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Views and Layers of Late Medieval Anatolia through Bāyezīd Pasha's Corner of Amasya

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Summary

The *zāwiya* (dervish lodge or convent) commissioned by the powerful vizier Bāyezīd Pasha (d. 1421) in Amasya was built using colorful materials and an assortment of carefully selected decorative techniques by builders and workmen of varied backgrounds. Incorporating elements of shrine complexes and palaces, this unique building is the embodiment of the negotiation of its patron's identity as a Christian convert with sensibilities shaped by a frontier warrior culture, his socio-political vision in the aftermath of a long and violent Ottoman civil war, the turbulent power dynamics among competing centers and courts in post-Timurid Anatolia, and, last but not least, the very city where it is located. Close examination of the architectural features of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya, together with its site, *waqfiyya*s (endowment deeds), and inscriptions reveals a rich symbolism, which engages with the built past of the Ilkhanid and earlier periods. The sophisticated orchestration of coeval and historical —even historicizing— architectural practices that have shaped Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya is key to understanding how the building was able to draw together diverse groups of builders, neighbors, immigrants, and visitors and to penetrate the historical landscape not only of Amasya, but also of late medieval Anatolia at large.

Keywords: Ottoman architecture, rockface inscription, waqfiyya inscription, spolia, ʿimāra (imaret) and *zāwiya* (zaviye)

1. Introduction

> "The Phrygians and Mysians were masters of the country after the capture of Troy; afterwards the Lydians; then the Æolians and Ionians; next, the Persians and Macedonians; lastly, the Romans, under whose government most of the tribes have lost even their languages and names, in consequence of a new partition of the country having been made." (Strabo, XII)

This is how Strabo (d. AD 24), Pontic geographer and avid observer of indigenous cultures across Asia Minor, noted the effects of pervasive Hellenism under the

Roman Empire. Strabo was a native of the ancient city of Amaseia, present-day Amasya, in the northern part of modern Turkey. Amasya, situated in a gorge carved by the river Yeşilırmak (Iris), served as the capital of the independent Kingdom of Pontus for over two centuries beginning in the latter half of the third century BC (fig. 1). Its naturally fortified topography and strategic location has made the city a hotbed of, among other things, rebellious movements and violence. In 1073, for example, at a time of more general civil strife in the Byzantine empire, a political separatist movement was ignited in Amaseia by a Norse mercenary, who fled Byzantine service and attempted to set up a state there (Vryonis, 1971, pp. 106-108). After having constituted part of Byzantium's borderland with the Arabo-Persianate Islamic world, Amaseia early on felt the pressure exerted by incursions of Turkish-speaking settlers. It was also a key locale for the thirteenth-century Bābā'ī revolt, the rebellious messages of which were to reverberate across Anatolia, especially among rural populations, into the early modern period (Şahin and Emecen, 1991 and Ocak, 2000).[1] The geography of Amasya, which appears to have played a significant role in its capacity for attracting and hosting breakaway movements, has also governed some of the key aspects of its built environment. In fact, the city's role as a refuge for marginal groups likely added to the distinctly hybrid character of its local architecture.

Architecture played a crucial role in negotiating continuities and breaks, as both the product and site of newly forged communal identities, as Amasya became a Muslim city in the late medieval period—especially as part of the Mongol Ilkhanid orbit, in the latter part of the thirteenth into the first half of the fourteenth century (Wolper, 2003, Durocher, 2018). In the lore of Muslim newcomers—the written versions of which took shape throughout the fifteenth century—Anatolia evolves from being an object of desire to becoming habitat, with architectural conversion just as charged as territorial conquest (Yürekli, 2011, Kitapçı Bayrı, 2020). Some of these tensions and changes are captured by the name Rūm, or Rome, which was used for Anatolia in the languages of the incoming Muslims. This flexible term was also used more generally for the Byzantine territories, designating them as heirs to Greco-Roman heritage. Most of the Muslim communities settled in Anatolia adopted the label Roman or *Rūmī*. From among those who claimed Rūmī heritage, the Ottomans came closest to replicating the territorial borders of the Eastern Roman Empire. What constituted "Romanness" for the Ottomans changed over time, but even at its onset it was contested and criticized— from within and without (Kafadar, 2007). If one important aspect of placing the Ottoman cultural history in its complex and dynamic "Roman" context is to defy the kind of reductionist historiography that Cemal Kafadar aptly terms "nationist" (distinct from its more

[1] For a critical discussion of sources and scholarship on the revolt see Kafadar, 1995, pp. 74-75.

easily identifiable and widely shunned "nationalist" counterpart), another is recognizing that the Roman Empire itself has a culturally homogenizing legacy, which Strabo dramatically captures by the image of lost languages and names.

As Hasan Karataş has shown, Amasya became an important epicenter of urban colonization for the Ottomans, a process that lasted at least throughout the fifteenth century (Karataş, 2011, 2015, 2020). Already during that century, the Ottomans recognized the city as the center of what they called their province of Rūm (Gökbilgin, 1965).[2] Emblematic of the beginning of this process is the building complex sponsored by vizier Bāyezīd Pasha (d. 1421) in a northeastern peripheral neighborhood, today called after Bāyezīd Pasha. Bāyezīd Pasha appears to have followed an Ilkhanid-period precedent in choosing this extraurban site for his complex and the services he brought together there expanded and subsumed the socio-religious networks that had been formed throughout the fourteenth century under the patronage of local elites and of competing factions with links to the representatives of the Ilkhanid government. And yet the architecture and symbolism of the complex also speak to an attitude towards Rūm that was novel in Amasya, but more common in the Western frontiers of the Ottoman territories. Unlike the city's fourteenth-century buildings, whose relationship with the built environment and existing architectural traditions was not pronounced, Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya, which is the focal building of his complex, is evidence of a seemingly conscious effort to cultivate and display an intimate relationship with multiple layers of the local past.

2. Bāyezīd Pasha the Patron

Bāyezīd Pasha's complex was built in the aftermath of the decade-long internecine struggle among the sons of Sultan Bāyezīd I (r. 1389-1402) for the Ottoman throne. This conflict developed into a full-blown civil war, such that the subsequent Ottoman comeback is often referred to as the empire's "second establishment" (Kastritsis, 2007). It was rather unexpected after such a long period of immanent collapse that prince Meḥmed, later Meḥmed I (r. 1413–21), would be able to restore unified rule over the territories that had been expanded by his father, Bāyezīd I. Bāyezīd had been at the zenith of his military career when he besieged the imperial center of Byzantium, Constantinople, but the eight-year siege was brought to an end in 1402 by Tīmūr (d. 1405), at whose hand the sultan, in addition to seeing his forces be dealt a humiliating blow, met his eventual death. Meḥmed was at this time based in Amasya, where he had been sent as prince-governor—first in a series of Ottoman princes appointed to this role up to the sixteenth century—as a form of apprenticeship for rule and also for purposes of surveillance. From Amasya Meḥmed

[2] The province included the neighboring cities and hinterlands of Sivas, Tokat, Turhal, Zile, and Niksar. Gökbilgin, 1965, p. 54.

launched his bid for the sultanate against his rival brothers with the help of Bāyezīd Pasha, arguably his most trusted companion and, later, vizier. The construction of Bāyezīd Pasha's building complex was begun in 1414, a year after Meḥmed's victory, and went on until 1419. Architecturally linked to the funerary complexes of Bāyezīd I and Meḥmed I in Bursa, begun respectively in 1391 and 1419, Bāyezīd Pasha's complex in Amasya was also shaped by, and itself shaped, the historical moment of the later 1410s as well as the city, as I explore in this article (fig. 2).[3]

The foundation inscription of Bāyezīd Pasha's *zāwiya* (dervish lodge or convent)[4] is dated Muḥarram 817/1414, less than a year into the reign of Meḥmed I. Bāyezīd Pasha served as grand vizier until the end of Meḥmed's reign, and, briefly, under his son and successor, Murād II (r. 1421–44 and 1446–51). The foundation inscription refers to Meḥmed I as "the mighty sultan (*al-Sulṭān al-aʿẓam*)" and "exalted king of kings (*Shahānshāh al-muʿaẓẓam*)," the latter an Arabo-Persianate formulation common among medieval courtly patrons from the Seljuks to Armenians and Georgians. Bāyezīd Pasha is referred to as "the great amir, the esteemed and honorable vizier (*al-amīr al-kabīr al-wazīr al-khaṭīr al-mufaḫḫam*)."

We owe most of our knowledge about Bāyezīd Pasha to the Byzantine historian Doukas (d. after 1462). Bāyezīd Pasha is credited with being the architect both of Meḥmed I's victory over his brothers and of the historical narrative of this victory. One of the two sources that describe Meḥmed I's trajectory in the context of the

[3] I presented an earlier version of this paper in 2013 at the Swedish Research Institute workshop "Revisiting the T- shaped 'zaviye/'imaret': buildings and institutions in early Ottoman architecture," which was co-organized by Marianne Boqvist, Maximilian Hartmuth, and myself. I would like to thank my co-organizers and the participants of that workshop, the works of some of whom I reference throughout this essay. I am indebted to dear colleagues Sara Nur Yıldız, Sedat Emir, Polina Ivanona, Maxime Durocher, Tolga Uyar, Vjeran Kursar, and Dimitris Loupis, who have generously agreed to read a draft version of this paper and offer their comments and were thus of great help to me in giving it its final form. Ünver Rüstem who helped me with language editing, was also an exceptionally generous reader and commentator of the paper's contents. My thanks also go to Vahakn Keshishian, Suzan Yalman, Zara Pogossian, Çağla Caner Yüksel, Vahe Tachjian, Ivan Drpić, and Arsen Harutyunyan for offering their expertise when I sought it. Most importantly, Polina Ivanova has shared her unpublished dissertation work with me; the findings of her fascinationg research have reshaped my understanding of the building and of its context. Dimitris Loupis has kindly shared his impressions and photographs from a later visit of a detail of the building, which was not visible during our visit to Amasya together in 2011. His input has decidedly contributed to this paper. I would also like to thank Ekrem Čaušević, whose passion for Turkish language has inspired me to delve into multilingual inscriptions with renewed interest.

[4] The foundation inscription of Bāyezīd Pasha's complex refers to the building as *ʿimāra* (foundation), which is a generic term used for charitable foundations at the time, but, as I shall explain further below, I prefer to use the term *zāwiya* in reference to the main building, as its planimetric, functional, and symbolic aspects are clearly related to similar early Ottoman buildings, the legal term used in reference to a significant majority of which is *zāwiya*. See Emir, 1991 and Durocher, 2018.

civil war was written under the patronage of Bāyezīd Pasha, and he was likely behind the commissioning of the other one, too. He is known more widely for his role as the primary agent of the violent hand of the state. He joined Prince Murād in 1420, for example, in putting down the uprising led by Börklüce Muṣṭafā, who was a follower of the legal scholar Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Simavī, known as Shaykh Badr al-Din. The latter was an Egyptian-educated Sufi shaykh from Thrace who was able to gather a large and diverse group of followers and was executed for treason by the Ottoman state in 1416. In 1421, Bāyezīd Pasha was sent to subdue Murād II's uncle Düzme Muṣṭafā ("Muṣṭafā the pretender"), who was challenging Murād's claim to the throne. Allegedly, it was part of an inner-palace intrigue that the forces under Bāyezīd Pasha would be outnumbered by those of Muṣṭafā, who killed Bāyezīd Pasha.

Bāyezīd Pasha was probably a converted palace slave of Albanian origin, as Doukas states (Kastritsis, 2015), if not a descendant of an elite Bosnian family (Karataş, 2011, p. 34, n. 137), but Ottoman sources generally associate him with Amasya, the city which shaped and in turn was shaped by his legacy.[5] It was most likely precisely because of how much Bāyezīd Pasha was seen as representing the interests of Amasya and the region around it —which constituted the eastern periphery of the Ottoman territories— that rival bureaucratic elites from the center saw fit to eliminate him (Karataş, 2011, p. 37).

Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya in Amasya has a distinctive form which looks like a reversed-T in plan and belongs to a group of multifunctional buildings that were sponsored frequently in the early Ottoman context in extraurban sites. Most of the earlier versions of this type of building are referred to in their *waqfiyya*s (endowment deeds) as *zāwiya*, although Bāyezīd Pasha's was referenced with the more generic term *ʿimāra* (foundation).[6] The majority of these buildings were converted into mosques beginning in the late fifteenth century (Emir, 1994, Kafesçioğlu, 2020). Traditional scholarship, exemplified by the multivolume oeuvre of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, held that, regardless of the contemporary terms used for these buildings when they were constructed and notwithstanding the fact that they may have been used for lodging, their qibla orientation and compact form amounted to the attributes of a mosque (Ayverdi 1966, 1972). It has since been shown that

[5] His *waqfiyya* (endowment deed) dated 820/1418, which I will discuss more extensively below, mentions him as "son of venerable [...] Yakhshī (*ibn al-ṣadr* [?] *al-muwaqqar Yakhshī*)," and its first addendum mentions him as "son of late Yakhshī (*ibn al-marḥūm Yakhshī*)." VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Kutu 5 —1735. The remaining portal of a building in Tokat bears an inscription that mentions the name ẓahīr al-Dīn Amīr ḥiṣār ibn Yakhshī, which has been interpreted by Maxime Durocher as the brother of Bāyezīd Pasha. Durocher, 2018, p. 125. This gives more credence to the idea that Bāyezīd Pasha belonged to a local elite family.

