

Spolia Use in Murad I Hüdavendigâr Mosques in the Çanakkale Region

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Özet

The mosques built in Çanakkale and environs under the commission of Murad I Hüdavendigâr or under his name during his reign are referred to as Hüdavendigâr mosques. Of these structures, while Behramkale Hüdavendigâr and Tuzla Hüdavendigâr mosques have survived to the present day, Umurbey Hüdavendigâr and Gelibolu Hüdavendigâr mosques have undergone restorations, were rebuilt and thus have lost their original properties, with only their names remaining unchanged. Gelibolu Hüdavendigâr Mosque was completely rebuilt in the 19th century and Umurbey Hüdavendigâr Mosque was similarly rebuilt in the 20th century. Archival data and the spolia materials present in their current state were examined in an effort to obtain information regarding the spolia use in their original architecture.

The reused of materials (spolia), which was a common practice in Anatolia since Late Antiquity, came into prominence in Anatolian Seljuk and Beylik Era architecture, at times functionally and at others as an element of primary decoration¹. This article focuses on the explicit use of spolia in the Murad I Hüdavendigâr period mosques in the Çanakkale region as an expression of political and religious identity and a sign of power beyond sheer architectural decoration.

Summary

I. Murad Hüdavendigâr tarafından veya döneminde onun adına Çanakkale çevresinde yapılan camiler Hüdavendigâr adı ile anılmaktadır. Bu yapılardan Behramkale Hüdavendigâr ve Tuzla Hüdavendigâr camileri günümüze ulaşırken Umurbey

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1- Zeynep Yürekli Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farıkası”, Gelenek, Kimlik, Bireşim: Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Bölümü, Prof. Dr. Günsel Renda’ya Armağan, pp. 273-280, Ankara, 2011, p. 273.

Hüdavendigar ve Gelibolu Hüdavendigar camileri onarımlar geçirerek ve yeniden inşa edilerek özgünlüklerini yitirmişler ve sadece adları günümüze ulaşabilmiştir. Gelibolu Hüdavendigar Camisi 19. yüzyıl ve Umurbey Hüdavendigar Camisi 20. yüzyılda tamamen yeniden inşa edilmiştir; yapılar ile ilgili arşiv bilgileri ve günümüzde mevcut durumlarında kullanılan devşirme malzemeleri değerlendirilerek özgün mimarilerindeki devşirme kullanımı hakkında bilgi edinilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Geç Antik çağdan itibaren Anadolu'da kullanılan devşirme malzeme (spolia), Anadolu Selçuklu ve Beylikler dönemi mimarisinde bazen işlevsel olarak bazen de birincil süsleme elemanı olarak ön plana çıkmıştır². Bu makalede Çanakkale çevresindeki I. Murad Hüdavendigar dönemi camilerinde devşirme malzemenin aleni kullanımının mimari süslemenin ötesinde siyasi-dini kimlik ifadesi ve güç göstergesi olarak kullanımını üzerinde durulacaktır.

Keywords: *Çanakkale, I. Murad Hüdavendigar, mosque, reused material, spolia*

The aim of this article is to identify the spolia materials in the mosques that bear the name of Murad I Hüdavendigar in Çanakkale and environs and to examine them within the overall context of the structure and the period. This article aims to question functions and the locations of the spolia.

Some mosques built by Murad I Hüdavendigar (r.1362-1389) or dedicated to his name in various settlements within Osmanlı (Ottoman) Beyliği in the second half of the 14th century are commonly referred to as Hüdavendigar mosques: Hüdavendigar Mosque, madrasa, mausoleum, school, *tabhane* (guesthouse) and *zaviye* (small Islamic monastery) in Bursa; Hüdavendigar Mosque and alms house in Edirne; Filibe Hüdavendigar Mosque, Gönen Hüdavendigar Mosque, İpsala Hüdavendigar Mosque, İştib Hüdavendigar Medresesi (Madrasa), Karacabey Great Mosque, Keles Hüdavendigar Mosque and Baths, and Niş Hüdavendigar Mosque. In Çanakkale region, there are mosques commissioned by or dedicated to Murad I Hüdavendigar in Behramkale, Tuzla, Gelibolu and Umurbey.

Eyice refers to these structures which do not have much architectural significance or are ambiguous in terms of their authentic artistic identity due to many alterations they have undergone in time, as works of the first period of the Ottomans³. These works which are examples of Early Ottoman Architecture outside of Bursa and Iznik, are important in understanding spolia use in Early Ottoman Architecture. In this study, spolia use in structures called or commonly referred to as Hüdavendigar Mosque within Çanakkale provincial borders are examined. For the structures which have not survived in their original states, information and visuals from sources are included for the sake of the comprehensiveness of the study.

2- Zeynep Yürekli Görkay, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası", Gelenek, Kimlik, Bireşim: Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Bölümü, Prof. Dr. Günsel Renda'ya Armağan, pp. 273-280, Ankara, 2011, p. 273.

3- Semavi Eyice, Hüdavendigar Camisi, TDVİA, Volume 18, 1998, pp. 289-290.

Ali Boran, Behramkale Hüdavendigar Camisi, TDVİA, Volume 18, 1998, pp. 287.

Spolia as a word⁴ is derived from *spolium* in Latin⁵, it is also used as *şpoli* in Turkish, and corresponds to *spoils* in English, *spolier* in French and *spolien* in German⁶. The Latin *spolium*, meaning “skinning an animal” and “booty of a soldier” or “spoils of war” in its more general meaning⁷. *Spolium* meant the weapons or the armour taken from a defeated enemy; or generally anything gathered from the enemy; loot, or booty for the Ancient Romans⁸. *Spoglie (spolia)* was first used for the Arch of Constantine in the 16th century. Before then, spolia was not used with an architectural meaning⁹. The modern concept of *spolia* means the reuse of architectural building elements taken from a ruined structure – therefore still in line with the idea of skinning in the hunting terminology¹⁰.

Kinney defines *spolia* as follows:

“...the captured weapons of the enemy and broadly all kinds of spoils of war appear to involve the hermeneutical metaphor of “propaganda”; spoils by definition indicate the triumphant and it can be easily understood that the user of artistic spolia aims to declare their triumph in terms of period, culture or honour over the people that the reused works originally address¹¹.”

Brenk defines spolia in modern terms as the reuse of remaining pieces from ruined buildings in a different building¹².

Burcu Ceylan suggests that it can be defined as an architectural second-use; ascribing a function different to their original ones with necessary architectural adaptations to the

4- The definitions for spolia and for spolia materials in architectural history are taken from my Phd thesis titled *Türk Devri Yapılarında Devşirme Malzeme Kullanımı: Manisa Örneği* (Spolia Use in Turkish Era Structures: The Manisa Example)

5- Beat Brenk, “Spolia from Constantine To Charlemagne Aesthetics Versus Ideology”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Volume 41, pp. 103-109, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 1987, p. 103.

6- İlknur Gültekin Özmen, “Amasya Merkezdeki Türk İslam Dönemi Yapılarında Devşirme Malzeme Kullanımı”, *International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Intercultural Art*, Volume 3, Issue 3, pp. 59-84, 2017, p. 60.

7- Brenk, *Charlemagne Aesthetics Versus Ideology*, p. 103.

8- Inge Uytterhoeven, “Spolia, -iorum, i.: Savaş Ganimetlerinden Yapı Malzemelerinin yeniden Kullanımına Latince Bir Terimin Tarihi,” 10. Uluslararası Anamed Yıllık Sempozyumu, *Devşirme Malzemenin (Spolia) Yeniden Doğuşu, Antikçağ’dan Osmanlı’ya Anadolu’da Objelerin, Materyallerin ve Mekânların Sonraki Yaşamları*, (ed. Suzan Yalman and Ivana Jevtić), pp.27-53, Anamed Koç Üniversitesi Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, p. 27-28.

9- Joseph Alchermes, 1994, “Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Volume 48, pp.167-178, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 1994, p. 167.

10- Brenk, *Charlemagne Aesthetics Versus Ideology*, p. 103.

11- Dale Kinney, *Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting spolia*, *The Art of Interpreting*, (ed. S.C. Scott), pp. 53-65, University Park: PSUP, 1995: 53-65 quoted from Elif Keser-Kayaalp, “Klasik Olana Öykünme ve Spolia Tartışmaları Işığında Diyarbakır Ulu Camii”, 10. Uluslararası Anamed Yıllık Sempozyumu, *Devşirme Malzemenin (Spolia) Yeniden Doğuşu, Antikçağ’dan Osmanlı’ya Anadolu’da Objelerin, Materyallerin ve Mekânların Sonraki Yaşamları*, (ed. Suzan Yalman and Ivana Jevtić), pp.131-154, Anamed Koç Üniversitesi Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, p.151.

12- Brenk, *Charlemagne Aesthetics Versus Ideology*, p. 103.

structures or structural elements on account of changing socio-economic circumstances¹³.

Tanyeri-Erdemir indicates that spolia use can be practiced in many different manners and dimensions from reusing a motif to rendering existing works fit for different purposes and the reuse of architectural elements in completely different contexts¹⁴.

In the framework of architectural history, spolia is the reuse of a structure or a structural element from the same period or a previous one, from the same culture or a different one, in a different structure with a different or a similar function, for aesthetic and ideological reasons.

