

ARGUMENTS TOWARDS THE RISING OF OTTOMAN EMPIRE OSMANLI KURULUŞ DÖNEMİ TARTIŞMALARI

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ÖZET

Osmanlı Devleti küçük bir uç beyliği iken büyük bir imparatorluğa dönüşmüş ve altı asır boyunca çok geniş bir coğrafyada hüküm sürmüştür. Bu büyük imparatorluğun kimler tarafından kurulduğu, temelleri ve niteliği üzerine 20. Yüzyıldan itibaren birçok tez ortaya konmuştur. Bu dönemden itibaren Modern Osmanlı yazıcılığında Osmanlı'nın kuruluşu meselesi önemli bir tartışma konusu haline gelmiştir. Herbert Adams Gibbons'un "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu / Foundation of the Ottoman Empire" adlı kitabında ortaya koyduğu görüşler ile bunun tam karşıtı olarak Fuat köprülü'nün görüşleri Osmanlı kuruluş dönemi tartışmalarındaki ilk yaklaşımlardır. Wittek 'in gazi çevreleri ve onların değerler sistemi hakkındaki tezi 1980'lerde RP. Lindner, Gy. Kaldy-Nagy, R.C. Jennings, Colin Imber, C. Heywood gibi Osmanlı tarihçileri tarafından geliştirilmiştir. Rudi Paul Lindner; "kutsal savaş" Gaza düşüncesine karşı görüş belirtmiştir. Osmanlıların dinsel kaygısının olmadığını söylemiştir. Colin İmber ve Feridun Emecen'in kaynakların yetersizliği olduğunu söyleyerek Osmanlı'nın kökenleri hakkında görüşlerini belirtmiştir.

Bu çalışmadaki amacımız Osmanlı Kuruluşunu Gibbons, Fuat Köprülü, Paul Wittek, Colin Imber, Halil Inalcık gibi tarihçilerin ortaya koyduğu görüşler çerçevesinde incelenmeye çalışmaktır. Osmanlı kuruluşu ile ilgili bütün görüşler değerlendirilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Osmanlı kuruluşu, Kutsal Savaş, Gaza tezi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kökenleri*

ABSTRACT

The Ottoman state was a border beylic at the beginning, then it turned to an empire and dominated a wide geography during a centuries. Many theses have presented since 20th century about who ruled the empire and its origins and its quality. Since this period modern Ottoman records about the problem of Ottoman rising became an important discussion subject. Herbert Adams views in Foundation of the Ottoman Empire and Fuat Koprulu's views are first approaches in Ottoman rising discussions. Wittek's thesis about ghazi connections and their ethos was developed by Lindner, Gy. Kaldy-Nagy,R.C. Jennings, Colin Imber, C. Heywood in 1980. Rudi Paul Lindner has an opposing view to the holy war (gaza). He mentioned Ottomans had religious worries and Colin İmber and Feridun Emecen's sources are insufficient and added his views about Ottoman origins. Our purpose in this work is to analyze the Ottoman rising in frame of Gibbons, Fuat Koprulu, Paul Wittek, Colin Imber, Halil Inalcık. The analyze of Ottoman Empire rising will be included.

Keywords: *Ottoman rising, Holy War, Gaza Thesis, Ottoman Empire Origin*

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Introduction

Ottomans turned into an empire from a little seignior and ruled over a wide area for over six hundred years. In the 20. Century, there are many theses done on who built this empire, its foundations and attributions. From this point on, Foundation of Ottoman has become a very important question of debate amongst modern time Ottoman historians. In Herbert Addams Gibbons' "Foundation of Ottoman Empire" book he tries to explain "religious transformation hypothesis" through saying the main factor in the foundation of state doesn't lie under Asian Turks but within European factors contributed by Christian Greeks and Turkish idolaters.

Completely against this hypothesis, Fuat Köprülü argues that the state was founded entirely on Islamic and Turkish factors. Wittek agrees with Köprülü but he focuses more on veterans and the systematical values that surrounded them. On the other hand according to Köprülü, there is a larger group of contributors consisted by tribes, Turkish-Islamic guilds, santons, traveler intellectuals, warriors. Wittek believed that the tradition of Holy War contributed too much needed dynamism for conquests and reforms. Both historians focused on the roles of shepherds- immigrant Turks that lived on the edge point of society without delving into the state's formation or inner changes.

According to the claims of Halil İnancık, Köprülü explains how the society turned into a political community or that he answers the question of how Osman Gazi's military and political leadership is and how he founded the state's dynasty. Halil İnancık tries to explain reason of the change on the edge point of society and the factors during 13. and the beginnings of 14. Century that contributed to the foundation of a state in this part of society

As well as these historians Colin Imber claims that the dream Osman Bey saw was a myth created to make his leadership legalized by his own folk, and that it's a foundation myth. He focuses on this myth and the "Gaza" (Holy War) factor. Rudi Paul Linder questions whether religion is a driving force in Ottoman or not. He tries to clarify whether the Holy War ideology is a driving force or legitimacy. Friedrich Giese notes that he's looking the events through an European point of view when he should be giving an assessment by Eastern sources and it's through its view point instead. These people built their hypothesis on the Gaza ideology being a driving force and that the state followed political, population and cultural traditions after their Turk/Seljukian predecessors. Those who share Gibbons' ideas used a different point of view to make their assessments while making their criticisms on his approach. Besides these historians, there are many other experts contributed their views on this topic. More recently Cemal Kafadar argued a new approach that accepted all factors and put but the state between two worlds.

In this study, our aim is to understand how it was possible for Ottoman as a little tribe on the Seljuk-Byzantine border to diverge from the rest of other tribes during its time and manage to rule over a wide area like Balkans and Anatolia for a long period of time.

I. Historical Background

Oghuz people were living at the east part of Syr Darya and the Caspian Sea in the 10th century and they were separated into two tribes named Uc Ok and Boz Ok. Seljuk Turks were belonging to Uc Ok's Kinik tribe. At the beginning of the 10th century a ruler titled Yabgu were ruling Oghuz people. Temur Yalig, nicknamed Dudak which means lips in Turkish language, founder of Seljuk Empire and also father of Seljuk, had an important mission in the state. After Dudak's death Seljuk

assigned as army commander. After a while they had a disagreement with Yabgu, thereupon Seljuk and its subordinates went to Cend which is the end of the connection of Islamic and Arabic countries. Meanwhile 2 Turkish and 3 big Islamic states were present. The 2 Turkish states were Kara-Khanid Khanate (840 – 1212 A.D.) and Ghanzavid State (constituted in Afghanistan), and the Muslim ones were Semanid Empire (819 - 1005 A.D.) Abbasids and Buyids (932 - 1055 A.D.)

Among these places Oghuz people Seljuk come to be known by the holy wars he did. In 1007 his son Aslan Yabgu took his place. After a while all of the Seljuk people left Cend city and went to Buhara zone. Aslan Yabgu were taken captive by Ghanzavid Sultan Mahmut in 1025 and jailed in Kalinjar Fort, he died there in 1032. Hereupon Musa Yabgu came to power but unfortunately Cagri and Tugrul bey were more powerfully². In 1035 along with other Oghuz tribes, Tugrul and Cagri bey passed Amu Darya and dominated Khorasan. In 1040 they defeated Mahmud's son Mesud from Ghanzavid with the Battle of Dandanaqan and started to progress to the west. At that point Islamic world were experiencing denominational differences, Shiism were represented by Buyids in Iran, by Fatimids in Egypt. Abbasid emperor in Baghdad was the calif of Sunnis. These two Shii states were forcing the Abbasid calif. Therewith Tugrul undertook the responsibility of protecting him³. After leaving Baghdad in 7 April 1060 and the death of his wife Altuncan hatun, he declared he wants to marry Abbasid calif's daughter. Upon his request they get married but because of Kutlamis's riot he was obliged to leave Baghdad. He died in 1063, after returning to Rey.

First Turkish invasions to Anatolia were made in this period. Seljuk Empire proceeds to extend after Dandanaqan war dominated Yinal to conquer Azerbaijan and Iraq. Other Turkemns didn't accept Ibrahim Yinal's domination in Rhine River and started to migrate to eastern Anatolia. Before these migrations Cagri Bey had invaded the eastern Anatolia from 1016 to 3000 by troops. Then when escaping from Ghanzavid Aslan Yabgu he went to Byzantine land with his troops⁴.

After Dandanaqan War, conquered lands were distributed among the dynasty's members. Kirman and Tabes zones were given to Kavurd (Davut's older son). After Tugrul bey's death Kavurd joined to fights for the throne but admitted defeat and allowed Alp Arslan to be Sultan. While Kavurd was ruling Kirman zone, Buyids were at Umman zone⁵. Before Seljuk Kingdom's formation, a Turkmen state bounded to Seljuk Empire was formed.