[6] For a succinct discussion of the architectural terms used for this type of building see Durocher, 2018, pp. 139-142.

one in three buildings of this kind that were built before that of Murād II in Bursa does not have a *mihrab* (prayer niche), and some are not even oriented towards *qibla* (the direction of the sacred shrine of the Kaaba in Mecca), which would have been expected of them if their primary function was to host prayer. Moreover, they generally do not have original *minbar*s (pulpits), nor is the function of *khaṭīb* (deliverer of the Friday sermon) mentioned in their waqfiyyas. Before they were converted to mosques, none of them had minarets (Emir, 1991, pp. xxi-xxii).[7] In the case of the zāwiya of Bāyezīd Pasha, it appears that a minaret, an ablution pool, and a minbar were added later,[8] although the minaret has recently been removed. The lantern above its central domed space, decorated with *muqarnas* (a form of ornamental vaulting with niche-like cells) bands around its rim, is original, which is rare among such zāwiyas with a T-shaped plan.

Unlike rural zāwiyas or other dervish lodges in late medieval Anatolia, which were built around cults of saints maintained by specific Sufi communities, early Ottoman zāwiyas built on the edges of Ottoman Bilecik, İznik, and Bursa under the sponsorship of the successive sultans of the burgeoning Ottoman state were intended as testaments primarily to the generosity and saintly qualities of their patrons. As such, they came closer to the charitable funerary complexes in Ilkhanid capitals, even though the Ottoman complexes were much less monumental than their Ilkhanid counterparts and their focal points were not the founders' tombs but the zāwiyas (Necipoğlu, 2005, p. 77).[9] Although the general consensus in recent scholarship on early Ottoman extraurban zāwiyas holds that these spaces were used for feeding and hosting the poor and the needy regardless of social status or religious affiliation,[10] the social conditioning that was negotiated on the ground by way of charity at these institutions must have been more complex. While it is likely that food was distributed to visitors regardless of their identity, temporary lodging was provided only for Muslims. Moreover, those who intended to extend their stay longer than three days were asked to conform to additional measures, such as the obligation to perform the five daily prayers.[11] This means that while communal

7 Some of the other idiosyncrasies have also been more recently elucidated in Emir, 2012b, and Kafesçioğlu., 2020.

8 The minaret was there when Evliya Çelebi visited Amasya in the seventeenth century. See Evliya Çelebi, II, p. 96.

9 In fact, the first three T-plan zāwiyas were not part of funerary complexes but were nevertheless directly associated with the personality cult of their patron Orhān (r. 1324-62), who was interred in a Byzantine monastery complex in Bursa. See Oğuz Kursar, 2019.

10 The tenets of Semavi Eyice's seminal work on early Ottoman zāwiyas that concern the role of these spaces in promoting syncretism or accommodating antinomian religious groups remains virtually unchallenged. See Eyice, 1962-63.

11 See, for example, the Arabic waqfiyya of Murād I (Hüdāvendigar, r. 1362-89) dated 1385, a copy of which is published in M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Murad I. Tesisleri ve Bursa İmareti Vakfiyesi," in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vol. 10, 1953, pp. 217-234.

prayer may not have been the most important aspect of an early Ottoman zāwiya, it was nevertheless a significant tool for evaluating the building's users and, most likely, for acculturating nonconforming religious and cultural practices into more orthodox ones.

Successive sultans continued to sponsor funerary zāwiya complexes on the outskirts of the Ottoman capital Bursa, apparently to display and sanctify the continuity of their royal lineage, but the reign of Bāyezīd I saw, for the first time, a concerted effort on the part of the sultan and his viziers to sponsor zāwiyas as a way of planning and controlling development around Bursa's expanding urban core. Among several zāwiyas built under Bāyezīd I, two were entrusted, as far as we know for the first time, to the followers of a specific Sufi lineage, namely the Kāzaruni order.[12]

The zāwiya of Bāyezīd Pasha holds a special place in the scholarship because it lays bare the ambiguity that makes this kind of building especially interesting: namely its dual identity as an official Ottoman institution and as a space that hosts—or, at least, accommodates for a limited time—Sufi and/or antinomian communities and practices. Like other Ottoman extraurban zāwiyas, the zāwiya of Bāyezīd Pasha has the typical form, is directed towards the qibla, and does have its original mihrab—an elaborately embellished one at that—and yet its waqfiyya and architecture feature unique elements that unmistakably reveal that it was designed for hosting visitors as much as, if not more than, it was for providing space for communal prayer. Several witnesses to Bāyezīd Pasha's waqfiyya signed their names with epithets revealing their association to the Rifāʿiyya Sufi order, which speaks to the order's followers' overt connection to the zāwiya.

3. Palatial Undertones and Woodwork in the Manner of Tabriz

The building is marked by an unusual number of inscriptions. Above the gate, which is set within a niche preceded by a domed īwān, is the foundation inscription (fig. 3). It is extended on either side along the walls of the niche and follows onto the front façade forming two cartouches that flank the īwān's opening onto the portico. The two flanking cartouches feature a builder's signature: "Master Abu Bakr son of Muḥammad known as the son of Mushaymish of Damascus (*al-Muʿallim Abī Bakr bin Muḥammad al-maʿrūf bi-ibn Mushaymish al-Dimishqī*)." Other inscriptions give further information on the practical and symbolic aspects of the building and its construction. Spandrels above the arch of the gate and the central medallion that joins them by way of an inlaid knot of red stone are incised with cartouches

[12] For the waqfiyyas of zāwiyas built during the reign of Bāyezīd I by or in cooperation with the military elite that specify shaykhs and followers of Kāzaruni order as the primary users see Emir, 2012a.

containing *hadith* (sayings attributed to Prophet Muḥammad) and the name of Prophet Muḥammad. The inscription program of the door panels consists of an Arabic wisdom saying and two hadith that together highlight the importance of charity and alms giving, and two Qur'anic verses (15:45 and 46) with references to afterlife. The polylobed surface of the doorknob features another artist's signature: Master (*Ustādh*) Muṣṭafā the woodworker (*al-najjār*). Above that and executed on a vertical cartouche on the astragal between two panels, is an inscription that runs from the apex of the door down towards the artist's signature. This is an allusion to the Qur'anic descriptions of the Garden of Eden which is paraphrased in Arabic and, curiously, combined with Persian poetry to form a bilingual versified whole (Ayverdi, 1972: 20 and 24-25).[13]

The use of Persian stands out against the rest of the inscription program, and in the wider context of early Ottoman inscriptions, the majority of which are in Arabic.[14] The introductory Persian part of the verse addresses "the residents of the *dargāh*, whose worldly presence is eternal," and continues, in Arabic, with a Qur'anic reference declaring that "this is the Garden of Eden (*Jannāt ʿAdn*) to enter and to stay in perpetuity" (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, p. 117). Apparently, what is being likened to the Garden of Eden is the building—I shall return to this specific metaphor later. The Persian word "dargāh," originally meaning "gate," was used in the medieval Persianate world to refer to shrine complexes, which proliferated beginning with the reign of the Ilkhanid ruler Öljaytu (r. 1304-1316) (Golombek, 1974). The ambiguity was likely intentional, judging by the similarity of services offered by shrine complexes and the zāwiya and the placement of the inscription on its door. In fact, there may even be a third layer of meaning underlying the use of dargāh here, as it is also a medieval Persianate metonym referring to palaces (Yürekli, 2012, p. 143, Mottahedeh, 2018, p. 471), and more specifically in the medieval Anatolian context to the outer courts of palaces, which preceded the more secluded and private inner courts, "bargāh" (Peacock and Yıldız, 2013, p. 13). There is reason to think, then, that each word of this bilingual text was carefully selected, especially since, as both Ayverdi and Tüfekçioğlu have noted, the proficiency with which Arabic is used in the zāwiya's inscription program stands out among fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Ottoman examples.[15] With its adoption of Persian as highlighting important and personalized content, this specific inscription on the door of Bāyezīd Pasha's

[13] For the increased literary use of such compositions that combine Arabic with Persian from fifteenth century onward, see Kurtuluş and Pala, 2006, p. 539.

[14] Among the religious inscriptions, too, the predominance of *hadith* over Qur'anic verses differs from the increasing supremacy of Qur'anic excerpts from the mid-sixteenth century onward, which, Gülru Necipoğlu has interpreted as a reflection of increased orthodoxy of Sunni Islamic practice. Necipoğlu, 2008, pp. 34-40.

[15] Excluding one repetition, which appears to have been made for the improvement of calligraphic composition. See Ayverdi, 1972, p. 25, fn. 1.

zāwiya in Amasya resembles the selectively used Persian inscriptions on the zāwiya of Meḥmed I in Bursa (1419-1421), which is a significant exception to the pervasiveness of Arabic in early Ottoman architectural inscriptions. In fact, before the end of the fifteenth century, the zāwiyas of Bāyezīd Pasha and Meḥmed I were, as far as we know, the only two public religious buildings in the Ottoman domains to bear inscriptions in Persian (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, pp. 467-468).

The two zāwiyas share more than their use of Persian. Thanks, it seems, to the close relationship of their patrons and their motivations, the two buildings also share several architectural peculiarities: namely, an especially elaborate two-story entrance section and built-to-measure shelving units in their side rooms that are designed around hearths. Abundant both inside and outside, Persian and Arabic inscriptions of Meḥmed's zāwiya are orchestrated in a way that suggests a connection between the Persian and those parts of the building that offer a more secluded and palatial atmosphere. Persian verses of allegorical or epic content are thus concentrated on the interior of the loggias on the upper level of the building's entrance block and in its corner rooms (*tābhāne*). In both instances, these texts are carefully inserted amid Qur'anic verses or selected *hadith* (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, pp. 135-154). A notable exception to this matching of Persian with spaces of lodging and hospitality are the inscriptions on the mihrab's engaged colonettes, one of which is inscribed with a collective artists' signature, of "Masters from Tabriz (*ustādhān-i Tabrīz*)," and the other with a Persian couplet (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, pp. 160-162). These inscriptions on the mihrab were likely meant to complement the contents of the foundation inscription over the entrance. The latter, although written in the conventional Arabic, is mainly about the building itself rather than, as is generally the case, about the patron, and it comprises uniquely allegorical content with references to paradisiacal gardens.[16]

The numerous signatures of builders and artisans that appear among the two buildings' inscriptions are another exceptional point of commonality, though no names are shared by the two sets of signatures.[17] The predominantly Tabrizi crew of Meḥmed's zāwiya and the Syrian builder named on Bāyezīd Pasha's foundation ins-

[16] The unusualness of the foundation inscription and its intertextuality with the mihrab has been explored in Pancaroğlu, 2019, pp. 178-180.

[17] Above-mentioned Abu Bakr of Damascene origin, whose name is prominently featured near the foundation inscription of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya, has left his signature on another building sponsored earlier during the reign of Meḥmed I, a madrasa in nearby Merzifon (1414–1417). Another builder, a certain Ṭu ʿān bin ʿAbd Allāh whose signature is also found on Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya is likely the same person referred to as Ṭūghān bin ʿAbd Allāh on the inscription of another building patronized by Meḥmed, a mosque in Dimetoka (1421). See Ayverdi, 1957, p. 15 and fn. 5. This suggests that the choice of listing an entirely different team of artisans for Meḥmed's zāwiya in Bursa was intentional. I discuss the builders of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya in more detail below.

cription have been discussed in scholarship with regard to the respective Timurid/Turkmen and Mamluk/Levantine elements of these buildings (Goodwin, 1971, Ayverdi, 1972, Demiriz, 1979, Necipoğlu, 1990, Tanman, 1999, Keskin, 2013, 2015, Aube, 2017, Yürekli, 2017). I will limit my discussion here to only those elements that are relevant to underscoring the specificity of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya and its context. Moreover, as I shall argue below, the difference in the make-up of the team of designers and artisans of the zāwiyas of Meḥmed I and Bāyezīd Pasha is better understood when the numerous builders of non-Muslim origin named on the latter are also considered. While signatures of Christian converts as builders and artisans are common in Medieval Anatolia (Sönmez, 1989), their numerousness on Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiyas is significant.

The polychrome ashlar architecture of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya differs visibly from the decorative vocabulary of Meḥmed's zāwiya and tomb. The latter, although added posthumously, came to dominate the complex with its higher position, larger scale, and colorfully tiled dome and exterior walls. The zāwiya itself is replete with tile decoration executed in various techniques from polychrome overglaze painting to monochrome underglaze painting and tile mosaic.[18] There appear to be references to Anatolian Seljuk traditions of tile decoration as well, while the inlaid silver decoration on the window grills has parallels only in Mamluk Cairo and Aleppo (Blessing, 2017, p. 237, 243 and 248-249, Yürekli, 2017, p. 746). These ornamental techniques are combined with numerous others, including woodwork, stone carving and stucco-work, resulting in a style distinct to the building itself. And yet, the overall effect of Meḥmed I's complex in Bursa remains associated with the aesthetics of Timurid Iran and Central Asia, which Gülru Necipoğlu calls "international Timurid" (Necipoğlu, 1991).[19] The use of this style has been linked to Meḥmed's carefully negotiated and constructed legitimacy in the aftermath of the humiliating defeat dealt by Tīmūr to Meḥmed's father, Bāyezīd I. In this respect, it is less surprising to find here inscriptions in Persian, the preferred language of the Timurid realm, than to find them on Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya. As has previously been noted, the artists' signatures found on Meḥmed's complex themselves clearly demonstrate their Timurid or Turkmen associations.[20]

[18] Among them is the "black line" technique, a specific technique of overglaze painting that, similar to the Western *cuerda seca*, involved the use of a black substance for separating different fields of color, has roots in Iran. O'Kane, 2011, p. 191.

