

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ANATOLIAN SELJUKS AND THE OTTOMAN EMIRATE: A LOOK AT INTERACTIONS IN AMASYA*

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ABSTRACT

14th century, the period during which the Emirates arose following the political collapse of the Anatolian Seljuks, manifests the formation of an architectural expressive language of the Ottoman Emirate. When the regional diversities and the period in which the resumption of the Seljuk existence are taken into consideration, the distinction between the Seljuks and the Ottoman Emirate became prominent. An important Danişmendid (1071-1178) centre during the Byzantine period, Amasya, different from several cities in Anatolia, namely Ankara, Tokat, Antalya and Sivas, conquered by Ottoman emirate during the last decades of the 14th century, succeeded in carrying (surviving) the architectural examples of the Seljuks (1071-1308/1318) and Ottomans (1300-1453) till nowadays. Hence, Amasya was the only city witnessing both the architectural activities of the Seljuks and the Ottoman Emirate. As a result of the uninterrupted Seljuk and Ottoman Emirate periods, the traditional reflections of the Seljuks can be surprisingly or rather naturally encountered on the Ottoman architectural monuments of Amasya.

Key Words: *Seljuk legacy, Amasya, architecture, tradition, continuity.*

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ÖZET

Anadolu Selçuklu-Osmanlı Beyliği İlişkisi: Amasya Örneklerinde Kesişim

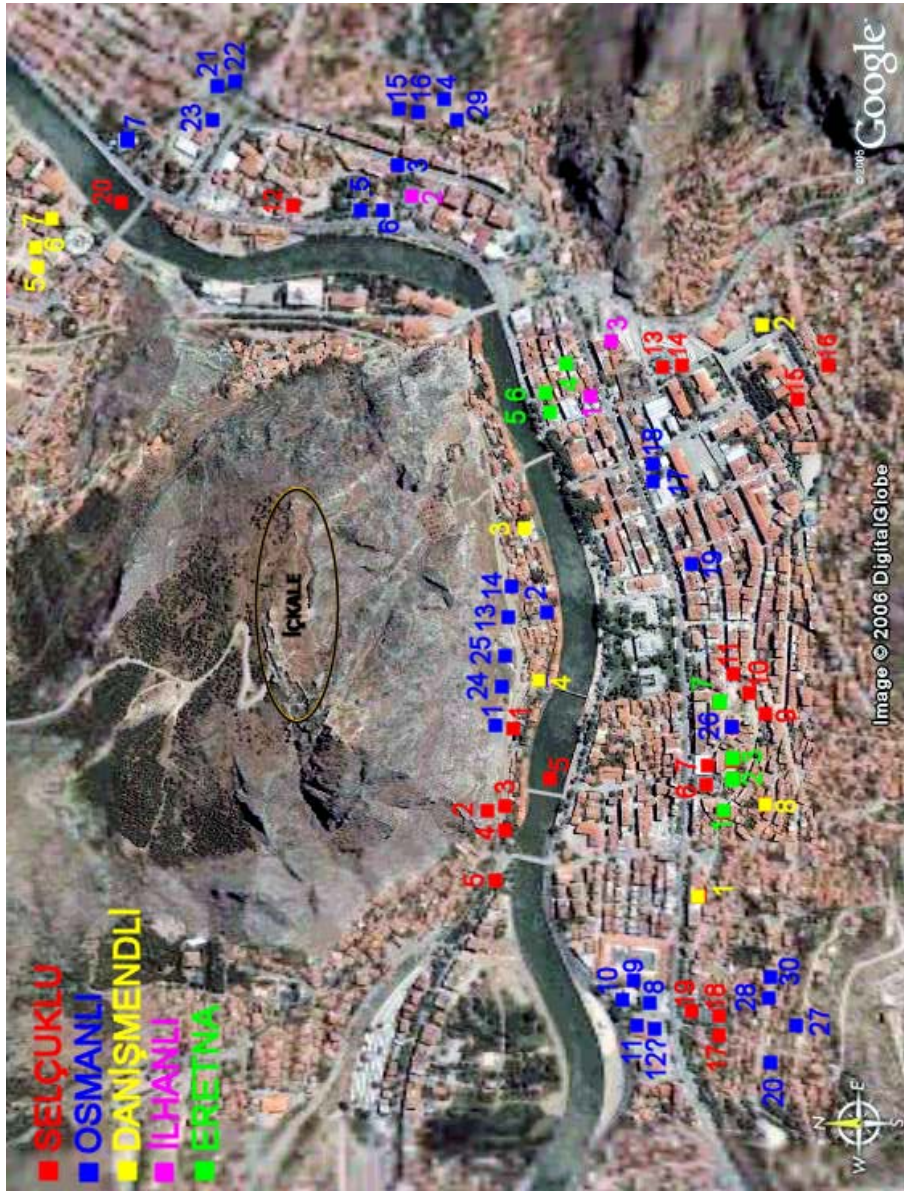
Anadolu Selçukluları'nın siyasi çöküşü ile birlikte beyliklerin ortaya çıktığı 14. yüzyıl, Osmanlı Beyliği mimari dilinin oluşum sürecini ortaya koyar. Selçuklu Devleti'nin varlığını sürdürdüğü coğrafi bölge ve yüzyıl düşünüldüğünde, daha sonra kurulan Osmanlı Beyliği ile arasında hem coğrafi çerçevede farklı dağılım alanı, hem de yüzyıl farkı görülür. Ancak Bizans sürecinde önemli bir Danışmendli (1071-1178) merkezi olan Amasya, 14. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Osmanlı Beyliğince fethedilen Ankara, Tokat, Antalya, Sivas gibi diğer tüm kentlerden farklı olarak, İslam şehri niteliği ile beraber Selçuklu (1071-1308/1318) ve Osmanlı Beyliği (1300-1453) dönemlerinin mimari örneklerini büyük ölçüde günümüze taşımıştır. Bu nedenle Amasya, hem Selçuklu hem de Osmanlı Beyliği dönemi imar faaliyetine sahne olmuş tek kent konumundadır. Selçuklu ve Osmanlı süreçlerini arka arkaya yaşamış olan Amasya'nın Selçuklu yerleşmesi ve aynı zamanda Selçuklu coğrafyası üzerinde kurulmuş bir kent olması nedeni ile mimari eserler üzerinde, -dönemin diğer yapılarından farklı olarak- mevcut Selçuklu geleneğin yansımaları dikkati çeker.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Selçuklu mirası, Amasya, mimari, gelenek, süreklilik.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the announcement of the Turkish Republic, the desire to create a “Turkish Identity” has become a state policy and for this real “history” and “culture” were mostly interpreted for political purposes to create a nation. This approach had a great influence on the points of view of the historians and the artists which marked the Ottoman perspective as a continuation of the Seljuks. For example, one of the important historian of the Republican era, Fuat Köprülü evaluates the foundation of the Ottoman Empire in historical continuity based on Turkish-Islamic factors (Köprülü 2004). On the periods followed, the Ottoman Empire is evaluated as a historical composition risen from the political and social Developments of the 13th Century Anatolian Turks and it is noted that the term “Ottoman” as well as the name “Seljuk” emphasizes a dynasty name (Göyünç, 1973: 10-16). The majority of the resaerchers in the history of art, like the historians, describe the art conceptions of the Ottoman Emirates as the continuity of the Anatolian Seljuks' art or define the Anatolian Seljuk art as the origin of the Ottoman Art in general (Yetkin 1960: 257-258; Gabriel 1942: 43). In the Art History publications, “AnatolianTurkish Art” is described as the art that was shaped in between the historical era of the early Beyliks (emirates) of the period, the Anatolian Seljuks and the 14. Century Beyliks and the Ottomans (Aslanapa 1964: 58-61). In the Ottoman historical records, the association of the Ottomans as the legal heir of the Seljuks, also appear in the artistic links associated between

