

# Syrian-origin architects around Amasya region in the early 15th century

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## Abstract

Observation of Ottoman architectural activities, in the first half of the fifteenth century in Amasya and its surroundings, traces of Syrian-origin architects are found. The inscriptions dated 1414, in the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya in Amasya and in the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa in Merzifon, a town located near Amasya, concludes that the architect of these structures is Abu Bakr ibn Muhammed, son of whom known as Ibn al-Mushaimish ad Dimishqi, who has a Damascus origin. The inscriptions of the zawiya built in Ankara by Karacabey in the following ten years, conclude that the architect of this structure is Abu Bakr's son, Ahmed. These facts, give the idea of the family being active in the architectural activities in the area, in the early fifteenth century. Among the monumental structures built in the surroundings, like the Haliliye Madrasa in Gümüş, the Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya in Amasya, the Mustafa Bey Imaret in Havza and the Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya in Osmancık, several details are found that exist only in Abu Bakr's structures. These traces infer that Abu Bakr and Ahmed had a role in the construction of these structures.

This research, observing the architectural activities in Amasya and surroundings in the fifteenth century, aims to trace of Abu Bakr, his son Ahmed and the masters accompanying them.

## Keywords

Early Ottoman Architecture, Ottoman Architects, Amasya, Mehmed I, Bayezid Pasha, Yörgüç Pasha, Abu Bakr, Ahmed.

Information regarding the 14th and early 15th century Ottoman architects is intensely inadequate. In fact, the only extant information on the Early Ottoman architects is their names. Apart from several contemporary chronicles which somehow state the name of the architect of a significant royal monument, inscriptions are the only sources with regard to the names of Early Ottoman architects, found in the art and architecture literature. Taking into account that numerous Early Ottoman monuments do not have an inscription, the ones that have an inscription involving an architect or artist's name are very important in terms of the history of architecture.

Only thirty two of the monuments built by Ottoman patrons between the years 1324-1445, have inscriptions stating the name of the architect, builder or artists (Gündüz Küskü: 2014: 107-108). Despite the fact that the inscriptions include limited information about the people who were in charge in the construction process, the zawiya built by Bayezid Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Mehmed I (Çelebi Sultan Mehmed) in Amasya, with the five inscriptions recording five different architects and/or artists' names, calls attention with the excessive information as Goodwin (2012: 98) states. The Arabic inscriptions on the zawiya state the names of Abu Bakr ibn Muhammed (Abu Bakr, son of Muhammed), Zayn ad-Din ibn Zakariya (Zayn ad-Din, son of Zakariya), Fuka Togan ibn Abdullah (Fuka Togan, son of Abdullah), Yaqub ibn Abdullah (Yaqub, son of Abdullah) and Mustafa, the carpenter.

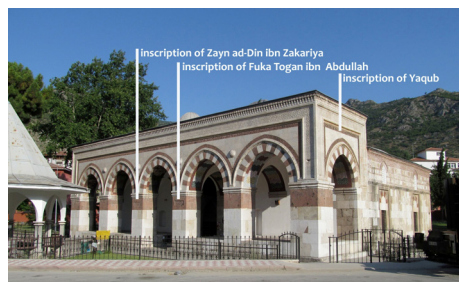
The construction inscription above the main door announces that the zawiya was built in 1414 by "the great emir, precious and honorable vizier Bayezid Pasha" (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001: 116-118). On either side, there exist other inscriptions stating that the architect of the zawiya is Abu Bakr ibn Muhammed al-ma'ruf bi ibn Mushaimish ad-Dimishqî; "Built by poor slave al-Mu'allim Abû Bakr, in need of mercy of almighty God, son of Muhammad who is known as the son of Mushaimish of Damascus" (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001: 116-118) (Figure 1). Above the wooden door, there is the inscription of the



**Figure 1.** The inscriptions above the entrance door of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya.

carpenter Ustadh Mustafa en-Najjâr (Master Mustafa, the Carpenter). The inscriptions of Zayn ad-Din, Fuka Togan and Yaqub are above the last prayer hall. Zayn ad-Din is mentioned with the title "al-mu'allim" that is used by Abu Bakr as well as; "Poor slave, Zayn ad-Din, al-mu'allim, son of Zakariya worked in this building". Fuka Togan, who used the title "mimar" (means "architect" in modern Turkish), characterized himself as the former slave of Bayezid Pasha; "Fuka Togan son of Abd'ullah, freeman of Bayezid Pasha". As for Yaqub, who used the same title as Fuka Togan is mentioned as the slave of Bayezid Pasha; "The architect of this part is Yaqub, son of Abdullah, one of the slaves of Bayezid Pasha may God enrich his pride and make his wishes come true" (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001: 116-118) (Figure 2).

The inscriptions are suggestive about the staff who took part in the building process. Togan and Yaqub, who are mentioned as "ibn Abdullah" (son of Abdullah), were probably converts. In the Ottoman *devşirme* (recruit) system names starting with Arabic prefix "abd" (slave/creature) that refers to a non-muslim descent, were used instead of the real fathers' name of converted Christian children (Goodwin, 2008: 37). Abdullah (means the slave/creature of God), was the most popular among these names. References about the slavery of Fuka Togan and Yaqub strengthen the assumption of their non-muslim descent. Probably, Zayn ad-Din, whose father's name is an Islamic name, Zachariah, was of Muslim-descent.



**Figure 2.** The inscriptions above the last prayer hall of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya.

Among all the others, the most informative inscription on the zawiya belongs to Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad. According to the information, Abu Bakr's father Muhammad was the son of Mushaimish of Damascus. This indicates that Abu Bakr comes from a Syria-origin, Muslim family.

