına Alternatif Arayışlar", *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 6 (2001), pp. 63-76.

52 In the Ottoman diplomatic epistle, the Crimean Khans were mentioned as "Sultans of Crimea, the sons of Genghis". Alan W. Fisher, *Between Russians, Ottomans and Turks: Crimea and Crimean Tatars* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1988), p. 82.

53 Alderson indicated that Ayşe, a daughter of Mengli Giray (r. 1468-1515), married Mehmed, a son of Beyazıt II, then married with Selim I after Mehmed's death. A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), Table VLIII, Table XXIX. Alderson also claimed that a daughter of Saadet Giray (r. 1524-32) was married to Selim I. It is sometimes said that Süleyman I was born from Ayşe. However, Uluçay rejects this marriage between Mehmed and Mengli Giray's daughter. See M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992 (3rd ed.), pp. 29-30.

54 Solakzade wrote that a Yuregird, a fellow of Suleyman Sah, became king of the Ramazan Emirate. Solakzâde, *Târîh-i Âl-i 'Osmân li-Solakzâde* (İstanbul, 1297), pp. 295-96. İnalçık also indicated a claim that Ramazan Emirate was related to the Ottoman dynasty: Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlılarda Saltanat Veraseti", *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 14/1 (1959), p. 80. These accounts show that the claim that some dynasties originated from relatives of the Ottomans prevailed in Ottoman society.

55 "Andan dördüncü oğlu Bay Toğar Hân'dır kim babası Süleymân Şâh gark-ı âb olunca dâğ-ı deründan üç yüz aded âdemiyle ammîzâdelerine Kırım'a gelüp niçe nâmdârlıklar edüp âhır-ı kâr Kırım'da bu Eski Yurd mezârîstânında medfûndur", "Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 7, Yücel Dağlı et.al. eds., (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), p. 239.

Following this, Evliya Çelebi continues his interesting account: two brothers of Osman Gazi went to Crimea Khanate because Genghis Khan was the uncle of the Ottomans:

[After the demise of Ertuğrul,] Sultan Alaeddin gave fur-sign and flags to little Osman (küçük Osmancık) and appointed him tribal leader (boy beği). Osman's brothers, the aforementioned Yatı Beğ and Gündüz Beğ, became disobedient soon after because the position of tribal leader was given, not to them, but to their younger brother Osman. So, the two elder brothers directly went to [the place where] their cousins [lived], i.e. the region of Crimea. One [brother] became Mankut Beğ and the other Or beğ. They were involved with the holy war for a long time. Finally, they died in Crimea and were buried near cousin Bay Toğar Han [’s tome]. It is said in the Tatar tribe: “We are related through the cousins of the Ottoman dynasty and our lineage”. Then, they visited [the tomes of Yatı and Gündüz]. Surely historians wrote that the Ottoman dynasty stems from the lineage of the Genghisid dynasty and from the cousins of Genghis Khan.⁵⁶

56 “Hemân Sultân Alâeddîn tuğ u sancağ u bayrakları küçük Osmancığ’a verüp boy beği eder. Hemân ol mahalde Osmancığın karındaşları mezkûr Yatı Beğ ve ülken karındaşı Gündüz Bay Beğ kendülere boy beğliği verilmeyüp küçük bürâderi Osmancığ’a verildiğinden rû-gerdân olup iki bürâder toğru ammîzâdelerine Kırım diyârına gelüp biri Mankit beği ve biri Or beği olup nice zamân gazâlarda bulunup âhır ikisi de Kırım’da merhûmeynler olup ammîzâdesi Bay Toğar Hân yanlarında medfûnlardır. Kavm-i Tatar içre “Âl-i Osmân’ın ammîzâdeleri ve bizim neslimizden akrabâlarımızdır” deyü ziyâret ederler. Hakkâ ki Âl-i Osmân be-kavl-i müverrihin Âl-i Cingiziyân neslindedir kim Cengiz Hân’ın ammîzâdelerindedir.” Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 7, p. 239.

This account is followed by the interesting passage:

After 51 ancestors, the Ottoman genealogy reaches Japheth, the son of Noah - May God's ease be upon him -. Their [the Ottomans'] noble relatives are reportedly the emperor and the sons of the emperor. So they are relatives of Tatar Khan through their uncles. In addition, they belong to the pure lineage of noble Sayyid Hüseyin through their mothers. So they are relatives of the apostle on their mothers' side because (blank) Khan was born from a daughter, born from a noble Sayyid named (blank), who has a pure and celestial character. This account is evident according to many histories. It is Ertuğrul, who belongs to the Genghisid dynasty through his other cousins. (“Elli birinci atada Âl-i Osmân’ın silsileleri Yâfes Hazr[et-i] ibn Haz[ret-i] Nûh aleyhi’s-selâ[ma] müntehîdir. Cümle hasibü’n-nesîbleri anane ile pâdişâh ve pâdişâhzâdelerdir. Anıñçün Tatar hânlar ile ammîleri tarafından akrabâlardır. Ammâ vâlideleri tarafından sülâle-i zülâl-i Hüseyinî sâdât-ı kir[â]mlardır, zirâ (---) nâm sâdât-ı kir[â]mdan bir seyyide bânû-sıfat duhter-i pâkîze-ahtar alup (---) Hân ol kızdan vücûda gelüp anadan evlâd-ı Resûllerdir kim niçe tevârihlerde musarrahdır. Ammâ Ertuğrul’dan öte ammîzâdeleri tarafından Âl-i Cengiz’dir.”) Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 7, p. 239.