[19] According to her, this style also combines different calligraphic scripts, including varieties of Kufic and thuluth, but also mirrored or superimposed scripts, in a multi-layered fashion, and where it emerges in full scale is at Meḥmed I's complex in Bursa. See, also, *idem*, 2007, pp. 72-73.

[20] In addition to the tilework signed by "Masters from Tabriz (*ustādhān-i Tabrīz*), as I have mentioned above, ʿAlī ibn Ilyās ʿAlī, "known as *naqqash* (designer-decorator) ʿAlī," who was taken by Tīmūr from Bursa to Central Asia as a child, also left his signature on the building. See, Necipoğlu, 1991, p.136. The careful orchestration of different styles, techniques, and artisans

One such signature is carved onto the doors to Meḥmed I's tomb and belongs to a certain ʿAlī b. Ḥājjī Aḥmad al-Tabrīzī. The doors are designed in a peculiar manner, featuring inscriptions on each panel running along the frames that join the three sections. Close comparisons to this design are found not in Anatolia but in contemporary Timurid Iran on works that are attributed to craftsmen from Tabriz (Gierlichs, 2014).[21] In medieval Anatolia, inscriptions on door panels are carved onto the smaller top and bottom sections instead of the astragals where the sections join. Inscribed, as we have seen, on a vertical cartouche between the two panels, the Persian inscription on the door of Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya is unlike its Anatolian counterparts and is reminiscent of the Tabrizi approach (fig. 4). Its woodwork master Muṣṭafā did not sign his name with an epithet that would allow us to locate his origins or the school/style to which he subscribed, but it is possible that he was trained in, or was at least familiar with, the Tabrizi style.[22] Tabriz was the administrative center of the Mongol Ilkhanids (ca. 1260-1335), under whom the city also became a trade emporium and a vivid center of cultural production (Blair, 1984). The Ilkhanid period also witnessed the promotion of the Persian language across different genres (Melville, pp. 155-161). Tabriz remained an important center of artistic production under the rival dynasties of the Jalayirids (1330s-1430s) and the Qaraqoyunlu Turkmen (1380–1469), and artists and builders from Tabriz continued to be sought under the Timurids.

The exterior of Meḥmed's zāwiya, with its white marble-cladding, diverges from its otherwise Timurid aesthetics and, especially considering that it was originally planned to have been fronted by a portico, harkens back instead to the zāwiya of Meḥmed's father Bāyezīd (1391-95), likewise perched on a hilltop on the eastern edges of Bursa. Sultan Bāyezīd's zāwiya is the only T-plan building other than those of Meḥmed I and Bāyezīd Pasha to feature a built-in cupboard-hearth construction,[23]

may be related to the involvement, perhaps at a later stage, of another vizier of Meḥmed's, ʿIvaz Pasha, whom the early Ottoman chronicler ʿĀṣıkpaşazāde states to be the first patron to employ foreign artisans in Ottoman lands. This idea is supported by the fact that the inscription with the signature of *naqqash* ʿAlī is followed by the date second half of August 1424, which postdates Meḥmed's passing by three years. The name of ʿIvaz is featured not only on one of the zāwiya's inscriptions (as "the person who drew [the building], arranged it, and fixed its principles") but also, as Zeynep Yürekli points out, on the door panels of Meḥmed's tomb, where Meḥmed is referred to as "deceased," and ʿIvaz as the one who ordered the construction. Yürekli, 2017, pp. 744-748.

[21] Sandra Aube, in her larger corpus on tile decoration in fifteenth century Iran, points out that the calligraphy and the cartouches of Meḥmed I's tomb is comparable to the composition of the cartouches of the tomb's mihrab and those on the mosque's masonry façade. She thusly suggests that the signature ʿAlī b. Ḥājjī Aḥmad al-Tabrīzī may in fact belong to a calligrapher and not a woodworker. Aube, 2017, p. 195, fn. 43.

[22] Ayverdi mentions the possibility of the involvement of Tabrizi woodworkers only to then refute it, because, according to him, their recruitment would have been impossible in the immediate aftermath of the civil war. Ayverdi, 1972, pp. 20-21.

[23] The latter two buildings also have in common the Fourth Kalima (Tawhīd) inscribed on their stuccowork.

as well as a double story entrance kiosk. In fact, the configuration of the upper loggias and entrance īwān in Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya more closely resembles the arrangement of Bāyezīd I's zāwiya than Meḥmed's.[24] The zāwiyas of Bāyezīd Pasha and Bāyezīd I share similarities in their use of ashlar masonry and decorative techniques associated with Syrian-Mamluk domains— a result, at least in part, of the involvement of builders from there, as has been pointed out in the scholarship (Goodwin, 1971, Ayverdi, 1972, Tanman, 1999, Keskin, 2015, Yürekli, 2017). Still, the palatial idiom of the entrance sections is more palpable in the zāwiyas of Bāyezīd Pasha and Meḥmed I. Moreover, the portals of these latter buildings are further distinguished by their muqarnas hoods, pointing to a possible symbolic emphasis on their role as thresholds between two worlds. As such, Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya in Amasya, although far from Bursa and sponsored by a vizier, appears to have played a role in the testing and transmission of architectural ideas between the two successive sultanic funerary complexes.[25]

That Bāyezīd Pasha aspired to having a zāwiya in Amasya on a par with the larger and more lavish sultanic counterparts in Bursa is also evident in its inclusion of certain features that are not to be found in any other building. Among them are the two ornamental basins on its elevated portico placed symmetrically on either side of the entrance and latrines on the basement level, which are accessed from inside the building by way of a stone stairway (Ayverdi, 1972, pp. 4-21 and Eyice, 1992).[26] The arrangement of latrines accessed from within the building is unique in medieval Anatolia, and, for that matter, in later Ottoman architecture. Two extant fourteenth-century latrines in Bursa were built for sultanic architectural endeavors as separate buildings: the latrines next to the zāwiya of Murād I (r. 1362-89) and those abutting the madrasa which was commissioned by Bāyezīd I together with the Great Mosque (1396–1400) (Ayverdi, 1966, p. 418, pp. 445-447). Baha Tanman has convincingly argued that these latrines were related to ideas or practices

[24] Sedat Emir attributes the more sophisticated articulation of this section in Mehmed I's zāwiya to the involvement of 'Ivaz Pasha in the building's design. He interprets the plan of this upper section to be comprising almost a miniature version of the ground floor plan. Sedat Emir, 1991, pp. 237-238. This is reminiscent of Timurid geometric designs that generate superimposed forms with smaller versions of themselves and the frequent use in Timurid architecture of "entrance blocks" that combine portals with flanking domed halls via systems of corridors and vestibules. See Necipoğlu, 1995 and Golombek and Koch, 2017, pp. 820-821.

[25] It has been suggested that Bāyezīd Pasha may have selected the team of craftsmen and builders from Bursa and sent them to Amasya. See, Keskin, 2016, p. 21.

[26] Goodwin, who was unable to access them, suggested that they may have been a Byzantine cistern and that the building may have been situated over an existing church. However, the design of the ashlar staircase, which is the same one that provides access to the loggias on the upper level suggests that the lower level was designed, or at least extensively remodeled, in tandem with the rest of the building. Goodwin mentions that the stairways lead down to a cell, but does not mention their connection to the latrines. See Goodwin, 1971, pp. 80-81.

that were brought by designers or workmen from Mamluk Syria (Tanman, 1999, p. 86, and Tanman, 2012). The existence of latrines in Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya, too, is likely related to Damascene architecture.

The two ornamental basins on the portico floor are carved in a spinning-wheel form, which symbolizes the wheel of heavens. Together with their paradisiacal symbolism, their unique outdoor placement, akin to the inscription program of the door, alludes to the services offered inside the building. As such, they emphasize the threshold and its palatial connotations.[27] The closest comparison is found on the basins in the upper-level loggias of Meḥmed I's zāwiya, the western one of which is embossed on its marble platform with the outline of two boards, likely for casting horoscopes (Goodwin, 1971, p. 60). A similar transfer of indoor activities outdoors seems to have happened with the loggias above the entrance: while elaborately designed in a symmetrical multi-room arrangement similar to the upper level of Meḥmed I's zāwiya, the loggias of Bāyezīd Pasha are cut off from the interior of the central area. They are instead connected with the portico, through which they have views of the river. Both loggias have niches, and the eastern loggia has retained its original hearth, which its western counterpart must have lost (Goodwin, 1971, p. 81)[28] when a minaret was added there as part of the zāwiya's later conversion into a mosque. The conglomeration of architectural detail, decoration, and unusually numerous functions in the entrance area of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya was probably part of an effort to attract visitors. At the same time, especially combined with the riverside setting, which endows the portico and the loggias with an immersive experience of the splendent landscape, this entrance block reminds one of a royal kiosk. Indeed, nineteenth-century Ottoman tradition holds that prior to commissioning the zāwiya, Bāyezīd Pasha had this site as part of his estate, and Karataş suggests that Meḥmed as prince may have based himself there throughout the civil war (Karataş, 2011, p. 35).

4. A Diverse Team of Builders and Bāyezīd Pasha as *Ġāzī*

The artists' signatures displayed around the gate, namely those of Abu Bakr on the frontal extensions of the foundation inscription and the woodworker Muṣṭafā, are complemented by others that adorn the portico. The western corner of the portico that faces the main road and the river in front of the complex is inscribed with the name of its architect "Ṭu ʿān son of ʿAbd Allāh, Bāyezīd Pasha's manumitted slave (*miʿmāruhā Ṭuʿān bin ʿAbd Allāh ʿatīq Bāyezīd Bāshā*)" (Yardım, 2004, pp.

[27] For an exploration of the role of Bāyezīd Pasha as patron of arts, letters, and music in the tradition of Persianate courtly cultures, see Keskin, 2016.

[28] Goodwin interprets the abundance of hearths and chimneys, as well as shelving units, along with the plan and unusual character of the building as it having served as a dervish convent.

85-87).[29] High above and part of a narrow strip that runs along all three sides of the portico, this inscription was most probably aimed to be visible to the people seeing the building in its entirety instead of those who were in its immediate vicinity.[30] This is supported by the existence of another inscription —a stylized Kufic *taḥmīd* (the saying of the praise formula *al-ḥamdu-li 'llāh*) (Yardım, 2004, pp. 89-90)— on the same road-facing side of the portico and right above Ṭu ʿān's signature inserted on another decorative band at the cornice level, this time of white ashlar carved with a geometric design of interlocking starts and polygons.

Two more artists' signatures are found on the middle two piers of the portico (fig. 5). Inscribed on red stone in thuluth like Ṭu ʿān's signature on the western corner, these signatures name "Yaʿqūb son of ʿAbd Allāh, from among the slaves of Bāyezīd Pasha (*Yaʿqūb bin ʿAbd Allāh min memālīk Bāyezīd Bāshā*)" and "Master Zayn al-Dīn son of Zakariyyā (*al-Muʿallim Zayn al-Dīn bin Zakariyyā*)" (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, pp. 120-121). Two of the three artists, therefore, are of slave-background and non-Muslim origin—their paternal name ʿAbd Allah was generally given to converts. The extraordinary visibility of architects and builders at the zāwiya of Bāyezīd Pasha —and of Meḥmed I— may be related to a parallel development in the Timurid realm that witnessed the ascendency of the role of architect as creator of prestigious buildings (Golombek and Koch, 2017, pp. 813-814).[31] However, the builders' signatures at Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya surpass those of other monuments not only in sheer abundance, but also, and more remarkably, in the variety of backgrounds they record. The way in which these signatures are arranged on the building's exterior suggests that they are consciously displayed and choreographed.

In addition to its palatial symbolism, display of artists' names and backgrounds and outward presentation of the services offered within, the building's front also advertises the legal status and planned longevity of the foundation. In fact, the building's endowments were literally written out on its façade, constituting yet another unique feature of the building. The red stone strip on the western side of the portico that contains the above-mentioned signature of Ṭu ʿān has a frontal northern counterpart with a waqfiyya inscription. This complementary arrangement of these cartouches, which together form one strip that envelopes the portico, sup-

[29] Yardım discusses at length previous scholarship, most of which had misidentified "*miʿmāruhā*" as "*miʿmār Fuqā*?" See, for example, Gabriel, 1934, p. 30, Uzunçarşılı, 1927, p. 113, Ayverdi, 1972, p. 22, Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, p. 120. Zeki Sönmez has read the same part as "*miʿmār Kenʿān.*" Sönmez, 1989, p. 410.

[30] It has been suggested that this placement signals the relegated status of the artist. See, for example, Ayverdi, 1972, pp. 22-23. It is true that modern translation of the titles used for Abu Bakr and Ṭu ʿān, master (*muʿallim*) and architect (*miʿmār*) respectively, may not capture their fifteenth century meanings, and Abu Bakr's role may, indeed, have been superior to that of Ṭu ʿān's. Our knowledge of terminology of architectural work and staff in medieval Islamic architecture is too limited to gage the historical specificities for vocational roles, let alone their assumed hierarchical

ports the idea that artists' signatures are part of a conscious design choice to use inscriptions for more than simple information delivery. The uninscribed sections of this strip of red stone, together with those that continue around the arches to frame the spandrels, are filled with vegetal scrollwork, which enhances the visual continuity of these inscriptions and enmeshes them in an otherwise decorative scheme.