Dense spolia use is observed in the works of Osmanlı Beyliği (Ottomans) and Saruhanoğulları, Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları *Beyliks* (small principalities ruled by *beys*), collectively referred to as Western Anatolian *Beyliks*. Another one of the Western Anatolian *Beyliks* is the Karasi Beyliği founded by Karasi Bey on the Byzantine lands in Balıkesir and its environs¹⁵. As no architectural work of the Karasi Beyliği, which extended its borders to include the Çanakkale region as well, survives today, the earliest known Turkish-Islamic works in the area are from Osmanlı Beyliği.

Murad I was born in 1326, to Orhan Bey and Nilüfer (Lülüfer) Hatun¹⁶, daughter of *tekfur* (feudal landlord) of Yarhisar¹⁷. In various sources and epitaphs he is mentioned with titles such as “bey, emîr-i a‘zam, han, hudâvendigâr, padişah, sultânü’s-selâtin, melikü’l-mülûk”. In Ottoman histories, he is commonly referred to as Gazi Hünkâr and Hudâvendigâr (Hüdâvendigâr). The reign of Murad I Hüdâvendigâr covered the period between 1362-1389¹⁸.

Recapture of Gelibolu (1377)¹⁹ under Murad I was of great importance; whereby the town became an important base for military expeditions towards Thrace and the Balkans. In this period Rumeli became the second homeland; allowing the Ottomans supremacy in Anatolia. Thus the first sketch of Ottoman Empire emerged. The title of Gazi Hüdâvendigâr (Hüdâvendigâr) signifies Murad I’s identity as the founder of an empire through Holy War (*gazâ*)²⁰. Holy war ideology thus became the

13- Burcu Ceylan, “Spolia: Geç Antik Dönemde Yapılar ve Yapı Elemanlarının İkinci Kullanımları”, *Eskiçağ’ın Mekânları Zamanları İnsanları*, pp.74-84, (ed. Lale Özgenel), Homer Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2005, p. 74.

14- Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, “Günden kalanlar: Anadolu’nun Camiye Dönüştürülen Kiliseleri”, 10. Uluslararası Anamed Yıllık Sempozyumu, *Değişime Malzemenin (Spolia) Yeniden Doğuşu, Antikçağ’dan Osmanlı’ya Anadolu’da Objelerin, Materyallerin ve Mekânların Sonraki Yaşamları*, (ed. Suzan Yalman and Ivana Jevtić), pp.75-98, Anamed Koç Üniversitesi Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, p.75.

15- For detailed information on Karasi Beyliği: Zerrin Günay Öden, *Karasi Beyliği*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1999.

16- Nilüfer Hatun, Feridun Emecen, TDVİA, Volume 33, 2007, pp. 124.

17- Nilüfer Hatun, Feridun Emecen, TDVİA, Volume 33, 2007, p. 124.

18- Imber, Colin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1300-1650*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006, p. 332.

19- Imber, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1300-1650*, p. 374.

20- Murad I, Halil İncancık, TDVİA, Volume 31, 2006, pp. 156-164.

symbol of expansion in Europe and Christian lands.

Paul Wittek creates an Ottoman foundation myth over the “gazi” (holy warrior) ideal, generating a rather influential thesis: Ottomans were not simply a tribe but rather the union of the Turks in that region around the idea of “gaza” (jihad, holy war) that originated in the warrior people under the status of “uç beyi” (margrave, or frontiersman) at the Byzantine border²¹. On the other hand, Kuban argues that the holy warrior thesis is not an satisfactory explanation for the Turkoman communities of the time, stressing that the Turks were actually rather mingled with local communities in Anatolia, and while there were Muslims within the local people, the children of Christian women constituted the majority of the urban population and mixed-faith families were also present; not to mention there were Christian soldiers within the Osmanlı Beylik. On this basis, he asserts that it is a rather reductionist and idealistic narrative to consider the society as a group that fought solely for religion (jihad)²².

Heath W. Lowry also argues that the Ottomans were not a state dedicated to the concept of gaza (jihad) with the seminal desire to spread Islam, and that their warriors were not necessarily committed to such an ideal. In fact, he maintains that a large number of them were not even Muslims, and that their actual goal was instead booty, plunder and slaves²³.

According to the foundation certificate-charter of 1385 where the sultan is mentioned with attributes such as “emîr-i kebîr-i a‘zam, melikü mülûki’l-Arab ve’l-Acem”, he commissioned the Hüdavendigâr Complex in Bursa Çekirge, made up of a mosque, a madrasa, an almshouse and a guesthouse, as well as the Hisar Mosque next to the palace in the Bursa fortress and a mosque each in Bilecik and Yenişehir. He also commissioned an almshouse in his mother’s honour in 1388 in İznik. Upon the conquest of Edirne, he transformed the church inside the fortress to a mosque (Halebi/Ayasofya Camisi). He also commissioned the building of a palace in Edirne in 1369²⁴.

Murad I Mosques in Çanakkale Region

Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque

The construction date of the structure which is placed on top of a high rock mass to the north of the Acropolis in the village of Behramkale, in which the ancient city of Assos is also found, is unknown as the epitaph is missing²⁵.

21- Paul Wittek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Doğuşu*, Çeviren Fatmagül Berktaş, Pencere Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017.

The holy war ideology in the foundation years of the Ottoman Empire and Paul Wittek’s holy warrior thesis is discussed in Heath Lowry’s *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State (Erken Dönem Osmanlı Devleti’nin Yapısı)*.

22- Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, Yem Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p.33.

23- Lowry, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Devleti’nin Yapısı*, 2010, p. 47.

24- Murad I, Halil İnançık, *TDVİA*, Volume 31, 2006, pp. 156-164.

25- Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Camisi, Ali Boran, *TDVİA*, Volume 18, 1998, p. 287.

Yenişehirli notes that the dates of the Ottoman structures in the region suggest that the Ottomans arrived in Ezine during the reign of Orhan Gazi and that it can be accepted that Ezine became Ottoman soil when the lands of Karasi Beyliği were given to Orhan Gazi, while the dates suggest that the majority of the Ottoman buildings in the region to the south of Ezine were built in the time of Murad I.²⁶ Boran suggests that absolute Ottoman dominance in the region was achieved in the time of Murad I and since as sources show that the construction work in the region began with the spoils of the Battle of Sırp Sındığı in 1365, it can be assumed that Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque was built in the years after 1365²⁷.

The mosque has a sanctuary with a square plan with dimensions 10,76 x 10,76 m and is covered with a low dome with Turkish triangles as the transitions in the corners. The dome, which is settled on an octagonal pulley on the outside, is covered with plain tiles. There is a three part narthex with closed sides in front of the sanctuary. The narthex is covered with a plain roof on the outside, while on the inside it is covered with a barrel vault in the middle and two small domes with pendant transitions. The narthex, which opens to the outside with three pointed arches, the middle one of which is higher and narrower, is also connected to the sanctuary with two round arches²⁸. Batur notes that the windows are with full circle arches of Byzantine origin²⁹. Kuran hypothesises that the mosque might be built over a Byzantine church with a Greek cross plan³⁰. Batur marks the possibility of a wall made in the Ottoman period with old materials according to the local methods, perhaps by local craftsmen, with the difference in technique on the upper section of the wall suggesting a Byzantine-Ottoman composite, while also noting that the wall might be the result of a much later restoration³¹. One of the reasons Kuran dates Edirne Yıldırım Mosque to the period of Murad I Hüdavendigâr is the vertical brick use in Bursa Hüdavendigâr Mosque. On the other hand, Batur argues that the vertical brick use is not a practice common to all the structures from Murad I's reign, indicating as examples the walls remaining from the first construction of Şehadet Mosque (1365), Koca Naip Mosque and particularly Nilüfer Almshouse which is definitely known to be built in the time of Murad I Hüdavendigâr. The fact that vertical brickwork is used more regularly in the stonemasonry of the upper floors of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque, known to be built during the time of Murad I Hüdavendigâr, with the use of spolia cut stone and spolia architectural elements and pieces in the lower floors, suggest

26- Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Tuzla'da Hüdavendigâr Camii", *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi*, Issue 6, Ankara, 1987, p. 5.

27- Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Camisi, Ali Boran, *TDVİA*, Volume 18, 1998, p. 287.

Görkay states the construction date of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque approximately as 1380. Görkay, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası", p. 273 Photograph 1.

28- Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Camisi, Ali Boran, *TDVİA*, Volume 18, 1998, p. 287.

29- Afife Batur, "Osmanlı Camilerinde Almaşık Duvar Üzerine", *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları* 2, p.181, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Mimarlık Tarihi ve Rölöve Kürsüsü, İstanbul, 1970.

30- Aptullah Kuran, *Mosque in the Early Ottoman Architecture*, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1968, p. 38.

31- Batur, "Osmanlı Camilerinde Almaşık Duvar Üzerine", p.181 footnote 46.

that the walls of the structure might belong to different periods. Batur writes that stones of two different heights create an alternate structure in the system of '3/1'³². However if the building does indeed have connections to Byzantine Era and before, this would be revealed by archeological surveys within and around the structure.

