

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE 'ÇOBAN MUSTAFA PAŞA' MOSQUE AT GEBZE¹

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INTRODUCTION

The concern of this paper is to contribute to the double controversy confronting researchers when approaching the complex of Çoban Mustafa Paşa; the first being the problem of its attribution to an architect and secondly, the degree to which the marble work is of late Mamluk origin.

The architecture, material and structural decoration of the Çoban Mustafa Paşa mosque found at Gebze can be considered a traditional monument of the early 16th century in Anatolia. Its structural decorations such as the portal, minbar and mihrab, all follow a relatively common theme, which can be considered a continuation of the Ottoman decorative tradition. The mosque also shows in its structural material and plan type; the domed square construction, close relation to the manner followed by the Ottoman master builders and later by Architect Sinan, in the use of stone and alternative stone and brick walls.

The applied decoration, on the other hand is unique to Ottoman Turkey. Hardly any other example can be seen in Anatolia, comparable in their amounts of polychrome marble, nor in their decorative patterns, to those at the mosque of Çoban Mustafa Paşa. The wall lining of the mosque in marble, is not found elsewhere in the complex. It therefore has no logical chronology with Anatolian decorative tradition, and leads the researcher to look elsewhere for comparative materials.

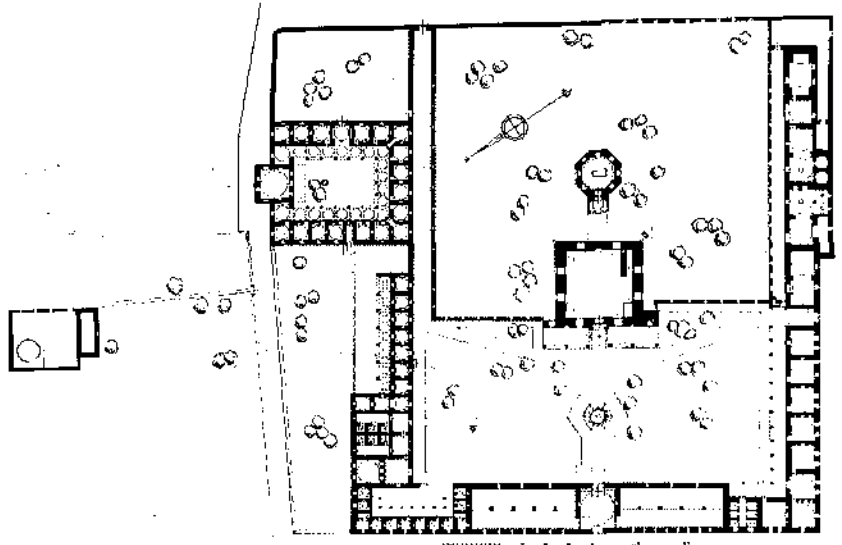
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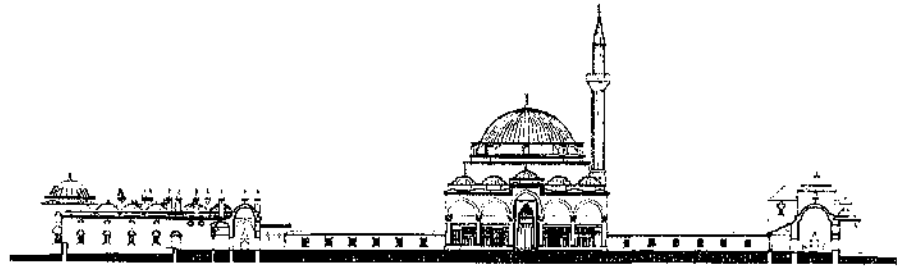
1. This article is largely based on the research, analysis and summary of the author's M. A. Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, in May, 1992.

Figure 1. The plan and front elevation of the Mosque Complex of Çoban Mustafa Paşa at Gebze, Turkey (Ali Sami Ülgen, 1938).

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PATRONAGE, PLAN AND DATE

There is controversy among scholars on the problem of whether to attribute the mosque of Çoban Mustafa Paşa to Esir Ali or to Mimar Sinan. This problem rises from the fact that the mosque is dated to 929 H., or 1523 A.D. during the period when Esir Ali was the head of the imperial architects of the Ottoman Empire. Esir Ali or Acem Ali, supposedly built many buildings, among which are the Mosque of Sultan Selim of 1523, the Süleymaniye Mosque in Çorlu, the Selimiye Mosque in Konya, and the Mosque of Kasım Paşa in Bozhöyük (Mayer, 1956, 50). None of these mosques though confirm this attribution, but it is taken for granted, as he was responsible for the major projects under the Ottoman construction system.

On the other hand, historical accounts, some written during the life time of architect Sinan, confirm the attribution of the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque and complex to Mimar Sinan. The mosque appears in *Tezkiret-ül Bünyan* inscribed by Sai Mustafa Çelebi, and is entitled 'Mısırlı' or of Egyptian origin (Sönmez, 1988, 31-37). In *Tezkiret-ül Ebniye*, and in *Tuhfet-ül Mimarın*, the complex was attributed to Mimar Sinan (Sönmez, 1988, 67). The *Risalet-ül Mimariye*, though, only attributes Gebze's Hamam to Architect Sinan (Sönmez, 1988, 88, 160). The founder and patron of the complex is Çoban Mustafa Paşa a military Serasker, or Commander in Chief, who served under Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. He was sent to Cairo in 1522, as the viceroy of Egypt. Çoban Mustafa Paşa stayed in Cairo for six months and eighteen days. When he returned to İstanbul, he resigned and settled at Gebze. He died in 1529, and was buried in his unfinished Türbe (Eldem, 1935, 57).