Ottomans and Seljuks according to the art historians as well (Çetintaş 1946: 7).

For this reason, the aim of this study is to discuss the assumed influence of the Anatolian Seljuks' traditional patterns on Ottoman architecture and to evaluate the different influencing factors, such as patrons, artists, geographical location and political and social characteristics, of the city of Amasya, situated in Northeastern Anatolia on the old Silk Road. When Seljuk traditions are questioned at the Ottoman Emirates architectural examples; Amasya's importance turns up by itself considering the seized lands and marked up geographical boundaries at the Ottoman ruling periods in the city. The fact that no similar artworks exist in other Seljuk towns such as Ankara, Tokat, Antalya, Sivas conquered by the Ottoman Emirates during the second half of the 14th century apart from Amasya, distinctly explains the importance and interactions of Amasya in comparison between the Anatolian Seljuks and the Ottoman Emirates architecture. Being one of the important centers of Danismends at the Byzantine ruling periods, (1071-1178), Amasya has carried to date its qualities as an Islamic city together with its architectural examples of Seljuks era (1071-1308/1318) and Ottoman Emirates era (1300-1453) as well, which differentiate the town from the other towns mentioned above. For this reason, in the search for indicators of differences between the two cultures, Amasya plays an important role, not only because it is the only town where both Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman constructions have been present, but also because it is a unique town in history in carrying these works of art to date (Picture 1).



Picture 1. Turkish Period Buildings in Amasya

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■ SELÇUKLU

1. Beyler Palace
2. Halifet Gazi Bath
3. Bez Bazaar
4. Lala Mosque
5. Sultan Bridge
6. Halifet Gazi Medresseh
7. Halifet Gazi Tomb
8. Halifet Gazi Inn
9. Shoerepairer's Bazaar
10. Rıdvan Bath
11. Hasan Masjid
12. Tuğrakiye Masjid
13. Burmalı Minaret Mosque
14. Burmalı Minaret Tomb
15. Muineddin Pervane Palace
16. Rükneddin Kılıçaslan Palace
17. Gök Medresseh Mosque
18. Gök Medresseh Tomb
19. Turumtay Tomb
20. Kuş Bridge

■ OSMANLI

1. Palace
2. Yıldırım Mosque
3. Yakut Paşa Convent
4. Yakup Paşa Convent
5. Mehmed Paşa Mosque
6. Mustafa Bey Bath
7. Bayezid Paşa Lodge
8. Yörgüç Paşa Lodge
9. Yörgüç Paşa Medresseh
10. Yörgüç Paşa Inn
11. Yörgüç Paşa Bath
12. Yörgüç Paşa Bath?
13. Bedreddin Mahmut Çelebi Darülhuffazı
14. Bedreddin Mahmut Çelebi Lodge
15. Şahbula Hatun School
16. Şahbula Hatun Fountain
17. Zarpaneci Masjid
18. Zarpaneci Convent
19. Mehmed Ağa Masjid

20. Şamice Şemseddin Ahmed Efendi Masjid
21. Elsem Hatun Tomb
22. Elsem Hatun Fountain
23. Elsem Hatun School
24. Alâeddin Ali Masjid
25. Alâeddin Ali Fountain
26. Feyzullah Efendi Masjid
27. Melek Gazi Convent
28. Şehzade Tomb
29. Mahmut Çelebi Masjid
30. Kasım Çelebi Tomb