Hüdavendigâr Mosque is almost completely constructed with spolia from the Antiquity and the Byzantine Era³³. Goodwin marks that just as Aydınoğulları used the marbles of Miletus when building the Balat İlyas Bey Mosque, ruins of Assos monuments were used in the Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque³⁴. When the Early Ottoman structures in İznik are considered, despite being on top of ancient settlements, alternate masonry was preferred in large part; as in the case of Hacı Özbek Mosque (1333/1334), Nilüfer Hatun İmaretî (1388), and Mahmud Çelebi Mosque (1442), Şeyh Kutbuddin Mosque (1496). However, face stone is used in İznik Green Mosque (1378-1391)³⁵. In the case of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque, the use of rubble brick alternate masonry as well as that of face stone can be considered rather as a matter of endower or builder preference beyond the relationship of the building to the ancient settlement.

In Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque, decorated spolia materials within the narthex portico columns, the lintel of the entrance and the main outer walls are remarkable. The decorated marble spolia pieces used in the Western façade can be considered the preference of the architect or the endower rather than a consequence of functional convenience, or of time constraints and economic concerns. Given that the undecorated pink andesite spolia block stone can easily be procured from the nearby ancient city of Assos, the spolia use of Middle Byzantine balusters (Figures 1-2) and decorated and profiled architectural marble blocks and pieces (Figures 3-6) indicate that these spolia are used in a particularly overt fashion.

Marble architectural element with circular design (*Antrolaq*) used in the stonemasonry of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque is a Middle Byzantine Era templon architrave by its original function. (Figure 6)

The use of decorated spolia as as pure decoration or as the product of an aesthetic concern, despite appearing to be filler material within brick and stone alternate masonry in Beylik Era, is exemplified in the entrance façades of Manisa Revak Sultan Mausoleum (1371) and Yedi Kızlar Mausoleum (second half of the 14th century), which are Sarukhanid

32- Batur, "Osmanlı Camilerinde Almaşık Duvar Üzerine", p.181 footnote 46.

33- Robert Ousterhout, *Bizan'ın Yapı Ustaları*, Küy Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016, p. 160.

Robert Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman architecture," *Gesta* 43/2, pp. 165-176, 2004, p.168.

34- Godfrey Goodwin, *Osmanlı Mimarlığı Tarihi*, Kabalcı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 115.

35- Aslanapa writes that İznik Yeşil Mosque (1392) is a transitional structure towards Ottoman architectures, which is perceived to be born out of Seljuk architecture. He adds that Milas Firuz Bey and Balat İlyas Bey mosques have influenced the architecture of the mosque and that all columns and decorations are original with no spolia use.

Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi, İnkılâp Kitabevi*, İstanbul, 1986, p.5.

structures. The use of spolia with aesthetic concerns within the masonry almost like it were a decorative jewel can be the choice of the endower or the architect. Within the main outer walls of Menteşeoğulları period Milas Ahmed Gazi Mosque (1378), composed of spolia face and rubble stone masonry framed with bricks, decorated spolia pieces are densely used as decoration. The epitaph of this mosque bears the attribute sultan *muluk al-'arab wa'l-'ajam, ghazi Ahmed Beg* (Gazi Ahmed Bey, the King of the Arabian and Persian Kings)³⁶. The application in this structure can be interpreted as an indicator of the endower's identity as a warrior of faith and a mark of his conquest. The use of decorated pieces on the side of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque observed when approached from the direction of the village can be interpreted as a conscious choice and a message delivered through visual perception and as an indicator of the conquest.

The use of spolia lintel, column capitals and the block stones in the main outer walls may have allowed for the construction period to be shorter and the building to be more economical. The lintel used on the inside of the entrance is of Middle Byzantine Era (Figure 7). A distant analogy can be made between this lintel and the moulding that fames the façade of Bursa Hüdavendigâr Mosque and the decorations on the moulding of upper floor corridors³⁷. In the case of both structures, the choice of decorated architectural elements are the results of aesthetic preference.

For the echinus in the narthex of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque (Figure 8), closed palmettes and a Doric column capital with floral shoots growing out of the palmettes (Figure 9) are used together with a Hellenistic Era (3rd - 2nd century BC) marble fluted column capital (Figure 10). The fluted capital is from outside the region, with closest comparisons observed in Pergamon, Athena Eumenes and Attalos stoas³⁸.

The use of spolia columns, column capitals and column bases are observed in the narthex of Beylik Era structures dated to the 14th century: Manisa Hacı İlyas Bey Masjîd (1362) and Manisa Ulu Mosque (1366) among the Sarukhanid buildings; Selçuk İsa Bey Mosque (1374), Tire Uçlalalı Mosque (14th century) and Tire Kaziroğlu Mosque (14th century) among the Aydınoğulları buildings; Milas Hacı İlyas Mosque (1330) among Menteşeoğulları buildings; and finally Bursa Alaeddin Mosque (1331), İznik Hacı Özbek Masjîd³⁹ (1333), Bursa Orhan Bey Mosque (1339), Bursa Hüdavendigâr Mosque (1366) and Kemalli Asılhan Bey Mosque (Murad I period) among Osmanoğulları buildings. The use of spolia in the narthex is usually explained through functional concerns. That being said, while the preference for column capitals that clearly do not belong to the era in the narthex might be a consequence of the architectural sensibilities of the period, it can also

36- Lowry, Erken Osmanlı Devleti'nin Yapısı, 2010, p. 45.

37- Doç. Dr. Ahmet Oğuz Alp was consulted on dates and examples.

38- Doç. Dr. Ahmet Oğuz Alp was consulted for his opinions and suggestions on dating and examples. Yıldırım Özbek describes the narthex columns of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque as having Doric capitals, and suggests that they were possibly taken from pre-Byzantine ruins: Osmanlı Beyliği Mimarisinde Taş Süsleme (1300-1453), T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Sanat Eserleri, Ankara, 2002, pp. 52-53.

39- The narthex has not survived to present day.

be explained as the choice of the endower and the architect. The overt use of architectural elements from previous periods in the entrance of the buildings can be interpreted as the symbols of conquest of the Saruhan, Aydın⁴⁰, and Ottoman *bey*s who particularly stand out with their ‘warrior of faith’ identities.

Door frame of the entrance is repurposed from Byzantine Era St Cornelius Church⁴¹ (Figure 11). Despite Christos (Christ) monogram composed of the letters c (chi) and r (rho) on the lintel, it was used as spolia in a mosque, that is a religious structure, and indeed one commissioned by a warrior of faith^{42 43}. Ousterhout is of the opinion that as Byzantine building masters worked on Early Ottoman buildings, it is only natural for spolia use which was the central decorative element in Late Byzantine structures, to continue in the Ottoman period as well⁴⁴. There are also opinions other than those that maintain the spolia use in Ottoman architecture generates a synthesis with Byzantine architecture. Görkay stresses that while it is possibly simply an ironic coincidence that an architectural element with a Christian religious symbol was used as spolia during the time of Murad I, or that these were mere “decorations” for the endowers of the mosque, or maybe that this could even be a trick played on Murad Gazi by the Byzantine building masters, it should also be taken into account all the same that such a striking and surprising lintel choice could be intentional and significant⁴⁵.

Considering Murad I Hüdavendigâr’s mother was of a Byzantine Christian past, the possibility of a trick by the Byzantine building masters or that of warriors of faith who dedicated their lives to conquering Byzantine lands and overthrowing the Byzantine state, to be careless with Byzantine and Christian identities and their symbols in religious architecture seem unlikely⁴⁶.

Bearing in mind the political and military relations with the Byzantine Empire in the period under Murad I, it is more appropriate to think of the overt choice of spolia above the entrance more in terms of the *spolien* – spoils of war approach rather than that of an aesthetic one. This overt choice of spolia is the indicator of the Muslim Gazi / Ottoman Bey who conquered the lands of a Christian Byzantine people.

40- Ahmedi presents the Ottoman rulers Osman, Orhan and Murad as holy warriors fighting against the infidels; see Lowry, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Devleti’nin Yapısı*, 2010, pp.20, 25-26.

41- Robert Ousterhout, “Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture”, *Muqarnas* 12, pp. 48-62, Brill, 1995, p. 54 ve Ousterhout, *Bizan’ın Yapı Ustaları*, p. 160.

Ayşe Çaylak Türker, *Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale*, Bilgi Kültür Sanat Yayınları, Ankara, 2018, pp. 24-25.

42- Ahmedi presents the Ottoman rulers Osman, Orhan and Murad as holy warriors fighting against the infidels; see Lowry, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Devleti’nin Yapısı*, 2010, pp.20, 25-26.

43- Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, p. 273.

44- Ousterhout, “Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture”, p.55.

Robert Ousterhout, “The East, the West and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture”, *Gesta* 43/2, pp. 165-176, 2004, p. 168.

45- Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, pp. 273-274.

46- Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, p. 274.

Here I would like to emphasise that apart from its functional and aesthetic use, spolia was also used as an indicator of power from Anatolian Seljuk period onwards. The clearest example of this is the spolia statues and spolia materials used overtly and densely around the gates which were built in 1219-1221 in the Konya fortress during the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad and were used in the ceremonies (such as “istikbal”/future) organised to welcome diplomatic visitors⁴⁷.

The use of figurative images in the fortress walls had conjured up both shock and awe in those who saw them. Yalman marks that here the aim is perhaps to create a sense of admiration for the leader⁴⁸. He also notes that there can be a apotropaic reason for the placement of a figurative tombstone, a tablet with a cross design (an Armenian “haçkar”, “cross stone”) and an epitaph tablet in Greek all found within the wall of Zazadin Han (1235-1236) within a few meters of each other⁴⁹, adding that it is also likely that during the efforts to establish the city, Keykubad simply destroyed or modified any Byzantine spolia material he came upon, considering them spoils of war (spolia) or signs of victory⁵⁰.