The waqfiyya inscription on the portico is dated 820/1418 and is mostly an abridged version of the actual legal document, which was drawn up in the same year. The latter was updated as early as within a couple of weeks, followed by more additions in quick succession, recording the expansion of Bāyezīd Pasha's endowed properties into neighboring estates.[32] According to Karataş, the period of the expansion of Bāyezīd Pasha's endowed properties marks the height of his career as grand vizier and parallels his military successes —both in the environs of Amasya and on the Western frontiers of the Ottoman domains in Southeast Europe (Karataş, 2011, p. 37 and fn. 44).

ordering. However, this classification of inscriptions according to their legibility falls short of explaining why an inscription —albeit illegible— would be displayed prominently on the exterior of the building, if it were of little importance. That there was not an all-encompassing hierarchical ordering of names on inscriptions according to the degree of responsibility is supported by the fact that a few years later, in 1420, a mosque sponsored by Meḥmed I in presentday Didymoteicho (Dimetoka) in present-day Greece, Ṭu ʿān 's name is inscribed inside the same cartouche with and in-between those of the judge (*qāḍī*) of Dimetoka and Meḥmed's other prominent vizier Hājjī ʿIvaz. See above, fn. 17. On the terminology of architectural staff, see Behrens-Abouseif, 1995. On the building in Didymoteicho, see Ayverdi, 1957, pp. 15-16.

31 The rise of the Timurid architect, celebrated in Timurid histories, Qavām al-Dīn Shīrāzī appears to coincide with the late 1410s, even though his career spanned into the 1430s. O'Kane, 1996.

32 The waqfiyya remains unpublished. It is dated 11 *dhu al-ḥijjah* 820 (19 January 1418), and of its four successive addenda, three are within the same year. The last addendum is dated H823 (1420). VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735. This is a different copy than the —seemingly original— document used by Ali Yardım (BOA, Ali Emiri, Mehmed I/ 3), given that he states that first part of the document is missing and that the main text consists of 109 lines. See Yardım, 2004, p. 4. The VGM copy I have used is intact and its main text consists of 127 lines and its legal authentication preface declares it to be a copy ("ṣūra"). I have not had the chance to compare the two documents, but judging by the excepts found in Yardım's work, the main text of the VGM copy appears to be verbatim. Compare, for example, the quoted terms in Yardım, such as "*fe-benâ dârân min hâlisi mâlihî,*" "*müştemiletün 'a- lal-büyût*" with lines 18 and 19, VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735. The one used by Yardım appears to be one of the two copies referenced by Ayverdi, while the other one, to which Ayverdi refers as Anadolu 19 No: 244 at VGM, is probably different from the one I have used, given that Ayverdi mentions it comprising only one (dated 821) of the several addenda to the waqfiyya, whereas the copy I have has all four addenda dated 823, 821, 821, and 823 respectively. See See Ayverdi, 1972, p. 5 and VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735. That the addenda are not written chronologically suggests that this is a later copy. A handwritten Latin script note on it states that "the five deeds contained here are registered under folder 19, and pages 244, 247, 248, 248, 249," which corresponds to the reference numbers given by Ayverdi. Karataş appears to have used this latter copy, as his reference for the first three addenda are as follows: VGMA, 605/333 p. 248, 248, and 249, cited in Karataş, 2011, p. 34, fn. 137 and p. 37, fn. 141-143.

The waqfiyya document itself is unusual in its detailed description of the building: there are references to how it "was composed of rooms embellished from in and out, a heavenly hall, two winter quarters and two small rooms next to each other in an elevated platform, an indoor toilet, a pool and a fountain" (Karataş, 2011, p. 35, n. 138).[33] That there was running water inside the building other than in its latrines is clear.[34] As was generally the case with T-plan buildings, the building was entrusted to a shaykh who received the largest salary, and the staff did not include a deliverer of the Friday sermon (*khaṭīb*). In addition to the shaykh, an administrator (*mutawallī*) position is listed, which would pass from Bāyezīd Pasha on to his descendants. The remaining staff was to consist of an imam, a reciter of the call for prayer (*mu'adhdhin*), five reciters of the Qur'an (*ḥuffāẓ*), an assistant (*naqīb*), a doorman (*bawwāb*), a cook (*tabbākh*) and his helper, a baker (*ḫabbāz*) and his helper, a supervisor (*mushrif*), collector of the reserved rents (*jābī*), and a person who would fetch firewood and carry it on a donkey (*ḥimārī*) (Yardım, 2004, pp. 33-34).[35] Expenses for the oil used for lighting, for mats to be used on the floor, as well as food to be cooked and distributed—such as meat, bread, rice, wheat, oil, salt, and honey—are also specified in the waqfiyya (Yardım, 2004, p. 36).[36] An additional amount was allotted to the local judge (*qāḍī*), who was to receive the highest daily salary after the administrator, the shaykh, and the supervisor.[37] The judge's responsibility is vaguely described as "providing support for the functioning of the endowment," and his inclusion in the staff attests to Bāyezīd Pasha's effort to patronize the local judge.

None of these specifications from the waqfiyya document that describe the building's form, function, and institutional make-up have made it into the waqfiyya inscription on the zāwiya's portico. The latter comprises, in addition to the name of the patron and the date, only the part of the deed that records the endowed properties. As Andrew Peacock has observed, at a time when polities and their territories were shifting and being contested, this selective content must be aimed

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[33] The "winter quarters" and "elevated" "small rooms" are "حجرتين" "علوين" "شتوي". VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735, line 20. For a different interpretation of the same terms (as referring to upper level rooms instead of elevated platforms) see, Ayverdi, 1972, p. 5.

[34] VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735, line 19.

[35] The administrator is entitled to one fifth of the endowment's income as well as ten silver "Sulṭān Meḥmed Khān" *dirham*s (coins) daily. Ayverdi lists only the first and Yardım the second part of what appears to have been a twopartite salary for the administrator. Ayverdi, 1972, p. 6, Yardım 2004, p. 34, and VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735, line 104-105. The prominence of the shaykh, who would receive six *dirham*s daily and ten *mudds* (measure) of wheat yearly, is comparable only to the supervisor, who was to receive five *dirham*s daily, but yearly twelve measures of wheat, as well as six measures of barley. The next best paid positions of imam and cook were to be paid about half that amount. VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735, line 92-101, 104-111.

[36] VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735, line 112-116.

at displaying the legality of the building —even though only documents, and not inscriptions, held actual legal validity (Peacock, 2019, p. 191).[38] It is significant in this regard that, of the less than a dozen known waqfiyya inscriptions from medieval Anatolia (Kucur, 1993, p. 3 and 84, Cantay, 1994, Tüfekçioğlu, 1999, 2001, p. 476, and Peacock, 2019), only the one on Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya is ornamental and monumental to the extent that is reminiscent of counterparts from the Mamluk Levant (Peacock, 2019, p. 184).

The date on the building's waqfiyya inscription, 820/1418, is the same as the year in which, according its written copy, the endowment was drawn up and is four years later than the date of its foundation inscription, 817/1414. It is common for waqfiyyas to be drawn up after the construction of buildings in this period. However, here, the waqfiyya is also inscribed onto the building and is one among other dated inscriptions. The inscription on the portico piers with Yaʿqūb's signature dates "this section/door (*hādhā al-bāb*)" to 822/1419 (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, pp. 120-121), likely marking a later phase in the construction.[39] The material, construction technique, and patina of all the exterior, except for the portico, changes uniformly at a certain height, above the windows and after an ashlar molding, which also suggests either a comprehensive repair or, more likely, a second stage of construction, during which the building may have been provided with the roof, with its supporting elements, as well as the ambitious portico (fig. 6).[40]

The waqfiyya inscription, like the foundation inscription, refers to the foundation as "*ʿimāra*," which is a generic term used in foundation inscriptions,[41] most

[37] The salary allotted to the judge is also three *dirham*s daily. VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735, line 112.

[38] Interestingly, the contents of Bāyezīd Pasha's waqfiyya inscription do not appear to match completely with the corresponding section of the waqfiyya document. While most of the properties listed are the same in the inscription, albeit written in an abridged form, there are some properties that are missing and others that are added. See Yardım, 2004, p. 97. If the main purpose of inscribing the building with a version of its waqfiyya was to announce its legality, the mismatch between the endowed properties must have to do with what, according to Bāyezīd Pasha, constituted legality in the public eye —or, to phrase it differently, how the Ottoman colonization in this area should be communicated to the intended audience of the building.

[39] Ayverdi, misreading "this section (*hādhā al-bāb*)" as "this building (*hādhā al-bina'*)", interprets this later date as belonging to a later repair, after an earthquake in 818/1415. Ayverdi, 1971, p.22. Double —sometimes even triple— dates are commonly found on building inscriptions from the period, probably pointing to several phases of construction. See Tufekciolgu, 2001, p. 124, pp. 43-44 and Ayverdi, 1957, p. 15.

[40] This was originally suggested by the building's first scholarly observer, Albert Gabriel. Gabriel, 1934, pp. 25-31. Ayverdi concedes that upper sections of the building appear to have been built later, but attributes that, together with the later inscriptions on the piers, to a post-earthquake repair, and not a later stage of the original construction. Ayverdi, 1971, pp. 9-12. Keskin appears to follow Gabriel's idea that the portico was altogether finished later. See Keskin, 2016, p. 18.

[41] Ayverdi has misread the beginning of the waqfiyya inscription as referring to the building —-in addition to as "*ʿimāra*" —- as "*maqām* (shrine)." Ayverdi, 1971, p. 23. For the correct reading,

likely for the complex as a whole. For example, in the written copy of Bāyezīd Pasha's waqfiyya the first term used in reference to the building is "*dār* (residence)," and it is defined as comprising all the various spaces with manifold functions. But, later in the text, after the description of the boundaries of the site, the complex within these boundaries, which had a precinct wall, is referred to consistently as "ʿimāra" (Yardım, 2004, pp. 37-38).[42]

Five of the witnesses to Bāyezīd Pasha's waqfiyya use the epithet "Sīvāsī," which, as Hasan Karataş points out, most probably indicates that they were recent immigrants from Sivas, after the city had been sacked by the Ottomans and then by the Timurids (Karataş, 2011, p. 35). Sivas must have played a key role in Bāyezīd Pasha's military career. A Sivas mosque features in a the historiographical work that was likely commissioned by him, *Aḥvāl-i Sulṭān Meḥmed* (Tales of Sultan Meḥmed), as the backdrop of a dramatic episode in which he smokes out the ruler of Sivas Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn's son-in-law Mazīd who had hidden inside a minaret in order to save himself from Bāyezīd Pasha.[43] The influx of sufis and scholars from Sivas to Amasya at this time is also attested by the appearance of Yār 'Alī b. Siyāvuş (d. 1409-10) in the waqfiyyas of convents sponsored in Amasya by other Ottoman viziers (Karataş, 2011, pp. 28-30). Three of the witnesses listed in the waqfiyya signed with the epithet "al-Rifāʿiyya." This has been interpreted as a sign of the building's possible use as a convent by the Rifāʿiyya Sufi order. The rootedness and activity of this order in Amasya in the fourteenth century is well attested (Karataş, 2011, p. 21). The appearance of witnesses with this epithet does not necessarily mean that the building was reserved for them, but that most of the city's dignitaries —at least the ones who were in Bāyezīd Pasha's circle— were associated with the Rifāʿiyya. The early fifteenth century in Amasya is marked by the mushrooming of convents and lodges under the sponsorship of Meḥmed I's viziers, the surviving ones of which share a T-form plan.[44] This concurrent patronage activity of T-plan foundations by

see, Yardım, 2004, p. 98. Although the term ʿimāra is most commonly seen on the foundation inscriptions of charitable complexes in the Early Ottoman context, there are significant exceptions, such as the foundation inscription of the so-called Green Mosque (H780) sponsored by Çandarlı Khalīl Khayr al-Dīn Pasha in İznik.

42 VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Kutu 5 —1735, line, 18 and 23-26 respectively. Outside of the precinct wall was built a station for pack animals. Yardım, 2004, pp. 37-38. The use of "*dār*" brings to mind "*dāru khayrin*" and "*dār al-rafiʿ*" used in the inscriptions of T-plan buildings that were built in Istanbul and Üsküdar in the 1470s by viziers of Meḥmed II. Kafesçioğlu, 2020, pp. 275-276. I should point out, however, that this is in contrast to the building sponsored by Yāqūt Pasha, which is referred to as "zāwiya" several times in Bāyezīd Pasha's waqfiyya while describing the borders of the latter's endowed areas. See, for example, "zāwiya Yāqūt Pasha b'al-Nahr al-Kabīr," VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Kutu 5 —1735, line 61.

43 Cited in Kastritsis, 2007, pp. 75-76.

44 These are the non-extant convents sponsored by Yāqūt Pasha (d. after 1407), known by way of its waqfiyya, and by Bāyezīd-i Sūfī (d. 1412), known through survey registers, as well as the still

Meḥmed's viziers is reminiscent of the earlier patronage of Bāyezīd I's viziers in Bursa that I have previously noted, and, later, that of Murād II's commanders and viziers in Edirne and of Meḥmed II's (r. 1444-46 and 1451-81) viziers in Istanbul (Emir, 2012a, Kafesçioğlu, 2009, 2020).

5. Expanded Periphery of the Fourteenth-Century City

The site of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya on the southern bank of the river and to the east of the city appears to have followed a pattern of urban colonization that was in place in the fourteenth century when the city was nominally under the Ilkhanids. In fact, the only monument to survive from this period lies to the south-west of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya: namely a large *bīmārkhāna* (hospital)—also known as the *timārkhāna* (nursing home) or *dār al-shifā'* (house of healing)—, whose inscription dated 1308 mentions that it was built during the reign of the Ilkhanid ruler Öljaytu (Wolper, 2003, p. 54 fig. 19 and p. 58, Blessing, 2014, pp. 199-202, Durocher, 2018, p. 96).[45] The building, otherwise sparsely decorated, has an elaborate portal that is hooded with muqarnas and, most notably, features a seated human figure sculpted on the keystone of its arch. Patricia Blessing notes that some of its columns and capitals may be spolia (Blessing, 199).