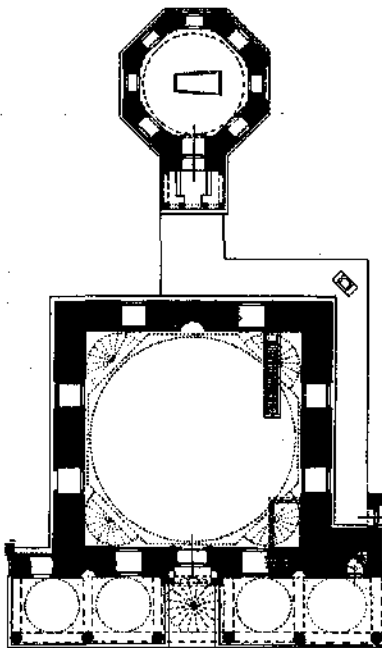
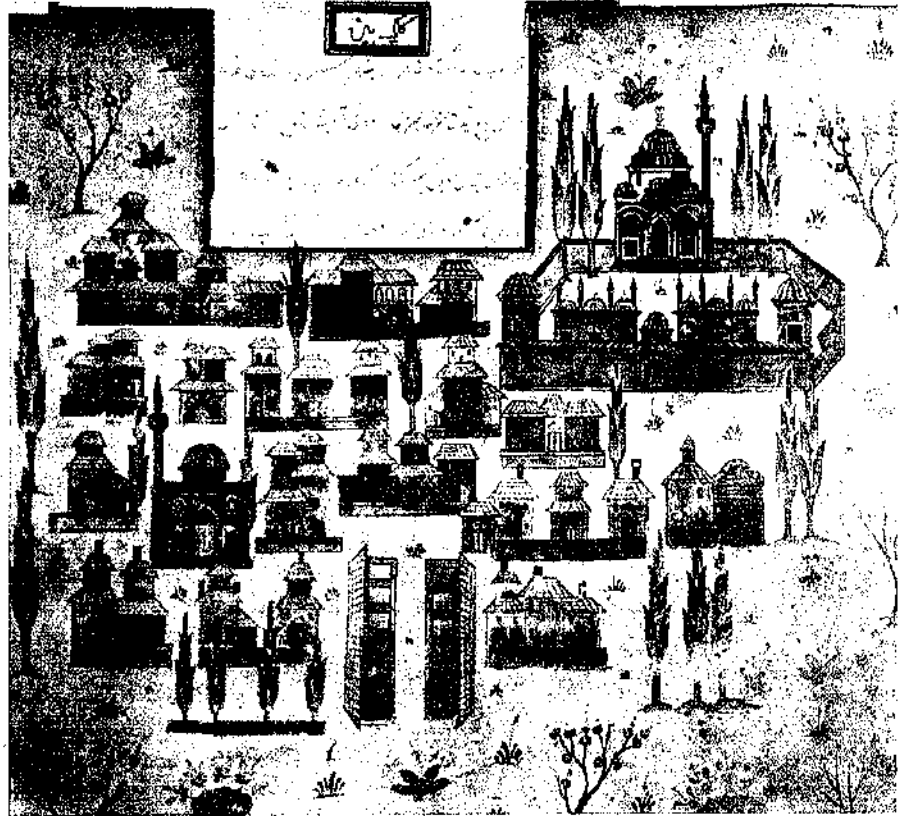


Figure 2. The plan of Mosque and Türbe (Ali Sami Ülgen, 1938).

Figure 3. The map of Gebze by Matrakçı Nasuh, 940.H. (Yuraydın, 1976, Plate 12b).



Çoban Mustafa Paşa joined Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in his expedition to Rhodes. And at that period, Mimar Sinan was a young but important and distinguished military engineer, taking part in this expedition. In the accounts of Evliya Çelebi Çoban Paşa had offered Mimar Sinan to construct a mosque for him at Gebze, but as this offer had been probably rejected, Çelebi continues and attributes the mosque to Mimar Sinan's 'master assistant' (Has Halifesi) Husam Kalfa (Çelebi, 1970, 166-169). This Rhodes expedition, in 1522, would have been a perfect period for the Paşa to meet with Mimar Sinan, discuss the erection of his complex, and later during the same year he was transferred to Egypt.

Mimar Sinan would have been still very young in 1520's to be able to execute such a massive complex. Furthermore, it would have been impossible for him, just to design it without staying behind and supervising it, at the time of expeditions with Sultan Süleyman. But then why do the chronicles and his accounts attribute the complex to him? Evliya Çelebi, mentions in his accounts that Mimar Sinan was responsible for specific parts of the complex, which suggests that the complex itself was built by two different architects; Kalfa and Sinan, in two different stages or periods. The first is probably the Mosque, and the surrounding walls and main entrance, as well as the neighboring bath, while the second stage is the construction work Mimar Sinan supervised, which includes the caravansaray, türbe, medrese, hans and their masterly arrangement (Figures 1-2).

In 1533 A.D. (940 H.), Matrakçı Nasuh visited Gebze and drew the building in his chronicles, where he describes the stages of Sultan Süleyman's campaign, as a single domed mosque with walls surrounding its sides and an entrance facing the mosque (Figure 3). No other building appears in the surrounding wall, suggesting that he passed through when the first stage of the construction was completed (Yurdaydın, 1974). Furthermore, the Türbe which is located right behind the mosque, was never completed. It is stated that Çoban Mustafa Paşa was buried there in 1529 A.D., but it was

not yet finished, as it appears today, with places left for the inscription panels and with exterior decorations uncompleted. In the interior wall lining of the Türbe, tiles were used which, according to Atıl (1973), were used earlier in the Türbes of Şehzade Mustafa and Şehzade Mahmud (d. 1507) in Bursa, and the same style of decorations can be seen at the Yeni Valide Mosque in Manisa (1522-3) (Atıl, 1973). It is also dated by the ceramic ewers to be from the 1510-up to 1529 (Atıl, 1973). Therefore, the construction did stop, either in the middle of the work, or by the death of Çoban Mustafa Paşa. This interruption of work does not have a relation with the departure of the Egyptian craftsmen back to Egypt, as they had already left during an earlier period, and as the Türbe has no polychromed marble, and is of a typical Ottoman style.

The second stage, which includes the enlargement of the complex with the addition of a medrese and the elaborate arrangement of the rest of the complex, as indicated by Çelebi and confirmed from the Risale, is the work of Mimar Sinan, from the earliest years of his occupation as chief architect of the court. This period of construction is therefore suggested to have been between 1538-40 A.D.