Competent men in construction are mentioned with the title "*al-mu'allim*" in the 15th century Mamluk (Egypt-Syria) architecture (Behrens-Abu Saif, 1995: 296). Abu Bakr's motivation for using the title "*al-mu'allim*" should correlate with his Syrian-origin, in other words, with his relations with the Mamluk world. Zayn ad-Din, who used the same title as Abu Bakr, could be of Syrian-origin as well. It is not possible to prove that Zayn ad-Din had Syrian-origin. However, there was at least one architect of Syrian-origin architect, Abu Bakr, who took part in the construction process of the zawiya.

Hüseyin Hüsameddin (Yaşar), who was the author of the twelve volumes city history, *Amasya Tarihi*, states that the Mamluk rebels, who were against Sultan Barquq's reign, had to migrate after his success in getting the crown back and some of them came to Amasya and settled at the quarter called *Şamlar* (*Şamlılar*) *Mahallesi* (Yaşar, 2007: 85). *Şamlar Mahallesi* is located right at the opposite side of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya, on the other side of the river Yeşilirmak. The zawiya is connected to *Şamlar Mahallesi* with a bridge across the Yeşilirmak. The summary of the endowment of Bayezid Pasha dedicated to the zawiya, which is displayed on the last prayer hall of the structure, was carved on a rock surface in the *Şamlar Mahallesi* bank of the Yeşilirmak near by the bridge, as well (Yardım, 2004:

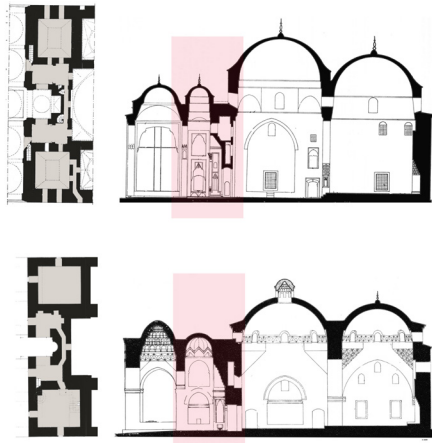
9-25). These Arabic texts presented in open public space, probably address the Syrian immigrants, who could easily understand Arabic. The relation of the zawiya with *Şamlar Mahallesi* and Syrian immigrants living there was remarkable within the context of the inscription of the Syrian-origin architect Abu Bakr above the front door of the zawiya. This suggests that Abu Bakr could have been a second-generation immigrant living in *Şamlar Mahallesi*.

However, historical and architectural data indicates that Abu Bakr, who was assigned by Bayezid Pasha to build his zawiya, was not an architect residing in Amasya. According to Kuban (2007: 152), structures like the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya point out the presence of a strong tradition of architecture in the region in the early 15th century. In fact, architectural activities around Amasya were very rare throughout the 14th century. The latest monumental structures built in Amasya before Ottoman reign were funded by post-Anatolian Seljuk elites and Mongolid/Ilkhanid governors in the beginning of the 14th century. Mehmed I, who retreated to Amasya after the Battle of Ankara in 1402, Bayezid Pasha and Ottoman elite did not build any monumental structures through the Interregnum Period (1402-1413) following the battle.

The Ottoman elite started to finance architectural activities after the Interregnum Period. This was related to the economic circumstances of the period. Mehmed I and his viziers acquired power to fund architectural activities after eliminating the other heirs to the throne. Nevertheless, lack of architectural activities could not be explained only by the economic circumstances.

The monumental features of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya indicate that Abu Bakr and the others who took part in the construction process had to be experienced people. Architectural inactivity around the Amasya region during the 14th century, leads to think that the builders and masters who were experienced enough to build such a monumental building were not locals. Moreover, the plan scheme and details that had not been applied before around the Amasya region show that the architecture of the zawiya differs





**Figure 3.** The upper floor plan and section of the Yıldırım Zawiya and the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya (drawings are base on Ayverdi).

from the local architectural dynamics.

The Bayezid Pasha Zawiya with a zawiya mosque or reverse T-plan scheme, that was prevalent in Bursa, is almost identical to the Yıldırım Zawiya's entrance with its features, such as the eyvan and the vestibule in the upper floor, behind the portal connecting the two loggias opening to the entrance eyvans (Figure 3).

The wall surfaces of the tabhanas (additional rooms) are fitted with ornate plaster niches which are similar to the ones in Yıldırım and Yeşil Zawiya in Bursa. Yıldırım, Yeşil and Bayezid Pasha Zawiya are the only structures which have this kind of plaster niches (Gündüz Küskü, 2014: 270) (Figure 4). The resemblances between the structures suggest that Abu Bakr and the other builders were familiar with the Yıldırım Zawiya. As for details, the loop motif (associated with Zengid [or Atabegs] architectural tradition in Syria and Iraq) and the *polychrome* stacked arches that are identified with the Syrian architectural tradition (Öney, 1989: 30-31) were primarily used in the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya around Amasya. These traditional Syrian architectural details must have been the personal preference of Abu Bakr who was of Syrian-origin.

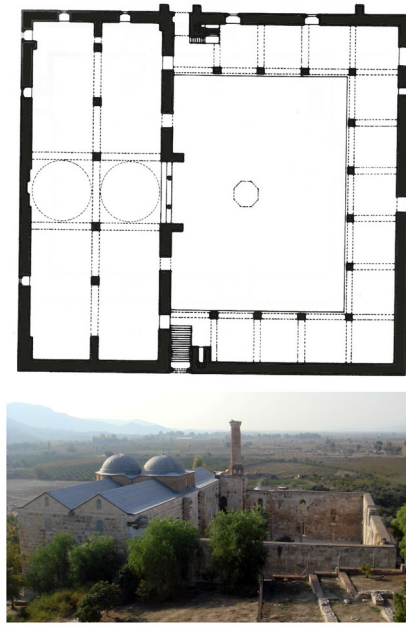
The lack of architectural experience around the Amasya region in the early 15th century, details in the structure which were used for the first time around and the direct relation of the plan scheme with the Bursa examples indicate that Abu Bakr who had enough



**Figure 4.** The plaster niches of the Yıldırım, Bayezid and Yeşil Zawiya.

experience to build such a structure like the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya, must have been sent to Amasya from Bursa region. Thus, Abu Bakr must have gained experience on construction to build such a structure in some earlier constructions around Western part of Anatolia.