In the mid-fourteenth century, local rulership in Amasya was contested among descendants of Seljuk rulers, of governors, and of commanders-turned-local-amirs, such as Eretnā (d. 1352) and al-Ḥājj Shādgeldī ibn al-Kūrdī (d. ca. 1381), but the buildings they sponsored are mostly non-extant (Durocher, 2018, pp. 105-117).[46] The boundaries of the city must not yet have grown to encompass these new centers of urban colonization by the time Bāyezīd Pasha built his zāwiya, given that the waqfiyya refers to both the newly built zāwiya and the existing *dār al-shifā'* as being "outside the city (*ẓāhir Āmāsya*)" (Yardım, 2004, p. 42). But an urban in this area northeast of the city did take place throughout the fifteenth century. The zāwiyas

extant complex known as Çileḫāne, which was patronized by Yaʿqūb Pasha (d. after 1412) in 1412. Hasan Karataş, dissertation, pp. 29-33. In addition to the ʿimāra of Bāyezīd Pasha, also a funerary T-form ʿimāra was sponsored later by Yörgüç Pasha (d.1441), a local of Amasya and tutor to Murād II during the latter's tenure in the city as prince-governor, whose deed is dated 1430. See, Karataş, 2011, pp. 29-46.

[45] Blessing translated the inscription as follows: "God-may his rule be glorious, has supported the construction of the blessed house of healing (*dār al-shifā'*) during the days of the rule of the exalted sultan, the greatest khāqān Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-1-Dīn Uljāytū Sulṭān Muḥammad, may God extend his rule, and during the days of the glory of the exalted lady, the queen of the great īldūs Khātūn may her rule be extended, the weak slave ʿAnbar bin ʿAbdallāh, may God accept [this] from him in the year 709 [1308]." Blessing, 2014, p. 199.

[46] Even though Amasya only came under the rule of Bāyezīd I in 1392, son and successor of al-Ḥājj Shādgeldī, Aḥmad, reportedly sought Ottoman suzerainty as early as in 1380. The fact that Meḥmed I entrusted Amasya to another descendent of that family, Shams al-Dīn Shādgeldī, demonstrates the continued prevalence of this elite family in the city. Durocher, 2018, pp. 105-124.

of two other viziers, namely Yāqūt Pasha (d. after 1407) and Yaʿqūb Pasha (d. after 815/1412), were built in this area, to which was later added the complex built by Bāyezīd II (r. 1481–1512) in 1475–76 during his tenure as prince-governor (Karataş, 2011, p. 39 and Karataş, 2020, pp. 294-297).

The bridge that still stands near Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya, generally known either as Kuş Köprü or Künç Köprüsü (Çulpan, 2002, p. 75), is likely the same as that referred to in the waqfiyya as "the bridge known as Hünç Bridge (*Khunj Köprī*)."[47] It is one of the oldest surviving bridges on Yeşilırmak (Iris) —called "the Great River (*al-nahr al-kabīr*)" in Bāyezīd Pasha's waqfiyya document.[48] Attributed to the thirteenth century and to female patronage, this imposing bridge conspicuously displays a spoliated sarcophagus on its middle pier (fig. 7).[49] The proximity of the bridge must have been among the reasons why Bāyezīd Pasha chose this site for his foundation. In fact, another unique aspect of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya, and arguably the most curious one, reveals how central the bridge was to the zāwiya: another waqfiyya inscription, this time carved directly onto the face of Harşena Dağı (Mount Harshena) across the river (fig. 8).[50] This inscription is executed on a flattened surface of the mountain and measures about three meters by one meter, with its bottom edge elevated about two meters above ground level. The two mountains that face each other across the banks are brought into dialogue by the zāwiya and its rockcarved inscription, united by way of the bridge.[51] Carving inscriptions into rockface in Anatolia dates back to its oldest recorded civilizations, especially from the Late Bronze Age onward (Harmanşah, 2015), and Amasya's environs are es-

[47] VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735, line 21. Both Ayverdi and Yardım, who have cited the relevant sections of the waqfiyya have noted the name of the bridge, also pointing out the different names by which the bridge is known popularly or in scholarship. See Ayverdi, 1957, p. 5, fn. 9 and p. 6, and Yardım, 2004, p. 37. The fact that most secondary literature misidentifies the bridge as Künç must be due, in part, to the fact that the waqfiyya is not published, Ayverdi's text features the name of the bridge in Arabic letters only, and Yardım's work, which is relatively new, remains undercirculated.

[48] VGM, Amasya'da Bayezid Paşa İbni Yahşi Bey, Defter, Kutu 5 —1735, line 23. By comparison the river is referred to simply as "the river" in an earlier waqfiyya, that of the foundation known as Çileḫāne of Yaʿqūb Pasha dated 1412. In fact, the river features in a legendary miracle told within the waqfiyya of a local saint, shaykh Pir İlyas (d. ca. 1410), whereby, the dead body of the saint slips from the bench on which it was put toward the river, but avoids falling into the river by holding onto the bench. Pir İlyas is credited with bringing the Halveti order to the Ottoman realm upon his initiation into the order in Shirvan, where he was exiled by Tīmūr. Karataş, 2020, p. 297 and 303.

[49] Scholars have been unable to read its mostly illegible surviving inscription. Çulpan, 2002, p. 75.

[50] The inscription is found, upon crossing the bridge, about fifty meters to the southwest and carved onto the southern face of the mountain.

[51] The rockcarved waqfiyya was mentioned as early as by Uzunçarşılı and Gabriel, but has only been recently read and published by Yardım. Uzunçarşılı, 1927, p. 116, Gabriel, 1934, p. 30, fn. 4., and Yardım, 2004. As part of the study, Yardım has also published for the first time the complete waqfiyya inscription on the portico.

pecially rich with such rock carvings that purport to record historical events. As for the recording of buildings and their endowments in this manner, comparisons can be drawn with the epigraphic display of Byzantine monastic foundation documents (*typika*), one of the few known local examples of which is from Alaşehir (Lydian Philadelphia) (Toth, 2015, pp. 209-210), and similar inscriptions found on Armenian buildings.[52] However, the replication of an endowment inscription on rockface appears to be unique to Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya. This inscription signals a claim over the historical landscape around the zāwiya, including the river and the gorge.

The few known waqfiyya inscriptions from medieval Anatolia, as is the case with Bāyezīd Pasha's inscriptions, reproduce only the list of endowed properties and how they were acquired by the patron, and not the remaining parts of the of actual waqfiyyas. Andrew Peacock has argued that the concern with asserting and announcing the legality of endowments had to do with contestation and confusion regarding property rights— in the case of Mongol-era waqfiyyas, with multiple small groups claiming authority over the same lands, and in the aftermath of Tīmūr's invasion of Anatolia, with Meḥmed I granting legal titles to lands contested by Turkmen principalities under the auspices of Tīmūr (Peacock, 2019, pp. 190-191). Bāyezīd Pasha's rockcarved waqfiyya, supports this, because it reproduces in abridged form the endowed properties —more closely than does the waqfiyya that is inscribed on the zāwiya's portico— listed on the waqfiyya document (Yardım, 2004, pp. 23-25).[53] Besides Ilkhanid examples,[54] the known waqfiyya inscriptions that date from the aftermath of Tīmūr's reshuffling of power dynamics also point

[52] See, for example, churches in the cathedral of historical city of Ani, and the Monastery of Hoŕomos outside of Ani. The latter was the burial place for members of the royal Armenian Bagratid dynasty, some of the abundant Medieval inscriptions of which detail foundations and endowments to buildings. See Vardanyan 2015 and *Virtual Ani* official website. Geghard monastery in presentday Armenia features inscriptions executed directly onto the nearby rock formations, as well as on rockface inside rockcarved churches.

[53] All three waqfiyyas are dated to the same year 820 (1418)—the rockcarved inscription and the document also specify the month *dhu al-ḥijjah* (January).

[54] There are three that coincide with the Ilkhanid period: two that are dated 1271 in Sivas (on the courtyard façade of Burujiyya Madrasa) and in Konya (endowment of books on the door to the masjid inside ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnyawī complex) and one dated 1310 from Erzurum (on the walls of the mihrab īwān of Yāqūtiyya Madrasa sponsored by Jamāl al-Dīn Khwaja Yāqūt Ghazanī). See Peacock 2019, p. 184, Tüfekçioğlu, 1999, p. 9, and Blessing, 2014, pp. 153-58. The inscription executed on wood from the Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnyawī complex is not mentioned by Peacock. Another curious inscription, not mentioned by Peacock, is found on the bathhouse sponsored by Bāyezīd I in Mudurnu (784/1382), near presentday Bolu. It differs from others in that it combines a foundation inscription, an artist's signature and details from the waqfiyya in a series of three inscriptions assembled over the gate. Because the bath was an income generating property itself, the contents of the waqfiyya, instead of listing endowed properties, describe how the income generated from the bath was to be used for Bāyezīd's zāwiya. See Tüfekçioğlu, 2011, pp. 50-54.

to competitive and/or strategic interreferentiality among the Ottoman, Germiyanid, and Karamanid polities. The Germiyanids were strategically located between Ottoman lands and the territory of the Karamanids. The Ottoman recovery after the civil war involved annexation of Germiyanid domains and engaging in direct conflict with the Karamanids for territorial expansion in Anatolia.

6. Reconstruction, Charity, Shrines, and Rulers after Tīmūr

The waqfiyya inscription resembling the most to that of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya is found on the T-plan zāwiya in Kütahya (1411-12) commissioned by the Germiyanid ruler Yaʿqūb II (r. 1388-90, 1402-29) (Uzunçarşılı, 1932, 79-84 and Peacock, 2019, 187). The inscription was placed on the precinct wall and its lowermost part was partially engulfed and damaged by the rising ground level. While its emphasis is on enumerating the endowed properties, it differs from its counterparts in its opening and closing sections. Its first part is dedicated to recounting how the building, five months after its construction in 814/1411, had to close its doors due to the Karamanid sacking of the city, and remained dysfunctional until, two and a half years later, Meḥmed I expelled the Karamanids. The inscription, therefore, must date from around 817/1414, when Yaʿqūb had to contend with the suzerainty of Meḥmed I. The first reference to the foundation refers to it generically as "ʿimāra (*ʿimāret*)," but the part concerning the restoration of its functions thanks to Meḥmed describes the building as "the house (*ev*)" opening "its doors (*ḳapu*)" again.[55] The legible part of the inscription ends with a lengthy description of the staff and the services to which listed funds should be allocated. The overall content of the inscription is close to replicating an actual legal waqfiyya document. Its most significant difference from Bāyezīd Pasha's waqfiyya inscription, however, is the language. Like an earlier inscription dated 770/1369, which records the properties endowed by his brother or halfbrother Kurd Abdal to the Shrine of Seyyid Battal Ġāzī, near Eskişehir, Yaʿqūb's more monumental and longer waqfiyya inscription is in Turkish. Kurd Abdal's inscription was reused in a part of the shrine complex that was added in the sixteenth century and its original location is thus unknown, but it refers to the shrine as the saint's "door" ("*Seydī Ġāzī ḳapusı*") (Yürekli, 2005, pp. 111-114, and 2012, p. 161). Yaʿqūb II's zāwiya, with its orientation that deviates conspicuously from the qibla direction, harks back to earlier versions of the T-plan zāwiyas and can be seen as a departure from the relative orthodoxy communicated

[55] "With the benevolence and under the power of [Meḥmed], the doors of this house reopened and it started functioning again (*Anın devletinde, anın sadakasıyle, girü bu evün ḳapusı açıldı, işlendi*)." Uzunçarşılı, 1932, p. 80 and 82. Uzunçarşılı interprets a reference to "ʿimāret mescidi" midway through the inscription as corresponding to the entire building, but the context is the appointment of a "müderris (professor)" to work in that section of the building, the entirety of which is referred to as "ʿimāret."

by the version of T-plan buildings that had been standardized under Ottoman elite patronage —particularly of successive Ottoman sultans. Also unlike its Ottoman counterparts, where visitors would be hosted up to three days, Yaʿqūb's waqfiyya stipulates that its visitors should not be asked to leave regardless of how long they may wish to stay.[56]

The earliest known Germiyanid inscriptions from medieval Anatolia are not only among the handful of known waqfiyya inscriptions, but are also the earliest surviving inscriptions in Turkish. Germiyanid patrons are thought to have preferred Turkish to more effectively communicate with their intended audience, but also to cultivate a vernacular Anatolian version of the language as a means for claiming legitimacy (Peacock, 2019, Ocak, 2009, Kim, 2016, pp. 383-384). While the use of Turkish on buildings sponsored by Germiyanid patrons may have been aimed, in part, at differentiating themselves from the Ottomans,[57] the choice of waqfiyya content also implicates the Karamanids. The opening section of Yaʿqūb's waqfiyya inscription reads like a repair inscription, of which there is one other example from the period. Placed on the earliest T-form building in Bursa, the zāwiya of Orhān (1339-1340), this inscription also situates the building in the context of the aftermath of the Timurid blow and laments the ensuing devastation of the city by the Karamanids. The patron named in this inscription as having restored Orhān's building —by the order of Meḥmed I— in 820/1417 is none other than Bāyezīd Pasha (Emir, 1994, I, pp. 18-19).[58] Within the Karamanid domains, the ʿimāra in Lārende (Karaman) built, according to its foundation inscription, in 836/1432 by the ruler Ibrāhīm II, has on its tympana an abridged version of its actual waqfiyya dated 835/1432 (Uzunçarşılı, 1969, pp. 233-234). The ʿimāra

[56] "Andan geru müsafir ..... dururs duralar gine git dimeyeler." Uzunçarşılı, 1932, p. 82 and 84. The three-day stay was the norm not only in Ottoman complexes, but more generally in Anatolia. The waqfiyya of Ibrāhīm II ʿimāra in Lārende dated 835/1432, which I discuss below, for example, also stipulates that the visitors will be hosted for three days. For a comparative framework, see Uzunçarşılı, 1969, pp. 232-234.