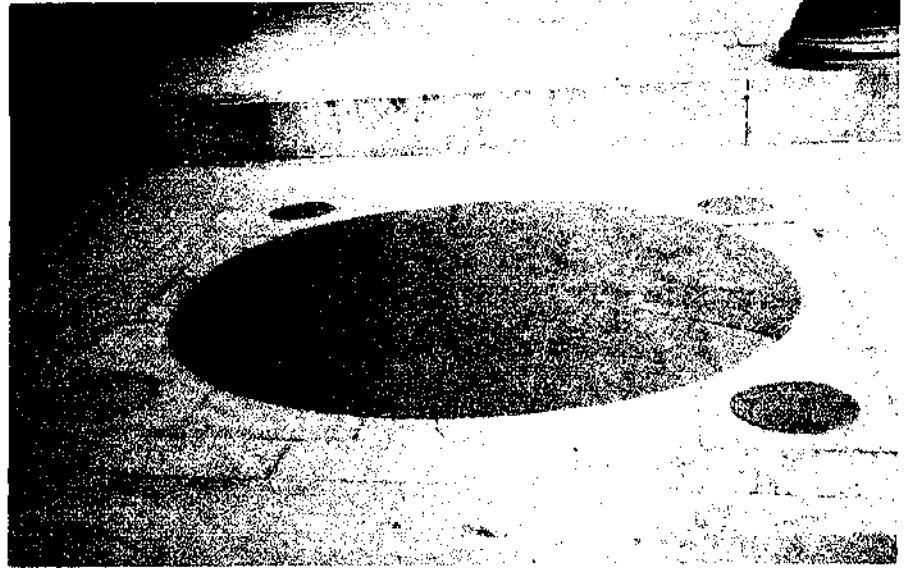
In 1522 A.D., the construction of the first stage, including the mosque, took place. During the same year Ibn Ilyas mentions that 'as soon as Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent took power, he ordered all the Egyptian captives to return to Cairo', which they did in several groups within this year as indicated (Ibn Ilyas, 1893). It is during this year but at a later stage, that Çoban Mustafa Paşa was sent to Cairo, as the Viceroy for six months, during which he transferred the marble materials for his mosque. This transportation of materials has been noted by Evliya Çelebi, to have reached the Darica port of Gebze, then moved to the construction site. Therefore, neither these materials were those brought over by Sultan Selim, nor did the Egyptian captives help in their application. Since these captives left for Cairo prior to the period of Çoban Mustafa Paşa's appointment as Viceroy in Cairo, the construction of the complex was just starting.

MATERIAL, TECHNIQUE AND DECORATIONS

The polychromed marble lining found at the main façade and the interior of the Çoban Mustafa Paşa mosque forms the second point of the discussion. The use of polychromed marble had been the fashion during the Ottoman Period (Rogers, 1976, Part 1, 7411). Its scarcity on the other hand, had always formed a limitation to its usage. They were therefore confined to joggled voussoirs, engaged columns, and roundels, as in the pavements works in the floors of courtyards. Colored marble outlined the arches of the Şehzade Mosque and Mausoleum (1543-48) (Sözen, 1988, 104-114). Discs in between the spandrels of colonnaded porticos, made of sections of a single red porphyry marble column can be seen in the mosque of Bayezid. This mosque exhibits in its courtyard pavement, a pink colored marble band framing the inner arcade of the courtyard, eight roundels placed evenly on each side. A second band of green breccia outlines the ablution fountain floor. The entrance of the harem is treated as a vestibule with a roundel of a 255 cm in diameter being placed at the doorway framed with two large rectangular slabs. All these bands and pieces of polychromed marble forms only a small percentage of the pavement of the courtyards, while the rest is of Marmara white marble (Bakırer, 1990).

The Süleymaniye Mosque, similarly exhibits a minor portion of its courtyard pavements in polychromed marble (Figure 4). Most of the Ottoman buildings, extensively use Marmara marble in wall and floor linings, with few examples of polychrome compositions. These compositions are placed as decorative medias in order to pull attention to a certain part of the monument, as the Harem entrance or the main portico. The use of colored marble

Figure 4. The marble on the floor of Süleymaniye Mosque, İstanbul (photograph by author).



in the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque is incomparable in their amount and designs to other examples present in Turkey, except for the *Hırka-i Şerif* at the Topkapı Sarayı in İstanbul. The degree to which this marble comes from the *Divan-ı Kebir*, as Goodwin (1970) suggest, is not confirmed, but the source is known to be Mamluk Egypt, brought by Sultan Selim to be used in the decorations of the building which would host the holy relics brought by him from Cairo (Goodwin, 1970, 189). The lining *in situ* today is dated to the first quarter of the 17th century. These polychromed marbles are in the spirit of the Mamluk Marble tradition. The composition on the other hand, with a horizontal slab of polychromed marble placed on top of the rectangular vertical slabs, is unusual in Mamluk Monuments. Unlike the Mamluk tradition, where a roundel would be centered and its surrounding compartmentalized and decorated, a roundel at the Erivan Köşkü is pushed to the highest side of the rectangle and the rest remained unadorned (Meinecke, 1971, 205-220). The odd arrangements of such marble panels indicate that the lining of these areas at the Topkapı Sarayı were done by local marble workers according to local taste.

In an attempt to solve the problem of dating the marble work found in the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque at Gebze, a comparison will be drawn between the chronology of Mamluk marble work, and the styles and techniques used at Gebze (Figure 5). In doing so, decorative patterns and their locations and techniques will be discussed.