Away from Amasya, in Western Anatolia, in Selçuk (Ayasuluk), the mosque of the Aydınoğlu governor İsa Bey draws attention with its architect. According to the inscription of the mosque, the architect is "*Alî bin Mushaimish ad-Dimishqî*" (Mayer, 1956: 54). Ali, who described himself as the son of Mushaimish of Damascus must have been a brother of Abu Bakr's father Muhammad, in other words, Abu Bakr's uncle (Sönmez, 1995: 404; Gündüz Küskü, 2014: 98-99). This indicates that the descendants of Mushaimish of Damascus, the Ibn Mushaimish family, had a great deal of architectural experience (Sönmez, 1995: 404).



**Figure 5.** *İsa Bey Mosque, plan and view from the east.*

The plan scheme of the İsa Bey Mosque is based on the plan scheme of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus (Figure 5). Reproducing the same plan scheme indicates that Ali, the architect, was aware of the Umayyad Mosque, in other words, the family came to Anatolia in those years. Consequently, the Aydınoğlu territory was the first stop of the Ibn Mushaimish family. The family members, who had not left Anatolia, must have worked in different constructions afterwards. However, there is no other record belonging to the family members between the years 1375-1414, in other words, from the İsa Bey Mosque to the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya.

Several structures of Syrian architecture influence constructed in the Western Anatolian Principalities and Ottoman territory between the years 1375-1414 are discussed in history of art and architecture studies with the impact of Syrian architecture. The Firuz Bey Zawiya in Milas (1396) and the İlyas Bey Mosque in Balat (1404) in South West Anatolia are remarkable with elaborated stone carvings and their decoration program are the most prominent structures within the context of their connections with Syrian architecture traditions (Aktuğ-Kolay, 1999: 126; Durukan, 1988: 20, Goodwin, 2012: 39; Arel, 2011: 73; Tanman,

2011: 90; Gündüz Küskü, 2014: 208-210). At this time, stonework in architecture also progressed in North West Anatolia, in the Ottoman territory. The Yeşil Mosque in İzmit (1378-1392), the Yıldırım Zawiya in Bursa (1395-1400) and the Bursa Ulu Mosque (Great Mosque of Bursa), that are significant with marble covered facades and stone carvings, just as the İsa Bey Mosque, the Firuz Bey Zawiya and the İlyas Bey Mosque, have been discussed with some details related to traditional Syrian architecture (Çelik, 1995: 558-559; Tanman, 1999: 87; Özbek, 2002: 188).

The details on the structures that attracted the attention of researchers with their connections with Syrian architectural traditions must have been the works of Syrian masters who have worked with Alî bin Mushaimish ad-Dimishqî in İsa Bey Mosque. Besides, there exist examples of individuals or groups of masters and builders who moved in Anatolia and worked for different patrons in several cities.

For instance, the minbar of the Bursa Ulu Mosque is the work of Hacı Mehmed who was from Antep, a South-Eastern Anatolian city. Hacı Mehmed must have attracted Sultan Bayezid I's attention during the Ottoman conquest of Manisa. Before being assigned by Bayezid I for the minbar in 1399, he had worked for the governor of the Saruhan Principality and constructed the minbar of Manisa Ulu Mosque (Great Mosque of Manisa) in 1376 (Aslanapa, 1977: 25; Sönmez, 1995: 40, 352). Considering the career of Hacı Mehmed from Antep to Manisa and Bursa, it is assumed that experienced and reputed masters as him were preferred by patrons. The career of tile masters coming from Tabriz and worked in several cities in Anatolia reminds Hacı Mehmed's career. After being commissioned for the tile decoration of Mehmed I's Yeşil Complex in Bursa, masters of Tabriz were assigned to constructions by several patrons in Edirne, Kütahya and Larende (Keskin, 2013: 445-465). Members of the Ibn Mushaimish family and the masters related to them must also have worked in several cities in West Anatolian Principalities and Ottoman territories. Apparently, Bayezid Pasha assigned Abu



Bakr, whose family was experienced in architecture and sent him to Amasya to build the zawiya.

The couplet in Arabic placed above the main door arch at the entrance of the zawiya states “*We have come here, then we left. The world (the life) is like that, you come and you go*”. At first sight, this couplet that can be associated with the Syrian-origin architects and builders is similar to the Persian couplet on the mihrab of Yeşil Zawiya, identifying the tile masters from Tabriz who have made it. The couplet on both sides of the loop motif associated with the Zengid tradition, which is one of the most apparent components of Syrian impact and identifies the Syrian-origin architect and/or masters who worked in the construction, can be a hint indicating that they had come to Amasya to built the zawiya and might have left after completing the structure.

In fact, there is some evidence indicating that some of those who worked in the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya left the Amasya region afterwards. The serrated bricks and zig zag motifs on the arches of the last prayer hall of the Orhan Zawiya in Bursa restored in 1417 by Bayezid Pasha on the order of Mehmed I (Figure 6) and the serrated bricks, zig zag and polychrome stacked arches of the mosque built by Mehmed I in Didymoteicho in 1420 is regarded as Syrian architectural impact (Tanman, 1999: 83-85) (Figure 7). The name of Togan ibn Abdullah is found in the inscription of the mosque. Togan ibn Abdullah may be the same architect who had his own inscription on the facade of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya's last prayer hall (Ayverdi, 1989: 150). Togan ibn Abdullah (and some of the builders too) who have worked for Bayezid Pasha, must have returned and been assigned to projects in Bursa and Didymoteicho after completing their work in Amasya.