Parallel with the death of Kurlu bey, Uvakoglu Atsiz demolished Fatimid Empire and formed the Seljuk Kingdom⁶. Iraqi Seljuks were present from 1120 to 1194. Turks settled firstly in Basra city for military purposes, they densely settled here on Seljuk period. In 1055 Tugrul Bey accompanied with a grand army went to Baghdad, liberated the Abbasid Khalid from Shii pressure and left Turkish forces in order to protect them. After some time he left Tugrul's city, even though the forces left the city, Turkish people were already settled. Today, Turkmen people still living there⁷.

²Merçil, Erdoğan. "Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi IV, Yeni Türkiye Publisher Ankara 2002*, p. 597-599

³Rasony, Laszlo. "Türk Devletinin batıdaki Varisleri ve İlk Müslüman Türkler", *Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Ankara 1983*, p. 60.

⁴Merçil, Erdoğan. *Op. cit.* p. 602-777

⁵Merçil, Erdoğan. *Kirman Selçukluları, Türkler Ansiklopedisi IV, Yeni Türkiye Publisher Ankara 2002*, p. 760.

⁶Sevim, Ali. "Suriye Selçuklu Melikliği", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi IV, Yeni Türkiye Publisher Ankara 2002*, p. 764-778.

⁷Bayat, Fazıl. *Moğol İstilasına Kadar "Irak Türkleri"*, *Türkler Ansiklopedisi IV, Yeni Türkiye Publisher Ankara 2002*, p. 795-800

Alp Arslan took Tugrul's place after his death (1063-1072). Alp Arslan did many clashes. While his attempt to conquer Egypt, he get to know Byzantine Emperor Romanos Diogenes came to Erzurum with a huge army so he took a different tack, after making preparations Byzantine and Seljuk armies came across on Rahvan plain. In 26 August 1071 as a result of changes in sides (Patzinaks and Uz people changed to the Seljuk side), Seljuks won the clash⁸. After the Battle of Manzikert, Alp Arslan divided Anatolia among the commanders, thus beylic period started in Anatolia. One of the commanders of Ebu-Kasim founded Tortum, Baykurt, Tercan, Ispir, Pasinler plain and made Erzurum capital, and formed Saltuk Beylic bounded to the Great Seljuk Empire. Also Mengujekid state was formed in 1080 by Mengucek Gazi; Alp Arslan's commander. The state was formed in Erzincan, Kemah, Divriği and Sebinkarahisar zones. Artuqids ruled among east and eastern Anatolia between 11th and 15th centuries. Danishmend state was formed by Danishmentoglu Gumustekin in Middle Anatolia, its capital was Sivas. Other Beylics are Sokmen Beylic, Demlecogulları and Inanogulları⁹.

Then, Alp Arslan launched an expedition towards Karakhanids. During the expedition a commander named Yusuf-el Harezmi assassinated him, and he died in 24 November 1072. His son Melih Sah took his place. After the battle of Manzikert Sultan Alp Arslan ordered invasion towards Anatolia. This situation continued during Sultan Melih Sah. After Sultan Melik Sah's¹⁰ death fights for throne started in Grand Seljuk Empire and this resulted in weakness of the authority. Atabeylics declared its independence. Atabeylics are trainers and mediators of sultan's son. Principal Atabeylics were; Saluris from Oghuz tribe. They ruled 140 years in Iran. In Azerbaijan Ildeniz family formed a state. Ildeniz were firstly Mameluke (Turkish slave) then they became Aslan Sahin Seljuk Atabey. They ruled till 1225 in Azerbaijan. An atabeylic known as Boriler ruled in Damascus from 1104 to 1154. Zengi family formed an atabeylic in Syria, Palestine and North Iraq. Erbil Atabeylic is another beylic formed in that period (1132-1233).

The last emperor of Seljuk is Sançar. He was engaged with revolts towards him. Meanwhile, Kharzem shah state won the battle against Gran Seljuk Empire. The east part of the state was conquered by Kara Kitay state. In 12th century, after the broke up of Grand Seljuk Empire atabeylics declared their independence.¹¹

Kutlamis' son Suleyman Sah became an emperor by making capital Konya within Grand Seljuk Empire. Took advantage fights for the throne with Suleyman Sah, widened his land till Iznik. He settled here and made Iznik the capital city, and then he widened the borders till Marmara and Egean Sea in 1080.

After the death on Suleyman in 1084 his commanders declared their independent cities, the most known is Caka bey. He dominated this region by conquering Foca, Urla, Mytielene, Chios and Samos islands. Berkayaruk Suleman's son Kilic Arslan the 1 came to the throne (1094). In that time Crusade happened,

⁸Rasony, Laszlo. *op. cit.* p. 60.

⁹Sevim, Ali and Yücel, Yaşar. "Türkiye Tarihi I", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Bookstore, Ankara 1990*, p. 149-171.

¹⁰Merçil, Erdoğan. "Sultan Alp Arslan'ın Türkistan seferi ve Ölümü", *Türkler ansiklopedisi IV*, p. 614.

¹¹Rasony, Laszlo. *Op. Cit.* p. 61.

these battles continued in Mesut and Kilic Arslan the 2.¹² After his father's death Kilic Arslan the 2, who assigned to Elbistan, struggled crusade. In 1155 he ascends to the throne, his aim was to dominate all Anatolia. His brother in law attacked southern part of Seljuk and clashed Mosul atabey. Byzantine emperor Manuel and Mosul atabey did an alignment. Kilic Arslan not only struggled with her brother in law but also with Mosul atabey. In that period Seljuk and Byzantine relations was friendly, Turkmens especially in Eskisehir region, Denizli Kirkagaz, Bergama and Byzantine border made invasions and ruined the castles. Therewith, Byzantine Emperor Manuel decided to make invasions. In 1176 Kilic Arslan the 2 ambushed Byzantine in Miryakefalon Valley. Byzantine was defeat in this battle. After this victory, in 1178 he conquered Malatya, which Danishmends were living there.

Byzantine was heavily defeated. After this victory in 1178 he took Malatya from Danishmends. After the death of Kilic Arslan the 2 respectively Giyasettin Keyhüsrev I (1192-1196), Rukneddin Suleyman Shah (1196-1204 and 1204-1211), Izzeddin Keykavus (1211-1220) became sultan.¹³

When Alâeddin Keykubad came to the throne the the rising of Seljuks started. By the way, after the demolition of Haresmi king. Mongolian Empire, no obstacles left with Seljuk, was proceeding rapidly towards west. Harezmishash and Eyyubis confederated. On Alaeddin period ships were sent to Crimea. Some castles were conquered around Antalya. Evet though they appealed for help, while Mongolian invasion were proceeding to west, Harzemshas, Eyyubis and Anatolian Seljuks these two states didn't accept it. From 1237 Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev took his father's (Alaeddin Keykubat) place. Near Kosedag, which is near to Zara town in Sivas, Mongolian and Seljuk troops have meet. Seljuk's were defeated. In 1256 Baycu wanted Izzeddin Keykavus to assign summer pasture and winter quarters in order to place his tribes. After Hulagu Han (Ilhanid Sultan) ordered to discharge Arran and Murgan plains, Sultan rejected Baycu's proposal. After that, Seljuks were defeated¹⁴ in the battle. This resulted in empty n the best summer pastures including the fertile Kazova plain,¹⁵ Till 1257 Seljuk Empire struggled with the fights for the throne. Anatolian Seljuk made alliance with Memluks in Egypt because of Mongolian pressure. Meanwhile, Karamanoglu Mehmet Bey's fame increased due to his success in defeating Mongolians. Memluk Sultan Baybars went to Anatolia and Mongolian troops defeated. From 1243 Anatolian Selkus' political entity ended up.¹⁶

After the Kosedag Battle in 1243 Seljuk Empire has lost its control among Anatolia and beylics came up. These beylics were already living at the edges of the Seljuk Empire. Seljuk Empire's borders were organized as: Mediterranean, Black Sea and West Anatolia as tree border areas. Migrations In 1261 as a result of Mongolian invasions, started the rising of Ottoman beylic. From this date Anatolia was divided into two parts as East and the west border part in which Turkmens were commanding. Seljuk was representing Esrefogullari, Hamidogullari, Sabibataogullari, Germiyanogullari and Cobanogullari in the west. Menteseogulları, Aydın, Saruhan, Karesi and Ottoman beylics were representing the semi-independent Anatolia under Turkmen dominance.

¹²Uzunçarşılı, İsmail H. F. "Osmanlı Osmanlı Tarihi I", Türk Tarih Kurumu Bookstore, Ankara 1988, p. 1-2.