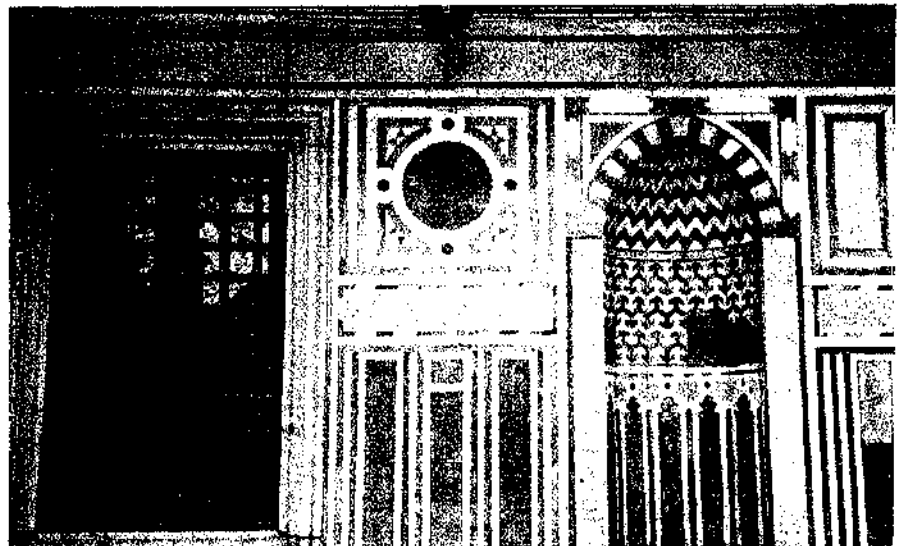
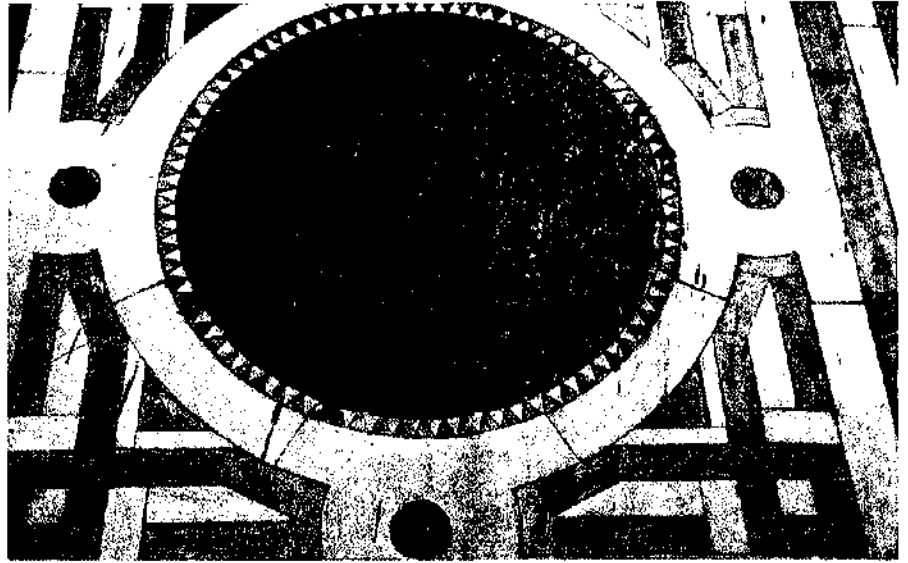


Figure 5. A general view of the Revak at Gebze (photograph by author).

Figure 6. A detail of the marble work at the Revak at Gebze (photograph by author).



In general, the arrangement of the dado; or the decorative panels lining the façades of the mosque corresponds exactly to the arrangements used in Mamluk architecture. The marble forms two levels, with the upper level shorter than the lower section, and in between them runs the horizontal band filled in Quranic inscription. The similar layout is seen in the Medrese of El-Ghuri (1504), and the Mausoleum of Tarabay El-Sharifi (1503), as well as in most of 15th and 16th century monuments. The dado also exhibits similar patterns with Cairene decorations, as the square Kufic patterns and the interlocked roundels within square units. The vertical slabs of the lower marble panels of the dado, are intended, leaving a rectangular space filled with decorative panels. And the Son Camaat Mihrab, the pointed arched mihrab, on the Rivaq of the mosque, is divided into three compartments, a zig zag hood, an arrow head pattern in the middle section, and a series of trilobed arches as the lower section. This division and their applied motifs are standard in Mamluk marble work. The zig zag hood for example first appears in the mihrab of the mosque of Emir Husayn and the Medrese of Emir el-Malak, both dating to 1219. Later in the mosques of Emir Ilmas (1330), Aydumur el-Bahlawan of 1346, Manjak el-Yusufi of 1350, Mithqal of 1361, El-Ahmadi of 1366-76, El-Ustadar in 1406, El-Mu'ayyid Sheikh's Medrese in 1420 (Creswell, 1932, 340-354, and personal observations). This pattern showed some

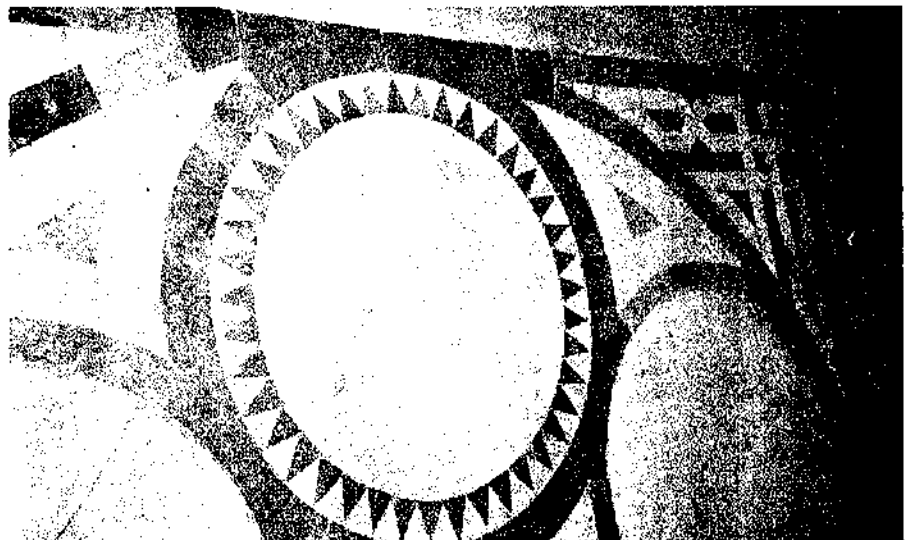


Figure 7. Marble floor at the Medrese of El-Ghuri, Cairo (photograph by author).

Figure 8. The Qibla façade of the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque at Gebze.

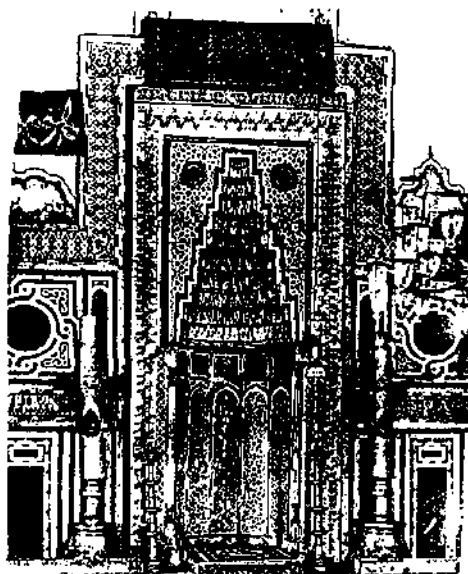


Figure 9. The marble dado at El-Churi Mausoleum (photograph by author).