In addition to the load bearing, aesthetic and symbolic uses of spolia, McClary suggests that in Seljuk Era, besides being considered as a functional and practical solution, columns, column capitals and other load bearing elements were also used with talismanic purposes and presents the spolia used in the façades of Güdük Minare Mosque (1226) and Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Masjid (1224) as examples⁵¹.

Tuzla Hüdavendigâr Mosque

There are also works attributed to the name of Murat Hüdavendigâr in the village of Tuzla (Kızılca Tuzla with its older name), approximately eight km from the seashore within the Ayvacık jurisdiction of the district of Ezine in Çanakkale.⁵² The mosque, the madrasa and the small public baths suggest that Tuzla was once an important and

47- Scott Redford, “The Seljuqs of Rum and Antique”, *Mukarnas*, Issue 10, pp.148-156, 1993, p.154.

48- Suzan Yalman, “Antikiteyi Onarmak: Okunabilirlik ve Konya’da Selçuklu Devşirme Malzemelerini Okuma”, *Devşirme Malzemenin (Spolia) Yeniden Doğuşu, Antikçağ’dan Osmanlı’ya Anadolu’da Objelerin, Materyallerin ve Mekânların Sonraki Yaşamları*, editörler: Suzan Yalman and Ivana Jevti, pp. 217-239, Anamed Koç Üniversitesi yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, p. 233.

49- Yalman, “Antikiteyi Onarmak: Okunabilirlik ve Konya’da Selçuklu Devşirme Malzemelerini Okuma”, pp. 223-224.

50- Yalman, “Antikiteyi Onarmak: Okunabilirlik ve Konya’da Selçuklu Devşirme Malzemelerini Okuma”, p. 238.

51- Richard Piran McClary, “The Re-use of Byzantine Spolia in Rüm Saljûq Architecture”, *bfo-Journal* 1.2015, *bauforschungonline.ch*, (10.12.2014), 2015, pp. 16-17.

52- Hüdavendigâr Camisi, *Semavi Eyice*, TDVİA, Volume 18, 1998, pp. 289-290.

Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, “Tuzla’da Hüdavendigâr Camii”, *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi*, Issue 6, Ankara, 1987, pp. 5-14.

populous centre^{53 54}.

The research carried out by Ayverdi in the foundations records and on location shows that the construction of a small complex composed of a mosque and a madrasa⁵⁵ in the village was commissioned by Murad I Hüdevandigar. The four line epitaph in Arabic above the door mentions that the construction of the mosque was managed by Emîr Hacı bin Süleyman from beginning to end on the orders of Sultan Murad in April and May 1366⁵⁶. Accordingly, it is built in the first years of the reign of Murad I as the leader of the Ottoman Beylik and it is there of one of the first works of Ottoman Era Turkish architecture⁵⁷.

The sanctuary of the mosque has a rectangular plan rather close to a square with the dimensions 12,22 x 13,90 m and is covered with a dome of 12 m radius. In the north of the sanctuary, there is a narthex with a hipped roof supported by masonry pillars⁵⁸. This considerably large sanctuary is covered with a dome without a pulley, which is clad with roof tiles on top and has pendant transitions. This illustrates the significance of domes in Turkish architecture even in a relatively early period. The dome is supported by four large round arches that start from the ground level and are prominent on the surfaces of the walls. The square base of the minaret on the left as well as the section of transition to the shaft, which is composed of prismatic triangles, are original. The minaret of face stone with a cylindrical body is added in the restoration of 1968. In front of the main space, there is a three-part narthex of roughly 5 metre depth. The narthex, the gaps within which were covered by bonding at some point, was transformed back into its original state during the restoration in 1968, when it was covered with a roof with a wooden ceiling based on the beam marks on the sanctuary wall⁵⁹ (Figures 12-13).

As with Behramkale Hüdevandigar Mosque, Küskü explains the dense use of spolia stone materials in the outer main walls of Tuzla Hüdevandigar Mosque, with the proximity to ancient city remains which offer easy access to spolia materials⁶⁰. It is supposed that these spolia might be brought over from the Apollon Smintheus (Apollon the Lord of Mice⁶¹) sanctuary in the village of Gölpinar, 6 kilometres away from the village of Tuzla.

It is known that spolia column and column capitals are used particularly in Aydın, Saruhan and Ottoman structures. Spolia columns are used in the narthices of Kemalli Asılhan Bey Mosque and Behramkale Hüdevandigar Mosque, which are dated to the

53- Yenişehirlioğlu, "Tuzla'da Hüdevandigar Camii", p. 5.

54- Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri*, I, İstanbul, 1989, p. 355.

55- Ayverdi, "İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri", p. 355.

56- Ayverdi, "İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri", p. 356.

57- Hüdevandigar Camisi, Semavi Eyice, TDVIA, Volume 18, 1998, pp. 289-290.

58- Ayverdi, "İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri", pp. 355-356.

59- Hüdevandigar Camisi, Semavi Eyice, TDVIA, Volume 18, 1998, pp. 289-290.

60- Sema Gündüz Küskü, *Osmanlı Beyliği Mimarisinde Anadolu Selçuklu Geleneği*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 2014, p. 229.

61- Veli Sevin, *Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyası I*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 2019, p. 80.

period under Murad I. Along with these, it is observed that spolia columns or column capitals were not used in the narthex of Tuzla Hüdavendigâr Mosque. The proximity of the building to settlements from the Antiquity and the *in-situ* columns and column sections around the structure itself⁶² suggest it is a conscious choice not to use spolia columns in the narthex (Figures 13-14).

As the *in-situ* architectural elements from the Antiquity and the Byzantine Era and the spolia materials used within the alternate masonry of the main outer walls were covered when we visited in April 2019 for restoration, we were not able to identify all of the spolia mentioned in previous studies⁶³. Within the main outer walls, a section of a marble architrave block⁶⁴, a section of a marble architrave block with the decoration of two peacocks facing each other⁶⁵ are used. A column capital is placed upon the keystone of the eastern façade window arch⁶⁶ (Figure 15). This spolia use within the main outer walls resembles the use of decorated architraves, pilasters and column capitals within the alternate masonry of the main outer walls of Milas Ahmed Gazi Mosque (1378). Considering the gazi – warrior of faith – attributes of the endowers of both buildings, these spolia choices might be interpreted as indicators of power.

In the door frames and the lintels, spolia block stones both with and without profiles are used with functional purposes (Figures 16-17). A section of a marble baluster block is used as window frame⁶⁷ (Figure 16).

Right below the epitaph on the door of the sanctuary which declares the commission of Murad I, a section of a Hellenistic cornice block with Ionic cymatium is used (Figure 18). Görkay states that the spolia cornice used as the lintel of the sanctuary door is taken from the ruins of the Apollon Smintheus temple⁶⁸ (Figure 19). It is more appropriate to attribute the preference for this decorated piece to aesthetic concerns rather than to functional convenience, construction times or economic reasons. The overt use of spolia on the entrance of the building must be the choice of the endower or the architect.

Byzantine Era spolia templon barrier slabs were used to fully cover the floor of the narthex of Hüdavendigâr Mosque⁶⁹ (Figures 20-25). Görkay marks that in this mosque, spolia materials are used in the most visible locations and outside of their architectonic positions and that the narthex was covered with architectural elements of various types⁷⁰.

62- Türker, “Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale”, pp. 207-209, 216, 218, 530-532, 537, 539.

63- Restoration works have started in 2016.

64- Türker, “Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale”, pp. 111, 491.

65- Türker, “Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale”, pp. 115-116, 494.

66- Türker, “Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale”, p. 380, 653.

67- Türker, “Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale”, pp. 73, 458.

68- Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, p. 275.

69- For the spolia materials in the narthex floor see Türker, “Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale”, pp.131-173, 495-516.

70- Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, p. 275 and for the narthex floor tiling see Figure 4

We also the use of spolia outside of its original function in Beylik Era structures as well⁷¹. While the spolia lion statue on the south-east corner of Birgi Ulu Mosque built by Aydınoğlu Mehmed Bey in 1312 is a Western Anatolian pagan work, it is the same lion motif that goes back to the very old traditions of the Near East, that have passed on to the Islamic culture from the Sasanid culture in both symbol and stylisation⁷². In Peçin, it is stated that a spolia ambon piece⁷³ was placed on each corner of the door lintel of the Orhan Mosque built by Menteseoğlu Orhan Bey in 1335 in his own name^{74 75}, with spolia marble pieces found on the floor of the sanctuary as well⁷⁶. In addition, decorated spolia marble pieces are used in the floor of the sanctuary as well⁷⁷. Around the entrance to the mausoleum inside the madrasa section of the complex built by Saruhanoğlu İshak Çelebi in Manisa (1366-1378), knotted columns from Byzantine religious architecture were used and a column capital with a cross motif was used in the madrasa⁷⁸. The distinct preference for spolia in the structures of Western Anatolia beys from Byzantine Era and previous times, can be interpreted through their *gazi* attributes, as warriors of faith.

While the visible use of decorated and patterned slabs as flooring in the narthex can be the result of an aesthetic concern, it can also be an indicator of the *gazi* identity of Murad I Hüdavendigâr and the Ottoman dominance in the region.