[57] The verses inscribed on the window shutters of a madrasa built in Gümüş near Amasya by a certain Ḥājjī Khalīl during the reign of Meḥmed I is the only known early example from the Ottoman context of use of Turkish on inscriptions. Despite its non-royal patron and location far from regional centers, the madrasa speaks to an ambitious monumentality. Its construction begun in 816/1413, so before Yaʿqūb II's 817/1414 inscription, but the inscriptions with Turkish verses are dated 818/1415. For the inscriptions, see Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, pp. 127-129.

[58] The repair inscription dates the construction of the building to 740 but its waqfiyya is dated 761/1360. The only other comparable repair inscription, albeit slightly later, is also found on Yaʿqūb's ʿimāra in Kütahya, namely on its foundation inscription, which must have replaced the original one. Here, instead of naming the culprit, the inscription mentions that the reason for the building's repair in 844/1440-41 was due to a "disturbance (*fasād*)." Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, p. 250 and 475. In fact, due to these repairs, it is impossible to know whether there were original foundation inscriptions. Prior to the building's repair in 1440, Yaʿqūb's waqfiyya inscription may have been placed elsewhere on the building.

of Ibrāhīm II does not have a T-form, but its waqfiyya inscription is reminiscent of Yaʿqūb II's zāwiya in its inclusion of information on the functioning and staff of the building. Like Germiyanid examples, Ibrāhīm's waqfiyya inscription, too, is executed on two stone blocks. According to their inscriptions, Yaʿqūb's zāwiya and Ibrāhīm's ʿimāra served similar charitable functions, and both were adjoined by their patron's tombs. While Ibrāhīm's inscription is in Arabic, another surviving Karamanid waqfiyya inscription of a dār al-ḥuffāẓ (a building for the reading and studying of the Qur'an) in Konya, erected in 824/1421 by "Hacı Hasbeyoglu" Meḥmed, is in Turkish (Tüfekçioğlu, 1999, p. 10).

The waqfiyya inscription of Yaʿqūb II must have been known to Bāyezīd Pasha, whose waqfiyya was drawn a few years later, around the same time as his repair inscription on the zāwiya of Orhān in Bursa.[59] Like Yaʿqūb's complex in Kütahya, Ibrāhīm II's in Karaman, and Bāyezīd I and Meḥmed I's in Bursa, Bāyezīd Pasha's, too, must have been envisioned as part of a funerary complex—although the circumstances of his death, on the battlefield and seemingly due to palace intrigue, must have prevented his body's interment in his riverside foundation in Amasya.

Bāyezīd Pasha's rockcarved waqfiyya inscription on Mount Harshena across the river from his zāwiya also seem to speak to the heightened importance of charitable funerary complexes in Anatolia in the aftermath of Tīmūr's victory. Tīmūr is mentioned in sources as having ordered his triumph over Bāyezīd I to be immortalized in the form of an inscription on a "black rock" outside Tire in Western Anatolia,[60] where he based himself in 1402-03 while besieging İzmir (Smyrna) until he took the city from the control of the Knights of Rhodes, thereby claiming the title *ġāzī* (holy warrior). It is not possible to know whether Tīmūr's alleged rockcarved victory inscription really existed or was known to Bāyezīd Pasha. The content and the (Persian) language of Tīmūr's inscription would have been very different from Bāyezīd Pasha's waqfiyya inscription. However, destruction, victory, and rebuilding are mentioned in other contemporary inscriptions, including the repair inscription in Bursa by Bāyezīd Pasha. At any rate, he must have been aware of Tīmūr's general interest in historiography (Woods, 1987, p. 82). Bāyezīd Pasha's patronage of *Khalīlnāma,* an epic that relates Meḥmed's victory over his brother Mūsā (d. 1411), should be considered in this light. Bāyezīd Pasha probably provided the stimulus for the above-mentioned *Aḥvāl-i Sulṭān Meḥemmed*, the other key historiographical work that tells the events prior to Meḥmed's ascendence to the throne

[59] Keskin also suggests that Bāyezīd Pasha must have been aware of the waqfiyya inscription at Ya'qūb II's zāwiya, arguing that the latter may have constituted the inspiration behind Bāyezīd Pasha's rockcarved inscription. Keskin, 2016, p. 20.

[60] Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafarnāma* (1424-25), cited in Özçelik, 2020, pp. 12-14. The seventeenth-century poet Veysī attests to having seen the inscription. While there are numerous sources that purport to having seen this rockcarved inscription, their reports are contradictory and unreliable. Cited in Armağan, 2012, pp. 353-354.

(Kastritsis, 2015). This latter narrative bestows on the Germiyanid ruler Yaʿqūb II a key role as go-between, the person entrusted by Tīmūr to deliver Bāyezīd I's body—as well as the young prince Mūsā—to Meḥmed, purportedly because that was the will of Bāyezīd I (Kastritsis, 2007, p. 84).[61] Doukas' version has Tīmūr take pity on and eventually agree to Bāyezīd's dying wish to be allowed to be buried in the tomb he had built for himself (Doukas, pp. 99-100). The fact that Bāyezīd's tomb was eventually completed by Sulaimān, another contending prince, shows the importance of the patronage of funerary dynastic tombs. Meḥmed's own tomb, as I have mentioned above, is a unique case among Ottoman sultanic complexes in that it is more dominant than the zāwiya it accompanies.

7. Bāyezīd Pasha and the Manifold Layers of Amaseia

Bāyezīd Pasha's inspiration for his rockcarved waqfiyya inscription may have come from the most imposing tombs in Amasya, namely those of the Pontic kings carved onto the foothills of Harshena. While not directly facing Bāyezīd Pasha's site, these dynastic tombs starkly dot the gorge that envelopes the city (fig. 9). The tombs belong to the mythic founder of the Kingdom of Pontus, Mithridates I (r. 281–266 BC), who made Amaseia his capital, and his four successive descendants. Their dynastic continuity is thus put on display in the city, over which they have an enduring presence to this day. Far from Bursa and its hilltops occupied by the dynastic tombs of early Ottoman sultans, Bāyezīd Pasha may have aspired to tie his legacy to his adopted home in a similar vein to the kings of ancient Pontus.

While the symbolism of the waqfiyya imprint on Mount Harshena brings the zāwiya and the intended burial site of Bāyezīd Pasha back full circle to the rock into which the founders of Amaseia are buried, the contents of the inscription are likely intended to reverberate in their immediate context. Mustafa Çağhan Keskin has interpreted the placement of the rockcarved waqfiyya inscription across the bridge from the zāwiya as being related to the neighborhood to its immediate north, Şamlar Mahallesi (Neighborhood of the Damascenes), so called after its residents who were immigrants from Damascus (Keskin, 2015, p. 21-23).[62] It is possible that

[61] Ya'qūb II had previously been imprisoned by Bāyezīd I and saw his territories annexed by him after 1389. Kastritsis, 2007, p. 65. The tone of a letter of oath (*sevgendnāme*) written by Prince Meḥmed to Ya'qūb in the immediate aftermath of Bāyezīd's defeat to Tīmūr demonstrates the gravity of Meḥmed's dependence on and inferiority to Ya'qūb at the onset of the civil war. The letter has survived thanks to having been copied to a chancery manual, and was discovered and published by Tekin, 1996. Translated into English in Kastritsis, 2007, pp. 85-86.

[62] Keskin's suggestion, after nineteenth-century historian Hüseyin Hüsameddin (Yaşar), that the establishment of the neighborhood may have been a result of opponents to political shifts in the Mamluk domain in 1389 taking refuge in Amasya is convincing. See Yaşar, 1913, pp. 148-150. It is not possible to ascertain how old the neighborhood is, but Evliya Çelebi recorded it. Evliya Çelebi, II, p. 97. For the three generations of architects of Damascene origin, who are related to the

the elements of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya that are suggestive of Syrian influence are bound up not only with the involvement of a Damascene Master, but also with the building's intended audience, which included recent immigrants from Syria, familiar with the Arabic language and with the Mamluk architectural idiom.

Local vineyards constitute a significant portion of the properties endowed by Bāyezīd Pasha and many of the place names appear to speak to the Christian origin of their indigenous populations (Yardım, 2004, pp. 23-25).[63] Polina Ivanova has shown in her recent work that the site chosen by Bāyezīd Pasha for his zāwiya was next to that of a functioning church, St. Nicholas. While the church was used by the Armenian community from at the least the fourteenth century onward, and was repaired and rebuilt several times into the nineteenth century, its three apses and a chapel retained their original construction of ashlar interlaid with bricks, in the Byzantine manner. Several graves from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, possibly belonging to Armenian nobility, were reportedly found during a reconstruction project, which suggests that at least for a couple of centuries the church and the ʿimāra functioned side by side (Ivanova, 2021).

Unlike Byzantine Bithynia, Thrace, and later Southeast Europe, where the early Ottomans and their allies were, for the most part, the first Turkish-speaking Muslim settlers, Amasya and its environs had a thicker history—and historiography—of Muslim colonization by waves of different actors.[64] Their lore also invests sanctity in Mount Harshena, which features as the site of Baba Ilyās' forty days of captivity in a fortress and his concomitant miraculous vanishing on a gray (*boz*) horse —the horse that Baba refuses to cede to the Seljuk sultan (Beldiceanu Steinherr, 1998, p. 104).[65] Bāyezīd Pasha's choice of a specific peripheral site for his complex must have been not out of apprehension or convenience, but the result of a measured yet bold intention. With military exploits in the Western frontiers under his belt, he was wellplaced to promote himself as *ġāzī,* in accordance with the Early Ottoman

one who signed Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya and attested by their signatures on various buildings in Medieval Anatolia, see Sönmez, 1989, pp. 403–409. Involvement of Syrian architects on Medieval buildings is pervasive in Anatolia and goes back to the Seljuk period, as exemplified by the signature of the architect Muḥammad ibn Khawlan al-Dimashqi (of Damascus), found on the façade of the ʿAla'eddīn Mosque in Konya. See, Rogers, 1976.

63 All three waqfiyyas are dated to the same year 820 (1418)—the rockcarved inscription and the document also specify the month dhu al-ḥijjah (January). In fact, Hüseyin Hüsameddin in his monograph on his hometown Amasya states that Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya was situated on the ancient neighborhood of "Fūqa," which is reminiscent of the way earlier scholarship had interpreted the name of the architect of non-Muslim origin, namely as Fuqā' Ṭu ʿān. Yaşar, 1935, p. 109 and Tüfekçioğlu, 2001, p. 120, n. 184. Also see above, fn. 29.

64 Analyzed most recently in Kitapçı Bayrı, 2020. The specific role of Amasya is summarized in the introductory sections of Özel, 2016, pp. 20-28. The connectedness of these inner "Pontic" areas under Mongol rule and Bithynia under early Ottoman rule by way of architecture of zāwiyas has been by demonstrated by Emir, 1994, I and II.

ethos. This is inkeeping with the choreography of artists' signatures on the building's façades, with the name of the Damascene master reserved for the zāwiya's visitors, and the names of those with Christian origins displayed in a way that would be visible to the passersby. The intended audience was likely Muslim residents, but the meaning implicated Christian communities. The coupling of Syrian architectural elements with the evocation of *ġāzī* sensibilities may even have been seen as a way of tapping into a similar combination extant in the Mamluk realm: the Mamluks, who had also promoted themselves as "mujāhid against infidels,"[66] were organizing military raids into the Karamanid domains in the late 1410s, coinciding with the years of construction of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya.

This interpretation is complicated by a spoliated Byzantine inscription which is conspicuously placed inside the window on the qibla wall (fig. 10). The inscription mentions Jesus himself being a sanctuary and declares "the place"—which must be in reference to the original context of the inscription—as Eden, with its fragrant flowers and delightful air.[67] The inscription appears to have been reused in its entirety and placed in such a way as to be read. It is too far-fetched to suggest that the audience was expected to read Greek, but the almost matching content of this spoliated inscription and the composite Arabo-Persian verse inscribed on the zāwiya's door is temptingly suggestive of a conscious parallelism. It is possible that Bāyezīd Pasha or some members of the design team were able to read both of the two inscriptions, which refer in their respective languages to the Garden of Eden and utilize the metaphor of a sanctuary. The latter idea, in the case of the door inscription, is conveyed by the word "*dargāh,*" the other meaning of which, "shrine,"

[65] For the symbolism of the gray horse and its significance for the context of medieval Anatolia — with a possible connection to a particular Turkmen tribe known as Bozatlu and connotations of the "rebellion" being rooted in the conflict between the uprooted tribe in search of new territory and the latter's Armenian residents, see Beldiceanu Steinherr, 1998, pp. 105-115. Beldiceanu Steinherr contends that the term "Bābā'ī" used for referring to this group may be the Arabicized form of the Mongol word "Babay," and situates the flight of this Turkmen tribe in the context of a more general uprootedness and movement of people northwest from Syria's border with Anatolia ahead of the impending Mongol raids. See *ibid*, pp. 112-115.

