

**TO THE PROBLEM OF USE OF THE PAŞA TITLE
BY THE MEMBERS OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY:
ALÂADDIN “PAŞA” AND SÜLEYMAN “PAŞA”**

There are various opinions of the origin and etymological roots of the word Paşa. Some scholars state that this word originates from the Turkish word “baş ağa” or “beşe”¹ (older brother); however, others assert that it derives from “pây-i şâh” or “pâd-i şâh” which means the foot of the sultan. Since the Turkish Oghuz (Turkmen) called the older brother ağa², ağabey, it is also possible that the eldest brother was called başağa and in some time this word transformed into paşa³. Müneccimbaşı, one of the Ottoman historians, states, “Since the older brother was called paşa in the Turkmen dictionary, Prince Alâaddin, the eldest son of Osman Gazi, was called paşa”⁴ when he referred to Alâaddin.

Hüseyin Hüsameddin states that the word paşa does not originate from the word beşe in the discussion whether the word “paşa” derives from “beşe” or “peşe”⁵. Thereafter, he puts emphasis on the fact that the term paşa was used not only by the military officers, but also by many people from the civil services, Muslim preachers and Sufism masters; and this term must be of Turkish origin⁶.

Osman Nuri Ergin states that the words efendi, ağa, and paşa were first used by the Ottomans, and beşe originated from baş ahî and baş ağa with some alterations, and subsequently, beşe changed into paşa; and the word paşa was still used in some regions of the city of Kastamonu⁷.

On the other hand, Frederih Gize states that baş ağa cannot be the term used in this context as the word ağa already means ağabey (older brother) on its own, thereafter he states that the word paşa was also used by dervishes who were contemporaries of Âşık Paşa. Consequently, it can be agreed that paşa originates from the word “padişah” and characterizes the sovereignty of the spiritual universe just like sultan. In fact, spiritually, a dervish is at the same time a sultan or a padişah in the Sufistic poetry⁸.

The word paşa was used for persons who were qualified as warriors or those with religious characteristics during the period of Anatolian Seljuk Empire. For instance, the name of one of the friends of Sadeddin Mesud, a scientist, poet, and physician who lived during the period of Rükneddin Kılıç, Sultan of the Anatolian Seljuk Empire, was Ali Big Paşa. Here Ali Big Paşa, who possesses the titles of Aziz ul-mulûk and s-selatin Mucîred-din, is a person, who also possesses the titles of ascetic, sheik, and Paşa. This proves that the term paşa was in usage up towards the end of the XIII century⁹.

The term paşa was a specific name given to men and women in the principalities and subsequent Turkish states. For example, the name of the son of İbrahim Bey of the Candaroğulları¹⁰, the name of one of the sisters of Beyazıd Paşa, one of the Ottoman governors, is Paşa Melek¹¹. The name of one of the most beloved wives of Kara Yusuf Bey, the bey of Karakoyunlu Turkmen, is Kadem Paşa¹².

Also, it has been asserted that the word paşa originates from Babylon, it is indicated as “paha” in the Old Testament and is still existent in Hebrew.

Hammer states that this title was known in Europe, but only a few people were conscious of its meaning and fundament; and thereafter he records that the word paşa consists of “pay” and “şah”, two Persian words, and means the “foot of the sultan”. According to Hammer, the word Paşa was existent in old Iran and originated from an old facility of the

Iranian sultan Keyhüsrev. This sultan deemed the officers of the government under his control as the organs of his own body and called them with the names of various organs depending on their employment relationships. Accordingly, the top officers charged with internal affairs represented the eyes of the sultan (çeşm-i şah), those charged with security and intelligence were his ears (guş-i şah), tax collectors – his hands (dest-i şah), soldiers – his feet (pa-i şah), judges or agents for the application of laws – his tongue (zeban-i şah). In this context, the paşas could be the feet of the sultan since they were city governors, viziers, military commandants¹³.