■ DANIŞMENDLİ

1. Palace
2. Fethiye Mosque (onarım)
3. Enderun Mosque
4. Yağlıbasan Inn
5. Şamlar (Küçük Ağa) Mosque
6. Şamlar (Küçük Ağa) Medresseh
7. Şamlar (Küçük Ağa) School
8. Hanikah

■ İLHANLI

1. Mevlevihane
2. Bimarhane (Madhouse)
3. Atabey Medresseh

■ ERETNA

1. Şadgeldi Paşa Tomb
2. Kadılar Tomb
3. Kadılar Fountain
4. Alaca Yahya Medresseh
5. Saraçhane Mosque
6. Saraçhane Bazaar
7. Sultan Mesud Tomb

The first examples of the construction works of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods have started in Amasya soon after the conquest of the town, with the alteration and repair of the inner and outer castle and city walls, and with the start of a palace construction in which the appointed administrators of the town were intended to reside¹. It is proposed that the city has been constructed under the administration of Seljuk Sultan I. Mesud who started to rule in 1143 (Hüsameddin1986: 40; Demiray 1954: 25) even though it is known that the Seljuk ruling in Amasya started when Danismendli's have killed Seljuk Sultan II. Kılıç Aslan (1155-1192) (Yinanç 1950: 394). Together with this, it is learned from the secondary sources that there used to be a castle inside the city walls by the river (Hüsameddin 1911-14: 50-52). This palace, known as the *Beyler Palace* by public, is thought to be the residence center for the commanders in charge and the sultans of Amasya at the ruling period of Sultan I. Mesud (1116-1155). In addition to the palace are also the bridges; both not existing today, which have been constructed by Sultan I. Mesud and the daughters of Sultan II. Mesud (1284-1296)². What differentiates Amasya from the other towns of the Seljuks, is the construction of the bridges by one of the Sultans and a Sultan's daughter. The accommodation possibilities are not well enough in the close environs of the castle entrances due to the castles being erected in a cliffed and rocky piece of land where the castle walls lay just parallel to the river. For this reason, the construction of a bridge in relation to the geographic structure of the city, explain the intended desire to expand the town outside of the castle walls when the city was conquered by Sultan I. Mesud. The earliest example of the historical constructions of the Seljuk ruling periods in Amasya, the Halifet Gazi Complex (in 1225) which was built in the same region as the bridge, also point out the settlement beginning from the bridge as the start up point at the first years of the 13th century. The lower bridge located at the center of the town close to the Burmalı Minare (Twisted Minaret) Mosque and the tomb (1237-47) was also repaired by Sultan I. Mesud's order,

¹ In both of the periods, it is known for certain that the Sultans first renovate and repair the castles of the town they have seized (Bibi 1996, 1: 119, 139,167, 427; Aşıkpaşazade 1992: 47, 51, 95).

² It is also learned from the secondary sources that Sultan Rükneddin Kılıçaslan (1262-1266) and Vezir Muineddin Pervane each have constructed palaces for themselves in Amasya (Hüsameddin 1911-14: 137, 398). Together with these, it is also said that there used to be a town named *Simre* at the Amasya environs, erected by Sultan I. Mesud, with its mosques, lodgings for the poor and the visitors, as well as water stations where the Sultan himself is buried in his tomb constructed under his ruling (Sevim-Merçil 1995: 441).

leading us to think that this part of the town was also utilized in the earlier periods known as the Danismend settlements.

During the Ottoman ruling periods, similarly, the inner and outer walls of the castle were repaired and a palace for the appointed governors of the town were erected³. It is also known that apart from this palace which was constructed on top of the Seljuks palace and in close proximity, it soon after the conquest of the town, Yıldırım Bayezid has also constructed a mosque inside the city walls. Being a residential area of the Ottoman Emirates at the period, the region falling in between the Alçak (Lower) Bridge and the Kuş (Bird) Bridge where there were limited construction works, and the regions with massive population were also preferred as the central settlement area of the Seljuks. Afterwards the eastern and western borders of the town were included into the town as the Ottoman settlements. As derived from the architectural data, the Ottoman Emirate picked up the earlier Seljuk settlements as the center of their settlements at first but later included the quieter regions to its settlements as well. When the architectural buildings of the both era are compared, it is observed that the religious structures such as the mosques, prayer grounds and tombs, the social buildings including the bridge and the bath and the trade buildings were of importance to the Seljuks era. At the Ottomans era in addition to the religious buildings such as the mosques, prayer grounds and the tomb, lodgings were also built. Together with them the number of the social buildings such as the baths and the fountains have increased but, the trade buildings have decreased. The status of the erectors of these buildings apart from the Sultans vary in each period. As will be detailed in the following paragraphs, the owners of the buildings at the Seljuk era were mostly the emirates, whereas the owners of the Ottoman era constructions were mostly the viziers.