¹³Sevim, Ali and Yücel, Yaşar. Op. Cit. p. 75-145.

¹⁴Uzunçarşılı, İsmail H. op. cit. p. 8-9.

¹⁵Inalcık, Halil. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Doğuşu Meselesi ", Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar(comp.) Oktay Özel ant Mehmet Öz, İmge Bookstore, Ankara 2005 p, 228-229.

¹⁶Uzunçarşılı, İsmail H. op. cit. p. 9.

Ottoman state was a border state in which had similar characteristics to Turkmen tribes which migrated to west. It was not one of the strongest beylics among the region. While Germiyanogullari was superior in Anatolia, Karamanogullari was the strongest among the beylics.

In this period looking for conditions of states which have relations with Turks is necessary. Basil the 2 was the person who lived the best period in Byzantine after Justinianus. His death (1025) was a milestone to the Empire. After Basil's death Byzantine had to tackle with internal disorder and anarchy.

From the southern Caucasus to southern Italy, Byzantine borders started to tighten as a result of Patzinak, Uz and Anatolian Seljuk press. Byzantine had lost many border state. In 1025 Constantine's daughter's Zoe and Dora take control, started the regression period. In 1068 Byzantine queen Eukodia married Romanos. Byzantine had lost its authority by losing Manzikert War. The region was conquered by Seljuk Empire. In 1204 Constantinople was conquered by the 4th crusader army. A Latin empire was formed there. Byzantine became worst after the demolition. In 1261 when the emperor in Nikaia went to Constantinople, The Byzantine borders were: western part of Anatolia, Aegean islands, Macedonia including Thessalonica. Byzantine had to tackle with Turks and Mongolians in Anatolia. In European territories completely independent Serbian and Bulgarian states were existing. After travelling to Asian territories, Michael the 8 found the region in bad conditions. Cities were demolished and abandoned. The first reason of the bad conditions of Byzantine is the looter actions of Turks. The second one is the feudal system. Anatolian aristocrats were the most important and active persons with monastery and churches notables. Considering military, emperors had no power to be able to resist.

Donald M. Mcal's Last Century of the Ottoman Empire, is about the conflicts between the state and the church in Palaiologos' sultanate. In this period Byzantine navy scatted. The same year 75 Venice ships entered to Halic and attacked to Galata. In this period financial and military problems existed. Italians living in Constantinople, islands and Greeks in Teselya made difficulties. Serbians were hazardous since Charle D'anjavu time.¹⁷ About this time Ayyubids and Mamelukes were living in the east. The name Ayyubid came from father of Selahaddin Ayyubi, Necmeddin Ayyubi. This state is the cont. of Seljuks and also Zengi atabeylic. It raised in Egypt Hejaz, Yemen, North Sudan and Libya. This state was successful in struggling with crusade. After Selahattin Ayyubid's death (1193) Meik el-adil came to the throne. Then central authority weakened. Aybek established Mameluke state in Egypt in 1250. Meanwhile Mongolian invasions started towards the crusade. Ayyubid state was abolished by Akkoyunlu emperor, Uzun Hüseyin in 1462. Mongolians invaded these a regions in which Ayyubids were dominant.¹⁸

Aybek, who was a mamelukes, ended the Ayyubid dominance in Egypt and formed the Mameluke state in 1250. Mameluke means slave, these slaves are Kipzak originated. They were used as warriors by Abbasids, Tolonogullari and Fatimids. Mamelukes declared its independency when Ayyubi authority weakened. In 1277 fame increased with the Ayn-i Calut war against Mongolians. This state gained dominance in Egypt and Syria but Sultan Yavuz Selim ended this dominance.¹⁹

¹⁷Nicol, Donald M. "Bizans'ın Son Yüzyılları" (1261-1453) Tarih Vakfı Yurt Publisher İstanbul 1999, p. 115-149.

¹⁸Şeşen, Ramazan. "Eyyübiler", Türkler Ansiklopedisi V, Yeni Türkiye Publisher Ankara 2002, p. 60-77.

¹⁹Koprıman, Kazım Yaşar. "Memlükler", Yeni Türkiye Publisher Ankara 2002, p. 99-127.

II. First Approaches towards the Foundation of Ottoman Empire

At the end of the 13th century the Anatolian territories' status was not pleasant because the Byzantine Empire had lost its authority and The Seljuk Turks broke up and resulted in beylic system, Anatolian territories became a place where no powerful unitary state existed. At the very time The Ottoman Empire (which was a small beylic at the edge of Anatolia) overcame all the beylics in a half century and became an empire extending from the Danube to the Euphrates. By the 20th century, historians started to find responses to the questions how could the Ottoman Empire be able to turn into an empire while it was just a small beylic in Sogut (Söğüt in Turkish), and what are the reasons that supplied their actions.

Many theses about the rise of the Ottoman Empire have been introduced and some of them have been confronted each other. Although Herbert Adams Gibbons' Foundation of the Ottoman Empire is considered the pioneer of these arguments, Ashik Pasha-Zade, who lived at the beginning of the 5th century, tries to answer the question of how Osman was the first founder of the Ottoman Empire which is one of the dynasties lived longer. He tells everything like a story; According to him, the rise of the empire started because Osman I saw a dream in which a moon appears in the chest of Sheik Edebali (a well-known Sheik in that period) and goes into Osman I's chest forming a tree spreading around the world. Osman I immediately goes to sheik and tells his dream, then Sheik interprets his dream the maqam (authority/position/chair) of sultanate is endowed to him. And also he lets him and his daughter married.²⁰ Osman I is informed that he will be the founder of the Ottoman Empire, in other words it is presaged. Ashik Pasha-Zade implies a god hand has given to him to be the ruler (as other dynasties' founders). By the 15th century Ashik Pasha-Zade tries to explain the rise of the Ottoman Empire by using motifs used existing in the rising process of other dynasties. From 1910 many historians tried to clarify the Ottoman Empire's rising problem because they didn't find enough Herbert Adams Gibbons' One Bellicose State born by 400 Tents approach written in Foundation of The Ottoman Empire.²¹ And they started to clarify the first periods of the Ottoman Empire. Gibbons mentions the empire is a mixed race of non-Muslim Turks and Greeks of Turk nationalities and they are mentioned as Ottomans. He said Ottoman Empire's savage Asian blood and the new and the ancient European elements are combined.

He also argued that the main factors of Ottoman Empire's rising process should be investigated within European elements instead of the Asiatic Turks.²² Gibbon says that Ottomans settling to Sogut were not Muslims. Also includes there are not any data about its origins in Byzantine resources.

Mehmet Oz's comment on this topic is: 'til the 16th century the Ottoman Empire cont. as a mixture of Islam and Byzantine. Gibbons' comment on this thesis is that the Ottoman Empire couldn't raise from Turkish-Islamic origins so this means that it raised from Byzantine-Christian origins'. Hence, Gibbons tough beside utilization of Byzantine civil strife, this mix of races and Byzantine succeed administrative traditions are determinants.²³

²⁰Özel, Oktay and Öz, Mehmet (comp.); *Söğütten İstanbul'a; Osmanlı'nın Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar*, İmge Bookstore, Ankara 2015 p.13

²¹Özel, Oktay and Öz, Mehmet (comp.).op. cit. p. 20

²²Gibbons, Herbert A., "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu", (translator Ragıp Hulusi), (1st press), 21. Yüzyıl Publisher, Ankara 1998 s.41,42

²³Öz, Mehmet, "Kimlik Tartışmalarına Osmanlı Kimliği Vasıtasıyla bir katkı: Osmanlı Devleti Kimler Tarafından nasıl kuruldu?", *Türkiye Günlüğü Dergisi*, 2005 Issue: 87 P.57-58

In 1935 Koprulu opposed to Gibbons' thesis and said the Ottoman race never existed and the Ottoman history is not ethnic but a political idiom. He also asserted the state is a result of Turkish and Muslim elements. While explaining its rising Fuat Koprulu based on Historical Continuity Thesis. He argued Ottoman Empire's history should be considered as the continuation of Anatolian Beylics and Seljuks.²⁴

Fuat Koprulu categorized H. A. Gibbons's thesis:

- a) Ertugrul's father (whose name was given to the Ottoman Empire) went to Anatolia as a result of Mongolian invasion. He is the headman of a small beylic in Sogut.
- b) Osman and his small tribe are non-Muslim Turks and they were bucolics. They adopted Islam like their relatives Seljuk Turks. Hereupon they forced Cristian Rumelians to be Muslim. Before adopting Islam they were a quiet community formed by 400 tents. The population increased rapidly from 1300 to 1290. They became neighbors with Byzantine and a new race bearing the name of its leader appeared. Since the beginning, this race was not a true Turkish race. Polytheist Turks and Christians adopted Islam and formed this new race.
- c) Ottoman population had increased rapidly in a short time. This situation can't be explained as natural increase of population. It also can't be explained as migration towards the region because Ottoman territories were stated at the very west part of Anatolia. Migrants could only migrate to territories stated at east part. This situation can only be explained as the coalescence with Rumanians (which are local inhabitants)
- d) The rapid and permanent settlement of the Ottoman Empire to the Balkan Peninsula can't be explained with just the reasons explained above. The conditions of Byzantine and other states eased Ottoman Empire to spread in Balkans. Christians under the dominance of Ottoman Empire were not neighbors as the Christians living in Anatolia.