It has been stated that the title of paşa, the etymology and origin of which we here try to explain, was given to Alâaddin and Gazi Süleyman, the members of the dynasty, for the first time during the period of Orhan Bey in the Ottoman Empire¹⁴. Among those, Alâaddin Bey was born by Bâla Hatun, daughter of Şeyh Edebalı, wife of Osman Bey, and Orhan was born by Mal Hatun, daughter of Ömer Bey, the first wife of Osman Bey¹⁵. The Ottoman historians confused Prince Alaeddin Bey with Alâaddin Paşa, the last vizier of Osman Gazi and the first vizier of Orhan Bey because of the similarity of their names and erroneously stated that Prince Alâaddin was in charge as vizier for Orhan Gazi and therefore he was awarded with the title of paşa¹⁶. In fact, the first of these two Alâaddins, i.e. Prince Alâaddin, son of Osman Bey, was a governor, and the other one was a vizier, who organized the state and originated from the ulama. The title of Alaeddin, son of Osman Bey, is “Bey”, the title of the vizier Alâaddin is “Paşa”¹⁷.

In fact, it has been clarified in the *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman* Chronicles that was completed by Âşıkpaşazâde in 1484, that Alâaddin refused the title of paşa. Thereafter, Orhan Gazi offered his brother Alaeddin, who was known to be smart and wise, to become a paşa, but Alâaddin rejected this will and asked Orhan Gazi for a place, where he could live modestly. Orhan Gazi approved this will and gave him a village in Kite Plain named Fondura. Thereafter, Alâaddin let a mosque in Bursa and an Islamic monastery for the poor and followers in the vicinity of Kükürtlü be built¹⁸. Mevlana Mehmed Neşri, one of the Ottoman historians who used Âşıkpaşazâde as a source material, supported this opinion of Âşıkpaşazâde in his work named *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, which has completed in 1492¹⁹.

Although it was recorded in the subsequent Ottoman Histories that Orhan Bey offered his brother Alaeddin to become his vizier and Alaeddin accepted this offer²⁰, we consider that this event is not in conformity with the Oghuz tradition and Ottoman inheritance procedure because the country was traditionally deemed to be the common property of the sultan and his sons. Since there was no sultanate law during the first periods of the Ottoman, there was also no tradition and rule determining the age of the son who was to take the place of the sultan²¹. As a natural consequence, the members of the dynasty who were to become a sultan had equal rights, and continuous fights for the throne among the members of the dynasty were inevitable.

In this context, the rejection of the position of a paşa which was awarded to him by Alaeddin can be deemed to be the consequence of a dispute between them and due to the fight for the throne. The most explicit evidence is the fact that the name of Alâaddin Paşa or Alâaddin Bey, the famous son of Osman Bey, is not indicated at the end of the foundation certificate charter of Orhan Bey dated March 1324 (724 Rebiülevvel) although the names of the siblings and the mother along with the sons of Orhan Bey were indicated. In fact, I. H. Uzunçarşılı preferred to explain the reasons of this situation by the apathy between the brothers, fight for the sultanate, or the division of the country between the two brothers²². We also believe that the reason is one of the above mentioned because both of them were positioned as a bey and had equal rights. On the other hand, the assignment of a prince who cannot become a sultan to the position of the vizier and his using the title of paşa is an incidental situation which is not in conformity with the traditions of the dynasty.

Moreover, Colin Imber, an Ottoman historian of the last period, asserted that not even the awarding of the Prince Alaeddin with the title of a paşa was in question, but Osman Bey had no such as a son, and all this is fraudulent²³. In fact, the name Alaeddin is not

indicated in the works of the Ottoman historians Enveri²⁴, Şükrülâh²⁵, and Nişancı Me-hmed Paşa²⁶, who informed about the bloodline of the Ottomans.

Gazi Süleyman, an ottoman prince, was the eldest son born by Nilüfer Hatun²⁷ (Theo-dora), daughter of the feudal landlord of Yenişehir and wife of Orhan Gazi²⁸. Gazi Süley-man first started to serve as an administrator in Gerede²⁹, İzmit (İznikimid), Göynük and the vicinity of Mudurnu were given to him as a manor³⁰. Orhan Bey, who subsequently captured Karası Beyliği, gave this place to Gazi Süleyman, the leader of the border vete-rans, as a manor³¹, and assigned Hacı İlbey, the vizier of Karası, as a vizier for his son and gave over the administration of the state of Karası to him. He let Emir Evrenos Bey, Kadı (Gazi) Fazıl, Ece Bey and the persons of rank stay with Gazi Süleyman and recom-mended that he made use of the experiences of these people³². Thus the beys of rank and the veterans of the City of Karası, who were authorities in state affairs and war, were con-nected to Prince Gazi Süleyman, the leader of the border veterans.