The question of, “How have the different cultures within the city of Amasya defined or interpreted themselves?” can be answered by the evaluation of their works of art at a city-scale. Amasya was located within a narrow valley opened by the paths of the Yeşil Irmak, a river that crosses the city, and the edifices of the Seljuk era were usually located at the southern parts, at the outskirts of the city walls (Picture 2). The earliest examples from

³ In the Ottoman Period, based on the information gathered from secondary sources, there was another palace built by Mehmet 1st, within the city walls and by the river, which consisted of a “harem” section reserved solely for women and girls and “selamlık” section reserved for men, three chambers for the ruling chiefs, two “hamam” bathrooms, two kitchens, and two big gardens with marble pools (Hüsameddin 1911-14: 50-52). The palace which was also mentioned in the records of the Tokat Ahmet Bey waqf in 1424 (Durukan 2002a: 1132).

the Seljuk era are the monumental tomb of Mbarizeddin Halifet Gazi and the ruins of his medresseh, dated 1225 (Picture 3). The patron, Halifet Gazi defines himself as “*the great emir*” at the register of the foundation⁴ dating back to year 1225 (Yinan 1982: 11), and on the inscription of the medrese as the “*beloved faithful obedient servant of the God, a warrior and a victorious ghazi emir*” which is nonexistent today (Durukan 2001: 93)⁵. As understood from this inscription; Halifet Gazi was not only the commander but also he was assumed as the governor of Amasya⁶.

Another Seljuk-era work of art that still exists in Amasya is the Mosque Burmalı Minare (Twisted Minaret) and its tomb (1237-46) (Picture 3). The building is located in the eastern part of the town across from the Fethiye Mosque, which was transformed from an old church in the 13th century. On the inscriptions of the building, it is indicated that Ferruh Bey, holding the title of ‘emir’, was designated as the trustee and described as the ‘big scholar’, ‘fair emir’, and ‘lord of the ones in need’ in the register of the foundation of Sivas Keykavus Hospital (1217-18) (Cevdet 1938: 38). This indicates that he had an important status within the palace.

⁴ The other buildings mentioned in this foundation register are the Hazain (Shoemakers) bazaar, Hasan Masjid, Ridvan's Bath also known as Emir-i Ahur, all in close location to Halifet Gazi Medresseh at the western parts of the town, and the southern side of the river, outside the city walls; Halifet Gazi Inn located close to the public entrance to the bazaar outside the city walls, at the northern side of the river and Halifet Gazi Public Baths inside the city walls close to the main entrance door, the Clothing (Manifaturacılar) Bazaar and the Lala Masjid (Yinan 1982: 9-10).

⁵ The administrative divisions structured in the Seljuk era were in the form of provinces and even though the highest governors were recognised with the names such as “melik” (sovereign) “sahip” (possessor) “subasi/bey” (emir) and “serlesker” but they were mostly called as “vali” (the governor) “emir” (emir) is thought to be a worker in the administrative section. The title was also designated to be used by different workers outside the administrative divisions in the palace to specify other workers such as “emir-i silah” as the commander in charge of the weapons, “emir-i Őıkar” as the commander of hunters, and “emir-i alem” as the carrier of the flag. For this reason the title “emir” also specifies state workers with various different jobs

⁵ Yinan points out that Halifet Gazi used to be in an important position at this town after he was put into service by Seljuks soon after the collapse of DaniŐmendli’s where he used to be the Emirate and asserts that Halifet Gazi was the governor of Amasya by putting forth the fact that the medressehs used to be constructed by either the sultans, their relatives or the chancellors in the periods of Seljuks (1982: 5-6).

⁶ “This holy imaret, was constructed and was donated as a charitable foundation by Hazinedar Yusuf and his the brother “weak slave” Emir’s-Sayd Ferruh, at the ruling period of the great sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhsrev bin Keykubad bin Keyhsrev, the helper of all beleivers of the emirate, father of the conquerers, plentifulness of the world and the religion, May God bless him and all the muslems for the glory of muazzama the Kaaba.” (Urak 1994: 29).



Picture 2. Miniature of the city of Amasya, Sefaretname-i İnan (1811)



Picture 3. Amasya Halifet Gazi Tomb (1225)



Picture 4. Amasya Burmalı Minaret Mosque (1237-46)

Another building in Amasya dating to before the Ottoman era is the Amasya Gök Medresseh Mosque, dating to 1266, located in the western part of the city (Picture 5). The register of the foundation indicates that its patron was the emir of the Seyfeddin Torumtay emirates (Kayaoğlu 1978: 91). In the earlier dates of the Seljuks era, the emirate of the emirates (beylerbeyi) position called “melik-ül-ümera” or “emirü'l-ümera” which has emerged during the periods of war and having a military quality for this reason (Cahen 2000: 191), was later used by the governors, melik, subaşı and the other highest authorities within the city as well (Baykara 1988: 35). Therefore it can be said that Torumtay was promoted to the “beylerbeyi” position as mentioned in his charter of wakf in 1266 even though he was only the castellan (dizdar) of the Amasya Castle at the times of II.Gıyasettin Keyhüsrev and was only the emirate of the stables (emir-i ahur) prior to that in the days of Alaeddin Keykubad (Kayaoğlu 1978: 91).



Picture 5. Amasya Gök Medresseh Mosque (1266)

Gök Medresseh Mosque is of significance both for its building scheme as well as its interesting function⁷. The rectangular building oriented in the north-south direction has a well-supported structure with many domes. North of the mosque, there is an entrance iwan approximately on the main