For this reason they adopted Islam easily.

Ottoman specialists such as; Koprulu, Babinger and Giese have criticized Gibbons. According to Koprulu gibbons' mistake is defining Ottoman as a community formed on 400 tents and with people living nomad and semi-nomad. Fuat Koprulu

No matter how weak is Byzantine, Fuat Koprulu Doesn't accepts that such a small tribe can take on it and can organize in such a short time in Balcans.²⁵

According to Gibbons Orhan, who came to his father Orhan's place, formed his nation by using new elements and Turks among qualified Rumelians. Fuat Koprulu rejected this idea, according to him among statesman who famed, there are too little families such as Kose Mihal.

Ottoman byrocracy is utterly formed by Turkish elements.²⁶ Neither the geography in which Ottoman Empire has formed is not an Island formed in the middle of the Pacific, nor the people living here is a different element from Anatolian

²⁴Köprülü, Orhan F. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş ve Gelişmesinde itici Güçler", *Osmanlı Siyaset, Volume. 1, Yeni Türkiye Publisher, Ankara 1999, p. 153-160.*

²⁵Köprülü, Orhan F. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu", *Atay Kültür Publisher Ankara 1972,*

²⁶Köprülü, Orhan F. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş ve Gelişmesinde itici Güçler", *Osmanlı Siyaset, Volume. 1, Yeni Türkiye Publisher, Ankara 1999, s. 153-160*

Seljuks. When the Ilhanics were dominants, they made political, economic and cultural union with Anatolian Turks. Living conditions for people living in the edge were different. According to Fuat Koprulu we should know not only the 13th century politic history of Anatolia but also its social history.²⁷ In Anatolian Seljuk period, especially in the 13th century life in states were lively. Their language was Persian and also Persian culture was dominant. Its official religion was Sunni Islam (tached in madrasah). But in countryside invaded by Turkmen tribes (they were mostly nomads, and their migration dared from the end of the 11th century till the 14th century conditions were different.²⁸

The migration of the Oghuz from the Central Asia to the west was carried out in two stages. Firstly, the Turkmen came to Azerbaijan and later to Anatolia under the leadership of the Seljuk from 1020. The Turks began to invade the Byzantine Anatolia by the leaders of the Great Seljuk in his victory of Malazgirt in 1071.

Secondly, the Turkmen who came to Anatolia in the second half of the 12th century during the period of the collapse of the Great Seljuk Empire and the rise of the Kharzem Shah in the Iran. The big wave of immigration is the Turkmen migration from central Asia to Anatolia with a result of the Mongol invasion.²⁹ Despite the first group of people came as the vanguard, they settled in the region together with women and children as the result of the Mongol invasion. It is known that a few of Mongol tribes came to Anatolia before Ilkhanids and later Hulagu Han came with a large group of an estimated 2000,000 tents and 1.000.000 force. It is known that these a part of the masses were settled in Anatolia. It is mentioned in historical sources that the Turk and Mongol tribes were placed in some suitable regions. It is exactly known that the name of the three of these and where they settled in. Bisvuts settled in Aksaray, Kayseri, Konya, and Uighurs settled in Sivas, and Cavdars settled in Ankara, Eskisehir, Kutahya. It is said to be that Bisvut and Uighurs had ten thousand, and Cavdars had thirty thousand armed forces.³⁰

Fuat Koprulu talks about in his article entitled with “The driving force in the establishment and development of the Ottoman Empire” that after the victory of Malazgirt in 1071, the Anatolia which was opened for the first time to the settlements of Turks, was Turkified during the period of Malik-Shah in a planned manner. After the Seljuk had opened the door of Anatolia for Turks to settle tribes, there were various Turkish tribes such as Karluk, Kaphcak, Kipchaks, aga cenî. However, the main population density was the Oghuz Turks. Koprulu emphasizes the origins of the Seljuk and Ilkhanid. He says that the Oghuz who, came to Anatolia, was from Kayi tribe became a certain information. His research indicates that the tribes were also dispersed to various parts of Anatolia as in all other Turkish tribes. There are still settlements which bear the names of the tribes such as Erzincan and the vicinity of Susehri, Amasya, Corum, Kastamonu, Cankiri, Gerede, Bolu, Duzce, Eskisehir, Mihalic, Orhaneli in the northern Anatolia. There are also settlements which are encountered to the vicinity of Cilicia, Isparta, Burdur, and Fethiye in southern and Denizli, Muğla, Aydın, Odemis in westbound. After Seljuk had opened the Anatolia, Kayi tribes also came to Anatolia like other tribes at various times, but they settled in border regions.

²⁷Köprülü, Orhan F. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu”, Atay Kültür Publisher Ankara 1972 p.22-27

²⁸Emecen, Feridun M. “ İlk Osmanlıların toplumsal kökeni ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası” Timaş Publisher, İstanbul 2012, p. 149-150

²⁹Inalcik, Halil. “ Osmanlı tarihine toplu bir bakış”, Osmanlı, I, (ed. Güler Eren), Yeni Türkiye Publisher, Ankara 1999 p. 37

³⁰Köprülü, Orhan F. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu”, Atay Kültür Publisher, Ankara 1972, p.42-43

Turkmens migrated intensively to the western region during this period. When the given information about the ethnic situation in the 13th century by Marco Polo and the information provided by historical and geographical documents in the 14th century are compared, it is mentioned that it is easily understood how much getting stronger of the Turkish and Islamic elements. The new tribes who was placed in Central Anatolia by Ilkhanate, led to migrate tribes who had lived before in that region to safer and hilly areas. The Byzantine settled on the coastal areas and the region was Turkification with the migration to the western Anatolia.³¹

Babinger's argument was indicated that the Ottomans drew attention to follow the Seljuk and Ilkhanid and the roots of the Ottoman institutions came from the Seljuk by Mehmet Oz. Thus, the Ottomans rejected the idea of having the necessary cultural knowledge required to establish a state.³² (Mehmet Oz) Indeed, Babinger said that the Ottomans had all the heritage of the Seljuk. Also, he mentioned that the Seljuk had an impact on the spiritual and religious life of the Ottomans. He said "Sufism is becoming dominant in the Ottoman, but these come to Anatolia at a time. Many saints and Sufis came from Bukhara and settled in Anatolia since the era of the Seljuk."³³

It is considered by many historians that the Ottomans were Turk. The main issue argued here is that when the Ottomans were Muslim. Gibbon said "Although the clan that was at the head of Osman, was in the Iranian border, it had never been influenced by Islam."³⁴ Giese gives the respond in this way. Considering that the name of the father of Osman was a Muslim, while the names of the father and his relatives were the Turkish, it was claimed earlier that Osman was the first person to move Islam. However, Giese does not think that this is an accurate claim, because according to Giese, it is known much later that both the Ottoman princes and the other persons carried the Turk name. Moreover, we should have to assume that even though the Osman changed his name because of being Muslim, his partisans did the same thing, and his father had already adopted the Islam and gave a name to his son. But in this case it would be weird Osman's son carrying a Turkish name. Is Osman the Islamic version of Azman because they wouldn't use this name? The question; is the first tribe formed Ottoman Empire adopted Islam cannot be answered based on untrusting sources. But it is certain that most tribes migrating to Anatolia were Muslim and they adopted Islamic cultures because they lived with Iranian people.³⁵

Against Gibbons' theory about changing religion, he was criticized by Friedrich Giese, Fuat Koprulu and Paul Wittek. They assert that as a result of analyzing extensively the first period of Ottoman Empire's origin, in terms of Ottoman's population, culture and state's traditions they are Seljuk-originated.³⁶

In 1392 W. L. Langer and R. P. Blake argue the Islam in which Turks adopted in Anatolia is heterodox. They say that Byzantine Christians became Christians because Ottomans were kind in terms of religion.