In Rumelia, Gazi Süleyman, the leader of the Ottoman conquests, the eldest son of Orhan Bey, fell off a horse during a hunt, probably just before he became an Ottoman bey, and died at the age of forty three and was buried in Bolayır upon his will (1360 / 761). Orhan Bey, who was really known as Hacı Karaoğlan due to the Islamic school of Osman the son of Yusuf, which was established in June 1360 (Şaban 760), after the death of his son, transferred the Osman bin Yusuf Islamic school to his son and gave over its responsibility to Hacı Karaoğlan and thereafter his sons and grandchildren. Süleyman Paşa, the second Süleyman Gazi Paşa, when being deceased, was described as forgiving, happy, martyr, exertive, father of plentifulness and builder of beneficial institutions to-gether with other people carrying a title, who helped the poor and the weak, commandant of the military, owner of sword and pen, veteran and warrior. Similarly, four sons of Orhan Bey, named Süleyman, Murad, Halil, and İbrahim respective of age, were indicated in the deed of assignment that was given to the commandant that was called zaimü'l-cüyüşü and'l-asâkir by Orhan Bey in 1348 as property. Süleyman was called "paşa" and the other children were called "bey" in the deed of assignment. However, in the pedigree shown in the still existing shrine inscription of Efendizâde Hatun, who was one of the daughters of Süleyman Paşa and died in Akşehir (Zilkade 799 / August 1397) and was buried in the same place, Gazi Süleyman is indicated with the title of bey. These records of the foun-dation and the shrine inscription show us that Gazi Süleyman, the eldest son of Orhan Bey, was carrying the title of "paşa" that is an addressing of respect and dignification and at the same time the title bey since he was a prince of the dynasty.

At this point, after being informed about Alâaddin and Gazi Süleyman, a short infor-mation about the Turkish sovereignty understanding and transfer of this sovereignty will be of use in order to clarify the issue. As it is already known, the origin of the sovereignty by the Turks was godly. Thereafter, the right of administration was given to the Turkish sultans by God as a godly favor. In other words, the sultan is a sultan because God wanted to and gave him "kut" (administration authority, administration power, fortune, luck) and "ülüg" (destiny) and had the right of political power. In this context, this godly domi-nance of the sultan is hereditary, since God gave him "kut" as a favor and he became the sultan, and will be transferred to his children as heirs of blood³³. Similarly, only the Otto-man ancestry which was a donation of God, had the right of sovereignty in the Ottoman state and all of the family members had equal rights because they had the same blood. In this case, there should not have been any difference between Alâaddin and Gazi Süley-man and the other members of the dynasty. Thus, the degradation of Alaeddin and Gazi Süleyman, who belonged to the dynasty, to the position of a vizier or governor and car-rying the title of paşa as the foot of the sultan in this context is not in conformity with the Turkish sovereignty understanding and the traditions of the Ottoman dynasty.

Because the Ottoman dynasty rose upon an aristocracy hierarchy that was already formed during the period of Ertuğrul, the father of Osman Bey. In accordance with this understanding, the sultan and his family had to originate from an aristocratic family³⁴. As

Yusuf Has Hacib of Balasagun stated, “if the father is a bey, the son will be born as a bey and be just like his father”. Again according to him, “if the ancestry, the semen of a human being is good, the human being will be born as good and sit on the seat of honor. Therefore, being a bey is sacred and its fundament is clean. A person whose fundament is clean, always wants cleanliness”³⁵. These words that were stated by Yusuf Has Hacib about the Karahanlı sultan family were also valid for Alaeddin and Gazi Süleyman, who were members of the Ottoman dynasty. Because it was unavoidable that also Alaeddin and Gazi Süleyman were born as beys like their fathers and were beys like their fathers. In fact, the princes belonging to the sultan family that constituted a privileged class of the Turkish nation (budun) had the statute of a bey³⁶.