⁷ The Gök Medresseh Mosque is mentioned as “medresseh” in its foundation (Kayaoğlu 1978: 106). “Mosques” and “medressehs” have separately listed in the State Registration office records number 387 (TT.387, s.355, H.929/1523). Other Ottoman records have also listed Torumtay Medresseh and Torumtay Mosque separately. (CE, 4241, H.1221/1806; 7145, H.1163/1750; 9487, H.1158/1745; CM, 1675, H.1158/1745, Kuzucular 2001: 62-81). According to Evliya Çelebi's records this building is also mentioned among the dervish convents (tekke) as well. Also this building was defined as a “mosque and medresseh” by Gabriel (1931-34: 20-23), “medresseh” by Cahen (2000: 221), “hospital” (darüşşifa) by Turan (1980: 549), and Kuzucular proposed to define the building as a “medical medresseh” due to Gıyasüddin Mahmud-i Garmini's being a medical doctor who was appointed there as the first instructor (2001:72). But, when compared to the building schemes of the Kayseri Gevher Nesibe (1206), Sivas İzzeddin Keykavus (1218), Divriği Turan Melek (1229) Hospitals and to the Amasya Hospitals (1309) belonging to the Mongolian periods, it will be more appropriate to interpret these units opening to the mosque's center as a small school rather than a medical medresseh.

axis and two others leading to the place of worship to the east and west of this iwan. The entrance to the tomb within the mosque is located at the east side of the building. Even though this significant building in Amasya is reputed for its different function and unique plan, Torumtay's tomb, constructed in 1278, directly across from and almost adjacent to the building, is the real work of art attributed to his personality (Picture 6). The tomb, noticeable for its size, materials and decorations, is an indication of how highly Torumtay thought of himself. In addition to this, his words, "may the God and his angels' curse be upon those whoever sultan, vizier, emir or governor... ask for the changing or making alterations of this" (Kayaoğlu 1978: 107), recorded in the register of the foundation also reveal the significance Torumtay attributed to himself by opposing the sultans' decisions, even though this was only stated on the surface of the documents.



Picture 6. Amasya Torumtay Tomb (1278)

The patrons who played a significant role in the artistic activities of this period displayed the meanings assigned to them as rulers of the town on their tombs as well as the medressehs and the mosques they constructed in Amasya. In the Seljuk era, in towns with limited constructions by sultans or viziers, state officials assumed this role of prosperity by building works of art at different points of the city and creating a centre for themselves.

Compared to this ownership precedent set by *governors* and *emirs* in Amasya, what was the situation in other Seljuk cities? Setting aside the capital city Konya, the dominant identities of the other major cities of the

era, such as Kayseri and Sivas, seem to be different from those in Amasya. Kayseri, remembered as *the City of the Throne* (Dar-ül Mülk / Payitaht Kenti), along with the capital city, Konya, manifested a city character accepted by the sultans and viziers as well as their wives and children (Turan 1993: 687-688)⁸. The importance of Sivas during this era, known as the *Town of Loftiness* (Dar-ül Ala / Yücelik Beldesi), is evident in the constructions of the sultans and viziers found here (Turan 1993: 687-688)⁹. In contrast to these cities, which were highly regarded by the sultans, Amasya held the title of *City of Dignity and Glory* (Dar-ül İzz / İzzet Şehri) and was host to officials of lower rank than sultans and viziers¹⁰.

⁸ Sultan I. İzzeddin Keykavus, was put to throne in Kayseri with a ceremony at 1211 (İbn Bibi, 1996: 133-135; Sevim 1995:455). II. Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev was another example of a Seljuks Sultan who was throned in Kayseri (Sevim 1995: 468). Nonetheless, “darrüsifa” the medical center, the medical madressah, the turbeh, bimarhane and the bath constructed by Sultan I. Keyhüsrev, in the honour of his sister Gevher Nesibe, daughter of Sultan II.Kılıç Arslan in Kayseri (at 1206) show the importance given to the town by the family of the Sultans in such an early date of the Ottoman rulings. But in fact, the most distinguished building that was erected in Kayseri contributing to the value of the town was the Keykubadiye Palace , having built by Sultan I. Alaeddin Keykubad in the environs of Kayseri (1224-1236).Even though there are no other constructions by the Sultans after that date in Kayseri, the mosque, madressah, turbeh and the bath complex erected by Mahperi Hatun (1238), the wife of Alaeddin Keykubad and the mother of the ruling sultan II. Keyhüsrev who described herself as the “mother sultan of the sultans” in her epitaph, are of importance in terms of their structural variety, monumental and colossal artistic appearance and their decorations competing to those of the other Sultan’s buildings. As well as them, there is also another example in the town of the vizier Sahip Ata Fahrettin Ali, the Sahibiye Madressah (1268) which reveals another important buildings existence in town belonging to an important ruler of the period.

⁹ In this town where a former Seljuk sultan was buried and another was put to throne (İbn Bibi 1996: 227-228), the earliest construction example during the Seljuks era is the hospital and medical medresseh erected by Sultan I. İzzeddin Keykavus (1218). This must have given the town a meaning to have a hospital constructed by a sultan at the beginning of the 13. century and having Keykavus buried there in. In addition to this, it is meaningful to note that the Seljuk vizier Sahip Ata Fahrettin Ali had erected the madressah -called (Medrese-i Sahibiye-i Fahriye) the Gök Madressah in short- in Sivas at around the years 1270.

¹⁰ At the end of the century, with the efforts of the Seljuk Sultans in Anatolia customs taxes were put into order, granting a state insurance to the traders who were experiencing losses, and especially having kervansarays erected on the main trade routes resulted in a great improvement in trading activities (Turan 1965: 262-263; Cahen 2000: 121-123). Due to trading reasons, especially cities such as Konya, Kayseri and Sivas which were on the main routes were the leading settlements in the period. Amasya being on the trade route connecting Tebriz to the Black Sea, when its constructions were compared to those existing today, made it different than those other Seljuk towns mentioned above, and experienced increased construction activities even after 1243 when the Seljuks have gradually started to lose power.