Mosques attributed to Murad I Hüdavendigâr, which were completely renovated afterwards

Gelibolu Hüdavendigâr Mosque

The name of Gelibolu in Byzantine Era is mentioned as *Kallipolis*⁷⁹ or *Gallipolis*⁸⁰. Gelibolu was conquered in Mart 1354 by Gazi Süleyman Paşa, son of Orhan Gazi to

71- This paragraph is inspired my PhD thesis titled *Türk Devri Yapılarında Devşirme Malzeme Kullanımı: Manisa Örneği*.

72- İlknur Aktuğ Kolay, *Batı Anadolu 14. Yüzyıl Beylikler Mimarisinde Yapım Teknikleri*, (published Phd thesis), İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 1989.

73- Hüseyin Rahmi Ünal, “Beçin”, *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygurlığı (Mimarlık ve Sanat) 2*, pp. 211-217, Ed. Ali Uzay Peker ve Kenan Bilici, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2006, p. 211.

74- Tuğrul Kihitir, *Beylikler ve Eserleri Anadolu'nun Beyleri*, t Yayın, İstanbul, 2012, p. 280.

75- In Arel's article, there is a figure where the Byzantine ambon piece is on the floor rather than above the door (Figure 38), and he has noted that this was used on the entrance to the mosque.

Ayla Arel, “Menteşe Beyliği Devrinde Peçin Şehri”, *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları I*, pp. 69-101, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Mimarlık Tarihi ve Röleve Kürsüsü, İstanbul, 1968, pp. 66-67 (figures).

76- Ünal, “Beçin”, pp. 211-212.

77- Ünal, “Beçin”, pp. 211-212.

78- For detail information see my Phd thesis titled *Türk Devri Yapılarında Devşirme Malzeme Kullanımı: Manisa Örneği*.

79- Sevin, “Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyası I”, pp. 28, 150, 315.

80- Gelibolu, Feridun Emecen, TDVİA, Volume 14, 1996, pp. 1-6.

J. Darrauzés, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitane*, Paris, 1981, pp. 491, 164' quoted from Osman Uysal and Ayşe Çaylak Türker, “Çanakkale İli Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Yüzey Araştırması 2005 Yılı Çalışmaları”, p.113.

become Ottoman soil⁸¹. Under Ottoman rule, Gelibolu became an important base of operations for raids to Thrace and the Balkans, in fact becoming the centre of the first Pasha Sanjak⁸². On 13 August 1366, it was captured by the Crusaders⁸³ and left to the Byzantine Empire. Under Murad I, it was taken back into Ottoman rule, indisputably, in 1376⁸⁴. The city then quickly became the main naval base and the base for the admiral in chief for the Ottomans, and developed rapidly thanks to its commercial activity in addition to its military significance.⁸⁵

Evlıya Çelebi speaks of Gelibolu with the words “*This being the second place of the throne for the first time after Bursa, Gazi Hudâvendigâr had issued a coin here, and our deceased great mother would keep the quarter dirham fifty akçe saying “Murad Bey may his helpers be plenty, Gelibol”*”⁸⁶. He continues his account with the mosques of Gelibolu noting “*there are mosques of viziers like the mosque of the sultan,*” “*Firstly there is the Sultan (–) Han mosque within the fortress...*”⁸⁷. He mentions the Hüdavendigâr Mosque as Sultan Han Mosque, however does not reveal any details about the building.

One construction and two repair works on Gelibolu Hüdavendigâr Mosque are attributed to Gazi Süleyman Paşa on the epitaph. However in the foundation records of Süleyman Paşa the building is mentioned as Hüdavendigâr Mosque⁸⁸. Ayverdi notes it is possible that Süleyman Paşa built a small mosque within this important fortress he conquered just as he built mosques in many other places and that this grand mosque was commissioned later by Hüdavendigâr. Therefore the structure is a Hüdavendigâr work⁸⁹. The building is also known as Gazi Süleyman Paşa Mosque and Ulu Cami (Great Mosque).

The building was repaired in 1677 and then was completely renovated in 1889 to its current appearance⁹⁰. According to the accounts of Castellan who passed through Gelibolu

For detailed studies on Gelibolu and the Gelibolu Fortress in the Byzantine Era, see Ayşe Çaylak Türker, “The Gallipoli (Kallipolis) Castle in the Byzantine Period, Deltion, 2007, pp. 55-66 and Ayşe Çaylak Türker, “Çanakkale Boğazı’nda Bizans Dönemine Ait Tarihi ve Arkeolojik Veriler”, Çanakkale Tarihi I, Değişim Yayınları, 2008, pp. 515-585.

81- Fevzi Kurtoglu, Gelibolu ve Yöresi Tarihi, Edirne ve Yöresi Eski Eserleri Sevenler Kurumu Yayınları İstanbul, 1938, p. 36.

82- Gelibolu, Feridun Emecen, TDVİA, Volume 14, 1996, pp. 1-6.

J. Darrouzès, Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitane, Paris, 1981, p. 491, 164 quoted from Uysal and Türker, “Çanakkale İli Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Yüzey Araştırması 2005 Yılı Çalışmaları”, p. 113.

83- Kurtoglu, “Gelibolu ve Yöresi Tarihi”, p. 40.

84- Gelibolu, Feridun Emecen: <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/gelibolu>, (03.08.2019).

Uysal and Türker, “Çanakkale İli Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Yüzey Araştırması 2005 Yılı Çalışmaları” p.113.

85- Uysal and Türker, “Çanakkale İli Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Yüzey Araştırması 2005 Yılı Çalışmaları”, p.113.

86- Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 5. Kitap 2. Volume, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, p. 423.

87- Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, p. 425.

88- Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri”, p. 305.

89- Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri”, p. 305.

90- Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri”, p. 305.

towards the end of the 18th century, Ulu Cami was a structure with nine domes⁹¹ (Figure 26). Based on this description and the corresponding etching, it can be extrapolated that the structure resembled other buildings with a multi-domed plan like Bursa Ulu Cami and Edirne Eski Cami⁹². Ayverdi states that according to the etching, it has a plan of a nine domed building over four piers, in the multi columned plan known as “ulu cami type”, that the “triple windowed” part shown with additions on the etching in the north west of the mosque are the expanded section noted in the repair epitaph of the mosque and that the windows in the actual mass are individually placed, while the mosque does not have a portico⁹³. Ayverdi marks that in his text, Castellan notes that while the plan of the mosque is neat and regular, it is rather bizarre and against all principles of architecture and good taste in its façade decoration, then that the landing reached by twelve steps is covered with a heavy and particularly expansive eaves; that there is a gilded and embossed epitaph on the middle one of the three doors of the building, that the inner space was illuminated through three windows and the domes were based on various rows of piers⁹⁴.

Today, on the plate at the entrance of the building, it is written that it was commissioned by Sultan Murad Han in 1385, that its architect was Çandarlı Kara Hayrettin Paşa and was renovated in 1676-1891 and in 2006. It is stated that in the restorations ordered by Sultan Abdülhamit Han in 1891, arched entrances were added upon columns in front of each of its three doors. In addition, it is also written that this is the first mosque built in Europe, and that it is a mosque of conquest.

The mosque is a rectangular building with a hipped roof, 31.50 x 26.20 m in dimension supported by eight piers on the east west axis⁹⁵. Ayverdi notes that a section was added to the western façade during the expansion of the mosque, that it is possible that it was built upon the foundation of a previous mosque and that the first structure might have been built with domes of 6.5 m radius⁹⁶. The minaret is on the eastern façade. The mosque, which does not have a narthex, has three entrances in eastern, western and northern sides. These entrances were defined with entry eaves supported by arches settled on two spolia columns (Figure 27).

Spolia columns and column capitals are used in the entrances, which are repaired on the orders of Sultan Abdülhamit Han as stated above. Ayverdi marks that the original building also had three entrances. Is it possible that these spolia pieces were also used in the original version of the building? Considering its similarities to Bursa Ulu Camisi and

91- A. L. Castellan, *Lettres sur La Grèce, L'Hellespont et Constantinople*, I, Paris 1811, p. 57 quoted from Uysal and Türker, “Çanakkale İli Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Yüzey Araştırması 2005 Yılı Çalışmaları”, p. 115.

92- Uysal and Türker, 2007, “Çanakkale İli Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Yüzey Araştırması 2005 Yılı Çalışmaları”, p. 115.

Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri”, p. 307.

93- H. Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée, l'Hellespont et Constantinople*, I, Paris 1808, I. Tome, p. 215 vd. levha 18 quoted from Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri”, p. 305.

94- Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri”, p. 305.

95- Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri”, p. 305.

96- Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri”, p. 305.

Edirne Eski Camisi, it could be extrapolated that these columns were originally used in the sanctuary.