On the other hand, considering the contemporaneous architectural production around Amasya, some of the builders who worked in Bayezid Pasha Zawiya, stayed and took part in some other constructions. In the same years as the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya, the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed (Mehmed I) Madrasa in Merzifon, a town near Amasya



**Figure 6.** Zig zag motifs on arches of the last prayer hall of Orhan Zawiya.



**Figure 7.** Mosque of Mehmed I in Didymoteicho.

was constructed. According to the inscription, the architect of the madrasa was Abu Bakr as well; “*Abû Bakr son of Muhammad Hamza al- Mushaimish, God gives him mercy in both two worlds, started to build this honorable madrasa*” (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001: 124).

There is not any other monument except the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya and Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa which have an inscription referring to Abu Bakr as its architect. However, Abu Bakr's name was cited again as the father of the architect in the inscription of the Karacabey Zawiya in Ankara which was built in 1427/1428 (Ayverdi, 1989: 262), a few years after the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya and Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa were completed. The Karacabey Zawiya, that is the only example of Bursa tradition reverse T-plan scheme in Ankara, was built by

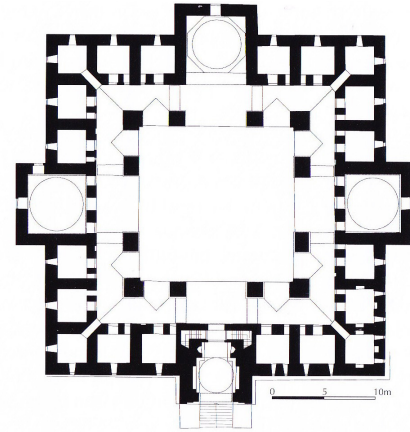
architect Ahmed, who was Abu Bakr's son (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001: 245).

Ahmed's work in Ankara, after few years, suggests that the family had been around Central Anatolia region and took part in the architectural production. In fact, the influence of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya and Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa can be observed in the monumental structures built in the region in the first half of 15<sup>th</sup> century. There are some similar influences resemblance in the monumental structures such as Haliliye (or Halil Pasha) Madrasa (1413-1415) in Gümüş, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Hammam and Murad II Mosque (1426/1427) in Merzifon, Mustafa Bey Imaret (1429/1430) in Havza, Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya (1430) in Amasya and Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya (1430/1431) in Osmancık in the region.

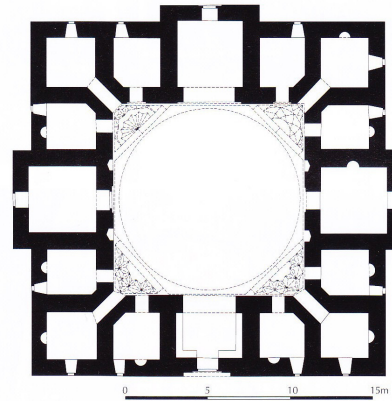
For instance, even if there is no inscription, the hammam (bath) near the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa in Merzifon, must have been built by Abu Bakr, as well. Moreover, the entrance door's *polychrome* stacked arch resembles the contemporaneous ones in Abu Bakr's other implementations which appeared primarily in his structures in the Amasya region.

The Haliliye Madrasa in the village of Gümüş near Merzifon reminds Abu Bakr's works. The central plan scheme of the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa can be interpreted as the preferences of Abu Bakr (Kuban, 2007: 151) (Figure 8). The Haliliye Madrasa reproduces the central plan scheme of the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa (Figure 9). The main component distinguishing the two madrasas is Haliliye's atrium which was covered by a dome. The masonry bond of walls, window mouldings and *polychrome* stacked window arches of Haliliye is similar to the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa (Özbek, 2002: 505-519) (Figure 10).

The name of Muhammed, who was mentioned as *mimar* (architect) on Turkish inscription above the southern window of the madrasa states; "Muhammed, who had served to Kadi Bey (Halil Pasha), was the *mimar* (architect)" (Tüfekçioğlu, 2001: 128). It is not clear who Muhammed was and what was his role in the construction



**Figure 8.** Plan of the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa (Kuban, 2007).



**Figure 9.** Plan of the Haliliye Madrasa (Kuban, 2007).



**Figure 10.** The masonry bond of walls, window mouldings and polychrome stacked window arches of the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed and Haliliye Madrasas.

process. With regard to the location of the inscription, he must have been one of the builders who worked in the building. According to the inscriptions stating Abu Bakr's name in Amasya and Merzifon, his father's name is Muhammed. It would be an exceedingly optimistic approach to claim that Muhammed, who is cited in the inscription at Gümüş could be Abu Bakr's

father. However, the relations can be discussed between these contemporaneous two madrasas which were built only 20 kilometers away from each other is questionable. According to contemporaneous Ottoman land registration records, it can be concluded that Gümüş was a very small settlement (387 Numaralı..., 1997: 29; Gürbüz, 1993: 91-94). The demographical circumstances of Gümüş support the fact that there could not have been such qualified builders who could build a monument like the Haliliye Madrasa. Most probably, the builders and masters, have worked in Merzifon, took part in constructions in Gümüş as well.

Throughout the reign of Murad II, son and successor of Mehmed I, the Amasya region was governed by his *lala* (tutor/advisor) Yörgüç Pasha. Governing Amasya between the years 1421-1442 and fighting with local feudals, Yörgüç Pasha stabilized the Ottoman dominance around Amasya and enjoyed wealth and political power. With the economic power Yörgüç Pasha had gained as the result of his political success, he and his family became one of the most significant regional patrons of Ottoman architecture, with the monuments they commissioned in several cities such as Amasya, Tokat, Havza, Gümüş, İskilip, Kavak, Vezirköprü. Yörgüç Pasha, himself, commissioned a complex consisting of a zawiya including his tomb and a madrasa (Yaşar, 2007: 184; Şimşirgil, 1995: 466). According to his endowment, Yörgüç Pasha allocated a han (commercial building), several shops and a hammam in Amasya, a han and a hammam in Tokat and a hammam in İskilip to maintain this complex (Toruk, 2006: 19-22; Şimşirgil, 1995: 468-469). Moreover, he commissioned mosques in Havza, Gümüş, Kavak and Vezirköprü (Ayverdi, 1989: 495-497, 512, 570; Toruk, 2005: 113-118; Şimşirgil, 1995: 467-468). Şahbula Hatun, his wife, commissioned a masjid, a mekteb (elementary school) and a fountain in Amasya (Yaşar, 2007: 87; Ayverdi, 1989: 266; Gürbüz, 1993: 213). Mustafa Bey, his son, commissioned a hammam in Amasya, and an imaret and a hammam in Havza (Ayverdi, 1989: 228-230, 497-503).