Another building in the city dating back to 1308 owned by the İlhanlı's is called the "Bimarhane". The patron of the building which is located at the eastern part of the town was called Abdullahoğlu Anber who was the released slave of Sultan Muhammed Olcayto's wife İlduzeş. Also likewise in the example of Seljuk Emirate Celalettin Karatay, who had erected such a structure in honour of İlduz Hatun, described as the "the great queen (melike)" in her epitaph, the person must have been raised to important positions in the palace upon being released from slavery¹¹. For this reason, Amasya was regarded to be an important location for İlhanlı rulers, even though there was no structure built by the Sultan or the mayor of the city.

During the Ottoman Emirate period, Amasya was the town of the *Sons of the Ottoman Sultans* who acted as governors (Yinanç 1950: 395-95). The relationship of Amasya with the Ottoman sultans began during the period of Sultan Bayezid I, when the town was conquered by Prince Mehmed, heir to the throne (1391) (Aşıkpaşazade 1992: 65; Yinanç 1944: 372). First appointed as the *sancakbeyi* of the city, Prince Mehmed also acted as governor during the period of disorder between 1402 and 1413 (Uzunçarşılı 1997: 497). Amasya received the title *City of Princes* (Şehzadeler Kenti) as both Sultans Murad II and Selim I were born in Amasya during their fathers' rules; Prince Mehmed was governor, and Prince Mehmed II was appointed governor at the age of eight and had his primary training in the town¹². It is interesting to know that even though Amasya was an important political town, no buildings were erected in the centre of the city by sultans, apart from palaces and mosques.

Despite this, Mehmed I and his son Murad II, who was appointed governor of Amasya at the age of twelve, had their own buildings constructed in Merzifon, a province of Amasya, instead of the city centre.

Contrary to the sultans' works of art in Merzifon, Amasya demonstrates a city profile where the works of art belonged to the viziers of

¹¹ The Emirate Celalettin Karatay, was actually a Greek origin Slave, but was liberated to serve in different posts in the palace for forty years (Uğur-Koman 1940: 5-16).

¹² Even though they may not have any contribution to the architecture of the palace, to know that pictured manuscript projects existed in Amasya all throughout the 15. century, reveals that the examples of Ottoman painting art supported by the palace, were produced in an art center such as Amasya even before they were developed in İstanbul palace (Topkapı Palace) work shop (nakkaşhane); thus indicating that this expensive and specialized branch of art was also developed there apart from the principal (Bağcı 1994: 22-26). It seems that, this branch of art is an important indicator pointing out Amasya's place in the period as a town completing the Emirate, taking into consideration that the town and its environs were the outskirts boundaries of the Ottoman Emirates.

the period. Bayezid Pasha, the tutor of Mehmed I, the great vizier, and the emir of the Rumeli emirates had his lodgings constructed in the eastern part of the city, away from the buildings of the Seljuk period (1414-19). This building reveals a type of synthesis of the four major determinants that actively influenced the shape of previous architectural works: the patron, the artist, the geographical location and the characteristics of the period (Picture 7). Bayezid Pasha employed the Syrian artist who also worked on the constructions of Sultan Mehmed's medresseh in Merzifon in the 1410s¹³. It is also worth to note that this lodging was built under the supervision of five different artists, who are identified distinctly from their tombs, taking the construction on the list of "the Ottoman structures with the most artists contributions" to the second row, following the Green Complex in Bursa at the first place. It is also important to learn the artisans names lived in Ottoman beylik period. This choice reflects Bayezid Pasha's strong political individuality¹⁴. He was also known to be very close to Mehmed I; when Mehmed I died, Bayezid Pasha oversaw all the state affairs as the great vizier and Rumeli emir of the emirates. These choices may be seen as indications of his desire to compete with the sultans. Another indication of this competition was his utilization of plaster wall coverings in building interiors, something observed before only in the other two emirates' constructions at the capital, Bursa¹⁵.

¹³ Two of the artists worked at the construction who used the title "el-muallim" (teachers), were *Ebu Bekr ibn Muhammed Hamzat'ül- Müşeymeş* and *Zeynuddin ibni Zekeriya*. The other two, who were referred as the "architects" were; *Ken'an ...Togan ibni Abdullah Atik Bayezid Pasha* and *Yakup ibni Abdullah* (Sönmez 1995: 403-412). Another artist in the building was the wood carpentry craftsman called *Amel-i üstad Mustafa en-neccar* (Yardım 2004: 61).

¹⁴ It is also important to note that , Bayezid Pahsa had his building erected at his ruling period as "Vezir-i azam" a grand vizier and the Beylerbeyi at the most potent days of his political power, rather than the times when he was a "lala" (tutor).

¹⁵ Being of Amasya origin, it was Bayezid Pahsa's conscious choice to have his building constructed in a far remote place Amasya, rather than the capital city of the Ottomans, Bursa; Similar to Seljuk vizier Sahip Ata, who used the same scheme at the inn that was built in İshaklı, like the manor house for praying constructed upon the death of Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad 1st, which was recognised to date almost as a symbol to Alaeddin's name. The strong political power of Bayezid Pahsa, fully supported by the Sultan Mehmed 1st at his ruling days, disturbed the other viziers of the period, Çandarlı İbrahim and Hacı İvaz who succeeded in altering his position and having themselves assigned to the Grand vizier post upon Mehmed 1st's death (İnalçık 1960b: 612).