2. This technique was used in Qijmas El-Ishaqi and Abu Bakr b. Muzhar Medresse, both signed by Abd el Qadir El-Nakkash. This technique made marble decoration much thinner and more elegant. It technique made marble decoration much thinner and more elegant. It also made a revival in patterns, as thin interlacing scrolls, rather than the monotonous look the marble decoration was trapped in.

3. This technique was observed and recorded by Creswell (1924, 202).

development during the 15th century, as the zig zag became radiating from the middle of the hood and reaching the spandrels of the arche, but by the 16th century it re-appears in its conservative manner in the Medrese of El-Ghuri, Hadım Süleyman Paşa at the Citadel, as well as in the Mosque of El-Bordini in 1616.

Simple decorative patterns found at the Çoban Mustafa Paşa mosque correctly places this monument during the late Mamluk era in Cairo. Such simple patterns as the roundels with tessellations found at the Gebze Rivaq (Figure 6), is part of the decorative motifs of the Medrese of El-Ghuri (Figure 7), the presence of arched slabs within the marble lining of the Qibla wall, to the side of the mihrab correctly indicating the direction of the Qibla, is similarly used in the Mosque of Hadım Süleyman Paşa in 1528 A.D., and finally, the placement of marble slabs outlined in bracket like patterns, on either side of the mihrab (Figure 8), exactly corresponds to the decorative composition at the Khayr Bek Mausoleum, as well as El-Ghuri Medrese (Figure 9).

Several techniques which were developed during the 15th century and reached their peak by the end of the Mamluk period, had been used in the Gebze Mosque and Hamam. In the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque, two bands of carved floral decorations appear above the inner and outer dado, as well as a third band of pseudo-inscription appears inside the Dikka, all three bands follow the technique of filling carved grooves on white marble with bitumen or colored paste (2). This technique can be seen in the mosque of Qijmas el-Ishaqi, in its mihrab, in El-Guri Mosque and Medresse in its inscription panels, and in the Hadım Süleyman Paşa Mosque this technique framed the mihrab. This band resembles the pseudo-writings of the inner Dikka area at the mosque of Gebze.

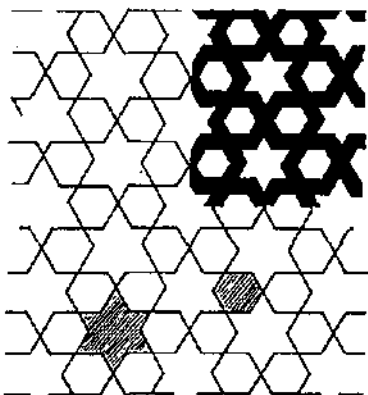
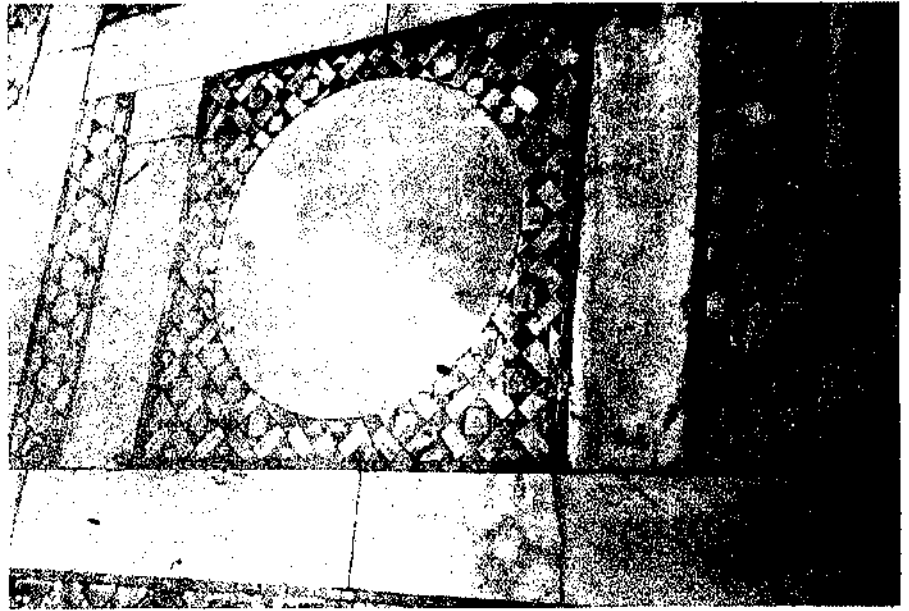


Figure 10. A drawing of the mosaic panels at Gebze (Mülayim, 1982, 370).

Another technique which is used in the decorative composition of the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque is the marble mosaic technique, also known as Khorda Marble (3). This technique which made use of the waste marble pieces, attaching them together in a decorative geometric composition, reached its peak during the middle of the 15th century in Cairo. The best examples are seen in the Mausoleum of Bersbey at the cemeteries dating to 1432 A.D. and later in a developed stage at the floor pavement of the Sabil of El-Ghuri, 1504. This technique is seen in the decorative panels above the indented slabs of the dado, as well as in the decoration of the entrance portal to the mosque of Çoban Mustafa Paşa. The decorative panels are small and concise, in the spirit of those

Figure 11. Example of mosaic panels in Cairo (photograph by author).



at the mausoleum of Tarabay el-Sharifi, and those on the floor of the tomb of El-Kulshani (Figures 10, 11, 12). The decoration on the entrance portal at Gebze (Figure 13), which is a development from the Khorda Marble technique, was used in the mihrab of the Qaitbay Mausoleum at the cemetery dating to 1475 A.D. (Figure 14). It is also known to have occupied the Mihrab of the Mosque of Qurqumas dating to 1506 A.D. (Figure 15) and is also seen as decorative composition in the stone columns of the Shah Mosque dating 1495 A.D. (Figure 16).