On the other hand, it has been understood that there had been only one vizier in the Ottoman council during the period until the mid of the XIV century. The sources use the title of paşa also for Prince Süleyman besides the vizier, whereby it is known that he did not have anything to do with the council and participated in the conquest of Rumelia as the governor of Karası under the title of commander-in-chief. Since nobody except the vizier was called paşa, the fact that only Süleyman, the son of Orhan, was called paşa is not real and beyond that, it was either confused with another Süleyman Paşa³⁷ or it was used since he was the eldest son of Orhan Bey. In this context, the fact that Sultan Orhan was not called paşa as he was a prince, that his older son Prince Süleyman was called paşa, and that Prince Murat was not indicated as paşa on the contrary, is sufficient to show that the term paşa meant the older son³⁸.

On the other hand, bey is a commandant in the old Turkish societies in accordance with their establishment. In the Seljuk and Ottoman states, we think of a commandant when we hear bey³⁹. Thereafter, the first leaders of the Ottoman dynasty constituted with Orhan Bey personally commanded the armies and acted de facto as commander-in-chief as long as they lived⁴⁰. In fact, Gazi Süleyman, one of the greatest commanders of the Ottoman dynasty, was a commander and bey at the same time, who was known for his bravery, generosity, and boldness during the holy wars in the establishment period of the Ottoman State.

In fact, an Ottoman historian Ahmedî stated:

*“Son of a great man, known as Süleyman Paşa.
Conditions of leadership are fulfilled.
Both bravery and generosity were given.
Both politics and presidency were given”⁴¹
and expressed these features of Gazi Süleyman.*

Consequently, in accordance with the previous general frame, paşa is a term that was used since the XIII century by the Anatolian Seljuks, the subsequent principalities and the Ottomans. This term was indicated at the end of the names of Prince Alaeddin and Prince Gazi Süleyman, members of the Ottoman dynasty. We can claim that the term paşa that was indicated at the end of both names was not an official term, but it was the most respectful and loving address expressed to the older brother. The persons who matched this addressing were Alaeddin Paşa, older son of Osman Gazi, and Süleyman Paşa, older son of Orhan Gazi. It is possible that both princes were called paşa, since the older brother was addressed with paşa in the Oghuz Turks. Otherwise, the awarding of the title of paşa to a prince, who is a member of the dynasty, does not conform with the traditions of the Oghuz and the traditions of the Ottoman.

¹ Beşe (peşe): leader, emir, person of rank, older brother. See: Tarama Sözlüğü, I, Ankara, 1995, p. 527.

² Şemseddin Sami, Kâmûs-ı Turkî, C. 1, İstanbul, 1318, p. 344–345; Osman Nuri Ergin, Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyeye, C. 1, published by Cengiz Özdemir, İstanbul 1995, p. 525; K. Kepeci, Tarih Lûgati, p. 313; M. Sertoğlu, Resimli Osmanlı Tarihi Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul, 1958, p. 262; İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, Resimli Yeni Lûgat ve Ansiklopedi, C. IV, İstanbul, 1947–1954, p. 2147.

³ The term ağa, which in fact means the older, changed later to a title that is used for the head of any organization. Radloff states that this term is used by the Azeri at the end of the names in case of khans (Mahmud Ağa = Mahmud Han) and in front of the names in case of beys, rich merchants and men of weight (Ağa Hüseyin). Gazi Zahirüddin Muhammed Babur, *Vakayi Babur'un Hatıratı*, Çev. R. Rahmeti Arat, C. II, Ankara, 1987, p. 576.

⁴ Kâmil Kepeci, a. g. e., p. 313; M. Sertoğlu, a. g. e., p. 262; I. A. Gövsa, a. g. e., p. 2147. Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Osmanlı Sultanları Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1961, p. 36.

⁵ Müneccimbaşı Ahmed b. Lütfullah, *Camiü'd-Düvel: Osmanlı Tarihi (1299–1481)*, Haz. Ahmet Ağırakça, İstanbul, 1995, p. 78.

⁶ For detailed information see: İbrahim Serbestoğlu, “Hüseyin Hüsameddin’in Bilinmeyen Bir Eseri: Paşa Armağanı”, *History Studies*, Volume 6, Issue 4, July 2014, p. 163–1167.

⁷ İbrahim Serbestoğlu, a. g. m., p. 167–168.

⁸ O. N. Ergin, a. g. e., p. 525.