Picture 7. Amasya Bayezid Pasha Lodge (1414-19)

Reflecting the strong political identity of Rumeli Beylerbeyi Bayezid Pasha (Grand Seignior of the Beylik) in the buildings structure, another major preference of the Emirate was the positioning of the construction at the east entrance and exit, like to a port, right at the opposite direction of the Seljuk Palace, as the new ruling body of the city. At this point, Beyazid Pahsa must have thought to present to the visitors the first impression of the city with his own building against the Sultan image of the Merzifon Çelebi Mehmed Madressah existing at he western connection of the city. Beyazid Pahsa also gave utterance to his thoughts by having founded the charters of the waqf right across the river carved in stone. As was also emphasized by Semavi Eyice, the reverse T shaped structure of the building and the arch's positioned at the two sidewalls in between the main iwan and the entrance, making a symbolic referral to the scheme with four iwans (Eyice, 1992: 244). Bringing in mind that having the four iwan schemes in this manner at the interiors was a conscious preference, it can also be interpreted as the artists contributions to the building.

The building had an agreeable setup in compliance with the capital city's building style with its upturned "T" planned scheme and its unique features were not present in other Ottoman buildings. The Syrian artist's style is recognizable in the building by the two red-white stones used in the

construction (Picture 8)¹⁶ and the separation of the façades by lining them up horizontally (Picture 9)¹⁷. It may have been easier for an artist to decide by himself independent of the owner of the construction, to an application less costly such as an undecorated string course dividing the two fronts of the building, rather than a utilization requiring more economic strength. For this reason, the utilization of two different coloured stones in the construction may have been the owners preference in addition to the artist factor.



Picture 8. Amasya Bayezid Pasha Lodge, arcade

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- ¹⁶ This application known as the Syrian artists style, became the initiation of a regional preference at around Amasya and its environs. This preference emerged as an Syrian artistic style due to the artist factor, later gained a local character and became a regional feature. Towards the end of the 13th Century, utilization of two coloured stones in the constructions of Tokat Gök Madressah and Tokat Halef Gazi Tekke point out the existence of two coloured stone applications in the environs, even if not vivid in Amasya yet. But it can be thought that the spread of this application in Amasya became with the Syrian artists works.
- ¹⁷ This preference is an application known as the Syrian feature, and the early examples to it in Anatolia are the Artuklu structures such as Mardin Ulu (1176) ve Kızıltepe Ulu (1204) Mosques and the Niğde Sungur Bey Mosque (1335) which is a structure of Eretna Beylik (Eser 2000: 122).



Picture 9. Amasya Bayezid Pasha Lodge, southern façade

Another arrangement that was not observed in any work of art belonging to the period apart from the Bayezid Pasha Lodge is the muqarnas array just below the eaves and the stripes ornamented with inscriptions and geometric symbols (Picture 10)¹⁸. This style is an application similar to the Seljuk examples in connection with Amasya's geographical and cultural situation, which may be observed first of all in the Burmalı Minare Mosque's Tomb and in many other tombs in the 13th century¹⁹.

¹⁸ The band string shaped in the composition of recurring eight armed stars framed in "kufic" form arrays at the Bayezid Pahsa building complex repeatedly narrates the phrase "*Allah'a hamd olsun*" (Thanks to the God) (Yardım 2004: 89).

¹⁹ The most important examples of the applications mentioned here (setting aside the forms used in the tombs) are found in Sivas at three different buildings constructed at almost during the same time frames, called the Gök (1271), Çifte Minareli (1271) and Buruciye (1271) madressahs. These applications preferred in Bayezid Pahsa complex, also reveal the artistic connections between the two cities Amasya and Sivas which used to be within the governing body of the same Greek Beylerbeyi at the period, even though they were governed by many other different Ottoman Rulings at other times.



Picture 10. Amasya Bayezid Pasha Lodge, eaves line details

Another patron in Amasya, Yörgüç Pasha, the tutor of Murad II and the emir of the Amasya emirates, had his complex of buildings erected directly across from the Gök Medresseh Mosque in 1430 (Picture 11). As understood from the inscription “...Yörgüç ibn Abdillah el-Atabeki...” (Tüfekçioğlu 2001: 207) on the epitaph of Yörgüç Pasha whose date and place of birth unknown, that his father was a person called Atabek Abdullah²⁰. Yörgüç Pasha who was the tutor of Murad 2nd and Emirate of Amasya (İnalçık 1960b: 601), has his own building complex erected right across Amasya Gökmedrese Mosque and Torumtay Tomb (1430). As learned from the writings of the Waqf dated 1436, the complex had five different buildings named as, the lodge, the madressah, the bathroom, the inn and the alms house (Ayverdi 1989b: 215-220; General Directorate of Wakfs, Journal No. 747, Item No. 245: 354). Reaching to date, the building complex, due to its positioning in the town, put forth two different thoughts. First one, can be expressed but not limited to the reason such as the arousal of the vanished social, commercial and religious practices to an extent, at the opposite direction of the Bayezid Pasha building complex. As the first Ottoman period building complex in Amasya, its positioning directly

²⁰ The name of Yörgüç Pasha’s father was Abdullah, which tells us that he accepted being a Muslim at a later date, as was in the example of Karatay at Seljuk era.

opposite another building belonging to the Seljuk period cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence. The fact that due to his political successes, he was granted permission to have his own coins imprinted with his name highlights Yörgüç Pasha's approved power by the state in those years (Ayverdi 1989: 215; Akyurt 1947: 33). As observed, Yörgüç Pasha not only demonstrated his position in the 15th century on the city scale of Amasya but also competed with a building complex belonging to the Seljuks²¹. Let us remember Bayezid Pasha had only one building erected in that period. Let us remember that Bayezid Pasha had only one building erected during that period.