On either side of the western entrance of Hüdavendigâr Mosque, spolia granite columns, 5th century Byzantine Era Corinthian marble column capitals⁹⁷ and a marble column base are used in a symmetrical order⁹⁸. In the part where the arches supported by the columns settle on the main outer wall of the mosque, spolia column capitals are used embedded in the wall (Figure 28). The grey veined marble monolithic column to the left of the northern entrance and the marble column base, which is partly buried in the ground are spolia⁹⁹. To the right of the entrance, the same type of capital and base are used together with a monolithic granite column. In the section where the arches supported by the columns are settled on the main outer wall of the mosque, the same capital is used embedded in the wall (Figure 29). On each side of the eastern entrance, monolithic green breccia spolia columns are used symmetrically, along with marble capitals from the same set as the ones around the northern entrance and marble column capitals¹⁰⁰. As with the others, the same type of column capital is used embedded in the wall on the section where the arches supported by the columns are settled on the mosque's main outer wall (Figure 30). The capitals used in northern and eastern entrances are dated to the 19th century¹⁰¹.

97- These capitals were dated to Byzantine Era by Türker. Türker, "Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale", pp. 319-320, 622.

98- These capitals were dated to Byzantine Era by Türker. Türker, "Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale", pp. 281, 600.

99- These capitals were dated to Byzantine Era by Türker. Türker, "Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale", pp. 279-280, 598-599.

100- These spolia capitals and column bases were dated to Byzantine Era by Türker. Türker, "Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale", pp. 279, 599.

101- Our opinions about this point were confirmed by the opinions of Doç. Dr. Ahmet Oğuz Alp as well. These capitals were dated to Byzantine Era by Türker.: "Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in Çanakkale", pp. 309, 322, 624.

However, the fact that there are no abrasions or fractures in the capitals as well as their neat workmanship, almost like the work of a template, suggest that they were purpose built for the building. Kalathos height indicates that the capitals were completed. The shape of the splay and the clamp sections at the corners of the star-like abacus of the unadorned, stylised Corinthian capital is not in accord with the Byzantine examples. These features indicate a similarity to the 19th century column capitals.

The garlands that grow out of the volutes on the stylised Corinthian column capital evoke the capitals in the book called "Livre de Dessins des Cheminées" (Index No. H2606) found in the Topkapı Museum Library, containing Rococo and Baroque decorative samples brought from Europe. The emphasis on the garlands bears resemblance to the garland use on 19th century Beaux-Arts and Neo-Classical façades. (Alkım, "Vallauri'nin Klasisist Cephe Tasarımları", Geç Osmanlı Döneminde Sanat Mimarlık ve Kültür Karşılaşmaları, Yayına Hazırlayan Gözde Çelik, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, pp. 193)

Garland use was influential not only in architecture but also in furniture design. The use of this design is also seen in the examples provided by Feryal İrez in her book titled "19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saray Mobilyası" (19th Century Ottoman Palace Furniture). Particularly on the 19th century Louis XIV style writing table designed in the Boulle technique at the entrance of the Somaki room in Dolmabahçe Palace, which is decorated with Rococo furniture, the garland motif emerging from volutes was used. (Feryal İrez, 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saray Mobilyası, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara, 1988, pp. 61-62, Figure 42)

There is no known source in the Gelibolu region for the green breccia (verde antico) spolia columns used in the Eastern entrance. The green breccia used in Western Anatolia in Antiquity are of Thessalian origin¹⁰². As they were used as spolia in Byzantine buildings later on, the green breccia spolia columns used in Hüdavendigâr Mosque can also be of Thessalian origin. It is known that the green breccia spolia columns used on the eastern entrance are not from the Gelibolu or environs, and that they were also used as spolia in Byzantine structures and where are from the Thessaly region of Greece. While a significant symmetry is observed in the materials as well as the style and the dimensions of the spolia columns and column capitals used around the eastern and western entrances, in the northern entrance, which leads to the “hünkar mahfili” (the prayer hall of the sultan), a marble column was used on the left and a granite one on the right; that being said, although the column bases are not seen clearly due to the raised floor, the column capitals belong to the same set.

In the garden of the mosque, a Roman Era sarcophagus¹⁰³ is displayed (Figure 31). The rosette in the centre of the longitudinal face of the sarcophagus¹⁰⁴, which is from Prokenessos-Marmara Island marble suggests that the sarcophagus was also used in the Middle Byzantine Era¹⁰⁵. In addition a similar sarcophagus is exhibited in the green area at the harbour.

I had the opportunity to confirm my observations on this issue through my discussions with Doç. Dr. Ahmet Oğuz Alp as well.

For similar column capitals, see.: Tophane Nusretiye Mosque (1823-1826), Çağaloğlu Bâbüâlî Gate(1844), Pera Grand Hotel Londres (1892), İstiklal Caddesi Meymenet Han (late 19th century – early 20th century), Teşvikiye Narmanlı Apartment Building (1932), Teşvikiye Apartment Building No:119, Cité de Pera (Beyoğlu Çiçek Pasajı) (1874-1876) and Konya Aziziye Mosque (1872).

Most recent examples include Tophane Nusretiye Mosque (1823-1826) and İstiklal Caddesi Meymenet Han (late 19th century – early 20th century).

102- The serpentine breccia (green breccia) from the Casambla mines in the Larissa region of Greece, “Verde Antico” in Latin, was one of the most commonly used types of stone especially in Roman Era. Vardar determines the source of the spolia green breccia in Rüstem Paşa Mosque as Thessaly. (Kadriye Figen Vardar, 2017, “Rüstem Paşa Camii Taş Süslemelerinin Değerlendirilmesi”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, Volume 27/1, p. 374)

See also: Donald Provan ‘Roman Rock’ Marble and other decorative rock in the Roman World (online).

For the definition of verde antico and its description – that it can be easily identified thanks to the white marble, dark green, and the pale greyish green serpentine shapes within its bright green colour and numerous large pieces – as well as the Hagia Sophia example, Monica T. Price, *Decorative Stone The Complete Source Book*, Thames&Hudson, London, 2007, pp.186-187.

103- Guntram Koch, *Türkiye’deki Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Lahitleri*, çeviri Burhan Varkıvaç, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2010, p. 108 Figure 20.5.

104- It is more plainer and more linear than the floral decorations of the Roman Era. For examples from the Roman Era see Koch, “Türkiye’deki Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Lahitleri”, pp. 111 Figure 28, 115 Figure 39.

105- Bu konudaki düşüncemiz Doç. Dr. Ahmet Oğuz Alp’in görüşleriyle de doğrulanmıştır.

Umurbey Hüdavendigâr Mosque

Umurbey, or Burgaz, Çatal Burgaz or Lapseki Burgazı with its older names¹⁰⁶, lies between Çanakkale and Lapseki, and is developed on top of the ancient city of *Perkote*¹⁰⁷. The region, which is thought to be conquered by Karasi Beyliği in the 14th century, was integrated into Ottoman lands by Orhan Gazi¹⁰⁸.

UmurbeyHüdavendigâr Mosque, built by Murad I Hüdavendigâr, was demolished in 1990-1996 and a large mosque with two minarets and a central dome was built in its place¹⁰⁹. We learn from Osman Uysal's article that a report dated 04.08.1977 and understood to be prepared by Çanakkale and Troy Museum assistants upon the request of Umurbey Municipality to demolish the existing building and to construct a new mosque in its place, is found in the archives of the General Directorate of Foundations. Uysal mentions the report and the relevant developments as follows¹¹⁰:

“...it is stated that the mosque has lost its historical property qualities with the restorations carried out in 1917, 1920 and 1960, that the inside walls are covered with new tiles up to 2 m height and that the minaret was renewed almost right from the foundation. After it is recounted that four columns from the Antiquity, one Byzantine column capital, three Ottoman column capitals and one Corinthian column base are found in the building, it is once again emphasised that the structure has lost its historical property qualities, noting that it is not therefore possible for it to be restored by the Ministry of Culture. In return, the experts from the General Directorate of Foundations have compiled a report which did not approve the demolishing of the building and the construction of a new mosque in its place as the building does indeed have historical properties.”

Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board of Edirne had examined the document number 395, dated 20.02.1986 by Çanakkale Governership Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism and its annexes; and decided with the decree number 53 dated 01.07.1988 on *“The identification and confirmation of Gazi Hüdaverdigâr Mosque as a religious structure to be protected, a 1/50 scale survey and restoration projects and the landscaping to be prepared and presented to our institution for approval”*¹¹¹.

106- Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimari Çağının Menşesi: Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri”, p. 358.

107- Veli Sevin, Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyası I, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 2019, p. 71-72.

Ali Osman Uysal, “Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları”, Sanat Tarihi Dergisi Volume: XXI, Issue: 1, 2012, p. 127; Arslan, Nurettin, “2007 Yılı Lampsakos/Lapseki, Abydos ve Çan Yüzezy Araştırması”, 26. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı (26-30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara), C.1, Ankara, 2009, p. 335.

See also Strabon, Geographika, Çeviren Prof. Dr. Adnan Pekman, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, pp. 97-99, 105-106.

108- Uysal, “Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları”, p. 127.

109- Uysal, “Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları”, p. 127.

110- Uysal, “Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları”, pp. 131-132. It was not possible to access this document within the Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations.

111- Umurbey Hüdavendigâr Camii Dosyası, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Sayısal Arşivi (The Folder on Umurbey Hüdavendigâr Mosque, Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations).

Upon the continuing demands for the building's demolition, in their session dated 30.06.1989, the Board of Edirne decided to study the building on location. In their session dated 30.09.1989, the board decided that the issue could be discussed again upon an application to the General Directorate of Foundations, who are the owners of the property¹¹². The report by the General Directorate of Foundations dated 29.05.1990, number 90, was read, its annexes were studied and as a result of the discussions it was decided that on 13.06.1990 the structural elements of the mosque that need to be protected should be examined by the Museum, that they should be relocated and conserved where necessary, that the structural and façade features of the present mosque should also be represented in the planning of the new mosque and that the project should be submitted for the approval of the Board of Edirne.