These accounts show that some Ottoman historians tried to draw a genealogical relationship between the Ottomans and the Mongols.⁵⁷ We must also pay attention to the fact that the genealogical relationship was never told in the legend of the foundation of the Ottoman state. The division between “the foundation legend of the Ottoman state” and “the universal/multi-dynastic history” was strictly kept with regard to the genealogical relationship, so that affiliation with Mongols could not sneak into the former part.

Conclusion

When the Ottoman historians described the Mongols in the foundation legend of the Ottoman state, they were normally regarded as destroyers or enemies and were depicted negatively. In contrast, in the section on the Mongols in the universal/multi-dynastic history, Mongol rulers enjoyed a good reputation. Hostility and friendliness towards the Mongols often co-existed in the same chronicle, and this contradiction was not reconciled. The hostility might originate from the faint memories of the early Ottomans, who obeyed the Ilkhanate overlords or local governors. Whereas respect towards the Mongols was clearly rooted in Persian historiography written under the Mongol dynasties. These different attitudes were not necessarily exclusive, which might reflect the Ottomans’ ambivalent feelings towards the Mongols.

In addition to the above general trend, some important points appeared after the middle of the 16th century, as we have seen in the third section. Some historians began to claim a special relationship between the Ottomans and the Mongols, canonising Mongol rulers as “the renewer of religion” and integrating the Mongols into the Ottoman genealogy. This change clearly shows that the Mongols acquired greater prestige than before. The reasons for this change come

This passage is an extreme example of legitimation through genealogy: The Ottoman dynasty comes from the sons of Noah on the father’s side, from the sons of Muhammad on the mother’s side, and from the sons of Genghis Khan on the uncle’s side.

57 Interestingly, Khwând-Amîr, a Persian historian, suggested a relationship between Ottomans and the Crimean region. He heard from a traveller that the Ottomans originally dwelled in Desht-i Kipchak (Kipçak Steppes), and that a Davud, father of Osman Gazi (!), passed from Kaffa to Anatoria (Khwând-Amîr, *Târikh-i Ĥabîb al-Siyar*, vol. 3, J. Humâ’î and M. Dabîr-Siyâqî, ed. (Tehran, 1333), p. 487). Indicated by Colin Heywood, “Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluş Problemi: Yeni Hipotez Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler”, Güler Eren ed., *Osmanlı*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), p. 141; Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihi’ne Giriş*, p. 321.

from composite elements: the confrontation against Safavids, the augmentation of the importance of Crimean Khanate as an ally, and the greater influence of Persian historiography. Genghis Khan and his dynasty were highly respected in the Persian historiography during the Mongol and post-Mongol periods. The translations of these work into Ottoman Turkish might have influenced Ottoman historians in the latter half of the 16th century. Ottoman historians used the Mongols as a vehicle of legitimisation for the Ottoman dynasty, utilising the Genghisids' reputation.

Nevertheless, we should not overlook the prudence of the Ottoman historians. They never directly connected the Ottomans' genealogy to patrilineal scions of Genghis Khan, which was apparently contrary to the "common sense" of contemporaries. Whereas medieval historians sometimes arbitrarily changed former texts, they also, consciously or unconsciously, kept a kind of standard or limitation in their mind.

Enter the Mongols: A Study of the Ottoman Historiography in the 15th and 16th centuries

Abstract ■ This study will examine how the Ottoman historians writing from the early 15th century retrospectively described and evaluated the Mongols. In the legends about the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman historians described the Mongols as destroyers or enemies. In contrast, in the sections on the Mongols in universal/multi-dynastic histories the Mongol rulers enjoyed an excellent reputation. The hostility might have originated from old, faint memories of the early Ottomans and it was clearly rooted in Persian historiography. In the 16th century, some historians canonised Mongol rulers as "the renewers of religion" and integrated them into the Ottoman genealogy. The reasons for this change came from composite elements: the confrontation against the Safavids, the augmentation of the importance of the Crimean Khanate as an ally, and the greater influence of Persian historiography. The Ottoman historians used the Mongols as a vehicle for the legitimisation of the Ottoman dynasty by utilising the reputation of the Genghisids.

Keywords: Historiography, Mongols, the Classical Period, the Genealogy of the Ottomans, the Identity of the Ottomans

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