Picture 11. Amasya Gök Medresseh Mosque and Amasya Yörgüç Pasha Lodge

At the Yörgüç Pasha construction complex, the setup is different from the other buildings that have unchanged inverse “T” schemes. In this building, the entrance is arranged as an iwan rather than the arcade style characteristic of the period (Picture 11). With this feature the building can be associated with the Gök Medresseh Mosque positioned just on the opposite side (Picture 12). At this building, which was unique during the period in terms of both plan and function, the main entrance was in the form of an iwan instead of a portal. Even though it is not characteristic of the period, this application might have influenced the architecture of Yörgüç Pasha

²¹ Even though most of them not existing today, among the other edifices in the town are, the buildings belonging to Yörgüç Pasha's wife, son, daughter, nephew and the chief steward (kethüda), which may be evaluated as data indicating the importance of Amasya and Yörgüç Pasha's strong political identity. This condition, indicates that the construction activities taken place in Amasya by the Yörgüç Pasha and his family are very similar to those works by Çandarlı family in İznik and its environs.

Lodge across the street. In a period when the Ottoman Emirates expressed themselves much better politically and artistically, utilization of an iwan-styled entrance in this complex consciously points out its connection with the building across from which it was positioned.



Picture 12. Amasya Yörgüç Pasha Lodge

The tomb at the western part of the iwan entrance of the lodge is another feature of the building that differentiates it from the other buildings of the period (Picture 11). At Amasya, both the Burmalı Minare and the Gök Medresseh mosques had tombs adjacent to the buildings. In this sense, the existence of a tomb next to the building, enabling entrance to the Gök Medresseh from the interiors, and a monumental tomb erected by the patrons directly in front of the mosque, must have influenced the use of a tomb inside the Yörgüç Pasha complex as well, because tombs were independent constructions of the building structures in the Ottoman period. Nevertheless, the turbeh section of Yörgüç Pasha's complex who used to be a tutor, a vizier, and the Amasya Emirate, brings in mind that it was his deliberate preference to have a similar taste as he has seen at the tomb of Darüşşifa (medical complex) of Seljuk sultan İzzeddin Keykavus 1st at Sivas (1217)²². In this connection, it can be said that the Tomb section of the Yörgüç Pasha's complex was a tool for him to express his strong personality.

The differences in the architectural setup and design, such as the applications lacking an arcade, which was characteristic of the period, in the Yörgüç Pasha complex, the iwan style of the main entrance and the

²² It is known that when Yörgüç Pasha was the Emirate of Amasya, Karamanoğulları attacked and captured Kayseri and Develi surroundings, forcing Sivas and putting pressure upon Yörgüç Pasha (İnalçık 1960: 606).

designation of part of the building as a tomb, may be explained by a set of variables, as emphasized before. Similar features in two construction complexes positioned very close to each other, one of the Seljuks and the other of the Ottomans, points out that somehow the Seljuks' traditions followed those of the Ottomans. This also explains the different uses of the Yörgüç Pasha complex and the patrons' building, the latter of which was erected across from the Gök Medresseh Mosque, emulating a Seljuk building of the times.

This building is an important example of the period with its paired coloured stones, a local application feature in the region. Since this application requires financial power, it is likely that it was chosen by a sultan (Picture 11).

When the data of the existing architecture are evaluated in the variable conditions set forth in Amasya scale, the first outcome is the importance given to the town by both the Seljuks and Ottomans. This importance, result in different preferences by the owner profiles of the constructions together with their architecture styles. Amasya, not being one of the major towns of the Seljuks ruling era, apart from the period of Sultan Mesud 1st (1116- 1155), when evaluated in terms of the owners and their Works of art show itself as a special center. Continuing this importance at the Ottoman ruling periods as well, its feature of being the controller, representing the Emirate at the east, start to gain importance. For this reason in the town with limited Sultan and Emirate constructions, the owner profile start to change. It is observed that in the Seljuk era, when the mayors and the emirates in significant roles and duties start to emerge as the owners of the buildings due to administrative redivisioning of the state, they start to create a center for themselves. Even though the sons of the sultans were assigned as the emirates of the town, the sultans of the period preferred to have their palaces in Merzifon rather than Amasya. Since there were limited buildings owned by the Sultans, even though we can associate both the Seljuk and Ottoman ruling periods in Amasya with each other, when the ownership profiles at Ottoman periods are evaluated, it is observed that, the viziers, the emirates or the sons of the sultans assigned to Amasya as administrators had marked the owner profile of the town. Even though their contributions to the town in architectural sense were considerably limited, the presence of a work shop (nakkaşhane) fully supported by the palace in Amasya²³, is an important measure pointing out that the town was the center of the Emirate in the east.

²³ Today, apart from İstanbul, Bagdat was recognized as the only active center at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. For this reason, the production available in Amasya is also noteworthy (Bağcı 1994: 24).

In conclusion, on the city scale, a patron influenced his works of art in a great sense in terms of his social and political position, financial power and his identity. The artists come into the picture by the patrons' requests. The artists' creations carry traces of their styles and the styles carry traces of their cultural traditions. In Amasya, in addition to the three determining variables of patron, constructor and artist, other variables, such as the geographical location, peculiarities of the period and local characteristics, were also influential. As a result, it is necessary to investigate the different uses of the term *tradition*. In Amasya, the term *tradition* has three different, but associated, meanings. The first is *the style of centre* or *the style of capital* reflected in the 15th century; second, the *local* or *regional* characteristics of the previous culture in this period -Seljuks in Amasya-; and third, the *relationships with the other cultures around* such as Syrian Mamluks.

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