According to the original inscriptions of Amasya Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya, Tokat Yörgüç Pasha Hammam and Havza Mustafa Bey Imaret and the endowments (waqf records/vaqfiyas), the architectural activities of the family gained momentum especially in the 1430s. The architectural production spreading to the significant settlements of the region such as Amasya, Tokat, Havza, Gümüş, Kavak, Vezirköprü and İskilip shows that there were a group of builders working for Yörgüç Pasha's family. Same builders must also have been assigned in these contemporaneous structures, built in the nearby settlements.

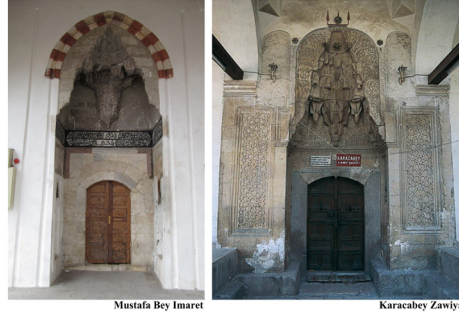
The impact of contemporaneous structures constructed by Abu Bakr and his son, Ahmed can be observed in the Mustafa Bey Imaret and Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya, distinguished with their monumentalities among all the structures commissioned by Yörgüç Pasha's family. The arches of the Mustafa Bey Imaret, constructed in 1429/1439, resembles the ones in Abu Bakr's Bayezid Pasha Zawiya and Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa; the surrounding arch over the portal, the arches of the window and the entrance door of the room located on the north-east side and the arches of the doors of tabhanas are all polychrome stacked (Figure 11). At the Mustafa Bey Imaret, there is a huge stalactite hanging downwards, in the middle of the muqarnas of the portal. The portal organization with a huge stalactite was not prevalent in the first half of the 15th century except for two examples apart from the Mustafa Bey Imaret; the Old Mosque (Eski Cami) in Edirne and the Karacabey Zawiya in Ankara (Çakmak, 2001: 40). The portal organization of the Mustafa Bey Imaret resembles the one in the Karacabey Zawiya, constructed by Abu Bakr's son Ahmed in 1426/1427, rather than the Old Mosque (Figure 12).

The second example of the reverse T-plan scheme or Bursa type in Amasya, the Yörgüç Paşa Zawiya attracts attention with its monumentality. The walls of the zawiya are covered with ashlar/cut stones and marble, like the contemporaneous monumental buildings such as the Selçuk İsa Bey Mosque, the Milas Firuz Bey Zawiya,





**Figure 11.** The door and window of the room located in the north-east side of Mustafa Bey Imaret.

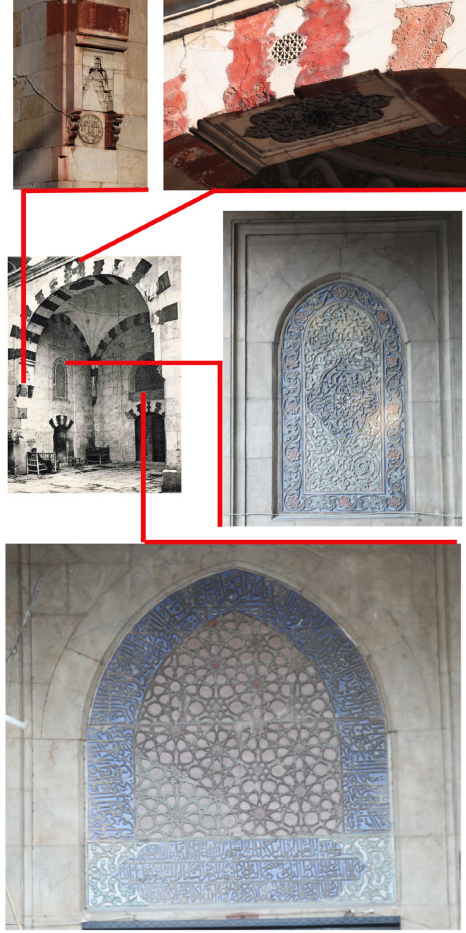


**Figure 12.** The Portals of the Mustafa Bey Imaret and the Karacabey Zawiya.



**Figure 13.** Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya.

the Balat İlyas Bey Mosque, the İznik Yeşil Mosque, the Bursa Yıldırım and the Yeşil Zawiya (Figure 13). These marble covered facades ornamented with *polychrome* stacked arches are identified with Syrian tradition (Batur, 1974: 73; Öney, 1989: 30-31; Gündüz Küskü, 2014: 231). Monumentality is supported with the floral and geometric patterns of the stone carvings. The meticulously done stone carvings on panels above the main entrance door and the door of the room located on the north-east side are reminiscent of the compositions on the last prayer hall facades of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya and the panels on either side of the main entrance door of the Karacabey Zawiya (Figure 14).