³¹Köprülü, Orhan F. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş ve Gelişmesinde itici Güçler", *Osmanlı Siyaset, Volume 1, Yeni Türkiye Publisher Ankara 1999, p. 155*

³²Öz, Mehmet .op. cit. p.58

³³Babinger,Franz and KÖPRÜLÜ, Orhan F. " *Anadolu'da İslamiyet* ", (translator Ragıp Hulusi), *İnsan Publisher, İstanbul 2003 , p.17*

³⁴Gibbons, Herbert A.op.cit.p. 21

³⁵Giese, Friedrich. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu Meselesi", *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar, (comp.) Oktay Özel and Mehmet Öz, İmge Bookstore, Ankara 2005 p,156,157*

³⁶İnalcık,Halil. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Doğuşu Meselesi ", *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar (comp.) Oktay Özel and Mehmet Öz, İmge Bookstore, Ankara 2005 p,225,226*

Also they accept H. A. Gibbons claim that Byzantine cares about changing religion and moreover they find it beneficial. Although most of them adopted Islam, they conserved Cristian beliefs. They demonstrate as evidence the letter written to Greeks in Iznık by Constantinople patriarch. In the letter he wants them to reject Islam and go back to Church. Secondly, Till 1395 they indicate there is a monastery in Iznık and there have been many Cristian monastery in every Muslim country.³⁷

III. Approachment about the Holy War

In 1937 Paul Wittek rejects Koprulu's argument which argues the relationship between Oghuz Turks and Kayi Tribe. Wittek asserted the base of the empire's structure can't be tribal. He emphasizes the contrast characteristics of Ottoman and Byzantine, he argues that the Ottoman Empire adopts correlation with its neighbors and adopts a state model in which slowly progresses. Accordingly, Ottoman's fist neighbor is the holy war against the Christian world.³⁸ Koprulu's Historical Continuity Thesis and Wittek's Holy War thesis formed a basis of the Ottoman rising problem arguments. Since that date, arguments progressed around these two theses.

Gaza (غاز) means war for religion in Ottoman. This has become an invasion ideology, in old dictionaries this means clashing with the enemy. And has a meaning of spreading Islam, joining invasions to widen the land and population and fight. This term used among medieval Muslim community, is not known completely how it spread in Anatolia and how started to overlap as heroism (Alp) in Turkish language. But in the 13. Cover of Islamic encyclopedia, Cemal kafadar said it is certainly detected that it was used at the end of the 13th century³⁹

Caroline Finkel's *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire* talks about the importance of Dervishes in borderland. In Northwest part formed many dervish lodge, Because of authority gap and disorder in Border tribes in Finkel, he said dervish settled to these regions. He mentioned they went to invasions with raiders from border tribes and they took an active role in transmission of Turkish-Islamic culture. Furthermore he said there are many cults in Finkel region, and also there is a cult named Bektashi (which was a small cult whiten tehe cult) and they shine out because of their relations with janissaries. Turkmen bey's and Ottoman sultans in Finkel Anatolia were defined as gazi, and this name is previously given to Muslim warriors in Seljuk period. Besides Gaza did not connotate as hostile and Christian opposite. This term was used commonly in the Ottoman but they boast in history, poems and fellows as ghazi. He states the word doesn't mean battle or raider.⁴⁰

Paul Wittek's *The Raising of the Ottoman Empire* an essay after stating his doubts about Ottoman is one of the 24 of Oghuz tribes⁴¹, he gives a short information about the limits of Byzantine and Islamic world. He says invasions are very common, he says there is a similarity between the conditions in Uc areas.

³⁷Langer, William, L. "Osmanlı Türklerinin Doğuşu ve Tarihsel Arkaplanı", *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar (comp.) Oktay Özel and Mehmet Öz, İmge Bookstore, Ankara 2005 p,177,224*

³⁸Imparting from DEMİRCİ, Süleyman. "Erken Dönem Osmanlı Tarihi "Kara Bir Delik / A Black Hole" mi?", *History Studies, ISSN: 1309 4173 (Online) 1309 - 4688 (Print) . , January 2013, p.91*

³⁹. Kafadar, Cemal. "Gazâ", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, Volume 13, İstanbul 1996, p. 427-429*

⁴⁰Finkel, Caroline. "Rüyadan İmparatorluğa: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Öyküsü 1300,1923" *Timaş Publisher, İstanbul 2012,p.8,9*

⁴¹Wittek, Paul. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğuşu", (translator; Fatmagül Berktaş), *Pencere Publisher İstanbul 1995, p.19*

“People living in Uc’s were obligated to live in endless border works” says Wittek. These Uc battles were always in guard against enemy invasions and they also made similar invasions to enemy lands. The basis of living in these regions is loot. There is a huge cultural contrast in military Uc areas. This contrast is conclusive because of race contrast. As a result of warrior elements came by the far of the World has increased, mixture of language in different tribes leads to mixtures of different people. Additionally politic and severe religious tenses are available within uc’s and hinterland. Constant border conflicts, created tribes aiming to reach the highest independency level.⁴²

Paul Wittek says the ideology of Gaza and ghazi raised in the 9th century in Horasan and Maveraunnehir. According to him ghazi’s (religion fighters) actions, came under their flag all non-workers and people not content with their lifestyle in order to combat with infidels, herecy. Similarly the main purpose was to gather loot.

At the beginning of the 11th century, Turks migrated under the leadership of Seljuks were integrated to Seljuks. But many independent warrior and nomad and independent tribes were out of this system. These warrior groups and nomad tribes were not too bounded. These elements migrated to west with the invasion of Mongolians. Meanwhile, because Byzantine was too weak to defend themselves from these element, it shifted to west Anatolia.⁴³

In 1980 Halil Inalcik wrote an essay that extended and incorporated to Koprulu’s and Wittek’s Theses. Inalcik, on his essay Foundation of the Ottoman Empire elaborated on the importance of the Anatolian Population Movement. He also indicated the increase of Turkish migration to west Anatolia and their results; depending on conflicts between Mongolians, migration diminished or increased. He explains that people with extreme living-condition like dervishes and Middle Asian Yassawi and Babai customs are dominant. He explains the settling process to Rumelia, the seizing of Byzantine heritage and becoming an empire in two main factors: The tradition of holy war and mass migration.⁴⁴

In Classic Era of the Ottoman Empire, by Halil Inalcık: “Border beylic culture is Gaza and Darulislam to widen till invade all the world. According to him is a mission for all attempts and self-sacrifice.”⁴⁵

“The first fighter group emerges with the gathering of Gaza leader with alps and fellows to fight and loot. Fellows should not belong to any blood tie clan”⁴⁶

Halil Inalcık says limit cultures had a different culture from Seljuks. Turkish became a management and literature language for the first time in beylics. Besides, this Gaza’s aim in not to demolish darulhabi to be over power although the cont. of Gaza is the building block of the states, they were guardians of Ottoman Orthodox Church and Rumelia Cristian. As a compensate for this ward, just jizya (tax) were taken from them. As a compensation of this tax, Christians and Jews were living their religion freely. They were a tax source to Ottoman belie. Also by using this politics, Christians became Muslim more easily.⁴⁷

Bafeus War (1301) is important to explain the role of Gaza’s formation. This victory against the Ottoman Empire made Osman a charismatic bey. According to Halil Inalcik words, his victory spread till Paflagonya (Kastamonu) and ghazi’s gathered around him⁴⁸

⁴²WitteK,Paul.op.cit.p. 27,28

⁴³WitteK, Paul.op.cit. p.30,31

⁴⁴Inalcik, Halil. “Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış”, *Osmanlı Siyaset*, Volume 1, Yeni Türkiye Publisher, Ankara 1999, p.37-69

⁴⁵Inalcik, Halil. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ 1300,1600”, (translator;Ruşen Sezer),Yapı Kredi Publisher, Istanbul 2003, p.12

⁴⁶Inalcik, Halil .op.cit. p.40

⁴⁷Inalcik, Halil. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ 1300,1600”, (translator;Ruşen Sezer),Yapı Kredi Publisher, Istanbul 2003, p.13

⁴⁸Inalcik, Halil .op.cit. p.45

Feridun Emecen says is accepted the politics of invasion is based on Gaza or Chad. "Gaza against Darulharp non-Muslims is not only the main goal of Ottoman but also other beylics. This Gaza politic is undoubted the cont. of Alperen tradition and is the result of the invasion concept of Islam." Ottomans used Gaza a legitimate base towards non-Muslim states. But, the war between two ghazi's has come so Emecen tried to answer how Ottoman created a basis to legitimize the controlled of Turkmen beylics. Emecen says they aligned against them and they started to worry because Ottomans developed their selves as central authority, their fame has increased in the sense of Gaza. In Murat the 2 period Turkmen beylics had aligned and attacked Bursa, so Murat, with the help of ulema, attacked the beylics in order to save Muslims from tyrants and this situation legitimized Ottoman sovereignty politics against Turkmen bellies.⁴⁹