The neighbouring Hamam of Çoban Mustafa Paşa also situated at Gebze exhibits the use of the Marble Mosaic technique in several parts of its floor pavements (Figures 17, 18). These marble patterns, exhibit the star pattern made of geometric strap work in mosaics (Klinghardt, 1927, 75; Arseven, 1952). This star pattern can be compared to the entrance floor of El-Ghuri medresses's Sabil and to a more complex development in the Sabil itself. It is also seen at the middle section

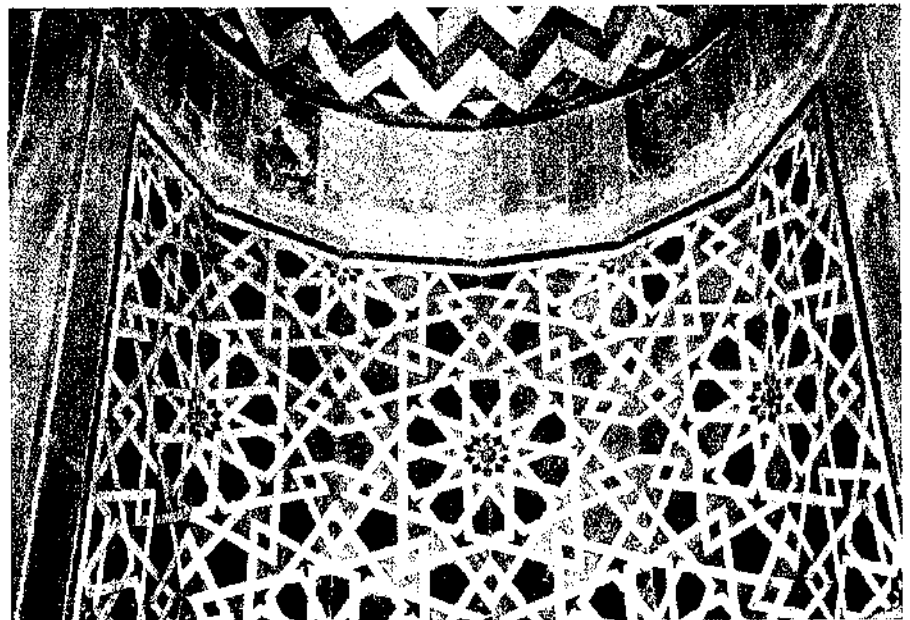


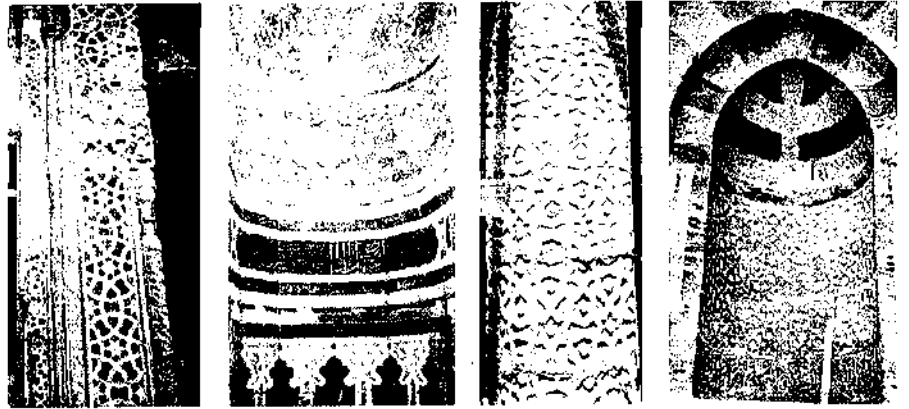
Figure 12. Marble mosaic from Cairo, 16th century (photograph by author).

Figure 13. Large marble inserts at the portal of the mosque in Gebze (photograph by author).

Figure 14. Mihrab of Qaitbay Mausoleum at cemetery, Cairo (photograph by author).

Figure 15. Mihrab of Qurqumas Medrese at cemetery, Cairo (photograph by author).

Figure 16. Column at the Shah Mosque in Cairo (photograph by author).



of the Mihrab of the mosque of Hadım Süleyman Paşa, and as a sketch by Bourgoïn depicting Cairene Qa'as of this period (Figure 19) (Bourgoïn, 1892, pl. VIII). This intern places these panels during the same period as the decorations of the mosque.

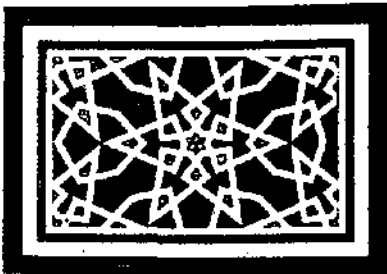


Figure 17. Gebze Hamam, marble pannels after Klinghardt (1927).

A closer study of the inscription bands of the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque, its floral decorations and interlocks, above and underneath the letters, can lead to the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century in Cairo. In comparing them to the inscriptions of the Medrese of Qijmas el-Ishaqi, those of el-Ishaqi show some tilted letters as in the 's' and 'y'. Furthermore, the 'Alif and Lam' or 'A and L', are not knotted. The decorative composition of trefoil leaf is there, but in a much simpler form. The inscriptions found at the Medrese of El-Ghuri, very much resemble those of Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque, in the interlocked A and L and in the letter 'ayn' forms a trefoil leaf itself. The decorations around

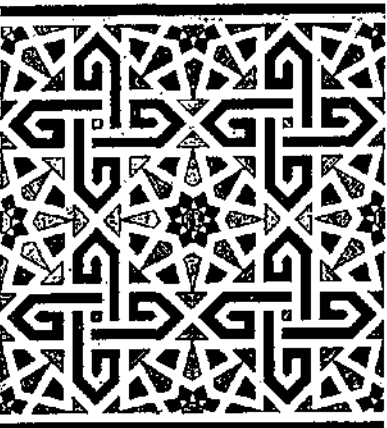


Figure 18. Mosaic Panel from the Gebze Hamam after Klinghardt (1927).