⁹ Frederih Gize, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşunun Teşkili Meselesi”, translated by Köprülüzâde Ahmed Celal Bey, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, C. 1, İstanbul, 1925, p. 164.

¹⁰ Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar*, Ankara, 1988, p. 167–168.

¹¹ Yaşar Yücel, *XIII–XIV. Yüzyıllar Kuzey-Batı Anadolu Tarihi: Çoban-Oğulları Candar-Oğulları Beylikleri*, Ankara, 1980, p. 169.

¹² Faruk Sümer, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları*, C. II, İstanbul, 1999, p. 764. For detailed information on this issue, see: Havva Selçuk, «Selçuklularda Kadınların “Hatun” ve “Paşa” Unvanlarını Kullanması», *Selçuklular Tarihi Kültür ve Medeniyeti (Bildiriler II)*, Ankara, 2014, p. 43–63.

¹³ Faruk Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular*, C. I, Ankara, 1984, p. 110.

¹⁴ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, C. I, Haz. Mümin Çevik – Erol Kılıç, İstanbul, 1992, p. 148; Fahri Hacet, “Paşa ve Paşai Dar İmparatoriye Osmanî”, *Makalat ve Berresiha*, No. 64, p. 134–135.

¹⁵ Herbert Adams Gibbons, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*, Ter. Ragıp Hulusi, İstanbul, 1928, p. 54.

¹⁶ Müneccimbaşı states that Alâaddin was born by Malhun Hatun, wife of Osman Bey and daughter of Edebâli. See: Müneccimbaşı, a. g. e. p. 86.

¹⁷ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, C. 1, Ankara, 1988, p. 115–116.

¹⁸ İsmail Hakkı Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, C. I, İstanbul, 1971, p. 19; İ. Serbestoğlu, a. g. m., p. 167.

¹⁹ It is stated in the Âşıkpaşazâde History in this issue: «“Now, be a paşa for me” he said. Alâaddin Paşa did not approve this statement. He said: “There is a village in Kite Plain called Fondura. Give it to me” he said. Orhan approved this statement. He gave him this village. And Alâaddin Paşa let an islamic monastery be built in Kükürtlü. And built a mosque in Bursa, where the thermal spring enters. And built a mosque also in the fort. He remained calm in his presence. Up to today, it remained from his child». See: *Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi (Osmanlı Tarihi, 1285–1502)*, Haz. Necdet Öztürk, İstanbul, 2013, p. 52.

²⁰ Also in Neşri Tarihi Orhan Gazi says “Come, now be a paşa for me. He did not accept and said: There is a village in Kite Plain called Fodura. Give it to me, that is enough. Orhan gave this village to him. Alâaddin Paşa built Islamic monasteries in Bursa and also in Kükürtlü, and he built a mosque where the thermal spring enters and another mosque in the port and remained calm in his presence”. See: Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ Neşirî Tarihi*, C. I, published by F. R. Unat – M. A. Köymen, Ankara, 1987, p. 147–149; Mevlânâ Mehmed Neşri, *Cihânnümâ (Osmanlı Tarihi (1288–1485))*, Haz. Necdet Öztürk, İstanbul, 2008, p. 70–71.

²¹ *Rûhî Târîhi*, (together with the original edition), Haz. Yaşar Yücel – Halil E. Cengiz, 1992, p. 383; *Solak-Zâde Tarihi*, C. 1, Haz. Vahid Çabuk, Ankara, 1989, p. 28; Hoca Sadettin Efendi, *Tacü't – Tevarih*, I, Haz. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, Ankara, 1992, p. 66–67; Müneccimbaşı, *Camiü'd-Düvel*, Haz. Ahmet Ağırakça, İstanbul, 1995, p. 86; Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayic ül-Vukuat*, C. I–II, Sad. Neşet Çağatay, Ankara, 1979, p. 15

²² İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, Ankara, 1984, p. 45, 50.

²³ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, “Gazi Orhan Bey Vakfıyesi”, *Belleten*, V / 19, Temmuz, 1941, p. 277–288.

²⁴ Colin Imber, “İlk Dönem Osmanlı Tarihinde Düstur ve Düzmece”, compiled by: Oktay Özel – Mehmet Öz, *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a*, İstanbul, 2005, p. 282–265.