**Figure 14.** Stone carvings in the entrance ivan of the Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya.

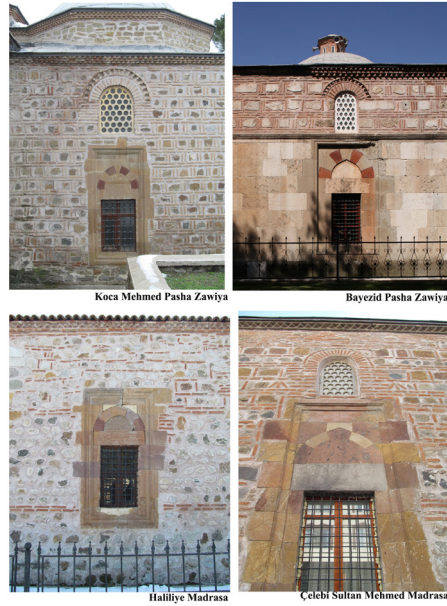
The Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya, located in the town of Osmaniye near Amasya, is another example of Bursa type or reverse T-plan scheme, contemporaneous with the Mustafa Bey Imaret and the Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya. Constructed in 1430/1431, the Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya reminds of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya even though it is not as monumental (Figure 15). Especially, the window order of the Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya repeats that of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya. The polychrome stacked arches of the entrance door and windows, the moulding of the bottom windows and the masonry of the Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya resemble that of the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa and Haliliye Madrasa as well (Özbek, 2002: 519) (Figure 16). The composition of the frame surrounding the inscription of the zawiya reminds of the ones in the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya, the Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya and the Mustafa Bey Imaret (Çakmak, 2001: 65). The wooden



**Figure 15.** Bayezid Pasha Zawiya and Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya.

door of the zawiya, representing the same technical and decorative programme with the doors of Bayezid Pasha Zawiya and Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa, in composition, is a variation of them (Bozer, 292-293; Çerkez, 2005: 510) (Figure 17). The composition and decoration programme of the mihrab of the zawiya has similarities with the mihrab of the Murad II Mosque in Merzifon (Çerkez, 2005: 508). All these connections of the Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya with contemporaneous structures in Amasya region suggest that, it, too, was constructed by the same group of builders.

Hüseyin Hüsameddin Yaşar (2007: 86), author of the *Amasya Tarihi*, informs that the Şamice (*Shâmîje*) Mahallesi, one of the quarters of Amasya, took its name from a famous architect who lived there. The architect, Shams ad-din Ahmed ash Shâmî, who was known as *Shâmîje* lived there till 1452/1453. He built and endowed a masjid, fountain and mekteb in the quarter where he lived (Yaşar, 2007: 86). Supporting such constructions, he must have been a wealthy person. This suggests that he had worked in several constructions as an architect. However, there is not any record on any monument referring to him as the architect.



**Figure 16.** The masonry and window mouldings of the Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya, Bayezid Pasha Zawiya, Haliliye Madrasa and Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa.



**Figure 17.** Timber entrance doors of the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya, the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa and the Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya.

As a famous architect, he must have taken part in contemporaneous constructions as the Mustafa Bey Imaret, the Yörgüç Pasha Zawiya and the Koca Mehmed Pasha Zawiya.

Karacabey Zawiya in Ankara (Figure 18), built by Abu Bakr's son Ahmed is contemporaneous with these structures, as well. On the inscription above the entrance of zawiya, Ahmed defines himself as master with a Persian term "*Ustadh*". This indicates that he was an experienced person who probably was assigned to several structures before. In history of Architecture literature, Ahmed is acknowledged as *Ustadh Sinan ad-din Ahmed* (Mübarek Galib, 1928: 25; Ayverdi, 1989: 262; Demiriz, 1979: 205; Sönmez, 1995: 416; Özbek, 2002: 400; Gündüz Küskü, 2014: 108).





Figure 18. Ankara Karacabey Zawiya.

Mayer (1956: 124), who studied Islamic architects, refers to him as “*Ustadh Sinan (?) bin Ahmed*”.

In researches quoting the inscription, the readings vary, especially the adjectives describing Ahmed. Konyalı (1943: 7) and Aslanoğlu (1998: 21) in their monographs on the Karacabey Zawiya, record the adjectives describing Ahmed as “*Ustadh ibni Ustadh*”. In his monograph on the inscriptions of early Ottoman Architecture, Tüfekçioğlu (2001: 245) draws attention on the differences between the readings of the inscription and the difficulty on reading it. In agreement with Konyalı and Aslanoğlu, Tüfekçioğlu records the inscription as;

عمل هذه العماره الشرافه  
المبار كه استاد ابن استاد  
احمد ابن ابو بكر المشيمس المعلم  
العلم الى... ال... داد

Transcription of the inscription:  
“*Amile hâZihi'l-‘imârete’sh-sherafete  
‘l-moubâreketete ustâdh ibn ustâdh  
Ahmed ibn Abû Bakr al-Mushaimish  
al-Mu’allim  
Al-‘ilm ilâ ... el-...dâd*”

English translation:  
“*This honorable, sacred Imaret was  
built by the son of Master, Master ,  
(ustadh ibn ustadh) Ahmed, the son of  
Abû Bakr al-Mushaimish al-Mu’allim*”

Analysis of the inscription by Tüfekçioğlu with modern methods reveals that the titles referring to Ahmed is not “*Üstâdh Sinan ad-din*” or “*Ustâdh Sinan (?) bin*”, but “*Ustadh ibn Ustadh*” (Eng.tra.: master, son of master). Ahmed, whose father was an architect as well, had a valid reason to mention himself as “*Ustadh ibn Ustadh*”.

In his encyclopedically work, *Bursa Kütüğü*, which is based on the court records (*Şer’iyye Sicilleri*) and contains information about numbers of people who lived in Bursa, Kamil Kepecioğlu (2009: 108), who did research in Ottoman archive documents calls attention to the fact that certain nicknames were given to people with specific names. According to Kepecioğlu, *Sinan ad-din* was a nickname given to the people whose name was *Yusuf*, the people, whose name was *Ahmed*, were called with the nickname *Shams ad-din*. The correlation between the names and nicknames reminds of Shams ad-din Ahmed who was recorded in *Amasya Tarihi*.