Rudi Paul Linder's *Nomads and Ottoman in Medieval Anatolia* published in 1983 tries to develop a new term by using anthropology. He tries to make a deduction by analyzing its moneys and some documents belonging that period. According to Linder, the holy war and war veterans are not the only reasons of Ottoman Empires formation. He argues these two are just one of the reasons. He argues that Koprulu's tribe thesis is not enough and his point of view should be extended. There are disunity between Ilhanli over lordship and Ottoman enterprise. He argues that the gap should be filled and the relationship between tribes, Seljuks, Ilkhanid Empire and Ottoman beylic should be researched. In the other hand, Ottomans do not have religious worries.⁵⁰

Ottoman invasions were not just towards Christians. Linder says that tribes are based on self-seeking relations; contrast to its general definition, they are not cognate and tribes are living on plunder and its security is provided by weapons. Linder's approach formed a basis to new critical works targeting Wittek's theses.⁵¹

In the essay *Legitimacy and Driving Power in First Period Ottoman History*, he argues the holy war have no concern with the Raise of the Ottoman Empire. Linder criticizes Ahmedi's holy war thesis (based on an epitaph belonging to 1337). Fuat koprulu remarked the rejection of the holy war ideology by Omer Lutfu Barkan and he also remarked that First period Ottomans' names were all non-Muslims. Also he mentioned the thought of Halil Inalcik and Professor Arnakis' in which they remark Islam was not dictated to Christians. According to him the reason of Ahmedi's work and the epitaph written in Bursa is to legitimize the Ottoman. Paul Linder also says that not only in Ottomans but also Danishmends (who lived 200 years before them) have the holy war spirit. Based on this, Linder asks some questions; if the holy war spirit is strong among Ottomans and Danishmends, the desire of holy war resulted in success on Ottomans, but why Danishmendt could not defeat their enemies? If the veteran soldier spirit is a diving power, why different results exist?⁵²

Ronald C. Jennings remarks the intensity of Ottomans relations between Osman Bey and Orthodox groups. According to Hungarian Turcologist Yula Kaldy-Nagy it would be wrong explaining the wars against Europe as hate toward Christianity.⁵³ Because their relations with Islam are not solid, Kaldy-Nagy, Ertuğrul and his siblings Gündoğdu and Sungur and his two sons Gunduz and Savci are evidence that the names are not Islamic. He supported his thesis by saying: 'Besides it demonstrates the jizya (a kind of tax payed by non-muslim minorities in the Ottoman Empire) taken from non-Muslims. 'If all people in the states conquered would become Muslim, only jisya is gathered from non-Muslims and 1/5 of the income gathered in 1525, there would not be anybody to give jisya.⁵⁴

⁴⁹Emecen, Feridun M. op. cit p. 171, 175

⁵⁰Linder, R. Paul, "Selçuklular, Moğollar ve Osmanlılar Arasında", *Osmanlı Siyaset*, Volume 1, Yeni Türkiye, Publisher, Ankara 1999, p. 146-166

⁵¹Imparting from DEMİRCİ, Süleyman. "Erken Dönem Osmanlı Tarihi "Kara Bir Delik / A Black Hole" mi?", *History Studies*, ISSN: 1309 4173 (Online) 1309 - 4688 (Print) ., January 2013, s. 91 and *Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı* (t.y.). Erişim: 15. Nisan 2016, http://www.bisav.org.tr/userfiles/yayinlar/NOTLAR_4.pdf

⁵²Lindner, Rudi Paul, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı Tarihinde İtici Güç ve Meşrutiyet", *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a*, (Comp) Oktay Özel-Mehmet Öz, İmge Bookstore, Ankara 2005, p. 411, 412

⁵³Imparting from DEMİRCİ, Süleyman. "Erken Dönem Osmanlı Tarihi "Kara Bir Delik / A Black Hole" mi?", *History Studies*, ISSN: 1309 4173 (Online) 1309 - 4688 (Print) ., January 2013, s. 89-100

⁵⁴Nagy Kaldy G. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İlk Yüzyıllarında Kutsal Savaş", *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a*, (comp) Oktay Özel-Mehmet Öz, İmge Bookstore, Ankara 2005, p. 405

IV. Remarks about Ottoman's Origin

Feridun Emecen, who wrote the *First Ottomans and the World of West Anatolian Beylics*, thinks the data about the Ottoman Empire's origin and its organization as beylic are not clear, right and pleasant in terms of history. He focuses in Ottoman Empire's lack of resources; instead of enlighten the dynasties' origins, the lack of resources went towards the progression of the problem how Ottoman Beylic politically constructed. He mentions the first resources are written 150-200 years approx. After its settling, involving rumors as the show up and the origins of the Empire. Emecen emphasizes on the importance of researching Ottoman origin's resources. When analyzed all resources about the show up the Ottoman Empire, conclusions are that; Ottomans are one of Turkmen Clans which settled to Anatolia and we can't discuss Osman Bey as a fictional character. Apart for Osman Bey's father Ertugrul and Gunduzalp, the existence of all persons should be discussed. Feridun Emecen analyzes the formation of the Ottoman Empire by making comparison with Turkmen resources⁵⁵

One of the information about the origin of Ertugrul Ghazi and the Ottoman is Ashik Pasha-Zade's writing in the 15th century. Ashik Pasha-Zade mentions about the Ottoman origins in *Tevarih Al-i Osman* work. He said that Suleyman Shah Ghazi, the grandfather of Osman Ghazi, came before his Greek country. Until the period of the Abbasid dynasty from the time of Suleyman Shah, the Arab family was superior to the sons of Japheth. In addition, the Greeks and Persians were also superior. Persians became an ally of Turks the sons of Japheth to break the rule of the Arabs. Persians (Iranians) sent under the command of the leader who Suleyman Shah to Anatolia for fear of the nomadic people by 50 thousand Turkmen and Tatar. They entered the Greek from the city of Erzincan. When they realized that they could not live in Anatolia, they decided to go back to Turkestan again. They proceeded to the castle of Ja'bar from Aleppo, instead of going the way that they came. Suleyman Shah run his horse to the Euphrates River. The horse was scared. He fell into the water and died. The nomadic people was scattered with the death of their leader. Some of them went to desert. Now they are called Damascus Turkmen. Some of them also returned to Anatolia. These are some of them Tatar and the others Turkmen. Some of them agreed on as a leader Suleiman Shah's three sons. Three of them are Sungurtekin, Gundogdu and Ertugrul Ghazi. These three brothers went to from Euphrates to the plain of Pasin and Surmeli. Ertugrul stayed there with four hundred tents instead of going with his brother. The other two brothers returned to their homeland. Ertugrul stayed there for a long time. Ertugrul Ghazi turned to Anatolia when he heard that Sultan Aladdin of the Seljuk dynasty was padishah. Ertugrul Ghazi had three sons, named Osman, Gunduz and Saru Yati. There are many rumors about the coming Ertugrul Ghazi to Anatolia, but the truth is I have told."⁵⁶ Besides, the leading historians of second Bayezid period in Nesri's book *Cihannuma* is similar to the story that Ashik Pasha-Zade told Osmanoglu family and the Greek (Anatolia) information given about their arrival. However, Nesri says that he heard this story from a reliable people. This person is Mevlana Ayas who was the leading of Orhan period.⁵⁷ Since the 16th century, the whole history of the official Ottoman tradition that penned by the Ottomans and marked the whole history links Osman to the 52 descendants of Noah (even afar). It is important that Osman's family tree includes Gok Alp and his father Oghuz Khan, thus it is established in connection with Oghuz tribal legend. Oghuz is the one of the most important branches of the Turkish tribe. If we consider the role that they play in history, we can say that they are the most prominent.⁵⁸ When we look at the Ottoman historians to examine other sources of the period and two major sources, the origin of Ertugrul and his arrival to the Sogut are uncertain. The main problem is that the adventure is until Ertugrul arrives to Sogut.