Uysal marks that in a report by the General Directorate of Foundations from 1992, there is a mention of the lead cladding of the domes of the new mosque to be provided by the institution¹¹³. It is understood from the sign placed on the façade of the new mosque that the construction was completed between 1990-1996.

In the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Inventory of the General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums, it is mentioned that the mosque which has three naves and was constructed by means of extensions to an existing Byzantine church, has a tiled roof and windows with slightly pointed arches, and that there are columns and column capitals from previous eras present in the mosque¹¹⁴.

Having had the chance to see the building prior to the complete rebuilding, Ayverdi states that the mosque was 12,35x11,40 m in dimensions, covered with a roof, had 80 cm thick walls with a Byzantine narthex in the front (Figure 32), He notes that this narthex was included in the sanctuary when the need for an expansion had risen in the 1950s. He writes that the original mosque was built by means of expansion on an existing Byzantine narthex. He mentions that the Byzantine narthex had five arches and four piers with rather ugly capitals and that the green marblepiers were taken from Roman structures¹¹⁵.

Having said that, Ayverdi also states that the minaret base has old brick and cut stone and vertical brick supports and it resembles the minaret base of Lapseki Süleyman Paşa Mosque¹¹⁶. Uysal notes that in this sense, the minaret base which was bonded with an alternate masonry method can be dated to the Hüdevendigar period¹¹⁷. The façades have large round arched windows at the bottom and small circular windows at the top¹¹⁸.

112- Umurbey Hüdevendigar Camii Dosyası, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Sayısal Arşivi (The Folder on Umurbey Hüdevendigar Mosque, Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations).

113- Uysal, "Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları", pp. 131-132. This document could not be retrieved among the documents in the Quantitative Archives of the General Directorate of Foundations.

114- Umurbey Hüdevendigar Camii Dosyası, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Sayısal Arşivi (The Folder on Umurbey Hüdevendigar Mosque, Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations).

115- Ayverdi, "İstanbul Mimari Çağının Menşesi: Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri", p. 359.

116- Ayverdi, "İstanbul Mimari Çağının Menşesi: Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri", p. 359.

117- Uysal, "Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları", p. 133.

118- Uysal, "Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları", p. 133.

Uysal marks that the building had an entrance each on the northern and western façades, and that when one entered through the western façade, they faced the Byzantine support system composed of five round arches on four columns, which Ayverdi argues was later included in the sanctuary, and he finally adds that its foundation was probably the narthex of the Byzantine Era church¹¹⁹. The rest of the sanctuary is split into three naves with the beams placed crosswise on the two wooden piers. In addition, there used to be the wooden prayer room for women on the north side of the sanctuary¹²⁰.

Based on Ayverdi's observations and Uysal's examination of the archival photographs, Umurbey Hüdavendigâr Mosque was a building with a crosswise rectangular plan and a roofed wooden ceiling which was built by utilising the remains of a church.

The column capitals, bases and columns in the old mosque were first transported to the gas station in the district, and was then brought to the Çanakkale Museum of Archeology¹²¹. Out of these, the slit pyramid shaped column capitals were dated to the Middle Byzantine Era due to their stylistic features¹²² (Figure 33-35).

Spolia column use in the sanctuary is observed in the structures that continue the multi-piered mosque tradition in the Beylik Era and the Ottoman Era: Saruhanoğulları Manisa Ulu Camisi (Mosque) (1366), Aydınoğulları Selçuk İsa Bey Mosque (1376), Bursa Murad II Mausoleum (15th century), Bursa Yeşil Cami (Mosque) (1419), and Manisa İvaz Paşa Mosque (1484) are examples. The spolia column use in the sanctuary of Milas Belen Mosque (14th century) from Menteşeoğulları, results from the fact that the building is repurposed from a church. Spolia columns are used within the main outer walls of Milas Ahmet Gazi Mosque (1378), and the roof is supported by two rows of piers that split the sanctuary into three naves. As these examples illustrate, while the spolia use can be a consequence of the repurposing of a structure, it can also indicate functional purposes based on the plan of the building. It is also possible that the preference for the multi-piered plan is itself a consequence of the easy procurement of architectural elements. Concurrently, this preference also involves an aesthetic choice, thereby providing an opportunity to display the material, as seen in Manisa and Selçuk examples as well.

A marble head of a statue from the Late Antiquity or a Roman Era is placed explicitly and symmetrically into the pediment of the rear front of the *zaviye – imaret* (small Islamic monastery and guesthouse) structure¹²³ built by the raider Evrenos Gazi¹²⁴ who carried out

119- Uysal, "Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları", p. 133.

120- Uysal, "Lapseki'nin Umurbey Beldesinde Osmanlı Devri Yapıları", p. 133.

121- Arslan, "2007 Yılı Lampsakos/Lapseki, Abydos ve Çan Yüzey Araştırması", p. 335.

For information about these Byzantine works see; Türker, "Bizans Döneminde Orta Boğaz Bölgesi ve Madytos", Çanakkale I: Savaşı ve Tarihi, ed. İ.G. Yumuşak, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayını, İstanbul, 2006, pp. 554-576.

122- Türker, "Bizans Döneminde Orta Boğaz Bölgesi ve Madytos", p. 555.

123- Gümülçine, Machiel Kiel, TDVIA, Volume 14, 1996, pp. 268-270.

124- Görkay discusses the works of Murad I period *gazis* on "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası", p. 277.

the conquest of the Balkans alongside Murad I in Komotini in 1363¹²⁵. This choice of spolia materials may be a way in which Evrenos Gazi emphasised his taste and his holy war¹²⁶.

Another warrior of faith who carried out conquests alongside Murad I is Malkoç Gazi. The mausoleum Malkoç Gazi commissioned for his son Mehmed in 1385 in Gebze has not survived. Ergezen marks that the building stones were taken from ruins, and that they bear Byzantine motifs and signs, with signs from Byzantine Era on the epitaph placed between the two arches as well¹²⁷. Ayverdi notes that while nothing can be said for the stones that are not present, it is obvious that the signs on the epitaph are texts in Greek regarding the construction of the mausoleum, and that the writing on the epitaph is not embossed but rather carved in the manner of Roman and Byzantine epigraphs¹²⁸. Halil Edhem Bey affirms that there is an inscription concordant with 15th century Byzantine Greek script which consists of three sets of letters at the top and two sets each on each side, that lie on the outside of the frame of the marble plate of the epitaph, which together mean “labour master İstafanos”¹²⁹. It can be assumed that İstafanos was the architect of the structure. Ayverdi argues that despite the Byzantine origin of the materials, the structure is in the character of the old Seljuk cupolas.

In the Çanakkale region, the spolia use in the Behramkale and Tuzla Hüdavendigâr Mosques and the spolia columns and column capitals observed in the visuals of the original structure of Umurbey Hüdavendigâr Mosque correspond to the density of spolia use in the Murad I period and the “warrior of faith” character of the endower. Explicit spolia use or rather display as the spoils of war, is also seen in the structures commissioned by the holy warriors of the Murad I period.

Ersen argues that spolia use was widespread in Early Ottoman Architecture, in the structures built in 1300-1350, that it was sparse in 1350-1400 and that as reusable materials diminished, people began to produce original material in their workshops¹³⁰.

125- Machiel Kiel, “Observations on the History of Northern Greece During the Turkish Rule, The Turkish Monuments of Komotini and Serres”, *Balkan Studies*, 12/2 Selanik, 1971, pp. 415-462.

İsmail Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan’da Türk Mimarî Eserleri*, İstanbul, İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2003, p. 176 Figure 52.

Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, p. 277.

126- See Lowry, *Erken Osmanlı Devleti’nin Yapısı*, 2010.

127- Hasan Rıza Ergezen, “Malkoç Türbesi”, *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, no. 73, Şubat 1948, pp. 15-17, quoted in Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri”, pp. 303-305.

Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, p. 277.

128- Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri”, pp. 303-305.

129- Halil Edhem, “Gekbûze’de 787 Târihli Bir Osmanlı Kitâbesi” *Târîh-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmû’ası*, 40 no. 7 sene, 1 Tesrîn-i Evvel 1332, pp. 228-235, quoted in Ayverdi, “İstanbul Mimarî Çağının Menşei: Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri”, p. 304.

Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, p. 277.

130- Ahmet Ersen, *Erken Osmanlı Mimarisinde Cephe Biçim Düzenleri ve Bizans Etkilerinin Niteliği*, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, (unpublished Phd thesis), İstanbul, 1986, p. 43.

Despite this dating by Ersen, use of spolia materials in the time of Murad I Hüdavendigâr is also rather extensive as shown above. Bursa Hüdavendigâr, Behramkale Hüdavendigâr, Tuzla Hüdavendigâr, Umurbey Hüdavendigâr mosques and the buildings commissioned by *gazis* attest to this.