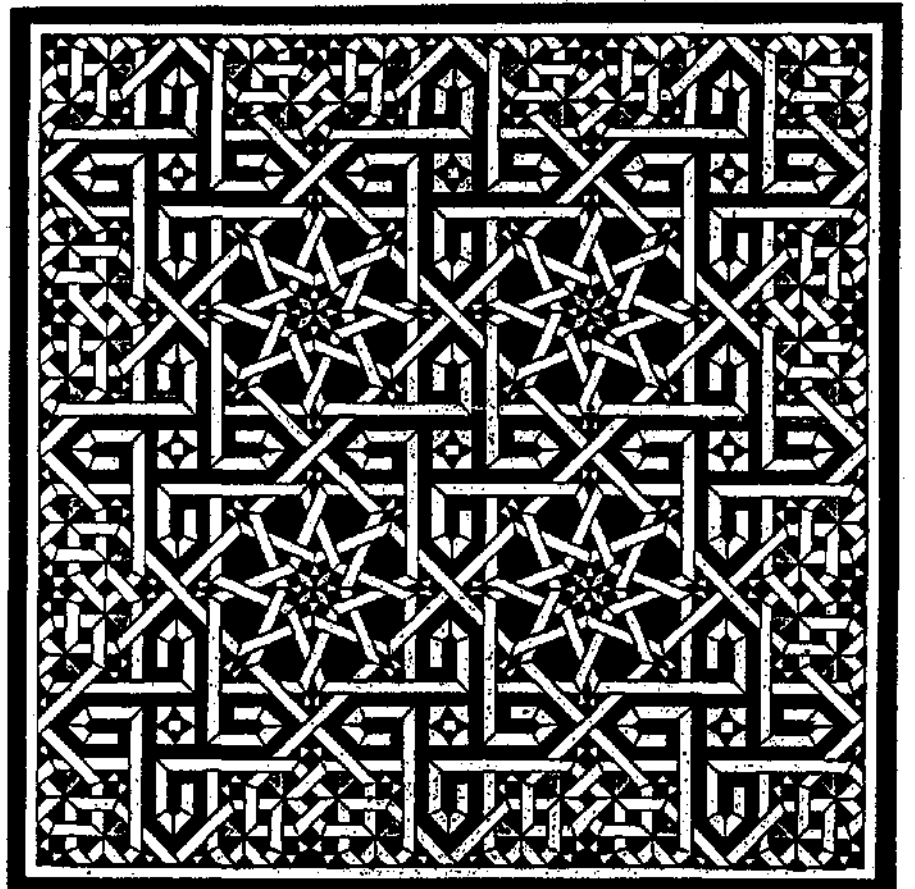
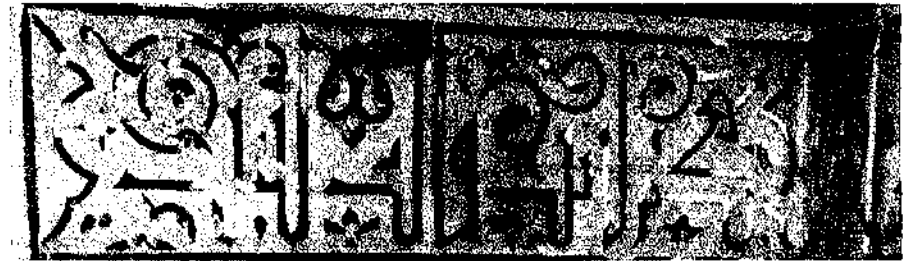
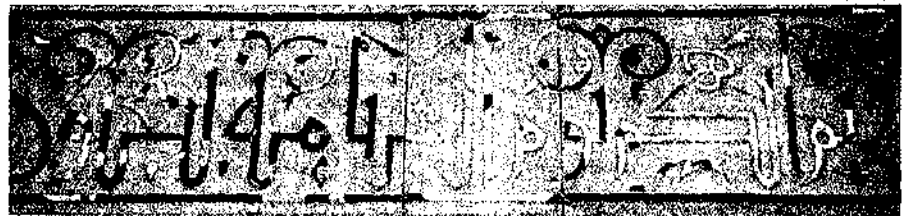
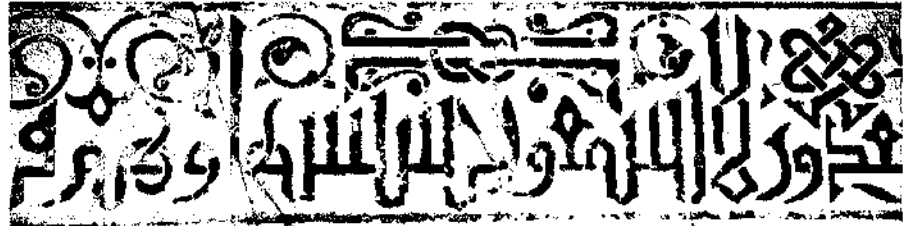


Figure 19. A sketch after Bourgoïn (1892).

Figure 20. Inscription Panels:
a. and b. Gebze, Çoban Mustafa Pasha Mosque;
c. Qijmas el Ishaqi Medresse, Cairo;
d. and e. Medresse of El Ghuri, Cairo;
f. Medresse of El-Hayat, Cairo;
g. Mosque of Suleyman Pasha, Cairo Citadel (photographs by author).



4. This takes place in the Catalogue of the Islamic Museum of Cairo.

the letters are similar as well, scrolls, inverted heart patterns, diamond shape units as well as scrolls are treated similarly. The inscription found at el-Hayat Medrese, shows a tendency to simplify and limit decorations. The inscription at the Mosque of Süleyman Paşa, are thinner and more elegant, with a tendency to fill them up with decorations. A glazed tile from the Islamic Museum in Cairo exhibits in its border an inscription band in floral and knotted Kufic, very similar to those at Gebze (Figure 20) (4). This tile is signed in its corners, and a preliminary date of 1500 is given to it. From this stylistic study the decorations confine themselves to the end of the Mamluk era (Figure 21).

CONCLUSION

This research leads to several conclusions:

1. The mosque, surrounding wall and hamam were certainly part of the first stage in the construction of this complex.
2. The architect was Husam Kalfa, and the material for decoration was brought by the patron Çoban Mustafa Paşa from Cairo, during his stay there as the Viceroy.
3. The applied polychromed marble decorations are made in Cairo during the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century. A period which would coincide with Çoban Mustafa Paşa's stay in Cairo.