Shams ad-din Ahmed was referred to with title “*ash Shâmi*” which means he is from Sham. In the Arab culture world, the Damascus region was called as Sham. However, in the Ottoman world (and in modern Turkey as well), the term “*Sham (Şam)*” only refers to the city of Damascus (Hartmann, 1979: 306). The title, “*ash Shâmi*”, given to Shams ad-din Ahmed, means his family origin is from the city of Damascus, like Abu Bakr and his son Ahmed.

Historical data, indicating that both had Damascus origins, had the same name, lived and worked in the same period in the same region and the resemblances between the Karacabey Zawiya and the contemporary structures in Amasya region suggest that Shams ad-din Ahmed who was mentioned by Hüseyin Hüsameddin is the son of Abu Bakr.

The history of architecture data predicating on the resemblances between the monuments constructed in the first half of the 15th century in the Amasya region, the inscriptions in Amasya, Merzifon and Ankara and the records in *Amasya Tarihi* indicate that architects Abu Bakr and his son Ahmed had crucial roles in the architectural production around. They were members of a family whose ancestor Mushaimish was from Damascus, Syria. The family that should be called *Ibn Mushaimish* (the sons of Mushaimish), moved to Anatolia in the second half of the fourteenth century (Figure 19). Ali, the uncle of Abu Bakr, was an architect like his nephew and his son and



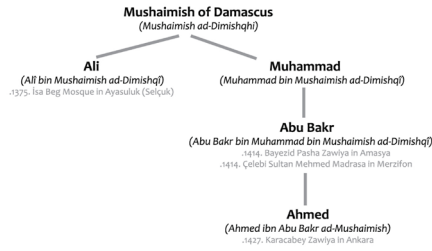


Figure 19. The Ibn Mushaimish Family.



Figure 20. Map of the cities where the cited monuments are located.

built a mosque in Selçuk, the capital of a Western Anatolian Principality, in 1375.

Before coming the Amasya region to construct the Bayezid Pasha Zawiya and the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Madrasa in 1414, Abu Bakr, who must have been an experienced architect, must have gained experience in some other monuments in Western Anatolian cities such as Milas, Bursa and Balat where his uncle Ali and the builders with him must have worked. The contemporaneous monuments built in Amasya, Gümüş, Havza and Osmaniç indicate that, Abu Bakr did not leave the region after completing the constructions and remained to work. Ahmed, the son of Abu Bakr and the architect of the Karacabey Zawiya in Ankara must have settled in Amasya. The Syrian-origin architect, Ahmed, who is cited in *Amasya Tarihi* as a famous architect living in Amasya in the first half of the fifteenth century, could be suggested to be the same person.

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### On beşinci yüzyılın ilk yarısında Amasya çevresinde Suriye kökenli mimarlar

Erken Osmanlı mimarlığının mimarları hakkındaki veriler son derece sınırlıdır. Sanat ve mimarlık tarihi literatürüne geçen sınırlı sayıdaki erken dönem Osmanlı mimarının isminin en önemli kaynağı kitabelerdir. 1324-1445 yılları arasında Osmanlı baniler tarafından inşa ettirilen yapılardan yalnızca otuz iki tanesinde mimar, yapı ustası, sanatçı ya da yapı sorumlusunun ismini veren kitabeler bulunur. İnşa sürecinde görev alanlara dair kitabeler bu kadar sınırlıyken, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed'in veziri Bayezid Paşa'nın Amasya'da inşa ettirdiği zaviye, yapıda görev alan beş farklı mimar ve/veya sanatçının ismini veren beş farklı kitabe ile dikkat çeker.

Yapının mimarı kapı kemerinin iki yanında bulunan kitabelerden anlaşıldığı üzere Muhammed oğlu Ebu Bekr'dir; *"(Bu binayı) fakir kul, Yüce Allah'ın rahmetine muhtaç, Dımışklı Müşeymeş oğlu diye bilinen Mehmed oğlu muallim Ebu Bekr yaptı"*. Kitabede yer alan bilgilere göre, Ebu Bekr'in babası Muhammed, Dımışklı diye tanınan Müşeymeş adlı birinin oğludur.

On iki ciltlik bir kent monografisi olan Amasya Tarihi'nin yazarı Hüseyin Hüsameddin, 1389 yılında Mısır Memlûk ileri gelenleri arasında yaşanan taht mücadelesinin ardından muhaliflerden bir bölümünün Amasya'ya iltica ederek günümüzde halen Şamlar Mahallesi olarak adlandırılan bölgeye yerleştiğini bildirmektedir. Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'nin hemen karşısında bulunan bu mahallede Suriye kökenli insanların yaşadığı bilgisi, Ebu Bekr'in burada ikamet eden ikinci nesil bir mülteci olduğu akla gelmektedir.

Oysa, Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'nin anıtsal özellikleri, yapıyı meydana getiren mimar Ebu Bekr ve beraberindeki ustaların tecrübeli kişiler olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Amasya çevresinde on dördüncü yüzyıl boyunca, yaklaşık yüzyıl süren mimari sessizlik, bu derece anıtsal bir yapıyı inşa edecek tecrübeye sahip mimar ya da ustaların bu çevreden olmadıklarını düşündürmektedir. Nitekim, Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'nin, Amasya çevresinde daha önce örneğine rastlanmayan plan kurgusu

ve mimari detayları da, yapının yerel mimari dinamiklerin etkisinde uzak olduğunu göstermektedir.

On beşinci yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde Amasya çevresindeki mimari tecrübenin yetersizliği, yapının Bursa örnekleriyle doğrudan ilişkisi ve bölgede ilk kez görülen uygulamalara sahip oluşu, Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'ni inşa edecek yetkinlikteki Ebu Bekr'in Bursa ya da Edirne çevresinden Amasya'ya gönderilmiş olduğunu düşündürmektedir.