Ousterhout states that the Ottomans, upon encountering Byzantine architecture, conceived a “hybrid” architecture¹³¹ with their own architectural traditions. In this new architecture, local Byzantine builders laboured in Ottoman structures; the Anatolian Seljuk traditions were continued in the plan and the bonding systems, while Byzantine techniques were employed in the masonry and the materials.¹³² Bursa Hüdavendigâr Mosque (1365-1366) shares similarities with Byzantine structures (Figure 36). In addition to the architectural similarities, sources from the period reveal that Byzantine builders were employed in the construction. The practice of picking out the artists from among the prisoners and the mention of an artist named Yanko Madyan supports the suggestion of Byzantine-local craftsmen in the construction¹³³. The decoration bears the marks of both Byzantine and Anatolian Seljuk traditions¹³⁴.

Seljuk and Byzantine influences observed in the decoration are the signs of the political and cultural atmosphere of the Murad I period. The fact that Murad I Hüdavendigâr’s mother Nilüfer Hatun was a Christian who had later converted to Islam suggests that Murad I was familiar with the Byzantine culture. His conquests in the Byzantine lands and that Byzantine artisans and builders worked in his Ottoman buildings account for the aesthetic reasons for the spolia use.

The case of Bursa Hüdavendigâr Mosque raises the possibility that Byzantine local artisans and builders were also employed in the construction of the Hüdavendigâr mosques commissioned by Murad I Hüdavendigâr in the Çanakkale region.

Spolia use might be an indicator of the strength of the Ottomans and the gazi character of Murad Hüdavendigâr. They might have considered the architectural elements from the Antiquity and the Byzantine Era in the ancient cities or the Byzantine structures in the regions they conquered as spoils of war, thereby attaching them to their buildings as indicators of their holy war. The best example of this is the use of decorated and

131- Robert Ousterhout, “Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture”, *Muqarnas* 12, 1995, pp. 48-62’den aktaran Bilge Ar, “Spolia usage in Anatolian rulers: A comparison of ideas for Byzantines, Anatolian Seljuqs and Ottomans”, *ITU AZ Volume. 12 Issue. 2* pp. 3-17, 2015, İstanbul, p. 9.

132- Ousterhout, “Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture”, pp. 48-62’den aktaran Ar, “Spolia usage in Anatolian rulers: A comparison of ideas for Byzantines, Anatolian Seljuqs and Ottomans”, pp. 9, 17.

133- Küskü, “Osmanlı Beyliği Mimarisinde Anadolu Selçuklu Geleneği”, p. 281.

134- Ousterhout, “Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture”, pp. 48-62 quoted in Ar, “Spolia usage in Anatolian rulers: A comparison of ideas for Byzantines, Anatolian Seljuqs and Ottomans”, pp. 9, 17.

See also M. Baha Tanman, “Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi’nin Erken Devir Osmanlı Mimarisine Dair Tespitleri”, *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi’nin Hâtırasına Osmanlı Mimark Kültürü*, ed. Hatice Aynur, A. Hilâl Uğurlu, Kubbealtı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016, pp. 231-253.

undecorated marble pieces as filling between pink andesite spolia face stones indigenous to the region on the western façade of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque seen when approaching from the direction of the village. On the other hand, the use of a piece from a Byzantine church above the entrance of the structure is a sign of establishing relations with the local people and the use of spolia once again as spoils of war. Some researchers also approach spolia use as a sign of cultural interaction¹³⁵ and of tolerance by means of establishing a union of communities through blending the traces of the past with the new culture. As seen in the cases of İznik Orhan Gazi Mosque ve Edirne Murad I Hüdavendigâr Mosque where whole churches were repurposed as mosques, the perception of spolia use as an interaction between the cultures of the local Christian Byzantine people and the conquerers is a rather challenging claim for Turkish communities where spolia use was often perceived as a mark of holy war.

The emergence of spolia use is a practice that cannot be reduced simply to functional factors such as the convenience in construction or economic reasons. In this case, for the Ottomans, who ran continuous holy wars and carried out conquests, to convert the churches or old buildings in the regions they have conquered, or to use the existing architectural elements in the region as spolia in their new buildings could be explained as a construction practice. This explanation naturally renders invalid any argument that maintains spolia materials are always used for ideological reasons, “are always significant” or “are of a fixed meaning”¹³⁶.

That being said, the decision to use an architectural element from a different building in a new one and to fashion it as part of the building is also based on aesthetic and ideological concerns beyond functional ones. This is particularly emphasised if the spolia material is decorated. Then the reused material is separated from its own contexts when it changes language, religion, community and politics, thus becoming a part of the new context and the new space¹³⁷.

135- Impressions from the presentation titled “Muslim-Turkish Politics of ‘Spatial’ Control – The Formation of Settlement and Public Space in Manisa and Birgi (14th Century)” by Myrto Veikou and Alexander Beihammer in the 2019 5th International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium.

136- Görkay, “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası”, p 273.

137- The definitions of spolia and the spoli materials in architectural history are inspired by my Phd thesis titled *Türk Devri Yapılarında Devşirme Malzeme Kullanımı: Manisa Örneği (Spolia Use in Turkish Era Structures: Manisa Example)*.

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Figure 1. Behramkale Hüdevendigar Mosquesouth east façade (2019)



Figure 2. Detail of Behramkale Hüdevendigar Mosque south east corner (2019)



Figure 3. Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque south east façade (2019)



Figure 4. Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosquewestern façade (2019)



Figure 5. Detail of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque western façade (2019)



Figure 6. Detail of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque western façade (2019)



Figure 7. Detail of Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque door (2019)



Figure 8. Behramkale Hüdavendigâr Mosque (2019)



Figure 9. Behramkale Hüdevandigar Mosque narthex column capital (2019)



Figure 10. Behramkale Hüdevandigar Mosque narthex column capital(2019)



Figure 11. Detail of Behramkale Hüdavandigar Mosque door (2019)



Figure 12. Tuzla Hüdavendigar Mosque (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Sayısal Arşivi/
Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations)



Figure 13. Tuzla Hüdevendigar Mosque (2019)



Figure 14. Tuzla Hüdevendigar Mosque narthex (2019)



Figure 15. Tuzla Hüdavendigâr Mosque east façade window (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Sayısal Arşivi/Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations)



Figure 16. Tuzla Hüdavendigâr Mosque east façade window (2019)



Figure 17. Detail of Tuzla Hüdevendigâr Mosque east façade window (2019)



Figure 18. Tuzla Hüdevendigâr Mosque (2019)



Figure 19. Apollo Smintheus Temple (2019)



Figure 20. Tuzla Hüdavendigâr Mosque narthex(Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Sayısal Arşivi/Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations)



Figure 21. Tuzla Hüdevendigar Mosque narthex(Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Sayısal Arşivi/Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations)



Figure 22. Tuzla Hüdevendigar Mosque narthex(Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Sayısal Arşivi/Quantitative Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations)



Figure 23. Tuzla Hüdavendigâr Mosque (2019)



Figure 24. Detail of Tuzla Hüdavendigâr Mosque narthex (2019)



Figure 25. Detail of Tuzla Hüdevendigar Mosque narthex(2019)



Figure 26. Gelibolu Bazar and Great Mosque¹³⁸

138- Antoine Laurent Castellan's etching (1772-1838) of Gelibolu Bazar and Great Mosque: <https://tr.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=202>, (04.08.2019).



Figure 27. Gelibolu Hüdavendigar Mosque (2019)



Figure 28. Gelibolu Hüdavendigar Mosque western entrance (2019)



Figure 29. Gelibolu Hüdevendigar Mosque northern entrance (2019)



Figure 30. Gelibolu Hüdevendigar Mosque eastern entrance (2019)



Figure 31. Sargaphogus at Gelibolu Hüdavendigâr Mosque garden (2019)

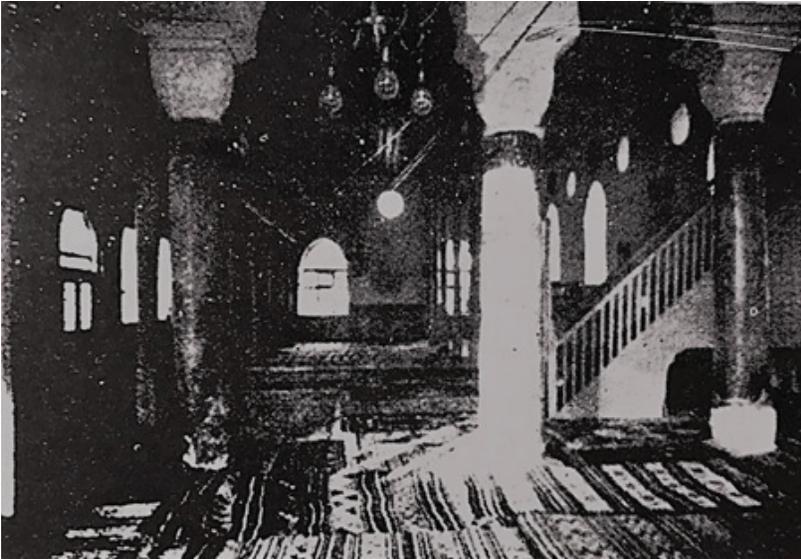


Figure 32. Umurbey Hüdavendigâr Mosque harim (Ayverdi, 1989: 359)



Figure 33. Column capital, Çanakkale Troia Museum (2019)



Figure 34. Column capital, Çanakkale Troia Museum (2019)



Figure 35. Column capital, Çanakkale Troia Museum (2019)



Figure 36. Bursa Hüdevendigar Mosque (2017)