[66] On the capacity of Mamluks as *mujāhidīn* and its impact on the socio-political make-up of Medieval Anatolia, see Peacock and Yıldız, 2016, p. 25.

[67] To my knowledge, this inscription has not been published. It appears to have been discovered during the building's most recent restoration (after 2008) and has since been left exposed. An ongoing dissertation project by İsrafil Mutlu at Erciyes University in Turkey begun in 2017 and entitled "Amasya'da Osmanlı Devri Anıtları (Ottoman Monuments in Amasya)" will reportedly include work on this inscription. I am indebted to Dimitris Loupis for having shared with me his photograph, as well as generously agreeing to read and translate the contents of the inscription: "1-N]AOC O ΥΙΟC ΙΗC(ΟΥC) ΕΔΕΜ ΤΟ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ 2-]ΕΙΚΟΝΙΖΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΘΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΕΩΝ 3-]IC ΩΡΑΙCΜΟΙC ΚΑΜΟΝΑΙC ΗΔΥΠΝΟΟΙC 4-] CΜΟΥ ΜΕΝΟC Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΟCΜΟC ΩΝ ΥΠΕΡΦΕΡ[. 5-]ΩΝ ΤΕ ΠΑCΑΝ ΧΑΡΜΟΝΗΝ ΘΥΜΗΔΙΑΝ"

emphasizes its very placement on the threshold. The relationship between the two inscriptions offers a similar axial connection between the two focal points of the building, namely its door and its qibla wall —akin to that found in the zāwiya of Meḥmed I in Bursa, which I have mentioned above. Elsewhere in the building spolia is not visibly employed.

The conspicuous use of spolia is common in early Ottoman architecture, as it is more generally in medieval Anatolia, but in Bursa, especially under royal patronage, an effort was made to architectonically blend the reused material in a way that was not evocative of its Christian associations. Conspicuously employed spolia, associated generally with *ġāzā* (holy war), were concentrated instead in the newly conquered areas. As such, the spoliated inscription in Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya comes closer to the earlier architectural practices in the Western peripheries of the Ottoman territories.[68] It is noteworthy that the building's plan and overall form, with its flanking spaces subordinated to the bi-partite unit comprising an īwān preceded by a domed ante-space, is also evocative of the Ottoman frontier culture and the ġāzā spirit at a time when its sultanic counterparts in Bursa, against which it was arguably meant to be compared, had taken on a decidedly different form. Bāyezīd I's and Meḥmed I's zāwiyas are arranged according to a four-īwān scheme, in which the main side spaces —here īwāns— are integrated into the central hall and to its adjacent masjid īwān.[69] Unlike these two buildings, Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya belongs to an approach shared in late Byzantine and early Ottoman architectural practice, whereby components of interior spatial divisions are rendered legible from the exterior. In fact, the juxtaposition on Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya of the red and white strips of stone, clearly linked to Syrian *ablaq,* may have also been intended to recall the Byzantine walling technique of *opus mixtum*, of interlaying rows of brick between courses of ashlar. This technique was adopted in early Ottoman architecture and was ubiquitous except for a few buildings of elite patronage, among them, most notably, the zāwiya of Meḥmed with its predominantly Timurid/Turkmen

[68] For a comparable use of spolia outside of Western Anatolia and closer to Amasya, see the fourteenth-century zāwiya complex of Elvān Çelebi, near presentday Çorum. Anderson, 2014 and Durocher, 2018, pp. 253-266. While Anderson argues that the use of spolia in the original fourteenth-century core of the building is "functional," as opposed to the more "representative assemblages" of spolia used in parts of the building that were added in the sixteenth century, he does think that earlier-sixteenth-century observations by Dernschwam of conspicuously used spolia in the original parts of the building are accurate. The spolia mentioned by Dernschwam, among them, mostly remarkably, a Greek inscription exposed on the interior of the prayer space, is no longer extant. Anderson, 2014, pp. 85-90. Elvān Çelebi, the founder of the zāwiya, is most probably the same Elvān Çelebi, who is not only a descendant of Baba Ilyās, the spiritual leader of the Bābā'ī revolt, but also the author of the latter's hagiography.

[69] These buildings belong to a subgroup, which has been identified but not sufficiently explained in scholarship. Ayverdi, 1972, p. 21, Emir, 1991, 1999, 2012b and Kafesçioğlu, 2020, fn. 59 and 100.

references. The way in which the Byzantine inscription in the zāwiya of Bāyezīd Pasha is reused, therefore, differs from the use of spolia in the nearby Ilkhanid-era structures—not only the *bīmārkhāna,* with its barely recognizable spoliated columns, but also Hünç bridge, where the display of the sarcophagus, prominent as it is, constitutes the sole reference to past building traditions. The architecture of Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya, on the other hand, points to an awareness of and an effort to highlight —or, perhaps, revive— specific elements of Amasya's past, likely as a way of advancing a competitive discourse with it.[70]

That the Byzantine inscription appears to have been consciously selected and displayed and that it is decidedly placed inside the building, on its most sacred part, as opposed to on its exterior, suggests an intimate relationship with the Christian content. The reference here may have been to the colonization of Byzantine Bithynia and the Balkans upon their conquest by the Ottomans in the fourteenth century, albeit in a manner that was negotiated with Amasya's long and variegated history of generations of Muslim settlers. For the patron, the builders, and perhaps some of the select visitors of the complex who were converts to Islam, on the other hand, it is plausible that the Christian content of the inscription was valued in and of itself. The choice of the building site next to the Hünç Bridge and to an Armenian church which visibly incorporated late-antique or Byzantine elements, as well as the rockface inscription alluding to the Pontic dynastic tombs must be understood in this context, whereby holy warriorship and a latitudinarian relationship with the local heritage were not antithetical. One can imagine dinner gatherings in this riverside setting, with company such as Constantinopolitan diplomat Theologos, who, according to Doukas, had learned Turkish while serving as magistrate of Alaşehir (Lydian Philadelphia) and befriended Bāyezīd Pasha. He was a "frequent dinner companion" of and an informant for Bāyezīd Pasha (Doukas, 126).

Conclusion

Given careful combination of a diverse crew of builders and decorators and finely executed and varied decoration techniques, it is very likely that Bāyezīd Pasha was actively involved in the design of the architectural edifice he patronized. The building is replete with unique details, such as the number of builders' signatures displayed on its façade, its decorative band of waqfiyya inscription, the evocative inscription program on its gate, the water features on its portico, the latrines in the

[70] This brings to mind the historiographical savviness of later Ottoman architectural practices that are furthered under Meḥmed II after his conquest of Constantinople and as part of his empire-building project. See Ousterhout, 2004 and Kafesçioğlu, 2009. A similarly amplified expression of a discourse with the multifarious past of the built environment is also evident in the spolia that is used abundantly and conspicuously on the portico of the next funerary T-form zāwiya of Yörgüç Pasha built in Amasya about a decade after that of Bāyezīd Pasha.

basement, and the details explained in the copies of its waqfiyya document about lodging, distribution of food, and storage. These idiosyncrasies support the idea that Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya was intended to be an intimate space and was designed to express the cultural identity of its patron.

The building was designed in part with an eye to emulating those of the Ottoman sultans in Bursa. Its qibla axis is highlighted with, on the one hand, an elaborate mihrab and, on the other, an enlarged portico in the manner of those of sultans' zāwiyas. Other key aspects of the building, such as the loggia above its entrance and the decorated built-in cupboards in its side spaces, are also closely affiliated with sultanic zāwiyas and are reminiscent of a palatial idiom. However, with its easily recognizable patent form and its peripheral location away from the city center, Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya is more reminiscent of earlier practice of sultans and their leading military elite sponsoring zāwiyas for urban colonization on the outskirts of conquered cities.

A marker of the onset of Ottoman colonization, its architecture attests to a simultaneous engagement with the past and present that appears truly sophisticated. It brings together hybrid coeval elements that respond to the post-Timurid cross-courtly relations and negotiations, as well as to the needs and expectations of newly settling immigrant communities. The interreferentiality between the inscriptions and functions of the foundations of Bāyezīd Pasha, Yaʿqūb II, and Ibrāhīm II suggest that their patrons and builders were aware of each other's work. At Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya there is an interest in inscribing waqfiyya documents and putting them on public display, recontextualizing Persian poetic formulations, using colorful ashlar as building material and decoration evocative of Syrian/Mamluk idioms, and recruiting and celebrating diverse masters with varied skills and expressions. The multifarious engagement with Christian heritage is remarkable and may have been related, to some extent, to the likely Christian background of Bāyezīd Pasha himself. This engagement ranges from the display of a builder's Christian background by way of a monumental inscription, to the choice of the building site next to the functioning Church of St. Nicholas, to the incorporation of a spoliated Byzantine inscription that resonates on an intertextual level with the larger inscription program. The dual investment in present cultural phenomena and those of the past is rendered more pronounced by an effort to bring the ancient local history to bear on the more recent Christian history of Amasya. The waqfiyya inscribed onto the face of the sacred Mount Harshena recalls Pontic history, while the Armenian church next door is one that had visibly been remodeled from an earlier Byzantine one. The bridge that ties Bāyezīd Pasha's zāwiya to its rockface waqfiyya inscription and Mount Harshena, on the other hand, coincides with the Ilkhanid dominion over the region. The bridge with its ostentatious display of a spoliated sarcophagus is subordinated to the sophisticated assemblage brought about by the complex of Bāyezīd Pasha.

While the funerary project of Bāyezīd Pasha was cut short by the circumstances surrounding his death, his complex combines piety with a more personal palatial idiom that celebrates the landscape around it. Through his zāwiya, he made evident his awareness of the manifold layers of the Christian and ancient past of the city, but in a way that also communicates his desire to be recognized as representative of a new order in the aftermath of a tumultuous period.

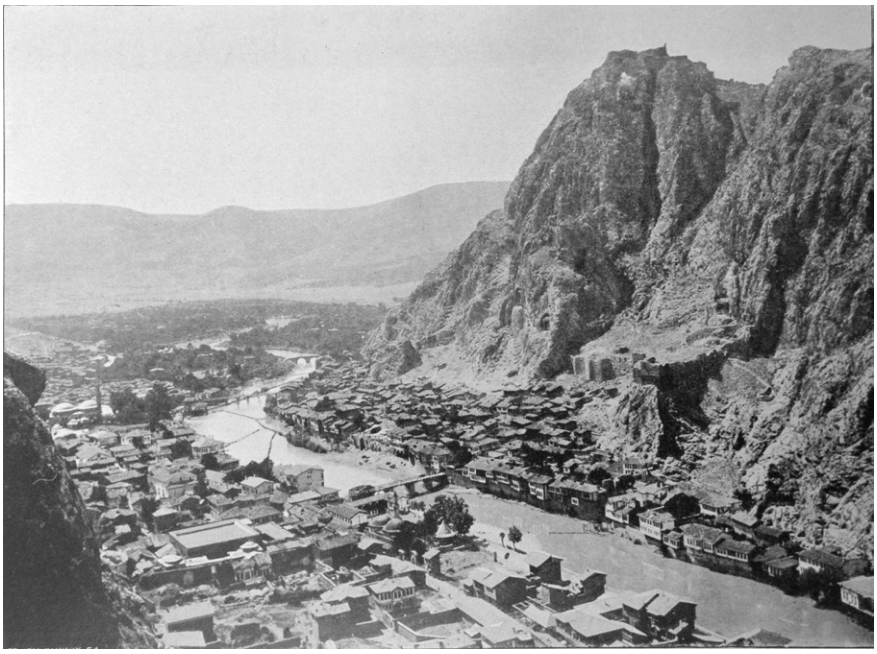

fig. 1. Amasya, view toward west, with tombs of Pontic Kings carved into Mount Harshena seen in the center, original photograph published in Franz Cumont/ Eugène Cumont, Studia Pontica, II, Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie, Bruxelles, 1906, by permission of www.houshamadyan.org

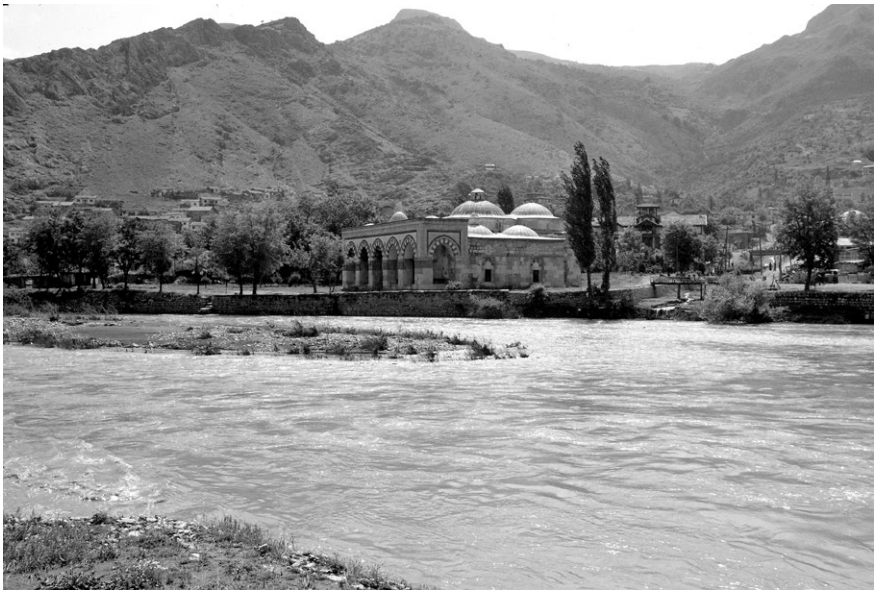

fig. 2. Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya in Amasya, begun 1414, general view looking southeast across Yeşilırmak, photographed in spring flood time 1967 by Walter B. Denny