Amasya'dan çok uzakta, Batı Anadolu Bölgesi'nde, Selçuk (Ayasuluk) kentinde, 1375 yılında Aydınoğlu Beyliği idarecisi İsa Bey tarafından inşa ettirilen caminin mimarı, "Ali bin Müşeymeş ad-Dımışkı", Ebu Bekr'in amcasıdır. Bu durum, Ebu Bekr'in mensubu olduğu Müşeymeş oğulları (ya da İbn Müşeymeş) ailesinin güçlü bir mimari tecrübeye sahip olduğuna işaret eder. Selçuk İsa Bey Camisi'nden, Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi'ne kadar aileye ait somut herhangi bir ize rastlanmaz. Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi araştırmalarında, bu iki yapının inşa edildiği 1375-1414 tarihleri arasında Batı Anadolu Beylikleri ile Osmanlı arazisinde, ayrıntılı taş işçiliği ve dekorasyon programı ile dikkat çeken Milas Firuz Bey Zaviyesi (1396), Balat İlyas Bey Camisi (1404), İznik Yeşil Cami (1378-1392), Bursa Yıldırım Zaviyesi (1395-1400) ve Bursa Ulu Cami (1399)'de Suriye mimari geleneğine ait çeşitli izler bulunduğu tartışılmaktadır. Sözü edilen yapılarda, araştırmacıların dikkatini çeken Suriye mimari geleneği ile bağlantılı detaylar, Ali bin Müşeymeş ad-Dımışkı ile Selçuk İsa Bey Camisi'nde çalışan, daha sonra Batı Anadolu'da farklı yerlere seyahat ederek yeni şantiyelerde görev alan Suriye kökenli ustaların işi olabilir. On beşinci yüzyılın ilk yarısında, sürekli yer değiştirerek farklı kentlerde farklı baniler için çalışan sanatçı ve usta topluluklarının varlığına dair çeşitli örneklerin bulunması bu öneriyi desteklemektedir.

Amasya yakınlarındaki Merzifon kasabasında, Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi ile aynı tarihte inşa edilmeye başlanan Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Medresesi'nin mimarı da kitabesine göre Ebu Bekr'dir. Bu iki yapı dışında, Ebu Bekr'in ismine rastlanan başka bir yapı bulunmamaktadır. Ancak, bu yapıların inşasından



yaklaşık on yıl sonra Ankara'da Karacabey tarafından inşa ettirilen zaviyenin kitabesinde Ebu Bekr'in ismi bu kez yapının mimarı Ahmed'in babası olarak tekrar zikredilir.

Ebu Bekr'in oğlu Ahmed'in on yıl sonra Ankara'daki bir yapıyı inşa etmiş olması ailenin bölgeden ayrıldığını ve çevredeki mimari üretime katkıda bulunduklarını düşündürür. Nitekim, bu dönemde Amasya ve çevresinde inşa edilen anıtsal yapılarda, Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi ve Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Medresesi'nin etkileri izlenebilmektedir. On beşinci yüzyılın ilk yarısında bölgede inşa edilen, Gümüş Haliliye (Halil Paşa) Medresesi (1413-1415), Merzifon Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Hamamı (?), II. Murad Camisi (1426-1427), Havza Mustafa Bey İmaret-i (1429-1430), Amasya Yörgüç Paşa Zaviyesi (1430) ve Osmancık Koca Mehmed Paşa Zaviyesi (1430-1431) gibi anıtsal özellikler gösteren yapılar arasında birtakım paralellikler göze çarpar.

*Amasya Tarihi*'nin yazarı Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Amasya mahallelerinden Şamice'nin ismini, orada ikamet eden meşhur bir mimar olan Şemseddin Ahmed eş-Şamî'den aldığını belirtir. 1443-1444 yılında ismini verdiği mahallede bir mescid, önünde bir çeşme ve yanında bir okul inşa ettirerek vakıflarını tanzim ettiren Şemseddin Ahmed varlıklı bir kişi olmalıdır. Bu da onun bir mimar olarak çok sayıda yapıda görev aldığını düşündürmektedir. Şemseddin Ahmed, Amasya

ve çevresindeki mimari üretimde etkin bir kişi ise, bölgedeki çağdaş yapıların inşasında rol almış olmalıdır. Ancak çevredeki hiçbir yapıda, mimarın Şemseddin Ahmed olduğuna yönelik bir kitabe bulunmamaktadır.

Gerek, ikisinin de Suriye kökenli olduğu, aynı ismi taşıdığı, mimari etkinlik dönemlerinin örtüştüğü ve aynı çevrede bulunuyor olmaları gibi tarihi veriler, gerekse Karacabey Zaviyesi'nin, Amasya ve çevresindeki çağdaşları ile benzerlikleri, Hüseyin Hüsameddin'in bahsettiği Şemseddin Ahmed'in, Ebû Bekr oğlu Ahmed olduğunu düşündürür.

On beşinci yüzyılın ilk yarısında Amasya çevresinde inşa edilen yapılar arasındaki benzerliklerin ortaya koyduğu mimarlık tarihi verileri ile Amasya, Merzifon, Ankara'daki kitabeler ve Amasya Tarihi'ndeki kayıtların işaret ettiği tarihi veriler doğrultusunda, Dımışk kökenli Ebu Bekr ve oğlu Ahmed'in bölgedeki mimari üretimde önemli yere sahip oldukları söylenebilir. Bayezid Paşa Zaviyesi ve Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Medresesi gibi yapıları inşa etmek üzere Amasya'ya gelen Ebu Bekr'in, bu yapıların tamamlanmasından sonra bölgeden ayrılmayarak buradaki mimari üretime katkıda bulunmaya devam ettiği, kendisi gibi mimar olan oğlu Ahmed'in de Amasya'da yerleşerek, halk arasındaki geleneğe uygun olarak Şemseddin lakabıyla anıldığı ve çevredeki inşa faaliyetlerine katıldığı ileri sürülebilir.