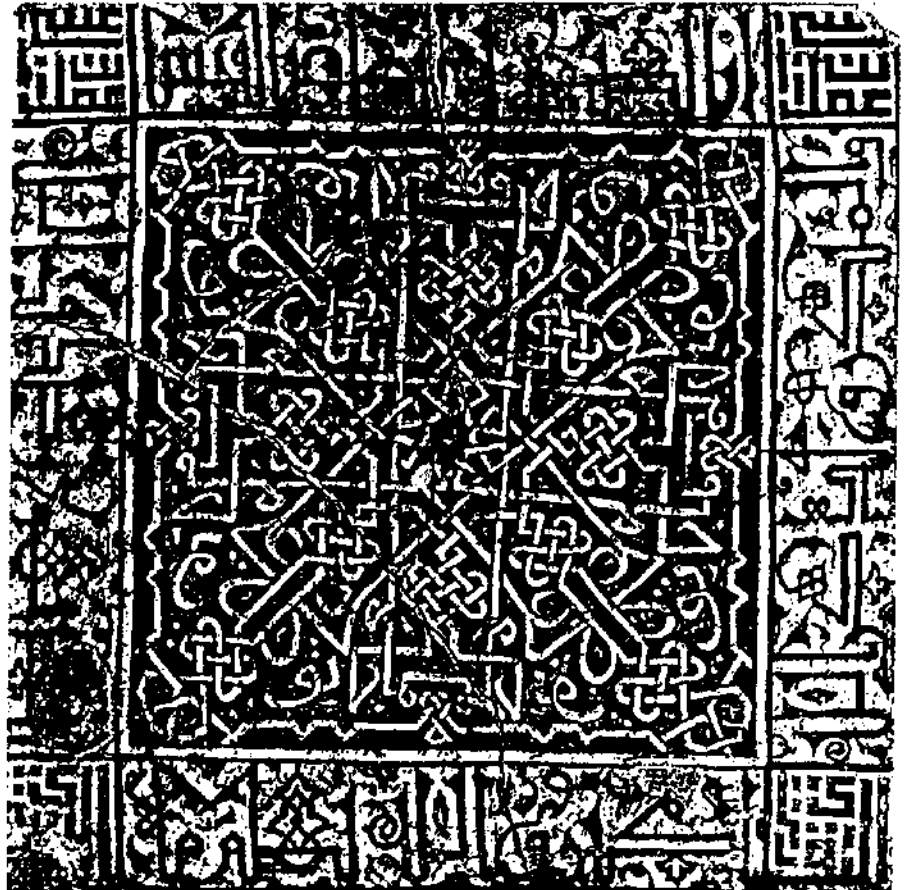


Figure 21. Ceramic tile from the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

4. Other items found in the mosque, such as lamps, carved wooden Koran boxes, with the signature of Usta Ahmet of Egypt, and many manuscripts, were witnessed during the early 20th century during their transfer to the Museums of İstanbul.

All these points lead us to the possibility that Çoban Mustafa Paşa did not confiscate those marbles, as did Sultan Selim, but ordered them to fit his mosque. Çoban Mustafa Paşa came to Cairo with a plan for his constructions, he ordered the marble lining as well. This gains greater likelihood especially when the domed mosque at Gebze is observed as being similar in dimensions (14.5-15 square meters) to those of Cairo. The transportation of these panels were common at this period, as indicated from the note-books of Süleymaniye, and from the presence of many marble pieces in the vicinity of İstanbul as that of the Toman bey inscription block found at Çorlu.

Decoratively, the technique of working and lining marbles was already practiced in Ottoman Turkey. There was no need for further indications or instructions on how to apply the marble panels specially if they were specifically fitting the monument and their places were exactly measured. From observation *in situ*, the marble panels at the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque suffer greatly from several breakages. But it is clear, that as pieces broke, they used them as they were, and when it was very necessary to change a piece of marble, local material, as Marmara marble, were used instead. Furthermore the technique of marble mosaics or Khorda marble can not be transferred from a building to the other without missing a great deal of the design. This technique set as a monolith, must have been ordered and sent as one flat piece.

GEBZE ÇOBAN MUSTAFA PAŞA CAMİSİ: SORULAR VE GÖZLEMLER

ÖZET

Gebze'de Çoban Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi üzerinde araştırma yapanlar, iki soruya yanıt vermekte güçlük çekmişlerdir. Bunlardan ilki, yapının mimarının kim olduğu, ikincisi ise yapıda kullanılan renkli mermerlerin malzeme ve işçiliği ile zaman ve mekanda neden farklılık gösterdiği.

Çoban Mustafa Paşa Camisi, kubbeli ve kare planlı kurgusu, mihrab-minber-portal gibi mimari elemanları ve malzeme kullanımı ile erken onaltıncı yüzyıl Osmanlı mimari geleneğini sürdüren bir anıt olarak tanımlanabilir. Ancak, kaplama olarak kullanılan renkli mermerler ve Harem cephesinde uygulanan mimari süsleme Osmanlı dönemi için özel bir örnek olarak durmaktadır. Yalnız bu camide kullanılmış olan renkli mermer kaplamaları açıklamak için başka kültür çevrelerine ve bilgi kaynaklarına bakmak gerekmektedir.

Tarihlendirme, bani, mimar ve malzemenin kaynaklarına ilişkin soruları irdetmek amacıyla dönemin politikası, tarihsel olayları ve yapının banisi olan Çoban Mustafa Paşa'nın kimliği ve politik olaylar dizisi içindeki yeri değerlendirilmiş; tarihi belgeler, Mimar Sinan'ın yapıtlarını listeleyen Tezkire'ler, Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Matrakçı Nasuh'un Gebze Minyatürü incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, kaplama işçiliğinin Memluku

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Mimarlık Tarihi,
Mimar Sinan, Osmanlı Mimarlığı, Cami, Mısır
Memluk Dönemi, İbn-i İlyas, Dekoratif
Sanatlar.

dönemindeki Kahire Cami ve Medreselerinde uygulanan örnekleri ile karşılaştırmaları yapılmıştır. Bulgularımız aşağıdaki gibi özetlenebilmektedir:

1. Cami, çevre duvarı ve hamam, külliye inşaatının birinci aşamasına aittir.

2. Bu ilk aşamanın mimarı Hüsam Kalfa'dır. Sinan'ın hayatta olduğu sırada yazılmış Tezkireler Cami'yi ona atfederler. Ancak, Sinan herhalde inşaatın ikinci aşamasına katkıda bulunmuş ve kervansaray, türbe, medrese ve han yapılarını üstlenmiştir.

3. Onbeşinci Yüzyıl sonları ile Onaltıncı Yüzyıl başlarında Kahire yapılarında kullanılan renkli mermer kaplamalar, Çoban Mustafa Paşa'nın Kahire'deki görev süresine rastlamaktadır. Bu da, Çoban Mustafa Paşa'nın mermer kaplamaları, inşaatına karar verdiği Camisi'nde kullanılacakları yerlere uygun olarak ısmarladığı ve daha sonra bunların Gebze'ye taşınmasını sağladığı görüşünü güçlendirmektedir.

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