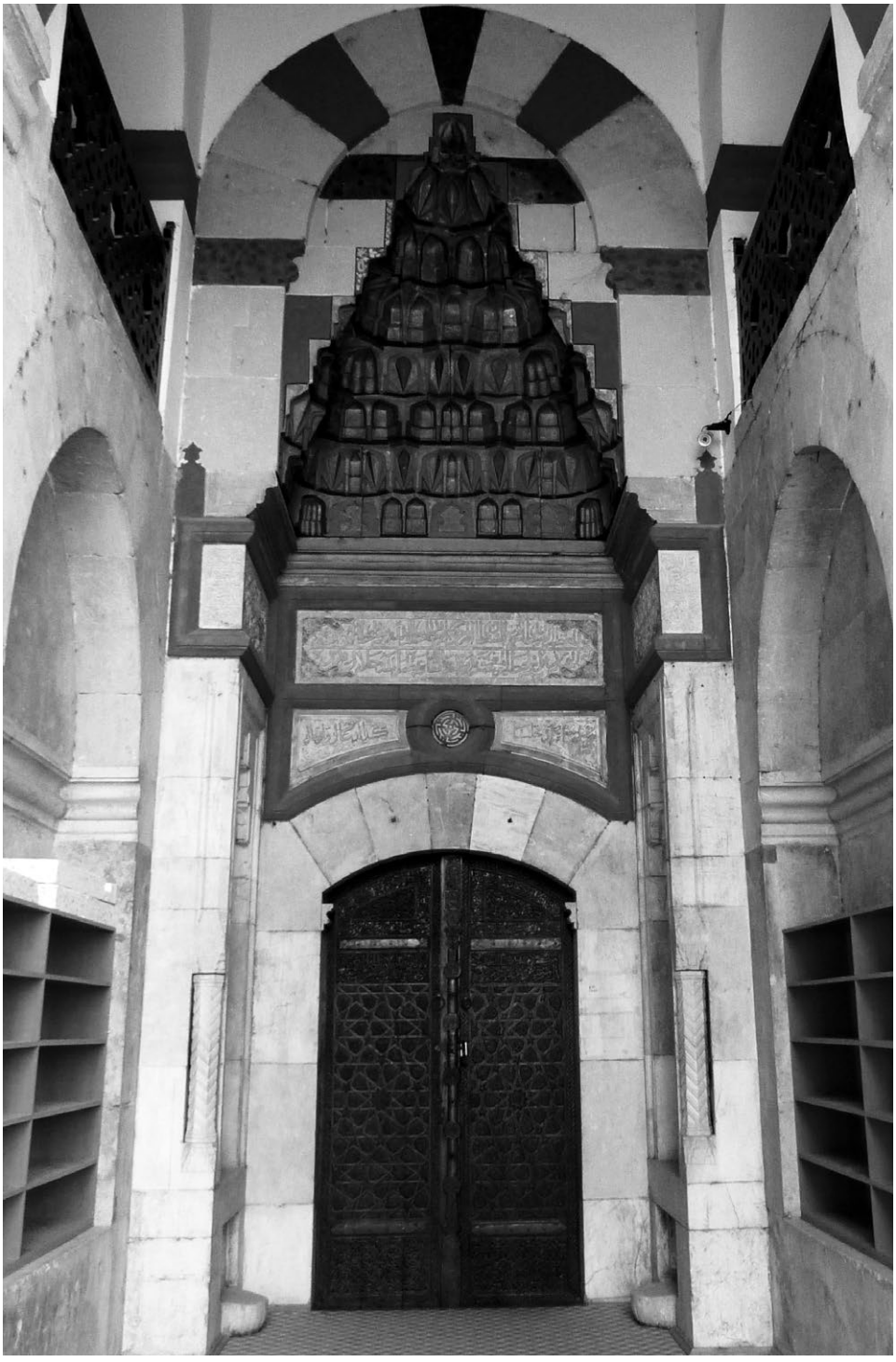

fig. 3. Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya gate, photograph by the author

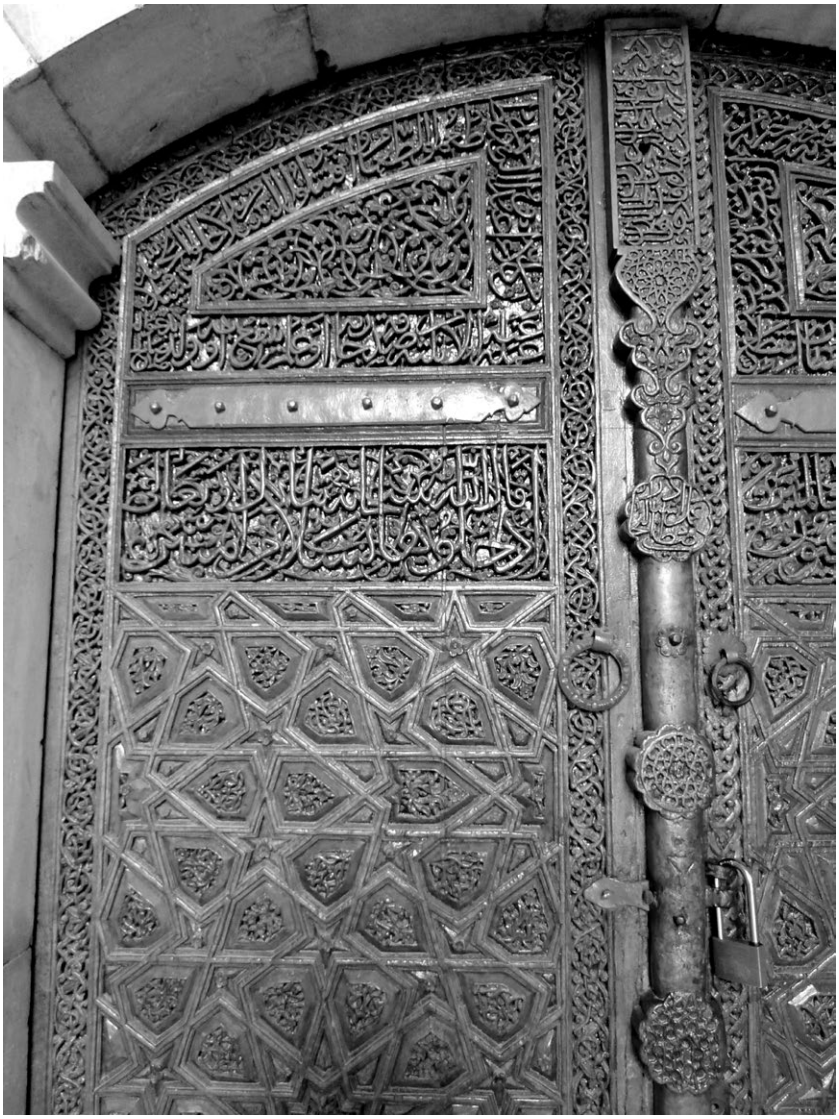

fig. 4. Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya, door panel and inscription detail, photograph by the author

fig. 5. Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya portico, looking south, photograph by the author

fig. 6. Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya, general view from the road, photograph by the author

fig. 7. Hünç Bridge (Kuş Köprü) in Amasya, thirteenth century, with Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya on the right prior to the removal of its added minaret, early twentieth century postcard, by permission of D. Loupis Visual Collection of Islamic Architecture, Athens-Greece

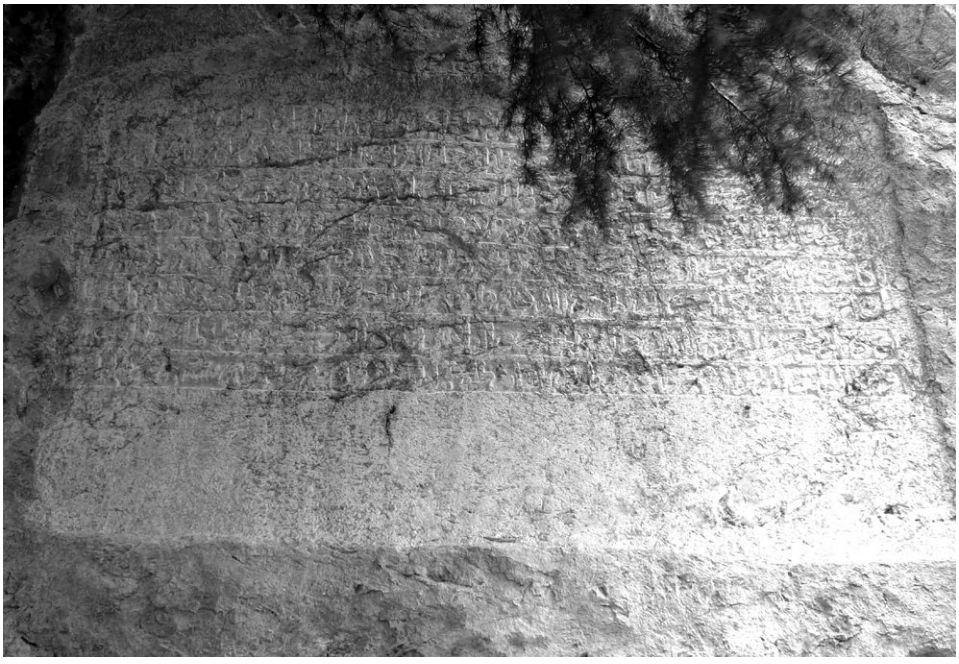

fig. 8. Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya waqfiyya inscription on the face of Mount Harshena, 1418, photograph by the author

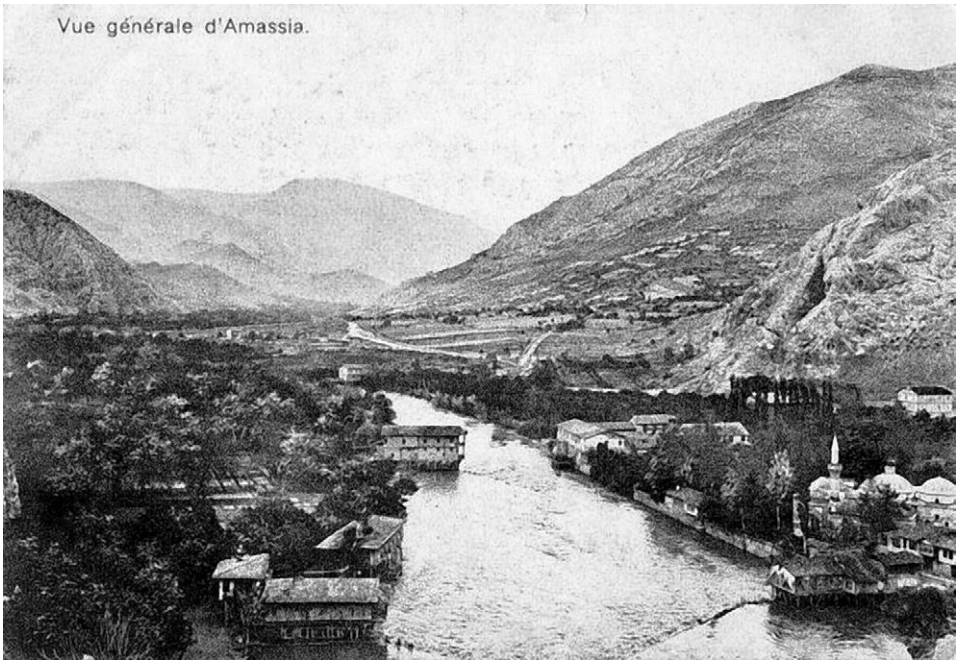

fig. 9. Amasya, view toward northeast, with Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya on the right prior to the removal of its added minaret, from the personal archive and by permission of Sedat Emir

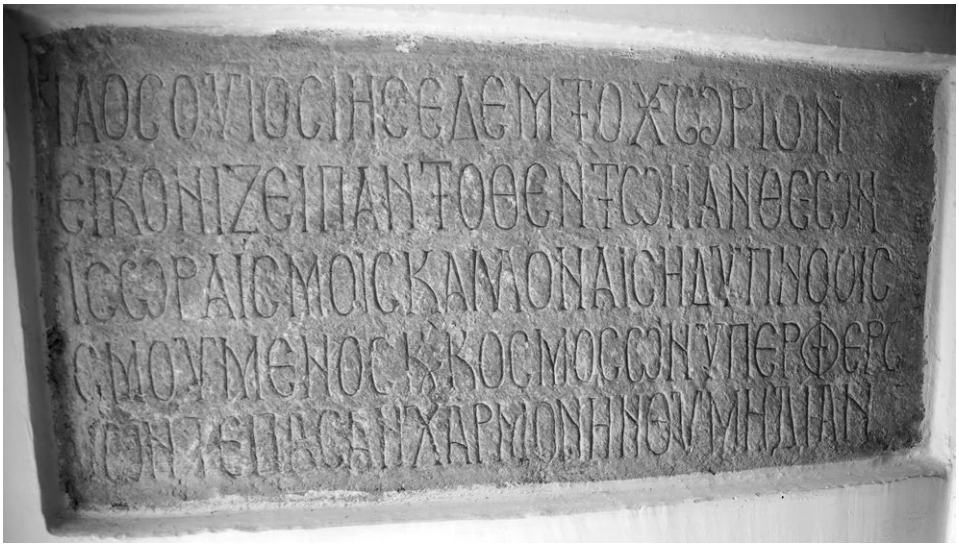

fig. 10. Bāyezīd Pasha zāwiya interior, reused Byzantine inscription detail, photograph by Dimitris Loupis

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