⁵⁵*Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı (t.y.). Erişim:15.Nisan 2016, http://www.bisav.org.tr/userfiles/yayinlar/NOTLAR_4.pdf*

⁵⁶Âşık Paşazade ; “ *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman, Âşık paşa-zâde Tarihi; Osmanoğullarının Tarihi*” (ed.) Kemal Yavuz and Yekta Saraç, Gökkuşbu Publisher, Istanbul 2014 p.43,4

⁵⁷Neşri, Mehmet. “*Aşiretten imparatorluğa; Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*” Timaş Publisher, Istanbul 2011. p. 43

⁵⁸Witteck, Paul.op.cit.p. 16

⁵⁹Danişmend, İsmail H. “*İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*” Türkiye Publisher, Istanbul 1944 p.1,2

Ismail Hamdi Danışmend mentioned about Ottoman chronology, based on Osman's Gregorian in his book *Chronology of Ottoman History*. Hijri year starts with the birth in 1258/656. The death of Ertugrul Ghazi shows the year of 680 Hijri and 1281 Gregorian. It tells about similar events with Ashik Pasha-Zade where they came from Ottoman and Ertugrul Ghazi's origin. The grandfather of Osman Ghazi, Suleyman Shah is the ruler of the tribe from Oghuz Turks Kayihan. He went to Ahlat, Erzincan and Amasya, but it is said that the father of Ertugrul Ghazi is Suleyman Shah in the works of Danışmend and Ashik Pasha-Zade.⁵⁹ On the contrary, some sources say that Ertugrul Ghazi's father was Gündüz Alp. J. W. Zinkeisen tells a similar story, related to the work of Ashik Pasha-Zade about the origins of the Ottoman in his book *The History of the Ottoman Empire*. Byzantine historian Pharantzes says that he mentions the name of Suleyman Shah. The origin of the Ottoman dynasty and the Ottoman period sources of information about being organized as a ruler did not sufficiently clear and accurate by Today's historians.⁶⁰

Feridun Emecen says that it is not clear information about the origin of the dynasty, ancestors and where they came from except Ertugrul Bey whose name is mentioned as the father of Osman Bey is determined that Osman Bey and his name printed in a money. The first known Ottoman source indicates that it is penned after the emergence of Osman Bey in a century in the 15th during the mid-2nd Bayezid period.⁶¹

Feridun Emecen said in a symposium called the establishment of the Ottoman that Ertugrul or the ancestors in which year or caused migrated to Anatolia (the resources are Turkestan, Samarkand, Balkh, Khorasan, Mahan, the land of Persia), which years they came (in the years of 1020, 1220, 1258), why they came (Mongolian pressuring), how many people came 340 or 1340 person/house, 400 nomadic house, 50 thousand Tatar and Turkmen, 50 thousand Etra/Turkmen), where they first settled (Ahlat, Pasin plan, Sürmelicukur, Enguri/Ankara, Karacadağ, Amasya, Karaman, Sultan-oyugu, Sogut), how long they stayed there, their migration, what was the father of Ertugrul (Suleyman Shah/Gunduz Alp), whether they made holy war, where the Anatolian Seljuk Sultans and the Mongols was the battle (Karaman, Eregli, Boga-Oyugu, Elbistan, Sivas/Hafik), whether Ertugrul and his force to help the Seljuk Sultan, the activities in the western border regions, Sogut, Bilecik, Yarıhisar and Inegöl is not clear whether these places were conquered. The dream event that heralded the establishment of the Ottoman Empire and claimed that Ertugrul saw it, sometimes says the same thing and sometimes conflicts with each other. This dream event is about when Ertugrul died and how old he did when he died. "Emecen pointed out that this period had been a period of obscurity and contradictions."⁶²

Colin Imber expresses this period as a "black hole". Although there is no clear information about the origin of the Ertugrul, it is certainly known that he is one of the Ottomans which is one of the existing margraves from the Turkmen tribe on the Byzantine border.

Osman's father and Ertugrul who was a certainly real personality in terms of historical perspective in order to elevate his presence was created a legend. Ahmedi started the war against the infidels with his friends who are the veterans of Oghuz during the Ertugrul's veteran life by Sultan Aladdin in Sultanyuku region (Eskisehir vicinity).⁶³ (Legend of Oghuz legends and the origins of the Ottoman Empire)

Although there are legends that the things described, they also reflect historical facts. According to describe, after the death of Ertugrul Ghazi's father, he came back to Anatolia. After he had fought for the Anatolian Seljuks, it was given Timar to him by the Great Aladdin. The head of the Timar was related with the center of Kastamonu/Cobanogullari.⁶⁴ After Mahmut Bey was the leader of Cobanogullari, he declared his independence in 1291. He raided into the Byzantine territory. Later he signed a treaty with Byzantine. After this case, the activities of Osman Bey accelerated in the Byzantine Empire.⁶⁵

⁶⁰Zinkeisen, Johann, W. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi 1" (translator, Nilüfer Epeçeli), (Ed.) Erhan Afyoncu, Yeditepe Publisher, Istanbul 2011 p.41,43

⁶¹Emecen, Feridun M. op.cit p.19

⁶²Özcan, Azmi and ÖZ, Mehmet. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kuruluş meseleleri sempozyumu Bilecik Üniversitesi Turkey 2011. p.40,47

⁶³Imber, Colin. "Osman Gazi Efsanesi", Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389, ed. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (Translator: Gül Çağalı Güven, İsmail Yerguz, Tülin Altınova), Tarih Vakfı Yurt Publisher, Istanbul 2000, s. 68-77.

⁶⁴Öztuna, Yılmaz. "Ertugrul Gazi Büyük" Osmanlı Tarihi v.1, Ötüken Publisher İstanbul 1994

⁶⁵Sevim, Ali and Yücel, Yaşar. op.cit. p.187

After the war of Kosedag in 1243, Anatolian Seljuk Empire lost its control over Anatolia and the beylics emerged. These beylics lived previously in the border regions of Anatolian Seljuk Empire. The border regions of the Seljuk Empire were organized borders region. As the Anatolian three border regions, these were the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Western Anatolia. As a result of the Mongol invasion in 1261, the immigration movement began the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. As of this date, Anatolia was divided into two political regions. These were Eastern part and the Western border that was dominated by Turkmen. Seljuk represented Esrefogullari, Hamidogullari, Sabibataogullari, Germiyans and Cobanogullari which were founded in western border. The western border Beylics which were Menteseogullari, Aydin, Saruhan, Karesi and the Ottoman Beylics represented Anatolia as semi-independent principalities in Turkmen sovereignty. Cilicia also was allied with Mamluks and Karaman Beylic against little Armenia in Cukurova.⁶⁶ The Ottoman was a small border region having similar properties with the Turkmen tribes who migrated to the west with the Mongol invasion. It was not one of the most powerful Beylics in its region and among the Beylics. Germiyans was the strongest in the western Anatolian and the most powerful among the Beylics.

The historians such as Rudi Paul Linder and Feridun M. Emecen questioned main reason that why the Ottoman dynasty was the more successful than all the other Beylics. They believed the answer of this question that could bring a solution to the problems of the salvation of the Ottoman. Osman's Dream is situated in all the resources that provides information about the establishment of the Ottomans. This dream is as follows: "Osman Ghazi made a wish and cried. When he was sleepy, he slept. There was a Sheikh that everyone loved him among people. His many miracles were seen by the people. He always had guests in his home. Osman Ghazi sometimes met with this great man. One day, Osman Ghazi saw that a moon was born from his chest of this great person in his dream and he saw that this moon came into his own chest. Later he saw a tree that grew up in his belly. Its shadow swept the whole world. There were the mountains under the shadow. The water was flowing from the bottom of the mountains. Some people were using this flow of water for drinking, and some of them were using in the garden. After he had woken up, he told about his dream to the Sheikh. The Sheikh interpreted 'Son, I have good news. Almighty God has given reign to you and your descendants. Also, my daughter Malhun will be your wife.' Osman and his daughter were married at the same time. When Osman Ghazi heard this, he came to Inegol in one night. He raided a small fortress called Kumluca."⁶⁷

A similar story was described in Nesri's works. This dream which told by the historians of the Ottoman period how that a small border Beylic turned into an empire dominating to the three continents could be the answer to the question for the historians of the period. However, there is no historical value of this story, because similar stories which were created in the previous period with the aim of acquiring a sacred identity in this narrative and to the administrator. Fuat Koprulu indicates that he also saw like this story in 13th century Curcani Tabakat-I Nasiri in his article "The driving force in the establishment and development of the Ottoman Empire". "The conqueror of the India Mahmud of Ghazni's father Sabuktigin saw a tree that shadowed whole world from his house in his dreams, before his son was born an hour ago. And he assessed that it would be a son of the conqueror." Fuat Koprulu stated that these similar stories have also seen in the Seljuks and Ilkhanids.⁶⁸ The issue on researching Ottoman Empire's origins came up again thanks to Colin Imber in 1980's. He made emphasis on the problems of Ottoman's origin and pedigree asserted in annals and problems about contrast claims made in that period. He indicated many persons mentioned in first periods are not historically real.