²⁵ *Düstürnâme-i Enverî (19–22. Kitaplar, Osmanlı Tarihi (1299–1465))*, Haz. Necdet Öztürk, İstanbul, 2012, p. 20–21.

²⁶ Şükrüllah, “Behcetüttevârih”, Haz. Çifçioğlu, N. Atsız, Osmanlı Tarihleri I’de, İstanbul, 1949, p. 52–53.

²⁷ Nişancı Mehmed Paşa, “Osmanlı Sultanları Tarihi”, Haz. Çifçioğlu, N. Atsız, Osmanlı Tarihleri I’de, İstanbul, 1949, p. 345.

²⁸ As already known, Kantakuzenos looked for an ally among the Turkish sultans and married his daughter Theodora (Nilüfer) with Orhan Bey in 1346 and established an alliance with him. Kantakuzenos, of whom the strategy was successful, entered Istanbul in 1347 and announced himself as the emperor and co-sultan of V. Ioannes Palaiologos. See: Mikhael Doukas, Tarih Anadolu ve Rumeli 1326–1462, translated by Bilge Umar, İstanbul, 2008, p. 25–29; Colin İmber, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1300–1650, translated by Şiar Yalçın, İstanbul, 2006, p. 14.

²⁹ Aşıkpaşazâde, a. g. e., p. 27; Hadîdî, Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman (1299–1523), Haz. Necdî Öztürk, İstanbul, 1991, p. 42–43.

³⁰ İbn-i Kemal, Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman, II. Defter, Haz. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara, 1983, p. 28.

³¹ Aşıkpaşazâde, a. g. e., p. 60; Neşri, a. g. e., p. 163; İdris-i Bitlisî, Heşt Bihişt, Haz. M. Karataş – S. Kaya – Y. Baş, C. 1, Ankara, 2008, p. 254–256; Hoca Sadettin Efendi, Tacü’t – Tevârih, I, Sadeleşiren, İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, Ankara, 1992, p. 74–75; Hadîdî, a. g. e., p. 70.

³² Aşıkpaşazâde, a. g. e., p. 63; Neşri, a. g. e., p. 167, 173; İdris-i Bitlisî, a. g. e., p. 260–263; Hoca Sadettin, a. g. e., p. 83.

³³ Hoca Sadettin, a. g. e., p. 83–84; Münecimbaşı, a. g. e., p. 97; Zerrin Günal Öden, Karası Beyliği, Ankara, 1999, p. 55.

³⁴ For detailed information, see: Bahaeddin Ögel, Türklerde Devlet Anlayışı (13. Yüzyıl Sonlarına Kadar), Ankara, 1982, p. 1–60; İbrahim Kafesoğlu, Türk Milli Kültürü, İstanbul, 1997, p. 248–258; Reşat Genç, Karahanlı Devlet Teşkilatı, Ankara, 2002, p. 33–45; Mehmed Niyazi, Türk Devlet Felsefesi, İstanbul, 1993, p. 43–53.

³⁵ Yücel Öztürk, “Osmanlı’nın Kuruluşunda Akıncı Uç Beylerinin Rolü”, Uluslararası Gazi Akça Koca ve Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri, C. I, Kocaeli, 2015, p. 183.

³⁶ Yusuf Has Hacib, Kutadgu Bilig, Çev. Reşid Rahmeti Arat, Ankara, 1988, b. 1932, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1950, 1959, 1960. Bahaeddin Ögel, Türk Kültürünün Gelişme Çağları, Ankara, 1988, p. 561–565.

³⁷ See: M. Fuad Köprülü, “Bey”, İslam Asiklopedisi, C. 2, İstanbul, 1979, p. 579.

³⁸ Mustafa Akdağ, Türkiye’nin İktisadî ve İçtimai Tarihi, Cilt 1, İstanbul, 1974, p. 389–390.

³⁹ Namık Kemal, Osmanlı Tarihi, C. 1, İstanbul, 1971, p. 63.

⁴⁰ Bahaeddin Ögel, a. g. e., p. 553.

⁴¹ İ. H. Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı, p. 40–41.

⁴² Ahmedî, “Dâstân ve Tevârih-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osman”, Düzenleyen Çifçioğlu N. Atsız, Osmanlı Tarihleri I’de, İstanbul 1949; See also: Ruhi Tarihi, p. 384.

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