⁶⁶Inalcik, Halil. "Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış", *Osmanlı Siyaset*, Volume. 1, Yeni Türkiye, Publisher Ankara 1999, p.38,39

⁶⁷Aşık paşazade, *op.cit.* p.49

⁶⁸Köprülü, Orhan F. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş ve Gelişmesinde itici Güçler", *Osmanlı Siyaset*, Volume. 1, Yeni Türkiye Publisher, Ankara 1999, p. 153

He named this period as 'black hole'.⁶⁹ All of his works about Ottoman Empires formation are based on old Ottoman resources as anonym chronical and history of AshikPasha-Zade. Apart from that, he makes citation to the part in which starts with virtues of the holy war and Ahmedi's who names Ottoman emperors as ghazi Iskendername.

One problem about this evidence is that Ahmedi' heard in a wrong way in daily language 'gaza (holy war) / gazi' and Akin (invasion/raider) and this indicates that Colin Imber, who says Ahmedi is moralist by changing the words into a religious term, interpreted in a wrong way the resources utilized to understand that period.⁷⁰ By this approach Colin Imber in his essays published lately said "The best thing a modern historian can do is accepting the early Ottoman period as black hole."⁷¹

Colin Imber said "Towards the year 1500, the Ottoman historians wrote inconsistent stories about the empire's foundation and the origin of the dynasty, were based on oral tradition. According to this story, Ottoman Sultans and Seljuk Sultans were descended of Oghuz Khan with a senior tribe. The grandfather of Osman, Suleyman Shah took his cortege from the east to the Anatolia, but he died crossing the Euphrates River. His son Ertugrul and his people returned to the Anatolia. They took Sogut which was near the Byzantine from the Seljuk Sultan Aladdin. After the death of Ertugrul, Osman passed his place. The name of the Dynasty was his name. In response to his heroics, Seljuk Sultan decided to appoint him as his successor. Upon Aladdin died without heir, Osman did not officially declare independent himself from Seljuks. After he had seen the dream that was interpreted by Sheikh Edeballi as the reigning of God to Osman and his descendants, he married the daughter of this wealthy dervish. There is a fact of the Turkish history in this story. Osman found a small Beylic with the name of Orhan and possibly Ertugrul in the northwest Anatolia. The remaining part is a myth to legitimate the Ottoman Empire. This story emerged from Oghuz Khan in 15th century. The aim of this story was to prove more noble the descendants of the Ottoman dynasty than the neighbor and opponent dynasty. Suleyman Shah and his dead appeared after in 1450. Except for these stories that is unclear, The Ottoman historians say that Osman was not the leaders of among the independent Beylics between 1298 and 1301. The reason of why the Ottoman Beylic was popular among other Beylics is the battle of Bafeus (Koyunhisar). Before this war, he had to rely on the cooperation of Turkmen and Greek Beylics. Unlike Kose mihal, was one of these Beylics, was Osman's vassal, he should be seen as an ally of Osman"⁷²

The assessment of Colin Imber has been also interpreted likewise Ucler Bulduk. According to him, the

Ottoman historians who are reflected the Ottoman tradition, before telling the history of the Ottomans, the Ottoman dynasty glorified.

Their family tree is ranked. The origin of the Ottomans is based on Oghuz Khan and following Noah in this family tree. There are factors from the religious traditions and national customs in the family tree.⁷³ This family tree has taken place that connects Osman Ghazi to Oghuz Khan, known as the first Ottoman history Sukrullah's from Behcetü't Tevarih in the whole history.⁷⁴

⁶⁹Söğütten İstanbul'a; Osmanlı'nın Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar(comp.)Oktay Özel, Mehmet Öz, İmge Bookstore, p.28

⁷⁰Imber, Colin. "Osman Gazi Efsanesi", Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389, ed. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (translator: Gül Çağalı Güven, İsmail Yerguz, Tülin Altınova), Tarih Vakfı Yurt Publisher, İstanbul,2000, p.76

⁷¹Heywood, J. Colin; Osmanlı Devleti Kuruluş Problemi Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler", Osmanlı Siyaset, Volume 1, Yeni Türkiye Publisher, Ankara 1999, p.137-160

⁷²Imber, Colin. "Osmanlı Hanedan Efsanesi "and " İlk Osmanlı Tarihinde Düstur ve Düzmece", Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a, (comp): Oktay Özel-Mehmet Öz, İmge Bookstore, Ankara 2005, p.268,308

⁷³Bulduk, Üçler; "Osmanlı Beyliğinin Oluşumunda Oğuz/Türkmen Geleneğinin Yeri", Osmanlı Siyaset, Volume 1, Yeni Türkiye Publisher, Ankara 1999, p.162

⁷⁴Kürkçüoğlu, Erol; "Kayıların Anadolu'ya Gelişi", Osmanlı Siyaset, Volume 1, Yeni Türkiye Publisher, Ankara 1999, s.176,177

Conclusion

Hypothesis which is about added a new dimension to the topic. He argues we should look at the Mongolian world because it is wider than Seljuk world and 13th century's British Islands. He claims after Ottoman's Crimean Han Nogay's death, they went to Söğüt using both road and sea lane from Dobluca region. Thus, he researched Ottoman Empire's formation in geography of Mongolia which includes Black Sea region instead of Anatolian-Islamic customs. Heywood's thesis based on C. Huart thesis (Often-ignored Because of Köprülü's and Wittek's theses) remarked that they can associate with a group of people migrated from Crimea to Bithynians in 1299, after the death of Golden Horde Han Nogay. And if true, he says it is beneficial to look over the relation of Mongolian Ottomans.

Apart from these historians Fiedrich Giese's essay is one of the first essays written about this topic. He criticizes Gibbons' thesis and argues that he mislead people by writing skilled composition and makes superficial works that reveals new thoughts. Also he talks about the rule of Turkish-Islamic guild during Ottoman Empire formation.

Cemal Kafadar's in his work *Between the World: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, he did a collective evaluation of these arguments and also even though it seems its conflicting, based on basic resources he tried to construct different elements by using more flexible, elements. Lider commented critically on Wittek's the holy war thesis.

Colin Heywood's last thesis; *Ottoman Empire's formation problem: Thoughts about the New Hypothesis* which is about added a new dimension to the topic. He argues we should look at the Mongolian world because it is wider than Seljuk world and 13th century's British Islands. He claims after Ottoman's Crimean Han Nogay's death, they went to Söğüt using both road and sea lane from Dobluca region. Thus, he researched Ottoman Empire's formation in geography of Mongolia which includes Black Sea region instead of Anatolian-Islamic customs. Heywood's thesis based on C. Huart thesis (Often-ignored Because of Köprülü's and Wittek's theses) remarked that they can associate with a group of people migrated from Crimea to Bithynians in 1299, after the death of Golden Horde Han Nogay. And if true, he says it is beneficial to look over the relation of Mongolian Ottomans.

The last name in participating on this topic is Heath W. He examined what is the meaning of Gazi and Gaza (the holy war) for Early Ottomans. He asserted he terms Gaza (invasion) / ghazi (raider) are synonym. He says according to two documents belonging to Fatih and Bayezid II periods, non-Muslims are mentioned as 'raider' and it is associated with Gaza and that the holy war is associated with drive profit and own timer. He argues the thesis, which includes Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans, 'looter confederation'.

Meanwhile apart from the names mentioned, Enrnest Wener, Halil Berkay Sencer Divitçioğlu studied about this topic but their studies didn't considered sufficiently. Also many people created many theories and made many examinations but Ottoman Empire's formation process developed with the names mentioned above. We can classify the approaches towards the formation process in 4 categories;

- a) Gibbons' new racism theory which goes parallel with 20th century's racist politic view.
- b) Gaza and gazi theory which shapes from the question what is the driving power that make people to take action.
- c) Theses starting with Koprulu, are evaluated with Turkish history and are based on querying Ottoman formation process as a resource, geographic, religion, political, ethnic and demographic complement.
- d) An evaluation made around servant system and Turkish-Islamic guild.

Another dimension of the discussion is about in which frame the Ottoman Empire formation process should be taken. Common remark is the Koprulu's one; the topic should be evaluated within 13th – 14th century's Anatolian history. Several characteristics ate the access of Anadolu Seljuks into Mongolian dominance, the emergence of beylics parallel to the failure of centralized management, the Ilhanli and Memluk vs. Golden Horde competition's influence to Anatolia's political process

Migrations in Anatolia, starting with Mongolian invasion and its effects, and the failure of Byzantine.

According to unimportant resources it is impossible saying that a beylic stated at the edge of Anatolia, emerging with 400 tents and with people living as nomad sheep man can't develop in such a good way based on one reason. Many reasons triggered to Ottoman to become an empire. The aim of this work is to evaluate all remarks so that we can explain that cultures and beylics which Ottoman beylic kept touch with formed a basis of it. According to him this new race ensured Byzantine administrative practice pursuing with Islam.

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